

Intercontinental Press

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Antiwar Marches in 30 U.S. Cities



TITO: Combines soft voice and hard fist in handling student protest. See page 948.

Goldstucker's Letter to Czech Authorities

The Autobiography
of Robert Havemann

Allende Shelves

Criticism of Nixon

Quebec Political Arrests Planned Well in Advance

Mercury Supplement

Scientists have discovered toxic levels of mercury contamination in Alaskan fur seals. Researchers of the U. S. Food and Drug Administration [FDA] and the U. S. Marine Mammal Biological Laboratory at Seattle, Washington, reported an "amazing" concentration of 172 parts per million in seal livers.

The level considered "safe" for human consumption is 0.5 parts per million.

The amount of mercury contamination is considered amazing because fur seals normally live in deep water 50 to 1,000 miles from the nearest coast. They come ashore in the Pribilof Islands only once a year, in the July breeding season.

Seal meat is a major source of food for the Aleut Indians who live in the Pribilofs. Doctors from the United States Public Health Service are now examining the Aleuts to determine how much they may have been harmed by mercury. The Aleuts, meanwhile, have been warned not to eat seal liver.

Mercury contamination can cause miscarriages in pregnant women or cause their children to be born with cerebral palsy or mental retardation.

Scientists have not yet discovered the source of mercury pollution in the seals, but the pollution is known to have existed for at least six years. This was deduced from the fact that iron supplement pills made from seal liver in 1964 were discovered to contain 30 parts of mercury per million, which happens to be 60 times the level considered safe.

The pills are widely distributed in health food stores. Since 1964, 1,250,000 of them have been sold. The FDA recalled 25,000 pills October 29.

The president of a company making the iron pills explained in the October 30 *New York Times* why the company had used seal liver:

"Seal liver attracted my attention because it came from an animal most free of contaminants. You can just figure from this that there isn't any place in the whole earth that isn't contaminated."

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Main Slogan Is 'Bring U.S. Troops Home Now!'

Thousands of Americans in more than thirty cities October 31 replied to President Nixon's phoney "peace initiative" with mass demonstrations demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

Banners, chants of demonstrators, speeches, and posters carried the demands: "Bring the Troops Home Now!" "Defend the Kent State 25!" [Students indicted because of their participation in the demonstrations last May in which four students were murdered by the National Guard.] "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!" "Self-Determination for Indochina and All Third World Peoples!"

Other banners expressed solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle or demanded an end to the persecution of the Black Panther party.

In New York City 5,000 to 6,000 demonstrators marched through the center of Manhattan, led by a marching band of antiwar GIs.

Speakers at the rally following the demonstration included officials of the United Auto Workers union and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, a GI, and a student from Kent State University.

One of the largest actions was a demonstration of 11,000 persons in Austin, Texas. Between 5,000 and 10,000 marched in Chicago, Illinois; 5,000 in Detroit; and 4,000 in Boston. Speakers at the Boston rally included attorney Mark Lane, Socialist Workers party senatorial candidate Peter Camejo, and a member of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen union.

In Tampa, Florida, 5,000 persons joined a candlelight procession the night of October 30. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2,500 attended a rally addressed by Kate Millett, author of *Sexual Politics*, and several Vietnam veterans. The same number marched in Columbus, Ohio, to demand an end to the war and the dropping of the charges against the Kent State students.

Approximately 2,000 persons demonstrated in Los Angeles, where on August 29 the Chicano Moratorium

was assaulted by police. The October 31 demonstration had a large contingent of Chicanos, and also a large number of Arab students.

The demonstrations were generally unmolested by police, with the exception of Atlanta, Georgia, where police harassment forced the rally to end earlier than planned.

The success of the October 31 demonstrations is especially notable in that they took place during the height of the congressional election campaign, a period when there was maximum pressure on the antiwar movement to give up its independence and become involved in capitalist electoral politics.

In only one city did a functioning local coalition give in to this pressure. (The demonstrations were called and coordinated nationally by the National Peace Action Coalition [NPAC], headquartered in Cleveland. Local coalitions took charge of arrangements in each city.) Liberal forces in the Madison [Wisconsin] Area Peace Action Council voted to cancel the scheduled demonstration because they feared it would harm the campaigns of so-called "peace" candidates. However, in Madison the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [SMC] went ahead and organized a rally of more than 1,000 on October 31.

The demonstrations also indicated that Nixon has so far been unsuccessful in his campaign to intimidate the movement into silence. In their campaign speeches, both Nixon and Vice-president Spiro Agnew have tried to identify antiwar protest with bomb throwing and "violence."

In Belleville, Illinois, for example, Agnew during a speech October 30 pointed at a group of peaceful demonstrators and told the crowd it was "time to sweep that kind of garbage out of our society."

The next day in Phoenix, Arizona, Nixon spoke of "hypocrites" who carry peace signs in one hand "while hurling a rock or bomb with the other." (He had nothing to say about presidents who launch "peace initia-

tives" with one face while ordering B-52 raids with the other.)

The size of the demonstrations in face of Nixon's attacks and the diversions set up by the "peace" candidates of the two-party system is a measure of the depth of antiwar sentiment in the United States.

Finally, the demonstrations proved the correctness of the strategy adopted by the National Peace Action Coalition when it was founded in June. [See *Intercontinental Press*, July 13, 1970, page 655.] The founding conference rejected the attempts of the Communist party and some pacifists to impose a reformist multi-issue program on the antiwar movement, and resolved to continue broadening the movement through massive, independent actions centered on demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia.

The opposing pacifist-Communist alliance attempted to build October 15 demonstrations on its program, but was unable to put together a real coalition to carry them out. In contrast to October 31, October 15 saw only a handful of demonstrations, the largest of which attracted fewer than 500 persons.

In addition to the cities mentioned above, there were demonstrations October 31 in the following places: Seattle, Washington; Lawrence, Kansas; Denver, Colorado; Minneapolis, Minnesota; New Haven, Connecticut; Racine, Wisconsin; Washington, D. C.; El Paso, Texas; St. Louis, Missouri; Portland, Oregon; Niagara Falls, New York; Salt Lake City, Utah; Phoenix, Arizona; Providence, Rhode Island; Logan, Utah; Albany, New York; Fort Worth, Texas; and Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

Not as Dull as Most Jobs

West German television recently carried a "game" show in which the contestant tried to win 1,000,000 marks by escaping the pursuit of three hired killers. Although the program was entirely fictional, at least 1,000 viewers thought it real and wrote the station expressing criticism or approval. A number of writers volunteered to be contestants, and one asked to be hired as a hunter.

Belgrade Students in Protest Strike

Hundreds of students went on strike at Belgrade University October 21 to protest the sentencing of one of their leaders to twenty months in prison the previous day. Vladimir Mijanovic, the president of the student association at the faculty of philosophy, was convicted October 19 of spreading "hostile propaganda" in an unauthorized underground newspaper.

On October 22 nearly 2,000 students met at the faculty of philosophy to form an "action committee" to fight for Mijanovic's release. The students decided to send a letter to President Tito with their demand.

According to the October 24 Paris daily *Le Monde*, "Their professors, without associating themselves with the strike, have let it be known that they will let the students decide their own course of action. Some professors took part Friday [October 23] in student delegations that tried to meet with Yugoslav authorities to put before them the case of their imprisoned leader. The secretary of the Communist party unit of the faculty has expressed solidarity with the students."

Mijanovic began a hunger strike immediately after he was sentenced. The student leader's trial began September 21, but was adjourned until October 19 when he was found "guilty." Mijanovic's "crimes" included organizing demonstrations against the American invasion of Cambodia earlier this year and distributing leaflets condemning Nixon's aggression in Southeast Asia and Tito's friendly relations with American imperialism.

News reports indicate that the strike is spreading. Dan Morgan, writing from Belgrade in the October 29 *Washington Post*, said: "Students of the language, pharmaceutical and fine arts department have joined the strike and sharp press attacks on the 'extremists' indicate that official concern is growing."

According to Morgan, some student demands have already gone beyond the freeing of Mijanovic. "Young Communists also say openly that the older generation of Communists who fought as Tito's partisans have been in power too long.

"Some students say the 'nationalist' expressions in Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia and elsewhere are only a cover — an authorized outlet for political discontent of a different kind that cannot be expressed openly.

"They say this discontent has to do with the increasing materialism, commercialism and lack of ideals in Yugoslav life.

"Members of the student 'action committee' say they therefore want to extend their discussions with authorities to other areas.

"Our program is the program of 1968," said one."

In June 1968 some 40,000 students staged a nine-day occupation of the university buildings in Belgrade [see *Intercontinental Press*, June 24, 1968, page 586]. The demands raised in that struggle were: (1) guaranteed jobs for college graduates; (2) suppression of economic inequalities and a program to cut down privileges; (3) establishment of genuine democracy and genuine self-management in the factories; (4) immediate release of all arrested student protesters; (5) dismissal of police and government officials responsible for police attacks on student demonstrations; (6) convening of the head of the federal parliament to meet with student representatives; and (7) ouster of all Belgrade newspaper and radio editors who had given lying reports about the students' activities.

The central slogan of the strike two years ago was "socialism, freedom, democracy."

The 1968 student explosion was only defused when Tito himself pledged to carry out many of their demands. But after making a few concessions, the government turned to a policy of repressing student dissent. On January 10, 1970, the government succeeded in ousting the editorial board of the outspoken Belgrade University paper *Student*.

The full list of charges against Vladimir Mijanovic indicates that the students have continued their fight for socialist democracy throughout 1970. The October 22 issue of *Le Monde* gave this summary:

"Mijanovic was convicted of the following charges:

"1. Having a satiric paper printed last May (confiscated at the printshop) that told of a trip by a lord of ancient Greece to barbaric countries, making transparent allusions to a series of visits by President Tito to Africa.

"2. Seizing the pretext of the American intervention in Cambodia, also in May, to distribute a leaflet denouncing 'the importing of American capital into Yugoslavia' and the 'exporting' of workers who by working abroad unwillingly aided 'modern American fascism.'

"3. Denouncing 'bureaucratic censorship' and the 'means of manipulation and repression' on banning of a student publication in Novi Sad.

"4. Organizing a hunger strike last June in the school of philosophy as a demonstration of solidarity with the striking miners in the Kakanj (Bosnia) coal fields and distributing leaflets talking about 'hungry miners.'"

The Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, issued a statement denouncing the repression in Yugoslavia, according to the October 25-26 issue of *Le Monde*. The Ligue utilized Tito's visit to Paris in late October "to strongly protest the repressive measures which are presently being used against Yugoslav students on the pretext that they have carried out 'hostile propaganda.'

"As communists we think that the greatest danger to socialist Yugoslavia lies in the extremely grave decision to employ repression against those who assert the need of free speech for socialist criticisms of the present regime. Likewise, it is an extremely grave thing to imprison students for denouncing the potential hold of American capital on an uncompetitive Yugoslav economy at a time when the Yugoslav working class is paying a heavy price for the consequences of a disastrous orientation. The 'propaganda hostile' to Yugoslav socialism was not issued by the students who are now serving prison sentences for having expressed solidarity with the striking Bosnian miners."

A London storekeeper is doing a thriving business selling 1,000 surplus chamberpots purchased from the government. The best sellers are the royal pots bearing the initials "ER" for "Elizabeth Regina."

Quebec Political Arrests Planned Well in Advance

"Bombs are exploding everywhere; judges are murdered in the courtroom or on the street. To me it seems a bit like the moment of truth for western civilization."

In this description of the situation facing Québec and "western civilization," given in an interview published in the German weekly *Der Spiegel* of October 26, Québec Prime Minister Robert Bourassa had come a long way from the kidnappings and "apprehended insurrection" which served as the pretext for the imposition of police rule in Canada.

In fact, it quickly became clear that the majority of the nearly 400 persons arrested without warrant in Québec under Trudeau's declaration of War Measures had no connection with the Front de Libération du Québec [FLQ], which was the alleged spearhead of the "apprehended insurrection." In some cases, those arrested had in the past criticized the methods of the FLQ.

Writing in the special October 23 issue of the revolutionary socialist bi-weekly *Labor Challenge*, Robert Dumont observed: "Even a partial listing of those arrested—the ones we know for sure are being detained—reads like a Who's Who of Québec's political and trade union leaders, writers and artists of the left and nationalist movements."

Among those arrested early in the morning of October 16, the day on which the War Measures Act was invoked, were Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, campaign workers for Manon Léger, the Montréal mayoralty candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [LSO—Socialist Workers League, the Canadian Trotskyist organization].

Following their release on October 22, Young and Simpson were interviewed for an article that appeared in the November 6 issue of the revolutionary socialist weekly *The Militant*, published in New York. Young said of his arrest:

"When we got down there [to the police station], it was obvious that the whole thing was a major operation. People kept arriving in squad

cars. The fingerprinting and photographing was an assembly line process. In talking to each other it became clear that about 90 percent of the arrests took place within the same 15-minute period—between 5:00 and 5:15 a.m. It was obviously a major operation *planned in advance, with lists drawn up in advance.*" (Emphasis added.)

This confirmed what Jacquie Henderson had pointed out in *Labor Challenge*: "The government acted because it feared a repetition, this time on a larger scale, of the massive mobilizations which shook Québec in October 1968 and October 1969. Those actions, beginning with student protests, involved hundreds of thousands of Québécois in mass action against the subordination of the Québec nation."

Released at the same time as Simpson and Young, three days before the elections, were the two arrested city council candidates of the Front d'Action Politique [FRAP—Political Action Front], the Montréal political party backed by the trade unions.

In spite of the arrest of campaign workers and candidates, the virtual prohibition of political activity, and the witch-hunt attacks on FRAP launched by the federal government and Montréal mayor Jean Drapeau, both FRAP and the LSO managed a respectable showing in the October 25 city elections. In the districts where it ran city council candidates (it had no mayoralty candidate), FRAP polled 15 percent of the vote. Léger received slightly less than 2 percent in her campaign for mayor, finishing third among seven candidates.

T.C. Douglas, leader of the New Democratic party [NDP—Canada's labor party], the only party in parliament to vote against Trudeau's imposition of the War Measures Act, commented on the federal government's actions: "We must ask ourselves if we're getting at the root of the matter—which is why the people of Québec, even if they do not agree with the methods of the FLQ, seem to feel an identity with them."

The answer to Douglas's question is not hard to find. Ninety percent of

the capital invested in Québec belongs to Americans or English Canadians. Although 80 percent of Montréal is French, 63 percent of the administrative posts and 83 percent of the jobs paying over \$12,000 a year are held by persons who speak only English. A Canadian who speaks no other language than English earns more than a Québécois who speaks English besides French. Of fourteen different ethnic groups in Québec, the Québécois rank twelfth in income level. In *Labor Challenge* Mark Gans cited as typical the case of the General Motors plant in Ste-Thérèse, where 95 percent of the workers are French-speaking. Until very recently, the company firmly refused all demands to have the contract with the union translated into French!

Recognition of these facts lies behind the remark Robert Dumont reported as being commonly heard in Québec during the week following October 16: "Kidnappings? We are a nation that has been kidnapped."

Or the U.S. or Anywhere

[The following item appeared in the Paris daily *Le Monde*, October 22.]

* * *

The police complain about not being well liked. This is so, sometimes unfairly. But some of its members do nothing—quite the contrary—to be charming . . .

One of our staff members was on Rue Saint-Severin, Tuesday evening around 10:30 p.m. He carried a press card. An Asian tourist was standing at his side. They were not with any group of demonstrators.

Squads of specials appeared. One policeman, looking the journalist in the face as he passed, brought his boot down on his toes, then smiling:

"Excuse me, sir."

"You could have been more careful . . ."

"You didn't like it?"

A heavy blow with his club across the journalist's stomach.

The Asian tourist got the swinging club on the side of his face. He did not give up smiling, but moved away under a hail of blows. All he said was: "But, sir, we are in France . . ."

Torres Shuffles Rightist Generals, Stalls for Time

By Gerry Foley

Twelve days after seizing the presidency of Bolivia in a military counter-coup, the "left" general Juan José Torres confided to *Le Monde* correspondent Philippe Labreveux: "Up to the present the great problem of all Bolivian governments has been to stay in power."

Pushed forward by the military caste to divert a mounting popular mobilization after the failure of a right-wing coup, Torres' position has been precarious from the start. He has been able to hold on to power more than two weeks, among other things, by some fancy footwork. But his problem of maintaining the "progressive" image he needs to keep the situation under control looks increasingly complicated. Conflicting press reports about developments in Bolivia are probably indicative of the complexity of the political problems facing Torres.

In the third week of October, the Cuban press service Prensa Latina reported that Torres had removed some extreme right-wing officers who supported the coup of General Rogelio Miranda October 4.

The leader of the irreconcilable faction of the right wing, former minister of the interior Miguel Ayroa had been removed from his command of the Ingavi regiment and "authorized" to go into exile in Brazil, according to the Prensa Latina report.

Other rightists deprived of active commands were reportedly Colonel Augusto Calderón; Colonel Adet Zamora, who figured in the cabinet of the short-lived triumvirate set up as a front for General Miranda; and Colonel Alfonso Villarando.

By these few shifts, Prensa Latina estimated, Torres had gained effective control of the armed forces.

The transfer or dismissal of these officers would seem to be the minimum concession to the Comando de las Fuerzas Trabajadoras y el Pueblo [Command of the Working-Class Forces and the People—the united left front thrown up by the popular mobilization after October 4], which demanded

a purge of ultrarightists from the armed forces.

However, an Agence France-Presse dispatch published in the October 29 issue of *Le Monde* claimed that Ayroa had been assigned to head the Sixth Division stationed in Riberalta in the Department of Beni, where the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army, the guerrilla forces led by Che Guevara in 1967] has been reported active since July.

The accounts in the international press indicated that while taking minimum measures to discipline the ultraright, Torres accepted some conquests of the popular movement and offered some token concessions and promises.

The "progressive" strong man endorsed the takeover of the conservative daily *El Diario* by the workers, as well as the seizure of the American-run Institute of Social Studies by the students of La Paz University. He permitted the return of five radical clerics deported in mid-September for protesting the army's refusal to turn the bodies of slain guerrillas over to their relatives.

In addition, the new president established a commission to "study" raising the tin miners' wages. Perhaps most indicative of the popular pressure on the former counterinsurgency commander Torres was the fact that he promised a general amnesty in the near future.

Three days after formally taking office and vowing to lead an anti-imperialist revolution in Bolivia, Torres was faced with a success which, under the circumstances, threatened to prove a severe embarrassment. On October 12, counterinsurgency forces captured Chato Peredo, who had assumed command of the ELN.

In previous guerrilla campaigns, Chato's two older brothers Coco and Inti were killed by the army. It is generally believed in left circles in Bolivia that Inti, at least, was murdered in cold blood after being captured. Any hint that the third son of this martyred family was in danger of

mistreatment or harsh penalties could not help but fan hatred of the military caste, including General Torres.

Mario Suárez Moreno, former vice-president of the Confederación Universitaria Boliviana (Bolivian Student Confederation) was captured with Chato, along with four other guerrillas.

Student leaders fighting with the ELN were reported killed in a clash with the army in July. They are believed by their comrades to have been executed on the spot after being captured. Protests in the universities against army brutality gave a powerful thrust to the student radicalization that preceded the October 4 coup. After the failure of the right wing's attempt to seize full power and begin a general repression, armed students occupied the headquarters of the secret police and other buildings. Any hint of mistreatment of another student leader could spur this volatile and dynamic sector of Bolivian society to a violent attack on the regime.

Once it became known that Mario Suárez Moreno and Chato Peredo were in the hands of the army, Torres quickly promised to "guarantee the lives and physical integrity of guerrillas who lay down their arms." The ELN issued a communiqué, however, according to the October 28 issue of *Le Monde* that Chato had been drugged and "interrogated" by the CIA.

The Bolivian army authorities played a recorded statement by Suárez for the press. "The student leader, who gave the impression of reading a declaration prepared in advance, first expressed his gratitude for the way he had been treated by the army," according to an AFP dispatch published in *Le Monde* October 29. The captured student leader said that the guerrilla nucleus in the Teoponte area of Beni had been completely annihilated.

"Afterwards," the AFP dispatch continued, "Suárez made sort of a self-criticism of his participation in the

guerrilla movement: 'I think that this student group had a tragic fate and that we must think deeply about this . . . If we are consistent with ourselves, we must be honest enough to recognize the reality, and this reality is that the attempted insurrection in which we participated was a failure.'

Other sins of the previous two "progressive" military regimes, under General Barrientos and General Ovando respectively, rose up to haunt Torres at exactly the wrong time.

Antonio Arguedas, former minister of the interior under General Barrientos, returned to Bolivia clandestinely, according to the ELN communiqué reported in the October 28 issue of *Le Monde*, and joined the ELN forces in Alto Beni.

Arguedas was ousted from his position and forced to flee the country July 18, 1968, after the CIA discovered that he had sent Fidel Castro a copy of Che's diary of the 1967 guerrilla campaign. After about a month in exile under CIA surveillance, he decided to return to Bolivia to face trial. On August 18 he gave a news conference in La Paz describing how the CIA ran the Barrientos government.

Among other things, Arguedas told how in 1964 he had been forced to undergo four days' questioning by the CIA in Lima, Peru, before being allowed to take his post in the Bolivian government. During the interrogation he was subjected to lie-detector tests and possibly drugs.

"On the last day of questioning, the fourth day, they [the CIA agents] offered me a Coca Cola and we began to talk about walks in Lima, about girls and the things friends talk about. I began to feel a great weariness. At about 7:30 in the evening I recovered. The questioning was over. I couldn't remember what I might have said, why I thought I had been under the effects of some drug. But I felt two sensations—a physical sensation of extreme cold and an absolute moral depression. I was capable of jumping out of the window on the fifteenth floor. I recognized that my consciousness had been stripped bare. This feeling overshadowed the future. Then I felt the need for vengeance. I said that I would get even one day."*

* For the full text of Arguedas' news conference, see *Intercontinental Press*, September 23, 1968, page 770.

Before he could stand trial, the threat of assassination by right-wing gangs forced Arguedas to take refuge in Cuba. When Torres came to power, promising to free the country from imperialist domination, the ex-minister of the interior, as a Bolivian patriot, appealed for permission to return home. Torres denounced Arguedas as a "traitor" and threatened to take "energetic measures" against him if he entered the country secretly.

The appearance of this highly publicized victim of the CIA on the Bolivian political scene can only be a very unwelcome development for Torres.

Among other things, the Arguedas case revealed the extent to which the CIA and various U. S. government agencies had penetrated the Bolivian state apparatus and repressive forces and were directing them in accordance with the long-range objectives of American imperialism.

Both General Torres and his new armed forces chief Colonel Reque Terán played important roles in the CIA-directed operation against the guerrillas in 1967. But perhaps more important, a revival of interest in the Arguedas case might lead people to ask whether Torres received only military and technical training from the U. S. agencies with which he worked. The concentration of so much activity by U. S. government agencies in Bolivia must have led to the formulation of political plans for various contingencies.

When Nelson Rockefeller projected the idea of a "new type of military man" as the best hope for U. S. imperialism in Latin America, it is unlikely that this represented a great individual "insight."

Torres himself defended this idea in a speech to a meeting of the Inter-American Defense Council published in the May 5, 1970, issue of the São Paulo weekly *Fato Novo*: "Limiting the activities of the armed forces to the military field alone not only belittles their great role. It would also leave the field open for one of the special tactics of our enemies [international Communism]. They want to tie us down so that we will not be able to exert our energies and creative function in the profoundly democratic task of becoming the interpreters of the people's aspirations, occupying the place of an organized vanguard for mobilizing the continent. This course of action by the armed forces would satisfy the

people's obvious desire to see a power structure established which, in the face of the chaos or anarchy treacherously inspired by extremist agents, would advance a system meeting the needs of the people, serving them with austere dignity to the extent of the country's real possibilities.

"This might be the most effective formula to prevent excessive influence of minorities which, in a strange correspondence with international Communism, organize antipopular regimes that could serve as the political detonator needed to radicalize the process until it led to such a state of decomposition that it would be too late to control the social explosion that would occur."

According to *Le Monde* of October 29, however, General Roque Terán had declared that he does not believe Arguedas is in the country. "It would seem that the communiqué of the National Liberation Army announcing this fact was a forgery," the Paris daily commented. The ELN communiqué in question is the same one that reported that Chato Peredo had been drugged and interrogated by the CIA.

An unnamed correspondent writing in the October 28 issue of *Le Monde*, the same correspondent who reported the content of the disputed ELN communiqué, stressed the contradictory pressures in the country:

"The situation, then, is not clear. The threat from the right-wing officers has not dissipated. The forces claiming to follow General Rogelio Miranda are already campaigning for new presidential elections.

"As for the workers of Huanuni, they have ousted the authorities of the Bolivian Mining Corporation (COMIBOL, the body administering the nationalized mines), and named new local authorities."

Victory for Hoxha Thought

Elections to the Albanian national assembly were held September 20. A dispatch by Hsinhua, the Chinese government news agency, quotes the Central Election Commission's report on the voting: "In the 264 election precincts of the country, 100 percent of the electors took part in the elections and all of them unanimously voted for candidates nominated by the Democratic Front of Albania."

The report goes on to say that the election results show the voters' "profound consciousness as masters of the country in fully exercising their right to elections as guaranteed by the constitution . . ."

Allende Shelves Criticism of Nixon

By Les Evans

Chile's president-elect Salvador Allende Gossens appears to have toned down his radical campaign promises. This was the widespread impression of American reporters at his October 29 press conference, the first after the special October 24 session of congress that confirmed his victory in a run-off vote.

The October 31 Boston *Christian Science Monitor*, for example, noted that Allende "refrained from any direct or implied criticism of Washington or the Nixon administration." Nixon had deliberately snubbed Allende by refusing to send the customary diplomatic congratulations on his election.

Allende has promised to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, China, and East Germany. But when asked if this would be done immediately he replied: "We are not going to do it on the fifth." (The day after his inauguration.)

"On issues such as nationalization of industry," the *Monitor* reported, "Dr. Allende appeared cautious. To be sure, he reiterated plans to nationalize copper and nitrate mines, but he indicated that he would go slow on any other nationalization.

"We will only do those that are necessary," he said, a statement that could be read many ways—but in the context of other press-conference remarks and in view of his generally conciliatory attitude toward businessmen in the past few weeks, he left the impression that he intends to go slow in this area."

The new president also said that he would not limit the size of the American embassy staff or request the withdrawal of the United States military advisory group, now numbering thirteen persons.

Allende's cabinet, announced October 30, gave the key posts to Socialist and Radical party leaders, although all six groups in the multi-class Unidad Popular [People's Unity] coalition were represented.

Even on paper the Unidad Popular program does not jeopardize continued capitalist domination of Chile. Marcel Niedergang commented in the October 24 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*:

"One might add that some of the measures called for by the Allende government are less 'spectacular' than they seem. In fact, the Chilean state already controls the fuel and power industry, and thus oil, steel, the railroads, and, in part, telecommunications. The state already has about 60 percent control over the private banks, either directly, or through the interplay between the public and private sectors. It is thus not excluded that the Christian Democrats may approve the essential part of the economic and social structural reforms of the new government."

When interviewed by Niedergang, Allende's defeated Christian Democratic opponent Radomiro Tomic Romero affirmed his party's readiness to cooperate with the Unidad Popular in pursuit of reformist goals.

"I do not believe that the Christian Democrats can enter the Allende government in the near future," Tomic said, "but technical and administrative collaboration is not excluded."

Niedergang was able to interview several leaders of the semiclandestine Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria [MIR — Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. One of them told him (October 25-26 *Le Monde*):

"We recognized right away that the victory of the left, on September 4, was an immense step in the people's struggle to take power. This victory objectively favors the development of a revolutionary road in Chile. But the conquest of power by the workers requires the destruction of the state as an instrument of the domination of the bourgeoisie. The entire apparatus of the state must be put at the service of the workers' interests.

"Certain of the measures advocated by the Unidad Popular are undoubtedly acceptable to Chilean and foreign capitalists. That's the case, for example, with copper, where the foreign companies for various technical and financial reasons would under certain conditions accept nationalization accompanied by convenient delays and a 'good' indemnification."

Niedergang added: "In truth, there is a greater distance between the Radical leaders or independents who are members of Unidad Popular and some left socialists than there is between M. Salvador Allende and the friends of M. Radomiro Tomic."

Kolko Admitted to Canada

The Canadian government on September 30 reversed its earlier decision and agreed to grant landed immigrant status to Professor Gabriel Kolko.

Kolko is a United States citizen and an outspoken critic of the war in Vietnam. On July 20, although Kolko had been hired to teach history at York University, the Department of Manpower and Immigration denied him entry to the country, saying his presence would be "contrary to Canadian national interest."

The October 1 Toronto *Globe and Mail* reported: "The reversal came on the same day that Prof. Kolko's lawyer, Paul Copeland, was to file a writ of mandamus against the department."

This would have obligated the government to show cause why Kolko was not permitted to enter Canada.

Kolko told the newspaper he thought his antiwar views were the reason for the government's original action. His lawyer said the government was "probably acting on information from the FBI."

Cardenas—Mexico's Last Democratic Reformer

By Joseph Hansen

The death of Lázaro Cárdenas y del Río at the age of seventy-five October 19 removed from the scene a figure regarded until recent years as the "elder statesman of Latin America."

As president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940, his regime was unique in many ways. He was considered a colorless army man when he took office and it was expected that he would serve as a figurehead for the former president Plutarco Elías Calles.

Cárdenas broke the tradition of military rule with its coups d'état. He exiled Elías Calles. He himself retired at the age of forty-five, abiding by the constitutional provision of one term for the presidency.

More spectacular were the expropriations of foreign holdings in the oil industry and the railways undertaken by his administration in 1938. These aroused an international furor, the U.S. and British governments joining in putting heavy pressure on Cárdenas to pull back.

Cárdenas placed the companies under workers management, an act unprecedented for a bourgeois government.

Even during his term in office, Cárdenas appeared to be an anomalous figure. As a capitalist politician, he not only preached and advocated political democracy—which is common enough even today—he sought to practice it.

Thus he recognized the right of political asylum. One of the consequences was that Mexico became the sole country in the entire world to offer a haven to Leon Trotsky. Not only that, Cárdenas provided him with police protection, doing what he could to save the persecuted revolutionary leader from execution at the hands of Stalin's secret political police.

Cárdenas welcomed thousands of refugees from Spain who had fought in the civil war on the Loyalist side against the advance of Franco's fascist legions.

He also opened the doors of Mexico to refugees from Nazi Germany at a time when Franklin D. Roose-



LAZARO CARDENAS

velt, in "democratic" America, turned them away, condemning many to return to Germany and doom at the hands of Hitler.

In addition to this, Cárdenas took over extensive tracts of land and distributed them to the peasants. His agrarian reform, however, was not thorough enough to open up genuinely new perspectives for small landholders or collectives.

In fact, the end result of the reforms carried out by Cárdenas was the expansion and strengthening of capitalism in Mexico. A broad layer of entrepreneurs was nurtured by the state itself, a crop of newly formed millionaires appearing during World War II and its aftermath.

This capitalist growth provided the basis for the current reversion in Mexico to reactionary rule reminiscent of the time of Porfirio Díaz.

With the victory of the Cuban revolution, Cárdenas left his retirement. While he did not run for public office, he was very much in the limelight when it appeared that all of Lat-

in America might be on the verge of following the Cuban example. He visited Havana; he defended the Cuban revolution against its most openly counterrevolutionary foes.

Some capitalist propagandists pictured Cárdenas as being in his dotage. But the "elder statesman of Latin America" had very good reasons from his own class point of view for what he was doing.

In 1961, for instance, at the height of the influence and popularity of the Cuban revolution, he accepted chairmanship of the Latin-American Conference for National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace, which was held in Mexico City March 5-8 of that year. This was a left-wing conference with big delegations from Cuba, the Soviet Union, China, the East European countries, and all of Latin America.

At a dinner February 24, 1961, where he was host to the staff of the leftist Mexican magazine *Política*, Cárdenas explained why he had accepted the chairmanship. The editors of *Política* reported:

"As for Mexico, Cárdenas insisted that it is necessary to stimulate civic spirit, strengthen and unify the parties, in short, create a great democratic political movement. The situation in Mexico, the ex-president emphasized, is critical, and if the popular unrest is not channelized adequately an explosion could occur. This would be bad for the country, since 'unlike what occurred in Cuba, where the people did not engage in destruction, in Mexico they would destroy the national wealth. The first thing a Mexican does when he rises in arms is to burn a bridge or blow up a refinery.'"

The Cubans, of course, burned or blew up more than one bridge in their struggle against Batista. And one can be quite sure that when the Mexicans rise up in arms it will be—like the Cubans—not to destroy the national wealth but to retrieve it from the hands of the capitalist despoilers, including

their imperialist backers and partners. The politics of Cárdenas in essence was to forestall a socialist revolution in Mexico by making timely concessions to the masses, bending with their leftist and socialist inclinations so as to lead them back into safe channels, above all doing everything possible to block the rise of a genuinely revolutionary leadership.

In the process, he proved his adroitness. He mobilized the Mexican bourgeoisie in a bold way against both British and U. S. imperialism. He put down a rightist uprising under General Saturnino Cedillo in San Luis Potosí in May 1938. He turned to the labor movement and the peasantry as allies in gaining concessions for Mexican capitalism from the imperialists.

The success of Cárdenas in forestall-

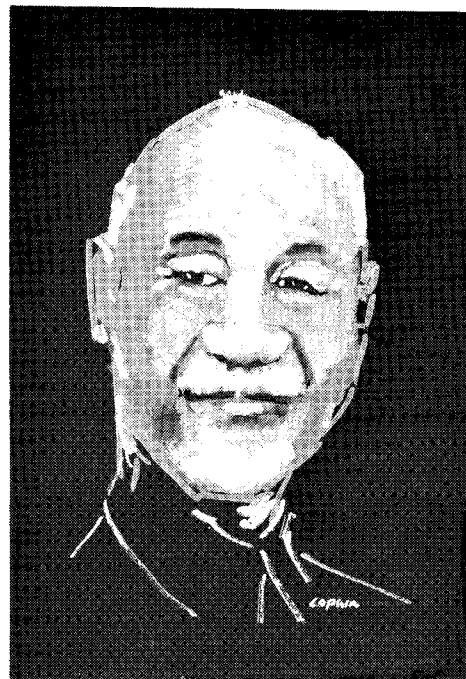
ing a socialist revolution in Mexico and in strengthening Mexican capitalism cannot be gainsaid. The permanency of that success is another question. Mexico's presidents since 1940 seem to have become increasingly apprehensive over the future of capitalism, judging from the means they feel compelled to use to keep down the Mexican people.

The success registered by Cárdenas also ensured the erosion of democracy in Mexico. Where Mexican democracy stands today can be measured, among other ways, by counting the political prisoners crowding the country's jails.

In this respect Cárdenas ended up a failure. Capitalism and democracy are becoming increasingly incompatible. What is required to win democracy in Mexico is not another Cárdenas but a Mexican Lenin.

Taiwan

Personality Cult



Likes Image in Mirror

"... President Chiang Kai-shek stands tall in the saddle of Asian and world statesmanship. . . .

"President Chiang has fought the Communists longer than any other living leader. . . .

"In Taiwan, President Chiang has personally directed the rebuilding and modernization of the military. . . .

"At the chief executive's direction, the economy has moved toward industrialization. . . .

"President Chiang has been an outspoken advocate of free Asian unity. . . .

"President Chiang has supervised the Republic of China's participation in the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations. . . .

"China's leader has lost none of the dauntless spirit that made him a commander in the National Revolution at the age of only 24. . . .

"[His] words are heard and heeded on the Chinese mainland as well as in Taiwan and among the 18 million Chinese in overseas communities. They are listened to and respected in the United States, Latin America, Europe, Africa and the Pacific. . . .

"No one else can take the place of Chiang Kai-shek in the hearts of the Chinese people—nor represent China in the councils of the mighty."—*Free China Weekly*, Taipei, October 10, 1970.

Since 1945 the U. S. government has spent \$1,100,000,000,000 for military purposes.

Dissident Soviet Scientist

Medvedev Given New Research Post

Soviet geneticist and molecular biologist Jaurès Medvedev has been assigned to a new job. In a handwritten postcard mailed to the Moscow bureau of the *New York Times* and reported in the November 1 issue of that paper, Medvedev said:

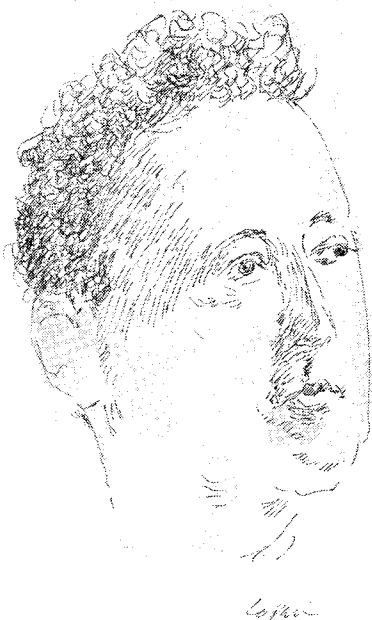
"My present situation has substantially improved. On October 19 I start-

ed work as a senior scientist at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Physiology and Biochemistry of Agricultural Animals in the city of Obninsk in the Kaluga region. I will be working in the laboratory of proteins in the field of molecular mechanisms and the development of aging organisms."

Medvedev, who had aroused the ire of the authorities by his *samizdat* book on the scientific charlatan T. D. Lysenko and by his appeals for greater scientific freedom, was arrested and confined in a mental institution on May 30 of this year.

His arrest was protested by prominent Soviet scientists, including four members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Dissident author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn issued a statement calling Medvedev's confinement "spiritual murder."

The Kremlin bureaucrats retreated and ordered Medvedev's release June 17. His discharge at that time was called "provisional," implying a threat that he would be arrested again if he ran afoul of the authorities. The decision to allow him to return to work appears to be a further retreat by the bureaucrats.



JAURES A. MEDVEDEV

Lausanne Forum Hears Maitan on China

Rome

As part of a series of lectures designed to present the positions of revolutionary Marxism, of the Fourth International, on key problems of socialist strategy today, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire [LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, the Trotskyist organization in the French-speaking sector of Switzerland] organized a meeting October 16 in Lausanne on the Chinese cultural revolution. More than 400 persons attended and listened attentively to the discussion for three and a half hours.

The meeting was opened by Charles-André Udry, a member of the political bureau of the LCR, who made it clear that the discussion on China did not hold merely an analytical interest for revolutionists but posed political questions with very great implications. To make the report, the LCR had invited Livio Maitan, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the author of the book *Partito, Esercito, e Masse nella Crisi Cinese* [Party, Army, and Masses in the Chinese Crisis], which is soon to appear in a French edition.

Udry ended his introductory remarks by inviting the members of other organizations, especially the Maoist activists present in the hall, to participate in the discussion.

Livio Maitan reviewed the Fourth International's fundamental evaluation of the historic importance of the Chinese revolution and the great significance of the existence of the People's Republic in China. He also recalled the essentials of the attitude of critical support for the Chinese Communists in their polemic with the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the other pro-Soviet Communist parties which the Fourth International adopted from the beginning of the conflict and confirmed in several world congresses, including the Reunification Congress of 1963.

In the second part of his talk Maitan stressed the necessity of developing a materialist analysis of the Chinese reality. He briefly reviewed the conceptions of Marx, Lenin, and Trot-

sky on transitional societies and their profoundly contradictory aspects.

Next he analyzed the development of China up to the eve of the cultural revolution, pointing out the economic and social tensions that existed and the process of bureaucratization that had taken place. The points of this analysis, which were already clear for the Fourth International at the time, can now be confirmed on the basis of an important number of documents published during the 1966-67 crisis.

After explaining the origins of the cultural revolution and its combined character as a factional battle at the top and a mobilization of the masses, the reporter posed the question in the last part of his talk whether the cultural revolution had involved qualitative changes and whether an authentic proletarian democracy had been established in China, as both orthodox and heterodox Maoists claim.

A close examination, on the basis of existing data, of the political and economic solutions adopted gives grounds for answering no. An analysis of the Maoist conception of the party and of the reorganization of the party in practice, of the methods utilized in preparing the party congress, and the means employed against those who did not accept the Mao group's line, confirms this answer.

Several activists took part in the discussions. In particular, questions were raised on the following subjects: the Chinese policy in Indonesia and Pakistan; aspects of the cultural revolution that might be considered positive; the dynamic of the Chinese situation; the existence of revolutionary Marxist currents in China; and the theory of revolution by stages in the light of the lessons of the Chinese revolution.

Two Maoist activists, members of a pro-Chinese organization in Lausanne and a Chinese Friendship Society, took the floor. Basing themselves on their experience during a stay in the People's Republic, they stressed that real relations exist between the party and the masses, that party cadres

participate in production, that the unions have disappeared, and that the leaders of the revolutionary committees, including at the party level, were elected in the plants. The Maoists spoke of advances in petroleum and steel production and defended the condemnation of Liu Shao-chi. According to them, he was able to speak in the plants and in the universities. They stated, finally, that the reporter had based himself only on documents and that to get to know the Chinese reality, it is necessary also to visit the country.

Before turning the floor back over to the reporter for his summary, Charles-André Udry stressed the importance of democratic debate among the different currents in the workers movement, especially of the fact that activists still basing themselves on Stalin have been led to seek debate with Trotskyists on a political level.

Livio Maitan explained why the attitude of the Chinese leadership toward Indonesia and Pakistan was not a special case but flowed from the Maoist conception of a revolution in two stages and the possibility of collaborating with the so-called national bourgeoisie. The Indonesian tragedy and Peking's opportunistic attitude toward the military regime in Pakistan are, in reality, a touchstone of the practical implications of the Chinese orientations on the problems of revolution in the colonial or neocolonial countries.

Regarding positive aspects of the Chinese crisis, Maitan noted that he had not denied that changes had taken place, but that the real problem, in view of the apologetic interpretations circulating in the revolutionary left in Europe and throughout the world, was whether a qualitative leap had occurred. Maitan's answer was that one had not occurred.

Trotskyists, he said, do not minimize the fact that the relationship of forces has been shaken and has evolved in favor of the masses, or that there has been a considerable political maturation in very broad strata. Groups rather close to the conceptions of revolutionary Marxism exist in China. The Trotskyist movement has documents which testify clearly to this.

As for the Chinese Trotskyists, however, the Fourth International has had no information for many years about the fate of its comrades who were im-

prisoned at the beginning of the 1950s, despite their histories as revolutionists and their support to the revolution. An international campaign in their defense has recently been launched by the Fourth International.

In answer to the Maoists, Maitan pointed out first of all that petroleum production had in fact registered a considerable advance (which, moreover, he had not forgotten to mention in his report). But for production of such a vital product as steel, there were no overall statistics. This statistical omission, which does not apply only to steel, is in itself eloquent.

On other points, the Maoists had by no means challenged the basis of his analysis, which supports the conclusion that a revolutionary-democratic soviet power structure does not exist in China. Nor had they raised any effective arguments against the analysis leading up to the conclusion that in the plants in particular the solution to fight for was one of electing committees based on all the workers and with real powers of decision. According to the information he had, Maitan said, the party committees in the plants are not elected by the workers. Normally they are appointed by the party members (a Maoist interrupted to say that the cadres were "confirmed" by the workers).

Maitan acknowledged that Liu Shao-chi had, in fact, spoken during the first months of the cultural revolution but after that the Chinese masses had no opportunity to hear what his line was. It was not a question of sharing Liu Shao-chi's views, the speaker noted. Liu probably represented a conservative wing of the bureaucracy. The question was one of principle, involving a certain conception of the party and of the basic democratic rights of every member.

Maitan admitted in conclusion that a visit to China could be fruitful in order to gain a more direct knowledge. If the comrades of the Lausanne Chinese Friendship Society could get him an invitation like theirs from Peking, he would be very pleased to go.

Before concluding the meeting, the chairman announced that the program for the next lectures would include talks by Nathan Weinstock, Henri Weber, and Alain Krivine.

Current nuclear weapons stockpiles equal fifteen tons of TNT for every human being on earth.

Indonesian Prodigy

Unborn Scholar Amazes Top Officials

Quite a sensation was created in Djakarta recently by Tjut Zahara Fonna, the mother of a son who would make any parent proud. At the age of only twenty months, he spoke fluently and recited verses—in Arabic—from the Koran, a book he had never read. But the most amazing thing was that this child prodigy had not yet been born.

Zahara and her husband said she had been pregnant for twenty months. Their child, apparently unwilling to



FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK: "I believe in miracles because I believe in God."

overtax his mother, finally agreed to be born at the end of November 1970, and requested that the blessed event take place in Mecca.

In the meantime, the baby recited prayers five times daily at public gatherings in his parents' home. His performance of this holy duty was even reviewed in the Djakarta press. Hugh Mabbet reported in the October 11 London *Sunday Times* that at least

one newspaper "has been criticising the quality of the baby's Arabic."

Such carping criticism did not faze top government officials. The Associated Press reported October 22:

"President and Mrs. Suharto invited the woman to the presidential palace three times and were photographed with her. Gen. Abdul Haris Nasution, president of the People's Provisional Consultative Council . . . prayed alongside the 'baby.' Foreign Minister Adam Malik, after a visit with the woman, said: 'I believe in miracles because I believe in God.'"

Malik even provided the proud parents with a letter to aid them in their travels. It required all Indonesian missions to render them assistance, saying that they were traveling "at the request of their unborn child."

The Indonesian Medical Association, perhaps under the influence of atheists boring from within, requested that Zahara submit to a medical examination. "For a time she refused," according to Associated Press, "saying the baby did not want to be examined. Then this week she agreed."

After examining her October 21, the doctors reported she was not pregnant.

And Malik and Suharto, badly let down by the miracle of the unborn scholar, presumably returned to their faith in American imperialism.

Britain Flouts Human Rights

The European Commission on Human Rights ruled October 10 that the British government would have to answer charges that its immigration policies violate human rights. The charges will be heard by the Court of Human Rights of the Council of Europe.

The London *Sunday Times* of October 11 said, ". . . the Commission admitted the claims of a group of 31 Asians from East Africa that they had been discriminated against and subjected to degrading treatment by Britain's immigration laws."

The thirty-one, like many other Asians in similar circumstances, have been denied entry to England even though they hold valid British passports. Discriminatory British immigration laws have resulted in such persons being "shuttlecocked"—repeatedly deported from England even though there is no other country where they are permitted to land.

The Vranckx Bill—New Step Toward 'Strong State'

By Eric Corijn

[We have translated the following article from the September 25 issue of the Flemish revolutionary socialist biweekly *Rood*, published in Antwerp.]

* * *

The cabinet's approval of the Vranckx bill, which would give the authorities the right to ban paramilitary organizations and "groups whose activity is such as to disturb the public order," represents a new attempt by the bourgeoisie to move one step closer to establishing a strong state.

This bill provides for an extension of the 1934 and 1936 laws against private militias. If this new law is approved by parliament, the government could move against any group that, by "coordinated action," might endanger "public security and order."

The authorities would no longer have to prove that the group in question had committed violent acts. The law could be invoked whenever the courts considered, on the basis of the group's intentions, its statements, or its manner of organization, that it might be dangerous.

This operation did not come out of the blue. Since the second strike wave started June 11 there has been a systematic offensive by the government and the right-wing press against the left organizations.

On June 25 *Pourquoi Pas?* published its dossier of subversion. This was followed by an interview with Minister of the Interior Harmegnies, in which measures were projected against "revolutionary organizations" that intervene in strikes. Various newspaper articles and statements by members of the government took the same line.

The death of the FDF [Front Démocratique des Francophones—Democratic Front of French-speaking people] activist* and the reaction to it

of public opinion was seized on to promote repressive measures. Papers like *Libre Belgique* commented on the Vranckx bill in extensive articles. *Le Soir* wrote openly that the target of the bill was not just the VMO but that "ten to fifteen organizations could be affected." At the same time the *Echo de la Bourse* thought aloud of "organized groups of subversive students and violent strike committees."

The government's first decisions after the death of Georgin already indicated a definite change of climate. The ban on pasting up posters between 10:00 p.m. and 7:00 a.m. broke a tradition. Now only the well-financed parties can carry on their campaigns. But we have seen fatal confrontations before, in previous campaigns. In 1958 a member of the CVP [Christelijke Volkspartij—Christian People's party] was killed; in 1965, a Communist party activist.

Such occurrences are always deplorable, and the most recent battle will not be the last example of the VMO's activity. This semifascist organization has already been carrying on such practices for seven years. But no new law was needed to ban the VMO. For that, the 1934 and 1936 laws are fully sufficient.

By equating groups "which tend to create a disturbance of the public order" with paramilitary organizations, however, the bourgeoisie substantially widens its area for maneuver. In this way it wants to broaden the attack that began with the laws on maintaining order and against strike pickets, in other words, against the free exercise of the right to strike.

We should not overlook the fact that with a law like the Vranckx bill, a government can ban all militant trade-union organizations. And, finally, once such a law is voted we do not know what government may use it and in what way. The interpretation

of the law is important here and the bill lends itself to all kinds of uses.

There are examples of the use of such laws. After May 1968 almost all the left groupings [in France] were banned on the basis of a similar statute. It was not the right-wing organizations that were the primary target but the organizations defending the interests of the working class. And whenever the relationship of forces is favorable to the bourgeoisie and its government, a serious defeat can be inflicted on the workers organizations by means of such laws, and a strong state can be established.

Under the pretext of defending democracy but with the aim of safeguarding the profits and the property of the capitalists, indignant public opinion is being exploited to forge new weapons against the workers movement. Only a powerful reaction by the unions, by the working masses and their organizations can block these attempts.

Disturbing the public order is a very elastic and vague concept. Doesn't laying off workers "disturb" the public order; or increasing taxes? Doesn't the display of power by the police and the private security forces of the administration at the University of Brussels "disturb" the public order?

No, it is always the struggle of the workers or students that disturbs the public order. It is this struggle that is the target of the Vranckx bill. All workers organizations now face the problem of defending their fundamental right to action, to strike, or to demonstrate.

No to the Vranckx bill.

No to the strong state.

Juvenile Crime Increase in Taiwan

Cases of juvenile delinquency in Taiwan have been increasing at a rate of 12 percent per year since 1963. Many crimes are overlooked by police when they are committed by gangs.

The most recent study of teen-age gangs in Taiwan—done in 1959—revealed that more than half the members were the children of government officials.

* The Walloon nationalist Georgin was murdered during the night of September 12-13 by right-wing thugs said to be members of the VMO [Vlaamse Militanten Orde

—a neofascist nationalist group]. Georgin had been pasting up election posters. —IP

Goldstucker's Letter to Czech Authorities

When Soviet troops crushed the movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Eduard Goldstücker, like many other Communists, left the country.

Goldstücker, who was a member of parliament and chairman of the Writers Union, complied with legal requirements by applying for and receiving a permit from the Czechoslovak government to reside in England, where he took a post as visiting professor of literature at Sussex University.

The Husák government is demanding that he return home or lose his Czechoslovak citizenship. Goldstücker has responded with an open letter printed in the October 2 issue of the *London Times Literary Supplement*.

Addressed to the "Minister of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic," Goldstücker's letter begins with a brief account of the events that led him to write his letter:

On April 3, 1970, he was formally notified that his request for permission to continue residing in Britain until the end of the current academic year had been refused. Sometime after that, he received "an invitation from the Czechoslovak Embassy in London to declare, as a citizen born in Slovakia and with permanent residence in Prague, my intentions regarding citizenship."

In his open letter, Goldstücker affirms his desire to retain his Czechoslovak citizenship. He protests, however, against the current propaganda campaign in the Prague press "whereby lies, distortions and fabrications are woven into fantastic charges" against him and against "so many comrades whom I have known for many years to be dedicated Communists."

The victims of the campaign, often falsely accused of crimes they did not commit, have not been permitted to reply to the attacks. Goldstücker continues:

"I am taking the opportunity provided by the present statement primarily to register in my own name and in the name of those who are unable to do so my emphatic pro-

test against this state of affairs, because

"1. in the circumstances now prevailing in our country, the citizen is deprived of a fundamental human right, a right guaranteed by law, to defend himself publicly against attacks on his good name;

"2. in the eyes of all right-thinking people at home and abroad the Communist movement and socialism are equated with falsehood, injustice and obscurantism;

"3. as in the 1950s, and with an inexcusable disregard of past experience, a pogrom-like atmosphere is created, innocent people are exposed to persecution merely for their views in the recent past, especially in 1968, on particular aspects of socialism in our country—views at variance with those now proclaimed to be the sole correct views;

"4. a heavy burden is thus placed upon future generations who, under extremely difficult conditions, will have to make good the damage wrought by the revival—after 1968!—of the methods used in the days of Beria, methods now threatening to undermine the confidence of the people in the Communist Party.

"Nothing can convince me that these shameful campaigns have anything in common with the interests of the working class, the Czech and Slovak nations, the international Communist movement or socialism. Nothing can convince me that they are not a symptom of a horrible perversion of socialist ideas, a manifestation of the utter contempt in which those responsible hold the working class and the public generally . . ."

Goldstücker reports that in earlier letters he had asked to be allowed to return and live in peace in Czechoslovakia "in retirement . . . even, if need be, under constant surveillance." He explains why he expected that such a condition might be imposed, by outlining his reasons for leaving Czechoslovakia after the Soviet invasion:

"When August 21, 1968, arrived I had abundant evidence that my name was high on the list of those selected for reprisals, and that my life even

was in danger. Before crossing the frontier of the Republic I had satisfied myself that, despite subsequent official denials, the Prime Minister on his return from his enforced visit to Moscow, had in fact addressed a special warning to those intellectuals who had been in the forefront of the democratic movement. Here I have in mind his suggestion that it might be well to disappear because at the time, no Czechoslovak authority could give any guarantee for their safety. . . ."

Goldstücker wrote to the Communist party presidium on May 15, 1969, asking if he should return home. The only answer ". . . came in the form of a violent attack on me in *Rudé Právo* [the organ of the Communist party] of May 28, from the pen of a colleague in your department, a colonel of State Security, whose charges of illegal conduct were based on typical fabrications. I protested to the Party leadership about this and tried through *Rudé Právo* to refute the author's charges, but in vain.

This incident ". . . showed me clearly that

"1. the slanderous, pogrom-like campaign against the pre-August supporters of democratization, especially the Communists among them, which had hitherto been conducted in foreign propaganda media, had now found its way into the central organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and therefore into all the mass media in the country;

"2. your Colonel was concerned with propaganda in favour of rehabilitation, not of the victims of the judicial crimes of the 1950s, but of their perpetrators. . . ."

"3. now, as was the case in those dark days [1950], there is no justice for the victim."

All signs, Goldstücker writes, "pointed to a return to the centralized, bureaucratic political system of twenty years ago . . ."

"A system of this kind—especially in the conditions prevailing in our country since 1968—can be introduced and maintained solely on the bayonets of an outsize apparatus of repression, invested with almost unlimited powers . . . It is in the nature of things that whenever the law acts as a hindrance to a system of this kind, the law is conveniently by-passed . . . moreover, the system becomes a breeding-ground for persecution, rang-

ing from character assassination and victimization to political trials in the style of the 1950s. It may well be that there will be no show trials (not because considerations of justice and humanity rule them out, but because, on the whole, those in high places feel that this weapon has now been discredited); nevertheless, much of the machinery for producing them has been restored—the slander campaigns, for instance, are pointers—and at any time the finger on the button can set it in motion."

With these considerations in mind, on September 15, 1969, Goldstücker applied for extension of his exit permit until the summer of 1970.

"But, as I later learnt, my endeavour was foredoomed from the start, because, long before I had made my application, my name had appeared on a list of twenty-eight comrades against whom a high-level decision had decreed that measures should be taken; in my case the reason given was that I had refused to return home. Since no one had requested me to return, this was not a true statement. But, having once been committed to paper on such high authority it had to be made true. (Incidentally, I first heard this phrase from the lips of Captain Kohoutek of State Security during my interrogation in 1952.) This task, evidently, fell to your department."

The Czechoslovak government was something less than subtle in making "true" its charge against Goldstücker. Early in 1970, he received a letter dated January 9 informing him that a decision had been reached in Prague on January 3 that he must return to the country *no later than December 31, 1969!*

Meanwhile, Goldstücker had been expelled from the Czech National Council without being officially informed of the fact. In April 1970 he was expelled from the Communist party. He learned of this action, also, only from newspaper reports.

Following the *ex post facto* demand for his return, Goldstücker submitted the request for permission to remain in England until the end of the academic year.

"The refusal of my application by your Department is, as I have said, dated March 26, yet on March 4 the journal *Tribuna* carried a slanderous attack on me, labelling me in its head-

line as an émigré. In short, the procedure outlined above clearly indicates that it had already been decided in the summer of 1969 to manoeuvre me into a position which I had no desire to occupy, that of an émigré."

The measures against him are typical of the use of the state power to enforce intellectual conformity:

"The [Czech National] Council . . . conscious of its power, permits no deviation from its decreed truth and is convinced that conflicts in the realm of ideas can be solved by other means. History, however, shows that the gag, the dungeon and the stake, and all similar means, are not arguments, and no new truth, flowing inevitably from living experience, has ever been permanently silenced in this manner. How sad to think that socialism, which once inscribed on its banners the resolve to change the social order in accordance with the established truth, should, in the land of Hus [Jan Hus—fourteenth century religious reformer], find itself degraded to the position of the Council of Constance. How sad to think that this land should, after twenty years of Communist Party rule, see the greatest persecution of Communists (excluding the massacres in Indonesia) of the past decade."

Goldstücker affirms that his experiences have not caused him to abandon socialism, that, on the contrary, he defends socialism against the Stalinized Communist party bureaucracy:

"Let me make it clear that when I speak of *truth* and *freedom* I use these words in the sense I discovered in my youth in the works of Marx and Lenin. . . . when the Beria terror penetrated to our country, the men at the head of my party and my nation, invoking the names of Marx and Lenin, dubbed me a criminal; they used their power to defame me, to impose a false identity upon me and to have my life history rewritten; all contrary to the truth, to the law and to the fundamentals of socialism. I escaped the gallows by a hairsbreadth.

"And now? You brand me as a heretic, once more the character assassins have been hired to change my identity and falsify my life history. And again you invoke Marx and Lenin. . . . For you, power is identified with truth; and now that your power is in conflict with established truth, you debase socialism in the eyes of the world; that being so, you have

no choice but to lie. No wonder, then, that in trying to justify what took place on August 21, 1968, and what is still taking place in our country, you are unable to advance a single argument capable of standing the test of socialist criticism. . . . Having jettisoned the weapons of the mind, you resort to lies, slander, intimidation and the gag."

One of the weapons against Goldstücker has been anti-Semitism:

"An almost unfailing ingredient in the scurrilous outpourings you have printed against me is a reference to my Jewish origin. In seeking the source of all I suffered in the early 1950s and am suffering again today, I find this circumstance has played a major part. In 1933, when I joined the Communist Party, there was no question in our movement of discrimination against Jews; in 1949 my Jewish birth was clearly the main reason for my name appearing on the notorious blacklist of Czechoslovak Communists, a list compiled by anonymous hands and despatched with Rákosi's signature to Prague with the demand that those named in it be treated as enemies of the Party and the State. Like the compilers of that list, the anonymous men of today who provide your propagandists with ammunition are pandering to the anti-Semitic prejudice of some backward sections of the population.

"No casuistry can erase this fact. You try to discredit me and cast doubt upon my loyalty because of my Jewish origin. . . . I am sure that good people at home, and they are the overwhelming majority, will not fall into the trap of anti-Semitism. To them I shall continue to feel responsible for my actions and I am sure I shall meet with understanding among them. Indeed, it is well to remember that, sooner or later, each of us will have to answer to our people."

Goldstücker concludes the letter with a rejection of the government's invitation to renounce his citizenship:

"And so, by your decision, I am living as a stranger in a foreign land, longing for home and hoping that one day I shall return. . . . It is my firm belief that I shall return home. Should I not live to see that day, my ashes will return, and my hope is that those who place them in my native soil will bear me no ill will."

Looking Back Over My Years with Peng Shu-tse

By Peng Pi-lan

II

[Continued from last week.]

Stalin did not have the least inkling of the meaning of the Canton coup carried out by Chiang Kai-shek on March 20, 1926. That was why he continued the policy of having the CCP collaborate with the Kuomintang and of giving assistance to Chiang. This paved the way for the butchery committed in the Shanghai coup of April 12. Even this massacre did not open Stalin's eyes to the facts; the tragedy taught him nothing.

Now he shifted to Wang Ching-wei, placing confidence in him instead of Chiang Kai-shek. "Collaboration with the Left Wing Kuomintang" replaced "Kuomintang-CCP collaboration."

The Fifth Congress of the CCP was held when this shift occurred, from the end of April to the beginning of May, 1927. The basic policies adopted by the congress remained as before inasmuch as Stalin's basic policy remained unchanged. The peasants were still restrained from demanding the land; the need to seek improvements in the workers' standard of living was ignored; above all, out of fear of damaging collaboration with the Left Wing Kuomintang, arming of the workers and peasants was rejected.

Stalin held that "Wuhan is the revolutionary center," and that naturally Wang's regime would solve the agrarian problem and improve the standard of living of the workers. Stalin's policy, however, paved the way for Wang Ching-wei, as the representative of the Left Wing Kuomintang, to purge the CCP.

At the time of the Fifth Congress, Trotsky proposed that the CCP, in order to establish its independence, leave the Kuomintang, and that soviets of the workers, peasants, and soldiers be organized in preparation to displace Wang's regime. Trotsky's proposals, which would have led to a showdown, were blocked by Stalin.

Stalin even withheld knowledge of them from the CCP out of fear that if the Chinese Communists became aware of the documents submitted by Trotsky, they would compare and weigh the two policies, with the chances being, in view of their recent experiences, that they would favor what Trotsky proposed. This in turn would possibly bring victory to the Chinese revolution, destroying Stalin's preeminence in the Communist party of the Soviet Union, an outcome intolerable to the reactionary, privileged Russian bureaucracy. Thus the second Chinese revolution was sacrificed for the sake of preserving the privileged position of the bureaucrats in Russia.

A fact worth noting in this respect is that Chu Ch'iu-pai came to Wuhan on a secret visit on the eve of the Fifth Congress. Without consulting the Central Standing Committee, he published a pamphlet entitled *The Problem of the Chinese Revolution*. It was directed mainly against

Peng Shu-tse's basic position in favor of "permanent revolution," but he also dealt with the schedule of the armed insurrection in Shanghai and the argument over the selection of members of the Shanghai provisional government after the victory.

Chu had already learned from certain representatives of the Comintern that Stalin had opened a furious attack against all of Trotsky's views, particularly his theory of "permanent revolution." Citing Peng's use of the words "permanent revolution," he said that this signified "copying Trotskyism and introducing it into China."

In point of fact, Peng did not know what was going on in Moscow but had come to his views on the Chinese revolution as a result of the lessons of the Russian revolution from February to October 1917 and as a result of his own experience in the Chinese revolution. He was aware, of course, that the theory went back to Marx.

Chu sought to pin the label of "Trotskyism" on Peng so as to destroy him and earn Stalin's appreciation. Although it appeared on the surface to be directed only against Peng Shu-tse, it was also aimed against Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Chu was seeking to kill two birds with one stone — have Peng excluded from leadership and Ch'en Tu-hsiu removed as general secretary of the CCP, thus opening up a vacancy which he could step into.

To promote this factional aim, he organized a small group and sought the patronage of certain Comintern representatives. The majority of the cadres, especially Roy, the representative of the Comintern, were very much against Chu's intrigue and intervened in the affair. Ch'en Tu-hsiu was reelected as general secretary, but Peng was excluded from the incoming Central Standing Committee.

In the period following the Fifth Congress, from about May to June, 1927, Peng stayed in Wuhan where he wrote a pamphlet *The Basic Problems of the Chinese Revolution* in which he set out to explain and justify the "excessive actions," as they were called, of the workers and peasants. During these days Peng met frequently with Ch'en Tu-hsiu to discuss the deteriorating situation.

I was sometimes there and can bear witness to the great perplexity they felt over the dilemma that faced them. They suffered deeply from the painful experience of discovering that the Comintern's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek had already proved bankrupt. As for the Comintern's current policy of supporting Wang Ching-wei, evidence was mounting that this, too, was taking the party into a blind alley.

Ch'en, as general secretary, had no choice but to carry out the policy decided on in Moscow. At the same time he was well aware that Wang's "Left Wing Kuomintang" was giving more and more support to the counterrevolutionary army generals against the CCP, and turning toward an attack against the mass movement of workers and peasants.

Once more, Ch'en proposed to withdraw from Wang's

Kuomintang so that the CCP could lead the movement independently. Again the Comintern rejected the proposal. In his disappointment over the leadership of the Comintern, Ch'en resigned shortly thereafter. (Chu Ch'iu-pai was put in as acting general secretary.) Almost immediately, Wang Ching-wei cracked down July 14, 1927, with his "Communist purge."

From now on, the second Chinese revolution met with failure and tragedy!

* * *

On the eve of the "Communist purge," Peng was sent to the North to serve as secretary of the "Northern Regional Committee." To renew contact with the workers and peasants, he set about working out a defensive policy and reorganizing the party in Peking, Tientsin, and other areas. This was the moment chosen by the Central Political Bureau, headed by Chu Ch'iu-pai, to order an armed insurrection in Peking and Tientsin.

What had happened? Following Wang's coup, the Comintern switched its policy on the Chinese revolution from extreme right opportunism to extreme left adventurism. The Central Committee of the CCP met August 7, 1927 (hence the so-called "August 7 Conference") for the principal purpose of absolving the Comintern of its responsibility for the defeat of the Chinese revolution and laying the blame on Ch'en Tu-hsui as the scapegoat. Chu Ch'iu-pai, who tended to follow blindly the adventurist policy of the Comintern, was chosen formally as the general secretary.

Disregarding the objective situation, Chu had already ordered the troops under Ho Lung and Yeh T'ing to engage in an armed rebellion. This started August 1, 1927, in Nan-ch'ang. Then came the so-called Autumn Harvest Rebellions in Hunan and Hupei . . .

Peng held that the Comintern's policy of jumping from the extreme right to the extreme left, was not only out of keeping with Marxism, but also lacked common sense. Although he could do nothing to change things, he discussed the situation with members of the Northern Regional Committee and a "delaying policy" was agreed on.

They clearly saw that Peking and Tientsin were completely under control of the reactionary warlords. Since neither a mass movement nor a mass organization existed, if they ordered party members and workers to engage in an artificial armed insurrection, the sole outcome would be the useless sacrifice of the lives of the cadres and militants. As a pretext for delaying, they argued that an armed insurrection takes time to prepare. However, Chu Ch'iu-pai and the Political Bureau believed that Peng was purposefully refusing to carry out the decision and dismissed him as secretary.

Ts'ai He-sheng was sent to replace him and to organize the Northern Bureau. He moved toward an armed insurrection in the most energetic way, but this had not even begun when more than sixty cadres were arrested in Peking and shot. This was the outcome of only attempting to carry out the Comintern's policy of armed insurrection in North China.

After being dismissed, Peng went back to Shanghai. This was in the days immediately following the failure of the Canton insurrection (staged December 11, 1927), when Stalin's adventurist policy was clearly an utter fail-

ure. In Shanghai and throughout the rest of the country, terror reigned. Virtually not a day passed without comrades being arrested and shot.

The CCP became increasingly dependent on the Comintern as the sole source of funds, and there was no alternative to this owing to the defeat of the revolution. Under Stalin's control, the Comintern was increasingly being used as a device to housebreak the CCP by backing the more pliable leaders and cadres.

Thus the bureaucrats, especially Chu Ch'iu-pai, utilized material means to advance their control. Those who demonstrated their tractability were assured of material help, which, to a certain extent, gained protection for them against danger. Those who dared to express doubts as to the effectiveness of the adventurist course, or to evidence dissatisfaction with Chu Ch'iu-pai's bureaucratic measures, faced great difficulties. They would inevitably find themselves out of a job and denied living expenses.

This was a deadly threat to cadres who had become professional revolutionists. Working wholeheartedly for the party, making this their way of life, they had severed ordinary social relations, often even with friends and relatives. They could expect help from nowhere. Under the white terror those known as Communists could in no circumstances so much as apply for a job. Even in journalistic or translating work they were compelled to use pseudonyms. The bureaucrats exploited this situation to tighten their control over the cadres.

Peng Shu-tse, our six-month-old daughter, and I underwent great dangers and suffered many hardships. Under the control of Chu Ch'iu-pai, the Central Committee would give Peng no work, although he was still a member of that body, even refusing to admit him to meetings. Out of fear that his opposition to adventurism and bureaucratism would affect other cadres, they wanted to isolate him.

They soon stopped his frugal living allowance, and Shu-tse was left with no other alternative but to make a living by translating books.

When we returned to Shanghai from Tientsin, Peng Shu-tse could once again meet with Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Ch'en was Peng's source of information on what had been going on in the CCP since Wang Ching-wei had launched his purge against the Communists. In August and September of 1927, Ch'en had written two letters to the Central Committee criticizing the adventurist course. Consequently, Peng and Ch'en found themselves in common agreement on their political positions.

Their criticisms of the Central Committee of the CCP and of the Comintern were, of course, reported back to Moscow by Chu Ch'iu-pai. As a result, just before the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which was held in Moscow in 1928, Stalin and Bukharin sent a telegram to Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse (the telegram was delivered personally by Chou En-lai to Ch'en's home), inviting them to attend the congress.

Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse had already lost hope and confidence in the Comintern, and, clearly understanding that the real aim was to "persuade" or "detain" them and thus eliminate their influence in the CCP, they politely but firmly declined the invitation.

* * *

In the spring of 1929, Peng Shu-tse had a long talk

with several students who had just returned from Moscow. From them he learned of the struggle of the Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, against the Stalinists. They told him about Trotsky's view on the problems of the Chinese revolution. These students also gave him two important documents written by Trotsky on the Chinese question: "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution"³ and "The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress."⁴

After studying these documents, Peng Shu-tse decided what political line he would take inside the Chinese Communist party; he would fight in support of the line adopted by the Trotskyist Left Opposition. That Peng so swiftly accepted Trotsky's program was by no means accidental. On the one hand he was grounded in Marxism and Leninism, and had a thought-out concept of the Chinese revolution. On the other hand he knew from personal experience why the revolution had failed and had seen with his own eyes the tragic results of Stalin's adventurist policy.

He was powerfully impressed upon reading how acutely Trotsky had criticized first the opportunist policies of Stalin and Bukharin during the rise of the Chinese revolution and then their adventurist course during its decline, and how Trotsky had advocated a defensive policy, calling for a National Assembly as a general slogan, to replace the hopeless adventurism. The accuracy of Trotsky's forecasts had been registered in blood.

Peng gave the two documents to Ch'en Tu-hsiu to read and study. The next day Ch'en came to our home to tell us that in his opinion Trotsky's criticisms of the policies of Stalin and Bukharin were completely justified. It was most urgent, he thought, in view of the current objective situation, to adopt a defensive policy centered around the slogan of calling for a National Assembly, replacing Stalin's adventurist policy.

The outcome of this common understanding and agreement was that Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse worked out a plan to bring together all the cadres in disagreement with the party's adventurist policy in order to discuss Trotsky's two documents and to organize a Left Opposition within the Chinese Communist party.

Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse each wrote a letter to the party's Central Committee, requesting that a discussion be opened to draw the necessary lessons from the defeat of the revolution and the results of the current policy. They asked that the party publish Trotsky's documents on the Chinese revolution so that they could be referred to in the discussion.

Our left oppositional work inside the party was very successful. Within two months we had assembled about fifty cadres and held a meeting that adopted the stand taken by Trotsky. A provisional central committee composed of three members (Ch'en, Peng, and Yin K'uan) was elected. The cadres, divided into many cells, met constantly to discuss problems and activities inside the party. We also published a periodical *The Proletariat* and a book consisting of Trotsky's main documents on the Chinese revolution.

3. Published in an English translation in *The Third International After Lenin* by Leon Trotsky. — IP

4. Published in an English translation in *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* by Leon Trotsky. — IP

In consequence of our activities both inside and outside the party, and the dissemination of the ideas expressed in the letters addressed by Ch'en and Peng to the center, the party was greatly shaken. The leadership of the party, under directives from the International, was compelled to expel us, one by one. The first to be singled out for expulsion were Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse. It was then the turn of Yin K'uan, Cheng Ch'ao-ling, myself, and other cadres. News of the expulsions was published in the party organ *Red Flag*.

However, the expulsions, because of their nature, did not resolve the crisis in the party, but instead aggravated the shaky situation, causing a number of cadres to join us. On December 15, 1929, eighty-one outstanding cadres signed their names to the "Declaration of the Left Opposition." In the history of the Chinese Communist party, this marked the most intense struggle and division between Stalinism and Trotskyism. Not only did it shake the Chinese Communist party; it drew the attention of Chinese society as a whole and had repercussions in the Communist parties throughout the world.

A number of seasoned cadres, who had experienced the consequences of the defeat of the revolution and the bankruptcy of the policy of adventurism and who had suffered from the arbitrariness of the bureaucracy, yet had remained in the party, now indicated their sympathy for the Left Opposition as they observed their cofighters in the revolution waging a brave and resolute struggle against the party leadership under the guidance of Ch'en and Peng on the basis of the program of Trotsky.

These comrades were called "conciliators" in the party since they sought to bring about a conciliation between those following the party line and the group led by Ch'en Tu-hsiu. (Liu Shao-chi, now the chairman of the People's Republic of China,⁵ also belonged to the "conciliators," and was sent to Moscow because of this.) According to Chen Shao-yu, who was one hundred percent for the line of the International (he later changed his name to Wang Ming), "the conciliators suggested that the Party welcome back Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse, who had been expelled because of their opposition to the line adopted at the Sixth Congress of the Party."⁶ These few words indicate the impact of the Left Opposition on the party.

* * *

While Ch'en and Peng were forming the Left Opposition in China, some students who had recently returned from Moscow were also organizing Trotskyist groups and publishing their own periodicals. In these publications they not only quarreled among themselves, they also attacked Ch'en and Peng, whom they considered to be responsible for the past opportunistic policy. In their eyes, only the younger comrades, who had not participated in the revolu-

5. Five years ago, when Peng Pi-lan wrote this account, Liu Shao-chi was still the chairman, having been reelected January 3, 1965. Mao ousted him during the purge of the "cultural revolution" on charges reminiscent of those used by Stalin during the great purges of the thirties in the Soviet Union against his political opponents. — IP

6. See Chen Shao-yu: "For More Bolshevization of the Party."

tion, and who, therefore, had not caused it to fail, were worthy of being called Trotskyists.

This sectarian attitude was exploited by the Stalinist leadership of the party in attacks against Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse. The "conciliators," noting the confusion and divergent views in the Left Opposition, gradually lost their sympathy for Trotskyism.

This was a heavy blow to the newly born Trotskyist movement in China. Later, when Trotsky heard about the confusion, he suggested that the various Trotskyist groupings unite. The unification took place at a conference held in May 1931. The united Trotskyist movement was called the Communist League of China.

Right after the unification, a number of leading comrades were arrested—a traitor had passed information to the military authorities in Shanghai. Shu-tse, I, and our daughter, then four years old, escaped only several hours before the police raided our home and confiscated all our belongings—books, documents, and clothes. This loss intensified our sufferings and difficulties in the years ahead.

Ch'en Tu-hsiu was not arrested on this occasion, since his address was not known to the turncoat.

It was a terrible situation, since the traitors to the party worked hand in hand with Chiang Kai-shek's agents. The agents waited at entrances to parks, theaters, department stores, major street crossings. If a comrade met one of the traitors, he would be followed and arrested by the plainclothesmen. His fate was then sealed.

* * *

Although our Left Opposition suffered heavy losses—demoralized comrades even left the movement—the objective situation changed as a result of the Japanese imperialist invasion of Manchuria on September 18, 1931, and of Shanghai on January 28, 1932, giving us new impetus. The invasions gave rise to a big anti-Japanese imperialist movement which, in turn, scored the nonresistance of the Kuomintang government. During the mass anti-Japanese and anti-Kuomintang movement, the Communist League of China published, for the first time since its formation, an open weekly periodical, *Warm Tide*. It called for arming the masses against Japanese imperialism.

Our agitation and propaganda work had great influence among the students and working masses, and we met with an especially broad response among the lower levels of the party cadres.

Wang Ming, with Moscow's support, now ousted Li Li-san and Chu Ch'iu-pai from leadership of the Chinese Communist party, assuming leadership himself. During his tenure, he went to a bizarre extreme in his sectarian attitude toward the anti-Japanese movement and later towards the 19th Route Army, then under the leadership of the left wing of the Kuomintang. In *Red Flag*, the official party organ, he advocated supporting the Red Army in its fight against the Japanese in the countryside, but he opposed arming the masses and backing the 19th Route Army in its struggle against the Japanese. That was on the political side. Organizationally he was just as bad. He expelled a great number of activists—the "conciliators" led by Ho Meng Hsing—causing them to lose their lives. In one instance, cut off from financial support from the party and unable to rent a safer place

to meet, some twenty cadres gathered in a small room in a poor hotel. They were arrested and shot. Many cadres left the party, and the disintegrating organization became a big field of recruitment for the Trotskyist movement.

Many rank-and-file cadres who read the documents of Trotsky and the anti-Japanese articles and criticisms of Stalin's policies published in *Warm Tide* got in touch with us. After discussing with Peng Shu-tse, they joined the Trotskyist movement. Several dozen important industrial party cells came over to us, including the postal, power-plant, and textile workers. These cells totaled half the membership of the Chinese Communist party in Shanghai. The Left Opposition was thus able to lead the workers movement in Shanghai in several important strikes that met with relative success. The Trotskyist movement simultaneously made fresh headway in Peking, Wuhan, Nanking, Kwantung, and Hong Kong.

The Trotskyist movement likewise registered progress in expanding the publication of socialist literature. First of all, we put out a magazine called *The Moving Force*. This was printed by a left-wing publishing house. Peng edited it and contributed articles on the nature of Chinese society and on philosophical and political problems which he dealt with from the Trotskyist standpoint.

The magazine had considerable influence among intellectuals and students. Later it was taken over by another editor and renamed *Reader's Magazine*. However, Peng Shu-tse encouraged continued contributions by Trotskyists to the magazine and they went on taking up the question of the nature of Chinese society.

The Stalinists maintained that China was predominantly feudal. This touched off a big controversy between the Trotskyists and Stalinists on the subject and related theoretical questions having to do with the nature of the Chinese revolution.

The Trotskyist viewpoint, which was based on the theory of permanent revolution, gained the upper hand in this controversy. As a result our influence increased in the left. In addition we translated into Chinese various works by Marx and Lenin dealing with social science and philosophy and the first part of Trotsky's autobiography. These books were brought out by some left-wing publishers who were generally accessible to us.

As for us personally, Peng devoted all his time and energy to the movement, neglecting our sole means of gaining a livelihood—translating books—and since I could not find a job owing to the witch-hunt kept up by the Chiang Kai-shek government, our resources touched bottom. I frequently visited the pawnbroker, and sometimes Peng had nothing but a bun for sustenance throughout a whole day of meetings or discussions with comrades. He was often obliged to walk long distances because he had no money with which to buy a tram ticket. Several years passed, working in the movement in this fashion.

It was then that misfortune befell the harvest our movement was beginning to reap. On October 15, 1932, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Peng Shu-tse, and eight other comrades were arrested!

The blow to our movement was extremely heavy, and this disaster was shortly to be followed by another. All the important cadres who had joined us from the Chinese Communist party were arrested. As a result, nearly all

of the workers' groups were broken up. Our contacts with the workers thus came to an end.

Those intellectuals that escaped arrest became very demoralized, many resigning and leaving the movement.

Our forces were reduced to a few cadres faced with stagnation and isolation, a situation that was to endure for several years.

[To be continued.]

REVIEWS

The Autobiography of Robert Havemann

By Allen Myers

"Stalinism has no new goals. It is blinded by capitalism. It lives on the illusion of 'peaceful coexistence' with capitalism, on the lying slogan of peaceful competition — a 'competition' in which Stalinist pseudosocialism lamely hobbles along capitalism's beaten paths. That is its betrayal of the revolution."

* * *

"Our historic task is the completion of the socialist revolution. Each year that we delay gives the capitalist world a new breathing spell and new opportunities to make its position more secure. And once it is firmly established, this world will lead us into the barbarism of which Marx warned." — Professor Robert Havemann.

Robert Havemann is not the first, nor will he be the last, East European Communist to announce his disillusionment with Stalinism and his intention to fight for socialist democracy in the workers states. He is, however, one of the most prominent.

A Communist all his adult life, Havemann was sentenced to death by the Nazis for his work in the underground, was a member of the People's Congress that founded the German Democratic Republic, and served as a delegate in its parliament for fourteen years.

As one of East Germany's top scientists, he was elected to the Academy of Sciences (on the same day he was expelled from the Communist party!) and he has been personally decorated for his "services to the state" by Walter Ulbricht — who also defended Havemann in his early disputes with the bureaucracy.

Since Havemann was himself a part of the bureaucracy, and by his own



ROBERT HAVEMANN

admission a convinced Stalinist, his break with the past is an indication of the strength of the forces propelling the workers states toward socialist democracy.

Havemann has used the retirement imposed on him since 1966 by the SED [Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands — Socialist Unity party of Germany, the East German Communist party] to write his autobiography. Like many opposition writings in Eastern Europe, it eventually found its way to the West, and it has now been published in West Germany.

Excerpts from the autobiography, along with an interview, were published in the September 28, October 5, and October 12 issues of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*.

Although Havemann has at times criticized the SED as much from the right as from the left, he has never

gone the way of the Yugoslav Milovan Djilas and renounced his communist beliefs.

Stalinism is not "an inevitable product of socialism," he told the *Spiegel* interviewer:

"Of course, Stalinism has developed on the basis of objective historical laws. But historical laws — and natural laws as well — do not mean that real natural and social processes take place with absolute, metaphysical necessity . . . When we speak of laws, we are only expressing what is possible under given circumstances. There are always several, often quite varied possibilities. Fascism was only one of several alternatives; it was not an inevitable necessity in the course of German history.

"The same is true of Stalinism. Its historic causes were primarily the political and economic backwardness of czarist Russia, a country that was far from ripe for socialist revolution. The more developed a country is technically and economically, the more its productive forces have unfolded, the smaller is the possibility of the development of Stalinism. The socialist states that are highly developed industrially, especially the USSR, are today overripe for the final defeat of the last traces of Stalinism. The Stalinist structure in these countries has become a hindrance to economic development."

The beginning of Havemann's evolution away from Stalinism coincided with the 1956 congress of the Soviet Communist party, at which Khrushchev made his famous attack on Stalin:

"The change in my views began after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU [Communist party of the Soviet Union]. . . . I began to understand

what Stalinism is and also the degree to which I was enmeshed in it myself."

But although Havemann began to break with Stalinism in 1956, it was not until 1964 that his views crossed the border line considered permissible by the SED. In March of that year he was expelled from the party and fired from his professorship at Humboldt University. The cause, although not the immediate pretext, for the action against him was a series of lectures entitled "Scientific Aspects of Philosophical Problems" in which he attacked the dogmatic control of scientific thought and called for greater freedom of expression.

Then in December 1965, Havemann published in *Der Spiegel* an article calling for the legalization of the KPD [Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands — Communist Party of Germany] in West Germany.

The article created a stir in both German states less because of the question of legalizing the KPD than because of other proposals Havemann put forward. These included greater democracy in both the KPD and SED; but these positive demands were balanced by an essentially Social Democratic view on other questions. Thus, for example, he called on the KPD to free itself "from the odium of being a party of radical revolution," and at one point he even reduced the question of socialism or capitalism in Germany to a matter to be decided by elections. *Die Internationale*, the magazine of the German section of the Fourth International, commented that it had become typical of oppositionists in the bureaucracies of the workers states to identify with the most revisionist currents in the Communist parties of the West.

In the following years, however, Havemann shifted toward the left. The democratization movement in Czechoslovakia seems to have played a major role in this. He said of it:

"1968 was the year of great hopes and bitter disappointments. In the CSSR [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic] it was demonstrated that socialism and freedom are compatible — even more: that without freedom no true socialism is possible; without socialism, no true freedom. That is the irrefutable conclusion from the eight months of free socialist democracy in the CSSR from January to August 21, 1968."

Havemann also recognized the profound international consequences of the events in Czechoslovakia:

"The international effect of democratic socialism in the CSSR was powerful. It struck not only the revolutionary left and the Communist parties, but also progressive sectors of the middle classes. It played an essential part in the uprising of the French masses in May 1968, which nearly led to a revolution."

Immediately following the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August, Havemann's two sons were arrested for the "crime" of writing the name "Dubcek" on walls in East Berlin. Havemann was duly interrogated by the political police about his sons' behavior. At the conclusion of the interrogation, the police asked Havemann if he wished to add anything to the record.

"A sentence came to mind from the resolution of the Chinese Communist party at the beginning of the cultural revolution. It stated that the majority must always bear in mind that the minority could be right. I said, 'The young people, my sons and many others, were a minority. But could it not be that they were right instead of you? In any case, in a socialist country it ought to be impossible to put someone on trial for something like this.'

"'Would you like that written in the record of the interrogation?'"

"'Yes, but I want to put it in the text in my own words.'

"I wrote that the party leadership, no matter how convinced of the correctness of their decisions, ought not to demand from a group of young people more wisdom than from the majority of the Communists of Europe."

Havemann was referring, of course, to the fact that many Communist parties officially condemned the invasion. Havemann typically places a great deal of emphasis on the resolutions and official positions of the various Communist parties. This is hardly surprising from someone of his background, but it requires further explanation, for it reveals the chief weak spot in his views.

It will have been noted that Havemann's explanation of Stalinism as a historically conditioned phenomenon bears some resemblance to Trotsky's view that the development of the Soviet bureaucracy reflected the pressure of

imperialism on the isolated workers state. We know that Havemann had at least a secondhand exposure to this analysis: one of the books confiscated during a raid on his home in 1968 was Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky.

Unfortunately, Havemann's autobiography — or at least the excerpts published in *Der Spiegel* — contains no explicit reference to Trotsky or his views. There is, however, one other passage that could be said to indicate that Havemann is aware of and accepts Trotsky's analysis to some extent. During one of his numerous interviews with the political police, the following exchange took place:

Havemann: "At that time I was a Stalinist myself."

Police: "What does that word mean to you?"

Havemann: "At that time, it didn't mean anything to me. As far as I was concerned, the word Stalinism belonged to the arsenal of anticommunists."

Police: "And it still does today!"

Havemann: "No; that changed with the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet CP. And even before the Twentieth Congress, *there were good Communists who had the right to use the word, because they understood what Stalinism is*. But anyway, the word Stalinism is misleading because it creates the impression that Stalin was the cause of all the evil. This manner of thinking contradicts the most elementary observations of Marxism. And the term 'period of the personality cult' is still more misleading." (Emphasis added.)

But although Havemann recognizes Stalinism as a historical phenomenon — i.e., as a reflection in the final analysis of the pressures of imperialism — he fails to see its social roots in the development of a bureaucratic caste concerned about maintaining special privileges amidst universal poverty. For him, Stalinism is reduced to an intellectual error. Thus even an action like the invasion of Czechoslovakia is a *mistake* on the part of the leadership:

"The risk of completing the second step [i.e., democratizing the workers states] seems so huge that even when one party or people actually succeeds in taking it, all the others who have not yet taken the step feel themselves threatened by counterrevolution.

"Those who intervened did so not

only because they felt their own internal security threatened, but also because *they really believed the counter-revolution was at work in the CSSR.* To their *great astonishment*, those who had rushed to the rescue arrived in a country where peace and order reigned and where the Communist party enjoyed more authority among the entire people than in any other place on earth." (Emphasis added.)

This view of Stalinism, which leaves out its material base, leads Havemann to both ultraleft and right-wing conclusions simultaneously.

On the one hand, in addition to the Social Democratic ideas mentioned above, Havemann appears to favor a Titoist organization of the economy, with each factory operating as a cooperative in competition with the others:

"The workers themselves should determine how the profit of the business will be distributed: how much should be directed to the renewal, completion, and broadening of the productive facilities, to the introduction of new technology and the broadening or specialization of the product created, what sum should be expended for social uses and cultural works, and how much should be divided among the workers for their personal needs."

On the other hand, he sometimes confuses Stalinism's counterrevolutionary course with bourgeois counterrevolution itself:

"Stalinism is the true counterrevolution because it halts the revolution half way to its goal and erects a system of repression and bureaucratic rule."

Havemann sometimes makes his meaning even clearer by speaking as though capitalism had been restored in Eastern Europe:

"The semirevolution [i.e., the present situation in the workers states] can be completed only when the workers win full control over the means of production and the product they create. The workers must become master in place of the capitalist."

But since the "counterrevolution" of Stalinism is a matter of ideas in the heads of individual Communists, Havemann maintains faith that those ideas can be changed. The logical outcome of this is the view that the Stalinized Communist parties can be self-reformed into revolutionary organizations. The significant events leading toward socialist democracy are not the uprising of the German workers in 1953—which Havemann condemns as a "counterrevolutionary whirlpool"—or the Hungarian revolution of 1956, but the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the "Prague spring," the latter meaning the changes in the Czechoslovak CP rather than the mass pressures which produced them.

Havemann's defects and inconsistencies should not, however, obscure the fact that his evolution is also a product of the crisis of Stalinism. His search for socialist democracy, his refusal to be satisfied, even as a member of the bureaucracy, with the bureaucratic justification of Stalinist practices, could only occur in a society in which the masses have begun to express their dissatisfaction with the *status quo*. Havemann writes of the prevalent attitude in East Germany:

"I see around me today many who have lost all hope that there is still a way out of our present situation. I also see many, especially among the youth, who believe that the revolution has completely miscarried in the socialist states, but who hope for the victory of socialism in the great capitalist centers. And I see the radical left, who call on Mao Tse-tung. They care nothing for the entire rotten Western world, whether it calls itself capitalist or socialist."

"I myself still believe that the socialist states, including the DDR, have not yet finally lost the way to the future. The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU and the Prague spring are the two great historical events that have reconfirmed this conviction for me."

It remains for the younger generation in the workers states, free of the burden of Havemann's past, to win the socialist democracy he longs for.

Documents

Revolutionary Program for West German Students

[We reprint below the program of the Revolutionär-Kommunistische Jugend (RKJ—Revolutionary Communist Youth) in recent elections to the student parliament at the University of Mannheim. We have translated it from Volume III, Number 13, of *Was Tun*, which is published by the RKJ and the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International).]

* * *

The social explosiveness of our times derives from the economic contradictions of capitalism. These con-

tradictions are rooted in the capitalist need to forcibly hold back all further progress of the world revolution. Imperialism's effort to maintain its relations of exploitation and oppression is the chief factor in the radicalization of youth in the capitalist countries.

Students are the social group which up until now has been the most strongly moved by this process, and which, because of its growing social weight and political awareness, has achieved a greater political importance. The students do not directly mirror the interests of the classes from which they come or to which they belong by their prospective professions. They reflect instead the contradictions of the entire

society, the present crisis of the capitalist world system.

The radical student movement has shown the ability in specific situations to serve as a transmission belt for the hastened development of political consciousness among other social layers of the same generation. In other countries (France, Pakistan, Mexico, Japan) it has unleashed mass actions of the entire working class.

Although the bourgeoisie and its parrots in circles of the working-class bureaucracy attempt to play down the student movement as a "conflict between generations" and "generation gap" or symbolic "patricide," in reality the movement's motive forces are not

generation problems. Rather, they mirror the class conflicts of our time.

The political character of the youth radicalization is rooted on the one hand in the crisis of imperialism and on the other hand in the related crisis of Stalinism and Social Democracy. Although the interlocking crisis of imperialism and of the historically outdated leaderships of the working class have created the political bases for the student radicalization, they do not suffice to explain the social weight of the present student movement.

The growth of this weight derives from the fundamental changes taking place in the realm of education under the impetus of the scientific and technological progress of the "third industrial revolution."

The increase of specialized knowledge and the rise in the level of expertise result in a growing proletarianization of white-collar employees and the traditional intelligentsia. The number of students has increased explosively. Between 1950 and 1964 their number in the world more than doubled.

Because of this, the capitalist university has been plunged into a crisis which can be overcome only through a revolutionary change in the social order.

The social layers within the student body have lost their earlier meaning. The academic diploma no longer automatically means the blessed future of a government functionary, businessman, or professional. The great majority of the more than 300,000 students of West Germany no longer look forward to "independence" as a professional perspective. Nor are they candidates for the "officer positions" of the bourgeoisie. They will pass their professional lives in dependent work, as employees with a special skill.

The bourgeois world needs no more ideologists. It long ago put direct manipulation in place of preaching its ideals.

The continuation of capitalist society can no longer be rationally justified. The crisis of the superstructure becomes visible as the crisis of superstructural professions. Under these conditions the majority of college graduates have nothing to sell but their skilled labor-power. They have no prospect of breaking out of the condition of dependent employees.

As future "experts," they are hounded by worries about problems of their employment: In all professional branches

with precisely outlined specialties, being a future specialist means at the same time being in the future unemployed and subordinated to the conditions of chronic cyclical crises.

The students find themselves in the center of a contradiction which they seek to overcome but which they cannot solve because it concerns the basic contradictions of capitalist production relations, namely, the contradiction between the development of the productive forces and the maintenance of the production relations. Precisely this contradiction touches the university, which is forced to serve two ends simultaneously: on the one hand, to promote the development of the productive forces through the universal raising of qualifications, which means an increase in the social costs of education; on the other hand, to maintain the relations of production including specialization in the individual disciplines and the recognition of private profit.

The bourgeoisie everywhere seeks to meet this contradiction with "reforms" which make the crisis of the university eternal.

For a University Which Serves the Class Struggle—For a Red University!

● The university reformists believe that students should concern themselves with their own problems, such as regulations for exams, diplomas, quality of instruction, housing and living conditions, etc.

They see these questions in isolation from the overall crisis of capitalism.

● The "ultralefts" believe that the student body should be completely turned aside from the university; student activists should preferably go to the factory gates and into the cities to distribute leaflets proclaiming the necessity of the revolution.

The Maoists summarize this in the slogan "serve the people."

● Both orientations are sterile. To be effective, the revolutionary vanguard must include in its politics the goals of the university struggle and at the same time go beyond these goals and connect the struggle of the students with the needs of the class struggle. The two cannot be separated from each other, but form a strategic unity. This unity is forged in the revolutionary vanguard organization. Because the crisis of the university is based in

the contradiction of the capitalist system, there are no "autonomous" student demands to defend.

The wavering of the student movement between reformism and ultraleftism can be ended only by the action of the revolutionary organization.

● The "Red University" means that the university is converted from a factory producing robots into an arena for mobilizing the students in struggle to totally transform society.

● The "Red University" includes resistance against the teachings of bourgeois ideology which present themselves in the fields of sociology, philosophy, economy, psychology, etc. The prestige and authority of the capitalist university must be defeated on their own theoretical ground.

● The "Red University" means entering the struggle for freedom in close alliance with the oppressed classes and their organizations, in order to become for them a source of information, support, and explanation.

● The "Red University" includes the struggle for "student control" over teaching (content and form of education, etc.) and research (openness of financing, disclosure of research goals, etc.), which remains urgent following the shattering of the "free area" concept originally propagated by SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—German Socialist Student Federation]. But every demand of this sort, which is presented for its own sake and in isolation from the total process of class struggle, leads to reformism.

● The "Red University" is no slogan for a day. It is a goal of struggle which is to be defined in concrete slogans which correspond to the given situation.

● It is not an institution which can be compared to the bourgeois university. It is a movement of struggle leading the students against the system as a permanent *force de frappe* ["striking force"].

● The "Red University" is not a concept of higher education, but a revolutionary tactic in the schools as part of an overall strategy: a strategy for mobilizing and organizing radicalized youth for battle against the capitalist system.

The basis of their mobilization is the struggle against the regimentation of youth, which has an explosive character in the entire realm of professional education (teaching, school, study),

but which also embraces other areas such as housing, transportation, juvenile care, sexual oppression, repressive organization of leisure time, and conscription into the army.

● In its own field, higher education, the "Red University" is expressed in demands which connect the conditions and needs of students with social goals of struggle:

Abolish Educational Privileges!

● Higher education for every applicant. Open the colleges to everyone—not just candidates for matriculation exams, but all students, apprentices, and workers.

● For the right of all students to use the facilities of the university for discussions with apprentices, high-school students, and workers.

Student Control Over Teaching and Research!

● Election and immediate recall by students of all university teachers.

● Content and form of teaching arrangements to be determined by the students themselves.

● Abolish written examinations in all departments; in their place, individual or group reports on themes determined or chosen by the students.

● Replace oral and written final examinations by discussions of themes determined by the students themselves.

● Absolute right of veto by students over tests at all levels.

● Separate the university and industry; disclose all connections between university administrative bodies and industry.

● Separate the university and the military.

● Abolish secret research for the government and the military.

● Disclose all research goals and the source of research funds.

● Student veto right over research contracts from industry and the military.

Entire Cost of Education and Research to be Borne by the State!

● Annual subsidies for all students according to their needs, automatically adjusted to price increases.

● No charge for transportation and a housing guarantee for all students.

● Guaranteed employment for all those leaving school.

Absolute Autonomy of the University!

● No right for ministers of education and the federal government to interfere in the affairs of the university.

● No police on campus.

● Dissolve the political police and the stand-by police, which represent a continual threat to the political struggle not only of the students, but also of the working class.

● Lift restrictions—which are consciously directed against socialist activities—on use of student-body funds.

Dissolve all bodies in which students "participate" as a minority. In their place:

Student Control over Teaching and Research!

Instead of the fragmentation of student representation on various levels and in various departments: *A Unified Student Representation!*

At the departmental level: autonomous associations instead of "participating" student representatives at department and faculty levels.

The student movement cannot accomplish its goals by itself. This requires the mobilization of the working class against the system. Therefore work in the university is not an end in itself; the goal is reached through the contribution which the movement makes to the construction and strengthening of the revolutionary organization which can lead the working class to victory.

Therefore the struggle for the "Red University" has three focal points:

● *Support for Workers' Struggles.*

● *Support for Anti-Imperialist Struggles.*

● *Struggle Against Regimentation.*

The specific role of socialist activity in the university must be determined on the basis of the fundamental orientation of the RKJ toward all areas of social life important for the functioning of capitalist society. The experience of the student movement is unambiguous: since there are no "autonomous" student interests to defend, there can be no purely student strategy in the university. A student organization directed specifically to that milieu cannot by itself produce an answer to the contradictions of the university, which are rooted in the capitalist system. That means that the student movement can have no political and programmatic autonomy relative to the workers movement.

Only the vanguard organization, which dialectically unites the struggles in the various social sectors into a revolutionary strategy, can develop an adequate revolutionary strategy for each of these spheres.

Practical Plaudits

It seems that the great rounds of applause that greeted speakers at a recent conference of the British Conservative party in Blackpool were sparked by something other than enthusiasm for the oratory. The October 11 London *Sunday Times* reported:

"It was all a sinister plot. Girls helping the verbatim shorthand writers kept a close eye on their colleagues to make sure they were not getting too far behind in their note taking. If they lagged behind, the girls would choose an appropriate moment and deliberately start off a ripple of clapping."

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