

## Peking Gains on Diplomatic Front

### Bolivia:

## The Political Crisis and Torres' Regime

### Canada:

## Why Trudeau Invoked War Measures Act

## Trotskyists Gain in U.S. Elections

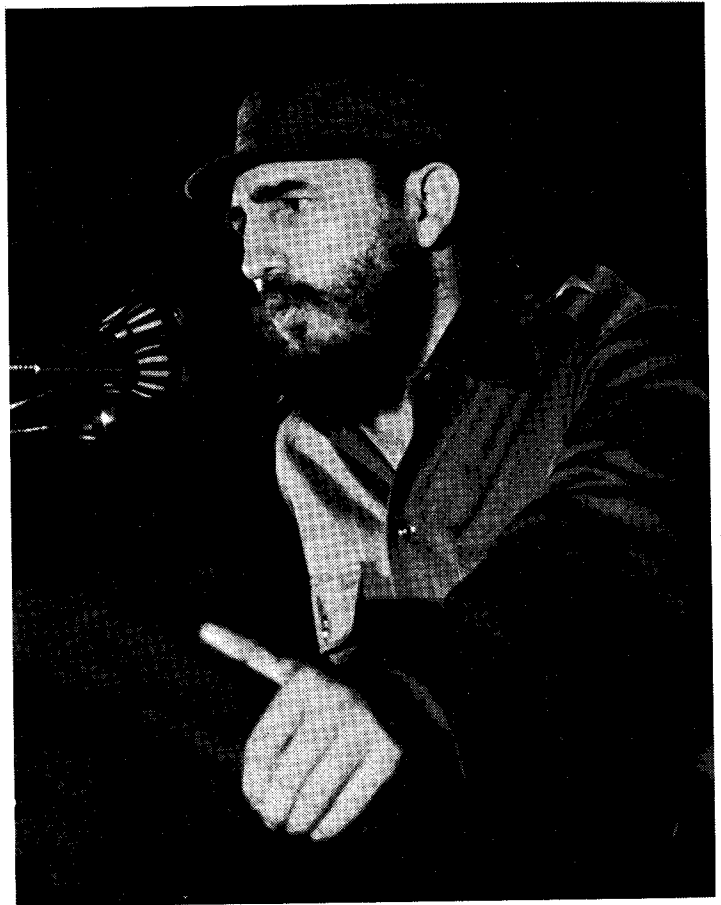


Photo by Prensa Latina

FIDEL CASTRO: Revolutionary leader chalks up important victory against U.S. "quarantine" when Chile resumes diplomatic relations with Cuban government. See page 1004.

### LEON TROTSKY — First Time in English:

## How Did Stalin Defeat the Opposition?

# It's the Water

A number of people in the town of Villalier in the south of France have recently fallen ill with a mysterious sickness. The November 6 *Le Monde* reported that the malady was really very simple: arsenic.

It seems that the waters of the Aude river and its tributary, the Orbiel, are heavily polluted with the poisonous gray chemical.

The legal maximum for arsenic under French law is .05 milligrams per liter. Mayor Gibert of Villalier admitted to *Le Monde* that arsenic levels had been as high as .20 milligrams per liter for at least four years. In recent months, however, the level in drinking water has risen sharply to 2.45 milligrams in water from the Aude and to 12.00 milligrams in the Orbiel.

The source of the pollution is no secret. A plant upstream from Villalier discharges arsenic-laden wastes into the Orbiel.

It is believed that the river water seeps into the underground water table that is tapped by Villalier's wells.

## Germ War Stocks Continued

With great fanfare, President Nixon announced November 25, 1969, that the United States was renouncing germ warfare and that all existing biological weapons would be destroyed.

Nearly a year later, germ warfare stockpiles have not been reduced and the administration is still spending millions of dollars on biological warfare weapons, Robert M. Smith reported in the November 10 *New York Times*.

In the last fiscal year, appropriations for germ warfare totaled \$21,900,000. The amount this year is \$21,100,000. The Pentagon claims that the appropriation is entirely for "defensive equipment." Funds for "biological research," now supposedly only for "defense," have remained at \$7,600,000—the same figure as in 1969, when research admittedly included offensive germ warfare weapons.

Smith noted that agents designed to cause tularemia, O fever, anthrax, and Venezuelan equine encephalitis are still stored in large quantities at Pine Bluff Arsenal in Arkansas, as are 45,000 poison bullets designed for purposes of assassination.

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Intercontinental Press, Post Office Box 635, Madison Square Station, N.Y. 10010.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

MANAGING EDITOR: Les Evans.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Gerry Foley, Allen Myers, George Saunders.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein, Steven Warshell, Jack Wood.

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PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 95 rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin, Paris 10, France.

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# Is Nixon 'Playing an Alternative China Game'?

By Les Evans

The addition of Rome to the list of capitals that have opened diplomatic relations with Peking gave a big boost to the efforts of the People's Republic of China to win recognition as the only legal government of China, and to gain the seat that has been occupied by the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations.

The November 6 announcement followed the recognition of China by Canada on October 13. Belgium, Austria, and Chile are expected to take similar action shortly.

Last year the United Nations General Assembly voted 56 to 48 to continue to exclude Peking from membership. The current debate is expected by most observers to end in a closer vote, with the strong possibility of a majority for China and against the U.S.-backed resolution for exclusion. In the latter case, Washington would be able to keep Peking from taking its rightful seat only by the parliamentary ruse of declaring the issue an "important question," requiring two-thirds approval for adoption. Even this "blocking third" is not expected to survive many more sessions.

On the face of it, Nixon has already suffered a severe political setback in his efforts to maintain the isolation of Mao's China. Washington officials have begun dropping hints to the press that they are preparing to roll with the punch by shifting to a "two China" policy, eventually withdrawing their objections to the seating of the Peking regime on the condition that Generalissimo Chiang be allowed to also keep a seat for his "Republic of China." Inasmuch as both Chiang and Mao have repeatedly rejected such a formula, any prospect for having it adopted would require a shift in both Taipei and Peking.

There are indications, however, that Nixon is not as unhappy as he makes out to be at the prospect of China's growing diplomatic ties and prospective UN membership. It seems unlikely, for example, that such a stalwart American ally as Canada would rec-

ognize China if they expected serious opposition from Washington.

Nixon has avoided spelling out his China policy in an unambiguous way. He seems to have deliberately left the door open for the interpretation that he is prepared to sanction some diplomatic concessions to Peking. During the opening debate on the China question in the UN General Assembly November 12, the U.S. spokesman, Christopher H. Phillips, "refrained from saying anything that could be construed as simply an argument against the admission of Peking," according to the November 13 *New York Times*. Phillips did not reiterate any of the U.S. statements made last year as to why Peking should not be admitted; instead he argued only against the exclusion of Taiwan.

The November 13 *Washington Post* reported: "U.S. sources confirmed that the speech represented a decision in Washington to modify the presentation."

The following day, however, White House press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler restated the American government's position of the last twenty years:

"We are opposed to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations." But the *New York Times* noted "some ambiguity" in Ziegler's comments when at a later point in his statement he qualified his formulation, saying Washington was "opposed to the admission of Communist China at the expense of the expulsion of Nationalist China." (Emphasis added.)

The administration's tone has leaned clearly on the conciliatory side. The November 7 *New York Times* reported:

"Privately, United States officials said that the prospects of defeating the resolution [in the UN for the recognition of China] this year were becoming 'increasingly chancey' but that they expected to be able to hold the line by a narrow margin. . . .

"The emphasis in the future, the of-

ficials said, would be in preventing the expulsion of Taiwan rather than blocking the admission of Communist China."

This shift in Nixon's position was depicted as a reluctant concession to the growing tide of support for Peking's recognition. But there was some evidence that the move was also undertaken as a conciliatory gesture to the Mao regime. Such a course was strongly advocated by C.L. Sulzberger in his November 8 column in the *New York Times*.

"Now that elections are over," Sulzberger wrote, "it is high time for the United States to adopt a realistic new China policy aimed at bringing Peking into the U.N. instead of keeping it out. This question is no longer a hot political issue and, indeed, more and more prominent Americans have spoken in favor of such a move and more and more polls have indicated it would be acceptable to public opinion."

Sulzberger's reasons for this step had nothing to do with facilitating discussion between nations. He pointed instead to the increased benefits for American imperialism if, by opening a pipeline to Peking, it could play the Soviet Union and China against each other to Washington's advantage.

It is "counterproductive," Sulzberger said, to continue to work to exclude China from the UN, "because the attitudes with which we are now stuck by inheritance since 1949 force us into a position of total inflexibility with respect to great-power relationships. . . .

"At this juncture we seem again to be on the verge of working ourselves into another box with Russia, yet we don't have the opportunity—which theoretically exists for the Russians even if they don't try it—of playing an alternative China game."

Sulzberger went so far as to call on Nixon to accept Taiwan's expulsion from the UN as the price of a more flexible relationship with Peking

(he did not advocate returning Taiwan to mainland China).

Sulzberger indicated that the White House has received definite signals from Peking:

"Moreover, it can now be stated with 100 per cent certainty that Communist China wants to join and no longer abides by its previous snooty, stand-off attitude. There is absolutely no doubt on this score."

Sulzberger, the conservative specialist in foreign affairs of the *New York Times*, has all the news-gathering facilities of the powerful journal at his disposal, including direct connections with the State Department and the Pentagon.

It seems unlikely that Nixon would shift his China policy even as much as he has done without expecting some reciprocal concession from Peking. Mao's course over the past period provides sufficient evidence that this is not an unreasonable expectation on Nixon's part. The present "thaw," after all, was initiated by the Chinese with the statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on November 26, 1968, proposing the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with the incoming Nixon administration. At that time Peking's only condition for reaching "an agreement on the five principles of peaceful

coexistence" was that the U.S. abandon the Chiang dictatorship in Taiwan. The Chinese statement also called for a resumption of the informal diplomatic talks with U.S. representatives in Warsaw.

The talks, which were suspended on Chinese initiative on January 8, 1968, during the "cultural revolution," were finally resumed on January 8 of this year. They were suspended again after the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

In its agreements with Canada and Italy, Mao's government abandoned its previous insistence that China's claims to Taiwan be recognized. Ottawa and Rome merely "took note" of China's claims without supporting them. Nixon himself has surely "taken note" of China's claim to Taiwan. Is this sufficient to now qualify American imperialism as a suitable partner for "peaceful coexistence"?

There is nothing wrong with workers state seeking diplomatic recognition from its capitalist adversaries, or participating in the United Nations. The danger lies in the deep split between the two giant workers states that allows American imperialism to exploit such diplomatic ties to its advantage. The Kremlin has cooperated with the U.S. in this game both in

Vietnam and more recently in the Jordanian civil war in September.

In its November 8 communiqué on the pact with Italy, Hsinhua, the Chinese government news agency, went beyond the usual diplomatic niceties in praising the capitalist regime in Rome and pledging "non-interference" in its internal affairs. "Our hearts still glow with warmth," Hsinhua said, "when ever we recall the cultural and economic exchanges between our two peoples during the long years in the past. . . . We wish that the relations between the two countries will develop daily and the friendship between the two peoples will grow incessantly."

Politely omitted was any reference to Italy as an imperialist power that has on more than one occasion intervened against the Chinese people.

Nixon's main concern in Asia today is not so much Taiwan as Vietnam. He already counts on the Soviet bureaucracy helping him to impose a Korea-type settlement on the Vietnamese people.

Nixon was vice-president under Eisenhower when Mao helped engineer the Geneva Accords that divided Vietnam and laid the groundwork for the present American aggression. Nixon may calculate that a few well-directed concessions to Mao may produce a similar result today.

## A Victory for Cuban Revolution

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# Chile Resumes Diplomatic Relations with Havana

By Allen Myers

In a brief message read to the nation over radio and television November 12, Chilean President Salvador Allende Gossens announced his government's resumption of diplomatic relations with Cuba.

These had been broken in 1964 after the Organization of American States [OAS] passed a resolution requiring its members to cut off diplomatic, trade, and transportation ties with revolutionary Cuba. Of the twenty states in the OAS, only Mexico refused to obey the resolution, which was adopted at the insistence of the United States government.

Allende has indicated that his government will also establish relations with North Vietnam, North Korea, China, and East Germany, and will vote in the United Nations to grant the seat now held by Chiang Kai-shek to the People's Republic of China.

Although most press accounts treated the resumption of relations with Cuba as evidence of the "Marxism" of the ruling Unidad Popular [People's Unity] coalition, Allende's predecessor, Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva, had already undertaken steps aimed at normalization of relations by selling agricultural products

to Cuba and exchanging university students and professors.

In an article published in the *Christian Science Monitor* one day before Allende's announcement, James Nelson Goodsell reported from Santiago:

"United States sources, as well as OAS sources, are resigned to such a step [resumption of relations]. In fact, it had been expected no matter who won the Sept. 4 presidential vote. Chile was never happy with the original OAS decision to break ties and went along with the decision reluctantly. Both President Frei and his Foreign Minister, Gabriel Valdés Suberca-

seaux, had indicated in recent months that it was only a question of time before resumption of Chilean ties with Cuba. Some sources here actually expected President Frei to act before leaving office."

Bringing with it the likelihood of increased trade and exchanges of technical personnel between Chile and Cuba, the resumption of relations is the first major breach in Washington's effort to isolate Cuba from the rest of Latin America.

The November 14 *New York Times* reported that "the White House and the State Department registered mild disapproval" of Allende's action. The "mildness" of Nixon's reaction was due more to his inability to reverse the Chilean decision than to lack of concern about it.

Chile's resumption of diplomatic relations with Cuba is certain to put pressure on other Latin-American governments to follow suit. The *New*

*York Times* noted in a November 14 editorial that even prior to November 12 ". . . some momentum has been gathering behind the idea that fresh efforts should be made to bring Cuba back to the inter-American family." (One suspects that the *Times* editorial writers would call the relationship between guards and prisoners in a Nazi concentration camp "the inter-Buchenwald family.")

What Nixon will do about the setback to State Department policy remains to be seen. Domestic political considerations as well as international prestige are at stake.

In the November 6 *Washington Post*, Marilyn Berger observed that one of the administration's worries in regard to Chile "is that President Nixon could be vulnerable to election time charges in 1972 that another country fell to Communism during his presidency."

More basic to the interests of the American capitalist class than Nixon's chances for reelection is the maintenance of the authority of the OAS. The *New York Times* criticized Allende, not for reestablishing relations with Cuba, but for doing it "without consulting or even informing the O. A. S."

The *Times* concluded its editorial with what appeared to be a call for the OAS to repeal its 1964 resolution before that resolution is further weakened by the actions of other Latin-American governments: "Washington cannot afford to cling stubbornly to a policy of isolating Cuba that seems likely to command decreasing Latin support; but it is right to insist on the wisdom of dealing collectively with the question through established O. A. S. machinery."

Chile's resumption of diplomatic relations is a victory for the Cuban revolution that will be hailed by all its friends and supporters.

## The 1970 Elections

# Trotskyists in U.S. Wage Most Effective Campaign

"There is a group here called the Socialist Workers party," Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy told a crowd during his election campaign. "They are welcome. I am delighted to see them here tonight. They follow me around from meeting to meeting and ask me questions on abortion and the war in Vietnam."

Kennedy's expression of "delight" may be regarded as something less than sincere. On more than one occasion during the campaign, confrontations with his Socialist Workers party [SWP] opponent Peter Camejo caused Kennedy considerable embarrassment, particularly when Camejo attacked the liberal senator for his votes on war appropriations and his refusal to support legalized abortion.

Camejo was only one of seventy-five SWP candidates in the November 3 elections. With candidates in fifteen states, the 1970 campaign was the biggest and most effective the party has ever conducted.

The SWP ran statewide campaigns in California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, Mich-

igan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin. The object of the campaigns was not to win votes, but to use the opportunity to acquaint thousands of listeners with the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

This is easier to do in election periods not only because of increased public interest in politics, but also because of a federal law that requires radio or TV stations that give time to one candidate to give the same amount of time to all other candidates for the same office.\* Although most stations attempt to ignore this provision, in many cases the SWP candidates were able to force its observance. As a result of aggressive insistence on their rights, SWP candidates received an unprecedented amount of radio and TV coverage.

In New York City, for example, the Republican party and Liberal party candidate for Congress in one dis-

trict was the host of an interview show on a local radio station. Demands for equal time resulted in his SWP opponent, Eva Chertov, being given ninety-four one-minute announcements. In addition, for the six nights immediately preceding the election, Chertov became cohost of her opponent's show, with an equal right to choose guests. The program thus became virtually a debate between the SWP and Republican candidates. (The Democratic candidate was offered a chance to participate, but declined.)

In Georgia, protests by the SWP's candidate for governor, Linda Jenness, won her and two other write-in candidates the right to appear with the Democratic and Republican candidates on a statewide radio and television broadcast. When SWP campaign workers, timing the show with a stopwatch, proved that she had been allowed less time than her capitalist opponents, she received an additional ten minutes on an Atlanta telecast seen by an estimated 200,000 viewers.

On radio and TV, in newspaper interviews, and in public speeches, the

\* This applies only to free coverage. Most campaign material on radio and television consists of paid advertisements.

SWP candidates used their campaigns to support mass movements such as the antiwar movement, women's liberation, and the Black and Chicano liberation struggles, and to defend those who have been victimized by the ruling class.

In Texas and Colorado, SWP candidates urged votes for La Raza Unida party, the independent Chicano party. Candidates all over the country cited La Raza Unida as an example of what should be done by Blacks and by workers in organizing an independent Black party and a labor party.

Because of her role in building the women's liberation movement, the SWP candidate for comptroller, Ruthann Miller, was one of the featured speakers at the August 26 women's demonstration in New York. In Rhode Island, three male SWP candidates set an example by operating a child-care center for a women's liberation conference.

Illinois SWP candidate for Cook County sheriff, Willie Petty, went on a statewide speaking tour to defend the Cairo Black United Front, which has been under attack from white vigilantes and the city and state governments.

All the SWP campaigns supported the October 31 antiwar demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition and defended the twenty-five persons at Kent State University indicted for participating in the demonstration in which four students were murdered by National Guardsmen.

The clear alternative to the programs of the capitalist candidates and the deepening radicalization in the U.S. combined to win greater support for the SWP campaign than ever before.

At this time, vote totals for the SWP candidates are available only from Washington. (Most states do not report totals for third parties until weeks, or even months, after the elections.) According to figures in the November 4 *Seattle Times*, the SWP vote ranged from a low of 0.8 percent for one statewide office to a high of 4.2 percent for Susan Shinn in a race for a seat in the state legislature from a district in Seattle. What these figures might have been with a lower voting age is indicated by mock elections in two Seattle high schools. Stephanie Coontz, an SWP candidate for the U. S. House of Representatives,

who received 2.4 percent of the vote November 3, won 15 and 20 percent in the high-school elections.

Vote totals, of course, present only a very distorted reflection of the support for the socialist candidates, particularly when the names of many of them (34 of the 75) did not even appear on the ballot. More significant was the support won from student organizations and participants in the mass movements.

In some cases, the SWP campaign was able to reach into the capitalist parties and break away young people disillusioned by their party's inability to provide answers to the important issues.

In Texas, for example, the University of Texas Young Democrats executive committee endorsed the SWP senatorial candidate, Mariana Hernandez. Similarly, in Minnesota, the executive board of the Augsburg College Young Republicans became sufficiently disenchanted with reformism to vote to support Nancy Strebe, the SWP candidate for senator.

When the Democratic candidate for attorney general of Michigan refused to accept an antiwar plank written into the party program by the New Democratic Coalition, a left-wing grouping in the party, the group refused to support his candidacy. Instead, it interviewed the SWP candidate, Ronald Reosti, and circulated the text of the interview to its entire mailing list.

SWP campaigns also won endorsement from such sources as the student newspaper at the University of Massachusetts and the University of Rhode Island student senate. (The latter voted to support the SWP even though the university's president claimed that this might cause the school to lose its tax-exempt status.)

The gains of the Socialist Workers party campaign were shown still more concretely in the growth of the revolutionary-socialist movement itself, especially in recruitment to the Young Socialist Alliance [YSA], the Trotskyist youth movement.

Sometimes a single appearance by SWP candidates was sufficient to recruit new members to the YSA. At Niagara University in Niagara Falls, New York, the university administration at first banned a speech by senatorial candidate Kipp Dawson. This

decision was reversed when the Black Student Union announced that it would sponsor a meeting with Dawson with or without the approval of the administration. After hearing the SWP candidate, six students asked to join the YSA.

New York gubernatorial candidate Clifton DeBerry also recruited six new YSAers at Albany State University. Stephanie Coontz persuaded three students to join in a single speech at the University of Washington.

After James Lauderdale, SWP candidate for governor of Colorado, spoke at Colorado College in Colorado Springs, students there decided to form a new chapter of the YSA.

While it is impossible to determine the precise percentage of new members of the YSA who joined as a result of the campaign rather than because of other YSA activities, the campaign has clearly been an important tool for winning young people to the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

The national office of the Young Socialist Alliance estimates that during the last two months of the campaign between 200 and 300 persons have joined the YSA. Since the beginning of the year, when most of the campaigns were launched, nearly twenty new YSA chapters have been organized.

Finally, the 1970 campaign has prepared the basis for an even bigger effort in the presidential elections of 1972. The equal-time precedents established this year, and several successful challenges to state laws that restrict the rights of third parties in elections, should make it possible for revolutionary socialists to mount the most successful U.S. campaign ever in 1972.

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### What Would They Think of Agnew?

Apes in the Frankfurt, West Germany, zoo have been provided with a television set to keep them amused when there are few visitors. The zoo director reports that the apes "prefer programs with lots of action. Political broadcasts are too monotonous for them."

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### New Variety in 'Spice of Life'

The Food and Drug Administration warned November 13 that two brands of meat tenderizer on sale in the United States may contain poisonous sodium nitrite. One of the brands is called "Spice of Life."

# Soviet Citizens Find Stalin's Face Irresistible

[The fourteenth issue of the Soviet *samizdat* publication *Chronicle of Current Events*, dated June 30, 1970, reports several instances where Soviet citizens have defaced or torn down some of the newly reappearing, official portraits of Stalin, and have been harshly punished by the courts and the police for their actions. The following translation of the article, entitled "Representations of Stalin Are Being Protected," is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

In Leningrad on April 10, 1970, a portrait of Stalin was torn from a display across from the *Elektrosila* subway station. A plant technician named Volkov tore down the picture. He is thirty-five years old, married, and has two children.

Volkov was convicted under paragraph 206-2 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Republic (hooliganism) and sentenced to a year of hard labor in a maximum-security corrective labor camp. Information regarding an appeal has not been received.

An engineer named Yezhov, forty-one years old, was convicted in an analogous case. He tried to cut a picture of Stalin from a display near the Public Library on Nevsky Prospect [in Leningrad] with a razor. He was turned over to the police, beaten, and had two ribs broken.

His case was tried (under article 206-2) in the Kuibyshev district People's Court. Yezhov explained his action by stating that he idolized Stalin but was unable to obtain his picture except by the method described. He was sentenced by the court to eighteen months of correctional labor (at his present place of employment), with payment of ten percent of his monthly salary to the state. The sentence was upheld in the appeal hearing.

At two o'clock in the morning on April 12 a fourth-year student at Leningrad State University, A. N. Zemtsov (born 1948), "while passing the building at No. 40 Kirov Prospect, did irreparable damage with a bunch

of keys to a picture of Stalin in a display commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory over Germany." His case (under paragraph 206-2) was tried on May 6 in the Zhdanov district People's Court. The judge's name was Puneva; the prosecutor's, Debikov; and the defense counsel's, Heifitz.

The prosecutor asked for three years in a maximum-security labor camp, "considering the particular insolence of the infraction." But the court sentenced Zemtsov to one year in a maximum-security camp, "bearing in mind the unimpeachable references from his place of study and from his place of residence, and considering that the defendant is carrying on socially important work."

## France

### Maspéro Joins Communist League

François Maspéro, the best-known publisher of radical books in France, has announced that he has joined the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International], *Le Monde* reported in its November 5 issue.

Maspéro was active in the French Communist party until 1958, when he became convinced that the party had abandoned all internationalist principles in its attitude toward the Algerian revolution. After reaching this conclusion, he turned to working with the French federation of the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale — National Liberation Front].

Although he no longer believed the Communist party to be a revolutionary organization, Maspéro felt until 1968, according to *Le Monde*, that he could not turn his back on the tens of thousands of rank-and-file CP activists serving as representatives of the working class.

Maspéro explained his reason for joining the Ligue Communiste:

On May 28 the appeals court revised the sentence, giving him a one-year suspended sentence (with three years on probation).

This report is based on a stenogram of the Zemtsov case, which has appeared in *samizdat*.

In connection with the Lenin Centennial, a photographic exhibition was put up in Pushkin Square, Moscow. A picture of Stalin was included in the display on "members of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee." It was repeatedly torn down until finally the whole display was removed.

In the middle of June a granite bust of Stalin was set up over his grave by the Kremlin wall. The sculptor is said to have been N. Tomsky.

"The Ligue Communiste is the only organization which is working honestly and effectively to build the future revolutionary party. I do not consider that it is this revolutionary party but only the best tool, at present, for building it."

Maspéro noted that his publishing house would remain open to all tendencies of the militant left.

### Scotland Yard Gets Nosier

Tony Smythe, general secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, charged in London October 19 that the Special Branch, a division of Scotland Yard, had been interfering with academic freedom.

The October 20 London *Times* reported: "The Special Branch had been approaching members of the staff and students at universities and getting names and addresses of people who might be involved in the most harmless activities, he [Smythe] alleged. 'This is becoming a very unpleasant part of our national and political life.'"

Smythe charged that this sort of investigation by the Special Branch had increased during the past two years.



# Why Trudeau Invoked the War Measures Act

By Ross Dowson

[The article below was published in the November 9 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto.]

\* \* \*

The Trudeau government is now replacing the War Measures Act, with which it arrogated to itself sweeping totalitarian powers allegedly to cope with the "apprehended insurrection" posed by the FLQ [Front de Libération du Québec—Québec Liberation Front], at the same time as it is fueling a smoke screen of rumours about a sinister plot by prominent Quebec figures alleged to have aimed to usurp the authority of Premier Bourassa's Liberal government with a provisional regime.

Thus at one and the same time it attempts to assure the Canadian people, profoundly disturbed by the destruction with one blow of every basic human right and liberty, that there was for a period no other recourse open to it and that now it is coming through on its promise that the enforcement of the act was only temporary and something approaching normalcy will shortly again prevail.

But the legislation now being introduced by Minister of Justice Turner clearly reveals that the government intends to write into the statute books some of the most repressive aspects of the War Measures Act (search and arrest without warrant, detention without charge, etc.) while leaving the act itself in reserve—even if it is no longer to be applied at this time.

All this clearly answers the question that has continued to plague ever-widening circles. Why did the Trudeau government resort to such totalitarian powers, to such an ultimate weapon as the War Measures Act? Why didn't it utilize the crushing powers already available to it in the Criminal Code and elsewhere?

The picture is clearing up. The Trudeau government sought to take advantage of the crisis thrust on it by the kidnappings and murder, first and

foremost to strike a body blow against Quebec nationalism which continues to grow and develop an increasingly independentist and revolutionary character.

It seeks new and added powers to use against the Québécois.

At the same time it seeks to create a climate whereby it can turn back the campus revolt—the ongoing radicalization of the youth in the universities and the high schools. And simultaneously it is trying to prepare the conditions that would enable it to move in against the organized labor movement and render it less able to defend its interests.

With the enactment of the War Measures Act, the Minister of Justice cautioned against the settling of old scores, against excesses.

The B. C. [British Columbia] Socred [Social Credit party] government has passed an order to council barring from employment in institutions dispensing state funds anyone alleged to support the aims of the FLQ and to advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence. This has already resulted in the firing of teacher Arthur Olson. The echo of this is found in the Toronto Board of Education. Are these excesses?

The address of W. H. Kelly, former deputy commissioner of the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police], to the Ottawa Canadian club has received widespread publicity over the mass media. He demanded stiffer immigration procedures to keep out or deport foreign radicals already in the country—particularly those on the campuses. He called for greater power for the police including the formal right to grill suspects, and freer use of wiretapping. Is that an excess?

The harassment of the cross-Canada university student press, the seizure of Maoist publications, the taking into custody of seven of the Vancouver Liberation Front, the persecution by the Toronto police of a draft evader to the point where he finally fled and placed himself at the mercy

of U. S. authorities—are these excesses?

The self-imposed banning by CTV [Canadian Television] of a TV program because it touched on the Quebec situation. CBC's [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation] banning of a documentary on Lenin. CBC president George Davidson's order to news service employees to impose self-censorship on coverage of the Quebec crisis. Are these excesses?

Far from being excesses they are exactly what persons in high government office, spokesmen for capitalist class interest in various areas, have been advocating all along.

And they are the inevitable result of the enactment of the War Measures Act which at one blow imposed all the legal conditions for a police state: the authorization by law of the police arrest and detention without warrant of anyone suspected of being a member of an unlawful organization, entry and search without warrant, detention without charge for seven days and up to twenty-one days on authority of an attorney general, incarceration in jail up to ninety days before a trial date need be set.

Under this act Quebec was invaded and occupied by a federal army of 7,500 men. Police raids resulted in the arrest so far of 405 persons all of whom were held incommunicado and without charge for days.

The enactment of the War Measures Act revealed in a blinding light that the much vaunted civil rights and democratic processes that are supposed to be woven into the very fabric of present day society are to all intents and purposes nonexistent.

When it was made to appear that the power of the state itself was being infringed upon, all the institutions of parliamentary democracy—Bill of Rights, Senate, House of Commons—all were cynically swept aside.

The army and the police took over on the authorization of a handful of men. With the receipt of a letter from Mr. Bourassa and another from Montreal's Mayor Drapeau drawn up two



or three days earlier but dispatched to Ottawa at an agreed time, four cabinet ministers worked on documents for about an hour and dispatched them to Governor General Roland Michener who signed them.

Canada awoke the next morning under the War Measures Act and several hundred Québécois were in jail.

After the first shock of confusion, the socialists, civil libertarians, the NDP [New Democratic party—Canada's labor party] parliamentary caucus and the unions responded to the challenge. On the broad scale the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the NDP parliamentary caucus and the united Quebec labor movement has been instrumental in arousing the wide popular concern.

That is not to say that there has been no serious weakness in both areas. The apparent agreement of the NDP MP's [Members of Parliament]

to go along now with the codifying of certain aspects of the War Measures Act is particularly dangerous.

The struggle must now go on. New layers must be awakened, educated and activated to win the release of all the Québécois now imprisoned under the Act, to compel the withdrawal of the troops occupying Quebec and the abolition of the War Measures Act and to prevent the enactment of repressive legislation of any type.

## Claims He 'Didn't Know'

# Garrastazu Calls a 'Halt' to Mass Arrests

Brazilian president General Emilio Garrastazu Médici called a "halt" November 5 to mass arrests of opposition elements, which had been in progress for two weeks, according to *Le Monde* of November 7.

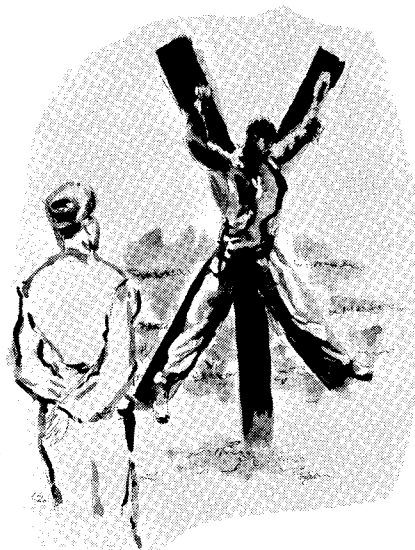
The arrests began October 24, the day after urban guerrilla leader Joaquim Câmara Ferreira was gunned down by political police in an ambush in São Paulo. Up to November 4, an estimated 5,000 persons had been jailed. The pretext for the roundup was a purported plot to stage a "week of terror" to commemorate the death of the revolutionary leader Carlos Marighela, slain by the political police on November 4, 1969.

In spreading its dragnet, the dictatorship reportedly mobilized repressive forces of 20,000 men in Rio de Janeiro alone. The operation was termed a "training exercise."

The conservative newspaper *O Estado do São Paulo* assured its readers that the head of the dictatorship himself was astonished at the number of arrests, especially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The right-wing paper admitted that "excesses" had occurred.

Brazilian public opinion was particularly shocked, *Le Monde* correspondent Irénée Guimaraes reported, at the arrest of the vice-president of the bar association Heleno Fragoso, as well as of Joel Silveira, vice-president of the journalists' union.

In a memorandum to the military tribunal of Rio de Janeiro, which was also published in *O Estado*, Fragoso described how he was picked up. He



"OPERATION EXERCISE." Brazilian troops display how they train to become "inured to torture." It's no training for political prisoners when they are "inured." Many are taken down dead from the cross.

was seized during the night by three men who denied they were police. After being handcuffed and forced into a small car, his head was covered with a thick black hood.

Two other jurists were handled in the same way. They found themselves locked in a cell without windows or furniture and unable to find out where they were being held. When the political police decided to release the lawyers, they again covered their heads with hoods and dumped them at different places in the city.

This type of detention seemed cal-

culated to terrorize oppositionist or critical elements. No one jailed by the political police can have any confidence that he will come out alive or in good health, no matter how little the evidence against him.

For example, a week after the arrest May 1 of the militant young trade unionist Olavo Hansen, accused among other things of distributing Trotskyist publications, police informed his parents that they could find his body on a garbage heap. [See *Intercontinental Press*, November 16, 1970, page 792.] Shortly afterward the doctor who testified that Hansen did not die a natural death vanished without a trace after being "questioned" by the cops.

*O Estado* complained, however, that the "training exercise" had been politically too costly: "The Brazilian government, which today is showing such concern for the country's image abroad, can now be sure that it has needlessly provided formidable weapons for the propaganda campaign against us."

## Correction

In the first installment of Peng Pi-lan's article, "Looking Back Over My Years with Peng Shu-tse" (*Intercontinental Press*, November 2), an error in a date slipped in.

In the first column on page 936, the date in the sentence, "Peng's next article . . . (published in *Hsin Ch'ing Nien*, December 1925)," should read December 1924.

In the second column, the date in the sentence beginning, "In his 1925 article," should read 1924.

### After the Death of Pedro Taruc

[The following article appeared in the October 25 issue of *Laging Una*, "The Voice of the Filipino People," published in Los Angeles.]

\* \* \*

With the killing of Supremo Pedro Taruc, which followed by just a month the capture of his second-in-command, Faustino del Mundo ["Commander Sumulong"], the Philippine government has succeeded over a period of about twenty years in eliminating the entire top leadership of the original Huk rebel movement.

The "Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon" (People's Anti-Japanese Army) was formed during World War II to conduct guerrilla operations against the occupying army of imperialist Japan. The leaders were men who understood socialist-revolutionary ideas, at least in the rough. To win the widest possible support against the invaders, they combined patriotic slogans with a socio-economic program that spelled a better life for the people after the war.

As a down payment, so to speak, they seized the estates of landlords who had fled, or who were collaborating with the invaders, and turned them over to the landless families that worked them. This made the Huks immensely popular. It also earned them the bitter hatred of the propertied classes.

High on the order of business of Gen. MacArthur when his forces retook the Philippines was the disarming of the Huk guerrillas. The leaders found themselves penned in stockades, cheek by jowl with landlord-bourgeois politicians who had collaborated with the invaders.

In 1946, with "independence" and the establishment of the Republic, the Filipino ruling class took over from the Americans the job of restoring "normalcy." Confiscated estates were turned back to the former owners. The Huk movement was proscribed. The leaders took to the jungles to continue the struggle.

The Huks changed their name to "Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan"

(Army of National Liberation, or HMB for short). But in the revolutionary ebb-tide of the postwar years, they were barely able to survive. The government of the new Republic, with the generous aid of U. S. imperialism, had built armed forces able to carry the war to the Huks.

Repression began in earnest in 1950 with the arrest in Manila of the entire Politburo of the Communist Party, which was the directing political organ of the Huk movement. In the mountains and jungles, in battles and ambushes, the leaders in the field fell one after another. Others were captured. First to die was Guillermo Capadocia, killed by troops in Panay in 1951. Mariano P. Balgos, a printer by trade, was killed in 1954. Luis Taruc, then the Supremo, surrendered voluntarily to the government in 1954 and became a renegade. Jose de Leon (known as Dimasalang) was killed in 1957. Peregrino Taruc was captured in the same year. In 1960 both Silvestre Liwanag and Casto Alejandrino were taken prisoner by government forces.

Today the Huk movement is split. Reflecting the rift between Moscow and Peking, an ultra-radical group formed the New People's Army under the leadership of a fiery twenty-eight-year old, Bernabe Buscayno, known as Commander Dante. He and his Peking-

oriented advisers are at daggers drawn with the older leadership of the Huk movement. Dante's guerrilla force is based in Tarlac province, but also operates in adjacent Zambales. The original Huk movement of Taruc-Sumulong is active in Pangasinan province.

Commander Sumulong and other Huk leaders have denied that they are Communists intent on overthrowing the government. They have portrayed themselves as reluctant radicals forced into armed rebellion by a repressive government unresponsive to the people's needs. Their goal, they have said many times, is reform. They want the land tenure system overhauled to give land to the landless farmers. They want true independence for the Philippines and the elimination of American military bases. But they don't want to overthrow the government.

Commander Dante and his New People's Army want what the older rebels are seeking. But they also seek the overthrow of the government, because they are convinced that meaningful reform is impossible within the framework of the existing system. Thus a gulf separates the two camps. Experience suggests that the future lies with the Dante group, which represents a new generation of revolutionary fighters. The surviving leaders of the original Huk movement are men in their fifties and sixties who have gone through the mill. Some are disillusioned, others cynical. All are inclined to be passive. Youth, as always, is optimistic and active.

### Great Britain

### Dutschke's Reply to Deportation Order

[When Tory Home Secretary Reginald Maudling ordered convalescing German student leader Rudi Dutschke deported from Great Britain in September, he produced in justification the absurd argument that it was unfair to permit Dutschke to live in the country with restrictions on his political activities. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 5, 1969, page 820.)

[When Dutschke appealed the deportation order, as he is permitted to do by British law, Maudling suddenly

found a new reason to ban Dutschke. It had been done, he said on October 29, "in the interests of national security."

[Such a declaration permits Maudling to present his "evidence" against Dutschke *in secret*. Thus Dutschke and his lawyers will not be able to hear the charges against him or to reply to them.

[On November 1, the London *Sunday Times* printed Dutschke's com-

ments on Maudling's latest actions. We reprint these comments below.]

\* \* \*

I learned about the decision when I read the newspapers yesterday morning, and I am shocked that it should be done in this manner. It is difficult for me to see why the Home Office wishes to keep not only their case against me secret but also why they do not inform me of the procedure which is being adopted.

I know how I have spent my life and what I and my family have done. We have no secrets. Why then should the Home Office have secrets about us? Presumably someone has gained information from sources which are capable of putting an ominous construction on simple visits with friends and conversations on political matters which are quite normal for someone who is interested in politics and

who is doing a PhD thesis on a political topic. My academic work on the history of Socialism and its current significance is of obvious political interest.

All of the friends and acquaintances who have visited us know that I am not able and have not attempted to engage in direct political activities, but I have had frequent political conversations and am very worried that I am being prevented from knowing or answering the constructions which others seem to have put on these.

I came to England only for medical reasons. The Home Office has received all the documents from my doctors indicating how important a resumption of my studies is for my convalescence. I am not well enough to take any part in public political activities, and I have faithfully tried to adhere to the conditions of my stay which was repeatedly extended over two years.

rallying of the working class for united struggle.

Marxist philosopher Dr. M. E. Koglabodi told the meeting that workers' unity was essential not just for wages agitation but also because the political situation puts the proletarian class in the position of an alternative power.

Imoudu led the rally with songs and slogans that moved the whole house. He said that the achievement of unity would enable the workers to play their proper role in national affairs.

A resolution moved from the audience by Baba Omojola, an unemployed economist, was adopted by the meeting.

The resolution expressed support for the "increased conquests of toilers the world over—in Palestine, in Vietnam, in Latin America and even in the centres of Europe." It approved the launching of the Workers Unity Movement and called for the creation of a "permanent National Assembly of Nigerian Workers" made up of "representatives from all factories and all trade unions elected by their rank and file."

The meeting was closed with the singing of the "Internationale." Enthusiasm was so great, however, that the crowd did not disperse until the "Internationale" had been sung ten times.

## Nigeria

# Lagos Workers Hold Huge Rally

By Lu Lu

Lagos

"Labour Leader No. 1 Michael Imoudu surfaced back to active trade unionism yesterday in Lagos, preaching the gospel of self reliance to Nigerian workers and a united front in the labour movement," reported the government-owned *Nigerian Morning Post* in a front-page article October 29.

Imoudu, the president-general of the Railway Workers Union of Nigeria, was speaking at an October 28 mass rally of workers in Lagos. Described by the *Nigerian Morning Post* as "unprecedented in size" since the end of the civil war, the rally officially launched the Nigerian Workers Unity Movement.

The rally was held at the Lagos city hall, which was decorated for the occasion with the unity poster and posters from the Tricontinental expressing solidarity with the Palestinian, Vietnamese, and Puerto Rican liberation movements. The unity poster, of which thousands of copies were

sold, bears the inscription "Workers of Nigeria, Unite!" It shows the national flag and the movement's flag, a bullet-riddled red banner—both superimposed on a map of Nigeria.

Chairman of the meeting was L. C. Romeo, a telecommunications worker. He described a memorandum submitted to the government's salary-review commission. The memorandum called for a minimum salary of N£25 [.357 Nigerian pounds equal US\$1] a month, and demanded that the highest salaries be less than three times the lowest. It also said that the wages problem was unsolvable except under a socialist economy.

Another speaker, Oba [hereditary lord mayor] Adeyinka Oyekan II of Lagos, said it was a shame that the workers who had fought so heroically in 1945 were powerless in 1970.

Alhaji Aminu Kano, the country's most popular peasant leader, predicted that October 28 would be remembered as a revolutionary landmark in the

## Film on Life in South Africa

Working secretly, members of the Pan Africanist Congress have produced a film showing the conditions of life in South Africa. Entitled *End of Dialogue*, the film depicts African life in townships, on reservations, and at work in the coal mines, and contrasts this briefly with the affluence of the white minority.

Robert Chesshyre reported in the November 8 *London Observer* that the film was shot primarily by Africans, with a few sympathetic whites cooperating to get the scenes of white communities.

The cameramen posed as miners to get into the gold mines. A spokesman for the Congress explained: "To the overseers all Kaffirs [derogatory name for Africans used by whites in South Africa] look alike, and the deception was never noticed."

The film is now being exhibited in England, and has been shown on Dutch television. It has also been sold to Swedish and Danish television, and it will be shown at the Brno film festival in Czechoslovakia.

## 20 Percent of Cubans in School

Cuba, with a population of about eight million, has more than 1,650,000 students in all types of education.

## The Middle East After Nasser

[The following interview with Abu Samer, a representative of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, was granted to Robert Langston in New York City October 19. It has been shortened for space reasons and Abu Samer has not corrected the final text.]

\* \* \*

*Question. What is the object of your visit to the U. S.?*

*Answer.* The object of my visit is to get in touch with the comrades here among Arabs and to exchange views and ideas with some of the radical groups in America who are sympathetic and support the revolutionary struggle, not just in the Middle East and the Palestinian revolution in particular, but all over the world.

*Q. What is your evaluation of the situation in the Middle East following the cease-fire signed with King Hussein?*

*A.* I think this is going to be an uneasy cease-fire. The king thought—and this was clear in all the press reports favorable to him—that he was capable of performing a clean surgical operation which would eliminate the Palestinian armed struggle in forty-eight hours and then face the world with a *fait accompli*. This expectation of course was completely disappointed. That is what really forced the king to sign a cease-fire.

The resistance of the Palestinian armed struggle, the fierce and heroic fight they put up against the instruments of repression brought against them, also forced the Arab states, which were taking the position of on-lookers at first, to shift their position on the sixth or seventh day of the war from one of pretended neutrality to one of out-and-out condemnation of Hussein and the massacre and the imperialist plot behind all that.

In many ways the cease-fire, as the bourgeois press has also admitted, is certainly not to be considered a vic-



NASSER: Deft juggler of contending forces.

tory for Hussein. In a certain sense, in terms of the tactics of guerrilla warfare, it was a victory for the Palestinians. Hussein lost the battle of liquidating the Palestinian armed struggle.

It seems to me this is a kind of breathing spell whereby each side will reorganize its forces, will replenish itself. But I think a showdown in one form or another is inevitably coming because each side is obviously going on an objectively different course from the other, contradictory courses, and collision is inevitable.

*Q. Reports in the press have mentioned the formation of a "soviet" in Irbid during the civil war in September. What can you tell us about this?*

*A.* The bourgeois magazine *Newsweek* reported the formation of the first Arab soviet in Irbid. The name of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was singled out for mention in that article

as instrumental in the formation of that soviet.

Although the writing of that article of course came from the point of view of *Newsweek* and what *Newsweek* represents, it was obvious that the author grudgingly had to admit before the force of the fact that something very important was developing in Jordan in general and in Irbid in particular.

He had to admit that the usual accusations brought against the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine of being a group of intellectuals or café militants were completely incorrect.

I think that part of the reason why the soviet evolved is that there had already been some preparation for it. No doubt the pressure of events, the atmosphere of the fighting between the forces of armed struggle and the reactionary royalist regime, accelerated the process of the generation of that soviet and made it come quicker than it would have otherwise.

But the underlying factor in the rapid development of the soviet was the fact that the Palestinian armed struggle controlled the country really before the struggle began; the fact that the Palestinian armed struggle had the full and complete support of the Jordanian-Palestinian masses.

The Democratic Popular Front from the beginning was very militant on the question of developing what we call the people's councils, namely, the idea that certain localities—these might be villages, they might be factories, they might be segments of a camp, they might be parts of a people's quarter—should, by direct and immediate vote, elect their own councils that would be responsible for their own affairs. These affairs might range from the defense of the locality against the reactionary forces and the instruments of repression to facing sanitation problems.

The Democratic Popular Front thought of this and was beginning to experiment with it. The DPF also contributed to the preparation of the way for the emergence of—as it was called—the first Arab soviet in Irbid. There

councils were actually elected, committees were formed by the people.

The representatives of the oppressive state authority were kicked out and the place became a kind of commune which governed itself, through the direct management by the people themselves of their means for defense against the return of the repressive powers.

I think still to a great extent the situation in Irbid remains what it was in spite of the claims that the king has reestablished his sovereignty over the kingdom, etc., which of course is not completely true.

*Q. In the elections to the popular councils, are these run along party lines, are parties formed, or how do the elections take place?*

A. I do not have full details on how this happened because I was not there when it occurred, but I don't think it happened along the lines of Al Fateh running candidates against DPF, etc. I think the councils did involve in them members belonging to various organizations but they were elected because they had already been very active regardless of their affiliation.

From our point of view any kind of councils like that are a great improvement over what used to be the case in the past, even if more traditional elements should at first be elected. The Palestinian-Jordanian masses over the last twenty years have been completely deprived of free participation in any kind of political life. Even the meaning of voting is unknown to them.

The people's councils as we conceive of them, in addition to being representative bodies are also a political school for these deprived masses of workers, peasants, refugees. They can learn through actual experience the meaning of voting, the meaning of discussing a political issue which pertains to their immediate interest, the meaning of taking a decision upon a certain political issue, the meaning not only of discussing but of bearing the responsibility that flows from having taken a certain political decision.

These are things that in the past were the privilege of a few who were in positions of power or of the upper ruling classes, but which the masses don't know anything about. And

so the popular councils are a very good means of introducing the broad masses into the exercise of political power, especially in the kind of direct, simple people's democracy that has happened in Irbid. We think that in the long run this event is going to leave its impress on the overall development of the Palestinian armed struggle.

*Q. You referred to Palestinian-Jordanian. First of all, what do you mean by Jordanian? Secondly, to what extent has there actually been a coalescence of Palestinians and Jordanians in Irbid and further south?*

A. We think that there is only one people really and we find that the divisions are not so much these days along Jordanian-Palestinian lines as they are along the lines of class distinctions. The oppressed Jordanian poor have to an extent seen that their interests lie with the Palestinian armed struggle while the Palestinian bour-



SADAT: Nasser's understudy takes over.

geoisie, the upper classes, have sided with the royalist regime.

*Q. What do you think will be the effect of Nasser's death?*

A. First, I think in the not too long run Egypt's tendency would be to go more Egyptian, so to speak. A good part of the late President Nasser's strength and power in dealing with the forces in the international arena was that these forces could not contend

with him merely as the president of the United Arab Republic but as the leader of the Arab nation.

Nasser was always conscious of putting a limit to certain subterranean currents inside Egypt which were more isolationist than Arab-committed, which blamed all the wars that Egypt has gone through in the last fifteen or twenty years on her involvement in Arab affairs.

It seems to me that this current is going to grow stronger. Heykal himself has already expressed in a number of his recent articles tendencies toward this line of thought, after the Egyptian acceptance of the Rogers peace initiative and its rejection by the Palestinian armed struggle.

Whether President Sadat likes it or not, I think his ability to suppress this isolationist current—whatever his subjective feelings might be—is far less than that of President Nasser.

This will make Egypt much more vulnerable to compromise with the colonial forces, imperialist forces, than if it were in solidarity with the whole of the Arab nation.

Another result which follows I think from the death of President Nasser is, without sounding unnecessarily callous, that it took the resistance movement off the hook. After Nasser's acceptance of the Rogers peace initiative, the cease-fire on the Suez Canal, the call on Israel to implement the United Nations resolution of November 22, 1967—the position of the Palestinian armed struggle was a very clear rejection of all this. And whether the Palestinian armed struggle liked it or not, it was going on a course which was going to conflict with that on which President Nasser was going.

Now his death has saved us no doubt from having to face that contingency squarely, because really in the end Nasserism, like most movements similar to it, without Nasser is not very much.

Third, I think the death of Nasser has really given all the forces operating in the area a greater amount of maneuverability and greater freedom of movement in general. Nasser's overall policy was to prevent Hussein from crushing the guerrillas, at the same time not permitting the guerrillas to grow beyond a certain manageable size.

*Q. What is your opinion of the new regime in Egypt?*

A. I don't expect any immediate earthquake or sudden changes to occur. I think still the army, the overall state bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, is the dominating class in Egypt and will run things accordingly for a while.

I think certain objective forces are going to assert themselves, however, no matter what. One of them I mentioned: the Egyptian isolationist current.

Second, I think the students and the student movement are soon going to start becoming more active, asserting themselves, and we don't know how the new Sadat regime will react. Nasser had the ability to act with enough flexibility, enough conciliation on the one hand and of course repression on the other to deflect them or defuse them—the ability of the new leadership to do that is untested yet.

The labor unions are probably also soon going to move. They have been completely frozen in the name of the struggle against Israel and the so-called leadership of Nasser. This is gone now.

I think we are in for a greater assertion of the overall class struggle.

*Q. What about the role of American imperialism?*

A. It seems to me that the American imperialists are calculating on making almost a superpower out of Israel in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean as well.

The building up of Greece, the building up of Spain; all these classic reactionary states in the area are being particularly favored by United States imperialism. Added to this is the arming of Hussein to the teeth.

The U. S. is following the same old policy of being able on the one hand to maintain its oil interests, capital investment interests, cultural interests in the area quite intact. And they have been intact. Even the war of 1967 has not affected them in a significant material way. These are being kept intact by the ruling classes in the various Arab states, who are fully allied with the United States imperialist interests.

At the same time, despite the apparent contradictions between the Arabs and the Israelis, Washington supports Israel, aiming to make it a great power that can keep an eye on the area. These two ends, despite

the apparent inconsistency, are really quite consistent with each other and in the long run they have shown themselves to reinforce each other rather than to militate against each other.

American imperialism remains really the fundamental power in the area which any revolutionary force has to direct its struggle against, whether this imperialist presence materializes itself in the form of Israel, the Zionist state, or in the form of Arab reactionary regimes and ruling classes.

To a great extent the role of Israel has become very obvious, especially its connections to South Africa, and to Portugal, which is fighting to oppress the anticolonial movement in Angola and in Mozambique. The Zionist regime maintains friendly ties with the most reactionary and outdated forms of colonialism, racism, and so on.

*Q. How do you see the relation between the Palestinian national struggle and the revolution in the other Arab countries?*

A. First of all, we think that the petty bourgeoisie, which for the last fifteen or twenty years led the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist struggle in various Arab states, has run its historical course and reached a blind alley, as was clear to us in 1967 already.

This petty-bourgeois ruling class is being overtaken more and more by its reactionary qualities rather than its militant and progressive aspects.

The Palestinian armed struggle presents a case of a more radical, more advanced, anticolonial, anti-imperialist fight, a fight for national liberation. We should not interpret events in such a way as to make it the job of the Palestinian armed struggle to carry on the revolutionary struggle all over the Arab world. This is the job of the people living in the various Arab states. The Palestinian armed struggle can only be an example, a source of inspiration, a source of experience, a source of mobilization for others to do the job.

In other words, the revolutionary struggle in Saudi Arabia must be done by the Saudi Arabians. They are perfectly welcome to gain whatever experience they want, and they can, from the Palestinian armed struggle. This is in general our attitude, and we think that definitely some kind of a

revolutionary struggle ought to be developing, especially in the more reactionary parts of the Arab world such as Saudi Arabia.

*Q. What role do you see for the Jewish masses? In particular, what prospects do you see for the development of a revolutionary movement in Israel?*

A. We do not have any very concrete results to report on this. We have the general point of view as Marxist-Leninists which aims at drawing all the masses in the area, whether they are Jewish or Israeli or Kurdish or Armenian, as oppressed people into the anti-imperialist struggle.

Anti-imperialism is not enough, but the struggle must be for a socialist order, a workers-state order in the Middle East. One of the objectives is the destruction of the bourgeois states in the area in the sense that Lenin defined in *State and Revolution*, namely, the destruction of the apparatus of these states and the ruling classes that sit on these apparatuses and oppress people.

The Israeli state is to be dismantled in precisely this sense as well as other bourgeois states, whether they be Arab or otherwise, in the area—the Iranians feel solidarity with us also on this issue—in order to create a general socialist order there.

Certainly it is our earnest desire that the Israeli masses would be drawn into the common struggle against these oppressive agencies, whether they be the overall imperialist presence or the oppressive ruling classes and the institutions of the bourgeois states in general. In this we are very firm and we have carried a very strong militant line in order to fight the old chauvinistic way of posing the Arab-Israeli conflict in terms of racism or anti-Semitism or the old idea of pushing the Jews into the sea. We have militated against this.

All our intellectuals and writers who belong to the left among Arabs have written on this, fighting against this, and I think they have gone quite a way in redefining the meaning of the struggle in terms of a revolutionary-socialist outlook for the future.

#### Free World

Persons in Taiwan wishing to hold a house party are required to obtain a police permit first.



# Kerala Elections — Pattern for All India?

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

The midterm election to the Kerala State Legislative Assembly in the third week of September resulted in a "victory" for the "National Democratic Front" [NDF] led by the pro-Moscow CPI [Communist party of India] and supported by the Congress (R) [Ruling] party—the wing of the Congress party led by Indira Gandhi.

The victory was rather hollow, however, since the Congress (R) emerged as the largest single party in the assembly, with 32 of 133 seats, while the NDF, which includes the Muslim League, RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party], and PSP [Praja Socialist party], won a total of only 39 seats.

The "Peoples Democratic Front" [PDF] led by the CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)] won a total of 43 seats, distributed as follows: CPI(M), 27; SSP [Samyukta Socialist party], 6; Indian Socialist party [ISP], 3; Krishaka Thozilali party [KTP], 2; Kerala Socialist party [KSP], 2; independents, 3. The PDF will function as the main opposition in the assembly.

The "Democratic Front" [DF], consisting of right-wing bourgeois parties, won 16 seats: Kerala Congress (a regional formation), 12; independents supported by the Syndicate Congress, 4. There were 2 "unattached" independents elected.

While the Syndicate Congress officially obtained no seats at all, the "independents" elected with its support later formed an official Syndicate group in the assembly. These candidates had been supported by the CPI(M) as part of a secret electoral deal with the Syndicate Congress.

Thus the pattern has been set for coalitions on a national scale. The Congress (R) party evidently seeks a coalition with the CPI and its allies. The national council of the CPI met in Delhi a few days after the election and decided to explore the possibility of building a National Democratic Front of so-called "progressive and democratic forces" in which the

Congress (R) of Indira Gandhi would play a dominant role.

In Kerala a ministry led by C. Achutha Menon of the CPI as chief minister has been sworn into office. The cabinet includes 3 members of the CPI, 2 from the Muslim League, 2 from the RSP, and 1 from the PSP. The cabinet can survive in office only with the support of the Congress (R), although this party has not formally joined the cabinet because it does not wish to associate itself with the Muslim League.

Commenting on the election results, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, former Chief Minister of Kerala and general secretary of the Kerala state committee of the CPI(M), said that he was "satisfied with the verdict of the midterm election."

He stated that the NDF and the Congress (R) party, the main opponents of the CPI(M), had together polled just over 3,000,000 throughout the state as against 3,300,000 in the 1967 election. The CPI(M)-led PDF, he said, had raised its total from 2,100,000 to 2,700,000.

Namboodiripad has his illusions about the parliamentary road to "social change." He said that the election held under the present voting system did not "reflect the real wishes of the electorate." He has, therefore, demanded introduction of "a system of proportionate representation of the legislature." He has also charged the CPI with having resurrected the Congress party, which was rejected by the people in the 1967 election.

Among the smaller left parties that entered the electoral race in Kerala was the Communist Revolutionary party, a dissident "Naxalite" (Maoist) group led by K. P. R. Gopalan. It fielded six candidates. All were defeated, securing a total of 5,198 votes.

The Socialist Unity Centre had one candidate, who received 1,288 votes.

The Socialist Workers party [SWP — Indian section of the Fourth International] put up one candidate, M. A. Rappai, who secured 362 votes.

The Vetuva Mahasabha, an organization of landless labourers that put up four candidates, won a total of 2,501 votes.

The coalition government that has been formed under the leadership of the CPI cannot last very long because of its obvious internal contradictions. It must completely subordinate its policy decisions to the dictates of the Congress (R) party. A coordination committee has been set up between the NDF and the Congress (R) to decide the various measures of the government. The main concern of both formations is to "isolate" the CPI(M), which is still the biggest left party in Kerala.

In West Bengal an attempt is being made to set up a similar "National Democratic Front" of the CPI and other "like-minded parties," supported by the Bangla Congress and the Congress (R). A midterm election may be held in West Bengal, where the Legislative Assembly has been dissolved and president's rule established.

Indira Gandhi's strategy seems to be to forge a coalition of various "moderate" left parties with the Congress (R) for the 1972 general elections. But this strategy has suffered a setback in her home state of Uttar Pradesh. There an attempt to create a government led by the Congress (R) has been frustrated by a right-wing coalition government including the Jan Sangh, the Syndicate Congress, the Swatantra party, and the Bharatiya Kranti Dal [BKD]. The SSP has also joined this right-wing coalition in Uttar Pradesh.

Thus horse trading on the electoral front has begun in a big way, with all the traditional parties deeply involved.

This includes the CPI(M), which has not given up its electoral tactics. But recently one of its leaders, B. T. Ranadive, said that the 1972 elections will be the last held under the present capitalist constitution. He appears to fear the imposition of dictatorial rule thereafter, but he did not elaborate on how the revolutionary left could deal with the situation. The CPI(M) continues to chase the chimeras of a multiclass "peoples democratic front" with the "progressive" sector of the national bourgeoisie. It has no faith in the program of a socialist revolution in India.



## Looking Back Over My Years with Peng Shu-tse

By Peng Pi-lan

### IV

[Continued from last week.]

As soon as we had become settled in Hong Kong, we set up a printshop again and resumed publishing our party's journal. We also helped the Hong Kong branch in its activities and in improving its educational work. We projected the publication in Chinese of Trotsky's *Stalin* and Harold R. Isaac's *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, succeeding in getting out the latter book.

The British authorities in Hong Kong, however, had already put Trotskyist activities on the island under close surveillance because of the strikes they had led, much to the distaste of the rulers of the Crown Colony. Our comrades had suffered frequent arrests and deportations. Since the leading journal of the Chinese Revolutionary Communist Party had now opened up offices on the island, the authorities tightened their surveillance of all our movements.

The Hong Kong police discovered our printshop, arrested two of the comrades in charge, and deported them at once. Two persons who received correspondence from the international movement and Western Trotskyist publications were jailed. They were not members but only sympathizers. However, by tailing them and following all the leads, the police also managed to arrest more than ten of our comrades. Most of them were soon sentenced and deported. Then the police discovered where we lived and raided our flat. Fortunately, we had left the night before. Two days after this narrow escape, the police found our temporary refuge at a friend's flat and we had to move again. No sooner had we moved into another friend's home than the police appeared once more.

It was evident that under these circumstances we could no longer continue to live in Hong Kong. Since Shu-tse had become the main quarry in the hunt pursued by the Hong Kong authorities, the comrades were of the opinion that the Political Bureau should move elsewhere. Thus it was that Liu Chia-liong, Shu-tse, I and our children left Hong Kong for Vietnam. The move was made possible thanks to considerable help from our friends and comrades.

We reached Vietnam at the end of January 1950. Save for Liu, we found jobs to keep us going. Hardly a few months had passed, however, before misfortune struck again.

Two leading Vietnamese Trotskyists (René and Liu) were invited to participate in a conference in the zone controlled by the Vietminh. We had been assured that the conference was being organized by Trotskyist elements inside the Vietminh, among them being the chief of staff of the army in control of this zone. The conference was

scheduled to discuss the military situation and organizational problems of the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement. Unfortunately, the Stalinists had prepared a trap.

When the conference came to an end, all the Vietnamese Trotskyists, and our Comrade Liu Chia-liong, who had been invited to attend, were arrested. Shortly afterwards, Liu Chia-liong died in prison. As for the Vietnamese comrades, the report was that they were still alive at the time we left Vietnam, but we have never heard what their final fate was.

The Trotskyist movement in Vietnam had suffered a serious blow. Comrade Liu Chia-liong was now gone. Even Shu-tse's life was in immediate danger because the Stalinists knew where he was and could eliminate him whenever they pleased.

Upon learning of Liu's death, all our comrades and friends in Hong Kong and elsewhere urged us to leave Vietnam without further delay. They collected sufficient funds to assure our getting to Europe. Thus we started out on our long exile to the West.

\* \* \*

Despite hardships, poverty, and illness, the years of exile in Western Europe have been instructive. Upon arriving in Europe, Shu-tse was able to participate more directly in the international activities of the world Trotskyist movement. This enabled him to gain a better appreciation of world developments and, above all, to gain a better grasp of where our movement as a whole stands in seeking to achieve its tasks.

His contributions in the past fifteen years to the Trotskyist movement have been primarily literary. First of all, he made a detailed analysis of the victory of the third Chinese revolution, its causes, its impact on the international situation, and its consequences in China in the initial subsequent stages.

In his opinion the third Chinese revolution ought properly to be characterized as a "deformed" revolution. The overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois regime, the realization of such revolutionary measures as national independence, land reform, etc., showed incontestably that a deep-going revolution had occurred. But the regime established in China following the revolution had to be characterized as a type of dictatorial bureaucratic rule. Therefore the prospects in China were much like those in the East European countries, that is, the formation of a "deformed workers state" (see "Report on the Chinese Situation," November 1951).

When the fanatical campaign to establish "People's Communes" was launched by the Chinese Communist party, this led to considerable confusion and the creation of illusions among radical and progressive elements all over

the world. Peng followed the events very closely and wrote about them in the light of the fundamental principles laid down by Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky on collectivization of the land, the experiences of the Soviet Union and the East European countries in this field, and in particular the existing conditions in China. To force the peasants to enter the people's communes by ukase, he held, could only lead to resentment on their part and as a result an inevitable decline in agricultural production (see "Criticism of the Various Views Supporting the Chinese Rural People's Communes," published in January 1969).

When a few Trotskyists began to idealize the CCP and its regime, seeking to establish that Mao's party and regime are analogous to the Bolshevik party and the revolutionary regime that existed in the Soviet Union during Lenin's lifetime, Peng Shu-tse sought to refute their assertions by facts and theoretical arguments. The CCP, he maintained, still continued to be a Stalinist party and its regime a bureaucratic dictatorship. For this reason, he held, a political revolution would inevitably occur in China as had been forecast for the Soviet Union and the East European countries (see "On the Nature of the Chinese Communist Party and Its Regime," written in April 1960).

Within the Fourth International, he opposed the tendency represented by Pablo that inclined to take a conciliatory attitude toward the Soviet bureaucracy, and he also opposed the ultraleft sectarian tendency represented by Healy that appeared later (see "Pabloism Criticized" and "Where Is Healy Taking the Socialist Labour League?").

In the years following the split in the world Trotskyist movement that occurred in 1953-54, as soon as it became clear that a new basis for a principled unification existed, he became an advocate of reunification. In the International Committee he conducted a solitary battle for several years against Healy's stubborn hostility to reunification. At the Reunification Congress in June 1963, when he saw the actual reunification of the world Trotskyist movement with his own eyes, he said, "For me, during my stay in Europe this is the happiest event of the past ten years."

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Peng Shu-tse is now seventy years old.<sup>7</sup> He feels extremely lucky to be alive. Most of the militants of his generation, with whom he fought side by side during the days of the second Chinese revolution and following its defeat, are dead. The majority lost their lives under the knife of the butcher Chiang Kai-shek.

For the past thirty-eight years, the years following that defeated revolution, Peng Shu-tse has passed most of the time in privation, danger, terror, and exile. He has lived through the witch-hunt conducted by Chiang Kai-shek; arrest and imprisonment under the rule of the Kuomintang; the lies and slanders splashed on his name by the Stalinists, their attempts on his life; through the persecution inflicted by Japanese imperialism. To survive all

this sounds like the role cast for the hero in popular fiction. Yet that is the way it turned out, and Shu-tse is a most fortunate man.

As early as 1920 when he joined the newly founded Communist party as a youth of twenty-five, he made up his mind to dedicate his life and energies to the revolution. That is why, after so many years of hardships and setbacks, endured during his youth and manhood, he has never regretted his decision or felt disheartened. He knows to the bottom the contradiction that can occur between truth and reality, that all those who fight for a noble ideal have to suffer a hard fate as long as the truth is not definitively triumphant. So it has been that each time he has suffered a blow or setback, he has adopted a sort of "fatalistic" attitude, confronting life with the utmost patience and an iron will. "For gnarling sorrow hath less power to bite the man that mocks it and sets it light," Shakespeare said.<sup>8</sup> A real revolutionist has no choice but to forge his morality and his will through suffering. Out of this comes an even state of mind that makes it possible to avoid being overwhelmed by suffering; suffering can instead be reduced.

Of course, even revolutionists of excellent morality and firm resolution cannot defy the test of events and resist the incessant pressure of suffering and setbacks without being armed with Marxism. To mention only China, many revolutionists who were staunch and resolute to begin with, gradually lost heart and faith under the constant terror and persecution, under the rain of blows and unending hardship. They lacked a deep Marxist appreciation of the world. Shu-tse often tells comrades, "We must raise our own level by studying Marxism. This is not only an absolute necessity in leading the revolution, but is the most effective weapon in resisting the setbacks that come in a period of counterrevolution."

Through consistent study of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky's works, and their way of thinking; through the experiences and lessons to be learned from the world revolutionary movement; by seeking to make these intellectual gains his own, Peng Shu-tse has remained a revolutionary optimist. He firmly believes that Trotskyism, in which is to be found the heritage of Marxism and Leninism, is certain to carry out the tasks of the world revolution and lead mankind to freedom from capitalist exploitation and oppression, to deliverance from the threat of extermination in a nuclear war.

In the struggle against Stalinism, which still functions as a brake on the world revolution, Peng Shu-tse is convinced that Trotskyism will emerge triumphant.

Stalin's successor, Khrushchev, in his report to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, revealed a portion of the crimes committed by Stalin, a portion of the crimes that were repeatedly exposed and denounced by Trotsky and his followers. At the Twenty-second Congress of the CPSU, further revelations were made. Since then the most revolting expressions of Stalin's self-adulation, such as statues and monuments have been toppled; and Stalin's corpse has been removed from Lenin's tomb. Sufficient has been done to show that even Stalin's own heirs have been compelled to confirm at least partially the truth of the denunciations leveled by Trotsky and his followers.

After the exposure at the Twentieth Congress of the

7. This was written five years ago. Peng, of course, is now seventy-five and is celebrating fifty years as an active participant in the revolutionary Marxist movement. — *IP*

8. *King Richard the Second*, Act I, Scene III, John of Gaunt.

cult of Stalin and some of his crimes, the working class in Poland and Hungary rose up against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Then came the breakup of the Stalinist monolith on a world scale as a result of the rupture between Peking and Moscow. This was followed by splits among the Stalinist parties throughout the world.

All of this confirmed the correctness of the Trotskyist analyses and forecasts concerning the inevitable crisis and decline faced by Stalinism, thus reinforcing the convictions held by Peng Shu-tse and all the Trotskyists internationally.

When Stalin's heirs, under the pressure of the Soviet masses, felt compelled to repudiate Stalin's crimes, this, I firmly believe, represented the opening of a new era for humanity in which the truths espoused by Trotsky-

ism will gain ascendancy. These truths have been sown all over the globe and will be harvested in revolutions everywhere.

For forty years I have shared Peng Shu-tse's fate. I believe that I understand better than anyone else his way of thinking, his enthusiasm in seeking the truth, his conviction in the truth of Marxism-Leninism and Trotskyism, his role in the Chinese Communist party, and the extremely difficult conditions he had to face in struggling for the Trotskyist movement in the past thirty-six years. I have written this article as my present to him at his seventieth birthday celebration and to express my congratulations.

November 1965.

[The end.]

## First Time in English

# How Did Stalin Defeat the Opposition?

By Leon Trotsky

[The following article was written by Léon Trotsky while in exile in Norway in November 1935. It appeared originally in the Russian-language *Bulletin of the Opposition*, No. 46, December 1935. It has been translated into English for the first time by Fred Buchman for the book *Writings of Leon Trotsky—1935-36* to be published shortly by Pathfinder Press, New York. The article is of special interest because of Trot-

The questions set by comrade Zeller's letter are of interest not only for history but also for the present time. It is not unusual to meet them as often in political literature as in private conversation, although in different forms, mostly personal ones. "How and why did you lose power?" "How did Stalin lay his hands on the apparatus?" "What makes for Stalin's strength?" The question of the internal laws of revolution and counter-revolution is put everywhere and always in a purely individual way, as if the matter concerned a game of chess or some sporting contest and not profound conflicts and modifications with a social character. In this context many pseudo-Marxists are in no way distinguished from vulgar democrats who use the criteria of parliamentary lobbies when faced with great popular movements.

Whoever understands history however slightly knows that every revolution has provoked a subsequent counter-revolution which, to be sure, has never completely thrown the nation all the way back to its starting point in the sphere of economy but has always taken from the people a considerable part, sometimes the lion's share, of its political conquests. And the first victim of the reactionary wave as a general rule, is that layer of revolutionaries which stood at the head of the masses in the first period of the revolution, the period of the offensive, the "heroic" period. This general historical observation should now lead us to the idea that the matter is not simply one of the skill, the cunning or the art of two or a few individ-

sky's explanation as to why he decided not to use the Red Army to block Stalin from usurping power.

[Trotsky's article was written in reply to a letter from Fred Zeller, secretary of the Seine Youth organization and an active member of the Socialist party of France, who was expelled from the SP for his adherence to the views of the international Left Opposition.]

uals but of incomparably more profound causes.

Marxists, unlike superficial fatalists (of the type of Leon Blum, Paul Faure, etc.) do not deny the role of the individual, his initiative, his audacity, in the social struggle. But unlike the idealists, Marxists know that consciousness is, in the last analysis, determined by being. The role of the leadership in the revolution is enormous. Without a correct leadership, the proletariat cannot conquer. But even the best leadership cannot foment revolution when it does not have the objective conditions. Among the greatest merits of a proletarian leadership must be reckoned the capacity to distinguish the moment when one can attack and when it is necessary to withdraw. It was this capacity which constituted the main strength of Lenin.\*

The success or failure of the Left Opposition's struggle against the bureaucracy, to some degree or other, naturally, depended on the qualities of the leaders in the two

\*The Stalinists do exactly the opposite: when there was an economic revival and relative political equilibrium they proclaimed "the conquests of the street," "barricades," "Soviets everywhere" (the "third period"); and now, when France is going through a deep social and political crisis, they throw themselves round the necks of the Radicals, that is, of a bourgeois party that is absolutely rotted away. A long time ago it was said that these gentlemen are in the habit of singing funeral psalms at a wedding and at funerals wedding hymns.

warring camps. But before speaking of these qualities, we should clearly understand the characters of the warring camps themselves, for the best leader of one camp could be absolutely worthless for the other, and vice versa. The question—it is very current (and very naive)—"Why did Trotsky not use at the time the military apparatus against Stalin?" is the clearest evidence in the world that the questioner does not wish to or cannot reflect on the general historical reasons for the victory of the Soviet bureaucracy over the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. I have written about these reasons more than once in a certain number of books, beginning with my autobiography. I propose to sum up the most important conclusions in a few lines.

It is not the present bureaucracy which ensured the victory of the October Revolution but the working and peasant masses under Bolshevik leadership. The bureaucracy began to grow only after the definitive victory, swelling its ranks not only with revolutionary workers but also with representatives of other classes (former Czarist functionaries, officers, bourgeois intellectuals, etc.). The present bureaucracy, in its overwhelming majority, was, at the time of the October Revolution, in the bourgeois camp (take as examples merely the Soviet ambassadors Potemkin, Maisky, Troyanovsky, Surits, Khinchuk, etc.). Those of the present bureaucracy who in the October days were in the Bolshevik camp, in the great majority of cases played no role however slightly important in either the preparation or the conduct of the revolution, or in the first years following it. This applies above all to Stalin himself. As for the present young bureaucrats, they are chosen and educated by the older ones, most often from among their own children. And it is Stalin who has become the "chief" of this new caste which has grown up after the revolution.

The history of the trade union movement in every country is not only the history of strikes and in general of mass movements; it is also the history of the formation of the trade union bureaucracy. It is sufficiently well known what enormous conservative power this bureaucracy has been able to acquire, and with what infallible sense it chooses its "genial" leaders and forms them according to its needs: Gompers, Green, Legien, Leipart, Citrine, etc.\*\* If Jouhaux has succeeded till now in maintaining his positions against attacks from the left, it is not because he is a great strategist (though, no doubt, he is superior to his bureaucratic colleagues: it is not for nothing that he fills the first place among them) but because there is not a day, not an hour, when his entire apparatus does not struggle obstinately for its existence, does not select collectively the best methods of that struggle, does not think for Jouhaux, and does not inspire him with the necessary decisions. But that in no way means that Jouhaux is invincible. Given a sudden change in the situation—towards revolution or towards fascism—the whole trade union apparatus will lose its self-confidence,

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\*\*Only a pure lackey could speak of Stalin as a Marxist "theoretician." His book, *Problems of Leninism*, is an eclectic compilation, full of schoolboy errors. But the national bureaucracy has conquered the Marxist opposition by its social weight, not at all by "theory."

its skillful maneuvers will show themselves to be without power and Jouhaux himself will produce an impression, not remarkable but miserable. We need only recall what despicable nonentities the powerful and arrogant chiefs of the German trade unions showed themselves to be in 1918 when the revolution broke out, against their will, as well as in 1932 when Hitler appeared.

These examples show the sources of the strength and the weakness of the bureaucracy. It emerges from the movement of the masses in the first period, the heroic period. But having risen above the masses, and then having resolved its own "social question" (an assured existence, influence, respect, etc.), the bureaucracy tends increasingly to keep the masses immobile. Why take risks? It has something to lose. The supreme expansion of the influence and well-being of the reformist bureaucracy takes place in an epoch of capitalist progress and of relative passivity of the working masses. But when this passivity is broken, on the right or on the left, the magnificence of the bureaucracy comes to an end. Its intelligence and skill are transformed into stupidity and impotence. The nature of "leaders" corresponds to the nature of the class (or of the caste) it leads and to the objective situation through which this class (or caste) is passing.

The Soviet bureaucracy is immeasurably more powerful than the reformist bureaucracies of all the capitalist countries taken together since it has in its hands the state power and all the advantages and privileges bound up with that. True, the Soviet bureaucracy has grown on the soil of the victorious proletarian revolution. But it would be the greatest naivete to idealize, for that reason, that same bureaucracy. In a poor country—and the USSR is at present still a very poor country where a private room, sufficient food and clothing are within the reach of only a tiny minority of the population—in such a country millions of bureaucrats, great and small, make every effort to ensure before anything their own well-being! Hence the great egoism and the great conservatism of the bureaucracy, its fright in the face of the discontent of the masses, its hatred of criticism, its angry persistence in stifling all free thought, and finally, its hypocritical and religious kneeling before the "leader" who embodies and defends its unlimited domination and its privileges. All that, taken together, is the content of the struggle against "Trotskyism."

It is absolutely beyond question and of major importance that the Soviet bureaucracy became more powerful as the blows struck harder against the world working class. The defeats of the revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia gradually undermined the confidence of the Soviet workers in their international ally. Inside the country acute misery still reigned. The boldest and most devoted representatives of the working class had either perished in the civil war or had risen higher and, for the main part, been assimilated into the ranks of the bureaucracy, having lost their revolutionary spirit. Weary, because of the terrible efforts of the revolutionary years, without perspective, poisoned with bitterness because of a series of disappointments, the great mass fell into passivity. Reaction of this kind is to be seen, as we have already said, after every revolution. The immense his-

torical advantage of the October Revolution, taken as a proletarian revolution, is that the exhaustion and the disappointment have profited not the class enemy, the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, but the upper layer of the working class itself and the intermediary groups linked with it who have entered the Soviet bureaucracy.

The genuine revolutionary proletarians in the USSR drew their strength not from the apparatus but from the activity of the revolutionary masses. In particular, the Red Army was created not by "men of the apparatus" (in the most critical years the apparatus was still very weak), but by the cadres of heroic workers who, under Bolshevik leadership, gathered round them the young peasants and led them into battle. The decline of the revolutionary movement, weariness, the defeats in Europe and in Asia, the disappointment of the working masses was inevitably and directly to weaken the positions of the internationalist-revolutionaries and, on the other hand, was to strengthen the positions of the national and conservative bureaucracy. A new chapter opens in the revolution. The leaders of the preceding period go into opposition while the conservative politicians of the apparatus, who had played a secondary role in the revolution, emerge with the triumphant bureaucracy, in the forefront.

As for the military apparatus, it is a fraction of the bureaucratic apparatus, in no way distinguished in qualities from it. It is enough to say that in the years of the Civil War, the Red Army absorbed tens of thousands of former Czarist officers. On March 13, 1919, Lenin said to a meeting in Petrograd, "When Trotsky told me recently that, in the military sphere, the number of our officers was several tens of thousands, then I had a concrete picture of what is meant by the secret of using our enemy: how to have communism built by those who were formerly our enemies; build communism with bricks collected against us by the capitalists! And we have no other bricks!" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, Russian ed. 1932, stenographic report, page 65). These cadres of officers and functionaries carried out their work in the first years under the direct pressure and surveillance of the advanced workers. In the fire of the cruel struggle, there could not be even a question of a privileged position for the officers: the very word was scrubbed out of the vocabulary. But precisely after the victories had been won and the passage made to a peaceful situation, the military apparatus tried to become the most influential and privileged fraction of the whole bureaucratic apparatus. The only person who would have relied on the officers for the purpose of seizing power would have been someone who was prepared to go further than the appetites of the officer caste, that is to say, who would have ensured for them a superior position, given them ranks and decorations, in a word, would have done in one single act what the Stalinist bureaucracy has done progressively over the succeeding ten to twelve years. There is no doubt that it would have been possible to carry out a military coup d'etat against the faction of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin, etc., without any difficulty and without even the shedding of any blood; but the result of such a coup d'etat would have been to accelerate the rhythm of this very bureaucratization and Bonapartism against which the Left Opposition had engaged in struggle.

The task of the Bolshevik-Leninists was by its very essence not to rely on the military bureaucracy against that of the party but to rely on the proletarian vanguard and through it on the popular masses, and to master the bureaucracy in its entirety, to purge it of its foreign elements, to ensure the vigilant control of the workers over it, and to set its policy back on the rails of revolutionary internationalism. But as the living fountain of the revolutionary strength of the masses was dried up in civil war, famine and epidemics and the bureaucracy grew terribly in numbers and insolence, the revolutionary proletarians became the weaker side. To be sure, the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninists gathered tens of thousands of the best revolutionary fighters, including some military men. The advanced workers were sympathetic to the Opposition, but that sympathy remained passive; the masses no longer believed that the situation could be seriously changed by struggle. Meantime the bureaucracy asserted, "The Opposition proposes international revolution and is ready to drag us into a revolutionary war. Enough of shake-ups and misery. We have earned the right to rest. We need no more of 'permanent revolution.' We will build the socialist society at home. Workers and peasants, rely on us, your leaders!" This national and conservative agitation was accompanied—to mention it in passing—by furious slanders, sometimes absolutely reactionary, against the internationalists. It drew the military and state bureaucracies tightly together, and indubitably found an echo in the weary and backward masses. So the Bolshevik vanguard found itself isolated and crushed piecemeal. Therein lies the secret of the victory of the Thermidorian bureaucracy.

Talk about the extraordinary tactical and organizational qualities of Stalin is a myth, deliberately created by the bureaucracy of the USSR and of the Communist International and repeated by left bourgeois intellectuals who, despite their individualism, willingly bend the knees to success. These gentlemen neither understood nor recognized Lenin when, pursued by the international scum, he prepared the revolution. On the contrary, they "recognized" Stalin when this recognition brought only satisfaction and sometimes direct advantages.

The initiative for the struggle against the Left Opposition belongs properly not to Stalin but to Zinoviev. At first Stalin hesitated and waited. It would be wrong to think that Stalin had even a strategic plan from the outset. He kept testing the ground. There is no doubt that the revolutionary Marxist tutelage weighed on him. In fact, he sought a simpler, more national, "surer" policy. The success which attended him was something unexpected, in the first place by himself. It was the success of the new leading layer, of the revolutionary aristocracy which was trying to liberate itself from the control of the masses and which needed a strong and reliable arbiter in its internal affairs. Stalin, a figure of the second rank in the proletarian revolution, appeared as the unchallenged leader of the Thermidorian bureaucracy, first in its ranks—nothing more.

The Italian fascist or semi-fascist writer Malaparte has published a book, *Coup d'Etat: The Technique of Revolution*, in which he develops the idea that "Trotsky's

revolutionary tactics" in contrast to Lenin's strategy could assure victory in a given country under given conditions. It is difficult to imagine any theory that could be more absurd! However, the sages who with hindsight accuse us of losing power because of indecision, at bottom look at things from Malaparte's point of view: they think that there are certain special technical "secrets" with whose help revolutionary power can be won or preserved, independently of the effect of great objective factors: victory or defeat for the revolution in the East and the West, the rise or fall of the mass movement in a country, etc. Power is not a prize the most "skillful" win. Power is a relationship between individuals, in the last analysis between classes. Governmental leadership, as we have said, is a powerful lever for success. But that does not at all mean that the leadership can guarantee victory under all conditions.

What is decisive in the last analysis are the class struggle and the internal modifications produced inside the struggling masses.

It is impossible, to be sure, to reply with mathematical precision to the question: How would the struggle have developed had Lenin been alive? That Lenin would have been the implacable enemy of the greedy conservative bureaucracy and of Stalin's policy which steadily bound to itself all of his own kind, is apparent in indisputable fashion from a whole series of letters, articles and proposals by Lenin in the last period of his life, especially from his "Testament" in which he recommends that Stalin be removed from the post of general secretary, and finally from his last letter in which he breaks off "all personal and comradely relations" with Stalin. In the period between the two attacks of his illness, Lenin proposed a common faction with me to struggle against the bureaucracy and its general staff, the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee where Stalin was in command. For the 12th Party Congress, Lenin—to use his own expression—was preparing a "bomb" against Stalin. All this has been told—on the basis of precise and indisputable documents—in my autobiography and in a special article, "Lenin's Testament." Lenin's preparatory measures show that he thought that the imminent struggle would be very difficult; not that—there is no doubt about it—he feared Stalin *personally* as an opponent (it would be ridiculous to speak of that) but because he saw clearly behind Stalin's back the tissue of the common interests of the powerful caste of the leading bureaucracy. While Lenin was still alive, Stalin was conducting a sapping operation by the medium of agents cautiously spreading the rumor that Lenin was an invalid intellectual, out of touch with the situation, etc., in a word, putting into circulation the same legend which has now become the unofficial version of the Communist International to explain the acute hostility between Lenin and Stalin during the last year and a half of Lenin's life. In fact, all the articles and letters that Lenin dictated when he was ill represent perhaps the ripest fruits of his thought. The perspicacity of this "invalid" would have been more than enough for a dozen Stalins.

It can be said with certainty that had Lenin lived longer, the pressure of bureaucratic omnipotence would have been exerted—at least in the first years—more lightly. But in 1926 Krupskaya [Lenin's wife] said to a company of Left Oppositionists, "If Lenin were alive today he would

now be in prison." The fears and alarming forebodings of Lenin were still fresh in her memory, and she had absolutely no illusions as to the personal omnipotence of Lenin, understanding, in her own words, the dependence of the best helmsman on the winds and on favorable or contrary currents.

Does that mean that Stalin's victory was inevitable? Does that mean that the struggle of the Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) was hopeless? Such a way of putting the question is abstract, schematic and fatalist. The development of the struggle has shown, without any doubt, that winning a complete victory in the USSR, that is to say, conquering power and cauterizing the ulcer of bureaucratism—that the Bolshevik-Leninists could not and would not have been able to do *without support from the world revolution*. But that in no way means that their struggle did not have results. Without the Opposition's bold criticism and without the bureaucracy's fear of the Opposition, the course of Stalin-Bukharin toward the kulak would have ended up in the revival of capitalism. Under the lash of the Opposition the bureaucracy was forced to make important borrowings from our platform. The Leninists could not save the Soviet regime from the process of degeneration and the difficulties of the personal regime. But it saved it from complete dissolution by barring the road to capitalist restoration. The progressive reforms of the bureaucracy were the by-products of the Opposition's revolutionary struggle. For us it is far too insufficient. But it is still something.

On the arena of the world's workers movement, on which the Soviet bureaucracy depends only indirectly, the situation is immensely still more unfavorable to the USSR. Through the intermediacy of the Communist International, Stalinism has become the worst brake on the world revolution. Without Stalin there would have been no Hitler. At the present moment in France, Stalinism by the policy of prostration whose political name is the "Popular Front," is preparing a new defeat for the proletariat. But here too, the Left Opposition struggle has not been sterile. Throughout the whole world are growing and multiplying cadres of genuine proletarian revolutionaries, real Bolsheviks, who are joining not the Soviet bureaucracy in order to use its authority and treasury, but the program of Lenin and the banner of the October Revolution. Under the truly monstrous persecutions—also without precedent in history—by the joint forces of imperialism, reformism and Stalinism, the Bolshevik-Leninists are growing, strengthening themselves and gaining increasingly the confidence of the advanced workers. An infallible symptom of the crisis which is being produced is the magnificent evolution of the Socialist Youth of the Seine. The world revolution will go forward under the banner of the Fourth International. Its first successes will not leave standing one stone upon another of the omnipotence of the Stalinist clique, its legends, its slanders and hollow reputations. The Soviet republic, like the world proletarian vanguard, will finally liberate itself from the bureaucratic octopus. The historic collapse of Stalinism is predetermined and it will be a merited punishment for its numberless crimes against the world working class. We want and look forward to no other cleansing!

L. Trotsky

November 12, 1935



## Socialism and Women's Liberation

*Women and the Cuban Revolution*, speeches by Fidel Castro, articles by Linda Jenness. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 15 pp. \$.35. 1970.

*In Defense of the Women's Movement* by Ruthann Miller, Mary-Alice Waters, and Evelyn Reed. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 15 pp. \$.25. 1970.

*The Politics of Women's Liberation Today* by Mary-Alice Waters. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 23 pp. \$.25. 1970.

Each of these pamphlets stands on its own merits. Taken together they provide an excellent outline of the overall goals and perspectives of the women's liberation movement, and of the debates within the movement.

*Women and the Cuban Revolution* provides an insight into what society is *capable* of doing to liberate women—provided that the society is not controlled by persons who benefit from their oppression.

In spite of the fact that Cuba is still an underdeveloped country, free child care is provided for all children over the age of forty-five days. Women are actively encouraged to enter production (there is preferential hiring of women), education (almost half of the university students are now women), and politics (women constitute more than half of the membership of the Union of Young Communists). Reading Castro's speeches and Jenness's eyewitness descriptions inevitably calls forth the question: Why cannot a far richer country like the United States accomplish as much in this field as Cuba?

The answer to that question, of course, is capitalism, which explains why so many liberals oppose the women's liberation movement. *In Defense of the Women's Movement* refutes attacks by three liberal sources: Benjamin Spock, the "baby doctor" and antiwar figure; Pete Hamill, a popular columnist for the *New York Post*; and the Communist party of the United States.

What all three have in common is a fear of the independent dynamic of the women's movement and an appeal to outworn myths to justify their

position. Particularly ludicrous are the attempts of the Communist party to glorify the bourgeois family—as a "revolutionary" force!

The women's liberation movement is an indication of the depth of the current radicalization in the United States. Waters writes in *The Politics of Women's Liberation Today*: "Struggle by women . . . for an end to the various forms of oppression under which they live, has been an integral part of every period of radicalization or revolutionary upsurge since the be-

### Iran

## Shah Keeps Up Attack on Writers, Artists

By Javad Sadeeg

The shah's military dictatorship is continuing to use repressive measures against the writers and artists of Iran.

Word has been received that Mohammad Ali Sepanlou, a prominent poet, and Naser Rahmani Nejad, a well-known actor and director, have been imprisoned again.

They were arrested once before because they protested the imprisonment of Ferydoun Tankaboni, a writer and high-school teacher. Tankaboni was imprisoned after publishing his book *Notes of a Turbulent City* in violation of censorship rules.

The satirical remarks to be found in the book along with the defiance of the censorship, proved to be too offensive to his imperial majesty and his secret police.

Sepanlou and Rahmani Nejad were released last summer. A little later, they joined a group of more than eighty intellectuals in signing and circulating an appeal calling for the immediate release of the imprisoned writers Tankaboni, Hezar-khani, and Beh Azeen. [See *Intercontinental Press*, September 14, page 745, for the text of the appeal.] For this, they were once more thrown into prison.

Beh Azeen, a well-known writer in Iran, and Hezar-khani, a young au-

thor, were among those who initiated

a defense campaign on behalf of Tankaboni, and were among the first to be imprisoned for this "crime." The shah's jailers have treated Hezar-khani especially harshly, it has been reported, because when he was studying in Europe he was active in the World Confederation of Iranian Students.

Tankaboni, who was sentenced to six months in jail, has now been released after having served his term. The rest are still in prison and none have been brought to trial.

A defense committee has been formed. Its address is:

Committee to Defend Iranian Political Prisoners, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, P. O. Box 82, Cambridge, Mass. 02139, USA.

— Allen Myers

### Puts Limit on Educational Activities

The president of St. Bonaventure University in Olean, New York, threatened to close the school November 3 because men and women students were visiting each other's dormitories.

### End of the 'Welfare State'?

A woman in Sittingbourne, England, was charged bus fare for a goldfish she was carrying, the *New York Times* reported November 4.



# The Bolivian Political Crisis and Torres' Regime

La Paz

In response to the recent events—the crisis of the regime, the clash of opposing military factions, and the mobilization of the Bolivian masses—the Executive Committee of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [POR—Revolutionary Workers party] has issued the following statement:

\* \* \*

1. The crisis of the military and of the regime, which culminated in the replacement of Ovando, was a clear manifestation of the erosion of the capitalist system and the party-army of the bourgeoisie in face of the ripening revolutionary process. The impetus in this development comes from the guerrillas of Teoponte, the workers' struggles, and the battles in the cities.

The situation in Bolivia and the advance of the revolution in Latin America, upon the triumph of the masses in Chile, led the imperialists and the military commanders to seek a solution that would enable them to contain the process, or at least to gain time, in order to mount a vast continent-wide operation at a later date. In Bolivia, the Ovando government had worn out its appeal and prestige in a year of continual clashes with students and workers. Military reformism had failed in its attempt to win a more or less extensive basis of social support. As a result, the Alto Mando Militar [Military High Command], advised by the Yankee embassy, reached the conclusion that it had to replace the Ovando government. The crisis of the military and of the regime erupted when the top officers could not agree on who should succeed the ousted team. After Ovando resigned, they remained divided and locked in conflict. The support of the students and workers for General Torres decided the crisis in his favor and toppled the military junta that had been installed by the opposing sector of the armed forces. Then, in very rapid order, the armed forces rallied around the new president under the slogan of "there are neither victors nor vanquished."

2. No social revolution has occurred. The crisis was resolved within the framework of the military circles themselves. The same "revolutionary nationalist" tendency that surfaced with Ovando is being continued by the Torres regime. The army, the armed party of the bourgeoisie, still controls the state. If disagreements and frictions between the military chiefs have not disappeared, they are not yet deep-cutting enough to bring different sectors into conflict and produce ruptures in the command structure.

The class character and political significance of General Torres' government are becoming clear with his first speeches and the measures he has taken to reorganize the army and the cabinet. In the first place, he named General Roque Terán, the ex-commander of the Fourth Camiri regiment, as chief of the army. Roque Terán is notorious for his brutality in combating Che's guerrillas in 1967. He is a rightist officer of the same stamp as his predecessor, Rogelio Miranda. Torres' first cabinet includes well-known figures who served Barrientos and Ovando, as well as others who led the right wing of the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria — Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, a demagogic formation raised to power by the revolution of 1952] and ordered the troops to fire on the workers movement, seeking to divide and destroy it.

In the presidency General Torres has not taken a single social or political measure that would identify him as a revolutionary. To the contrary, his speeches and political statements mark him as a continuer of Ovando. His concepts on structural change and the so-called "strategy of development" place him within the context of "desarrollismo" [the policy of limited industrialization and modernization], which imperialism is advancing for the semicolonial countries.

This policy does not strike at the nature of the bourgeois state or its fundamental institutions, in particular, its armed supports like the army and the national guard. The "revolutionary nationalism" Torres advocates is

nothing more than bourgeois reformism. The military commanders now want to rule by combining antiguerrilla and counterinsurgency tactics with a policy of modernizing the capitalist system. They talk about development and industrialization within a condition of subordination to imperialism, without touching the capitalist structure or the exploitation of surplus value. The opportunists confuse this new role of the military chiefs, which falls in the sphere of modern imperialist tactics, with a revolutionary process, which is a very different thing.

This policy forces General Torres, like the mythological figure Janus, to exhibit two faces. He turns one toward the masses, talking a populist language, while with the other one he smiles on military chiefs like Roque Terán, Lafuente, and Satori, condemning the guerrillas, refusing to grant a political amnesty and to free Debray, promising to pay compensation to Gulf Oil, and so on.

3. The intervention of the worker, student, and popular masses, which benefited General Torres, does not change this picture. It is important to be able to distinguish this military tendency from the living process taking place in the masses. It is a grave error to confuse the revolutionary process ripening in the vitals of the people, in the depths of the mines, in the factories and universities, on the former haciendas and in the communal villages, the process which has its fullest expression in armed struggle and guerrilla warfare, with the conflicts that periodically arise, under the pressure of this process, in the ranks of the military.

Only opportunists desperately eager to sell out could put the label "revolution" on the acrobatics engaged in by the military caste, precisely to head off the advance of real revolution. However progressive or liberal the bourgeois army may appear at certain times, it is strictly the antithesis of revolution and never the social revolution itself.

4. Unable to understand this process, confusing the revolution rising

up irrepressibly from the ranks of the workers and the people, the leadership of the COB [Central Obrera Boliviana—Bolivian Workers Federation] intervened in the crisis in support of a bourgeois solution. It neglected or rejected organizing a working-class solution, such as a socialist governmental alternative. The workers and their revolutionary vanguard do not have to choose between two feuding bands of officers. In this period when the relationship of forces is evolving in favor of the socialist revolution, their duty is to prepare the way for, and organize the seizure of power to establish a socialist workers state.

Many corrupt bureaucrats thought that Tórres' victory was theirs also, or even signified the victory of the working class. However, facing the reality of the military regrouping around Tórres, they are beating a shameful retreat. They backed down from demanding cogovernment to unconditional support for Tórres, then moved to a position of critical support, and now to one of advising the bourgeois government through the intermediary of the so-called commissions of inquiry. This is the fate of those who fail to think deeply and to correctly understand the new role of the military chiefs and the armed forces in this period. Through "progressive" poses, the military is converting the political parties and many intellectuals who can see no farther than their noses into mere tools of the "desarrollista" tactic of imperialism.

5. But while there has been no social revolution and the crisis was resolved within the bourgeois military framework, the masses have mobilized, they have been present in the streets. By their power and their determination they have freed political prisoners, occupied the offices of the DIC [Dirección de Investigaciones Criminales — Criminal Investigation Bureau, the Bolivian political police], as well as the mines. They have expelled the mine police and seized their arms.

If they went no further, it was because they lacked the appropriate political-military instruments for channeling their energies toward the conquest of power. It is in this mass mobilization that we must see revolution on the march and not in the intramural jousting which barely scratches

the surface of the armed forces and which, in any case, is only a by-product of the revolutionary process. The revolution is the power of the masses which must be fostered and organized independently.

This is the force that must be mobilized and concentrated in a struggle to defeat imperialism and the national bourgeoisie.

This revolutionary power of the masses must not be worn out in supporting one general against another. We must reject the petty-bourgeois illusion that some military chief or another can carry out the working-class program just because the union leaders ask him. This is what is called abdicating power in favor of a sector of the bourgeoisie.

Likewise we must discard the thesis of the spontanéists who naïvely maintain that it is enough to bring the unarmed masses onto the streets in order to settle accounts with imperialism and its lackeys. These ideas are responsible for innumerable massacres. Experience has shown that no matter how heroic they are, the masses will ultimately be defeated by an army prepared, armed, and trained by imperialism. In order to win, the masses need their own political-military instruments to take on the army of the bourgeoisie and defeat it in armed actions.

6. In the present situation, assessing the revolutionary process of which we are a part, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario proposes an independent policy for the masses and their vanguard, without compromises of any kind with the policy, program, or neocapitalist bourgeois ideology of General Tórres' military government.

Freeing themselves from all halts and restraints, the workers movement, the students and peasants, and the poor strata of the middle class must mobilize energetically and boldly and with all their power to wrest concession after concession from the bourgeoisie and imperialism. This must parallel the preparation and organization of the final assault on the state. Neither reformism, nor economism, nor still less spontanéism.

The power of the masses must be channeled into the struggle for power in order to establish socialism. The basic political and military instruments for achieving this end must be created. On the march we must remedy

the shortcomings and errors that resulted in the latest crisis being resolved within the framework of the capitalist state, without the revolutionary process and the intervention of the masses bearing their proper fruit.

Working actively to channel the revolutionary process toward a victorious outcome, the POR proposes the following objectives to the revolutionary masses:

a) Organizing a *Revolutionary Command*, including all political tendencies that favor a socialist solution to the country's present situation and support the armed struggle for power. The objective of this command would be to overcome the reformism and economism, the capitulation and class collaborationism that have caused the successive defeats and frustrations of the Bolivian people.

b) *Creating a Revolutionary Workers and People's Army*. This is the essential instrument for taking power. It will integrate vast popular, worker, and peasant sectors into the armed struggle. In this new army there can be a place for officers and soldiers of the bourgeois armed forces who break from this organization and want to fight in fact to liberate Bolivia from imperialist oppression and extricate it from underdevelopment.

c) *Developing a body representative of the masses*, through which they can express all their revolutionary power, initiative, worries, and determination to transform society.

Through these organs, the integral components and motive forces of the struggle for power, we can defeat imperialism and its native lackeys. Supporting the present government and abandoning this independent alternative is nothing less than a betrayal of the revolution and the workers movement.

Signed for the Executive Committee of the POR, the Bolivian Section of the Fourth International: Hugo González Moscoso, E. Sánchez, and Eliseo Aldana V.

October 11, 1970.

#### Injured by Rifle Recoil?

A Pentagon spokesman declared November 10 that the killing of four Kent State University students by National Guardsmen last May had "obviously heightened the concern for the protection of the guardsmen."