

young socialist

July-August 1969

25c



The Reemergence of Stalin

**EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH POLISH REVOLUTIONARY
2, 3, MANY SDS'S PLUS: ARABS, MEXICO, JAPAN**

young socialist

July-August 1969

25c



The Reemergence of Stalin

**EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH POLISH REVOLUTIONARY
2, 3, MANY SDS'S PLUS: ARABS, MEXICO, JAPAN**

young socialist

Vol. 12, No. 8 (98)

July-Aug. 1969

Editor: Nelson Blackstock

Business Manager: Flax Hermes

Editorial Board: Charles Bolduc, Derrick Morrison, Susan LaMont, Tony Thomas, Joanna Misnick, Melissa Singler, David Thorstad, Larry Seigle, Peer Vinther

In this issue



PEER VINTHER (top left), who deals with the Stalin question, recently moved from California to New York City, where he is presently organizer of the Manhattan local of the YSA. STACEY JOSLIN (top right) is a YSAer living in New York City. She has written on cultural matters for the YS in the past. CLIFF CONNER (lower left) is a member of the Atlanta YSA where he is a leading figure in the antiwar movement. JON ROTHSCHILD (lower right) is active in the YSA in Philadelphia, where he is a factory worker and trade unionist. ANGEL VERDUGO was a member of the National Strike Council during the student strike in Mexico last fall.

Subscription Price: \$2.00 per year in U.S. and Canada. Write for foreign rates. Bundle rate: 20 cents per issue (15 cents for newsstands). The **Young Socialist** is published monthly, except during July and August, when bimonthly. P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Phone 989-7570. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the **Young Socialist**.

Second class postage paid at New York, New York.



Contents

STALIN	3
POLAND	8
ARABS, JEWS	15
MOSHE DAYAN	14
ARABS, JEWS	15
MEXICO	20
SDS CHART	23
JAPAN	24
FILM	26
BOOKS	28

**Strange happenings
on the new left...**



**THE ATTEMPT TO
RESTORE STALIN**



BY PEER VINTHER

For the last year or so, the fame of Joseph Stalin as a great revolutionary theoretician and tactician has been on the rise in, of all places, the "new left" and its foremost organizational expression, Students for a Democratic Society. Both at the SDS National Council meeting in Austin, Texas, last April, and at the recent SDS Convention in Chicago, discussions were sprinkled with quotations from and references to Stalin. A number of speakers portrayed Stalin as the great continuator of the revolutionary policies of Lenin, and his organizational methods were mentioned favorably and felt to be worthy of emulation by SDS. As if to show the world how well it had absorbed some of Stalin's methods, the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) caucus proceeded to expel the Progressive Labor (PL)-Worker Student Alliance (WSA) group with but slight concern for organizational details such as the fact that the PL-WSA caucus constituted the majority of the convention delegates, and that the SDS constitution makes absolutely no provisions for such maneuvers.

The central reason for this sudden appearance of Stalinism within SDS lies in its inability to formulate a clear political program for the American revolution. SDS and its various leadership cliques have been satisfied with a shallow, pragmatic approach to the central political issues facing American radicals. This has led to a series of flip-flops on almost all the crucial issues facing revolutionaries in the United States—from organizing massive protests against the U. S. aggression in Vietnam, to refusing to participate in later ones because the antiwar movement was not "anti-imperialist" enough; from being opposed to the development of black nationalism to favoring it, back to opposing it, and then back to favoring it again, etc., etc. Rather than provide political leadership to the student movement, SDS has consistently lagged behind the developing student radicalization.

When two years ago PL, a centralized Maoist group, entered SDS the organization was faced with the

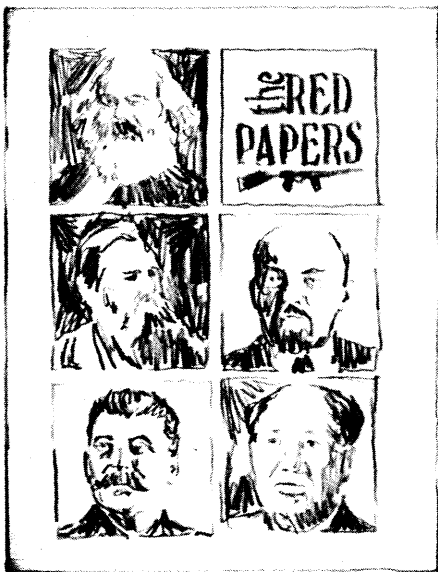
problem of combatting a centralized faction with a concrete program. The inability of SDS to defeat PL programmatically led many SDSers in the direction of PL despite its sectarian and adventuristic policies. As PL grew and won a large number of adherents to its Worker Student Alliance caucus, the desperation of the SDS leadership rose.

The "solution" finally presented itself in the form of a new Maoist grouping which had gained a few adherents in the San Francisco area and called itself the Bay Area Revolutionary Union (RU). Here was an opportunity to out-Mao the Maoists. The SDS leadership, in alliance with the RU, set out to combat PL-WSA, and when it became apparent at the last convention that the PL-WSA had a majority of the delegates, the problem was solved organizationally—the minority expelled the majority.

It is through the RU that Stalinism in its most blatant form has been introduced into SDS, and with partisans of the RU's politics wielding significant power in the new National Interim Committee, the national leadership of SDS, it is important to examine the political leadership and program of this grouping.

The basic theoretical tenets of the RU are spelled out in its publication, *The Red Papers*, which features pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao on the front cover. The "Correspondence Committee" of the magazine is composed of Bob Avakian, Bruce Franklin (ex-Stanford University professor) and Steve Hamilton (ex-PLer). In SDS the central RU figures have been Avakian and Marvin Treiger.

Avakian has a long and arduous history in the Berkeley "radical" movement, and until his recent conversion to Maoism, all of it in the sphere of liberal, capitalist politics. He was one of the campaign managers for Robert Scheer when he ran for Congress in the Democratic Party primary in 1966. Through that campaign Scheer and Avakian managed to draw many campus activists from the University of California at Berkeley away from the Vietnam Day Committee and antiwar activities and into Democratic



Party politics. When Scheer's bid for fame as a liberal capitalist politician was unsuccessful within the Democratic Party, the Community for New Politics was formed, and Avakian tried his luck in a Berkeley city election in 1967. He was highly disturbed by the efforts of many radicals to build the April 15th mass demonstration against the war in Vietnam because he felt this restricted the work done in favor of his campaign for councilman.

When this electoral bid also failed, Avakian helped build the Peace and Freedom Party in California on the premise that this was the beginning of a new revolutionary party in the U.S. When the YSA pointed out that the PFP was not a definitive break with capitalist politics, had no clear anticapitalist program, and was an amalgam of political tendencies with contradictory programs—an amalgam which would fall apart as soon as the 1968 elections were over—we were dismissed as ideological purists who were out of touch with political reality. When the PFP disintegrated overnight following the elections, Avakian was again without an organization. It was in that period that he was converted to Maoism and helped form the RU.

Treiger's history is somewhat less colorful. He was a leading member of the Communist Party in Southern California for several years. During the period he was active in the antiwar movement, he led the CP attempts to get the antiwar movement involved in liberal Democratic Party politics, and for several years pushed the program of immediate and unconditional negotiations as the correct stand for the antiwar move-

ment. He split from the CP in a Maoist direction in late 1967, moved to the Bay Area, and after a year's stint in a factory to find out what the workers are *really* like, helped form the RU. This thorough steeping of the leadership of the RU in class collaborationist politics reflects itself in their wholehearted defense of Stalin.

The justification for the formation of a new "Marxist-Leninist" party is contained in the central article in *The Red Papers*, "Against the Brainwash—A Defense of Marxism-Leninism." The RU considers Stalin the "bridge between Lenin and Mao theoretically, practically, and organizationally." In line with Mao's dictum about favoring what your enemy opposes and opposing what your enemy favors, the article explains: "Since the imperialists and their ideological running dogs, the Trotskyites have not spared themselves in abuse of Stalin, since Khrushchev [sic] and his successors have found it necessary to outdo even the imperialists in the castigation of Stalin, in order to pull off [sic] their accommodation to imperialism and their initiation of capitalist restoration; we have a tendency to want to defend him, and so do." Indeed they do, but it is a defense that will not stand up to either historical fact or Marxist analysis. Unfortunately, the theoreticians of the RU are limited to putting pluses where others put minuses and vice versa, a procedure which may simplify the task of analysis, but which is hardly satisfactory and has nothing to do with Marxism.

For a start, there seems to be a great deal of confusion over the

class character of the USSR and Eastern Europe. If you call for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, it is rather important to be able to explain the characteristics of both and the differences between the two. The "Brainwash" article states that the "modern revisionists" in the USSR have "initiated" and are carrying on as quickly as possible "a process of capitalist restoration." This would indicate that there is still hope of halting this process before it is completed, but, alas, elsewhere the article states that "a new bourgeoisie was built up, which, soon after the death of Stalin, was able to take hold of the state and the economy, and direct them towards state capitalism." The article also characterizes the invasion of Czechoslovakia as "imperialist aggression." You can't have it both ways.

If a new imperialist bourgeoisie has developed and has taken hold of the state and the economy, then the Soviet Union is capitalist. If it is capitalist, then it is time to revise the fundamental tenet of Marxism which holds that basic social change can only be accomplished through revolution. If it is possible to transform socialism to capitalism peacefully, then perhaps it is also possible to make a peaceful transition to socialism from capitalism?

A couple of additional questions to the author(s) of "Brainwash." What was the great revolutionary Stalin doing to stop this bourgeois build-up? What kind of bourgeoisie is it that favors a planned economy and a monopoly of foreign trade and that opposes private ownership of the means of production? Also, I suggest that, in the interests of proletarian internationalism, the RU

COMRADE TROTSKY ON "BROTHER" STALIN

Leon Trotsky led the Petrograd Soviet during the October Revolution. Second only to Lenin in the early days of the Revolution, he went on to found the Red Army and lead it to victory against the counterrevolutionary forces. When the privileged bureaucracy began to emerge, and its leader Stalin gained control of the party and state apparatus, Trotsky led the Leninist opposition.

After his exile from the Soviet Union, Trotsky continued to expose the course of Stalinism and its betrayal of the world revolution.

The quotations on the following pages were written in Mexico shortly before Trotsky's assassination in 1940 by an agent of Stalin's secret police.

inform the Soviet workers that they are living in a capitalist society, a fact they seem to be quite unaware of.

If the USSR is neither capitalist nor socialist, what is it? The truth of the matter is that the classless society has not yet been built, and that the USSR is actually in a transitional phase between capitalism and socialism. The leadership of the Soviet Union is part of a privileged bureaucracy which has usurped political power, and a political revolution will be necessary to overturn it and restore socialist democracy to the party and society as a whole.

It is in the process of the attempt to portray Stalin as a great revolutionary leader that the "Brainwash" article loses all touch with historical reality. The achievements of Stalin are listed as follows: "Agricultural collectivization and socialist construction in the USSR. The defeat of fascism. The rise of the national liberation struggles owes a great deal to the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership." Moreover, "the Soviet Union did not knuckle under to imperialism in Stalin's day. And much more can be said." How true it is that "much more can be said!" But you won't find it in *The Red Papers*. Let us take these assertions one at a time.

First, agricultural collectivization and socialist construction. Until 1928, Stalin and his supporters opposed collectivization and a centralized plan, accusing Trotsky and the

Left Opposition of being "super industrialists" for proposing it. When Trotsky warned of the increasing power of the Kulaks (the richer peasants), he was accused of wanting to destroy the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry. Historical necessity forced Stalin to collectivize when the Kulaks refused to sell grain to the state authorities in the winter of 1927-28, as the Opposition had predicted they would. Stalin then proceeded to carry out a tardy but feverish campaign of industrialization and forced collectivization. The results in agriculture were disastrous.

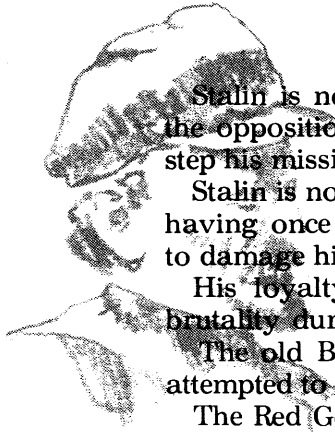
Between 1928 and 1934 half the cattle in the USSR disappeared, and it took until 1937 to catch up with the 1927 production level of grains; and the 1937 per capita level had not yet been equalled by 1960. Had these efforts been spread over the period beginning with 1923 and implemented with the agreement and understanding of the peasantry, the sacrifices imposed on the Soviet people would have been far less, the losses and waste much more limited, and the results much more impressive. The fact that the USSR has made advances as great as it has is not because of, but in spite of Stalin, and is largely due to the superiority of a planned and nationalized economy over capitalist methods of production.

Second, the defeat of fascism. The defeat of Hitler's invading armies was the result of the heroic efforts of the Soviet people and of the superior economic order, not of the

policies of Stalin. Just prior to the beginning of the war, the ranks of the armed forces had been purged resulting in the annihilation of 50% of the officer corps and the decapitation of the army. During the war he had the military leaders who had fought in the Spanish Civil War shot; he had partisan bases liquidated, tank formations dismembered, etc. As for the rise of fascism in Germany, it was the political approach of the German Communist Party under the direction of the Stalinized Third International which allowed Hitler to rise to power largely unhindered, thanks to its suicidal policy of attacking the social democrats and not fascism as the real enemy, and its naive belief (reflected in the slogan "After Hitler, Our Turn") that fascism would only be a prelude to the socialist revolution.

Third, Stalin's contributions to the national liberation struggle. Aside from hounding, persecuting, and finally driving national minorities inside the Soviet Union off their land (the Crimean Tartars, Kalmuks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Koreans, Greeks, Turks, Germans, and others), Stalin made other noteworthy contributions to the national liberation struggle. Among these were the policies of the Third International in China, which led to the defeat of the 1925-1927 revolution by subordinating the Communist Party to the bourgeois Kuomintang (that great revolutionist Chiang Kai-shek was even made an honorary member of the Executive Committee of the Third International); the op-

TROTSKY ON STALIN I



Stalin is not a personality, but the personification of bureaucracy. In his struggle against the opposition, which was reflecting the dissatisfaction of the masses, Stalin realized step by step his mission as defender of the power and privileges of the new ruling caste.

Stalin is now indubitably the most conservative politician of Europe. He wishes that history, having once guaranteed the rule of the Moscow oligarchy, would stop its flow in order not to damage his own work.

His loyalty to the bureaucracy—that is, to himself—was expressed by Stalin with epic brutality during the famous purges. Their meaning was not understood at the proper time.

The old Bolsheviks attempted to defend party tradition. The Soviet diplomats in their turn attempted to settle accounts with international public opinion.

The Red Generals defended the interests of the army.

All three groups fell into contradiction with the totalitarian interests of the Kremlin clique and were liquidated.

position to Mao's struggle for power; the opposition to Tito's struggle for power after 1943, etc., etc.

Fourth, Stalin's forthright stand against imperialism. To the examples of class collaborationist policies already cited can be added Stalin's policy of strangling the Spanish revolution in 1936-1939, thus facilitating Franco's military victory; participating in and upholding capitalist governments; aiding in the construction of the bourgeois army and the bourgeois state apparatus in France and Italy after the second world war; denying material aid to the Greek revolution following 1945, and so on.

As if support for the above revolutionary program of Stalin is not enough, *The Red Papers* stand forthrightly behind the Stalinist purges. Although "more than a few" were innocent, we are told that "many of those purged, especially the leaders, were guilty of the crimes attributed to them, including espionage and sabotage." How many of the thousands of Communists eliminated by Stalin were "counter-revolutionary, spies, and fascist agents?" Do the theoreticians of the RU believe that the majority of the members of the Leninist Central Committee that led the October Revolution were counterrevolutionary (11 of 21 were murdered in the Stalinist terror)? Were 1108 of the 1966 delegates present at the 17th Soviet party congress in 1934 counterrevolutionary? Were 98 of 139 members of the Central Committee elected in

1934 counterrevolutionary? Were the majority of the delegates to the 15th and 16th party congresses counterrevolutionary? If the answer is yes, then Lenin helped found the USSR and guide it until his death with the help of counterrevolutionaries. If the answer is no, then why were these thousands slaughtered, and why do the editors of *The Red Papers* rave when someone speaks the truth and calls Stalin what he was—a despot and a murderer?

The fact that Mao and the Chinese Communist Party have, in many instances, followed similar policies is not accidental. In Pakistan the regime of Ayub Khan, with which the Chinese had excellent relations and to which they even sold arms, was overthrown a short time ago. Here the pro-Maoist CP played the familiar Stalinist role of trying to put the lid on the mass struggles. In Indonesia the pro-Maoist CP played a similar tune, functioning as a loyal opposition to Sukarno, trying to restrain the mass movement, so that Sukarno would continue his friendship toward China. This policy led to the slaughter of more than half a million Communists and the defeat of the largest Communist party in the world outside of countries where the CP holds power. And just as Lenin's collaborators were deposed by Stalin—without evidence—for being counterrevolutionary traitors, so Mao's chief aid, Liu Shao-chi, was deposed—without evidence—as "a person in authority taking the

capitalist road."

This subservience of the authors of *The Red Papers* to Stalin and Mao is no accident. Stalin's call for "socialism in one country"—which the "Brainwash" article supports and lauds—was the basis for the CP's collaboration with the liberal bourgeoisie. In addition, it is the direct ideological forerunner of the theory of "peaceful coexistence—a policy which the article in *The Red Papers* denounces. A similar alliance with the "progressive national bourgeoisie" is central to Mao's call for a "bloc of four classes," and reflects itself in the attempt of *The Red Papers* to identify the ruling class in this country: "The monopoly capitalists are the ruling class in the United States. But various small and middle-sized capitalists have interests that conflict with those of monopoly." So far so good. However, *The Red Papers* continue: "An understanding of their economic inter-relationships will indicate the extent of their [the small and middle-sized capitalists] revolutionary development, and will reveal their relative importance to the revolution." This is the ideological basis for an alliance with the "good" (anti-monopoly) capitalists against the "bad" monopolists, and it differs in no fundamental way from the policy followed by the reformist CP under the guise of building an "anti-monopoly coalition."

It is undoubtedly true that there

Cont'd on p. 14

TROTSKY ON STALIN II

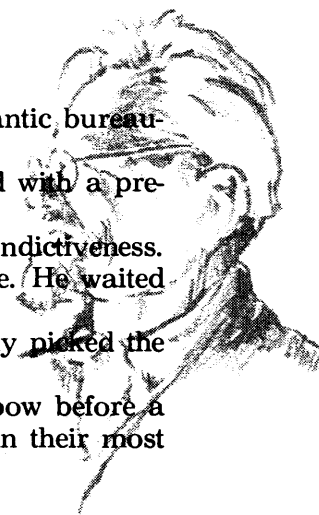
Stalin appears to be a man of great stature as he stands on top of his gigantic, bureaucratic pyramid and casts his long shadow.

But he is really a man of medium stature possessing mediocre capacities and with a preponderance of slyness over intelligence.

He is gifted with insatiable ambition, extraordinary tenacity and envious vindictiveness. He never looked far ahead—never—and in no way displayed any great initiative. He waited and maneuvered.

Power was granted him by a combination of historical circumstances—he only picked the ripened fruit.

Fear of the masses, mercilessness against a weak adversary, readiness to bow before a strong enemy—the new bureaucracy found all its own characteristics in Stalin in their most finished expression, and it declared him its Emperor.



THE REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN POLAND

A FIRST-HAND REPORT

This interview was given to the YS by a Polish revolutionary socialist student whose identity, for obvious security reasons, must be kept anonymous.

YS: The press in Western Europe and the United States has reported the continuing trials of Polish students for their political activities. In late April, for example, three young women were sentenced to 18 months each for their part in the demonstrations of March 1968. Others have been convicted of distributing leaflets condemning the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Could you describe the political atmosphere among Polish students today?

A: Since last March there has been a politicalization of many new forces in Poland. I know of six groups in Warsaw alone, for example, even though all have to work under very difficult conditions in complete clandestinity. You could say that the atmosphere is "electrified," charged. Despite the fact that one risks three years in jail for even talking of democratic socialism and the development of an antibureaucratic struggle, despite the fact that there is great fear among the students, comrades are not discouraged because so many new forces have been drawn into struggle.

YS: Have the events in Czechoslovakia played a role in this increased politicalization?

A: What has happened in Czechoslovakia certainly played a stim-

ulating role. There was great sympathy for the democratization process going on there, although the Polish people had fewer illusions about the role of the Dubcek wing of the bureaucracy. You must remember that we went through a somewhat similar experience in October 1956, and people had great illusions in the Gomulka wing of the bureaucracy at that time. We learned a bitter lesson.

But despite this, there was great sympathy for the Czechoslovak people, and the Polish authorities were greatly aware of it. The border between Czechoslovakia and Poland, which had always been very open, was rigidly supervised during the spring and summer of 1968. Tourism was almost eliminated—at least as far as traveling from Poland to Czechoslovakia was concerned.

Also the Czechoslovak Cultural Center in Warsaw was closed because of a very interesting incident. A number of professors had been expelled from the University of Warsaw, accused of miseducating their students. Kolakowski was one of them [Lesek Kolakowski, the eminent philosopher, author of *The Alienation of Reason and Toward a Marxist Humanism*]. At this point the University of Prague made the symbolic gesture of inviting all these professors to Prague, even though the Polish government obviously wouldn't allow them to go. That's when the Czechoslovak Cultural Center was closed.

The Polish government was perfectly conscious of the contagious



Poland 1956: Mass rally during uprising.

example Czechoslovakia could provide for Poland.

After the invasion opposition groups formed. They distributed leaflets against the invasion, but most of those involved were arrested.

YS: Would you describe the events in Warsaw during the spring of 1968 that brought about this new level of political activity?

A: The demonstrations began over the banning of a play by Mickiewicz, a very famous and talented Polish poet, who wrote during the second half of the nineteenth century and was very progressive for his times. Mickiewicz has always been regarded as a veritable prophet of the struggle against Czarism and for national liberation. "Dziady," the play that triggered the events, was strongly anti-Czarist, and the Polish authorities justified their ban by saying that the anti-Russian scenes were being played in too suggestive a fashion and the audiences were reacting too noisily.

So, the banning of the play was the spark that touched off the powder keg. On the day of the last performance, students demonstrated in front of the theatre. Afterwards, two of the students were expelled from the university. In response, on March 8th, several thousand students attended a meeting in the courtyard of the University of Warsaw.

I should add that the day before this meeting a rather considerable group of students, suspected of making preparations for it, was jailed.

This shows that word of the meeting had spread widely.

When the meeting began, the first confrontation with the militia took place. In appearance, it was a workers' militia. But you should not be misled by the name. The workers' militia in Poland is not composed of workers organized autonomously to defend their interests. These are volunteers who have been put into auxiliary units of the regular militia, nothing more.

However, even these workers' militias, such as they are, refused to do the job, and so what it came down to was cadets from the militia school disguised as the so-called workers' militia.

The first clashes were rather violent. The students were not accustomed to standing up to the forces of repression, so one might even call it a minor massacre. But from the moment they stood up to the repression, the students were transformed into a united force. The demonstrations continued and became almost nationwide.

When I said "minor massacre," it was to emphasize that this was the very first confrontation between the students and the militia. The students were not used to this at all. They were totally disoriented, even somewhat panicky. They were attacked and beaten with billy clubs, and were unable to counterattack. So it would be incorrect to describe it as a real "battle."

It was the opposite of France during May and June last year. The reports made clear that from the very first day there apparently were large-scale clashes in which the stu-

dents took on the cops, threw paving stones, and forced the cops to retreat. In Warsaw it was not at all the same. It began at a much lower level of organization, and everything had to be learned in the course of the demonstrations that followed.

There were demonstrations in Warsaw for several days, and they got bigger and bigger. During the later ones, there were rather serious clashes with the police. Demonstrations began to spread across the country. In Warsaw the students occupied the university; demonstrations took place in Lodz, Poznan, and Cracow. The authorities, of course, tried to isolate these demonstrations and prevent news about them from spreading from one city to another.

YS: What were the students' demands?

A: The demonstrations began in protest against the banning of the play. So the first demands were against censorship and the lack of freedom of expression. The first demonstrations centered on those issues.

The government's tactics were aimed at dividing the students from the workers. It claimed that the student movement was antisocialist, that students constituted a privileged layer of society and consequently had no right to revolt, that it was thanks only to the labor of the workers that the students were able to study anyway, and much more.

The students began to ask how, in a society calling itself socialist,

they could become a privileged layer. Besides, in a country like Poland, where 50 to 60 per cent of the students are from working-class families, it's not very easy to convince people that the students are a privileged layer and thus create divisions between them and the working class. So the government's propaganda didn't succeed too well.

When the students realized that an attempt was being made to distort the nature of their struggle and to turn the workers against them, they began to strengthen their ties with the workers. For example, during the occupation of the Polytechnic Institute in Warsaw, they hung an enormous banner reading "Workers, We Have a Common Struggle" on the wall of the Institute. They issued many leaflets and statements denouncing the attempt to divide the workers from the students.

For example, I have a copy of a leaflet addressed by the students to the workers. It is handwritten and informs the workers that the students are occupying the university building. It protests against the authorities' violation of an article of the constitution, "the constitution which you yourselves voted for." It continues, "We protest, because without conditions of complete democracy, solutions to economic problems cannot be found." It protests police repression. It denounces the campaign of lies in the press: "Its aim is to make you believe that we are against you. We know that you do not believe it. We want to establish contact between real workers and real students. Long live the working class! Long live socialism! Long live democracy!" It is signed by the students of the Polytechnic Institute of Warsaw.

None of their demands was directed solely against the university. They were very basic demands, such as abolition of censorship and restoration of freedom of expression, and they obviously applied very concretely to the university itself.

YS: Have any of these demands been met?

A: No, just the contrary. There was quite a severe repression against the

students. The government tried to destroy the movement by police measures.

So that it wouldn't be accused of expelling students, it closed certain schools at the university and simply required all students to re-register. Those known to have been very active in the demonstrations were refused readmission. Perhaps 300 were arrested in all. Many were sent into the army, and others to jail. The three girls tried in April were the last of those arrested in March 1968.

The movement's most important achievement was a tremendous politicalization of the student milieu, and this has not been wiped out. Many decided to continue the struggle, to continue their political work under the very difficult conditions of clandestinity. There are now many small groups carrying on activity this way. They draw up and distribute leaflets and statements, many of them of a political nature, and they work under rather stringent material circumstances because of the secrecy made necessary by the harsh police repression.

But there has been a definite fighting spirit and a definite growth in political consciousness. That was a lasting achievement of the student movement.

YS: How is the current stage of the student struggle related to the events of 1956, the "Polish October"?

A: The students are certainly conscious of the fact that all the ideals of October 1956 have been betrayed, and they realize that their struggle today is part of the same current that emerged in 1956.

I have a copy of a leaflet put out by the Warsaw students. It says, "The betrayal of the ideals of the Polish October and the dashing of the social aspirations which arose then have brought about mass revolutionary discontent." So the students are conscious of the connection.

YS: How would you now evaluate the "springtime in October" of Poland in 1956?

A: October reawakened hope in Poland. Everyone believed that the

Stalinist epoch was finished, that a new epoch of liberalism had begun.

October was a revolt of the entire society against a system of centralized bureaucracy, against the Stalinist dictatorship. The entire society, en masse, was in revolt. It began with workers' demonstrations, by a revolt of the workers. Their standard of living was very low. Then there was the extension of the discussion that had been going on among intellectuals for several years, which was a criticism of Stalinism. Every layer of society was in revolt against the Stalinist dictatorship.

What was necessary was that this revolt, a revolt of all society, should steer toward the victory of the working class. For this an independent vanguard of the working class was needed. There were many left intellectuals and many organizational cadres of the working class itself who were very active during October. Potentially, they were the constituent elements of a vanguard. But they were unable at that time to constitute the needed independent vanguard.

In the absence of such a force, the bureaucracy was able to get away with all the maneuvers it did. Finally, all the left intellectuals, all the potential vanguard elements, rallied to the most liberal elements of the bureaucracy, the crew that came in in 1956, Gomulka's crew, a crew which had compromised itself in the preceding period but which appealed for the support of the masses with the claim that it had not been compromised but that it had been persecuted during the preceding period. Because they had been victims of Stalin, they appealed for support and sympathy from the masses.

In addition, they made many promises, such as ending the collectivization of the countryside, retaining the nationalization of the basic industry, but turning back the collectivization of the land. Now it is evident that that did not do much to improve things, that the difficulties in the countryside are very great and constituted one of the elements of the crisis that erupted last year.

YS: Was the reaction under Gomulka very rapid?

A: Under Gomulka the reaction and repression were instituted over the course of several years. It would not really be correct to say that it was done rapidly. That is, the most pressing things were done very rapidly. Very rapidly the climate was reestablished in which it was impossible to strike. Very rapidly the workers' councils were condemned as anarchistic and emptied of their content. There still exist today some forms that come from these councils, but they represent nothing—mere formalities.

After making strikes impossible and after completing the purge of the party, the new ruling group turned on the intellectuals. It was necessary to reimpose censorship completely to neutralize all the critical currents which had emerged and which continued on the wave of 1956.

That took place over the following years, up until about 1963. In 1964 you had the first signs of protest from the intellectuals, the famous Letter of the Thirty-Four, signed by eminent intellectuals, protesting the reestablishment of censorship.

YS: Did the events of the spring of 1968 parallel the beginning of those in 1956?

A: As far as the development of the events themselves is concerned, a significant feature emerged in the events of March 1968. You recall that in 1956 the revolt began with the workers. They initiated the struggle and the students rallied to their cause, giving them strong support.

It might be asked why the workers, if they really supported the students last spring, did not join the fight.

Perhaps the reason is more or less as follows. To a great extent the workers are conscious of what October 1956 meant. That is, they understand that a new crew, a substitute team of the bureaucracy, came to power then, and that they, the workers, had been used as a base of support by this new team. They feel that they were betrayed in 1956, that they were exploited for the interests of others, and that their own interests were sidetracked.

Now the workers will not lightly undertake to fight again. They will require many more guarantees. But on the other hand, this is a basis for optimism because they will not allow themselves to be manipulated as easily as in 1956.

YS: Could you explain a bit more fully the attitude of the workers toward the student demonstrations?

A: The attitude of the working class, as I mentioned before, was very favorable. Let me give several examples.

In three factories in Warsaw the workers were ready to go out on strike during the demonstrations. They set up strike committees, but these were discovered by the militia and the committee members jailed.

In one Warsaw factory 30,000 zlotys [approximately \$7,500] were collected and given to the students occupying the Polytechnic Institute.

At a bread factory in Warsaw, the workers threatened to leave the entire city without bread unless they were permitted to deliver a truckload to the students occupying the university. And the students got the bread.

All these things show that the workers' attitude was highly favorable.

YS: What about the government's use of anti-Semitism in an attempt to divide its opponents?

A: The anti-Semitic campaign stayed, for all practical purposes, at the top party levels. The students violently protested against it. Although the workers may not have made any big public declarations against it—only some clandestine ones—this propaganda by and large did not succeed in sowing division among the students or between the students and workers. From this point of view it was largely a fiasco. That does not mean that the masses remained totally untouched by it. The anti-Semitic tradition in Poland is quite strong. But as a political argument to demobilize and disorient the movement, it certainly did not succeed.

YS: Two of the best known student revolutionaries who were arrested during the demonstrations of March

1968 were Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. Their open letter to the Polish Communist Party has been printed in several languages, including English. What has happened to them?

A: During their trial the prosecution was demanding they be given seven and eight year sentences. But their trial became somewhat an issue in the interbureaucratic factionalism, and due to the intervention of the Gomulka wing, which partially opposed the severe repression instituted by Moczar, who is in charge of state security, they were given only three years.

The students' opinion of Modzelewski and Kuron is generally quite favorable. That does not mean that all the students have read their thesis. It's hardly a text that one can buy in the bookstore.

The political level of the students is much lower than that expressed in the program of Modzelewski and Kuron. There should be no illusions about that; the student demonstrations certainly did not take place on the basis of that political program. It is evident, though, that under present circumstances, given the politicalization brought about by the spring events last year, their text will now have much greater repercussions in the student milieu.

YS: *Could you tell more about the activities of Kuron and Modzelewski and the document they wrote?*

A: In 1956 Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, two teaching assistants at the University of Warsaw, wrote a document analyzing the current situation. This text never saw the light of day because the police confiscated it. A search of the authors' premises was made, the text was discovered and all copies were confiscated. Then the two were expelled from the party, and a very arbitrary explanation was given for this action. That is, without publishing the text, without giving anyone the opportunity to find out what was in it, the authorities fabricated an explanation, shamefully distorting Modzelewski and Kuron's document in order to justify the repressive measures against them. At this point Modzelewski and Kuron wrote an Open Letter to the members of the

Polish party to explain what their document contained. They said, "We were expelled from the party, party members were informed falsely about us, we should now have the right to explain, but since we have been expelled we have no other way than through an Open Letter."

At that time there were groups of students in the schools of History, Sociology, Economics, Political Science and Mathematics-Physics at the University of Warsaw who formed around Modzelewski and Kuron. They worked in clandestinity; they could not work openly. But the discussion developed. The authorities failed in their attempt to suppress this Open Letter completely and it is now circulating in Poland. It is a long letter, it makes up a small book.

YS: *What do Modzelewski and Kuron say in their analysis?*

A: First of all, they developed a rather lengthy economic analysis which I shall not try to summarize here. Second, it includes an analysis of October 1956 which is more or less along the lines of what I said earlier. It has some chapters which show the authors have a highly developed internationalist consciousness, something not easily come by in Poland, and perhaps this is its most positive aspect in our present situation. In addition, it includes, you might say, a rough draft of a program of struggle for the working class. It is an antibureaucratic program which specifies a system of workers' councils, a system of workers' delegates, with a central representative body for the whole country. That is important, they say, because if the system were limited merely to isolated workers' councils in the individual factories, with all the existing bureaucratic structure maintained, it would all be rapidly transformed into a facade, as in Yugoslavia.

The regular army is to be abolished and replaced with workers' militias, whose members will not be uprooted from their places of work. They say that when the workers do their military service they should not be taken away from their jobs and working conditions. That is why the military force in the country

ought to be based on workers' militias. Even if it is necessary under modern conditions to maintain certain specialized units, the workers who compose these special units ought to keep in constant contact with their factories and fellow-workers.

They speak of a plurality of workers' parties and take the following position: If there is a system of workers' councils culminating in a central council, the latter should decide on the economic plan and the division of the national wealth, all the decisions which affect production on a national scale; if there is only one party, only one center capable of putting forward and pushing various propositions, then there is a strong possibility that this workers' democracy will soon degenerate. I don't think they are very dogmatic on that. It won't be theory but practice, action in struggle, that will show whether there will be a number of parties, which have proved themselves sufficiently to justify their existence, which have proved themselves sufficiently to be recognized by the working class. Kuron and Modzelewski's point of departure is political freedom, freedom for all the parties recognized by the working class.

YS: *What was the reaction among Polish students to the student demonstrations and general strike in France? Have they received accurate information?*

A: The French example has had considerable impact in Poland, even though the regime obviously tried to distort the news. The students were always portrayed as throwing paving stones at the poor cops, who were obviously put in a position of being forced to react against such aggression, etc.

Also, the student vandals burned the autos of honest people. All this just goes to show that the Polish press attempted to belittle the movement, to portray it as a movement of young hooligans, because it realized full well that the example could be very contagious.

As far as information from official sources was concerned, the political line was the same as that given by *L'Humanite* and the French Communist Party. There was only one

difference, and that was in tone. The Polish press indulged in an abundance of nationalistic and anti-Semitic slogans. I mean, it did not hesitate to call Cohn-Bendit a German-Jewish mercenary. For example, here is a clipping which refers to the "street hooligans of Paris led by the Germano-Semitic adventurer, Cohn-Bendit."

Another example was a reproduction in one of the major newspapers of the cover cartoon from *l'Enrage* a satiric magazine of the French rebel students, which shows tricolor toilet paper and the floor hole in the shape of de Gaulle's symbol, the cross of Lorraine. The Polish comment reads: "Under these two symbols the best sons of France lost their lives in the last war. The magazine is edited by the anarchist followers of Cohn-Bendit, the same people who think that patriotism is an obstacle blocking the route to mankind's happiness. They are the same people who, consequently, say such things as 'We are all German Jews,' teaching the youth to scorn their own country and forgetting to tell them that such scorn is first and foremost a form of self-hatred."

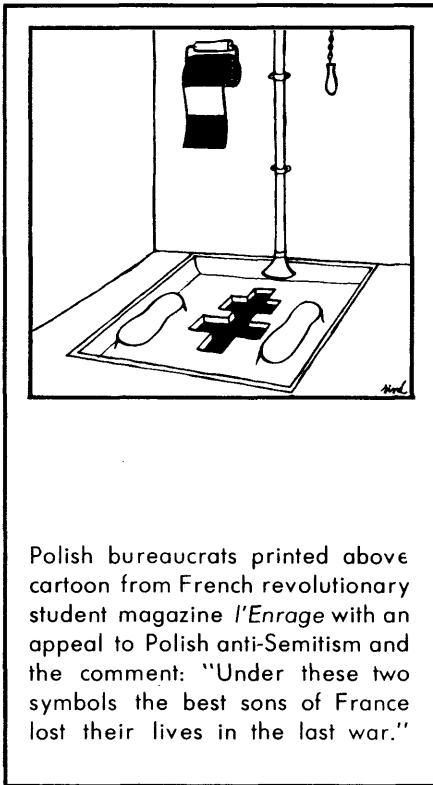
Thus, the tone differs from *L'Humanité* in accordance with the internal propaganda needs in Poland and with what the regime can get away with today in the Polish press. But, as to political line, it is in complete conformity with *l'Humanité*.

But the Polish students had news from other sources. Most knew quite well what was happening, and in my opinion it was a very important example which will contribute much to the Polish students' political development.

I might mention that last March in Lodz, where the slogans of the students went the furthest and were the most political, students along with workers organized a demonstration with red flags flying in front, a demonstration in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, with the Czechoslovak workers and intellectuals, and with the young communists of Western Europe. I call attention to the *young* communists because I think this represents a direct liaison with the student movement which was already becoming visible in Western Europe.

YS: What has been the effect of the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions on student thinking in Poland?

A: Involved here is the movement's achievement of a real internationalist



Polish bureaucrats printed above cartoon from French revolutionary student magazine *l'Enrage* with an appeal to Polish anti-Semitism and the comment: "Under these two symbols the best sons of France lost their lives in the last war."

alist consciousness, and this will take a certain period of time. In this process the examples of Vietnam and Cuba are important. Their true meaning and significance are not fully understood yet. Even though the students in Lodz organized a demonstration in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, it would be wrong to generalize from that about the entire student movement in Poland at present. I should say further that, in the process of the movement attaining an internationalist consciousness, the examples of the student struggles in France, Italy and Germany are also important.

YS: What do you see as the major differences between the student struggles in Eastern and Western Europe?

A: First, we should mention a rather fundamental resemblance between the two movements. Just as the movement in France is fundamentally anticapitalist and cannot be analyzed in isolation from the working-

class struggle, so in Poland the movement is, at least potentially, anti-bureaucratic, and its development will certainly depend on its perspective being toward the working class, toward the formation of a workers' vanguard with an anti-bureaucratic program of struggle.

Having said this, however, let us note that the two movements develop according to different dynamics. They don't have the same background. We must try to understand the differences in their development. I think that in France, for example, the movement arose from a whole period of struggle in which quite important political gains were made. There was the struggle conducted during the Algerian war and the struggle in support of the Vietnamese revolution. Both of these struggles helped forge an internationalist consciousness among the students, which is very important. From what I hear about the French students, internationalist consciousness in their movement is on a much higher level than it is in the Polish student movement.

The reason for this lower level of internationalist consciousness in Poland lies in the way the people get news about developments in the world revolution. The news is very biased. It tries to conceal the importance of these struggles. The government's motive in this is explained perhaps by its realization that each revolution which is autonomous—uncontrolled by the Kremlin—serves as an important example for people under the domination of the bureaucratic regime, an example for breaking up bureaucratic monolithism in the Eastern European countries.

On the other hand, the Polish movement begins with demands which, in a way, are more basic than those raised by the movement in Western Europe. For us, it is a question of winning certain elementary freedoms. The problem here is not the same as in Western Europe.

Thus the Polish movement must travel a number of roads. We must go beyond the stage of demanding freedom of expression. That demand will not be abandoned, but it must be placed in a broader context, in a framework of antibureaucratic struggle.

STALIN cont'd from p. 7

are differences within the bourgeoisie, but that in no way means that the "small and middle-sized capitalists" are ready to enter the struggle for socialism. The authors of *The Red Papers* propose to solve this difficulty, not by breaking with the liberal bourgeoisie, but by engaging in a two-staged struggle for socialism, aiming initially for a "new democratic state." "The Vietnamese, the Chinese, and all oppressed people must fight, or in the case of the Chinese, have fought, for the new democratic revolution as the only

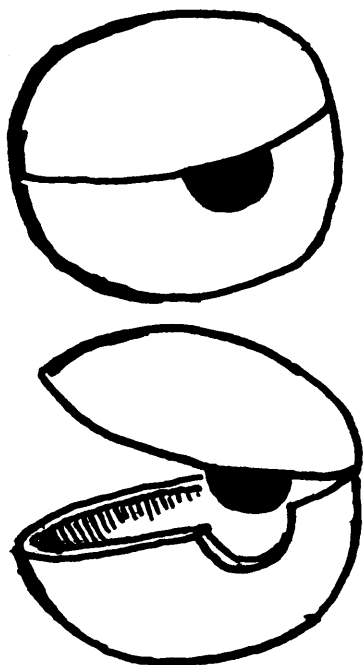
way to reach socialism." Make a deal with the liberal capitalist and help him fight for a more democratic form of capitalism—that is their watchword to the Vietnamese and to all colonial revolutionaries. After that is successful, then, some time in the future, the struggle for socialism can be undertaken. This policy was applied numerous times by Stalin, and led directly to the many defeats to his credit. The same policy was the cause of the setbacks suffered by the pro-Maoist CPs in Pakistan and Indonesia. These are the policies Treiger and Avakian

want SDS to follow, and they are no different from the class-collaborationist politics which they have followed throughout their political careers. This time, however, those policies are soaked in ultra-revolutionary rhetoric.

The YSA believes that only by building a revolutionary youth movement which is opposed to *all* capitalist politics, and which stands unequivocally for the socialist transformation of society can we topple American imperialism.

The following quotations were taken from an interview with Moshe Dayan in the June 8, 1969 *New York Times Magazine*. In the course of the interview he reveals his racist attitude toward Arabs and deftly contradicts himself numerous times.

**MOSHE DAYAN
VS.
MOSHE DAYAN**



The fact is that we are trying to construct a Jewish state here and that the Arabs look upon us as foreigners, invaders who came to rob their country.

I like to try to understand them, not so as know my enemy, but so as to know my neighbors—and I really like them.

Let us permit them to live their own lives, let them elect their own mayors and municipal groups, but let us also integrate them into our economic life in such a way that, if they sabotage something, it will hurt them.

You don't expect from them what you would expect from a European. For a European, killing civilians in a plane would represent a crime. For an Arab, to kill a Jew—not only for the man who actually does it, but as concerns public opinion—it's a fine thing to kill a Jew, no matter who he is.

We are Europeans, foreigners, but we are ready to share our standard of living and to treat them as equals.

I really believe that I both feel about and behave toward my driver as I would toward the Prime Minister or the Queen of England, of whom, incidentally, I don't have so high an opinion.

I am against the integration of a large number of Arabs. I think a solution should be found that would not leave too big an Arab minority within our frontiers.

The Arabs have lived among us for 20 years, and I have not heard of a single incident in which a Jew was killed by an Arab because he was Jewish. Arabs kill Jews, Arabs kill Arabs, Jews kill Jews, but I don't know of a single case of an Arab killing a Jew out of racial hatred.

“The problem of modern anti-Semitism so-called is a problem of capitalism, and the way to solve an evil is to destroy its cause.”



THE ARABS, THE JEWS AND HISTORY

A SPEECH BY JON ROTHSCHILD

OF THE PHILADELPHIA YSA GIVEN AT A TEACH-IN
ON THE ARAB REVOLUTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA ON MAY 10.

The problem of Zionism and the Arab revolution did not start in 1948, and likewise Zionism as a movement did not come into existence as a result of the second world war. Zionism and the Arab revolution are two opposite sides to a struggle which is going on all over the world today and whose roots stretch back approximately 100 years. The ideology of Zionism arose essentially as a reaction of the Jewish petty bourgeoisie to the wave of anti-Semitism which developed in 19th century Europe. Up until that time, the Jewish bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie were completely assimilationist, and the economic expansion of the Western European countries was able to lay the groundwork for the beginning of the integration of the Jewish people into the bourgeois nations of Western Europe.

Toward the end of the 19th century, however, the process of the formation of the Western nations reached its end. The productive forces, that is, the economies of the Western European states, found themselves restricted within their national boundaries. The economies of Western Europe were in crisis. This was the beginning of the era of imperialism—when the European nations

spread throughout Asia and Africa, taking over the entire continent of Africa and most of Asia and integrating them into the capitalist world market under Western domination.

It is during this same period that the various national minorities of Europe became squeezed out of the European economy. As the expansion of these economies tapers off, there are no longer grounds for the integration of national minorities into the European countries. This is the essential reason for the development of the wave of anti-Semitism that swept Eastern and Western Europe during the last part of the 19th century.

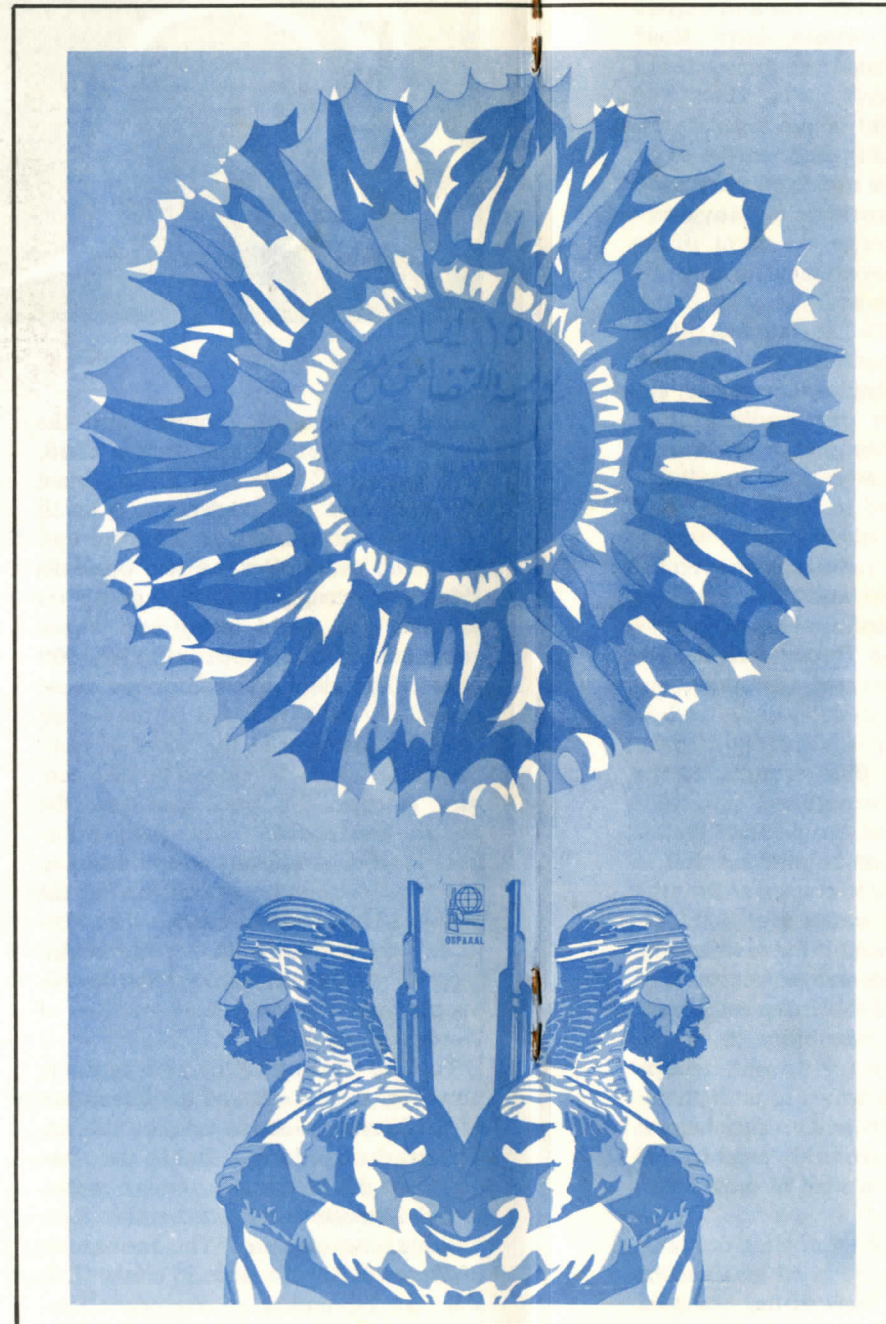
The Jewish tragedy of the 20th century is a direct consequence of the decline of capitalism and capitalism's evolution into imperialism. And here we have the precise reason why Zionism could never be the solution to the Jewish problem: The Zionists propose to solve the Jewish problem through the establishment of a capitalist state. And they're supposed to do that precisely in the era in which capitalist nation-states have passed their historical peak, are themselves internally in

crisis and are being challenged by the insurgent colonial world. The problem of modern anti-Semitism so-called is a problem of capitalism, and the way to solve an evil is to destroy its cause and not to geographically move it.

The question arose as the Zionist program was projected, where was this Jewish state to be located? Well, at that time there existed essentially two parts of the world. One was the imperialist countries of Western Europe, and the second part was the colonial world of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the United States being part of the Western European imperialist countries. Well, the answer that was projected by the Zionists was that the Jewish state would be established somewhere in the colonial world. That is, the Zionists scurried around from one imperialist capital to another, trying to convince at least one of the imperialist countries that it was in its interests to support the establishment of a Jewish state someplace in the colonial world to act as a bulwark against the rising colonial revolution.

And no one should think that Palestine was the only possibility. At one time or another, the Zionists were in

“The solution to this problem is for the Jews to build an anti-Zionist movement, an anti-imperialist movement within Israel itself.”



negotiations with various European countries for the following areas: the Sinai peninsula, El Arish region, part of Kenya, all of Malagasy, part of Cyprus and Uganda. All of these areas have one thing in common. That is, they are part of the colonial world, they are all inhabited by peoples who are in the process of awakening and beginning a struggle against imperialism. So the political and social character of Zionism as a political movement flows inevitably from this one point: that the Jewish state as it was projected could be established only by the forcible expulsion of the native inhabitants of some section of the colonial world.

At the same time the colonial masses throughout the world were not dormant—they were not asleep. Beginning in the latter part of the 19th century, at the exact same time as the spread of imperialism around the world, and also at the exact same time as the Jews were being squeezed out of the pores of European society, the colonial masses were beginning to wake up and beginning to rebel against imperialism. And the Arab revolution was one of the first sections of the colonial revolution to become active.

The first Arab nationalist organizations were not founded in 1967, as you would believe by reading the American press; they were actually founded in the late 1800's and early 1900's. And by the eve of the 1914 war, the Arab national movement had become a mass movement in Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine.

It was during the first world war that the leadership of the Arab national movement took the first step down the

road toward political independence, in what has come to be called the Arab Revolt. One indication of the strength and the masses that were moved in the direction of revolt against imperialism and for national independence during the Arab Revolt of the first world war is that the country of Syria, which had a total population of 4 million, lost 300,000 dead from wars and famine during the 1914-1918 period. What we had here was a mass rebellion on the part of the inhabitants of the entire Arab Middle East against their imperialist rulers. And they were given guarantees by the British that as a result of fighting against the Ottoman Turks during this war, independence—national independence and political independence—would follow.

However, what happened at the close of the first world war was several things. One is that instead of national independence being granted to the Arab masses, the Sykes-Picot agreement was put into effect, dividing the area into half-British and half-French spheres of influence. The second thing was the Balfour Declaration, which stated that the Jews had a right to a national home in Palestine. And the third thing was the Palestine Mandate, which gave Britain the right to rule Palestine from then until it felt like it.

Essentially what we can see here is that as early as 1914 there were masses of millions of Arab people fighting for their self-determination against Western imperialism in the form of British and French colonialism. And it is in this situation that we have to view the Zionist movement, and it is in this context that the Zionist movement began to intervene after the Balfour Declaration.



The only reason that the Zionists received the Balfour Declaration and the whole rationale for the British giving support to the Zionist movement in the first place is precisely because the British were faced with a rising colonial movement in the Middle East, and they were therefore prepared to look for any ally that could serve as a bulwark against that revolution.

So that's the origin of the Zionist alignment with imperialism, and you can see if you look at it historically that it is not to be found in the events of the second world war; nor does it have anything to do with what happened 2,000 years ago. Instead it is a result of the conflict which is going on in the world today and has been going on for the last 70 years between imperialism on the one hand and the colonial insurgents on the other.

The Arab revolution is part of that colonial revolution, which is going on in Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Bolivia, Laos, Pakistan, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and all over the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Because of its alliance with imperialism and because of its class character, Zionism as long as it remains Zionism must oppose that colonial revolution and must be on the side of the imperialists.

And you can see this very clearly if you examine the foreign policy that has been followed by the Israeli state since 1948. Just to give a few examples: They supported the United States imperialist war in Korea. They participated in the invasion of the United Arab Republic in 1956 because of Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal. They opposed independence movements in Morocco and Tunisia. They trained counterrevolutionary paratroopers for Col. Mobutu, who was one of the murderers of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo. They opposed the admission of Red China to the United Nations. They supported

the sending of United States troops to Lebanon in 1958 while the Iraqi revolution was going on. They have not condemned the war in Vietnam as most of the Arab governments have, but as a matter of fact Eshkol supported the war in Vietnam. And Moshe Dayan went on a tour of Vietnam several years ago with the United States Army as a journalist—the well-known journalist, Moshe Dayan (laughter). Another example is the fact that Israel is one of the main suppliers of arms to Portugal, which are used against the people of Angola in their war for national independence. And perhaps the most notorious of all is the support given by the Israelis to the Secret Army Organization, the French terrorist organization which opposed the independence of the Algerian people during their revolution.

What we see today is that the masses who live in every sector of the world are beginning to take their lives into their own hands and beginning to demand control over their own lives. And this is reflected in every area of the world. It's reflected in the workers' states, where the people of Czechoslovakia and other countries are fighting for socialist democracy against bureaucratic oppression. It's reflected in the advanced capitalist countries, where you have movements which shook the foundations of French capitalism in May-June of 1968. And most dynamic of all at the present time is the movement in the colonial world for national independence.

And it's in this context that we have to view the struggles that go on in the Middle East; it's in this context that we have to view the struggle between Zionism and the Arab revolution.

The Jews as a people have suffered persecution by imperialism, and they

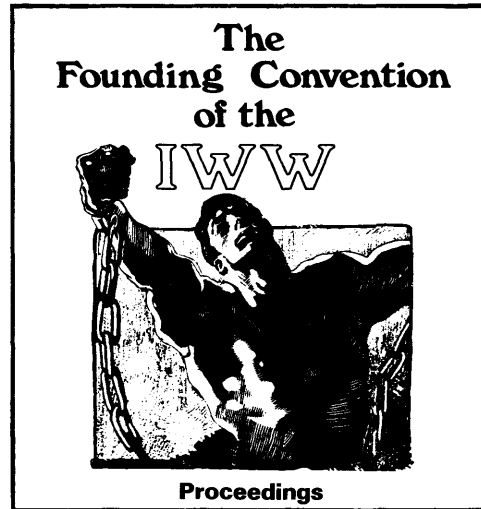
cannot look for a solution to that problem by aligning with that very same imperialism. The solution to this problem is for the Jews to build an anti-Zionist movement, an anti-imperialist movement within Israel itself, which can challenge the expansionist aims of the Israeli ruling class and challenge the right of the Zionist state to exist in the first place in the exact same way that we in this country have begun to build an antiwar movement which can challenge the right of the United States government to oppress the people of Vietnam.

Israel as a capitalist state has all the problems of a capitalist state: racism, inflation, unemployment, poverty, etc. Sooner or later the radicalization which is sweeping the world today, including the advanced capitalist world, will spread to Israel itself. And we will see the development within Israel of an anti-imperialist movement which can link up and form alliances with the Arab national movement—and together can throw Israeli capitalism into the sea (laughter, applause).

In looking at this struggle in the context which I've outlined, you can't forget the role of the United States. To just spend one minute on that, I think we all have to recognize that the strong possibility exists that if the Israeli state itself, and if the reactionary Arab governments are not capable of putting down the Palestinian resistance, there is every possibility that the United States may try to send troops to this area of the world to do it themselves. They have sent troops before, and they would probably send troops again if they felt it was in their interests.

And what we in the United States have to begin to do is to educate the public about the facts of the situation in the Middle East, and to make people

NEW FROM MERIT



realize that the fight that we have been fighting for the last several years against the war in Vietnam has to be continued, and that fight has to be deepened so that wherever United States imperialism attempts to intervene against the colonial people, they are facing a movement of their own people right here in the United States itself, which can put an end to any intervention which the United States ruling class may attempt.

I want to close with an anecdote which I think is sort of relevant to a question that some people have raised; which is, can we win this struggle, can the Palestinians, who do not have the arms or resources that the Israeli state has, can they defeat the Israeli state? Can the colonial world, which does not have the kind of arms and wealth which the advanced capitalist countries have, can they win their struggle? Can the black people in the United States win their struggle for self-determination? Can the American people defeat the war plans of the United States ruling class when it seems that we are out-powered and out-numbered? Well, I think the best answer to that question was given by Ben M'hidi, who was a section leader of the Algerian FLN in Algiers and who was captured by the French, and the French held a news conference for him so people could ask him questions. And somebody asked him, "Do you think that your small group of cut-throat terrorists with no weapons but time bombs in women's hand baskets has a chance of defeating the French army with all its power and its 500,000 troops in Algeria?"

And Ben M'hidi said, "Well, the only thing I can say is that we have a better chance of defeating the French army than the French army has of defeating history."

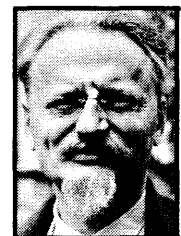
The summer of 1905 witnessed a unique historic event in Chicago. From all over the country, militants and radicals, hard-rock miners, railroad men, agricultural and factory workers gathered in a 12-day convention to found a revolutionary organization to overthrow capitalism.

In this volume are recorded the words of the 112 delegates who took the floor. Among them are the speeches of such figures as Eugene V. Debs, Daniel De Leon, Big Bill Haywood, Lucy Parsons and Mother Jones.

\$15 PRE-PUBLICATION OFFER \$9.50

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1939-40)

128 LARGE-SIZE PAGES IN PAPERBACK, THIS BOOK IS EQUIVALENT TO THE USUAL BOOK OF MORE THAN 300 PAGES. COVERS THE LAST YEAR OF TROTSKY'S LIFE. FIRST IN A SERIES THAT WILL RE-PRINT EVERYTHING BY TROTSKY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH DURING HIS THIRD EXILE (1929-40) THAT IS NOT OTHERWISE AVAILABLE IN PERMANENT BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.



\$2.45

FASCISM—WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO FIGHT IT	
LEON TROTSKY	.50
THE YOUTH MOVEMENT AND THE ALIENATION OF SOCIETY	
JOSE REVUELTAS	.35
LEON TROTSKY ON ENGELS AND KAUTSKY	.50
KEY PROBLEMS IN THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM	
PIERRE FRANK, GEORGE NOVACK, ERNEST MANDEL	.75
THE REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT MOVEMENT—THEORY AND PRACTICE	
ERNEST MANDEL	.65
HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION IN THE U. S.	
PETER CAMEJO	.25

merit publishers

ORDER FROM

873 broadway
new york, n. y. 10003
telephone 673 4901



A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL STRIKE COUNCIL, THE LEADING BODY OF LAST FALL'S SPECTACULAR STUDENT STRIKE IN MEXICO, EXPOSES THE REACTIONARY ROLE PLAYED BY THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY DURING THAT MASSIVE UPRHEAVAL.

THIS ARTICLE ORIGINALLY APPEARED IN THE FEBRUARY 14, 1969, ISSUE OF POR QUE? THE TRANSLATION IS BY THE YOUNG SOCIALIST.

THE MEXICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT BETRAYED

By Angel Verdugo

Because of the importance of the student movement, most of the government officials, all of the recognized political parties and even those political organizations which are not officially recognized were obliged to take a position on its origins; most of the important people in politics also expressed an opinion on the subject.

Some pointed out that there must be a conspiracy against Mexico plotted by communists; others said that the plot was fostered by the CIA; some thought that the origin of the movement was an attempt to boycott the Olympic games; there were some who believed its origin to be found in a crisis of the national educational system, which is totally separated from the prevailing reality in our society. However, none of the above-mentioned persons or institutions pointed to the real origin of our movement. None of them pointed out that the movement arose like an explosion of the discontent of the popular masses for the antidemocratic system, the anticonstitutionality and illegality to which the government has subjected us for a

long time now. After 5 months of struggle, the preceding has been painfully proven once more. By repeatedly making use of its repressive apparatus, the antipopular government definitively unmasked itself before the world as a camarilla which does not represent the interests of the people, as a minority that rules in our society; this camarilla is ready to massacre, imprison, occupy schools, violate that sanitary piece of paper, the Constitution, however often it feels it necessary in order to continue to preserve its interests at the expense of the peasants and workers, who make up more than 90% of the population, as well as of the white collar workers, students and respected intellectuals. We have seen that none of the mass organizations in our country were right about the origin of our movement, thereby showing how completely removed they were from the situation our people were going through. The organizations of both the right and the left stumbled on this point.

It was seen that our movement was a continuation of earlier struggles, like those of Sonora, Morelia, Tabasco, Durango, Yucatan, Puebla, etc., in all of which the students, at a given mo-

ment, were the standard-bearers of popular struggles. It was the youth who were the first to enter into battle against the state, but always representing the interests of the people and not only the interests of the student nucleus. By doing so, they proved that the student movements are not alien to the popular movement, but that, on the contrary, they are part of the popular movement against the antidemocratic state. All of the above tells us that the origin of the student movement was the antidemocratic, antipopular character of the government and the nature of society, in which a minority serves North American imperialism by exploiting the broad masses of workers and peasants and maintains a state of political oppression over our people; in short, the character of our movement was: "democratic and popular in opposition to the state."

From the very beginning of the movement and with the formation of its leading body—the National Strike Council [CNH]—two political lines emerged, two attitudes toward our enemy, two attitudes toward the masses. One was the line that wanted to convert our movement into a purely student movement, and the other conceived it to be a popular movement. It is true

that all the political tendencies were represented within the CNH, but they polarized into the two we have already mentioned. The tendency that conceived of it as a student movement opposed every little attempt to link up with the workers and other sectors of the population. The first tendency's attitude toward the government was one of capitulation, while the policy of the second was to reply blow for blow; a heroic example of the latter was the defense of the Casco de Santo Tomas by the students following the seizure of the university campus. These two currents defined themselves more clearly immediately after the capture of the campus. One proposed talks with the government, and the other that we prepare, in an organized fashion, to resist repression.

Before October 2 the line of responding blow for blow dominated. But following October 2, with the imprisonment of the most respected and capable leaders, the current which advocated talks with the government began to gain ground, and then produced one of the main errors of the movement—talks behind closed doors with the presidential representatives. These talks broke one of the principles that were the backbone of our movement: that all discussion should be carried on before the public. Furthermore, the talks were carried on behind the backs of the student rank and file, as well as behind the backs of the people, creating confusion among the masses. Here yet another error was committed by this capitulationist current: decisions were not made at mass meetings, but instead we isolated ourselves in our schools. At this point it was appropriate to propose the "change in tactics." This change had already been expressed by elements in the National Strike Council on September 14, and was totally repudiated at that time. However, at this point there were not sufficient forces within the National Strike Council to be able to resist the reactionary offensive, so the "change in tactics" was debated for more than 3 weeks, bringing with it an even greater demobilization, disorganization and lack of confidence. Here it is necessary to explain that the "change in tactics" had already been extensively discussed within the Mexican Communist Party [PCM], and that this had been communicated to the cadres it had in the National Strike Council in order to get the movement to call

off the strike and return to classes. Let us repeat here that when the position of returning to class was put forward in the National Strike Council in September, the proposal was repudiated. Nevertheless, after October 2, it was submitted for discussion in the CNH, and although a current of opposition existed, it was unable to resist the capitulationist current, which had taken over the leadership in an opportunist manner, by taking advantage of the imprisonment of many members of the CNH.

It is also necessary to explain what was understood by the change in tactics, and what the arguments of those companeros who proposed it were; in this way, and in light of the present situation, we will see the capitulationist nature of this proposal.

These companeros understood the "change in tactics" to mean a renunciation of our struggle and a return to class; that we would abandon our struggle for the 6 points and the three pre-conditions for public dialogue; that we would forget about our comrades in prison. The arguments were that we did not have a student base, that the youth were terrified, that repression was imminent, that the centers of higher education were going to be closed, that the government was not going to settle any of our points, and that once we went back to class, it would release the comrades that it wanted to. They also said—and this was their main argument—that by returning to class we would gain reinforcements, that as soon as we returned to class we would once again have thousands of students ready to struggle.

The above arguments, together with the series of meetings held with the presidential representatives—one of whom, Jorge de la Vega Dominguez, explicitly threatened to unleash an official repression—strengthened the opportunist current, and by majority decision a call was issued for a return to classes which the rank and file rejected, and which far from making the companeros in the leadership recognize the error of their position, only made them more determined to put an end to the movement. A division began to form within the CNH—the capitulationist current on the one hand, and on the other the consistent current which proposed having confidence in the masses rather than mistrusting them. This division burst into the open on Wednesday, December 4. At a meeting in



Zacatenco in the afternoon of that day, the current which proposed the "change in tactics" read a Manifesto to the Nation which was rejected by the student rank and file, and those companeros had to flee so as not to face the responsibility of their capitulationist, opportunist policies. The opportunist conceptions of these companeros were expressed in the manifesto, but never those of the movement. This is the reason the manifesto was rejected in most of the schools.

The manifesto read by the opportunists December 4 (and paradoxically entitled "The 2nd of October") had the resolute support of the Mexican Communist Party, which in its publications, tried desperately to play down as much as possible the massacre of October 2 in Tlatelolco and to dress up the reactionary government, making it merely appear to be uncompromising and intolerant.

It is appropriate here to look at a few paragraphs of the manifesto to get a picture of this capitulationist, opportunist policy.

"The antidemocratic character of the country's political structures, which is revealed by its inability to meet authentic popular demands, is the result of obsolete political practices." Or, by simply changing its methods and political practices, the government is going to modify the state of misery and exploitation in which our people are suffering. This covers up the real reason that the regime cannot meet the demands of the people; they refuse to say that the government has to be replaced with one that represents the interests of the people if the popular masses are to find a solution to their problems. This was one of the principal lessons of the movement.

"Weigh the difficulties which we have had to confront, weigh the intransigence and intolerance which the government expressed October 2 in the *Plaza de las 3 Culturas en Tlatelolco*, weigh all that, and it is clear that the movement has forced the state to give in to some demands, and has opened up new perspectives in the political life of the country, marking a new stage in its development." This is perhaps the most reactionary paragraph in the whole manifesto for it totally ignores the antidemocratic character of a government which is not disposed to let the popular masses exercise their rights, and reduces the massacre of

October 2—the vicious murder of hundreds of young people, women and children—to a mere act of governmental intransigence and intolerance. For this capitulationist current, this deed, which marks an irreversible change in which the government was once and for all unmasked (for no reason for doubt remained about how far it was willing to go to prevent the people from exercising their rights), is reduced to one act among many others in the movement, thus showing its capitulationist attitude toward the government.

They presented as demands wrested from the government a series of demagogic maneuvers carried out by the regime itself with the sole purpose of undermining and emasculating the movement. The most serious thing is that they presented the fact that the government named two representatives as a victory. This precisely was one of the main errors the movement committed.

Let's take a look at one final paragraph where this current shows its lack of confidence in the rank and file of the students. "Inasmuch as the loss of democracy in our institutions would mean the impossibility of continuing the present movement." Besides showing their lack of confidence in the rank and file, they maintain that it is impossible to continue our movement off campus; they restrict the movement to the student milieu, totally denying that the students will have to go to the factories and countryside to join forces with the working-class and peasant masses.

The paragraphs we have examined clearly reveal the policy of the capitulationist current, which in this document once again betrayed the true feelings of the student masses, masses that made possible this movement through their vitality and courage.

The opportunist current managed to win out, and succeeded in imposing its "change in tactics." This change was publicly applauded by the PCM in a statement to the press, because it saw that its decision of September was being executed, although a bit late.

This policy of capitulation of the PCM has been repudiated innumerable times in general assemblies, in the December 4 meeting in Zacatenco, and the last time in a round table discussion held on Saturday, January 18 in the ESFM; also, many student leaders who are members of the Com-

munist Youth have renounced it, some of them publicly, because they do not agree with its policy of opportunism and capitulation toward the government. Today revolutionary students have understood that in order to struggle against the reactionaries, they must also struggle against the opportunists. And the capitulationists. Today, the youth are more conscious than ever of this, and we are in a period of reorganizing our forces in preparation for the new struggles which the Mexican people will have to engage in against the reactionary government.

We have assimilated the experiences of this movement; we know that it is the people who are invincible; we know that tanks and bullets will not stop the course of history. We are preparing, with a determination never before seen, to tighten our bonds with the workers and peasants, to serve them with determination in their search for a better world. We have learned that the reactionary government is condemned to fall apart, but we also know that we have to prepare ourselves for a prolonged struggle, because the ruling camarilla will not peacefully surrender its power to the workers and peasants and to all of the working people, but that it will use violence. Nevertheless, it is also true that the people will reply in kind and will put an end to all the enemies of the popular masses.

A bright future is beginning for the entire Mexican people struggling for their emancipation. The students will be preparing to struggle with and for the people in all possible ways until we succeed in establishing a democratic, popular government in our country.



INTRODUCTION: As part of our continuing service to the movement, the Young Socialist is proud to pass along this handy graphic guide to the split in SDS (prepared by a couple of our readers). It will be remembered that the New Left was to be distinguished from the Old Left by its lack of factionalism. We can't vouch for the total accuracy of this chart or that it will clear up all the misunderstanding surrounding the split. However, those who were confused about how the minority

at the convention could expel the majority when the SDS constitution contained no provision for expelling anybody will be relieved by the following statement issued by the new officers of the "real" SDS: Taking a vote "was rejected, as it meant counterrevolutionaries having the right to 'vote' on their own counterrevolutionary nature." At any rate, it's interesting to note the sharp increase in the number of SDSers applying for membership in the YSA.

THE LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO THE SPLIT IN SDS OR TWO, THREE, MANY SDS'S OR WILL THE REAL SDS PLEASE STAND UP

SSOC—Dissolved in time for convention

WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE SDS

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

M. Rosen, prop.
Up Mao
Up Stalin
Down with Ho
Down with Che
Down with Cuba
? Malcolm X
SDS, c'est moi
Song: We're Off to See the Chairman

WORKER—STUDENT ALLIANCE

PLP, prop.
Only students need apply
Up Mao
Up Stalin
Down with Black Nationalism
Song: Get a Job

SPARTACIST

J. Robertson, prop.
The WSA's ISC
Down with Mao
Down with Stalin
Down with Che
Down with Cuba
Down with Ho
Down with Up
Song: I Ain't Got Nobody

AVAKIAN, KLONSKY, RUDD, DOHRN SDS

THE WEATHERMAN

M. Rudd and B. Dohrn, props.
Up Mao
Up Stalin
Up Participatory Autocracy
Guerrilla Warfare in Central Park
Song: Blowin' in the Wind

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT II

M. Klonsky, prop.
Up Mao
Up Stalin
Up the theory of the Black Belt (sometimes confused with Hammer & Steel, CPUSA 1934, Alabama Karate champion)
Song: Hi Ho, Hi Ho

BAY AREA REVOLUTIONARY UNION

R. Avakian, prop.
Up Mao
Up Stalin
Up yours you counterrevolutionary Trotskyite fascist revisionist Running Dog.
Song: We're Off to See the Chairman

NEW LEFT NOTES (A)

new left sds notes

WE ARE ADVOCATES OF THE ABOLITION OF THE ARABIAN BUT WILL CRY OUT WITH CHEER AND ENTHUSIASM AT THE MARCH THROUGH WASHINGTON TO BRING ABOUT THE END OF THE ARAB BOYCOTT.

RYM Walks Out

NATIONAL SOCIETY'S REPORT

The RYM Walks Out... National Society's Report... The RYM Walks Out... National Society's Report...

Center of Gravity

LABOR COMMITTEE

L. Marcus, prop.
First to feel the ax
Up the racist NY Teachers' Strike
Song: Don't Fence Me Out

THERE IS STILL ROOM FOR YOUR OWN FACTION. APPLICATIONS ACCEPTED AT ANY SDS NATIONAL OFFICE

CONFUSED ABOUT RIGHT AND LEFT? SPIN AT CENTER OF GRAVITY AND THEY ALL GO INTO ORBIT

CP Floating Crap Game

JOE HILL CAUCUS

J. Jones, prop.
Up Mao
? Stalin
Unite for Unity
Up with Up
Down with Down
Song: I Love Everybody (except ISC)

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CLUBS

H. Draper, prop.
Down with Mao
Down with Stalin
Down with Che
Down with Cuba
Down with China
Down with NLF
Up with Down
Song: I Ain't Got Nobody.

NEW LEFT NOTES (B)

new left sds notes

NATIONAL CONVENTION EXPELS RACIST PL, AND ELECTS NEW OFFICERS

The National Convention... National Convention... The National Convention... National Convention...

A YOUNG SOCIALIST INTERVIEW

THE JAPANESE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT AND THE FIGHT AGAINST THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY

The Japanese Left is already preparing for massive demonstrations against any attempt to renew the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty when it expires on June 22, 1970, and demanding the return of Okinawa to Japan. Okinawa serves as an important operational and supply base for the United States' war of aggression against Vietnam. The struggles of the entire Japanese Left are gaining momentum as 1970 approaches. The YS recently interviewed two Japanese leftists who toured the U.S. in an effort to gain the support of the American antiwar movement for these struggles. The interview is with Shimpei Fujimaki (far right), Secretary to the Foreign Policy Committee of the Japan Socialist Party, and Ryoshin Nakayoshi, Chairman of the Okinawa Prefecture Council Against A and H Bombs.



YS: Could you give us an idea of what your trip is all about and why you decided to come to the United States?

NAKAYOSHI: The primary purpose of our trip is to talk directly to the American people. Now, the American people are not at all informed about the actual situation in Okinawa, and they are even deliberately kept in ignorance about it. Therefore, by talking directly to them, we hope to inform the American people of what is actually happening on Okinawa. This is the first purpose of our trip.

Our second purpose is to invite as many Americans as possible to participate in the international antiwar conference we will be holding in Okinawa in August.

YS: What are your impressions of the youth movement in the United States?

NAKAYOSHI: In the course of our talks before American audiences, I have gotten the impression that the youth in this country are very actively engaged in the antiwar movement, as they are in Japan. But, unfortunately, here in this country, the trade union movement's position is quite different from what it is in Japan. The fact that the

Japanese trade unions have their own youth sections makes it possible to mobilize a broader layer of the youth. Perhaps it would be useful for the trade unions in the United States to have this kind of youth organization or at least to help mobilize the rank-and-file youth in their organizations.

YS: Could you say something about the issues that the Japanese youth are oriented around, as well as how they are organized?

NAKAYOSHI: There are three types of youth organizations in Japan. The first is the regional type, that is, an organization of youth in a particular area, district or region. These organizations take up the demands of the inhabitants in their particular area and press the government to meet them.

Second are the youth organizations in factories. To be more specific, these are the youth sections of the trade unions. Not only do they put forward economic demands, but they are also actively involved in political activities.

Third are the youth groups of the political parties. The youth groups of the political parties are primarily concerned with the general problems of

youth, which they approach from a political angle.

All of this is primarily true of Okinawa.

Now, besides these three types of youth organizations, there is a committee called the antiwar youth committee. This committee is primarily composed of young people who oppose the Vietnam war, regardless of their regional or trade union affiliations. This is a purely political organization, whose political objective is opposition to the war in Vietnam.

In addition to these groups, there are various active political organizations.

YS: Are the different political tendencies in the Japanese youth movement able to form united fronts around specific issues, such as the war in Vietnam?

FUJIMAKI: In most cases, I think, the student and youth movements seriously want to mobilize the masses in struggle. I don't think there would be any disagreement on at least three questions: 1) opposition to the Vietnam war, 2) the return of Okinawa to Japan and opposition to the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, and 3) normalization of diplomatic relations with the Peoples' Republic of China.



Actually, I think the Vietnam war is serving as a catalyst to unite the entire movement and to help in creating a united front. We cannot overestimate this effect of the Vietnam war to unite divergent political tendencies in action because the ideological differences will continue to exist, even after the war is over. So, the effect of the present U. S. government policy in Vietnam is not at all to create problems for the future development of the student and youth movement, but rather to aid it. This is very strange, I think, for what Johnson and Nixon have been doing is creating an anticapitalist mentality among the youth in Japan, as well as in the United States.

NAKAYOSHI: As far as Okinawa is concerned, the political objectives of our struggle are opposition to the Vietnam war and the abrogation of the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty, and the return of Okinawa to mainland Japan. There is no disagreement at all within the ranks of the student and youth movement on these objectives. As far as the ideological tendencies in the youth movement are concerned, both on Okinawa and on the Japanese mainland, we can distinguish between two basic categories. First, the anti-Japanese Communist Party category. This is a very important category, which is not necessarily anti-communist, but merely against the Japanese Communist Party. And second is the pro-Japanese Communist Party category. This is the ideological and organizational distinction between the two main categories of the youth movement in Japan.

And now as we approach 1970, which is when the issue of the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty comes up for consideration, the possibilities for forming a united front of the various student and youth organizations are growing. Moreover, the ideological rivalries within the youth movement in Okinawa

are not as fierce as on mainland Japan as a result of the special situation in Okinawa.

YS: The general pattern to the current radicalization has been for it to start on the campuses, spread to the high schools, and then, as in France last May, to the young workers. Has this process also been visible in Japan?

FUJIMAKI: The same process of radicalization that went on in France is going on in Japan. And I think the Vietnam war is actually helping to speed up this radicalization. To me, this is sort of an irony of history, because in the past once a war began the process of radicalization seemed to stop. Everybody became a superpatriot. But now, the opposite is taking place all over the world.

NAKAYOSHI: Despite agreement between the student movement and the trade union movement on all major foreign policy issues, the trade union movement does not always wholeheartedly support the student movement in Japan. The reason for this is that some of the student groups just don't care about the reactions of the trade unions so they strike off on their own and become completely isolated from the masses. I think it is the duty of the leaders of the student movement to pay more attention to the sentiment of the workers, so that their very energetic actions could touch off a strong trade union reaction supporting them. Such a reaction could have a really powerful effect on the entire course of politics.

YS: What preparations are being made in Japan for activity around both the August commemoration of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the expiration of the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1970? What efforts will be made to make these actions international?

NAKAYOSHI: We will be having two

types of conferences in early August. One will be held from August 1-7 in Hiroshima in commemoration of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The second one will be an international conference in Okinawa August 12-15. The purpose of this conference will be to demonstrate our determined opposition to the American presence in Okinawa, and to demand the return of Okinawa to Japan. As to next June's renewal of the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty, we are going to be organizing a series of mass rallies and demonstrations demanding an end to the treaty.

Sohyo, the largest labor federation in Japan, has mapped out a strategy for staging a general strike against the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty, and has already begun preparations for this political strike. The Federation of Independent Unions, has also joined in those plans.

YS: What do you think are the prospects for a socialist revolution in Japan?

FUJIMAKI: I think it will take a rather long time. Of course, next year will be of crucial importance. But I think it would be unrealistic to expect Japan to become a socialist country overnight, merely as a result of the struggles against the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty. Our primary goal for the time being and in the next decade will be the normalization of diplomatic relations with the Peoples' Republic of China, an end to the U. S.-Japan Security Treaty, and opposition to the emergence of Japanese militarism. Yet, even an end to the treaty would not, in and of itself, mean that the roots of Japanese militarism had been eradicated. Only the mass movement, only the struggle of the Japanese people can be an effective guarantee against the revival of militarism. We cannot lose sight of this in our day-to-day struggles.

“Twentieth Century Fox advertizes this ‘True Story of Che Guevara’ as a separation of the man from the myth. They have succeeded. What we have from beginning to end is pure myth.”

“CHE.” Written by Michael Wilson and Sy Bartlett. Directed by Richard Fleischer. Twentieth Century Fox.

The movie *Che* is disappointing. I do not mean to be facetious. I know no one expected Hollywood to come out with anything close to the truth about the real Che or the Cuban revolution. But I did think the movie would be fun. Somehow I thought it would be high camp, with something sophisticated about it. But in fact, how well Hollywood has captured not Che Guevara, but the peculiar quality of the American scene: plastic, cardboard, vinyl, mass-produced, hollow, bland, shiny, Reader's Digest arm-pitlessness. And, of course, the skulking monster not quite hidden behind the Campbell's soup: imperialism.

Okay, there I am, dodging dogturds along Times Square, rather jolly at the prospect of seeing a movie. True, nothing could be more remote from revolutionary Cuba than Times Square, where, on that Great White Way (an increasingly apt designation for what it symbolizes) all the cheapness, all

the fakery and fast sell of American capitalism is brought forth and bared as though there must be something good about it by very virtue of its excess. It stinks.

I pay my three bucks, and then have to ride up two flights of escalators to get into the theatre. And the second set of stairs is painted gold, with purple handrails, and is surrounded by fuzzy, red paisleys on a red cloth wall; and the ceiling is painted black. The theatre is almost empty, and then the movie comes on with a shot of Omar Sharif-Che dressed up dead, purplish bullet wounds on his body. His eyes reflect glaring studio lights.

Here I am sitting in the foul center of a society which destroys men, about to watch one sector of those murderers—the entertainment sector—tell me how another sector—the political—murdered Che Guevara.

But after all, this is Hollywood. There is still a chance to be amused; and by a stretch of the imagination I suppose you could call the presentation of the life of Che Guevara, a la Hollywood, amusing.

The interesting thing about it is the attempt to present Che as a complex, almost sympathetic figure. This is significant. It reveals the film maker's awareness of the wide appeal and in-

fluence Che has. In fact, at the very beginning of the film, newsreel-type scenes of young people demonstrating and "rioting" are projected onto sections of the screen as the camera pans Omar Sharif-Che lying dead. But really the sympathetic details are a kind of ploy used precisely to justify the ultimate characterization of him as a monstrous murderer gone mad from failure.

Twentieth Century Fox advertizes this "True Story of Che Guevara" as a separation of the man from the myth. They have succeeded. What we have from beginning to end is pure myth.

There are roughly two sides to Che, according to the movie. The first is Che the revolutionary; the second is Che the human being. Che the revolutionary has a dream not of a single revolution but of a worldwide communist revolution. His madness has its roots in this dream (a faraway look comes into Omar Sharif-Che's eyes whenever he begins to speak of world revolution). In one scene he is seen arguing with the "party boss" of the Bolivian CP, who comes to visit him at a Bolivian guerrilla camp. Che explains to him that it doesn't matter that he, Che, is an Argentinian—he can still lead Bolivians since he is only using Bolivia to spark a larger war anyway. The Stalinist (dressed in

By Stacey Joslin

well-cut city clothes) objects—not in defense of a bureaucrat's narrow, nationalist interests, but simply because he's rational, not mad.

While the movie has no plot, the story line can be interpreted as Che's development as a leader, through the Cuban struggle, to his failure in Bolivia and his eventual downfall and death. His rise to leadership is meteoric. While his natural qualities are at first not clear because of his asthma (he lags behind), his brilliance demonstrates itself first when he saves the small band of guerrillas by disobeying an order (throwing a Molotov cocktail after having been told to "keep your hands clean" on the mission), and secondly when he shoots in cold blood a traitor to the rebels. This scene is a classic example of how the revolutionary process is totally distorted by the amateur propagandists who made this movie. A guide, Eutemio the traitor, is pleading with Fidel for his life. Fidel is obviously moved (you can tell because the cigar is wiggling in his mouth), but all of a sudden the guide falls dead, and there is Che standing, smoking gun in hand. They both smile. Che is promoted to *Comandante*.

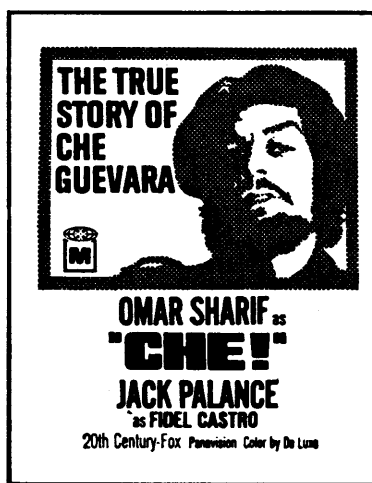
The real Che once described the death of a traitor. He emphasized the care with which the leaders proved his guilt beyond any doubt, and the lesson they made of him to other guerrillas who might be tempted to betray them. There was nothing spontaneous or frivolous about the killing. And it could hardly be explained as the calculated act of a power-hungry madman.

Che's mad communist zeal (the zeal to fight with guns) leads him to boredom with the "peaceful" revolutionary process in post 1959 Cuba. When he objects to the Russian missiles being withdrawn from Cuba, he is called a provocateur by the heavy-jowled Russian ambassador. "You think your million dollar a day handout can quiet our mouths?" Che retorts. Fidel, who throughout the film is depicted as a light-minded alcoholic with a flair for speechifying, gulps brandy nervously. "I'd have the marines in my penthouse before breakfast," he says to Che, explaining why the missiles must be withdrawn.

Che, you see, is the dedicated, ruthless, single-minded fighter. He cannot remain in Havana. In fact, he tires quickly of life in Cuba after having

taken state power ("Only two days and I'm already sick of Havana," he sighs to himself). But he stays around until the urge to revolution compels him to leave for Bolivia.

In Bolivia, the objective factors of the situation cause Che's coolness and machine-like control to break down. When he cannot get new recruits to the revolution, he leads his soldiers to rob, rape, and pillage the poor. In a moment of utter frustration, he wildly guns holes in a peasant's little wooden replica of the Virgin. Shortly thereafter, lest you doubt the penalty for shooting up a Virgin, he is shot, captured and killed. His capture episode is in the style of a grade C western,



full of ping-pong bullets and crouching behind rocks.

But this fighting, ruthless revolutionary is only one side of Che. He also has a sympathetic side. He has asthma. Now asthma, as you know, is not quite a "legitimate" disease. It's not like piles or foot trouble; there is something "psychological" about it. So when in one of the first scenes you see Che spraying his mouth so he can breathe better, you feel sorry. Yet, you wonder if something deeper might not be the matter with him, if he might not even be a little "touched." In many scenes, particularly in Bolivia when he's cracking, his speech is accompanied by a wheeze. At first I thought there was something wrong with the soundtrack.

Another characteristic, ostensibly calculated to add depth to his character, is his big, brown eyes. Now Che actually resembled the Mexican comedian Cantinflas. There was something very

lively and sharp and devilish about him. So Omar Sharif's big, beautiful (they really are), smouldering eyes have nothing to do with Che. They are Hollywood's attempt at psychological probing—how could a man with such beautiful eyes be mad? On the other hand, how could he not be? Actually, this movie is so dull that Omar Sharif's eyes are practically the only thing worth watching. His eyes, and about twenty seconds of the Bolivian mountains.

All the other characters are completely flat. Fidel is a boozing Demosthenes who can barely open his own bottle without Che's help. It isn't that he's *bad*, really; he's just not very bright. Che explains military tactics to him, hands him notes about what to say when he talks over rebel radio, and watches him on TV with the sound turned down because, he explains, "I know what he is going to say."

The last time they see each other, in Fidel's penthouse bedroom, Che says to him reprovingly: "Still on a diet of Bensedrine and brandy?" Once Che leaves Cuba, you understand thanks to this little remark, the regime will rest solely on the continuing supply of bennies shipped in, no doubt, from Communist China. The most sympathetically treated characters in this film are the Stalinists: the peace-loving Soviet ambassador during the missile crisis, and the Bolivian leader.

As for details, here are a few which made me feel as though I'd been forced plastic for an hour and a half: the blue eye-shadow of the lady guerrillas, and their starched and ironed white blouses; the vinyl hairpiece ponytail of the revolutionary on the tank with Fidel as they ride into Havana; the Keene painting on Fidel's bedroom wall.

Let me warn you not to look for a story of Che Guevara in this movie. If you do, you'll be wasting your time. The one thing that can be said for it, though, is that it is a "True Story of Mid-Century America."

So I left the theatre (where you have to walk back down two flights of stairs) feeling all plastic and shiny-surfaced and wanting to go around smelling under people's arms to reassure myself of humankind. I went out into that yellow-grey New York air and realized something else: This year is the 10th year of the Cuban revolution.

"Red Flag, Black Flag is not at all ambiguous on who the student revolutionaries were. The authors say the major role was played by the JCR.

"The activity of the YSA in the United States has been strikingly similar to the pre-May JCR activity."

RED FLAG, BLACK FLAG, by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville. Ballantine Books, New York, 1968. \$.95.

A recent paperback entitled *Red Flag, Black Flag: French Revolution 1968* carries this provocative blurb on its cover: "HOW SMALL GROUP OF STUDENT REVOLUTIONARIES ALMOST OVERTURNED THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE . . . AUTHORITIES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA ARE WONDERING FEARFULLY: COULD IT HAPPEN HERE?" That question is of interest not only to the fearful authorities but also to those who want to strike fear into the hearts of the ruling class.

So although Seale and McConville of the *London Observer* wrote *Red Flag, Black Flag* for the edification of those fearful authorities, they did a brilliant job of reporting which should be studied carefully by young American and West European revolutionaries. The authors' political outlook (very wishy-washy social democracy) is evident in their conclusions, but it in no way impairs their keen perception of what was going on in France last summer.

First it should be pointed out that the above-quoted statement from the cover is not consistent with the contents of the book. It was not a "small group of student revolutionaries" who wielded the power to shake French capitalism; that power resided, in the authors' words, in the "movement involving nearly 10,000,000 workers." All illusions of vanguardism aside, though, it was evident that the "small group of student revolutionaries" did play a crucial role in the May-June events. It is necessary, then, to ask: Who were these student revolutionaries? Was their leadership role characterized by historical accident (spontaneity) or were they conscious revolutionaries who knew what they were doing? Did their revolutionary activity begin in the summer of 1968 when they were thrust into the leadership of a mass movement or had they also been working toward the revolution in the less exciting years preceding 1968? Most importantly, *what did they do before and during the revolution* that we in other capitalist countries should emulate or at least draw lessons from?

Red Flag, Black Flag is not at all ambiguous on who the student revolutionaries were. The authors list and describe the activities of a number of pro-revolutionary tendencies, but they say the major role was played by the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (JCR, Revolutionary Communist Youth). In their article

in the May 19th *London Observer* they say that the JCR "can claim to have provided the chief inspiration and political direction of the insurrection of the past two weeks, which may justly be described as the greatest success the Trotskyists have ever achieved in Europe." In *Red Flag, Black Flag* they repeatedly single out the JCR as "the leading political faction behind the revolt." At one point they describe "the JCR and Cohn-Bendit's March 22 Movement" as "the two principal detonators of the explosion," but the two organizations were not mutually exclusive forces:

"The JCR was the first political faction to recognize Cohn-Bendit's potential for revolutionary struggle and to join forces with him. Strongly implanted in Nanterre, it was thus a founder element in the March 22 Movement . . . But there could be no greater contrast between the disciplined, purposeful JCR cadres and the free-booting Cohn-Bendit. The JCR penetrated his movement, melting unobtrusively into it . . . The JCR won the confidence of Cohn-Bendit and his friends by not seeking to take over the movement or manipulate it to its own exclusive ends; instead, it gave the March 22 unconditional support. In this way, the JCR became Cohn-Bendit's principal ally, stiffening his anarchism with Leninist political intelligence."

By Cliff Conner



So the unquestioned leadership of the French revolutionary youth was exercised by the "disciplined, purposeful JCR cadres" with their "Leninist political intelligence." But there were two other youth groups claiming the mantle of Leninism which were as numerically strong as the JCR. One was the FER (Federation of Revolutionary Students) which calls itself Trotskyist and which has an American mini-counterpart called the workers League. The other was the UJC (M-L), a Maoist group not officially affiliated with the American Progressive Labor Party but similar in outlook and in action. In addition to assimilating positive lessons from the JCR, the negative experience of the other groups is also important for American revolutionaries.

Red Flag, Black Flag characterizes the FER as "ultrasectarian Trotskyists," whose "belief in its own revolutionary vocation" prevented it from joining into united action with other forces. Therefore, "failing to get in at the start, the FER had little influence on the later course of the revolution." Such sectarianism, of course, has little to do with Leninism and Trotskyism; it inevitably leads to sitting on the sidelines when the action begins. It stands in sharp contrast to the non-sectarianism of the JCR, as exemplified by its relationship with Danny the Red's March 22 Movement.

The Maoists didn't fare quite so badly, but nevertheless, "their role in the May revolution was not of the first rank; as we shall see, they did not wholly lend their support of the strategy of Daniel Cohn-Bendit and the JCR." Their fundamental error was in denouncing the student

movement as reactionary, but this error flowed naturally from their politics: "Their attitude is one of humble devotion to the working class. . . . Some dozen of their militants have given up their studies to work in factories. They are a Maoist equivalent to the worker-priest." A significant number of American radical students are likewise inclined toward romanticizing the working class, but the French Maoists have demonstrated the fallacy of such an approach.

The May-June events were not a result of spontaneity. "The revolution would not have occurred without a hard core of revolutionaries of extremely high quality." But the high quality, as has been shown, consisted not of mere determination, bravery, or audacity, but of "Leninist political intelligence," which included the ability to avoid the trap of sectarianism. It also included the ability to recognize a potential mass movement and to built it into a reality.

Such a movement grew up in France in opposition to American barbarism in Vietnam.

"Much of this revolutionary fervor . . . has been powered by one major issue: The Vietnam War. As a prodder of tender consciences, as a mobilizer of radical sympathies, it has far outstripped even the Algerian War. No youth group has made more successful use of it than the JCR. Thanks to the Vietnam War, the JCR and, to a lesser extent, its rivals have managed to make contact with thousands of young people, in schools and universities."

The main point is that the antiwar movement derived its organization and strength from the conscious in-

tervention of revolutionary socialists. The JCR was the driving force of the massive National Vietnam Committee (CVN) and of the High School Action Committees (CAL's).

"The CAL's played a vital, if unsung, role . . . during the May Revolution. . . . The Night of the Barricades, May 10-11, 1968 . . . was a political event of first-class importance in the life of a generation. . . . As with all truly revolutionary moments, its ultimate consequences may not be visible for years.

"It all began with the teen-agers, at least 5,000 of them, their blood up. . . . high above the crowd, the school-boy leaders of the *Comités d'Action Lyceens* (CAL's) worked them up with all the skill and the oratory of seasoned politicians. . . . Since December, 1967—in a bare five months—the CAL's had grown (especially in Paris) into a formidable left-wing pressure group, largely under JCR inspiration. They represented the rapid spread of radical ideas to a whole generation of preuniversity age. . . ."

It is important to note that the CAL's were "deliberately loosely structured and nonsectarian" and that they therefore did not restrict membership to only those conscious revolutionaries who would accept an "anti-imperialist" program. Their main slogan revolved around defense of the civil liberties of high school students: Freedom of Action in School!

The unmistakable lessons scream out of these paragraphs: Those who would make the revolution must lay the groundwork by diligently doing the often unexciting work of building mass movements which are possible, such as the antiwar movement

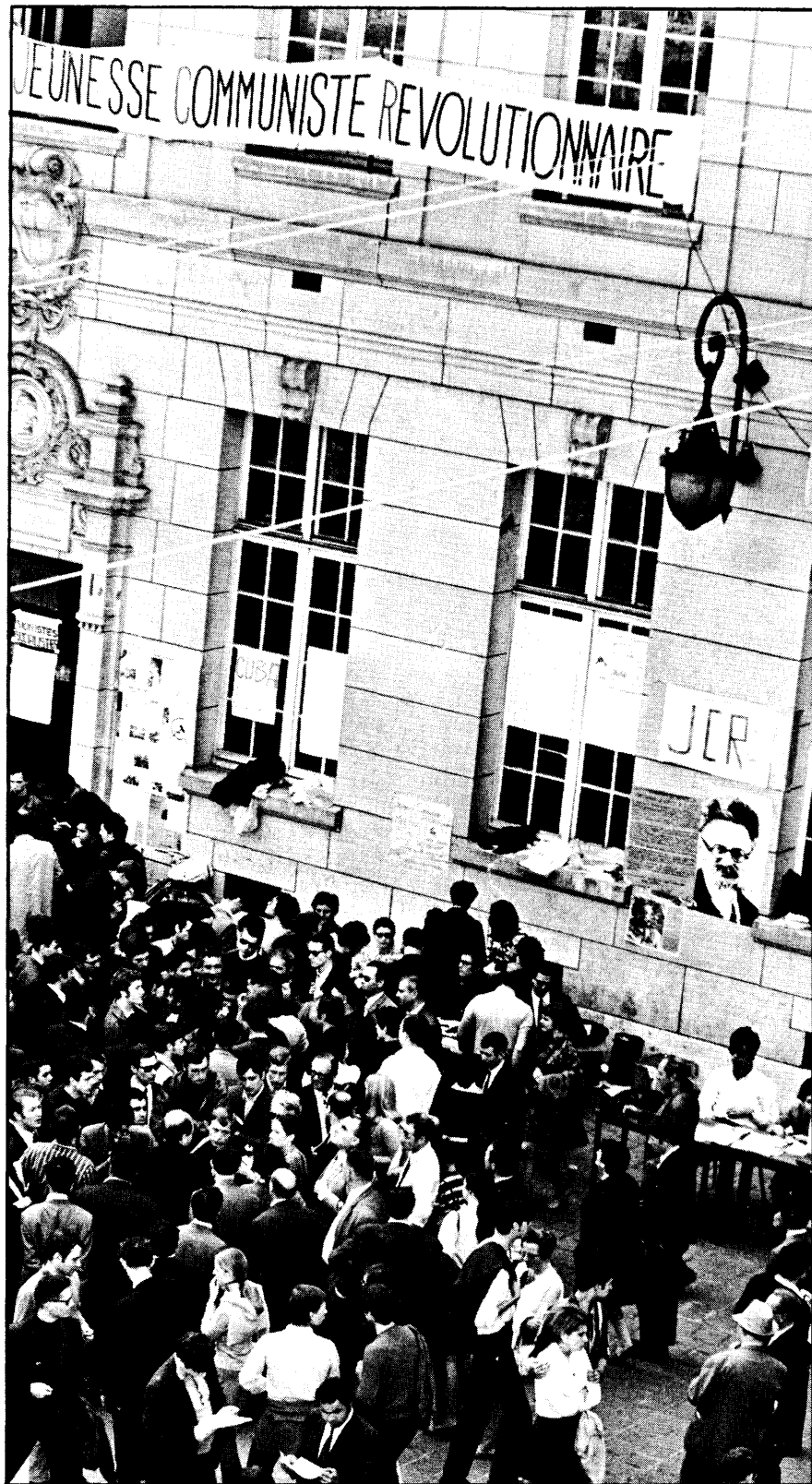


PHOTO BY SHANNON

"YSA members who work so hard selling revolutionary magazines, pamphlets and books are often twitted with comments like, 'When the revolution comes, you will still be selling your literature.' When the revolution came in France the JCR was indeed still selling its literature." Above is the JCR section of the Sorbonne courtyard during the May-June events.

in the U. S. A. In the process, they must continually be reaching out to radicalize more and more young people.

But the French experience confirms that individuals and multi-tendency organizations cannot do these things; a politically homogeneous organization is absolutely necessary. If there is no counterpart to the JCR, then it must be created as a prerequisite to other activity. The authors of *Red Flag*, *Black Flag* warn the ruling classes of other countries that such organizations do indeed exist all over the world. In the U. S. A., they say, the JCR's counterpart is the Young Socialist Alliance.

The activity of the YSA in the United States has been strikingly similar to the pre-May JCR activity described above, as any knowledgeable observer of the American student and anti-war movements can testify. But the JCR and YSA resemble each other in other ways, too.

For example, many young American radicals don't understand why YSA members work so hard selling revolutionary magazines, newspapers, pamphlets and books. The importance of such basic propaganda work should be obvious, but YSAers are often twitted with comments like, "When the revolution comes, you will still be selling your literature." We know of course, that without such preliminary work the revolution is unlikely to come, but aside from that it is interesting to note that when the revolution came in France the JCR was indeed still selling its literature. In fact, right in the middle of the powerful upsurge which it had helped to build and which it was leading, the JCR sold every piece of literature it had in France!

Also, the JCR and the YSA agree on the principles and tactics of revolutionary electoral activity. Whereas the Communist parties of both France and America will support liberal capitalist candidates as "lesser evils" (LBJas opposed to Goldwater), the JCR and the YSA refuse to support any capitalist candidate.

On the other hand, whereas the SDS in America and Danny the Red in France refuse to participate in *any* elections in *any* way, the JCR and the YSA both support revolutionary socialist candidates. The campaigns

of Alain Krivine for President of France and Paul Boutelle for Mayor of New York City are two good examples of the way revolutionaries can utilize bourgeois elections to get their ideas out to a wider public and thereby build the socialist vanguard. This is part of what is meant by "Leninist political intelligence," as can be seen from even a superficial glance through Lenin's famous pamphlet on ultraleftism.

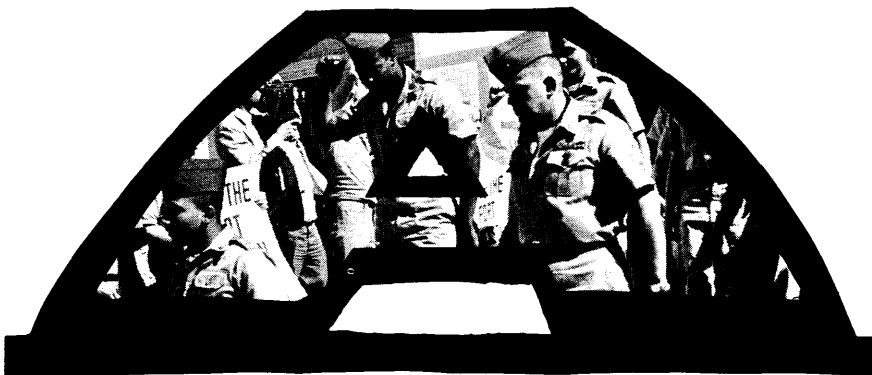
All of this is not to pat certain people or organizations on the back or to award them medals for past accomplishments. It is to keep the information in *Red Flag*, *Black Flag* from benefitting *only* the ruling classes for which it was written. The French revolution in 1968 did not go all the way to state power precisely because the revolutionary leadership was not large enough; it was spread too thin. This is what must be avoided in the coming American revolution. Anyone serious about making that revolution should immediately begin building the revolutionary socialist vanguard by joining the YSA. Could it happen here?

Postscript

It occurs to me that people thinking about these things for the first time may think they see a contradiction between the idea of nonsectarianism and the necessity of building organizations such as the JCR or the YSA. The error of the French FER was not that they tried to build a revolutionary organization, but that they refused to cooperate with other organizations and individuals in united action for common goals. They purposely isolated themselves from people they considered less politically conscious than themselves. In doing so, they cut themselves off from any chance to intervene in and develop mass movements, which is the essence of revolutionism.

Also, there is no contradiction between building loose, mass-type "movements" such as the CAL's and the March 22 Movement and building a revolutionary vanguard youth group such as the JCR. The non-dialectical thinker may assume these to be either/or propositions but in reality they are complementary activities. Both are necessary.

JOIN THE



IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE CUBAN REVOLUTION, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA. . .

CLIP AND MAIL

NAME

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
BOX 471 COOPER STATION
NEW YORK, N. Y. 0003

ADDRESS

CITY

I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA

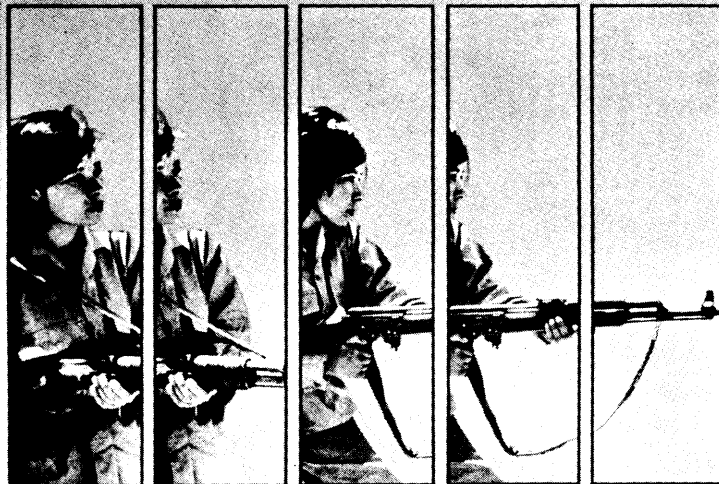
STATE ZIP

I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION

REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY

ثورة حتى النصر دافعوا عن الثورة العربية

DEFEND THE ARAB REVOLUTION



YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE -

P.O. BOX 471 - COOPER STATION

- N.Y. - N.Y. - 10003

New Poster

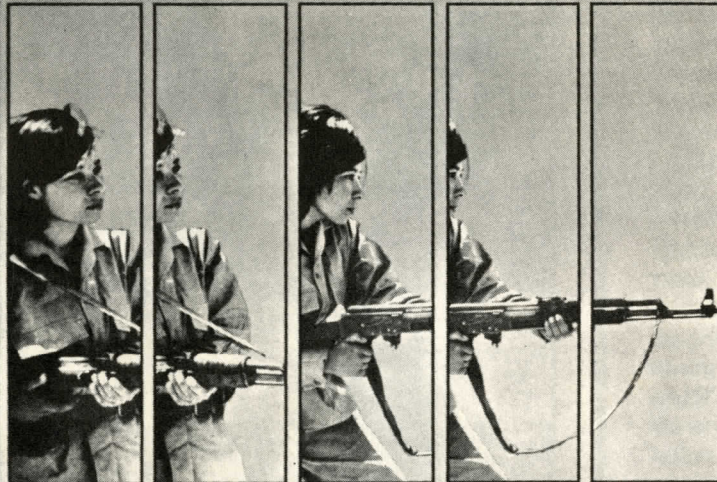
.75 from

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
BOX 471
COOPER STATION
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

REVOLUTION UNTIL VICTORY

ثورة حتى النصر دافعوا عن الثورة العربية

DEFEND THE ARAB REVOLUTION



YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE -

P.O. BOX 471 - COOPER STATION

- N.Y. - N.Y. - 10003

New Poster

.75 from

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
BOX 471
COOPER STATION
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003