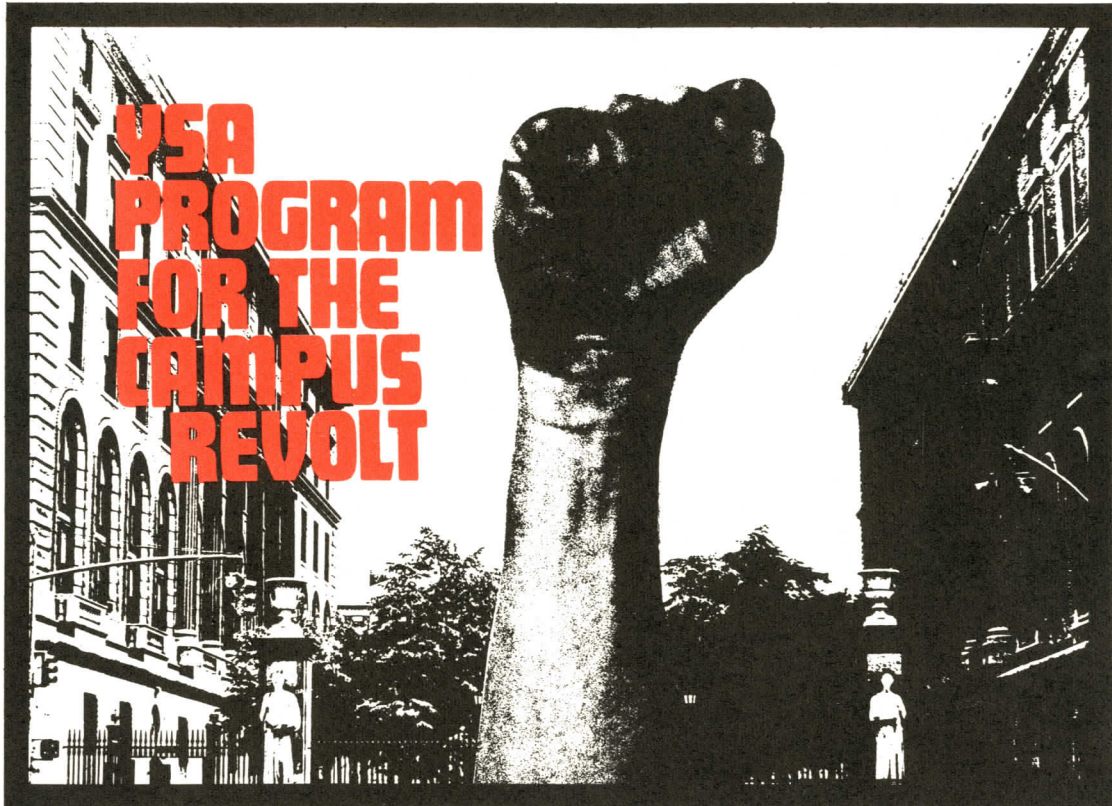


young socialist

September 1969

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MANDEL: Where is America Going?
TROTSKY: A first in English.
Hugo Blanco; Lenin vs. Stalin

We are fortunate to be able to include in this issue a somewhat abridged version of Ernest Mandel's "Where is America Going?", which originally appeared in the British *New Left Review*. MANDEL (*bottom left*), one of today's most influential Marxist thinkers, is a leading European spokesman for the same political point of view represented by the YSA in this country. His monumental two-volume *Marxist Economic Theory* has recently been published in English by Monthly Review Press. FOR THE SECOND MONTH in a row we bring to bear a rather harsh judgment against Brother Stalin with the book review by NELSON BLACKSTOCK (*bottom right*), the editor of the *Young Socialist*. We are also printing a poem by DAVID SALNER, a member of the San Francisco local of the YSA. His poems have appeared in *Poetry Northwest*, *North American Review* and *Poetry Bag*. THIS MONTH we have two YS firsts. One is our first deluxe center spread, suitable for tearing out and putting on your wall or inside your locker. The design first appeared as a poster put out by the *Black Dwarf*, a British revolutionary paper. Second is a letter by Trotsky which appears here for the first time in English. OUR READERS may have noticed the changes that we have been making in the format of the YS over the past few issues. This process can be expected to continue, and any comments, criticisms, suggestions, attacks or praise from our readers are hereby solicited. IN THE LAST ISSUE we included a chart analyzing the split in SDS which has brought forth an uncommon amount of comment. We owe an apology to the Joe Hill Caucus of San Francisco State which denies any responsibility for Jeff Jones, a national officer of SDS who was identified in the chart as the leader of the Joe Hill Caucus. It is beginning to look like a good number of SDSers are trying to dissociate themselves from the less than brilliant leadership being provided by Mark Rudd and Co. An increasingly ominous development has been the escalation of the reign of "verbal terror" between the RYM and PL SDS's (i.e., everybody and his brother have become a counterrevolutionary) to the point of physical violence between the warring factions on several occasions. ON THE BRIGHTER SIDE, an encouraging trend among SDSers is represented by a couple of letters to the *Militant*. From the chairman of the Clark University SDS: "The articles on SDS, PL and the Black Panther Party United Front Against Fascism have been excellent, and I plan to use them in the fall in order to get our SDS chapter to dissociate itself from the petit-bourgeois RYM or the Stalinist PL. Whether individuals in the chapter decide to join YSA or the chapter as a whole decides to remain autonomous and unaffiliated remains to be seen." From the chairman of the Mansfield State College SDS: "I was able [at the recent Cleveland antiwar conference] to witness numerous 'confrontations' and debates between YSAers and some of the SDS-RYM 'leadership.' I am only sorry that more rank-and-file SDSers could not have been present to see and hear the debate. Next month I register to vote and intend to register Socialist Workers. I have also applied for YSA membership." Right on.



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The American university is coming apart at the seams. All across the country, youth are struggling to rid the campus of the hypocrisy, racism and exploitation that are features not only of the university, but of society as a whole. Strikes, sit-ins, mass protests and a seething discontent have become part of the daily experience of American education. Even the insulated schools for the sons and daughters of the rich have become acquainted with Che Guevara and the red flag.

A whole generation of youth threatens to turn its back on the ideology and on the political and academic mouthpieces of America's rulers. The "silent generation" has given way to its rebellious opposite. At this prospect, something resembling panic has seized many in power who long for more idyllic days. College presidents, administrators, governors, legislators, businessmen, the President, the police and other crusaders have joined hands in hopes of restoring their "law" and their "order" to the campus.

This new radicalism is not a strictly American phenomenon. It is part of a worldwide radicalization of youth. It is young people who have made up the vanguard and the ranks of the international struggle against the aggression of U. S. imperialism in Vietnam. It is primarily

young people who have taken up arms against oppression in Vietnam, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. It is young people who are in the forefront of the fight for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe. It was young people in France who in 1968 sparked the biggest general strike in history. This upheaval put the overthrow of capitalism on the agenda in an advanced capitalist country for the first time in decades.

Student youth have initiated struggles that have brought in broader social layers, including the working class, leading to major upheavals in France, Mexico, Argentina and Pakistan, to mention only the most spectacular. This student radicalization has demonstrated its capacity not only to trigger mass action by the working class, but to serve as a transmission belt speeding the development of a radical political consciousness among other social layers.

The revolts that swept across dozens of American campuses last spring were a rehearsal for struggles to come. The phenomena which gave rise to those rebellions not only have not disappeared, but continue to smolder in a more conscious, and therefore more volatile atmosphere. Important lessons are being absorbed by an expanding, increasingly influential layer of revolutionaries on campus.

The current school year will see a new wave of struggles like those at San Francisco State, Harvard, City College of New York, and the University of Minnesota. It will be a highly educational year, both for the oppressors and the oppressed.

Causes of the Campus Revolt

The student rebellion springs from the fundamental problems of capitalist society, and is nourished by three main phenomena.

THE VIETNAM WAR

Nothing has served to reveal the hypocrisy and exploitative character of the American university like the Vietnam war. The businessmen who sit on the boards of trustees of the American university undermine and pollute education by turning over its facilities to their companies for war-related research. More interested in the profits of the companies in which they hold stock than in the educational needs of the students and the community, they invite the recruiters of those companies onto the campus to select their products. Administrations work hand in glove with the government, the Pentagon and the CIA to devise more effective techniques for crushing liberation movements. The ROTC program still functions on many campuses. And by cooperating with the Selective Service System, colleges are helping funnel students into a military machine whose principal task is to defend the profits of the companies whose interests the college trustees serve. What is educational is determined not by the needs of the students but by the interests of the ruling class.

The Vietnam war has exposed these facts to large numbers of American students, leaving college administrations without so much as a secret contract to hide their role in this duplicity.

RACIAL OPPRESSION

Refusing to use its resources and facilities to help advance the liberation of black and third world Americans, the university is an intolerable example of institutionalized racism. The history it teaches is the history of the white, capitalist oppressor. The ideology of its political science, economics, psychology, sociology and philosophy departments is the ideology of the white, bourgeois oppressor. The distorted education which results is as racist as it is inadequate. Those few black and third world youth who manage to break through restrictive college admission barriers do so only to discover the same racism that saturates society as a whole.

It is in response to this situation that black students have initiated struggles for autonomous black studies departments to teach the truth about black history and culture. Frequently initiated and led by black student unions, they have not only been in the forefront of the campus rebellions, but they have often achieved important victories.

The struggles for open admissions of third world students and for a "black university" placing the facilities of the university at the disposal of the black community, and the demand for black control of black education are a concrete manifestation of the broader revolutionary struggle for black control of the black community. By challenging the purpose of capitalist education, these battles strike at the racist heart of American education and lead broad masses of students — both third world and non-third world — to understand the nature of capitalist education. Such struggles represent a significant advance in the liberation struggle of third world peoples.

MEANINGLESS EDUCATION

Our generation has come to political consciousness during the most intense period of social convulsion in history. We have seen revolutionary upheavals in dozens of countries. And we have lived through some of the most barbaric wars in history.

We have seen the technological and industrial advances of the "third industrial revolution" put man on the moon and arm him with nuclear weapons. Yet we also know that in the United States this technology has not even been used to eliminate, for the first time in history, man's age-old struggle against hunger. Not to mention war and racism.

The developments in this technology call for a more highly educated and technically qualified type of worker who is capable of innovating, developing, and operating the most complex, up-to-date means of production and destruction.

Students today are trained to take their place as highly skilled workers in this alienating, profit-generating machine. Our education in no way equips us to deal with the pressing social, political and economic realities of our time. Even in colleges it is dangerous to think. The best student is the obedient, docile student who dutifully collects credits until he reaches the magical number when he is considered "educated." In no way is he able to exert any control over his education or his future.

The fundamental changes in education resulting from the advances in technology give the student movement today an enhanced social weight and political impact. It is only in the relatively recent past that the university has ceased to be the exclusive domain of the sons and daughters of the ruling class. The needs of an advanced capitalist society for a broader layer of highly skilled workers to operate its complex, computerized technological machine forced it to open the university's doors even to working-class youth. Under this pressure, the university has become a gigantic factory whose finished product is a skilled technician programmed to help improve the functioning and profitability of the larger social machine.

The fact that today's students are being trained to play essential roles in operating this machine gives their rebellion an important social weight. This is the main reason why the ruling class is so anxious to squelch the campus revolts. Student dissatisfaction with the meaninglessness of capitalist education has plunged the university into a state of permanent crisis which constitutes a threat to capitalist society.

Lessons of the Campus Revolt

The campus rebellions last spring showed that, correctly organized and led, they can result in significant victories. They can force important concessions from the ruling class. To insure this, however, several lessons must be learned from these struggles.

UNITED FRONT

The organizational form of the struggle must be a united front. All political tendencies supporting the struggle demands should be represented on the leading body of the struggle. Any attempt to impose the entire program of any one particular group on the others as a prerequisite for united struggle will only discourage broad participation and must therefore be rejected. Anyone who supports the demands should be encouraged to participate.

Decisions should be democratically made at mass meetings, not by small cliques. Only through mass democratically-run meetings can large numbers be effectively mobilized on a sustained basis and can their consciousness be raised.

MASS ACTION

Action involving masses of the community as well as the students is the most effective means to force administrations and local ruling classes to concede defeat.

Handfuls of self-styled campus "guerrillas" who, like some in SDS, tend to substitute tactics like the seizure of buildings and small, physical confrontations for a well thought-out political program usually succeed only in isolating the vanguard from the student masses. Such struggles end in defeat.

The correct, revolutionary strategy is one that permits the involvement of the student masses. Meaningful disruption of the functioning of the university is the work not of handfuls, but of masses.

DEFENSIVELY-FORMULATED DEMANDS

To rally broad support, both on campus and in the community, demands must be clear and few in number. Long lists of demands not only cut down on participation by discouraging those who may not necessarily agree with every single demand. They also invite the administration to give in to any less important demands and then try to divide the movement by attacking its leaders as "irresponsible" for not compromising on the essential ones.

Demands designed to provoke a harsh response from the authorities may clear the conscience of individual ultra-leftists, but they will not lead to victory. Offensively-formulated demands like "Shut the University Down!" actually put the movement on the *defensive* by forcing the students to defend their demands instead of putting the authorities on the defensive for not giving in to those demands.

Moreover, since they are unable to mobilize large numbers of people, they lead to isolation, victimization and defeat.

Revolutionaries must take the offensive in these struggles. The only effective way to do this is through the use of defensively-formulated demands. Not only can a demand like "Support Black Control of Black Studies!" rally broad support because it is reasonable and clearly understandable, but it is even more apt to lead to a university shut-down than a slogan explicitly calling for it.

Only defensively-formulated demands, which counterpose the just grievances of the students to the hypocrisy and obstinacy of the authorities, will put large masses of students into motion. Only defensively-formulated demands put the onus for any violence that occurs where it properly belongs—on the university administration, not on the students.

Ultraleftists frequently raise demands that have no chance of being met, and which they proclaim to be non-negotiable. They do this because they *want* the struggle to end in defeat, believing that people are radicalized through defeat. In this they are dead wrong. Movements that change society are built on victories, not on defeats. And only through victory do the masses gain confidence in their ability to change society.

The Role of Revolutionists

It is to help construct a movement that can overthrow capitalism that revolutionary socialists in the Young Socialist Alliance initiate, lead and participate in these struggles. The campus rebellions are not a revolution, but they are a step in the right direction.

Our participation is designed to demonstrate in practice how the student struggle is linked to the broader struggle to replace capitalism with socialism. We do this by putting forward demands that help raise the level of political consciousness of students from their current level to one of conscious anticapitalism.

Unlike liberal reformists who would limit student struggle to narrow "student power" issues like grades, living conditions and campus politics, revolutionists take up issues of world concern, like the Vietnam war, and show the interrelationship between the campus and the national and international class struggles.

Unlike ultraleftists, who call on students to leave the "petty-bourgeois" campus and head for the factory, who reject campus struggle for artificial "worker-student alliances" and "serving the People" through reformist social work, revolutionists put forward a concrete program that transcends the campus in its goal, but at the same time includes it. A revolutionary program is one that mobilizes for struggle around the basic issues of the world class struggle *and* the needs of students themselves.

A Revolutionary Strategy

To be effective, such a program must be part of a strategy which answers the questions: "What kind of education shall students get? Toward what ends should this education be directed? Who shall control the educational facilities,

and for what purpose? What layers of society should the educational institutions serve?"

The concept of a "Red University" oriented toward the needs of the working class and the oppressed first arose in Europe. This concept means that the university ought to be transformed from a factory producing robots into an organizing center for anticapitalist activities, a generator of revolutionary education, an arena for mobilizing youth in the struggle for the complete transformation of society.

The idea of the university as an instrument of struggle on the side of the working class must be counterposed to the ivory tower lie that the university is an institution which is above classes and politics. Revolutionary students must struggle to make its resources available to the exploited, the poor and the oppressed. Students and faculty should be free to invite whomever they want to address them on whatever they want. They should be free to establish close ties with the working masses, their organizations and parties, and national minorities, providing a source of information for them.

Transitional Demands for Campus Struggle

To help implement these ideas, the Young Socialist Alliance puts forward the following demands which, though far from our entire program, are specifically designed for the campus. Many of them have already been thrown up in the struggle.

These demands are not necessarily slogans. They are political concepts around which campus struggles can be effectively waged. In particular cases throughout the country, one or another may be more prominent.

FREE EDUCATION

- 1) Free education through the university level for everyone who wants it. Abolish tuition.
- 2) An annual salary for all students with automatic increases to offset inflation.
- 3) Guaranteed jobs upon graduation.

STUDENT-FACULTY CONTROL OF EDUCATION

- 1) Student-faculty control over the university, including the hiring and firing of faculty members and administrative officials.
- 2) Freedom of political association for students and professors.
- 3) Full civil liberties for all students, including high school students. Freedom of speech, assembly, petition, and travel and the right to demonstrate against government and university injustice without reprisals. End *in loco parentis*.
- 4) The right to use university facilities to promote educational and cultural activities and struggles of direct interest to organizations of the working class and third world peoples.
- 5) Remove from office all government officials, from the President on down, responsible for victimizing students, workers, third world militants and political dissidents.
- 6) Repeal all anti-student legislation.
- 7) No police on campus.

END CAMPUS COMPLICITY

- 1) End campus complicity with the Vietnam war.
- 2) Abolish ROTC.
- 3) The right to use university facilities to organize against the war.
- 4) End all ties between the university and the military. No military recruiters on campus. End cooperation with the Selective Service System.
- 5) Full civil rights for all youth conscripted into the army.
- 6) Abolish the draft.
- 7) Abolish secret and classified research by the university for the government. No research for biological and chemical warfare.
- 8) End all university ties with the FBI and the CIA. No more secret files on student political groups.
- 9) Make public *all* investments, holdings, and contracted projects of the university and of all directors, trustees and administrators.
- 10) No campus recruiting by the big corporations.

FOR A BLACK UNIVERSITY

- 1) Self-determination for Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Indians. The right of oppressed third world communities to control their own affairs, including education from kindergarten up.
- 2) Establishment of adequately-financed black and third world studies departments under the control of national minorities. For truthful teaching of black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Indian history and culture in all schools.
- 3) Required courses in black and third world history for all students.
- 4) The right of Indian and Spanish-speaking peoples to use their language in the educational system.

The Young Socialist Alliance

The interests of student revolutionists are no different from those of the majority of students. Any victory that gives students more control over their lives is a victory for revolutionaries. We openly participate as revolutionary socialists in campus struggles with the audacity and confidence which stem from this fact.

Not only do we seek to build united fronts for these struggles, but also to play a leading role in them in order to assure a successful outcome. We also strive to raise the level of consciousness of the student masses by raising slogans that link each struggle to the broader struggle to overthrow capitalism. The problems of the university were created by capitalism. Struggle against them can easily develop into a conscious struggle against capitalism itself.

By recruiting the most dedicated white and third world fighters to its ranks, the YSA is building a multinational, revolutionary socialist youth vanguard. It is also helping to build the Socialist Workers Party as the revolutionary party that will bury capitalism by successfully leading the coming American socialist revolution.

JOIN THE YSA!

Copies available at 3c each for 200 or less; 2c each for more than 200. Order from: YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

Where is America Going?



Where is America Going?





Where is America Going?

American society, like every other industrialized capitalist country, is currently in the throes of an accelerated process of technological change. The third industrial revolution—summarized in the catchword "automation"—has by now been transforming American industry for nearly two decades. The changes which this new industrial revolution has brought about in American society are manifold. During the fifties, it created increased unemployment. The annual growth-rate of productivity was higher than the annual growth-rate of output, and as a result there was a tendency to rising structural unemployment even in times of boom and prosperity. Average annual unemployment reached 5,000,000 by the end of the Republican administration.

Since the early sixties, the number of unemployed has, however, been reduced somewhat (although American unemployment statistics are very unreliable). It has probably come down from an average of 5,000,000 to an average of 3,500,000 to 4,000,000: these figures refer to structural unemployment, and not to the conjunctural unemployment which occurs during periods of recession. But whatever may be the causes of this temporary and relative decline in structural unemployment, it is very significant that one sector of the American population continues to be hit very hard by the development of automation: the general category of unskilled labor. Unskilled labor jobs are today rapidly disappearing in U.S. industry. They will in the future tend to disappear in the economy altogether. In absolute figures, the number of unskilled labor jobs in industry has come down from 13,000,000 to less than 4,000,000, and

probably to 3,000,000, within the last 10 years. This is a truly revolutionary process. Very rarely has anything of the kind happened with such speed in the whole history of capitalism. The group which has been hit hardest by the disappearance of unskilled jobs is, of course, the black population of the United States.

Today, the average rate of unemployment among the black population is double what it is among the white population, and the average rate of unemployment among youth is double what it is among adults, so that the average among the black youth is nearly four times the general average in the country. Up to 15 or 20 per cent of young black workers are unemployed: this is a percentage analogous to that of the Great Depression. It is sufficient to look at these figures to understand the social and material origin of the black revolt.

THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF THE STUDENT REVOLT

The third industrial revolution can be seen at one and the same time as a process of *expulsion* of human labor from traditional industry, and of tremendous *influx* of industrial labor into all other fields of economic and social activity. Whereas more and more people are replaced by machines in industry, activities like agriculture, office administration, public administration and even education become industrialized—that is, more and more mechanized, streamlined and organized in industrial forms.

This leads to very important social consequences. These may be summed up by saying that, in the framework of the

third industrial revolution, manual labor is expelled from production while intellectual labor is reintroduced into the productive process on a gigantic scale. It thereby becomes to an ever-increasing degree alienated labor—standardized, mechanized, and subjected to rigid rules and regimentation, in exactly the same way that manual labor was in the first and second industrial revolutions. This fact is very closely linked with one of the most spectacular recent developments in American society: the massive student revolt, or, more correctly, the growing radicalization of students.

The university explosion in the United States has created the same intense consciousness of alienation among students as that which is familiar in Western Europe today. This is all the more revealing, in that the material reasons for student revolt are much less evident in the United States than in Europe. Overcrowding of lecture halls, paucity of student lodgings, lack of cheap food in restaurants and other phenomena of a similar kind play a comparatively small role in American universities, whose material infrastructure is generally far superior to anything that we know in Europe. Nevertheless, the consciousness of alienation resulting from the capitalist form of the university, from the bourgeois structure and function of higher education and the authoritarian administration of it, has become more and more widespread. It is a symptomatic reflection of the changed social position of the students today in society.

American students are thus much more likely to understand general social alienation, in other words to become at least potentially anti-capitalist, than they

ERNEST MANDEL



were 10 or 15 years ago. Here the similarity with developments in Western Europe is striking. As a rule, political mobilization on the U.S. campus started with aid to the black population within the United States, or solidarity with liberation movements in the Third World. The first political reaction of American students was an anti-imperialist one. But the logic of anti-imperialism has led the student movement to understand, at least in part, the necessity of anti-capitalist struggle, and to develop a socialist consciousness which is today widespread in radical student circles.

HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURE OF THE FACTORY

The progress of automation has also had another financial and economic result, which we cannot yet see clearly in Europe, but which has emerged as a marked tendency in the United States during the sixties. Marxist theory explains that one of the main special effects of automation and the present technological revolution is a shortening of the life-cycle of fixed capital. Machinery is now generally replaced every four or five years, while it used to be replaced every ten years in classical capitalism. Looking at the phenomenon from the perspective of the operations of big corporations, this means that there is occurring a shift of the center of their gravity away from problems of *production* towards problems of *reproduction*.

The real bosses of the big corporations no longer mainly discuss the problems of how to organize production: that is left to lower-echelon levels of the hierarchy. The specific objective in which they are interested is how to organize and to ensure reproduction. . . . This has given the concentration of capital in the United States a new and unforeseen twist. The process of amalgamation during the last few years has not predominantly consisted in the creation of monopolies in certain branches of industry, fusing

together automobile, copper or steel trusts, or aviation factories. It has instead been a movement towards uniting apparently quite *unconnected* companies, operating in completely heteroclit fields of production. There are some classical examples of this process, widely discussed in the American financial press, such as the Xerox-CIT merger, the spectacular diversification of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, or the Ling-Temco-Vought empire, which recently bought up the Jones and Loughlin Steel Corporation.

What this movement really reflects is the growing pre-occupation with "pure" problems of accumulation of capital. That is to say, the imperative today is to assemble enough capital and then to diversify the investment of that capital in such a way as to minimize risks of structural or conjunctural decline in this or that branch—risks which are very great in periods of fast technological change. In other words, the operation of the capitalist system in the United States today shows in a very clear way what Marxists have always said (and what only economists in the Soviet Union and some of their associates in East European countries and elsewhere are forgetting today), namely that real cost reduction and income maximization is impossible if profitability is reckoned only at plant level. In fact, it is a truth which every big American corporation understands, that it is impossible to have maximum profitability and economic rationality at plant level, and that it is even impossible to achieve it at the level of a *single branch of industry*. That is why the prevailing capitalist tendency in the USA is to try to combine activities in a number of branches of production. The type of financial empire which is springing up as a result of this form of operation is a fascinating object of study for Marxists.

But the more Big Capital is exclusively pre-occupied with problems of capital accumulation and reproduction, the more

it leaves plant management and organization of production to lower-echelon experts, and the more the smooth running of the economy must clash with the survival of private property and of the hierarchical structure of the factory. The absentee factory-owners and money-juggling financiers divorced from the productive process are not straw men. They retain ultimate power—the power to open or to close the plant, to shut it in one town and relaunch it 2,000 miles away, to suppress by one stroke of their pens 20,000 jobs and 50 skills acquired at the price of long human efforts. This power must seem more and more arbitrary and absolute in the eyes of the true technicians who precisely do *not* wield the decisive power, that of the owners of capital. The higher the level of education and scientific knowledge of the average worker-technician the more obsolete must become the attempts of both capitalists and managers to maintain the hierarchical and authoritarian structure of the plant, which even contradicts the logic of the latest techniques—the need for flexible cooperation within the factory in the place of a rigid chain of command.

THE EROSION OF REAL WAGE INCREASES THROUGH INFLATION

Since the beginning of the sixties and the advent of the Kennedy Administration, structural unemployment has gone down and the rate of growth of the American economy has gone up. This shift has been generally associated with an increased rate of inflation in the American economy. The concrete origins and source of this inflation are to be located not only in the huge military establishment—although, of course, this is the main cause—but also in the vastly increased indebtedness of the whole American society. Private debt has accelerated very quickly; in the last 15 years it has gone up from something like 65 per cent to something



“The third industrial revolution can be seen at one and the same time as a process of expulsion of human labor from traditional industry, and of tremendous influx of industrial labor into all other fields of economic and social activity.”

like 120 per cent of the internal national income of the country, and this percentage is rising all the time. Total debt passed the \$1 trillion mark a few years ago, in 1966, and is continually rising at a quicker rate than the national income itself. The specific price behavior of the monopolistic and oligopolistic corporations, of course, interlocks with this inflationary process.

This is not the place to explore the technical problems of inflation. But it should be emphasized that the result of these inflationary tendencies, combined with the Vietnam war, has been that, for the first time for over three decades the growth of the real disposable income of the American working class has stopped. The highest point of that disposable real income was reached towards the end of 1965 and the beginning of 1966. Since then it has been going down. The downturn has been very slow—probably less than 1 per cent per annum. Nevertheless it is a significant break in a tendency which has continued practically without interruption for the last 35 years. This downturn in the real income of the workers has been the result of two processes: on the one hand inflation, and on the other a steep increase in taxation since the beginning of the Vietnamese war. There is a very clear and concrete relation between this halt in the rise of the American working class's real income, and the growing impatience which exists today in American working class circles with the U.S. Establishment as such, whose distorted reflection was partly to be seen in the Wallace movement.

A group of leading American businessmen, who form a council of business advisors with semi-official standing, published a study two weeks before the November 1968 election which created a sensation in financial circles. They stated bluntly that in order to combat inflation, at least 6 per cent unemployment was needed. These American businessmen are far more outspoken than their British

counterparts, who are already happy when there is talk about 3 per cent unemployment. Unemployment of 6 per cent in the United States means about 5,000,000 permanently without work. It is a high figure compared to the present level, to the level under “normal” conditions, outside of recessions. If Nixon should move in that direction, in which the international bankers would like to push him, the American bourgeoisie will encounter increased difficulty in keeping the trade-union movement quiescent and ensuring that the American workers continue to accept the integration of their union bureaucracy into the system, passively submitting to both bosses and union bureaucrats.

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF PUBLIC SQUALOR

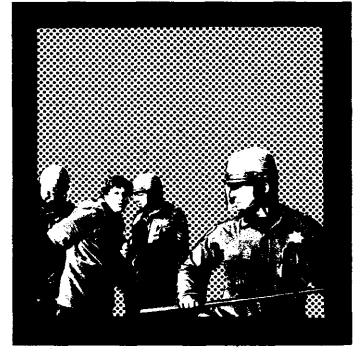
There is a further consequence of inflation which will have a growing impact on the American economy and especially on social relations in the United States. Inflation greatly intensifies the contradiction between “private affluence” and “public squalor.” This contradiction has been highlighted by liberal economists like Galbraith, and is today very striking for a European visiting the United States. The extent to which the public services in that rich country have broken down is, in fact, astonishing. The huge budget has still not proved capable of maintaining a minimum standard of normally functioning public services. In late 1968, the *New York Times Magazine*, criticizing the American postal services, revealed that the average letter travels between Washington and New York more slowly today than it did a hundred years ago on horseback in the West. In a city like New York street sweeping has almost entirely disappeared. *Thoroughfares are generally filthy*: in the poorer districts, streets are hardly ever cleaned. In the richer districts, the burghers achieve clean streets only because they pay private workers out of their own pockets to sweep the

streets and keep them in more or less normal conditions.

Public employees, who in the past were outside the trade-union movement and indeed any form of organized social activity, are today becoming radicalized at least at the union level. They are organizing, they are agitating, and they are demanding incomes at least similar to those which they could get in private industry. In a country like the United States, with the imperial position it occupies on a world scale, the vulnerability of the social system to any increase in trade-union radicalism by public employees is very great.

The economic rationale of this problem needs to be understood. It is very important not to see it simply as an example of mistaken policy on the part of public administrators or capitalist politicians, but rather as the expression of basic tendencies of the capitalist system. One of the main trends of the last 25 or 30 years of European capitalism has been the growth of socialization of all indirect costs of production. This constitutes a very direct contribution to the realization of private profit and to the accumulation of capital. Capitalists increasingly want the State to pay not only for electrical cables and roads, but also for research, development, education, and social insurance. But once this tendency towards the socialization of indirect costs of production gets under way, it is obvious that the corporations will not accept large increases in taxation to finance it. If they were to pay the taxes needed to cover all these costs, there would in fact be no “socialization.” They would continue to pay for them privately, but instead of doing so directly they would pay indirectly through their taxes (and pay for the administration of these payments too). Instead of lessening the burden, such a solution would in fact increase it. So there is an inevitable institutionalized resistance of the corporations and of the capitalist class to increasing taxes up to the point where they would make

"The liberation struggle of the peoples of the Third World, with their threat to American imperialist investment, will also play an important role in ending the long socio-economic equilibrium of American capitalism."



possible a functional public service capable of satisfying the needs of the entire population. For this reason, it is probable that the gap between the wages of public employees and those of private workers in the United States will remain, and that the trend towards radicalization of public employees—both increased unionization and even possibly political radicalization—will continue.

THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN COMPETITION

Traditionally, American workers have always enjoyed much higher real wages than European workers. The historical causes for this phenomenon are well known. They are linked with the shortage of labor in the United States, which was originally a largely empty country. Traditionally, American capitalist industry was able to absorb these higher wages because it was practically isolated from international competition. Very few European manufactured goods reached the United States, and United States industry exported only a small part of its output. Over the last 40 years, of course, the situation has slowly changed. American industry has become ever more integrated into the world market. It participates increasingly in international competition, both because it exports more and because the American domestic market is rapidly itself becoming the principal sector of the world market, since the exports of all other capitalist countries to the United States have been growing rapidly. Here a major paradox seems to arise. How can American workers earn real wages which are between two and three times higher than real wages in Western Europe, and between four and five times higher than real wages in Japan, while American industry is involved in international competition?

The answer is, of course, evident. These higher wages have been possible because United States industry has operated on a much higher level of productivity than

European or Japanese industry. It has enjoyed a productivity gap, or as Engels said of British industry in the 19th century, a *productivity monopoly* on the world market. This productivity monopoly is a function of two factors: higher technology, and economy of scale—that is a much larger dimension of the average factory or firm. Today, both of these two causes of the productivity gap are threatened. The technological advance over Japan or Western Europe which has characterized American imperialism is now disappearing very rapidly. The very trend of massive capital export to the other imperialist countries which distinguishes American imperialism, and the very nature of the so-called "multi-national" corporation (which in nine cases out of ten is in reality an American corporation), diffuses American technology on a world scale, thus equalizing technological levels at least among the imperialist countries. At the same time, it tends, of course, to increase the gap between the imperialist and the semi-colonial countries. Today, one can say that only in a few special fields such as computers and aircraft does American industry still enjoy a real technological advantage over its European and Japanese competitors. But these two sectors, although they may be very important for the future, are not decisive for the total export and import market either in Europe or in the United States, nor will they be decisive for the next 10 or 20 years. So this advantage is a little less important than certain European analysts have claimed.

So far, the gradual disappearance of the productivity differential has created increased competition for American capitalism in its own home market. Its foreign markets are seriously threatened or disappearing in certain fields like automobiles and steel. This, of course, is only the first phase. If the concentration of European and Japanese industry starts to create units which operate on the same scale as American units, with the same

dimensions as American corporations, then American industry will ultimately find itself in an impossible position. It will then have to pay three times higher wages, with the same productivity as the Europeans or the Japanese. That would be an absolutely untenable situation, and it would be the beginning of a huge structural crisis for American industry.

Two examples should suffice to show that this is not a completely fantastic perspective. The last merger in the Japanese steel industry created a Japanese corporation producing 22,000,000 tons of steel a year. In the United States, this would make it the second biggest steel firm. On the other hand, in Europe the recent announcement that Fiat and Citroen are to merge by 1970 has created an automobile corporation producing 2,000,000 cars a year; this would make it the third largest American automobile firm, and it would move up into second place, overtaking Ford, if the momentum of its rate of growth, compared with the current rate of growth in the American industry, were maintained for another three or four years.

THE WAGE DIFFERENTIALS ENJOYED BY AMERICAN WORKERS

The American ruling class is becoming increasingly aware that the huge wage differential which it still grants its workers is a handicap in international competition. Although this handicap has not yet become a serious fetter American capitalists have already begun to react to it in various ways over the past few years.

The export of capital is precisely designed to counteract this wage differential. The American automobile trusts have been investing almost exclusively in foreign countries, where they enjoy lower wages and can therefore far more easily maintain their share of the world market, with cars produced cheaply in Britain or Germany, rather than for higher wages inside the United States. Another attempt

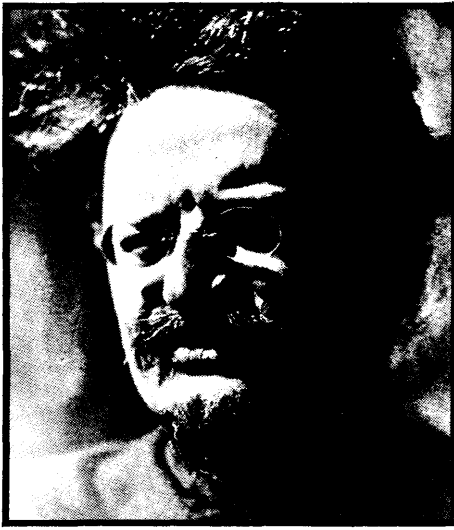
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Know thy enemy.
He does not care what colour you are
provided you work for him;
he does not care how much you earn
provided you earn more for him;
he does not care who lives in the room at the top
provided he owns the building;
he will let you say whatever you like against him
provided you do not act against him;
he slings the praises of humanity
but knows machines cost more than men;
bargain with him he laughs and beats you at it;
challenge him
and he kills;
sooner than lose the things he owns
he will destroy the world.



SMASH CAPITAL NOW

Join The YSA



A Letter From Leon Trotsky.

This letter by Trotsky originally appeared in January 1922 in the first issue of a new Soviet youth publication called *Under the Banner of Marxism*. The publication was to be a militant materialist, atheist organ in the education of Soviet youth. About Trotsky's letter, Lenin said: "Comrade Trotsky has already said everything necessary, and said it very well, about the general purposes of *Under the Banner of Marxism*. . ."

The letter was recently translated by John Fairlie from the Russian edition of Trotsky's *Collected Works*.

Dear Comrades,

The idea of publishing a journal to introduce progressive proletarian youth to the materialist conception of the world seems to me to be in the highest degree valuable and fruitful.

The older generation of workers and communists which is now playing the leading role in the party and in the country awoke to conscious political life ten, fifteen, twenty or more years ago. Their thought started its critical work on the policeman, the timekeeper and the foreman, worked up to tsarism and capitalism, and then, most often in prison and exile, turned to questions of the philosophy of history and the scientific cognition of the world. Thus, before the revolutionary proletarian reached the very important questions of the materialist explanation of historical development, he had already managed to accumulate a certain sum of ever-widening generalizations, from the particular to the general, on the basis of his own experience of life.

The young worker of the present day awakens in the environment of the Soviet state, which is itself a living criticism of the old world. The general conclusions which were given to the older generation of workers in struggle and which were reinforced in consciousness with the strong nails of personal experience are now received by the workers of the younger generation ready-made, directly from the hands of the state in which they live, from the hands of the party which rules this state. This means, of course, a gigantic step forward in the sense of creating the conditions for further political and theoretical education of the toilers. But at the same time, on this incomparably higher historical level reached by the work of the older generation, there arise new problems and new difficulties for the generation of the young.

The Soviet state is a living contradiction of the old world, of its social order, of its personal relations, of its outlooks and beliefs. But at the same time the Soviet state itself is still full of contradictions, gaps, lack of coordination, vague fermentation—in a word, of phenomena in which the inheritance of the past is interwoven with the shoots of the future. In such a deeply transitional, critical, and unstable epoch as ours, the education of the proletarian vanguard requires serious and reliable theoretical foundations. To prevent the great events, mighty surges and ebbs, rapid changes of tasks and methods of the party and the state from disorganizing the consciousness of the young worker and from breaking down his will even before he crosses the threshold of his independent responsible work, it is necessary to arm his thought and his will with the materialist attitude.

To arm his *will*, and not only his *thought*, we say, since in an epoch of great worldwide upheavals more than at any other time our will is capable not of collapsing, but of being tempered—but only on condition that it is supported by scientific understanding of the conditions and causes of historical development.

On the other hand, precisely in this kind of epoch of great change like ours—especially if it is prolonged, i.e., if the tempo of revolutionary events in the West turns out to be slower than might be hoped—it is very probable that attempts will be made by various idealistic and semi-idealistic philosophical schools and sects to gain control of the consciousness of the working youth. Caught by events unawares—without previous rich experience of practical class struggle—the thought of the working youth may prove defenseless against the various doctrines of idealism, which are in essence a translation of religious dogmas into the language of sham philosophy. All these schools, for all the variety of their idealistic, Kantian, empirio-critical and other appellations, amount in the last analysis to making consciousness, thought, cognition precede matter, and not the other way around.

The task of the materialist education of working youth consists in revealing to them the basic laws of historical development, and from these basic laws, the highest and most important one, namely the law which says that the consciousness of people is not a free, independent psychological process, but a function of the material economic basis, that is, it is conditioned by it and serves it.

The dependency of consciousness on class interests and relations, and of the latter on the economic organization, appears most plainly, most openly and most harshly in a revolutionary epoch. With this irreplaceable experience we must help working youth to strengthen in their consciousness the fundamentals of the Marxist method.

But this is not all. Human society itself, both by its historical roots and by its contemporary economy, extends into the world of natural history. We must see contemporary man as a link in the whole development which starts from the first tiny organic cell, which came in its turn from the laboratory of nature, where the physical and chemical properties of matter act. He who has learned to look with a clear eye on the past of the whole world, including human society, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, the solar system and the endless systems around it, will not start to hunt for keys to the secrets of the universe in ancient "holy books," those philosophical fairy tales of primitive infantility. And he who does not admit the existence of mystical heavenly forces, capable at will of intruding upon personal or social life and directing it to this side or that, who does not believe that want and suffering will find some kind of higher reward in other worlds, will stand with his legs firmer and stabler on our earth, will more boldly and more confidently seek support for his creative work in the material conditions of society.

The materialist world outlook does not only open a wide window on the whole universe, but it also strengthens the will. It is also the only thing which makes contemporary man a man. He still, it is true, depends on difficult material conditions but he already knows how to overcome them, and takes part consciously in the construction of the new society, based at once on the highest technical skill and the highest solidarity.

Giving proletarian youth a materialist education is a supreme task. And to your journal, which wants to take part in this work of education, I wish success with all my heart.

With communist and materialist greetings,

27th February, 1922.

L. Trotsky.

PERU

COMRADE HUGO BLANCO AND THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE



This interview was given to the *Young Socialist* by a Peruvian active in the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. The principal work of the Committee is to defend the many political prisoners in Peru. Among these is the well-known Trotskyist peasant leader, Hugo Blanco.

YS: *What is the general political atmosphere in Peru today?*

a: Today it's very difficult to say. The new president, Juan Velasco Alvarado, who calls himself a revolutionary despite the fact he's a military man who took power by a coup d'etat, has just made a speech against the oligarchy and in favor of the peasants. That's one side of the question.

On the other hand, his government has just passed new anti-peasant and anti-student laws. We used to have free education in Peru, but with this new law, everybody will have to pay. And that's very difficult for the poor. It's going to be difficult for them to send their children to school, and many of them have a lot of children.

Another new law has just been passed affecting the university. The students used to be very powerful. They had a third of the votes in running the university. This was a big conquest that had been won after years of struggle. Furthermore, the university had autonomy, and the police were forbidden to enter the university campus.

With this new law, however, everything has been taken away. Now the students have only a fourth of the

votes, and with that they can't do anything. They don't have any power at all. Also, the police are now allowed to come onto the campus.

A meeting of 20,000 peasants and students was recently held in the village of Ayacucho protesting these new laws. Many students and peasants were killed by the police. About fifty peasants, many students, and the president of the student federation of the University of Ayacucho were put in prison. The student president is accused of having six bottles of gasoline with him, and for that he has been condemned to four years in prison. So, as I told you, it's very difficult to say anything definite because the new president of Peru is talking big.

The first thing he did was nationalize the petroleum industry. And now he says he is going to institute an agrarian reform. Yet, at the same time, a lot of the political prisoners in Peru were put in jail precisely because they tried to bring about a nationalization of petroleum and an agrarian reform.

Moreover, about two or three months ago, a group of miners asked for permission to march to Lima from their mines in the Andes in the interior of Peru. Yet, after they got permission for their march, they were killed by the police. They were beaten and shot by the police. The same thing happened to a group of peasants. They asked permission to come to Lima, they were given permission, and after that they were attacked.

So, it's very difficult to know what's going to happen. It's hard to understand just how much of the new president's "revolutionary" talk is for real. It seems to be only a kind of demagoguery.

YS: *How are the leftist political tendencies in Peru differentiated? What kinds of activities do they carry out?*

a: There are two main tendencies — those who think that you can take power peacefully through elections, and those who think that the only way to do it is through armed struggle. The first tendency believes that you should wait to struggle for power until there are mass parties, and they will wait I don't know how long for this development to occur. These people we call the "Moscos." This is a play on words since "moscas" with an "a" means "flies." This tendency includes the pro-Chinese. We call them the "Pekingese." This tendency, which is headed up by the "Moscos," believes in waiting, and as a result never does anything.

Similarly, there are two different points of view among those who believe in fighting for the revolution. On the one hand, there are those who believe that first of all you have to organize. This is the position of Hugo Blanco, for instance, who has organized peasants into unions. He is now in prison in El Fronton. He thinks, and I think in a way he's right, that the Indian people are very attached to the land and they will die for their land. But they won't fight for an abstract idea. The Trotskyists are the only ones who are trying to organize these peasant unions.

On the other hand, there are the guerrilleros who think that after forming a very small guerrilla group, the people will come to them.

Now there are two very important guerrilla groups. First is the Ejército de Liberación Nacional [ELN]. That's the group which fought with Che Guevara also. Its leader, Hector Bejar, is now in Lurigancho prison

HUGO BLANCO LIBERTAD

in Lima. I don't think the ELN is doing anything at the moment because they have a very small group.

The other group is the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria [MIR]. The leader of the MIR is Ricardo Gadea, whose sister was married to Che. He is in the same prison as Hector Bejar. The MIR is perhaps the most important of the guerrilla groups. I have heard that is beginning to work with peasants too, but they don't dare to organize unions because they say that that would make them too conspicuous.

I believe the Maoists are also working with the peasants, but not in unions. They are simply trying to organize peasants into some kind of party to support the guerrillas if they show up. And the "Moscos" are just trying to be friends with whatever government we have.

Today I think that the real revolutionary movement is with the young people. The older people don't want to fight. The students are very interested in politics. In fact, I don't think they talk about anything else in the universities.

ys: *I gather from what you say that the main leaders of the revolutionary movements in Peru are in prison, and that this was behind the formation of your defense committee. How did the committee come about?*

a: When Hector Bejar was put in prison, he was very sick. He had a kind of leprosy, and it was impossible to find the medicine he needed in Peru. So I asked some French friends of mine who were very interested in Peru to send it. For some time we carried on this work simply

as friends, on a personal basis. And then Hector suggested that if there was a group of people in France who were very much interested in Peru, they should form a kind of committee.

This is where we got the idea to form our first group in Peru, which was called the Committee for the Defense of the Political Prisoners. The purpose of the committee was to defend not only the political prisoners, but the rights of all revolutionaries. This was in 1966.

Almost every group on the left joined together to found this defense committee—even the "Moscos." They joined because they wanted to use it as a platform for setting up a new electoral group called the Frente de Liberacion Nacional [National Liberation Front]. Later on, they left the committee. But since the "Moscos" were in it, we couldn't get the "Pekingese" involved. They didn't want to join in the defense work since they are always fighting with the "Moscos."

So there was a representative from almost every tendency, of which Hugo Blanco's Trotskyists, the ELN and the MIR are the most important. And recently we have even been able to work with the "Pekingese."

After a while, however, we noticed that it was too dangerous to concern ourselves only with the defense of the political prisoners, so we changed the committee's name to the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights. And in a way this name is accurate, for although our main work is with political prisoners, we sometimes do other work as well.

ys: *What kind of work do you do?*

a: Well, first of all, we have a large group of people visiting the prisoners regularly. We help them get lawyers, doctors, clothes, money, tools—whatever they need.

But the most important work we do, really, is to get help from abroad. As a matter of fact, I think we saved Hugo Blanco from being killed thanks to the wave of protests from abroad. Because the government—and I suppose this is true of governments everywhere—doesn't care about killing people, but it doesn't want people in other countries to know about it. It pretends to be very democratic. So it gets quite concerned when it receives telegrams of protest from people like Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell.

ys: *We've heard that Hugo Blanco is going to be exiled from the island prison of El Fronton into the jungle swamp areas. Is this true?*

a: No, it is not. What has happened is this. They are always saying they are going to close El Fronton because it's very infamous for all the horrible things that have happened there. The police there have committed many murders, they have tortured people, and they still torture them today. It's terrible! Yet, although they might kill other people, they won't dare kill Hugo. It's not so easy to kill Hugo Blanco—he's very well known, you know.

So, they are always saying they're going to close Fronton. But it's one thing to say something, and quite another to actually do it.

Of course, there is a possibility that they will actually close it. If that

"Hugo Blanco is the head of one of the guerrilla movements in Peru. He struggled stubbornly but the repression was strong. I don't know what his tactics were but his fall does not signify the end of the movement. It is only a man that has fallen, but the movement continues. One time, when we were preparing to make our landing from the Granma, and when there was great risk that all of us would be killed, Fidel said: 'What is more important than us is the example we set.' It's the same thing. Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example, and he struggled as much as he could. But he suffered a defeat, the popular forces suffered a defeat. It's only a passing stage."

CHE Algiers, July 23, 1963.

"Hugo is very human. He is a very kind person. So, many songs have been created about him—popular songs, composed not by the prisoners, but by the common people."

happens, there is always a chance that Hugo will be exiled to the jungle. But according to the Director of Prisons, no such decision has been made yet.

If they do close Fronton, there are two prisons where Hugo can go. One, called El Sepa, is a prison in the jungle. The other one is a military prison on the island of San Lorenzo.

El Fronton, at least, has a lot of visitors. There are women's visiting hours three times a week, and men's visiting hours on Sunday morning. So prisoners can be visited four times a week.

Although Fronton is an awful place, at the same time it's an island, it's open, there are no walls, the prisoners can see the sea, they can swim, they can fish, and they can walk all by themselves without being disturbed—conditions you don't find in the other prisons. Each political prisoner has his own room, something which is only true of El Fronton. Prisoners like Bejar and Gadea, who are in Lurigancho, are in a room with twenty other common prisoners. Their prison has a military regimen, and they are surrounded by walls and are unable to see anything. All they have is an open space where they can go and play soccer and see the sky. But it seems to me that having these walls must make it worse.

JS: *How often does your committee visit the prisoners?*

A: We visit the prisoners two or three times a week. These visits mean a lot to the prisoners. One of them once told me, "Our backbone is the visits and the food."

And there are quite a few to be visited in Lima's three prisons alone. In El Fronton there is Hugo Blanco, Eduardo Creus (who is also a Trotskyist), Guillermo Loardo, a peasant who was brought to trial in February, and another peasant named Vincente Lenardo. Vincente Lenardo was supposed to be tried at the same time as Hugo

Blanco in 1966. He was summoned, but he didn't know about it because he lived in remote Cuzco. Besides, he didn't have the necessary money to pay his own way. So he didn't come to the trial. Finally, he was captured last year and put in prison after all those years. I think he's going to be released sometime near the end of this year.

In Lurigancho there are three prisoners from the MIR: Ricardo Gadea, Hector Bejar, and Dante de la Cruz.

At El Sexto there are about fifteen political prisoners, I think. Some of them are Maoists, who have been involved in robbing banks.

There are also many prisoners in small villages, and not only political prisoners. At one of these prisons, for example, I found five Indian women who spoke no Spanish, but only Quechua. Their husbands had been accused of repossessing the land that had been taken away from them. When their husbands escaped from prison, the women were taken and held as hostages. This was the authorities' way of seeing to it that the husbands were still punished

**BECAUSE THEY DON'T
KNOW HOW TO COUNT?**

Che was shot on a spot of soil
no larger than the area
required for his body
to fall down.
The bullet
lifted him above the ground.

A little smoke
leaks out above the tin-rich soil
like ink discoloring a bowl of water.

The smoke spreads.
The ink disperses thru the water.

Che's face rises many times
above this spot of tin-rich soil.
The guilt is unmistakable . . .

And if the duty of the sentry
was to kill the revolution
the bullet
was a drastic
underestimation.

DAVID SALNER

even though they had managed to escape.

JS: *Could you explain how the peasant unions were organized by Hugo Blanco, and how the peasants actually carried out their seizure of land?*

A: Well, although I'm not really a politician, I'll try. The Indians have been owners of their land for around 400 years. They hold titles to it dating back to the 16th century. What they care most about in life is to have their own land. And with a kind of ancestral feeling, they consider the earth to be their mother. They love the earth, and are very attached to it. That's why they will fight for it. In this Hugo is absolutely right.

Any white person can come and buy a piece of land. Then, as they are fencing off their new property, they take just a little bit more than they paid for, and this piece gets bigger and bigger.

Now, the Indians have been kept very ignorant in a way. They don't have schools, they don't know how to speak Spanish, and they can't read or write. So, since they do not know Spanish, they do not dare to quarrel with the whites because they know that the whites will go to their lawyers and that in the eyes of the law, whites are always right.

JS: *Who do the whites buy the land from, the government or the peasants?*

A: The land is bought from the government. But this land was not free to be bought because it rightfully belonged to the Indians. So the peasants just got pushed higher and higher up into the mountains, until they reached places where it is impossible to get anything to grow because it's so cold and dry.

Sometimes while they were living way up in the mountains, they didn't have anything at all to eat. So they had to rent pieces of their own land. And the way that they paid their

rent to the new, false owners of the land was by working for them. A peasant would have to work three or four days a week for the new owner, and the rest of the time for himself.

When they got so high up that they couldn't live any more, they invaded the land. And as soon as they did that, the whites called the police and made them kill them. And here is something very important. Every time they invaded the land, the white people called them "communists." And so did the government. Just for trying to get back their own land they were "communists."

ys: *That must make communism quite popular.*

a: Of course. Hugo came and explained, for instance, how good it would be for them to go on strike. If factory workers go on strike, they lose money since they don't get paid anything. But it's just the opposite for those who work on the land. Because when *they* go on strike, they simply don't go to work for the boss, but they *do* work for themselves. So the boss is the one who is going to lose, and they are the ones who will gain, because they have more time to work on their own land.

So, Hugo organized the peasants in Cuzco. That's why he's so popular. They told me that Hugo was the one who taught them how to eat the things they produced, and how to prepare them. He explained what was good for the health and what was not. He organized schools for them. Everything he knew he taught them—how to dress themselves, how to clean themselves, how to cure the sick. At the same time, he was organizing these unions and explaining why they should go on strike.

Of course the land owners were furious about this. They wanted to kill him. And if they couldn't do it, it wasn't because they didn't want to.

ys: *Now that Hugo is in prison, do these unions still exist, or have they dissolved?*

a: Oh, yes, they still exist in Cuzco. And they are very combative. Being a very good friend as I am of all

the prisoners, and knowing them as well as I do, I think the most intelligent among them with the peasants, with the poor people, is Hugo. He's the one who knows them best. He speaks Quechua very well, which is the language of the Indians. And since he loves the people, since he loves the poor people, everybody loves him.

Sometimes others are very intelligent, very clever, and they under-



"SO THE PEASANTS JUST GOT PUSHED HIGHER AND HIGHER UP INTO THE MOUNTAINS. UNTIL THEY REACHED PLACES WHERE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GET ANYTHING TO GROW BECAUSE IT'S SO COLD AND DRY."

stand the problems of the people. Their approach is more that of an intellectual. But Hugo is very human. He is a very kind person. So, many songs have been created about him—popular songs, composed not by the prisoners, but by the common people. Hugo's sister sings very well, and I have heard her sing some of these songs. They're very beautiful.

ys: *The warm reception Rockefeller received on his recent trip to Latin America showed in a spectacular way how deep the current radicalization of youth throughout the world is going. What form does this radicalization take in Peru?*

a: Most of the students today are radical. A few years ago, only a few of the men students were political. But today, even most of the women students are radical.

When these youth enter the university today, they are already radical. If they are not already in a political party, they are definitely thinking about joining one.

The student federation has been very helpful in the work of our defense committee, incidentally.

They have helped us publish our bulletin, they have provided us with materials, and they have done a lot of the actual work of the committee as well.

ys: *Are Peruvian students aware of the student rebellions that have been taking place in the United States?*

a: Of course. Everybody is aware of it. The Black Panthers, especially,

are very much admired in Peru. Some of the political prisoners have even drafted a letter to the Black Panthers. Maybe they don't know too much about them, but they admire them very much all the same.

I always take your publications, like *Intercontinental Press* and the *Militant*, as well as the *USLA Reporter* to the prisoners. They love to read them. They are very much interested in them. And not only the prisoners, but the students as well.

My own opinion is that the young people are going to change the United States. The change in American youth in the last twenty years is astonishing. I never thought it possible that they could change so much.

ys: *What do you think are the prospects for socialism in Peru?*

a: Well, I think it's a movement that is coming everywhere in the world. I think it's something that is impossible to stop now. I think that the United States will be the first to have a socialist revolution after Cuba. Because American youth have absolutely changed. They are very combative. It's going to arrive soon, I think. I hope so.

"It is ironic that the two key issues which led Lenin to struggle against Stalin were questions upon which Stalin's current advocates are presenting him as the foremost authority."

LENIN'S LAST STRUGGLE, by Moshe Lewin. Pantheon Books, New York, 1968. \$4.95.

The evolution of the New Left can be traced back to a group of young intellectuals who left the Communist parties back in the late fifties, after the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin. These original New Leftists made the error of identifying Stalinism with Marxism-Leninism and rejecting both.

The recent period has seen an encouraging new interest in Marx and Lenin among members of the New Left, especially SDS. Unfortunately, a tendency has also emerged among some members of SDS (maybe they should now be called ex-New Left or neo-Old Left) to make the same fundamental error as their political ancestors of a decade ago: to conclude that the politics of Stalin is synonymous with the politics of Marx and Lenin.

For example, Bob Avakian, one-time manager of the Scheer campaign in the Democratic Party, former Peace and Freedom Party activist, and lately a political power within SDS, has taken upon his shoulders the formidable task of resur-

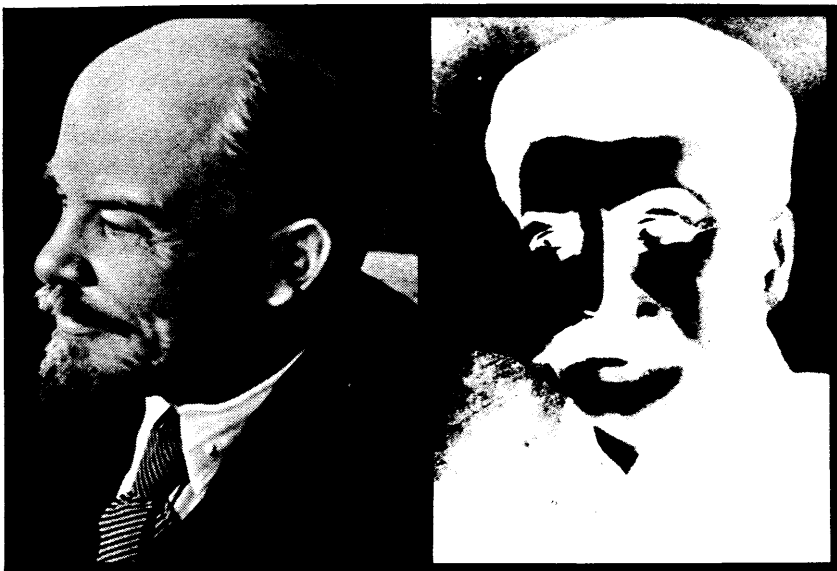
recting Stalin's good name. In a speech at New York University a couple of months ago, Avakian began by stressing to his audience the necessity of setting the movement straight about "Brother Stalin." The only reason Brother Avakian went on to give was Chairman Mao's famous admonition to "support what the enemy opposes and oppose what the enemy supports." I'm afraid Brother Avakian is going to have to do a little better than this. If the Vietnamese guerrillas limited themselves to the tactical flexibility resulting from such a simplistic strategy, they would have gone down in defeat long ago. Why such a strategy should be of any use in any other sector of the class struggle remains to be explained. In any case, the enemy (meaning the ruling class, not the "Trotskyites") often got along fairly well with "Uncle Joe," as Brother Franklin Roosevelt used to call him.

It is true that in the period following World War II, with the growth of McCarthyism and the Cold War, the ruling class in this country pictured the Soviet Union and communism as the living incarnation of Satanism and Stalin as the ultimate example of a super-revolutionary communist. And since many members of the New Left, who up until recently prided themselves in their ignorance of the communist movement, are beginning to decide that they might be some sort of communist, Avakian's strategy of

using the ruling class' propaganda about what a revolutionary communist is as a means of selling his boy might not be so ridiculous as it appears. But the ruling class' propaganda is designed to serve its own ends, not to educate a new generation of revolutionary youth. For an accurate account of Stalin's activities in the Cold War period and the ruling class' response (Brother Stalin was not able to sell out quite enough revolutions to appease the imperialists) see David Horowitz's *Free World Colossus*.

Stalin's role after World War II was not out of accord with the practices he had followed earlier. His theory of "socialism in one country" was the perfect rationale of the privileged bureaucracy which consolidated its power after Lenin's death for sacrificing revolutions around the world to protect their own narrow self-interests. Stalin's friends will always tell you that he was the legitimate heir to Lenin in the Soviet Union, that he was Lenin's great collaborator and continuator. This has been their argument for years. For example, a book was published by the American Stalinists in 1940, entitled accurately enough *Stalin*, which contains a series of essays in praise of the great man written by Stalin's sycophants, the members of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party who had just managed to escape his purges. Opened to any page, the book reads like a banquet speech in praise of God.

By Nelson Blackstock



Filled with fabrications and outright lies, it portrays a Stalin who never existed.

A glance at the titles of a few of the essays tells the story: *Stalin—Lenin's Successor*, *The Great Driver of the Locomotive of History*, *Stalin—Builder of the Red Army*, *The Greatest Man of Our Day*, *Stalin—The Lenin of Our Day*, *To Comrade Stalin—Lenin's Great Successor*. It is sometimes forgotten that the cult of personality didn't begin with Chairman Mao. One feature of this almost pathetic adulation sticks out: the determination to portray Stalin as the legitimate continuator of the work of Lenin.

This is precisely where the newly published *Lenin's Last Struggle* assumes a real importance. Focusing in on the last period of Lenin's life, 1921-1923, Moshe Lewin demonstrates conclusively that Lenin devoted the last months of his life to combatting the deepening bureaucratization within the Soviet Union, and finally, struggling for the removal of the personification of that bureaucracy: Stalin. This story is carefully documented, largely with material that has only recently been made available within the Soviet Union, including the most recent edition of Lenin's collected works.

Fundamental to an understanding of this material is an examination of the objective conditions which faced the Bolsheviks in the early twenties. The first successful working-class revolution was isolated within a huge, culturally and econ-

omically backward country, surrounded by a sea of hostile capitalist powers bent on its destruction. They had just come through a long and debilitating civil war, during which the small working class which had made the revolution with the backing of the peasantry lost a large percentage of its most heroic fighters. The small amount of industry had come to a standstill. Workers began returning to the land to avoid starvation.

The Bolsheviks were faced with the problem of getting the economy off dead center. As an effort to cope with the situation, the New Economic Policy had reintroduced capitalist incentives into the economy. The operation of the burgeoning apparatus required the hiring of growing numbers of non-proletarian specialists. In addition to this, the ranks of the Communist Party were becoming increasingly filled with careerists, opportunists, former Mensheviks, etc. Out of these conditions, a bureaucracy emerged.

It is ironic that the two key issues which led Lenin to struggle against Stalin were questions upon which Stalin's current advocates are presenting him as the foremost authority. The main features of Lenin's last struggle are not new; both Trotsky's writings and Isaac Deutscher's three-volume biography of Trotsky are rich sources of information. The uniqueness of Lewin's volume is that the author constructs a fascinating story dealing with this one brief period in such detail, documenting his case with material made avail-

able by Stalin's successors. The Stalinists have been insisting for years that much of this material never existed.

Although Stalin's current supporters present him as an unflinching fighter against any tendency that might have led toward a capitalist restoration within the Soviet Union, Lewin is able to show how Lenin had to wage an uphill battle in opposition to Stalin and his supporters for the preservation of one of the underlying features of the Soviet economy, one of the features which determine the class nature of the Soviet Union as a workers' state: the state monopoly of foreign trade. Stalin, over Lenin's objections, had put through measures limiting the monopoly. This meant that individual capitalists outside the country would have been able to come inside and deal with individual businessmen on a person-to-person basis. Lenin warned that this would have the practical effect of building up a strong base for counterrevolution among the peasantry. Agricultural producers would be able to sell on the world market where they could get better prices and, in Lenin's words, "the foreigners will buy up and take home with them everything of any value." After enlisting the aid of Trotsky, Lenin was able to roll back a Central Committee decision weakening the monopoly of foreign trade.

The second point upon which Stalin and Lenin clashed, this time more

sharply and directly, was the national question. Oddly enough, Stalin's reputation has been refurbished within SDS primarily by the use of his 1913 pamphlet on the national question in the fight against the anti-black nationalist position of the Progressive Labor Party. In his biography of Stalin, Trotsky amusingly explains how Stalin, thanks to the guiding hand of Lenin, came to produce this little work which gives the classic Leninist position. Parts of the pamphlet, as Trotsky demonstrates, were in fact written by Lenin, and certain phrases express a degree of sophistication surpassing anything Stalin wrote before or after.

As far as Lenin was concerned, the right of oppressed nations to self-determination was a fundamental democratic right which socialists were bound to defend. Stalin agreed to pay lip service to this principle when it served his needs, but in practice Stalin and the Stalinists have consistently violated the rights of national minorities within the Soviet Union and the rights of oppressed nations around the world.

Prior to 1922 the relations among the six national republics of the Soviet Union were governed by an arrangement of bilateral treaties between the Russian Federation and the other five republics. As commissar for the nationalities, it was Stalin's duty to come up with a new system of uniting the six republics. The result was a plan which gave a proportionately larger share of power to the Russian republic. This proposal brought understandable objections from the leaders of the minority nations, including the Georgians, who had only recently thrown off the yoke of Russian national oppression under the czars. Advocates of Stalin's position maintained that nationalistic tendencies among members of the Georgian Central Committee should be wiped out "with a branding iron."

When Lenin got wind of this, he proposed an alternative structure. In a letter to the Politburo replying to Lenin's proposal, Stalin accused Lenin of "national liberalism," and in a note to Kamenev he said, "I think we should be firm with Lenin." The party Central Committee adopted Lenin's proposal and delegated the responsibility for drawing up a more detailed version of the plan to a

commission. At this point, Stalin insisted that Georgia be made a part of a Transcaucasian Federation. This the Georgians considered to be a further violation of their right to self-determination. After a number of unsuccessful attempts to have the plan changed, the Georgian Central Committee resigned in mass.

As Moshe Lewin shows, Lenin was becoming increasingly troubled by the process of bureaucratization. The bureaucracy was a product of the backwardness of the country, the ignorance, the lack of culture. "It is all too clear what the Communist leaders lack: it is culture," wrote Lenin.

Lenin's Last Struggle recounts how Lenin, despite his serious illness, strenuously fought in his last remaining months to learn the truth about the Georgian affair. It is a story of Lenin's personal struggle with the bureaucracy and its leader, Stalin, and the development of his ideas about how to fight both.

Lenin came increasingly to agree with a number of views which Trotsky had been advancing as necessary steps toward solving the country's problems. Lenin eventually proposed to Trotsky that the two of them form a "bloc against bureaucracy" and begin to work out some specific proposals for the task.

Two incidents occurred which seemed to prod Lenin to draw some sharp conclusions. First, Ordzhonikidze, Stalin's man in Georgia, struck a dissident Georgian Communist in the presence of an informant of Lenin. Secondly, Stalin discovered Lenin's wife Krupskaya in the process of gathering information Lenin needed for his tasks and verbally assaulted her with "unworthy abuse and threats."

Lenin decided that he "must publicly crush Stalin" at the upcoming party congress. He added to his Testament the desire that Stalin be removed from the office of General Secretary. Then he threw himself into writing five articles on the problems of bureaucracy. But before he could complete his efforts he suffered another stroke. In the remaining months until his death, Lenin was unable to engage in any political activity.

It remained to Trotsky and the Left Opposition to wage the fight

against the bureaucracy and Stalin, a fight which Lenin was only beginning. Far from being the continuator of Lenin, Stalin was in fact his opposite, his negation, the personification of the self-serving bureaucracy which emerged out of the backwardness of Russia.

One final point is worth noting here. Lenin came to view the problem of bureaucratization in the Soviet Union as linked to the problem of culture. Recently, China has gone through a "great proletarian cultural revolution" which, we are told, was directed against bureaucracy. Yet, it is the followers of Mao who are dedicated to reviving Stalin, whom Lenin came to consider the very symbol of the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union. But, Lenin would have wanted no part of a "cultural revolution" where the personality of Mao is elevated to something akin to a god, and where great artists such as Balzac, Beethoven and Shakespeare are denounced as examples of bourgeois degeneration.

Lenin: "For a start, we should be satisfied with real bourgeois culture; for a start, we should be glad to dispense with the cruder types of prebourgeois culture, i.e., bureaucratic culture or serf culture, etc. In matters of culture, haste and sweeping measures are most harmful."

Perhaps the most deplorable product of this new glorification of Stalin has been the appearance in recent weeks of the use of Stalin's method of dealing with political opponents on the left. At the recent conference on fascism called by the Black Panther Party in California, the national leaders of SDS physically assaulted members of the Progressive Labor Party for merely distributing their literature. Ten PLers were sent to the hospital, according to a statement in *New Left Notes*, in which SDS national secretary Mark Rudd defends the attacks. The use of terror against political opponents was introduced into the workers' movement not by Lenin, but by Stalin, the ignorant bureaucrat who could not defend his politics by reason. These tactics are among the most disgusting features of Stalinism. We cannot allow their use within the growing radical movement in this country.

to keep down the growth of real wages was the type of incomes policy advocated by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations—until 1966, when it broke down as a result of the Vietnam war. A third form of counteraction has been an intensification of the exploitation of labor—in particular a speed-up in big industry which has produced a structural transformation of the American working class in certain fields. This speed-up has led to a work rhythm that is so fast that the average adult worker is virtually incapable of keeping up for long. This has radically lowered the age structure in certain industries, such as automobiles or steel. Today, since it is increasingly difficult to stay in plants (under conditions of speed-up) for 10 years without becoming a nervous or physical wreck, up to 40 per cent of the automobile workers of the United States are young workers.

None of these policies has so far had much effect. However, if the historic moment arrives when the productivity gap between American and West European and Japanese industry is closed, American capitalism will have absolutely no choice but to launch a far more ruthless attack on the real wage levels of American workers than has occurred hitherto in Western Europe, in the various countries where a small wage differential existed (Italy, France, West Germany, England and Belgium, at different moments during the sixties). Since the wage differential between Europe and America is not a matter of 5, 10, or 15 per cent, as it is between different Western European countries, but is of the order of 200-300 per cent, it is easy to imagine what an enormous handicap this will become when productivity becomes comparable, and how massive the reactions of American capitalism will then be.

It is necessary to stress these facts in order to adopt a Marxist, in other words, a materialist and not an idealist approach to the question of the attitudes of the American working class towards American society. It is true that there is a very close inter-relation between the anti-communism of the Establishment, the arms expenditure which makes possible a high level of employment, the international role of American imperialism, the surplus profits which the latter gets from its international investments of capital, and the military apparatus which defends these investments. But one thing must be understood. The American workers go along with this whole system, not in the first

place because they are intoxicated by the ideas of anti-communism. They go along with it because it has been capable of delivering the goods to them over the last 30 years. The system has been capable of giving them higher wages and a higher degree of social security. It is this fact which has determined their acceptance of anti-communism, and not the acceptance of anti-communism which has determined social stability. Once the system becomes less and less able to deliver the goods, a completely new situation will occur in the United States.

Trade-union consciousness is not only negative. Or, to formulate this more dialectically, trade-union consciousness is in and by itself socially neutral. It is neither reactionary nor revolutionary. It becomes reactionary when the system is capable of satisfying trade-union demands. It creates a major revolutionary potential once the system is no longer capable of satisfying basic trade-union demands. Such a transformation of American society under the impact of the international competition of capital is today knocking at the door of U. S. capitalism.

The liberation struggles of the peoples of the Third World, with their threat to American imperialist investment, will also play an important role in ending the long socio-economic equilibrium of American capitalism. But they do not involve such dramatic and immediate economic consequences as the international competition of capital could have, if the productivity gap were filled.

As long as socialism or revolution are only ideals preached by militants because of their own convictions and consciousness, their social impact is inevitably limited. But when the ideas of revolutionary socialism are able to unite faith, confidence and consciousness with the immediate material interest of a social class in revolt—the working class, then their potential becomes literally explosive. In that sense, the political radicalization of the working class, and therefore with socialism, will become a practical proposition in the United States within the next 10 or 15 years, under the combined impact of all these forces which have been examined here. After the black workers, the young workers, the students, the technicians and the public employees, the mass of the American workers will put the struggle for socialism on the immediate historical agenda in the United States. The road to revolution will then be open.

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