

Gerard Chaliand, REV. IN THE 3rd WORLD, (Foreword by Wallerstein) Myths & Prospects Viking Press, 1977

In Preface GC explains why, after 15 yrs. as "partipant observer" he questions, or designates as myths.

"pol. strategy of contemporary armed struggle in Asia, Lat. Am. etc. i.e. "3rd world euphoria" began to be felt at end of 1950s during Algerian war, followed by Cuban Rev. & in Fr. esp.

3rd world euphoria = minority fraction of Am. Blacks who shared MYTH OF PANCONTINENTAL REV. WITH FF, CHE, SHO CHI MINH + recent myth of immigrant works rap'd. potential rev. vanguard. p. xvi represents the many Africa, Lat. Am., Asia's yet situation explosive" This is why "occurs only when the grip of a foreign power is added to crushing weight of corrupt upper class... (p. xvii) so that p.b. nationalism is not social rev., witness Egypt.

DATED 1972-75 LA, Montreal, Paris *****888888*****

INTROD., pp. 1-32 The Dimension of Dev. Emergence of 3rd World--till late '60s no way to escape bi-polarity.

FOCOS Ideology reigned until Che's murder in Bolivia, '67 shortly after OLAS Solidarity conf. in Bolivia, so that even '68 Rus. invasion of Czech. was "accepted"

Neocolonialism in Tropical Afr. so that Tropical Africa '70 looked pretty much like '60

*****PART ONE: The Pol. Strategy of Armed Struggle

1) in Part, Am-Foco Th. As a Theory for Failure, p. 39-50

Myth of invincibility of guerrilla warfare. Cuban Rev. rare; thou violent, only few had anything looking like social rev.--Mex., 1910; Bolivia, 1952; Cuba, 1960, Chile

p. 43 Che's originality: no need to wait for "right moment"; even when obj. conditions are not ready, mobile force of insurrection by its very existence can create them.

Aside from neutrality of US, 1956-59, special circumstances within of groups of middle class happy to see Batista go.

Foco actually cut off guerrilla fighters FROM popular support, witness failures of Paraguay (Movement of 14 May, 1959)

Colombia (Rev. Student-Progressant Movement, 1962)
Dominican Rep. (Rev. Movement of May 14, 1963)
ARGENTINA (1963, 1964, esp. in the Tucuman region)
PERU (1965 guerrilla efforts of MIR & ELN)

BRAZIL (repeated attempts throught decade) Honduras, Mexico, Bolivia, NOT COUNTING THE

MANY GROUPS THAT CAME APART BEFORE THEY GOT TO MTS.

Among most standing are in VENEZUELA, 14657

Handwritten notes on left margin: GC, 1972, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025

Handwritten notes on top right margin: need to be added as 3rd world euphoria

Handwritten notes on right margin: 1960s, Neocolonialism, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s, 2010s, 2020s

Handwritten notes on bottom left margin: CUTOP, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025

Handwritten notes on bottom right margin: 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025

led by Douglas Bravo; in GUATEMALA, Rev. Armed Forces (FAR) of Cesar Montes; in Colombia ELN of Fabio Vasquez as well as FARC in Colombia, more or less connected with CO;

THE Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Carlos Fonseca Amador; the TEPAMAROS in URUGAY;

IN ARGENTINA.

ARMED TROTSKYIST GROUPS

PROOF of failure of focos, GUEVARA IN HIS DIARY: "Not one peasant has yet joined the guerrilla group."

p. 47: "the rev. myth of Lat. Am. continentalism

to the myth of Arab nationalism is rather similar

Only Hugo Blanco in Peru succeeded in mobilizing Indians masses in early 1960s but then he knew QUECHUA enough to speak.

Ch. 2, REVOLUTION IN AFRICA, esp. Algeria but whereas Algeria is connected with "illusions of Panonism" GUINEA-BISSAU IS RELATED AS HIGHEST BECAUSE OF AMICAL CABRAL'S sense of org. and pol. build-up before armed struggle is undertaken. -- then comes (Ch. 3) South Vietnam Cabral is praised not only for pol. wk. before & est. of schools, etc during, but writings:

THEORY AS WEAPON, Havana, 1966; Nat. Liberation & Culture, Syracuse Univ. 1970

& keeping out of Sino-Soviet quarrel by saying "BEFORE WE CAN CO-EXIST, WE HAVE TO EXIST & THAT'S WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR,"

Because he knew it could not achieve victory on battlefield. Q. raised on Ch. phil-pol.---

PART TWO THE METAMORPHOSIS OF SOC.

Ch. 4 Anti-imp. National Revolutions--Nasser's Egypt

Ind. Algeria

Rev. Experiments in Bl. Af.

Peru: Populism from the Top & Chile

ONLY CH. 6: THE TH. & PRACTICES OF M-L

returns to fundamentals & that is where he is weakest, both in his anti-Leninism (mild, but definitely bureaucracy is rooted there) & Castro is quoted most approvingly.

1. A Retrospective Glance at the Bolsheviks & the Marxist Project

I have no idea why on p. 149 GC says "There is no notion of abolishing pvt. prop." even if he is only referring to April & need to reorg. party & Lenin's calling for "rev. dem." measures. This proof is that only in 6/1918 was there nationalization & land to peasants.

Esp. curious is section "The Leninist Bur. & For. Policy: Ch. since Cultural Rev.."

AG is esp. wrong on rel. of leaders to

14658

ranks as if that contradiction was 1st seen by Mao in 1957 but necessarily succumbing to bureaucratization when Ch, attempt to build up both "sec.) & state power. Athen uses fact that CR was soon starptel out when Red Guards movement was ~~simultaneously successful.~~ (p. 162)

Wk.out esp. p.163, ftn. on Cuba incl.

p.164: Once Indonesia failed & Gen Bella's fall meant end of any 2nd Bandung conf. ~~Asia strengthened its position on Indian sub continent OR FELT ISOLATED ENOUGH TO START C.H.~~

And as if Ch. 1st then--not giving aid to Bangladesh & then moving against Ceylon, ~~Malaya~~ SRI LANKA, when Tr-Guevarists are liquidated. Mao then became reactionary & was indeed 1st country to expel Ambassador of Allendais fallen govt. from Ch.

So we come to CONCLUSION: toward what futures? pp.167-192

It begins with a certain praise of West both as to tech AND PHIL. "new ideas for at least the last 2-3 centuries burst forth regularly from the West in phil. & tech. ~~The new ideas burst forth from the West in phil. & tech. thoroughly wrong to say p.158 is correct it was coincidence that 4 of the most imp. revolutions from 1468 to this day have taken place in S. & W. Asia. The ques. is worth asking!~~

Backwardness of Afr. but richness in raw materials on which US still depends.

1971. Endemic monetary crisis since

Agric. dev. is key to 3rd world

p.179: In-Lat. Am. fundamental cause of failures of various urban & rural guerrillas in last 15 yrs. is that pop. didn't recognize as both nat. & social.... most imp/weakness is CONCEPTUAL.. (Too bad, AG, you limit that to your view of "social & pol. terrain" INSTEAD OF TO TOTAL PHIL.? + "modernising rsv. ideology."

"there is no getting around fact that that in Vietnam, as in Ch., rev. was made possible only thanks to the interpretation provided by the Leninist version of Marxism... adapted to local conditions; some sort of Confucian or Buddhist soc. would have antd. to no more than a Far Eastern equivalent of the ineffectual "Islamic" or "Afr." versions of soc. we know so well."

On other hand, class struggle by itself... likewise failure... Iran, Syria, Lebanon & Jordan also lack anything like Vietnam's enduring & resilient military tradition of conquest & resistance... Another diff. lies in the Near-East's merchant traditions, a geo-his. heritage that creates

14659

* a propensity for compromise at all costs. *

Whereupon AG again follows it with near-rejection of phil by thinking it abstract. "political analysts, in the name of universalism or other ABSTRACT conceptions, usually fail to emphasize."

(The one critique of FF that does have value p. 184 is "mythical portrait of a rev. Afr. peasantry in view of fact of sparse pop. plenty of land." In the past Sinized Asia (Vietnam, Korea) & its most immediate margins (Laos, Cambodia) have produced victorious armed struggles.")

pp. 184 declares 3rd world can only arise since it arose only thru crisis in Stalinist successful co-existence. "A 1985 myth which I believed & in which I helped to spread in the early '60s in some of my journalistic articles."

P. 187

8/10/67
C. Moore
1/10/67
1/10/67

for the future
as a class
people
since a section of the population

p. 188 "This is what Amilcar Cabral was talking about when he said that in underdev'd countries the p.b. had no alternative in regard to rev. other than betrayal or suicide as a class. However, even if a fraction of the p.b. under the leadership of a rev. hard core, turns radical (as in Cabo Verde or Guinea-Bissau) it is no less the leadership class for all that; it commits 'suicide' only to be REBORN AS A BUR."

1/10/67

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P. 192

C. Moore
his destiny

as a ruling class

P. 194

p. 194 "Dreams can be as stubborn as facts" and yet GC has not touched phil. of liberation that would be actuated

1967

*Q: 1933-1937, Pedro Costa did
Pablo in the 1st New World - 1937
not accept Trotsky's version of
the 1st stage of the Per. Rev.
of IEC early 1952, who recommended the entry into CPs! "3rd W.W."
which Pablo predicted was imminent. - Results in split in
1953 in French sec. 1st to oppose; hence expelled. then (11/53)
SNP addressed "Open Letter to all Trotskyist Orgs." Then joined
by Healyites & few others est. Int. Comm. of the 4th in opp. to IEC
by Pablo; but Belgium, & Lat. Am. remain LOYAL TO PABLO.*

TROTSKYISM IN LATIN AMERICA by Robt. J. Alexander Hoover Univ. Press, Stanford, 1973

Ch. 1, Rise & Dev. of Int. Trotskyism

p. 12 Crisis of 1939-40; only one who sided with Shachtman is Brazilian Mario Pedrosa. (Alexander seems to know nothing of s-c as he places both Munja & CLRJ as those who sided with Sh" & he doesn't define Sh. as bur. coll.)

p. 16- Pabloite Schism, 10th plenary of IEC early 1952, who recommended the entry into CPs! "3rd W.W." which Pablo predicted was imminent. - Results in split in 1953 in French sec. 1st to oppose; hence expelled. then (11/53) SNP addressed "Open Letter to all Trotskyist Orgs." Then joined by Healyites & few others est. Int. Comm. of the 4th in opp. to IEC by Pablo; but Belgium, & Lat. Am. remain LOYAL TO PABLO.

p. 18 Unification & New Div.

p. 19--United Sec. of 4th post-entry world congress, 12/65-1966 report

- is (1) unconditional defense of all wks. states, incl. Cuba
- (2) "Nevertheless as bet. Peking & Moscow, the Trotskyist movement leans toward the side of the Chinese." +for guerrillas
- (3) finally, at 9th "World Congress", 1969 on Lat. Am, but it wasn't Hugo Blanco who, from pres., was elected pres., but Posadas group which continued to be strongest in Lat. Am.

Healyites--1st rump O/C. "3rd Conf.--London 4-8/1966 Only Lat. Am. group--Boligian Partido Obrero Revolucionario led by Guillermo Lora, had relations with I.C. 1971. Fr. group breaks with it.

The Posadas Faction, Argentinian H. Posadas (real name Homero Cristall

After 1953-4 split Lat. Am. Bureau of Pabloite faction led by Posadas, but by 1959 it breaks with this too as "European" while he insisted "primacy of colonial revolutions"/ which he further developed on global scale as "World Dev. of the Per. Rev." Posadistas energetic supporters of Ch. CP

Ch. 2, 4th Int. in Lat. /Am.

p/37 Soon after WWII an attempt was made to org. a conf. of Lat. Am. CHILEAN PARTIDO OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO took lead. 2 Tr. parties on Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Mexico & 3 in Bolivia Castro pd. no attention to Trotskyists. Only exception was denunciation in 1966 of Posadistas.

Ch. 3-Trotskyism, Peronismo & the Nat. Rev. in ARGENTINA

3rd stage of Argentine Trotskyism--most join CP & many in ref. join S.P. Soon ind. group reestablished with BERNAL, son of the then Pres. of Argentina, Grn. Augustin P. Justo 1932-38/ Liborio Justo surng Sp. Ci. w. 11.7.37.

p. 59--Argentine Trotskyism & Peronismo. After military coup in 6/4/43 which ultimately resulted in Juan Peron coming to power--most divisive issue was attitude to Peronista phenomenon.

pro-Peron Trotskyists were attacked by both Tr-ists in US

p. 67: At the time of the split in world Trotskyists movement in 1953, Posadas ~~was~~ Partido Obrero (Trotskyist) became Argentine members of Pabloite faction. ~~But~~ when the 2 didn't join new new United Sec. Posadas formed rival 4rg Inc.

Handwritten notes: "Cuba", "Hewitt", "2 Peronistas (Maoist)", "Also Cilla", "Brazil", "No Peron", "Sternberg"

Ch. 4. Brazilian Tr-ism, Getulio Vargas & Luis Carlos Prestes Trotskyist group driven underground under semi-fascist regime of Vargas in 11/37.

1st congress in Sao Paulo in 2/63; minor success in peasant movement, Cynthia Hewitt describes activities:

Ch. 5, Chilean Tr-ists

p. 110-7/1971 called for "Single Marxist Party of the Masses" thru merger Sp_CP-Tr

tho at one time (1930s) they had influence, by '60s Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario--lost distinctiveness & became lost in SP.

Handwritten: CHS.

2 chs. 6--Beginnings --& 7--Bolivia Rev. are devoted to Trotskyism as that is the only one where Tr-ists had mass base in Bolivian Rev.

1st it came into existence BEFORE CP & all 3 tendencies in Tr-ism had groups there in late '60s. 1st leader Tristan Marof. org'd. S.P., which didn't survive Chaco war bet. Bolivia & Paraguay, 1932-36

Future Tr-ist leader, Huillermo Lora--Partido Socialista Obrero de Bolivia. In 8/39 Tr-ists estab'd. 1st Miners Federation Hernan Sanchez Fernandez was principal figure in setting up PARTIDO OBRERO REVOLUCIONARIO

became recognized orthodox Trist Party. --later to plague Lechin who knew a great deal more about t.u. than rev. ideology,

p. 126 : P. 104 Juan Rey notes that Bolivian Tr-ists supported

Peronistas to est. hemispheric t.u. group as against CTAL controlled by CP & OBIT, supported by AFL-CIO just because Peronistas were against "Yankee imp." (See Inter. Press, 9/22/69, 11/24 & 12/15/69)

Handwritten: "Cuba", "Hewitt", "4/21/72", "With consequence of", "NOT FOR", "but H...", "and some system"

*****Ch & Tr-ism & Bolivian Nat. Rev.

Bet. 4/9 & 11/1952 Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario seized power.

Julian Lechin leader of Miners Federation & Hernan Siles MNR

In yr. some fundamental changes in eco. & pol. life were made. Gave vote to illiterates. i.e., Indian peasants & distributed land

nationalized Big 3 mining cos. & politicized peasantry to a degree never seen before in Bolivia. By the time MNR forced out of office THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS WERE IRREVERSIBLE. (Militant, 5/19/1952)

Tr-ists seemed to think t.u. (COB) as Bolivian equivalent of Soviets! (p.131. Net result was to bring split within POR, not MNR.

"An Open Letter to Pres. Victor Paz Estenszoro" on mining issue; calling for nationalization without compensation & wkrs. control. With support of Stalinists COB moved against Trotskyist POR 1st election under MNR 1956, POR made very poor showing & soon splits developed.

Hugo Gonzalez Moscoso then took harder line on Bolivian rev. In split began affecting all as to whether Pablo line of entering CPs or SWP should be followed. -Gonzalez calling for org'g. left wing in MNR. & Gonzalez went with Pablo, Principal t.u. leader, which led POR faction, Edwin Moller, left too., joined Lechin & MNR, became candidate of Chamber of D^{rs}puties & won,

Then, in 1964 Gonzalez at lat supported the overthrow of MNR by generals Rene Barrientos & Alfredo Ovando!!! Militant, 12/11/64. Then all for Che. But the guerrilla struggle in Bolivia, in spite of the death of Comandante Guevara, in spite of the blows, continued to be the only way out of the eco. & pol. crisis of this country. It is the duty of the revolutionaries in Bolivia & Lat. Am., as the POR sees it, to support the present guerrilla struggle, strengthening it, making it come out of its isolation, joining it to the movement of the masses in the cities & in the mines, & bringing about the participation of the peasantry as a fighting force."

Handwritten notes: Consider how...
P.S.
D.C.

Ch. 8 Peruvian Trotskyism.

p.169 Hugo Blanco & the Peasant Unions of La Convencion Valley

p.178. By 1971 Tr-ists divided into 3 groups:

POR affiliating with Posadistas in 4th, FIR with SWP, & Vanguardia Revolucionario has not yet declared.

Handwritten: Russia

Ch. 9. LT, Diego Rivera & Mexican Tr-ism

Blackwell who used name of Rosalio Negrette in Mexico
The Fernandez-Galicia Group. Blackwell put h in in tie w/ with A. Gonzalez, a Mexican-American. 1st no. of IV Int. 9/3/36

Ch. 10 Mex. Tr-ism after LT, p.199

Revival of Mex. Tr-ism, 1950s - Posadas

p.209 - Many POR members were jailed as result of student demonstrations & strikes, 1966 - Violently denounced by Castro for activity in Guatemala.

Ch. 11 - Cuban Tr-ism, the 4th, & Castro Rev.

p.217: Was Julio Antonio Mella a Trotskyist? tho a founder of CP in Cuba, 1925? During radical nationalist govt. of Pres. Ramon Grau San Martin, who seized power, 9/4/33

Batista arises & puts in power
Col. Mendieta - 1935 General Strike. Trotskyists join Joven Cuba & become loyal to Trotskyists

After assassination Tr-ists become inconsequential. Pres. Ramon Grau San Martin gett elected again 1944

Handwritten notes: Guerrilla... see KS Kardis... 74-77

Handwritten notes: Gets... Trotskyist...
14663

Handwritten notes: 1944... 1944... Cuba...

p.226
Rosadistas fully supported Castro

Allowed to function until 1961 when CP launched furious campaign against Tr-ists. In May 1961 Castro moves officially against POR (T) suppressing the party's paper. Voz Proletaria & destroying plates for printing PEE.REV., taking over plant in which paper was printed.

Cuba a "rampart of world rev." by Livio Natson, Italian "United Sec." spokesman in Intercont. Press, 11/30/70

Healyites only group of "4th Int-ists" who condemned Castro regime."

final Ch.12, Tr-ism in Other Lat. Am. countries

Uruguay only country in Lat. Am., with

socialist & nationalistic program, large segments of state ownership, & a primary education nearly universal.

Tr-ist, under Yugoslav-Uruguayan, Esteban Kikich, org'd LIGA OBRERA REVOLUCIONARIA L(®) & corresponded with JPC, 1929 org'd/labor unions.

In '52 Liga Obrera changed name to FRENTE OBRERO against proposed military treaty with US, With '53-54 split. Uruguayans joined Pabo faction.

By '63 3 groups arise who claim to be Trotskyist.

Other Lat. Am. countries p.245f
1st in 1971 indication of Trotskyist group in Ecuador.

Panama, however, Tr-ists less ephemeral. were firmly org'd as far back as 1935--a yng. man by name of Diogenes de la Rosa--but party went out of existence in '35 & entered Socialist Party of Panama, which was then fighting CP for control of t.u. In 50s & '60s de la Rosa became "distinguished diplomat"

Puerto Rico & neighboring (?) Venezuela see Intercont. Press, 1/10/72

& in French Antilles: Gauadeloupe & Martinique

POSTSCRIPT, pp. 249-50

Tr-ist groups have existed at one time or another in 20 Lat. Am. countries + Puerto Rico & Fr. Antilles in Chile, Cuba & Bolivia they were imp. in 1950s.