

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 7, No. 28

© 1969 Intercontinental Press

September 8, 1969

50c



Bernadette Devlin, M.P.

Battles in Irish Ghettos

Ernest Mandel:

Devaluation of the Franc

David Mercer:

The Kuznetsov Affair

LEON TROTSKY — An Unpublished Interview

On the Eve of World War II

On the Barricades in the Ghettos

By Gerry Foley

Fanatical pro-English Protestant Unionist mobs led by a phalanx of Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) stormed into the Catholic, nationalist ghetto in Derry City, Northern Ireland, at 7:15 p.m. on August 12. The press reports leave no doubt that these ultrarightists intended to carry out a pogrom which, in its scope and ferocity, would have far exceeded similar attacks in January and April of this year.

In the English liberal weekly *The Observer* of August 17, Mary Holland described the assault: ". . . the police charged with batons flailing into the Bogside [the Catholic ghetto] and right up beside them, armed with lead piping and hurling bricks were the Protestants. I recognized at least one prominent official in the local Unionist Party. . . ."

As the fighting developed into all-out warfare, the young revolutionary leaders of the embattled community, Eamon McCann and Bernadette Devlin, issued this statement: "The Royal Ulster Constabulary is out of control and can no longer be considered as the force of law and order. This country is now in a state of chaos."

At 10:30 p.m. Frank Gogarty, the chairman of the Civil Rights Association, which represents all the groups fighting for equal rights for the oppressed Catholic population of Northern Ireland, announced in Belfast: "We have just got a desperate appeal from inside the barricaded area of Derry. It said, 'This is the end, this is it.'"

Kevin Boyle of the CRA announced that if the government did not halt the pogrom, his organization would have no alternative but to call meetings throughout the country to divert the police from their work in Bogside.

As meetings in defense of the Derry fighters were held throughout Northern Ireland, the battle spread to the other ghettos. The *Irish Times* in Dublin reported August 14: "Following the refusal of the police to retreat from the Bogside area, the Civil Rights Association summoned meetings last night

across the Six Counties [of Northern Ireland] and it was these which led to an extension of the violence.

"Blazing barricades went up in Newry and parts of Belfast. Many buildings were burnt to the ground: police stations were attacked with petrol bombs and stones."

As the oppressed community rallied to the support of the besieged ghetto of Bogside, the regime called up the infamous "B"-Special auxiliary police, an ultrarightist militia created as a counterrevolutionary force during the Irish struggle for independence in 1918-22.

The unleashing of the Specials escalated the communalist terror to the brink of civil war. After midnight August 15, Frank Gogarty issued an appeal: "There must be immediate intervention if more people are not to be killed by 'B'-Specials and the Paisleyites [ultraright Unionists] they are leading through the Falls [the Catholic ghetto in Belfast]."

"They are driving through the streets in tenders, shooting indiscriminately, firing into homes and shooting at anyone they see."

The extent and violence of the fighting created a politically intolerable situation for the Unionist regime's imperial patrons in London, who could not evade responsibility before British and international public opinion for a holocaust in their Northern Irish province. It appeared, moreover, that the nationalist population had defeated the repressive forces of the Belfast regime and that the Unionists could not prevent the secession of many areas from the Northern Irish state.

At 5:15 in the morning of August 15, British troops entered Derry. At 7:30 in the evening of the same day, they moved into Belfast. The insurrectionary population greeted the British troops with mixed emotions. They welcomed the restraint the British army imposed on the Unionists, who consider themselves "British," but they refused to allow the troops to enter the nationalist

working-class neighborhoods now controlled by the victorious population. "Miss Devlin told the colonel that the Bogsideers were glad to see the troops. She said that they would be given every assistance, but reminded the colonel: 'Bogside is ours,'" Mary Holland wrote in *The Observer* August 17.

The feelings of the English government were also mixed. The Wilson regime had been prepared to go to any length to keep the onus of crushing the resistance of the oppressed nationalist minority on its Unionist stooges. The English daily the *Sunday Telegraph* reported August 17 from Belfast: "Startling evidence is emerging here that the use of the controversial Specials police reserve was deliberately forced on the Ulster authorities by Whitehall."

"The brief to the military authorities here from London appears to have been that the use of troops should be resorted to only when *all* attempts by the civil authorities to maintain order—including the use of the Specials—had been shown to have failed."

"The Ulster authorities were, in fact, far from happy at the prospect of committing the Specials in the bitter riots. . . . They were only too well aware of the controversy which the commitment of this virtually 100 p.c. Protestant force would arouse."

The apparent reason for Wilson's reluctance to intervene is that the London government's assumption of responsibility for law and order in the province struck at the political pretext on which England has maintained its Northern Irish fortress for nearly fifty years.

The English government's claim has been that the partition of Ireland rested on a democratic foundation; that, since the Protestant majority in the Six Counties wanted to continue to be British citizens and not be subordinated to the Catholic majority on the island as a whole, it was Britain's duty to respect their wishes and provide the financial and military support without which the Northern Irish enclave would be unviable.

The British establishment maintained that Britain had shown its fairness and its desire for an equitable solution to the Irish question by granting independence to the nationalist twenty-six counties of Ireland and home rule to six Unionist counties, which were given the status of a self-governing province in the United Kingdom. After this settlement, the British establishment claimed, political and social conditions in both parts of Ireland were the responsibility of Irishmen and not of the British authorities.

The survival of an ultrareactionary social system in Northern Ireland dominated by Anglo-Irish landlords and big merchants and businessmen, discrimination and periodic pogroms against the 37.5 percent Catholic minority, repressive laws providing for preventive arrest and suppression of freedom of the press and association—in short the maintenance of a semi-police state for fifty years—were attributed to the incorrigibility of the Irish. The British establishment's line was echoed by the Anglophile ruling class in the United States and by the international bourgeois press.

In fact, the Protestant-Catholic division did not originate in Ireland but was introduced by the English conquerors. The tribal collectivism, which the English invaders confronted in Ireland, proved extremely resistant. It was possible to uproot it only by a genocidal war requiring the resources and organization of a bourgeois system. The ideology of bourgeois England first took a religious form—Protestantism.

Thus, the English conquest was completed in the seventeenth century in the guise of religious war. The Celtic Irish were exterminated or driven from their lands as "heathen Amalakitcs" and Protestants from Scotland and England, "the children of Israel," were settled in their place. This settlement took place throughout Ireland but was most extensive in the northeast where resistance by the Irish clans had been strongest.

For most of its history, the Irish Protestant community played the role of a colonial ascendancy and served as the main prop of English rule in Ireland. "What the Protestants remember, and do not hesitate to commemorate in ways that can only provoke the Catholics, are the main landmarks of what was and remains a colonial conquest: it began with the arrival in 1609 of the first Protestant settlers, sent by James

I of England to occupy the choicest parts of Ulster," the Paris paper *Le Monde* said in an editorial in its English-language weekly edition August 20.

As a result of their privileged status as an ally of England and the growing threat to this status represented by the revolutionary movement of the cruelly oppressed Catholic majority, the Protestant community developed a quasi-racist mentality. This attitude has been noted by many reporters of the recent events. A graphic sketch was given by a correspondent for *The Observer* in Derry August 16: "This week you could stand on the solid Protestant battlements and look down on the permanent Catholic encampment below. . . . They [the Protestants] were all ordinary and nice people. Over and over they said, 'They're all animals down there.' Over and over again."

A second effect of the religious communalism introduced by the English conquest was that the Celtic population, discriminated against as Catholics, developed a deep-seated loyalty to the Catholic church, becoming the captives of a reactionary ideology and hierarchy which impeded their liberation struggle.

"Among the greatest traitors ever in Ireland, the mother church stands in first place—as a strong obstacle on the road to equality and freedom. It has always been a purely conservative force." That is how the most prominent leader of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland, Bernadette Devlin, described the role of the Church in Ireland in a page from her memoirs printed in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* August 25.

The partition of Ireland in 1922 had two advantages for English imperialism. By dividing the industrialized northeast from the agricultural south and west, it blocked any possibility for economic independence for the country. Secondly, the maintenance of the religious communalist system, through creating a purely Catholic state in the Twenty-Six Counties and a purely Protestant state in the Six Counties, preserved the basis of social conservatism in both parts of the island.

This stalemate was broken by the impact of the worldwide revolutionary upsurge which produced a new radical youth leadership in Northern Ireland. The new youth vanguard, represented principally by the People's Democracy group at Queens University in Belfast, served as the driving force that united

the superexploited Catholic working-class community and the most advanced sections of the Protestant community in a struggle for democratic rights and social reform.

In the context of a regime based solely on repression and discrimination, such a fight has very rapidly, in less than a year, developed into an advanced revolutionary struggle.

Incipient elements of dual power appeared in Northern Ireland with the outbreak of fighting August 12-15. Whole communities stand outside the jurisdiction of the Northern Irish government and under the control of popular defense groups. This is especially clear in the working-class Catholic ghetto of Bogside.

In a meeting of the Derry Citizens Defense Association reported by the *Irish Times* August 25, it was decided that the barricades blocking off the community would only be removed by the decision of a general assembly of the residents.

Independent radio stations have been set up in many insurrectionary areas. The Dublin *Irish Press* [August 25] described one such radio station: "In the barricade encircled area of the Falls Radio Free Belfast—the radio of revolution—is broadcasting twenty-four hours a day. . . . 'We are running our own lives. Neither the military nor the R. U. C. can enter our area. So long as we man our barricades and remain alert, we are safe from terrorist attacks,' the radio assures people. . . ."

In the Twenty-Six Counties, the outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA), the continuators of the freedom fighters of 1918-22, experienced a tremendous upsurge of support. The Lynch government, which had previously sought a gentleman's understanding with the Unionist regime, was forced to make some gestures of support for the nationalists in Northern Ireland.

The Irish independent Social Democrat Proinsias Mac Aonghusa wrote in the English *New Statesman* August 22: "Had the Dublin government taken no action the IRA would have moved to the North last week. What is more, in doing so, it would have commanded far greater support than at any time in its history. . . . Various small extremist groups, mainly Maoist and Trotskyist, hope to take advantage of the general confusion to bring about revolution. . . . The government is only too well aware of the threat and of its own weakness. . . ."

The Devaluation of the French Franc

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article was originally published in the August 16 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

De Gaulle leaves — and now comes the devaluation of the French franc. Clearly, the long-range effects of the May 1968 revolutionary upsurge are far from over.

At the time of the alarm over possible devaluation of the franc in November 1968, I indicated the concatenation that would make this move inevitable. [See "The Crisis of the French Franc," *Intercontinental Press*, December 9, 1968, p. 1,100.] The across-the-board wage increase which the bourgeoisie was forced to grant in May to avert a revolution could not help but slow down exports and increase imports. A balance-of-payments deficit inevitably flowed from this, a hemorrhaging of exchange reserves. The losses incurred by the Bank of France since the beginning of 1968 total more than \$600,000,000.



Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

In the month of July alone it lost \$138,000,000. All this made devaluation inevitable.

A Bonus for Capital

I wrote last November that while the speculators precipitated the crisis of the franc, they did not cause it. They merely accelerated the crisis by anticipating the actual development.

Today everyone admits that the permanent balance-of-payments deficit since May was the real cause of the fall of the franc. But the capitalist system is so constructed that speculators are always rewarded.

On August 11 small savers lost 12.5 percent of the value of their savings as measured in gold or foreign currency. They will soon lose the same amount in buying power as a result of a rise in prices.

On the other hand, all the speculators who placed their capital abroad retain the full value of their assets. By repatriating a part of this capital before the price rise reaches 12.5 percent, their buying power will have increased. An injustice? Obviously. But isn't the capitalist system based on inequality, that is, basic injustice in the relations between capital and labor, between the rich and the poor?

The injustice obviously does not stop there. For the workers, the devaluation offers nothing but rising prices. The results for them are negative up and down the line. The industrialists, businessmen, and property owners will find their assets immediately revalued. Even before the price spiral begins, the prices of land, real estate, jewels, and securities (starting with foreign stocks and bonds) are moving into line with the prices of gold, the dollar, and the Deutsche Mark.

Next, businessmen and industrialists will try to revalue their predevaluation inventories by selling them or evaluating them in accordance with the new rate. The price through September 15 announced by the French government was aimed at blocking this maneuver. However, its success is not assured in a climate dominated by an inflationary

tendency in credit and the means of payment.

Finally, as soon as the French capitalists are compelled to import products at higher costs than previously, they will try to shift this cost onto the French consumers, helping the process along as best they can. When raw materials account for one-third of the cost-price of a product, who is going to prevent a manufacturer or dealer from increasing his sales prices by 5 or 6 percent rather than the 4.17 percent "technically" justified from the capitalist point of view?

The discontent and disquiet of the unions, which merely reflect the general sentiment, are therefore quite understandable. The devaluation represents yet another redistribution of the French national income in favor of capital and at the expense of labor, the latest push by capital to neutralize the concessions granted the workers under threat of revolution in May 1968, if not to reduce the share of labor below the pre-May level.

Tactics and Strategy

In this sense, the devaluation was in the logic of things. It illustrated once again the logical implications of the referendum and the presidential election.

Contrary to the myth widely held among the respectable left, it was not the workers who forced de Gaulle out of office through the referendum. It was the layer of capitalists represented by Giscard d'Estaing, Pleven, and Duhamel who felt that the time had come to get rid of a leader, who had become an incumbrance, having lost his effectiveness.

Pompidou was elected president of the republic thanks to the support of this section of the bourgeoisie. Now they are presenting their bill—devaluation (that is, rehabilitation of the speculators), a European policy (i.e., orienting toward the internationalization of capital required by the big monopolies); sustained inflation (i.e., soaking up the last gains the workers made in May). It was not known whether de Gaulle was prepared to carry out this policy rapidly and without reservations. But in the case of Pompidou, there was not the slightest doubt. The play is being enacted in faithful agreement with the text and the intentions of the authors.

But while the immediate succession of events is perfectly logical—that is, it corresponds to the interests of the big French employers — the econom-

ic strategy behind the devaluation seems much more dubious.

The timing of the operation has been admired. It was carried out during the vacation period when speculation was at its low point (even the interest rate in the Euro-dollar market began to weaken in July, something not seen for a long time), while perfect secrecy was maintained. Nonetheless, the success of a devaluation is not measured by the immediate circumstances surrounding it. When we examine the broad economic context, we are led rather to conclude that the measure came much too late and the danger is that most of its effectiveness will be lost.

In order to achieve the desired goal—that is, reestablish an equilibrium in the balance of payments—the devaluation would have to result in an increase in the volume of French sales abroad (above all in the neighbor countries and in the United States) and in a drop in imports. But two series of developing economic changes make these results doubtful.

Devaluation, Inflation, Recession

On the one hand, a climate of pronounced inflation prevails in France. The official price index has risen by 3.5 percent since the beginning of the year—that is, at a yearly rate of 6.5 percent—and in reality, prices have risen by almost 5 percent, or at a yearly rate of more than 9 percent. Excess productive capacity is limited. It is not likely, therefore, that a major part of industrial production can be diverted from the domestic market toward foreign markets. The fact that French products will in fact—for the immediate future—be cheaper on the export market will increase foreign demand for these products. This new foreign demand will be added to a demand on the domestic market which is already in excess of supply. The probable result, then, will be an accentuated inflation with only a modest increase in exports.

Moreover, in the United States, the boom has finally been dampened by deflationary measures taken by the government. A downturn is foreshadowed for the next year in West Germany and possibly also in Italy and Great Britain.

The price rises in those countries will, then, probably flatten out. At the first downturn, the German exporters are perfectly capable of giving major discounts in order to "hold" their foreign markets. Thus, imports into France

threaten to remain as high as they are today. And, despite the devaluation, French products threaten to remain not very competitive—in many branches of industry—with respect to those of most of France's major commercial partners.

The key to success in the operation would have been to devalue the currency while avoiding inflation, or a rise in prices. But this key is more than ever out of the reach of the government and of French capitalism.

A New Strike Wave

If we consider the social repercussions, things appear even gloomier for French capitalism. After the squall in November 1968, there was no "March meeting,"* that is, the new social explosion that was generally expected did not take place. But there have been hundreds



Jacques Duhamel

of strikes in large and small enterprises. These testify to the combativity of the workers which has remained intact since May 1968. Furthermore—and this has been unheard of in France for twenty years—now, in the middle of the vacation period, stubborn strikes are going on among the steelworkers in Lorraine and the building-trades workers in Lacq, to cite only two examples.

Under such conditions, the union federations, which have strained every effort to keep strikes since June 1968 from spreading, will have a difficult time in resisting the more and more widespread demands for wage increases to "recover" the gains of May that have been soaked up by inflation and devaluation. From the standpoint of the class struggle, France appears to be in for a "hot" fall and winter.

If social tensions mount, the bosses will again have to dump ballast, because they are even less capable than they were in May 1968 of holding down the lid on a vast popular upsurge. Any new concession to the workers would immediately wipe out the effects of the devaluation and confront the French bosses and bourgeois leaders with the very dilemma which has terrified them since June 1968 and especially since November 1968.

New 'Alarm' in October?

The death agony of the international monetary system can only quicken after the devaluation of the franc. While the speculation we are now witnessing will doubtless not affect the immediate situation, the bankers and capitalists have their eyes fixed on September 29, 1969, when the results will be in for the legislative election in West Germany the preceding day.

It is no secret that the "specialists" in international monetary relations want a general realignment of currencies. The devaluation of the French franc was to be one of the aspects of this realignment, the kingpin of which would be the upward revaluation of the Deutsche Mark, the Indian lira, and the Japanese yen (opinions are more divided on where to fit in the Dutch florin, the Belgian franc, and the pound sterling).

It is not hard to understand that such a general realignment would be a windfall for the U.S. capitalists, whose principal competitors would thus find themselves forced to sell their commodities at higher prices on the U.S. domestic market.

If Bonn, Rome, and Tokyo turn down this proposal, the United States has a powerful weapon in its arsenal. It can continue its policy of deflation, of boost-

* The second round of wage negotiations provided for in the Grenelle agreements of May 1968. — *IP*.

ing interest rates, which would threaten to touch off a generalized recession in the economies of the imperialist countries and would cause them heavier losses than those accruing from the proposed currency revaluations.

We should never lose sight of the fact that monetary crises merely express much more deep-seated capitalist contradictions. And, in face of the threat of a general economic recession which is shaping up on the horizon, we can bet that the directors of the central banks and the ministers of finance of the capitalist countries will do their utmost in

their decisions over the coming months to maintain a minimum of cohesiveness—save for yelling "every man for himself!" if the lightning strikes too closely.

This, in fact, is the reality of capitalism today, confronted as it is with ever more powerful foes and dangers which threaten its very existence. It cannot help but be continually buffeted between the desire for "international solidarity" and the temptations of "sacrosanct self-interest" which will remain as long as private property exists.

August 12, 1969

Czechoslovakia

A Turbulent Anniversary

The massive demonstrations in Prague, Brno, and other Czechoslovak cities August 21 were a clear indication, if any were needed, that a year after the Soviet invasion the Kremlin has failed to turn back the struggle of the Czechoslovak workers and students for socialist democracy. At the same time, the brutal police and military suppression of the popular protests—which left four dead, an uncounted number injured, and hundreds under arrest—showed the ruthless determination of the Husák regime to impose the dictates of Brezhnev and Kosygin and to preserve its own bureaucratic rule at any cost.

For weeks prior to the August 21 anniversary, high government functionaries publicly threatened to use force to suppress any popular demonstration critical of the Soviet occupation. Despite this campaign of intimidation, more than 1,000 students and workers gathered in Wenceslas Square in Prague August 19. Club-wielding police backed up by tear gas and armored cars were able to clear the square only after a full-scale charge against the crowd.

The next day youths built barricades on Prague's Narodni Boulevard while soldiers armed with submachine guns fired over the heads of demonstrators to disperse them. Two youths were shot to death and an unknown number wounded. Young demonstrators defended themselves with rocks and bottles against advancing troops and armored cars. In many cases they appealed to the Czech soldiers to join the demonstrations. The *New York Times* re-

ported August 22 that some soldiers "joined the demonstrators in their shouts of derision and in the defiant singing of the Czechoslovak national anthem."

The most massive demonstrations took place on August 21. A five-minute general strike at noon, called by the left Communist underground, was widely honored. Buses and streetcars were nearly empty all day as people boycotted these services. Stores were almost deserted.

A crowd estimated at upwards of 50,000 persons assembled in Wenceslas Square to commemorate the "Day of Shame." The government ordered more than 100 tanks into the heart of Prague while police and troops used tear gas and clubs to clear the streets and break up all public assemblies.

"One of the most dramatic scenes occurred at the St. Wenceslas statue," an August 21 Associated Press dispatch reported from Prague, "when the police started demanding that the crowd leave. Young people massed around the statue, some climbing it.

"They were dispersed with tear-gas and truncheon charges by the riot troops, but they returned twice. At one point demonstrators outnumbered policemen and attacked them with fists and rocks. . . .

"Nearly 1,000 youths sang their national anthem and chanted 'shame on the Soviets'. . . . The crowd hurled coins and cigarette butts in contempt at the helmeted militiamen, who unflinchingly stood their ground."

On August 22 some 5,000 demonstrators in Brno, the country's second

largest city, faced police gunfire in their efforts to hold a peaceful assembly. Two persons were killed by the police.

The Prague Municipal Committee of the Communist party reported in its official newspaper, *Vecerni Praha*, August 22 that 1,337 persons had been arrested in Prague. Arrests throughout the country totaled 1,893 according to the Czechoslovak press agency CTK.

The Husák regime blamed "fascists" and "counterrevolutionaries" for the demonstrations. Despite the evidence of majority support for the August 21 boycott and token general strike, the government insisted on keeping up the pretense that nothing but a handful of "conspirators" was involved. The party Presidium tacitly identified the popular masses as its "enemy." The bureaucrats even sought to counteract the image of their assaults on the country's youth by hailing the "courage" of the "youth" among the police! (The government issued a statement August 21 declaring: "The enemy forces encountered decisive resistance of Czechoslovak state power— young people from the police and army in their first direct encounter with the enemy intervened courageously and in a brave manner brought the situation under control.")

During the demonstrations the government announced a sweeping series of police-state measures authorizing detention without trial for up to three weeks of any person who "defames" Czechoslovak leaders or leaders of other "socialist" countries, and detention for up to three months of persons accused of disobeying the police, violating law and order, or inciting others to these acts. Ironically this decree was signed by Alexander Dubcek. In choosing the course of compromise with the Stalinist bureaucrats, Dubcek committed himself to help demobilize the masses and defeat the movement for socialist democracy. When he has been squeezed dry he will be discarded in favor of more reliable instruments.

What is remarkable is that all the might of the Soviet Union and of the Czechoslovak state and military bureaucracy has been unable to intimidate and demoralize the Czech masses. This constitutes a continuing political disaster for the Kremlin and shows the potential for the development of a mass antibureaucratic movement, not only in Czechoslovakia, but in the rest of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself.

Marxism and the Kuznetsov Affair

By David Mercer

[David Mercer is one of Britain's leading playwrights and is the author of *MORGAN, A Suitable Case for Treatment*, an extremely successful film.]

* * *

The Soviet writer Kuznetsov has explained at some length, and with moving detail, his reasons for leaving his country. His account of the persecutions, the censorship and punishment of writers in the Soviet Union for what they have written is indisputably a true one. The evidence in support of it has been accumulating for nearly half a century: first under Stalin's regime; a temporary relaxation when Khrushchev was in power; then increasingly during the years since Brezhnev and Kosygin took over the Kremlin, its apparatus of power and control, and the entire wretched and vicious legacy of a deformed revolution back through the death of Lenin—ultimately to the deeper roots which lie in the long tragedy of Russian history and Czardom.

That the Bolshevik Revolution materially transformed Russia on a huge scale is equally indisputable; but the choice made by Kuznetsov, and the fate of his fellow writers who failed to conform to their bureaucratic masters, is part of a greater testimony to the political, ideological and moral disintegration of that first great victory of those who work and produce over those who own and profit: October 1917.

Kuznetsov, however, in his letter of resignation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, goes further: "After much serious reflection over many years, I have arrived at the complete rejection of Marxism-Leninism. I consider today that this doctrine is utterly obsolete, rigid and naïve. It is utterly incapable of resolving the contradictions in society today, and, what is worse, it has led, continues to lead, and threatens to go on leading to frightful social tragedies."

We are then forced to ask ourselves the question, what does Kuznetsov mean by "Marxism-Leninism"? His whole account of his reasons for finally taking the drastic step of leaving the Soviet Union rather suggests that by Marxism-Leninism he means the theory, dogma and practice which led to the mis-

eries and injustices he describes. Which is curious, when one reflects that the calculated distortions of the meaning and intention of Marx and Lenin's work commenced after the death of Lenin.

Conveniently (and one hopes unintentionally) for the West, Kuznetsov identifies the work of Stalin and his collaborators, and its terrible consequences for the Soviet people—with Marx and Lenin! He manages to imply that if *follows* from applying the theories of Marx and Lenin that there must result the kind of society which developed under Stalin. By the same kind of logic one might then have to say, for example, that because Einstein conceived his Theory of Relativity—then eventually someone would *have* to drop an atom bomb somewhere. And one would have to reply that history intervened as critically in the first case as in the second—which disproves neither Marx, Lenin or Einstein, but reminds us that dialectical change includes not only the complexities of economic laws but also the actions and decisions of men. In this sense Marxism-Leninism is neither deterministic nor absolute. Like all attempts at a scientific methodology it must follow definable empirical procedures.

Kuznetsov would be right to say that once Stalin seized and held power, he *reduced* a historical-social-economic body of theory to a sterile mythology devised and propagated to rationalise his own personal and pathological absolutism, to mystify the Soviet people and thus create ideal conditions for the operation of systematic terror; and perhaps finally to cover the discrepancy between his ruthless sense of necessity and its indefensible consequences in terms of human suffering. But Kuznetsov does not say that. He looks for his views of historical causality in those criminals Marx and Lenin, who were rotting in their graves before Stalin's servile criminals began throwing good, honest communists into *their* graves. He has nothing to say about the conditions in which the Bolshevik Revolution was torn inch by inch from its idealism—conditions of a nation exhausted by an imperialist war; poverty, hunger, destruction; a

willing but tragically depleted proletariat; civil war; intervention by the Western powers. The catalogue of threats to human idealism struggling in a bog of famine, violence and chaos is endless.

Nor does Kuznetsov have anything to say about Stalin's cynical handling of the Party after Lenin's death: the exile, humiliation and persecution of the Old Bolsheviks—and their ultimate destruction in the nineteen thirties. Nothing about Trotsky, and his savage and brilliant critique of the post-Lenin period. Nothing about the Moscow trials. In fact, all Kuznetsov has to say really is that nothing resembling a humane communism developed in the Soviet Union, and that he personally has had enough of it. No communist with intelligence and humanity can judge Kuznetsov, or condemn his personal choice of action. No one can convincingly fault his picture of life in the Soviet Union as experienced by most intellectuals and artists of conscience.

But Kuznetsov's fault lies in his analysis, and in this he innocently provides excellent political ammunition for governments and institutions everywhere who are running the lives of millions of people for the most part totally ignorant of Russian history both pre- and post-revolutionary. One more distinguished communist has chosen Western freedom—and a very real freedom it is, for precisely the people he is talking about: writers, artists, journalists, intellectuals of all kinds. Freedom to make public their work, whether as men and women who believe in and enjoy the society created by capitalism—or as people who are nauseated by it and reject it.

It is quite likely that the steelworkers at Port Talbot care as little for this freedom for these people, as do the Soviet miners of the Don basin. Are *they* free in any profound human sense? Are their conditions of life and their human possibilities determined in any real sense by *them*? The answer is no—both for those who live under Soviet "communism" and those who live under capitalism. Nor does anyone suppose any longer that the dispossessed and possessing classes, the necessity of a revolutionary party—no one imagines that these precepts alone are a necessary and sufficient condition for the liberation of men from the squalor of consumer technology or the pseudo-ideological Soviet equivalent.

But without these precepts, and their critical relation to contemporary processes of dialectical change — without their implementation by men and women who have taken the trouble to learn the lessons of history, which are there for all to know and comprehend, then there will be a simple choice between the barbarism against the human spirit which Kuznetsov knows, and the comfortable, subtle, insidious barbarism which we know. It destroys us quite painlessly, but none the less it destroys us. And we call it capitalism. And so did Marx and Lenin.

American Way of Life

IFO in Philadelphia

A Flying Object that had landed in the backyard of a vacant candy store in Philadelphia was noticed August 24.

Who found it was not reported. Perhaps some children playing in the backyard told their parents. No little men came out and it did not zoom off again as occurs with Unidentified Flying Objects.

The Flying Object had a seven-foot yellow metal case. It was marked "Property of the United States Air Force, DSC 3."

Specialists in the study of Flying Objects identified it as a Falcon heat-seeking, air-to-air guided missile.

The IFO was taken to the Army's 69th Ordnance Unit at Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, probably to the "Lost and Found" Department.

A spokesman of the army said that it would be dismantled.

Whether the U. S. Air Force had been looking for it was not revealed.

No explanation was offered as to how it happened that the missile was dropped in Philadelphia instead of a place like Vietnam where fewer American lives would have been endangered.

Nor was it explained how it happened that it did not explode. One of the reasons for dismantling the weapon may have been to find out what was faulty in the triggering mechanism.

The account did not indicate what kind of charge the weapon carried. Without doubt it was an extremely high explosive but hardly nuclear material.

ABM — Nixon's Doomsday Machine?

By Les Evans

Despite the one vote margin of approval won by the Nixon administration for its "Safeguard" (ABM) anti-missile system in the U. S. Senate August 6, important new scientific findings had already indicated that it was a doomsday machine. A study begun in October 1968 at the University of Pittsburgh under the direction of Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass, professor of radiation physics, had revealed that even "small scale" atomic fallout may produce drastic increases in infant mortality rates. This hitherto unsuspected side effect of nuclear explosions could result, according to Dr. Sternglass, in completely exterminating the human race within one generation after a nuclear exchange even if antimissile systems prevented any nuclear warheads from reaching their targets and not a single person were killed in the explosions.

Sternglass cited his evidence at length in the April 1969 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. Since then his findings have been widely discussed, and the September 1969 issue of *Esquire* magazine, published in New York, carried a special supplement by Sternglass entitled "The Death of All Children."

Atomic scientists had long been familiar with a rise in the incidents of bone cancer and leukemia following exposure to radioactive fallout. There was a noticeable increase in these diseases in Albany, New York, for example, following a nuclear test in Nevada in April 1953 in which a rainstorm deposited the fallout material in upstate New York.

Sternglass discovered that there was, in addition, a significant increase in the incidence of fetal deaths and infant mortality in the Albany area between 1954 and 1957 paralleling the increase of strontium 90 in the region. Inasmuch as adults were unaffected and the results appeared only a year after the initial fallout, Sternglass concluded that there had been genetic damage to the sensitive reproductive cells that was passed on to newborn infants.

The study then checked general statistics for infant mortality and compared these with the dates of atomic tests and the paths traveled by fallout particles.

This information was fed into a computer. A distinct pattern emerged.

In the United States as a whole there was a general decline in the rate of infant mortality from 1935 to 1950 which was also noted in most European countries. This decline leveled off sharply after 1951 when testing began at the Nevada site. Since then, it has fluctuated with the volume of atmospheric testing.

"The first actual rise in the fetal death rate," Sternglass wrote in the April issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, "occurred in 1954, when the first large hydrogen weapons were tested in the Pacific. A second rise took place in 1961, at the same time as the onset of large megaton weapons by the USSR in that year." The fetal death rate leveled off at about 23 per 1,000 live births between 1957 and 1963. In 1964 it increased sharply to 27.3 per 1,000, declining somewhat after 1966, apparently due to the atmospheric test ban concluded in 1963.

Sternglass concludes that during the 1960s, of the children in the U. S. who died before their first birthday, one out of three was probably the victim of radioactive fallout. The total figure for such fallout-caused deaths is estimated at more than 400,000.

"The computer-calculated change in infant mortality," Sternglass wrote in *Esquire*, "was found to have reached close to one excess death in the U. S. per one hundred live births due to the release of only 200 megatons of fission energy by 1963. This indicates that a release of some 20,000 megatons anywhere in the world, needed in offensive warheads for an effective first strike or in the thousands of defensive A. B. M. warheads required to insure interception, could lead to essentially no infants surviving to produce another generation."

All the figures showed a direct correlation between fallout patterns and infant mortality. In Europe, for example, and in Southern Hemisphere countries such as Chile and New Zealand, infant mortality continued to decline while it leveled off or even increased in those parts of the United States exposed to the radiation.

"Wherever the strontium 90 rose to high values over a four-year period, as in Georgia, a large, parallel, year-by-year rise in infant mortality also took place; while in areas where there was little strontium 90 in the milk, as in Texas, the infant mortality remained at a correspondingly lower value."

Much of this information might have been discovered at a much earlier date, but a key link was needed: proof that strontium 90 could cause fetal deaths as well as leukemia. In 1963 a Swedish scientist, K. G. Luning, discovered that small amounts of strontium 90, if injected into male mice shortly before mating, could cause fetal deaths among the offspring. These findings have been verified by several other scientists. This evidence was considered last May at the International Symposium on the Radiation Biology of the Fetal and Juvenile Mammal.

Critics of the Sternglass thesis pointed to the American atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, claiming that in those two blasted cities, despite a high incidence of leukemia in later years, there had been no evidence of a high incidence of infant mortality.

In the *Esquire* article, Sternglass answers this argument: "In Hiroshima and Nagasaki the bombs were detonated, not on the ground as in New Mexico, but at such an altitude that there was essentially no fallout in these two cities proper. The radiation exposure there resulted almost exclusively from the brief flash of X-rays, neutrons and gamma rays at the instant of explosion. Consequently no special effects related to strontium 90 appeared in the children of the survivors; but the rate of cancer deaths among children up to fourteen years in Japan as a whole jumped by more than two hundred percent between 1949 and 1951, four to six years after the bombs, when the fallout had had a chance to produce its effects throughout the southern parts of Japan—exactly the same delay observed after the fallout from Nevada arrived in Albany-Troy." (Emphasis added.)

Even in the United States in the last few years since the end of atmospheric testing, Sternglass estimates that 34,000 infants die every year as a result of radioactive poisoning from lingering strontium 90 (strontium 90 takes twenty-eight years to decay to half its original strength).

Sternglass's case, if proved definitively, is an unanswerable argument not only against the ABM but against any

conceivable use of nuclear weapons. Predictably, the Nixon administration has trotted out scientists on its payroll to defend the multibillion dollar project.

The *New York Times*, which had been mildly critical of the ABM, ran a story July 28 entitled, "Physicist's Theory That Fallout Killed Many Babies Is Disputed." Dr. William Bibb, speaking for the government's Atomic Energy Commission, declared:

"We are convinced that such statements as Dr. Sternglass's are potentially dangerous and unnecessarily frightening to the public. . . ."

A Dr. Frank Falkner of the Public Health Service's National Institute of Child Health and Human Development told the *Times* that "increased effects of poverty" appeared to be a likely cause of the increase in infant mortality. Dr. Falkner did not offer any explanation for the geographical coincidence between strontium 90 concentrations in particular states and the rise of infant mortality. Nor did he explain why the "effects of poverty" were felt less in underdeveloped countries such as Chile that happen to lie out of the path of nuclear fallout.

More significant than reactions from government apologists was the response from independent scientists to Dr. Sternglass's conclusions. In the same issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* that carried Sternglass's original article, a defense of the ABM system was presented by Dr. Freeman J. Dyson. Professor Dyson is a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. In his article, "A Case for Missile Defense," Dyson took the fatalistic view that nuclear war is a virtually inevitable consequence of the weapons involved and is unrelated to the political systems wielding the bombs.

(However, he was ready to defend American imperialism against its opponents, even at a horrendous cost in human lives: "The most we can expect [from an ABM "shield"] is to hold down the consequences of a nuclear war so that some tens of millions of people would be killed on each side." His hope was that this threat would act as a "deterrent" but he was prepared to pay that price if the deterrent failed.)

In the June 1969 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* Dyson commented on the Sternglass article that had appeared in April. In fact, a remarkable change had taken place in Dyson's attitude toward the ABM.

"Compared with the issues which Sternglass has raised," Dyson declared, "my arguments about missile defense are quite insignificant. Sternglass displays evidence that the effect of fallout in killing babies is about a hundred times greater than has been generally supposed.

"The evidence is not sufficient to prove that Sternglass is right. The essential point is that Sternglass may be right. The margin of uncertainty in the effects of worldwide fallout is so large that we have no justification for dismissing Sternglass's numbers as fantastic.

"If Sternglass's numbers are right, as I believe they well may be, then he has a good argument against missile defense."

The threat of nuclear annihilation of the entire human race in the aftermath of even a "limited" nuclear war is, of course, more than a "good argument" against missile "defense." It raises the imperative need for an impartial investigation of Sternglass's findings by an international body of scientists, including representatives from the Soviet Union and China.

But going beyond that technical step, the very existence of the human race cannot be guaranteed as long as the power of nuclear destruction remains in the hands of the atom-maniacs in the White House and the Pentagon. It is only in the struggle to disarm the masters of American capitalism that there is any hope of security.

Above all, the war being waged by Nixon in Vietnam must be stopped. Tens of thousands of Americans plan to march on Washington November 15 to demand that the troops be brought home now. Joining them is the best way to act against the imperialist war now in progress and against the threat of future destruction.

A Chewing Victory

In its enthusiasm over the landing on the moon and the new marketing possibilities opened up by that historic event, the Cramer Gum Co. of Boston has introduced a new brand of its product, a sphere covered with pocks like the moon. It sent several crates of this space-age gum to NASA at Houston, Texas, with a covering letter that ended: "Perhaps, as you and your associates pop one of these moonstones into your mouth, it will make the sweet taste of victory that much sweeter."

'Red Point Action' Helps the Youth

By Gisela Mandel

The revolutionary youth movement in West Germany was, as is well known, the largest one in Europe up to the May 1968 events in France. This changed the relationship of forces, and the French youth overtook the Germans almost overnight in numbers as well as in political consciousness.

This, however, does not mean that the revolutionary movement in West Germany today is to be disregarded. Despite the absence of a centralized leadership and the division into numerous tendencies, the radicalization has touched thousands of youths throughout the country, reaching even into small towns of only 10,000 inhabitants.

But there is one fundamental difference between Germany and France. In France the students played the role of a detonator, which led to a general strike, occupations of factories, and eventually to the stepping down of de Gaulle, the devaluation of the franc and — as *Le Monde* predicts — to the giving up of de Gaulle's atom bomb program.

In other words, in France the workers, poor peasants, and many intellectuals supported the revolutionary students.

But in Germany such an impact could not be made on even a part of the working class (with the exception of a few thousand young workers), although the original ideas, ideology, and strategy of the German movement were the same as in France.

This gap between the student movement and the working class in West Germany widened during the past year for three reasons:

1. The recession, which started workers thinking about the ideas of the students, came to an end; and since the beginning of 1969 we have seen the biggest boom in the history of Germany.

2. One of the Christian Democratic Union's [CDU] main points of propaganda for the September elections is against the revolutionary students and the "extraparliamentary opposition" as a whole. They are accused — as Chan-

cellor Kiesinger himself put it in June — "of provoking a civil war in Germany."

This left-wing political minority is denounced as "enemy No. 1 of the people," and Minister Strauss went as far as to say that they are "not worthy of being treated as human beings," by which he meant to suggest that "the laws for men should not be applied to them."

The Association of Jurists was forced to complain about this remark, which came across the teletype machines but which was nevertheless denied by Strauss afterwards.

3. Up until the Easter 1968 student demonstrations after the attempt on Rudi Dutschke's life, in which tens of thousands of youths went into the streets of Germany, the West German trade unions — in which the vast majority of the German working class is organized and which have a strong influence on the rank-and-file workers — were more or less neutral towards the students.

The two largest unions, the metal workers [Industrie Gewerkschaft Metall — Metal Industry Union] and the chemical workers [Industrie Gewerkschaft Chemie — Chemical Industry Union] even worked together with the students of the SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund — German Socialist Students Union] and some of the Republican Clubs in preparing the demonstrations against the emergency laws. They employed SDS students in educational work and in making up educational programs for workers.

Since the Easter demonstrations, in which some of the younger workers participated for the first time and which were extremely violent, the trade unions have turned abruptly away from the students. This left the revolutionary movement with some action committees, but basically without any strategy toward the German proletariat. The gap between both camps grew even wider.

That was the situation in which students and revolutionary youth in general found themselves in May of this year.

On June 1 the Streetcar Enterprises

of Hannover, a north German industrial city of more than half a million inhabitants, increased their fares. On June 7 some 300 students began to block the streetcars in the central part of the city. From the beginning, the students were careful not to hinder the normal flow of private cars.

At a rally in front of the opera, students and workers — including rank-and-file trade unionists — demanded that the fare increase be rescinded. For the first time, they proposed, among other things, that the working population be granted free transportation. Tens of thousands of leaflets raising this demand were distributed.

On June 9 the General Student Council [Allgemeiner Studentenausschuss — ASTA] of the Technical University of Hannover launched a general call to boycott the public transport system, appealing for a "Red Point Action."

At the same time the public transport system was totally blocked by thousands of students who sat in front of the streetcars. Several police brigades arrived with tear gas and fire trucks, but they were unable to clear the streets of demonstrators. For the first time even the older spectators shouted encouragement to the demonstrators after the students had been attacked with tear gas.

The next day the police sought to end the demonstrations. Police units were gathered from all over the state of Niedersachsen and used in a violent attack on some 1,000 students who sat in front of streetcars.

A police armored car drove into a group of demonstrators, severely injuring several youths. After this incident the number of demonstrators swelled to several thousand and the general population sided with the students against the police.

That evening the chief of police, Kiehne (a Social Democrat), issued a public statement.

"We were faced with an extraordinary situation," he said, "because a considerable number of demonstrators were not aggressive. Therefore it was very difficult for us to separate the sheep from the goats. All in all, we were not satisfied with the operation. The success hoped for by the police did not take place."

The next day 6,000 persons demonstrated in the streets of Hannover. All public transport was blocked and no police could be seen.

The minister of the interior of Niedersachsen, Lehnert (a Social Democrat), interrupted his vacation and rushed back to Hannover. Lehnert stopped the police operation, but issued a public statement denouncing "the forces who want to destroy law and order."

SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany] leader Barche and the top SPD municipal functionary Neuffer published — with municipal money — a full-page advertisement in a local paper appealing to the citizens of Hannover: "Don't let yourself be misused by agitators who say 'free public transport' and mean 'anarchy'!"

Barche and Neuffer claimed that the police had been attacked rather than the other way around.

But it was too late. The population no longer believed in these fairy tales, and even the trade-union federation [DGB — Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund—German Trade-Union Federation] had to publish a leaflet giving verbal support to the demands of the students.

In the meantime the "Red Point Action" was fully underway. High-school and college students, young workers, and apprentices blocked the streetcars. At the same time they distributed thousands of Red Points, painted on white paper, to owners of private cars. Thousands of drivers stuck these on their windshields, indicating that they were willing to take passengers on their way to work.

In addition to sharing rides, the students organized "Red Point" car pools at central parking lots in the mornings and afternoons where cars were organized to take workers to their factories and back. They even organized their own traffic police to avoid traffic jams at rush hours.

Thus the workers were driven to their jobs for nothing and usually in a much shorter time. Factories and large department stores reported that the number of employees arriving late was no higher than on ordinary days.

By the second day it was unnecessary to block the streetcars because they no longer ventured outside the depots, the excuse being that "the personnel of the public transport system and the streetcars cannot be put into danger."

The Red Point Action ran smoothly, demonstrations and rallies continued, and the Hannover Municipal Council began to get thoughtful. It opened discussions with the leadership of the local

Social Democratic party which then ran another full-page advertisement in the daily paper:

"As a general conclusion we inform you that there will be a thorough investigation of the structure of fares with the goal of a socially more just structure of fares for the Streetcar Enterprises, which should include a decrease in present fares."

The city bosses and the Social Dem-



Hannover 'Red Point' Blockade

ocratic bureaucrats expected that this vague promise would demobilize the population and allow them to continue their holidays without interruption — even if the students did not fall into the trap, the good citizens of Hannover could be expected to turn against this "small radical minority." But this did not happen.

The most militant demonstrators immediately began to expose this rotten compromise and announced that the protest actions would be continued. The short-term goal remained the immediate cancellation of the fare increase.

More and more voices, however, were raised to demand socialization of the transport system and the institution of free public transportation.

In an extraordinary city council meeting June 14, Neuffer of the SPD admitted that they had completely misgaged the reaction of the Hannover population. The following day, Sunday,

the SPD youth organization, the Young Socialists, met in Hannover, opened a discussion on the events of the previous week, and voted for full support to the students' action and for a fundamental criticism of the conduct of their own party leadership.

They appealed to the SPD leadership in the city "to put top priority on discussing the question of socialization of the public transport system."

On Monday the Streetcar Enterprises failed in an attempt to get the streetcars moving again. During the night someone had poured concrete on the rails and switches at several key points. The students were in the streets by 4 a.m. to stop those streetcars still able to move down the lines.

At noon there was a turbulent meeting of the trade-union federation. Despite attempts at manipulation by the DGB leadership, the majority of the trade-union bureaucrats were under pressure to continue at least passive support for the demonstration.

Active support, however, now came from the workers of the HANOMAG factory, a huge enterprise that makes machines and heavy trucks. These workers collected 1,600 Deutsche Marks [US\$400] and gave it to the committee leading the demonstrations.

The Young Socialists threatened not to support the Social Democratic candidates in the next city elections if the old transit fares were not immediately restored.

On June 17 the city government and the transit company capitulated and the old fares schedule was pasted up again.

Hannover became a model for similar actions in other cities. On June 15 fares were increased in Heidelberg. The next day the whole public transport system was shut down by demonstrations and a Red Point system was set up which ran smoothly. There also the fare increase had to be rescinded.

In a small, purely industrial town in the Saar region, Völklingen, a Red Point Action was completely successful, preventing a proposed increase in transit fares.

We can draw the following conclusions from these experiences:

- For the first time the revolutionary youth were able to build a bridge through their action—at least for the time being—between themselves and the West German working class.

- For the first time the revolution-

ary youth helped through action to overcome some of the general alienation existing in society by getting people to voluntarily help one another in times of emergency.

● For the first time, the revolutionary students evolved a strategy by which they could actively involve parts of the union movement and parts of the Social Democratic party, thus being

able to induce a shift to the left in these organizations.

● For the first time the revolutionary youth, through exemplary action, helped to educate the working class to the possibility and the necessity of free essential services (such as urban transportation and communication), their utilization according to need and not according to profit.

Peru

People of Ayacucho and Huanta Tell Their Story

Lima

The Peruvian military junta headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado mounted violent attacks in the last week of June against students, workers, and peasants who were protesting its policies in higher education. The repression had the effect of deepening resistance to the government's plans for the universities, and the regime was forced to retreat.

The broadest protests were directed against Supreme Decree No. 006 limiting the right to a free higher education. Opposition centered among high-school students and their parents and was supported by the Frente de Defensa del Pueblo [People's Defense Front], a union organization.

The focal point of popular resistance to the decree developed in the towns of Ayacucho and Huanta, southeast of Lima. Weeks of peaceful demonstrations were answered by a dose of police terror, and death or serious injury for many protesters.

The Frente de Defensa del Pueblo of Ayacucho issued a manifesto July 20 describing the repression:

"The climax of this violence unleashed by the repressive forces took place on June 21 and 22, after the raid [in which numerous persons were arrested], in the cities of Ayacucho and Huanta. Some nineteen persons — men, women, and children — were killed, struck down by rifle and machine-gun bullets; hundreds were wounded, and many others have disappeared. . . .

"The inhabitants of Ayacucho and Huanta continue to be victims of a state of siege, threats, and police persecution. In their anxiety to prevent the people from demanding freedom

for the prisoners, the authorities have plunged into a campaign of intimidation, making new arrests, promising new bloodbaths, blocking meetings with police detachments, and forbidding the local press to publish the declarations and notices issued by our popular organizations."

The arrests that accompanied the repression in Ayacucho and Huanta were aimed primarily at the local university and the leaders of the protesting organizations.

Among those arrested were Manuel Abarca Cervantes, the secretary of the university; René Casanova Silva Rehard, a member of the Comisión Reorganizadora [Reorganization Commission] of the university; Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, the head of the department of humanities; Enrique Moya Bendezú, the university's executive director; Ricardo Rojas Tello, a professor of the basic studies department; Jorge Velazco Pejovez, the director of the Huamán Poma Preparatory School attached to the university; Samuel Huancahuasi and Rafael Alarcón Taype of the Employees Association; the student leader José Coronel; the chairman of the Frente de Defensa del Pueblo, Máximo Cárdenas Sulca; and the poets Marcial Molina and Jorge García Blázquez.

As a pretext for its repression, the government declared that the agitation in Ayacucho and Huanta had been part of a plot to block implementation of the new agrarian reform law.

Replying to the government's charges, the political prisoners arrested in Ayacucho and Huanta declared in a letter published in the magazine *Oiga* July 18:

"Those arrested in connection with the

events which recently shocked the Department of Ayacucho and had repercussions throughout the country feel it their duty to inform public opinion about these developments so that, on the basis of a knowledge of the events and their causes, the people can judge their meaning correctly.

"This is how things happened:

"In March, Supreme Decree 006 was rejected by the people because, since it limited free education, it infringed upon their interests. The Frente de Defensa del Pueblo de Ayacucho presented a memorandum to the president appealing for revocation of this decree.

"On June 4 the high-school students in Huanta began an all-out strike for revocation of Supreme Decree 006. On June 12 the students in Ayacucho joined them. These strikes were called independently by the high-school students themselves and received, as might be expected, the subsequent support of parents and the people in general.

"On June 13, in Ayacucho, the police attacked striking high-school students—who were holding a peaceful march—with clubs, tear-gas grenades, and firearms. As a result, the student Mariano Maccerrhua was gravely wounded by a police bullet.

"The same evening, in response to this attack, the people staged a spontaneous protest march on the prefecture and demanded the repeal of Supreme Decree 006 and the immediate resignation of the prefect and the police chiefs responsible for the morning's events, as well as guarantees for the right of popular demonstrations. At the end of the march, the people moved peacefully toward the Guardia Civil [Civil Guard] headquarters to demand the release of those arrested, which the prefect had promised them. The police dispersed the people with tear-gas grenades.

"On June 14, 15, and 16, the high-school students continued their peaceful protest marches, demanding the repeal of Supreme Decree 006. In this period, the high-school students of the towns of Cangallo, Vilcashuamán, Vischongo, Huancapi, Huancasancos, Canaria, San Miguel, Tambo (all in the Department of Ayacucho), and Chincheros all joined the student movement. This support was the result of individual decisions by the high-school students themselves.

"On June 17, with a permit from the prefecture, the Frente de Defensa del Pueblo de Ayacucho and the parents'

associations held a mass meeting. This assembly demanded the repeal of Supreme Decree 006 and protested against the police repression.

"The demonstration ended in an orderly and peaceful way. . . .

"On June 20, the students continued their strike. When they staged a protest march at noon they were herded into the city marketplace by the police, who ordered the entrances to the area closed and then filled the market with tear gas, choking and panicking the people trapped there. The police entered the marketplace, beating up the students. This produced an immediate, just, and spontaneous reaction from the people. The police launched an attack against the population, including the most outlying neighborhoods of Ayacucho, which lasted for several hours.

"On June 21, from 3 p.m. on, heavily armed members of the Guardia Civil and the PIP [Policía de Investigaciones del Perú—the political police] raided private homes and the university dormitories, arresting teachers, school employees, and the leaders of the popular and student organizations. Simultaneously, in Huanta, the lawyer of the Asociación de Campesinos [Peasant Association], Dr. Mario Cavalcanti, and the chairman of the Asociación de Padres de Familia [Parents Association] were arrested. All this was carried out . . . with threats and even brutality in some cases.

"The thirty-seven persons arrested were immediately taken to Lima in handcuffs and turned over to the Seguridad del Estado [State Security]. That same night they were locked up in El Sexto prison, and left almost naked in icy cells. There they were held incommunicado without being charged and were subjected to totally inadequate and extremely harsh living conditions. Since then other persons have been arrested without anyone having any information about their whereabouts or circumstances.

"This is the true story of the events, which the peoples of Ayacucho and Huanta testify to.

"However, both the official reports and those of the press have failed to present the facts objectively and have distorted them. They have not pointed out the real cause of the events. On the contrary, they have maliciously and without foundation linked the occurrences to alleged opposition to the agrarian reform law and are trying to depict the persons arrested as ele-

ments in the service of dark reactionary interests. This version is absolutely false and completely unrelated to the truth of what happened.

"The reason the people of Ayacucho mobilized was to seek the repeal of Supreme Decree 006, to which they later added protests against the violent police repression unleashed against the high-school students and the people in general.

"The people of Ayacucho, through their organizations, such as the Frente de Defensa del Pueblo and the Asociaciones de Padres de Familia, called for the repeal of Supreme Decree 006 which was a blow to the precarious economic situation of the inhabitants of one of the poorest regions in Peru. However, the ill-fated and ill-considered repression unleashed by the police forces, and the ineptness of the prefect of the department led to the tragic turn of events in Ayacucho and Huanta.

"On June 24 Decree Law 17717 was passed, tacitly repealing Supreme Decree 006. This confirmed the justice of the demand raised in Ayacucho and demonstrated the correctness of the cause

for which the people mobilized. We repeat, this is the unvarnished truth about the events. The people of Ayacucho and Huanta testify to this before the entire nation. We base this statement on the information we received from them and on their general knowledge of the events.

"On the basis of the above, we demand our immediate release."

The statement was signed by Manuel Abarca Cervantes, the secretary of the national university in Ayacucho, along with the other prisoners.

The above version of the conflict in Ayacucho was confirmed in a statement by Professors Marco Martos and Lorenzo Huertas, representatives of the teachers association of the National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga, which was published in the *Gaceta Sanmarquina*, the newspaper of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos [UNMSM—Greater National University of San Marcos] in Lima, on July 20. Despite the flimsiness of the government's case, however, there is no report that the prisoners have been released.

Peru

Solidarity with Huanta and Ayacucho!

[The following statement of support for the victims of government repression in the towns of Huanta and Ayacucho was issued in July by imprisoned leaders of the Peruvian peasant movement.]

* * *

The political prisoners in El Frontón remind Peru and the world of the following:

Vicente Lanado Guisado (general secretary of the Paltaybamba Peasant Union): In 1962-63, in reprisal for the armed defense of the peasants' rights carried out by the Chaupimayo guerrilla group, the Remigio Huamán Brigade, the government forces staged an assault on unarmed peasants.

They robbed my home of everything that caught their eye. They imprisoned me and tortured me and did the same to my wife. They killed some of my domestic animals and stole others. The lootings were repeated on various oc-

casions as well as the jailings and tortures. My small children cry out in terror when they see a Guardia Civil [Civil Guard].

These same crimes were committed against other peasants in my union in Chaupimayo and in other unions in the La Convención region.

I was left with brain damage and impaired vision as a result of the tortures. Carmen Candia who was tortured along with me died.

Many houses were leveled. Many children were tortured along with the adults.

Simón Oviedo and many other peasants were murdered in cold blood. The bodies of the people massacred at Chaulay on Christmas day were dumped into the river (the following Christmas was also stained by another peasant massacre).

Guillermo Loardo Avendaño (from the Túpac Añaru guerrilla group): In 1965, in reprisal for our guerrilla ac-

tivities, the repressive forces attacked the defenseless peasants.

In Púcuta, they looted the homes of the inhabitants who had fled into the mountains. Then, they totally destroyed their houses, beginning the demolition with machine guns and a mortar. Finally, they set fire to the village. They killed or stole all the livestock. They destroyed the peasants' crops.

In Huancamayo, they broke down the doors of the houses and looted them. They shot Leoncio Maguiña and threw his body into the river. They held the villagers prisoner for a month, mistreating and forcing them to construct a landing field under subhuman conditions.

In Hatunhuasi they burned the houses. They looted the village, carrying away the villagers' tools and livestock. They consumed or sold the villagers' cows, sheep, pigs, chickens, etc. They sold some pack animals and kept others as war booty.

In Lihuina, they shot Emilia Estrada, and Clodomiro and Augustín Muñoz.

In Carrizal they shot six children and their parents.

In Anapate the soldiers imprisoned thirty persons, both children and adults, and mistreated them cruelly—especially one pregnant woman.

The houses of Cirilo Campos and Leonardo Ortiz were leveled. Their relatives have disappeared. Visitación Morales' home was also demolished.

Eduardo Creus Gonzáles (an Argentine revolutionary active in Peru): The revolutionists of the world feel every repression against the Peruvian people directly. We cannot remain unmoved.

Hugo Blanco Galdos (from the Remigio Huamán Brigade): The international protest, together with that of the Peruvian people, saved my life. World solidarity defeated death.

* * *

Now the repression, as fierce as ever, has been unleashed against the people of Huanta who had the courage to rise up.

We call on the Peruvian people to show their solidarity with Huanta and Ayacucho.

And we call on international organizations like the French Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of the Repression in Peru, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Amnesty International, and other such groups to also demonstrate solidarity toward the people of Huanta and Ayacucho.

We remind the revolutionists throughout the world of their duty toward the Peruvian peasants.

At this time all solidarity with Peru must take the form of support for the people of Huanta. Every moment lost may cost the loss of a life or a home.

Stop the Repression Against Huanta and Ayacucho!

Free the Prisoners in Huanta and Ayacucho!

university structure. Its basic aim is to eliminate independent schools and replace them by a *departmental system*.

"This departmental system eliminates the system of democratic government of the university, destroys its autonomy, and blocks student power. It cuts the students off from the national and social reality, lowering the level of instruction. It distorts scholarly inquiry by not orienting it toward solving the great national problems. In particular, it hinders and crushes the organization of the student movement.

"Thus, this decree-law aims at creating a silent and passive university where students have no social concerns, nor any interest in the problems of the popular masses. This type of drugged and reactionary university is the objective of the exploiting classes in this country and their master, American imperialism. . . ."

"This situation in the universities reflects the situation of our people. In the face of the poverty, exploitation, hunger, and unemployment of the broad popular masses, which is leading inevitably to the bankruptcy of the system, a group of military officers established a reformist government seeking, by means of a few concessions, to block the mobilization of the people and their struggles for their just demands—struggles which will sooner or later do away with exploitation and oppression by throwing out imperialism and its allies, the big bourgeoisie, the capitalists, and the landowners.

"It is clear that the role of the Junta Militar de Gobierno [Government Military Junta] is to salvage the major economic interests of the exploiting classes by reinforcing the present structure through a few concessions and reforms, like the agrarian reform and other measures.

"The San Marcos student movement, conscious of this reality, alerts the workers in the countryside and in the towns. It calls on all the workers' militant class organizations to mobilize together on the basis of an anti-imperialist and popular policy, *independently of the military government and relying on their own strength*. Therefore, the FUSM proposes creating a broad front of struggle, with the immediate aim of demanding a general wage increase, the immediate and free granting of the land to the peasants, and total repeal of Decree Law 17437. . . ."

Peru

Students Tell Junta to Keep Hands Off

Lima

On August 3, three days before classes resumed at the University of San Marcos, the FUSM [Federación Universitaria de San Marcos—Student Federation of San Marcos] issued a manifesto opposing the junta's Decree Law 17437, which calls for administering the universities along the lines of a capitalist enterprise.

The student declaration said:

"For more than six months the UNMSM has been run by a group of professors lacking any support from the teachers, students, or university employees. This group, called the Executive Council, has tried to impose the

reactionary system of Decree Law 17437 on the universities behind the back of the faculty council.

"The general picture our university presents for the majority of students, professors, and university employees is one of chaos and disorganization. The majority live in a climate of insecurity while those who have created this climate through the Executive Council, with their few followers, have assured themselves key posts in the administration and juicy salaries. . . ."

"The same national reality has demonstrated the reactionary content of Decree Law 17437, which, in essence, means the introduction of the American

Mexico's Most Famous Guerrilla Fighter

By Richard Garza

Zapata and the Mexican Revolution, by John Womack, Jr. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. 435 pp. \$10. 1969.

Since the Cuban Revolution, the American people have looked at Latin America with new eyes. The interest has been reflected in the number of fresh studies of this part of the world. An outstanding one is John Womack, Jr.'s *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*.

The author describes his approach when he says about his own translation of the *Plan de Ayala*, the Zapatista program: "Highfalutin words I tried to find equivalents for, rather than deflate them, because I thought they conveyed the rural writer's indignation better. After all, it is his show."

Womack further describes his book as "a story, not an analysis, of how the experience of the Morelos villagers came to pass—how their longing to lead a settled life in a familiar place developed into a violent struggle; how they managed their operations; how they behaved in control of territory and in subjection; how they finally returned to peace; and how they then fared. Zapata is most prominent in these pages not because he himself begged attention but because the villagers of Morelos put him in charge and persistently looked to him for guidance, and because other villagers around the Republic took him for their champion. Through him the country people worked their way into the Mexican Revolution. If theirs was not the only kind of revolutionary experience, it was still, I think, the most significant."

The conditions of land tenure that existed in Morelos in 1910 were similar to those that presently exist in the majority of countries of Latin America. Most of the land was held by large landowners, who were greedy to extend their holdings and who used their power and connections with the government to acquire what they wanted by trickery or force. The landowners concentrated on growing a money crop for the world market—sugar—but they kept their laborers bound under feudalistic conditions. ". . . they left the village for good and like many ex-rancheros moved their families onto the plantation grounds as gente de casa, permanent resident laborers."

The situation was ripe for rebellion and Womack describes in detail how it matured, including bits about the local peculiarities and traditions and Zapata's early career as council president for the people of his village, Anenecuilco.

The rebellion in the state of Morelos might have been suppressed in a different situation. The Diaz dictator had a wealth of experience in suppressing such rural rebellions. However, other forces in other parts of the country came into play. The Mexican Revolution was unfolding and circumstances permitted the movement in Morelos to develop while accidents kept Madero's forces from diluting it. Zapata at that time "remained only one of several revolutionary colonels" in Morelos.

Emiliano Zapata became leader of the movement through a "process of recognition by various neighborhood chiefs that there was only one man in the state they all respected enough to cooperate with, and that they had a duty to bring their followers under his authority. The one man turned out to be Zapata, who was a singularly qualified candidate—both a sharecropping dirt farmer whom villagers would trust and a mule-driving horsedealer whom cowboys, peons, and bandits would look up to; both a responsible citizen and a determined warrior. But his elevation to leadership was not automatic, and never definitive. As he himself later wrote to Alfredo Robles Domínguez, he had to be very careful with his men: for they followed him, he said, not because they were ordered to but because they felt *cariño* for him—that is, they liked him, admired him, held him in high but tender regard, were devoted to him."

The national rebellion disposed of the dictator Díaz with an ease that left the fighters unprepared for what followed. The Mexican Revolution did not develop a common program or ideology. Womack painstakingly describes the machinations of the politicians, businessmen, and professional military men under the liberal bourgeois President Madero. He also describes the feelings and reactions in Morelos after the revolutionary troops were massacred, after steps were taken to disarm the people of the fields, after federal troops invaded Morelos, and the appointment of a new governor was delayed. Zapata's chiefs almost rebelled against him because of his slowness in resorting to countermeasures. The ruthlessness of the federal troops toward the people of the fields and their villages, as well as to town-folk, reads like current accounts of U. S. pacification campaigns in Vietnam.

Zapata and his chiefs fled for their lives only to reform their ranks and fight back with greater support from a populace which was cheated of its agrarian reform and brutally treated by federal troops. "Through eastern Morelos the little war of the guerrilla started again," and late in November, 1911, Zapata convened a junta of his closest partisans in the state of Puebla. There they signed the Plan of Ayala and finally declared themselves formally in rebellion, specifying their demands. (The complete text is included in an appendix.)

Womack covers the ensuing years of struggle: the victories, setbacks, bickering, backbiting, and relations with other guerrilla chiefs in other parts of Mexico. This rich account enables us to understand the feelings and aspirations of the people in the social context of the time. We also gain a fresh basis for understanding the worldwide revolution of the people of the fields in more recent years, from Vietnam to Peru.

In the military sphere, Womack points out, the Zapatistas were vulnerable because of the difficulty of obtaining sufficient arms and ammunition to maintain an army. In other parts of Mexico, arms could be smuggled from the

U. S. or brought in by ship. Morelos, however, is landlocked in the middle of Mexico. Zapatista efforts to manufacture their own ammunition could not substitute for access to industrial centers of production. This is one of the reasons why the revolutionaries in Morelos set up a network in Mexico City, Texas, Washington, D. C., and Havana. Their agents not only tried to procure arms and support, but served as spies, political analysts, and as political representatives of the Zapatistas.

City radicals, attracted to the agrarian revolt, had placed themselves at the service of the various chieftains. Although many performed admirably for the movement, most of them ended up in lucrative government posts, as pictures in the book graphically illustrate. Their chief weakness was that they came individually to the struggle and represented no social force that could come to the aid of the agrarian fighters.

Womack sketches some of these figures in Zapata's camp: Manuel Palafox, Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama, Gildardo Magaña (who won leadership of Zapata's movement after Zapata was assassinated), and others.

Since Womack views the Mexican Revolution from the standpoint of the agrarian revolt in Morelos, his book tends to leave certain questions unclear. For example, the role of the "anarcho-syndicalist House of the World Worker, which Huerta had closed in May 1914. On being outlawed, the World Workers split. Many went underground in the capital, later to join the Carrancistas and help organize workers into Red Battalions." What role did these Red Battalions play in the struggle against the Zapatistas and their allies? Why were they under Carranza, who represented the most conservative force in the struggle against the military dictator Huerta?

Womack does not probe deeply into the reasons that prevented Zapata and Villa, distinguished standard-bearers of agrarianism and masters of guerrilla warfare, from reaching a strong agreement after their joint entry into Mexico City as conquerors. "More a force of nature than of politics," he says, "the Villista party was commotion rampant. These northern drifters could give their populism no real point. Cowboys, muleskinners, bandits, railroad laborers, peddlers, refugee peons, the Villistas had no definite class interests or local attachments." He indicates that they plundered "for fun." Villa deserves better.

As a motor force in opposition to capitalism, the agrarian revolt displayed serious limitations. The Zapatista movement continued on after Zapata's death and came to an agreement with Carranza's successor, Obregón. When Obregón was about to triumph, "a reporter asked Obregón: 'Do you believe the alliance with the South will be lasting?' The reply was a little jewel of statesmanship, a straight public answer veiling and confirming a private offer. 'I believe it is definitive,' Obregón said. 'And it will have as a consequence a multitude of benefits for that region.' On May 9, as Obregón re-entered Mexico City a conquering hero, de la O [military chieftain of Zapata's forces—R. G.] rode with him in close company. Four days later Magaña and Soto y Gama arrived in the capital too, in dark suits and hats now like proper dignitaries, to be photographed showered in their friends' confetti, dumbly gripping ceremonial bouquets. For these Zapatistas the ordeal was over. . . .

"Zapatistas were prominent in this rapidly consolidating new regime," Womack continues. "On June 2, twenty thousand



Emiliano Zapata

Agua Prieta partisans marched in review through the Zócalo, among them the forces from Morelos. And watching with the honored new leaders from a balcony of the Palacio Nacional, beside the faintly smiling Pablo González [the general who arranged Zapata's murder—R. G.], stood the squat, swarthy de la O, frowning into the sun. From an angle he looked almost like Zapata, dead now for over a year. (If de la O had been killed and Zapata had lived, Zapata would probably have been there in his place, with the same uncomfortable frown, persuaded by Magaña to join the boom for Obregón but probably worrying, as Magaña was not, about when he might have to revolt again.) . . .

"So ended the year 1920, in peace, with populist agrarian reform instituted as a national policy, and with the Zapatista

movement established in Morelos politics. . . . In return the local people were staunchly loyal to the federal government. When in December 1923 a revolt to make de la Huerta president broke out in several states, the country folk of Morelos kept their state quiet. . . . Probably not since the War of Intervention sixty years before had the allegiance of the pueblos to the national authorities been so immediate and so firm.

"By 1927 statistics indicated that Morelos had changed more from agrarian programs than any other state. . . . some 16,800 ejidatarios [members of cooperatives—R. G.] had taken definitive possession of over 307,000 acres . . . Provisionally at least 80 per cent of the state's farming families now held fields of their own, which altogether amounted to around 75 per cent of the arable land."

On the surface it would appear that the contention of the leaders of the Russian Revolution that only the working class is capable of resolving the agrarian question in the twentieth century was refuted. Womack, however, does not end his story here. "By 1943 Anenecuilco was in desperate straits. The villagers' misery shocked a young historian. . . ." They were "in debt, helpless, having just lost the fields they expected their next harvest from. . . ."

"Four days before Christmas 1947, the Cuautal police came down to Anenecuilco and assaulted Franco's house. [Franco had succeeded Zapata as council president of the

village—R. G.] Breaking in, they demanded the village documents and tried to kill the old man. He and his family fought back, and the police fled. That night national troops arrived and opened fire. They killed Franco's two sons, Julián, 22, and Vírufo, 17. Wounded, the old man tried to escape, but the soldiers caught him and finished him off in a nearby ravine. They never found the documents. . . .

"Between 1946 and 1958 only three strikes formally occurred in Morelos, involving only ninety-four workers. True, corruption persisted at many levels of state and municipal government. So did the habit of official violence—which led in 1962 to the assassination of a popular ejidatario chief from Tlaquiltenango, Rubén Jaramillo, his wife, and three stepsons. . . .

"Still Anenecuilco languished. . . . So pressing was the demand of the pueblo on the supply of land that the average ejidal holding shrank to around five acres, on which plot alone no family could make a living. . . . The scourge was now the Ejidal Bank. . . . Ruling from Zacatepec, its officials. . . . would finance only the culture of cane and rice, the first paying an average ejidatario around 450 pesos a year, the second paying at best around 525—between ten and twelve cents a day. . . . By the late 1950's the pueblo owed altogether around 200,000 pesos, one ejidatario alone owing 23,000. In effect the villagers became the bank's employees, or peons."

Vietnam

'My Men Refused to Go'

"I am sorry, sir, but my men refused to go—we cannot move out." This short statement by a young company commander in Vietnam told volumes about the morale of Nixon's conscript army in Vietnam.

The "mutiny" that broke out in Songchang Valley August 24 lasted only an hour. But the press in the U. S. is still reverberating. James Reston, for example, now a vice-president of the *New York Times*, devoted his August 27 column to the rebellion of Company A.

President Nixon, Reston said, "has been worried about the revolt of the voters against the war, and even about a revolt of the generals if he humiliates them by pulling out too fast, but now he also has to consider the possibility of a revolt of the men if he risks their lives in a war he has decided to bring to a close."

Reston's conclusion that Nixon has decided to end the war in Vietnam is untrue. The reality is that Nixon has sought to buy time since he took office. Moreover, he has sought it at bargain rates. That is the meaning of his diplo-

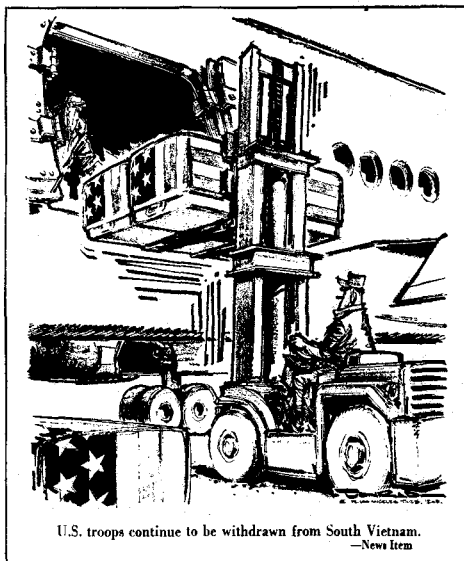
matic "peace" maneuvers and token troop "withdrawals." Nevertheless, Reston is correct in his prognosis that by raising hopes of an imminent end to the war Nixon is fostering explosive expectations not only among the general population but among the U. S. troops in Vietnam.

In trying to diminish the impact of the action of the men of Company A, the press has suggested that such temporary refusals to fight are commonplace in Vietnam.

This is an astounding admission. Rather than reducing the importance of the incident, it shows that it was not a fluke, or accidental, but a consequence of the very logic of the war itself.

Reston voiced a sharp warning to the White House on the consequences of this mood among the soldiers: "The breaking point comes in politics as it came to Company A and it is not far off."

Reston said that Nixon planned to announce another token troop withdrawal "just before the start of the new school year" aimed at undercutting antiwar sentiment among American youth. Other papers have said more explicitly that Nixon hopes in this way to weaken the massive antiwar mobilization scheduled in Washington November 15. Those who really support the men of Company A will be in Washington November 15, shouting: "Bring the GIs home now!"



U.S. troops continue to be withdrawn from South Vietnam.
—News Item

Conrad in the *Los Angeles Times*

On the Eve of World War II

By Leon Trotsky

[The following interview, published here for the first time, was granted by Leon Trotsky to a group headed by the late Professor Hubert Herring, the "Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America," in Coyoacan, Mexico, July 23, 1939. Professor Herring, an expert on Latin America, later became recognized for his book *A History of Latin America*.

[Trotsky spoke in English, and the interview was taken down in shorthand by one of his secretaries, who later made a transcript that was presented to the group.

[The secretary evidently transcribed Trotsky's remarks without attempting to rectify his English, thus preserving some awkward choices in words and sentence structure. We have left these as they stand in the original, but have corrected some typographical errors in the copy of the transcript that came into our possession. We have added a few clarifications, placing them within brackets.]

* * *

I welcome you, ladies and gentlemen, to our house, and I thank you very much for your visit, and I will try to answer your questions as well as I can. My English is as bad this year as it was a year ago. I promised Mr. Herring two years ago to improve my English on the condition that the people in Washington give me a visa for the United States, but it seems that they are not interested in my English.

Permit me to answer your questions sitting. There are eleven or twelve very important questions. They cover almost the whole world situation. It is not easy to answer them clearly, because they concern the activities of all the governments, and I don't believe that the governments themselves see very clearly what they want, especially at this time, when we have a situation of a world impasse. The capitalistic system is in a state of impasse. From my side, I do not see any normal, legal, peaceful outcome from this impasse. The outcome can only be created by a tremendous historic explosion. Historic explosions are of two kinds—wars and revolutions. I believe we will have both. The programs of the present governments, the good ones as well as the bad ones—if we suppose that there are good governments also—the programs of different parties, pacifist programs and reformist programs, seem now, at least to a man who observes them from the side, as child's play on the sloping side of a volcano before an eruption. This is the general picture of the world today.

You created a World's Fair. I can judge it only from the outside for the same reason for which my English is so bad, but from what I have learned about the Fair from the papers, it is a tremendous human creation from the point of view of the "World of Tomorrow." I believe this characterization is a bit one-sided. Only from a technical point of view can your World's Fair be named "World of Tomorrow," because if you wish to consider the real world of tomorrow we should see a hundred military airplanes over the World's Fair, with bombs, some hundreds of bombs, and the result

of this activity would be the world of tomorrow. This grandiose human creative power from one side, and this terrible backwardness in the field which is the most important for us, the social field—technical genius, and, permit me the word, social idiocy—this is the world of today.

Question: How do you estimate the real military strength of Soviet Russia today?

Answer: The military strength of Soviet Russia, better to say the military status of Soviet Russia, is contradictory. On one side we have a population of 170,000,000 awakened by the greatest revolution in history, with fresh energy, with great dynamics, with a more or less developed war industry. On the other side we have a political regime paralyzing all of the forces of the new society. What would be the balance of these contradictory forces I cannot foretell. I believe nobody can foretell, because there are moral factors which can be measured only by the events themselves. One thing I am sure: the political regime will not survive the war. The social regime, which is the nationalized property of production, is incomparably more powerful than the political regime, which has a despotic character. The new forms of property are of tremendous importance from the point of view of historic progress. The inner life of the Soviet Union, as the inner life of the army of the Soviet Union, is characterized by the contradictions between the political regime and the necessity for the development of the new society, economic, cultural, etc. Every social contradiction takes its sharpest form in the army, because the army is the armed power of society. The representatives of the political regime, or the bureaucracy, are afraid of the prospect of a war, because they know better than we that they will not survive a war as a regime.

Q: What was the real reason for the execution of Tukhachevsky and the generals?

A: This question is connected with the first. The new society has its methods of social crystallization, or selection of different human beings for different functions. They have a new selection for the economics, a selection for the army and navy, a selection also for the power [administration], and these selections are very different. The bureaucracy became during the last ten years a tremendous brake on the Soviet society. It is a parasitic caste which is interested in their power, in their privileges, and in their incomes, and they subordinate all other questions today to their material interests as a caste. On the other side [hand], the creative functions of the society, economic, cultural, the army and navy—which is also in a certain sense a creative function—have their own selection of individuals, of inventors, of administrators, etc., and we see in every branch, in every section of social life, that one selection is directed against the other.

The army needs capable, honest men, just as the economists and scientists, independent men with open minds. Every man and woman with an independent mind comes

into conflict with the bureaucracy, and the bureaucracy must decapitate the one section for [at the expense of] the other in order to preserve themselves. This is the obvious historical explanation of the dramatic Moscow trials, the famous frame-ups, etc. The American press is more interested [for its side of the happenings [i.e., is more interested in certain aspects it can turn to account], but we can give them a more objective, scientific, social explanation. It was a clash between two kinds of selections in different strata of society. A man who is a good general, like Tukhachevsky, needs independent aides, other generals around him, and he appreciates every man according to his intrinsic value. The bureaucracy needs docile people, byzantine people, slaves, and these two types come into conflict in every state. In view of the fact that the bureaucracy has in hand [holds] all of the power, it is the heads of the army that fall, and not the heads of the bureaucracy.

Q: How do you explain the dropping of Litvinov as Minister of Foreign Affairs?

A: On general lines it is explained by the considerations I developed some minutes ago. Personally Litvinov was a capable man—is a capable man. He is not an independent political figure; he never was. But he is intelligent; he knows several different languages; he has visited several different countries; he knows Europe very well. Because of his travels, his knowledge of different countries, he troubles and embarrasses the Politbureau, which is the creation of Stalin. In the bureaucracy nobody knows foreign languages, nobody has lived in Europe, and nobody knows foreign politics. When Litvinov presented his views to the Politbureau they felt a bit unpleasant [annoyed]. This is one individual reason more for his being dropped, but I believe it was also a hint from the Kremlin to Hitler that we are ready to change our politics, to realize our objective, our aim, that we presented to you and Hitler some years ago, because the objective of Stalin in international politics is a settlement with Hitler.

We had a very interesting article by Krivitsky in the *Saturday Evening Post*. He observed these proceedings from a special point of view—his own. He was in the military espionage service, and he had very delicate missions from Moscow. What he says is very interesting as a confirmation of a general point of view which we expressed many times before this revelation. The Moscow bureaucracy do not wish war. They are afraid of a war because they will not survive. They wish peace at any price. The country which is now threatening the Soviet Union is Germany, and her allies, Italy and Japan. An agreement with Hitler signifies no war. An alliance with Chamberlain signifies military help during the war, but no more, because the hopes that an alliance between England, France, and the Soviet Union would avoid a war are childish. You remember that Europe was divided in two camps before the Great War, and those two camps produced the war. Then Woodrow Wilson proposed the League of Nations, with the argument that only collective security can avoid wars. Now after the collapse of the League of Nations they begin to say that the division of Europe in two camps, by the creation of an alliance between England, France, and Russia, will avoid a war. It is childish. It can signify only mutual help during the war. It is a repetition of the whole experience of twenty-five years ago on a new historic scale. It is better to have an alliance if war

is inevitable, but the Kremlin wishes to avoid the war. It can be reached only by an agreement with Hitler. The whole policy of the Kremlin is directed to an agreement with Hitler. Stalin says that if you don't wish to come to an agreement with me, then I will be forced to conclude an agreement with England.

Q: What vitality has the stop-Hitler bloc? What course will Soviet Russia take in making an alliance with Britain and France? Do you consider it likely that Stalin may come to an understanding with Hitler?

A: It depends not from [on] Stalin, but from [on] Hitler. Stalin has proclaimed that he is ready to conclude an agreement with Hitler. Hitler until the last time [i.e., up to now] rejected his proposition. Possibly he will accept it. Hitler wishes to create for Germany a world-dominating position. The rational [rationalizing] formulas are only a mask, as for the French, British, and American empires democracy is only a mask. The real interest for Britain is India; for Germany, to seize India; for France, it is to not lose the colonies; for Italy, to seize new colonies. The colonies do not have democracy. If Great Britain, for example, fights for democracy, it would do well to start by giving India democracy. The very democratic English people do not give them democracy because they can exploit India only by dictatorial means. Germany wishes to crush France and Great Britain. Moscow is absolutely ready to give Hitler a free hand, because they know very well that if he is engaged in this destruction Russia will be free for years from attacks from Germany. I am sure they would furnish raw materials to Germany during the war under the condition that Russia stand aside. Stalin does not wish a military alliance with Hitler, but an agreement to remain neutral in the war. But Hitler is afraid the Soviet Union can become powerful enough to conquer, in one way or another, Rumania, Poland, and the Balkan states, during the time Germany would be engaged in a world war, and so approach directly the German frontier. That is why Hitler wished to have a preventive war with the Soviet Union, to crush the Soviet Union, and after that begin his war for world domination. Between these two possibilities, two variants, the Germans vacillate. What will be the final decision, I cannot foretell. I am not sure if Hitler himself knows today. Stalin does not know, because he hesitates and continues the discussions with Britain, and at the same time concludes economic and commercial agreements with Germany. He has, as the Germans say, two irons in the fire.

Q: How do you interpret the underlying purposes of the Chamberlain government?

A: I believe the underlying factors are panic and headlessness. It is not an individual characteristic of Mr. Chamberlain. I do not believe he has any worse head than any other person, but the situation of Great Britain is very difficult, the same as that of France. England was a leading world power in the past—in the nineteenth century—but no more. But she has the greatest world empire. France, with her stagnating population and more or less backward economic structure, has a second colonial empire. This is the situation. It is very difficult to be inventive as a British Prime Minister in this situation. Only the old formula of "wait and see." This was good when Great Britain was the strongest power in the world and they had enough power to reach their aims. No more now. The war can only crush and disrupt the British empire and the French empire. They can gain

nothing by the war—only lose. That is why Mr. Chamberlain was so friendly to Hitler during the Munich period. He believed that the question was about central Europe and the Danube, but now he understands that it is the question of world domination. Great Britain and France cannot avoid a war, and now they do everything they can in a feverish tempo to avoid the war threatened by the situation created by the rearmament of Germany. That war is inevitable.

Q: How do you analyze the movements in France? Is French nationalism strong enough to offset the unity of capitalistic interests between France and Germany?

A: I believe that every capitalistic government at the beginning of the war will have the tremendous majority of the people behind it. But I believe also that not one of the existing governments will have its own people behind it at the end of the war. This is why they are all afraid of the war which they cannot escape.

Q: Do you still believe that a socialist revolution in a single country is impossible without world participation?

A: I believe there is some misunderstanding in the formulation of this question. I never affirmed that a socialist revolution is impossible in a single country. We had a socialist revolution in the Soviet Union. I participated in it. The socialist revolution signifies the seizure of power by a revolutionary class, by the proletariat. Of course it cannot be accomplished simultaneously in all countries. Some historic time is given for every country by its conditions. A socialist revolution is not only possible but inevitable in every country. What I affirm is that it is impossible to construct a socialistic society in the environment of a capitalistic world. It is a different question, absolutely different.

Q: Does not the great economic progress made by the Soviet Union in the last five years demonstrate the practicability of building a socialistic state in a capitalistic world?

A: I would prefer to read it "of building a socialistic society," not a socialistic state, because the conquest of power by the proletariat signifies the creation of the socialistic state. The socialistic state is only instrumental for the creation of the socialistic society, because the socialistic society signifies the abolition of the state as a very barbaric instrument. Every state is a barbaric survival. The question signifies if the economic progress during the last five years does not prove the possibility of building a socialistic society in a capitalistic world.

Not in my mind, I do not believe, because the economic progress is not identical with socialism. America, [the] United States, had in its history more grandiose economic progress on a capitalistic basis. Socialism signifies the progressive equality and the progressive abolition of the state. The state is an instrument of submission. Equality involves abolition of the state. During the five years, parallel with the indisputable economic progress we had in the Soviet Union a terrible growth of inequality, and a terrible reinforcement of the state. What do the Moscow trials signify from the point of view of equality and abolition of the state? I doubt if there exists now any man who believes there was justice in these trials. We had in Moscow a purge, during the last few years, of a hundred thousand people, the extermination of the old guard of the Bolshevik party, generals, the best officers, the best diplomats, etc. The state is not abolished. The state exists, and what is the state? It is the subjugation of the populace to the state machine, to the new power, the new



Leon Trotsky

caste, the new leader—the bureaucracy is a new privileged caste. It is not socialism and this caste is not withering. They refuse to die. They prefer to kill others. Even the best elements of the army, the instrument of their own defense.

I do not say that there must be established immediately an absolute equality. That is not possible. But the general tendency should be from the base bourgeois inequality towards equality, but we now have an absolutely opposite tendency. If you will establish statistical diagrams, it will prove that the highest stratum of the Soviet society is living as [like] the highest bourgeoisie in America and Europe, the middle class as [like] the middle bourgeoisie, and the workers worse than in a large country such as the United States. From the economic point of view the revolution signifies for Russia a progress. Yes, it is absolutely indisputable. But it is not socialism. It is very far from socialism. It becomes now further and further from socialism.

Q: What is your analysis of the situation in Japan? Will Japan force Britain into a war in order to save her own face?

A: I do not believe that Britain will be surprised in a war with Japan, but Britain cannot avoid a war, and when the war begins Japan will of course use the European situation for her own purposes. Britain will have a war with Japan. It is not a question of saving face, but of saving lives.

Q: If Germany seizes Danzig, what will Chamberlain do?

A: If Germany seizes Danzig within the next month, it signifies that Germany wants a war, because Germany knows the situation. If Germany wishes war, a war there will be. If Germany feels she is strong enough, she will provoke a war, and Chamberlain will enter the war.

Q: What is your judgment as to the probable course of events in Spain?

A: I believe that the Spanish problem is only a small part of the European problem. Until the defeat it was a great problem. If the Spanish bourgeois republicans, with their Socialist allies, with their Communist allies, or with their Anarchist allies, did not succeed [had not succeeded] in stifling the Spanish revolution—because it was not the victory of Franco, it was the defeat of the People's Front—then they could hope that the victory of the Spanish proletariat could provoke a great revolutionary movement in France, and we observed the beginning of it in June, 1936, in the sit-down strikes in France, and in this condition Europe could avoid a war, but Moscow succeeded in killing

the Spanish revolution and to help Franco in his victory. It signifies now that Spain ceases to be an independent factor. Of course, in the Socialist press of Mr. Norman Thomas, and in the even less intelligent press of Mr. Browder, you can find they observe that Franco will not dominate Spain, that he will fall down. It was almost the same as the victory of Hitler in June, 1933. At that time, as now, I am [was] of the opposite opinion. The strength of Franco is not in Franco himself, but in the complete bankruptcies of the Second and Third Internationals, in the leadership of the Spanish revolution.

For the workers and peasants of Spain the defeat is not only a military accident, but it is a tremendous historic tragedy. It is the breakdown of their organizations, of their historic ideal, of their trade unions, of their happiness, all of their hopes that they have cultivated for decades, even for centuries. Can a reasonable human being imagine that this class, during one, two, or three years, can create new organizations, a new militant mind [spirit] and overcome, in this form, Franco? I do not believe it. Spain is now, more than all [other] countries, remote from revolution. Of course, if the war begins, and I am sure that it will begin, the tempo of the revolutionary movement would be accelerated in all countries. We will have a war. We had the experience in the last world war. Now all nations are poorer. The means of destruction are incomparably more effective. The old generation has the old experience in their blood. The new generation will learn from experience and from the older generation. I am sure that a consequence of a new war would be revolution, and in this case Spain would also be involved in the revolution, not on their own initiative, but on the initiative of others.

Q: What would be your advice to the United States as to its course in international affairs?

A: I must say that I do not feel competent to give advice to the Washington government because of the same political reason for which the Washington government finds it is not necessary to give me a visa. We are in a different social position from the Washington government. I could give advice to a government which had the same objectives as my own, not to a capitalistic government, and the government of the United States, in spite of the New Deal, is, in my opinion, an imperialistic and capitalistic government. I can only say what a revolutionary government should do—a genuine workers government in the United States. I believe the first thing would be to expropriate the sixty families. It would be a very good measure, not only from the national point of view, but from the point of view of settling world affairs—it would be a good example to the other nations. To nationalize the banks; to give, by radical social measures, work to the ten or twelve millions unemployed; to give material aid to the farmers to facilitate free cultivation. I believe that it would signify the rise of the national income of the United States from \$67 billions to \$200 or \$300 billions a year in the next years, because the following years we cannot foresee the tremendous rise of the material power of this powerful nation, and of course such a nation

could be the genuine dictator of the world, but a very good one, and I am sure that in this case the fascist countries of Hitler and Mussolini, and all their poor and miserable people would, in the last analysis, disappear from the historic scene if the United States, as the economic power, would find the political power to reorganize their present very sick economic structure.

I do not see any other outcome, any other solution. We have, during the last six or seven years, observed the New Deal politics. The New Deal provoked great hopes. I didn't share their hopes. I had, here in Mexico, a visit from some conservative senators, two years ago, and they asked me if we were still in favor of surgical revolutionary measures. I answered, I don't see any others but if the New Deal succeeds I am ready to abandon my revolutionary conception in favor of the New Deal conceptions. It did not succeed, and I dare to affirm that if Mr. Roosevelt were elected for the third term the New Deal would not succeed in the third term. But this powerful economic body of the United States, the most powerful in the world, is in a state of decomposition. Nobody has indicated means how to stop this decomposition. A whole new structure must be made, and it cannot be realized as long as you have the sixty families. This is why I began with the advice to expropriate them.

Two years ago, when your Congress passed the neutrality laws, I had a discussion with some American politicians, and I expressed my astonishment about the fact that the most powerful nation in the world, with such creative power and technical genius, does not understand the world situation—that it is their wish to separate themselves from the world by a scrap of paper of the law of neutrality. If American capitalism survives, and it will survive for some time, we will have in the United States the most powerful imperialism and militarism in the world. We already see the beginning now. Of course, this armament is, as a fact, creating a new situation. Armaments are also an enterprise. To stop the armaments now without a war would cause the greatest social crisis in the world—ten millions of unemployed. The crisis would be enough to provoke a revolution, and the fear of this revolution is also a reason to continue the armaments, and the armaments become an independent factor of history. It is necessary to utilize them. Your ruling class had the slogan "Open Door to China," but what signifies it—only by battleships, in hope of preserving the freedom of the Pacific Ocean by a tremendous fleet. I don't see any other means of [defeating?] capitalistic Japan. Who is capable of doing this but the most powerful nation in the world? America will say we don't wish a German peace. Japan is supported by German arms. We do not wish an Italian, German, Japanese peace. We will impose our American peace because we are stronger. It signifies an explosion of American militarism and imperialism.

This is the dilemma, socialism or imperialism. Democracy does not answer this question. This is the advice I would give to the American government.

The Call for the August 21 Demonstrations

[The leaflet that called for the August 21 demonstrations in Czechoslovakia has been widely quoted by Western news sources. So far as we know, the complete text was published only by the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* (July 21). The version below has been translated from this source by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Dear Fellow Citizens!

The unhappy anniversary of the humiliating occupation of our dear homeland by soldiers of so-called friends is drawing near. The quislings headed by Husák, Indra, Bilák, Kolder, and similar traitors are trying to make fools of the Czech and Slovak peoples and legitimize the occupation and unjustified invasion carried out on August 21 by "our friends."

Our peoples will not forget the sacrifices of our beloved sons Jan Palach and Jan Zajíc. Their self-sacrifice must not be in vain.

Dear friends, Husák and his people seized the reins of government to achieve what the August 21 occupation failed to accomplish. Fourteen million of our citizens turned their backs on them in profound contempt. The history of the world has shown that treachery does not go without retribution.

On the anniversary of the occupation, we must remind the world of the shameful deed the Soviet Union committed against us. We cannot fight arms in hand. Let us combat the Moscovite rulers and Husák's dealings with our hatred and boundless contempt.

We do not call for a general strike. The traitor clique would use this as a pretext for further assaults and restrictions on our freedom. There are other ways we can make the world aware of the fact that we are continuing the struggle for a humanitarian socialism.

We have agreed on a few rules whose observance can demonstrate clearly enough to the world that we have not forgotten the day of shame and that we will never acquiesce in such an invasion. It is the duty of every faithful

citizen of our nation to observe the following rules on August 21:

- Use no form of transportation (except for workers who cannot get to their jobs any other way). The sick and the elderly must avoid traveling on this day.

- Do not attend any movie or play. This will make it possible for actors to avoid making an appearance.

- Make no purchases. Lay in the necessary provisions beforehand.

- Decorate the graves of all the victims of the shameful occupation insofar as possible.

- Buy no newspapers or periodicals.

- Avoid restaurants and cafés. The cabarets must be empty in order to make

it possible for the bands to avoid playing cheerful music.

- Decorate the monuments to all the victorious revolutions in our history.

- At 12 noon shut off all machines on the job—for five minutes think of the victims of the occupation and the new terror.

- During this time, private and all other vehicles must stop and turn on their headlights.

- Insofar as possible inform all acquaintances and friends abroad of our action and appeal to them to propagandize for similar actions throughout the world. The UN must be called upon to declare August 21 a "Day of Shame."

In order to promote the success of this action, all people must be informed of these rules. The censorship makes it impossible to do this through the communications media. Therefore, each one of us has the duty to transmit these rules to at least five good friends. They will not fail us any more than they disappointed us in the August days.

All together for the victory of the workers and students.

Dr. Kriegel's Speech

'Why I Refused to Sign'

[Dr. Frantisek Kriegel, one of the liberal members of the Dubcek party presidium, was expelled from the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party at its May 30 plenum. His speech defending himself against the expulsion resolution is reported circulating clandestinely in the Czech underground. The following version was printed by the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* on July 21. The translation from the German is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

A motion has been put before the Central Committee calling for the expulsion of some comrades from the CC plenum. I also am included, among others, on the ground that I voted against the treaty on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of our republic. By this I am supposed to have violated party discipline.

I would like to draw the CC's attention to the fact that so far no one has been expelled from its ranks who

bears a direct or indirect responsibility for innocent people suffering horrible deaths at the hands of hangmen, for thousands of persons being sentenced to long years in prison on the basis of frame-ups involving torture and extorted confessions and for many people having to finish out their lives in prison without ever once glimpsing the light of freedom.

So far no member of the CC responsible for the interminable economic crisis that has brought us to the present situation has been condemned. . . . Who bears the responsibility for the present unhappy situation?

It is no secret that a number of CC members are sitting in this hall who held responsible, leading positions over all these years and who cannot evade responsibility or at least coresponsibility for everything that our public opinion so severely condemns. I listened with interest yesterday to Comrade Krajcir [the present Czech ambassador to East Germany] and wondered at his short memory.

Behind the scenes in the Central Committee people are talking about the critical situation of our economy. Doesn't it occur to Comrade Krajcir that he was a minister for years and even a deputy premier, and that he has been a member of the Central Committee for years and therefore bears full responsibility for the crisis? Here also sit Comrades Hendrych, Simunek, Lenárt, and many other former high functionaries who ran this country for years. Don't they bear any responsibility for the present state of things?

For years Comrade Hendrych was the second man, and often by virtue of his activity and influence in practice even the first man in this republic. Is he without responsibility?

On the other hand, severe sanctions are being proposed against an open position on the treaty on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops. It is known that I refused to sign the so-called Moscow protocol. I refused because I saw it as a document which bound our republic in every respect. I refused because the signing took place in an atmosphere of military occupation of our republic, without consultation with the constitutional bodies, and in contradiction to the feelings of the people of this country.

When subsequently this agreement [on the stationing of Soviet troops] was presented to the National Assembly for ratification I voted against it, that is, against a treaty that stands in contradiction to the precepts of the UN Charter and the principles of the Warsaw Pact. The document lacks the legal prerequisites for a treaty, that is, free will on the part of one of the contracting parties.

It was signed in an atmosphere of military-political pressure under conditions contrary to the basis of coexistence among socialist states as well as the principles stated in international documents. It was signed in the shadow of hundreds of thousands of foreign soldiers and powerful weapons. This treaty was not signed with a pen but with machine-gun fire.

No one can deny that the military invasion of Czechoslovakia severely damaged the international Communist movement in the eyes of public opinion throughout the world and was a demonstration of Socialist countries' inability to solve their differences in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. . . .

The occupation of Czechoslovakia unquestionably weakened the tendency for

NATO to break up and strengthened the influence of the USA.

What is involved then is not only a Czechoslovak affair—that is, it is primarily a Czechoslovak affair but at the same time it involves the basis and the problems of the right of one or more countries to use force against



Gustav Husak

weaker nations, and it is here precisely that the significance of the August days goes beyond the confines of Czechoslovakia.

Regarding the motion for my expulsion from the Central Committee, I will say the following: I consider it unjustified. The transparently false argu-

Greece

Mangakis: "Tortured Inhumanly"

The following appeal was issued by the All-Greek Antidictatorial Union of Rhein-Wupper and Leverkusen in West Germany August 11:

"Tell the whole world that they have tortured me inhumanly since last night!"

"The Athens law professor George Mangakis shouted these words to his wife as he came out of the 'torture center' of the ESA [Ellenike Stratiotike Astynomia—Greek Military Police] in Athens-Nea Ionia to be taken away by jeep to an unknown destination. His wife had waited at the door in the hope

in support of the motion are aimed at something bigger. It is well known that despite many pledges to apply the post-January policy, the development in the last months and weeks has given rise to fears and doubt. A whole series of decisions in the lower party bodies—such as the shake-up in the apparatus and a severe purge in various institutions—represent a regression much further back than January 1968. What is involved is a process of restoration on a broad scale and the legitimization of August 1968.

Only practice can win over and convince the public—party members as well as nonparty members. In the meantime—and I hope this is no secret to the leading party functionaries—the negative judgment of the party made by the population, party members as well as nonparty people, is becoming stronger and stronger. At an ever increasing rate, the party is becoming isolated from the masses, and is becoming transformed from the moral and political leading force into a mere machine.

Insofar as my party discipline is in question, comrades, I have demonstrated it for more than thirty-eight years by my membership in the party and for more than forty years by my activity in the Communist movement under very difficult historical conditions and in very difficult personal circumstances. . . .

I have explained the basis for my point of view so that there would be no reason for any more of the errors for which hands have already been raised in this hall several times. In this regard, the history of the past two decades is rich in warning and tragic experiences.

that she could see him. She and the others who waited with her could see the signs of the torture inflicted on the professor. . . .

"We appeal to the entire world to save Professor Mangakis and all the political prisoners in Greece."

On August 14 Mrs. Mangakis was arrested on a charge of slander for saying that her husband had been tortured by the military police. Under the penal code enforced by the Greek colonels, she faces a possible maximum sentence of five years in prison.

'Yanks Go Home!' Welcome for Rogers

Wellington

U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers was confronted by antiwar demonstrators in three cities during his visit to New Zealand August 9 and 10. Despite bad weather and university holidays throughout the country, some 250 demonstrators assembled outside the Intercontinental Hotel in Auckland August 9. Many carried placards demanding the withdrawal of U.S. and

New Zealand troops from Vietnam. Some demonstrators threw flour and paint at the cars of dignitaries arriving for a state dinner in Rogers' honor. Eleven persons were arrested.

On the same day some 300 students attended a rally at the university here in Wellington. They later marched to parliament where they were joined by another eighty demonstrators.

In Christchurch, 300 attended a pro-

test rally August 10. They were attacked by about twenty swastika-wearing members of a motorcycle gang, but members of the Seamen's Union defended the rally and drove off the attackers. Demonstrators carried banners protesting the visit of Secretary of State Rogers and demanding, "Yanks Go Home." There are about 550 New Zealand troops in Vietnam.

The antiwar movement here is discussing plans for further demonstrations on November 15 in solidarity with the demonstrations to be held in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on that date.

IN THIS ISSUE

PAGE

The Devaluation of the French Franc—by Ernest Mandel	772
Marxism and the Kuznetsov Affair—by David Mercer	775
American Way of Life: IFO in Philadelphia	776
ABM—Nixon's Doomsday Machine?—by Les Evans	776
A Chewing Victory	777
On the Eve of World War II—by Leon Trotsky	786
Northern Ireland	
On the Barricades in the Ghettos—by Gerry Foley	770
Czechoslovakia	
A Turbulent Anniversary	774
West Germany	
'Red Point Action' Helps the Youth—by Gisela Mandel	778
Peru	
People of Ayacucho and Huanta Tell Their Story	780
Solidarity with Huanta and Ayacucho!	781
Students Tell Junta to Keep Hands Off	782
Books	
Mexico's Most Famous Guerrilla Fighter—by Richard Garza	783
Vietnam	
'My Men Refused to Go'	785
Documents	
The Call for the August 21 Prague Demonstration	790
Dr. Kriegel's Speech: 'Why I Refused to Sign'	790
Greece	
Mangakis: 'Tortured Inhumanly'	791
New Zealand	
'Yanks Go Home!' Welcome for Rogers	792