

A Roar of Protest

America Speaks Out: 'Bring GIs Home Now!'

General Grigorenko
on Ivan Yakhimovich

Brazil:
Campus Rebellion and Class Struggle

Germany:
An Election Like Any Other

Peru's Bonapartist Junta
Anniversary of Tlatelolco Massacre
Aucklanders Protest Police Brutality

Yugoslavia:
Outspoken
Student Movement



HUMPHREY FOR NIXON'S WAR. Johnson's boy, now head of the Democratic party, lays it on the line: "We have only one President at a time, and I think the worst thing we can do is try to undermine the efforts of the President."

Maoist Theoretician Takes On 'Trotskyism'

Strictly for the Birds

The Pentagon has granted a \$600,000-research contract to the Psychology Department of the University of Mississippi for "Project Themis."

Its objective is to convert a number of species of birds into hawks, at least psychologically.

"This program is based," the contract reads, "on the supposition that birds will eventually replace humans for activities that are dangerous, difficult, expensive or boring."

Among the activities listed by the Pentagon are "aerial photography, gunnery, steering of missiles, detection of mines and search and destroy operations."

"Much of the research will relate to complex forms of stimulus control," the contract reads, "for example, visual search, auditory pattern recognition, pursuit and tracking, controlled locomotion and operation of manipulanda while flying." (That's right, manipulanda.)

The Pentagon is especially interested in training "crows, ravens, jays, hawks and vultures."

Crows and ravens are known to be thievish. Jays are quarrelsome. And hawks are killers. But why the Pentagon should be interested in vultures is difficult to fathom.

The contract also lists "doves, parrots, mynahs, chickens and pigeons." What are talking birds, peace birds, and yellow-livered birds doing here? It's a military diversion for the carping critics, no doubt.

This is not the first time the Pentagon has tried to train flying vertebrates. During World War II, bats were to be flown to Tokyo where, after being released, they were supposed to roost in the eaves of Tokyo's wooden buildings. When the bats flipped upside down to go to sleep, this would set off incendiary bombs.

"Project X-Ray," it was called. A more apt name would have been "Bats in the Belfry." It was scuttled after the Air Force base in New Mexico was almost burned down.

Our recommendation: For a new national emblem — the buzzard. For the Pentagon — an ostrich, head in the sand. For the White House — a cuckoo clock to tell the time of day.

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American People Say, 'Bring Troops Home Now!'

A virtual explosion of antiwar sentiment has dealt a heavy blow to Nixon's plan to continue American aggression in Vietnam. The October 15 Moratorium against the war in Vietnam has served to catalyze popular opposition to the war in the most massive overt form yet seen.

The Moratorium was called by former supporters of Senator Eugene McCarthy's presidential bid in 1968. Despite the conservative coloration of its organizers, the Moratorium has come out squarely for the immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam, and the action promises to be the largest in the history of the United States.

On the eve of October 15, demonstrations had been scheduled on thousands of college and high-school campuses across the country. At least thirty major colleges decided to close during the Moratorium, and hundreds of other schools announced that faculty and students would not be penalized if they did not attend classes on that day.

Congressional leaders, hoping to dissociate themselves from Nixon's war, have flocked to support the October 15 action. Some seventeen Senators and forty-seven Representatives have endorsed the protest. Even Representative Rogers C. B. Morton, the chairman of the National Committee of Nixon's own Republican party, told a group of university students, "I'm for the Moratorium."

It is impossible to list the organizations or prominent individuals that by choice, or under pressure, committed themselves to action on October 15. A small sampling will give an indication:

- The New York Board of Education announced that students and teachers would not be penalized for boycotting classes and that those who did attend could use class time for antiwar programs.

- The Boston Symphony Orchestra canceled rehearsals for the day.

- At least three Broadway shows canceled playing on October 15.

- An antiwar rally was scheduled in the school amphitheater at Whittier



HERSHEY: A crust for the hungry mob.

College, Nixon's alma mater in California.

- The *New York Times* predicted that 100,000 persons would attend a rally in Boston.

- The Museum of Modern Art in New York announced it would be closed during the protest because "a large majority of the staff... have expressed an intention to absent themselves."

In a full-page advertisement in the October 12 *New York Times*, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee declared:

"October 15th is not an end; it is a beginning. If the war continues and there is no firm commitment to an immediate withdrawal of all American troops, then we plan to have a 2-day moratorium in November. A 3-day moratorium in December, if necessary. And so on.

"What we are working toward is the largest and broadest anti-war movement ever seen in the United States. And we're getting there."

The next major actions of the anti-

war movement, coinciding with the second stage of the Moratorium, are the nationwide student strike called for November 14 by the Student Mobilization Committee, and massive marches in Washington and San Francisco November 15. These are being organized jointly by the New Mobilization Committee and the SMC. The SMC has been a major builder of the October 15 action on campuses around the country, and has tied the two stages together in its "Fall Offensive Against the War."

Nixon, who only a few weeks ago declared that under "no circumstances" would he be "affected whatever" by the student antiwar movement, has had to carry out some hasty maneuvering.

On October 9 the president summoned Henry Cabot Lodge, chief U.S. negotiator in Paris, back to Washington for "consultations and instructions."

The same day, Nixon met with Ellsworth Bunker, U.S. ambassador to Saigon; and on October 11 he was given a secret briefing on the war from General Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, just returned from Vietnam.

The most dramatic evidence of Nixon's discomfort was his removal of Lieutenant General Lewis B. Hershey from his post as head of the Selective Service System. Hershey, who has held the position since 1941, had earned the hatred of young people across the country by ordering the drafting of students who had taken part in antiwar protests.

Robert B. Semple Jr., writing from Washington in the October 12 *New York Times*, commented on Nixon's position:

"Mr. Nixon's critics judged him to be a desperate man, struggling to shore up public support for his Vietnam strategy, to defuse the Oct. 15 moratorium, and thus to communicate to Hanoi fresh evidence of Presidential and public resolve.

"To his critics, Mr. Nixon's activities have the appearance of an orchestrated effort to mute criticism and purchase the time he feels he needs to achieve a just settlement [sic].

"For example, they regarded the sacking of General Hershey only five days before the moratorium as less than coincidental."

Nixon has sought to line up some support for his bankrupt war policy to help silence his critics. But the stampede has been mostly in the other direction. Even such a stalwart hawk as Representative Arnold Olson of Montana has announced he will participate in an all-night "peace vigil" in the House of Representatives on the eve of the Moratorium.

(If these legislators were really interested in ending the war they could use their power of office to cut off funds for the war, or to impeach Nixon for his criminal policy in Vietnam. But the fact that they are

ready to jump on the antiwar bandwagon indicates the popular pressure of this movement.)

Nixon has been reduced to extracting testimonials from those few discredited politicians who still speak publicly in favor of the war. His biggest coup in this regard was the October 10 endorsement by former Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, Nixon's opponent in the 1968 elections.

Humphrey, who was defeated because of his close identification with Johnson's Vietnam policy, was quick to recognize that Nixon was carrying on in the footsteps of his former boss.

Johnson was so unpopular that his own party has conveniently forgotten his existence. He could hardly pass

up the opportunity to send Humphrey to Washington for a final act of self-justification.

"We only have one President at a time," Johnson's errand boy told Nixon," and I think the worst thing we can do is try to undermine the efforts of the President."

But even a providential visit by Humphrey and the ritual sacrifice of General Hershey have had no visible effect on the antiwar tide.

A Gallup poll published October 11 showed 57 percent of those interviewed favored a proposal by Senator Charles E. Goodell (Republican of New York) for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam by the end of 1970.

Only 31 percent were opposed, with the rest undecided. The poll questioned people only on this compromise proposal and did not ask whether people favored immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. The interviews were taken at more than 300 localities throughout the United States.

Despite this indication of majority backing, Goodell is virtually alone in Congress in trying to set any time limit on the American aggression in Vietnam—even one that provides more than a year for the slaughter to continue. Many Democratic and Republican politicians, who will not vote for Goodell's watered-down proposal because it is too "radical," have nevertheless endorsed the Moratorium.

The Moratorium will go far beyond anything its liberal endorsers would like to see. It promises to be the largest mass mobilization yet in the struggle against the war.

October 15 is only the beginning. On November 15 the antiwar movement will concentrate in Washington and San Francisco to give Nixon another indication of what the American people really think of his war.

Vietnam War Casualty

The Democratic party National Committee has adorned its offices with portraits of party stalwarts. The October 11 *New York Times* reports: "Prominently hung are Harry S. Truman, Adlai E. Stevenson, John F. Kennedy, Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator Edmund S. Muskie and Senator [Fred R.] Harris. Nowhere is the unforgettable countenance of the most recent Democratic President."

Garbage from Heaven

A study undertaken by the National University of Mexico revealed that 26.7 tons of "floating garbage" settle on each square kilometer of Mexico City each month.

East Germany

'Away with the Goatee!'



ULBRICHT: Should he shave it off?

About 1,000 East German youths clashed with club-wielding police at the Berlin Wall October 7, following a demonstration by some 250 young people against the Ulbricht regime.

More than 120,000 young people from all over the country had been brought to East Berlin for a celebra-

tion on the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

"According to witnesses' accounts," the October 9 *New York Times* reported, "some 250 boys and girls moved down Unter den Linden, the city's historic avenue, toward the Brandenburg Gate, which is the East-West boundary. . . ."

"When the youths reached the Soviet Embassy, which stands on Unter den Linden, they broke into shrill whistling and booing."

Communist youth officials reportedly attempted to break up the demonstration, and fighting broke out. A score of police were said to have used clubs to disperse the marchers. The youths reportedly shouted, "Away with the goatee!" referring to Walter Ulbricht who wears a beard.

Later in the evening two crowds at the Berlin Wall, numbering about 1,000 persons, were attacked by 200 police. More than fifty persons were said to have been arrested. The youths, mostly from other cities, had gathered out of curiosity, many of them never having seen the wall before. They refused to move on when ordered to do so by police.

The last major outbreak of student demonstrations was in August 1968 in protest against East German participation in the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Martin Dozal on Hunger Strike

Martin Dozal Jottar, who has been held without trial since September 10, 1968, in Mexico City's Lecumberri prison, went on an indefinite hunger strike September 26. In a letter to Mexican penal officials, Dozal said he would fast until granted his constitutional right to a trial, even if it meant his death. He was arrested during the massive student demonstrations of last year.

In his letter, Dozal cited Article 20, Paragraph VIII, of the Mexican constitution which reads:

"In all criminal proceedings the accused shall have the right to be tried within four months if the maximum sentence for the crime does not exceed two years in prison; and within a year if the maximum punishment exceeds that time."

Dozal was formally charged on September 26, 1968. In his letter, written one year later, he declared:

"Today, the time provided by the constitution for the judicial authorities to act in my case is up. Because of the fact that the said constitutional guarantee has not been observed, I find myself forced to turn to the only form of protest available to someone in prison, a *hunger strike*. I wish to point out that I am not asking for anything but the right guar-

anteed by the constitution of the republic . . ."

Declaring that he was innocent of any wrongdoing, Dozal said, "I will not hesitate to carry my action to its ultimate consequence, death, if the obstinacy of the authorities forces me to that extreme."

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners sent a telegram to Mexico's President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz. The message said:

"Martin Dozal Jottar's hunger strike, in Lecumberri prison, to obtain his rights under the Mexican constitution, points up a breakdown of law which you cannot ignore. His life is in your hands and in the name of humanity we ask you to intervene to assure that justice is done."

Similar messages should be sent to President Diaz at El Zócalo, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

Protests should likewise be sent to General Brigadier Andres Puentes Vargas, Director of the Jail of the Federal District, Lecumberri Prison, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

Further information can be obtained from the USLA Justice Committee, P. O. Box 2303, New York, N. Y. 10001.

'Free Grigorenko!' Say Protesters

Leaflets appealing for the release of the Soviet dissident General Pavel Grigorenko were distributed October 6 in the Moscow state department store GUM [Gosudarstvennyi Universal'nyi Magazin].

"Some of the leaflets were dropped from the balcony and fluttered to the main floor, where they were quickly placed in pockets, purses, and shopping bags. The police did not attempt to disperse the onlookers until the protesters had been led away," James F. Clarity wrote in the *New York Times* October 7.

After distributing hundreds of leaf-

lets, the two protesters chained themselves to the store's decorative ironwork. In the leaflets, the two identified themselves as Elisabeth Lie of Uppsala, Sweden, and Harald Bristol of Oslo, Norway.

An October 7 Agence France-Presse dispatch said that the leaflets had been issued in the name of the Scandinavian affiliate of the clandestine Soviet youth group SMOG, which was active in the defense of two independent-minded Soviet writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Juli M. Daniel, who were jailed in 1965.

According to the *New York Times*

report, the leaflet said in part: "Soviet citizens, we condemn arbitrary persecutions in whatever country they may occur. This, we consider, is not an interference in the affairs of another country, but the moral obligation of every progressive person."

Grigorenko was reported arrested this May. At the time, he was said to be preparing the legal defense of Soviet Tatars exiled from the Crimea by Stalin, who were jailed for protesting their continued exclusion from their homeland.

Portugal

Cops Break Up Rally

Lisbon police used dogs and rifle butts to disperse a crowd of more than 3,000 persons taking part in demonstrations celebrating the anniversary of the pre-Salazar republic October 5.

The crowd had gathered at the Alto de Sao Joao cemetery for a traditional ceremony commemorating the founding of the republic in 1910. The *New York Times* commented that this was "the largest Republic Day crowd that anyone could remember."

Premier Marcello Caetano's police made no move to interrupt the ceremony, but dispersed the crowd immediately afterward.

"Policemen were even more forceful nearby," the October 6 *New York Times* reported, "where a group had gathered to place a wreath on a statue of an early hero. People were struck with rifles, and a woman was struck with a club. Eighteen persons were detained."

"Policemen also seized film of the demonstration taken by a photographer from the German magazine Stern and by a correspondent of The *New York Times*. Portuguese photographers were warned to take no pictures of the police action."

The manager of a cafe near the cemetery told a reporter, "It's just like the old days under Salazar."

Hoarder Finally Gives to Charity

The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York announced October 8 that the late Cardinal Spellman's collection of rare coins has been sold to a dealer, with the proceeds to go to "charity." No figure was mentioned, but the *New York Times* said the hoard was worth "at least \$500,000."

First Anniversary of the Tlatelolco Massacre

Mexico City

After the September 23 meeting in the Polytechnic Institute was broken up in the most violent way, the revolutionary groups prepared to commemorate the first anniversary of the October 2 massacre in Tlatelolco with lightning meetings and other types of actions. No advance announcements of the rallies were planned because of the certainty of fierce repression.

A climate of tension has reigned in Mexico City for a week. On September 18 several homemade bombs exploded in the offices of the Department of the Interior, the Department of Justice, and the reactionary daily newspapers *El Sol de México* and *Novedades*. A bomb was discovered in time in the country's main television center, which, if it had exploded, would have interrupted the TV programs.

But shortly afterward, on September 19, other bombs, much more powerful and effective ones, were planted in the offices of the weekly opposition magazine *Porqué* and the liberal daily *Excelsior*. Public opinion was completely confused. It is quite probable that some, if not all, of the bombs were planted by the government itself, especially the ones at *Porqué* and *Excelsior*.

It is quite likely that the government planted these bombs with the deliberate intent of placing the stigma of terrorism on the innumerable clandestine groups that have sprung up in Mexico City as a result of the indiscriminate repression. It must be said that this objective was achieved. The public opinion in general is extremely disoriented in regard to last week's terrorist acts.

The government-dominated press (90 percent of the press in Mexico City) made a great hue and cry at first but since then has said nothing. There has been no report of numerous arrests either. Furthermore, it seems that some suspects have been released. All this is speculation, because the communications media are

maintaining the most complete reserve.

The political prisoners jailed in connection with the 1968 student and popular movement are now being summoned for questioning. Thus, for example, Armando Castillejos Ortiz demanded before a Federal District criminal judge that his protest be recorded.

"He protested because the appeal he lodged last September against the warrant under which he was charged was accepted by the judge and forwarded to the Tribunal Unitario [appeal court] of the capital only eight months later. His protest also noted that the judge has still not sent the necessary court record to the Tribunal, which as a result has not been able to rule on the appeal. He added that he was innocent." (*El Día*, September 27.)

Carlos Sevilla González, another political prisoner, made the same demands during his hearing. According to *El Día*, the two were accused respectively of "being advisers to the Coalición de Maestros de la Enseñanza Media y Superior [Coalition of High-School and University Teachers] and the Juventud Comunista [Communist Youth], in Castillejos' case; and various Trotskyist groups, in Sevilla's case."

On September 27, Professor Martín Dozal Jottar, who is being held in the same prison ward as the two political prisoners mentioned above, completed the first twenty-four hours of a hunger strike.

A press release signed by the "rotating press commission" composed of the political prisoners Eli de Gortari, Manuel Marcué Pardiñas, and José Revueltas Sánchez, declared: "The professor . . . has not hesitated to subject his health and life to grave and certain danger. He is determined to continue his hunger strike to the ultimate consequences, including death by starvation, if he does not get a satisfactory reply to his just and by no means excessive demand.

"Compañero Martín Dozal asks on-

ly that the Citizen Judge of the Twenty-First Court of the Seventh Criminal District, His Honor Benito Pliego y Pliego, pass sentence in his case. Dozal's trial is still continuing for alleged crimes which he is supposed to have committed because of his participation in the Student and Popular Movement of 1968. The one-year period set by the constitution for sentencing was up the twenty-sixth of this month.

"The judicial authorities cannot offer the slightest legitimate reason for delaying the ruling on this case even one day more. Meanwhile our compañero is weakening hour by hour as a result of taking no nourishment of any kind. Martín Dozal's physical condition will soon enter a delicate phase. We appeal for publication of this release as a call for the public to support us and send letters supporting our cause to the Seventh District Court."

September 30.

Report Vasquez Killed

The death of Genaro Vasquez Rojas, reported to have led a guerrilla force in the state of Guerrero, was announced October 8 by the Mexican chief of state security Major Joel Juarez Guzman.

"Considering that the time has come to destroy the myth that has grown up around the personality of Genaro Vasquez," Major Juarez said, "we have decided to make public the news of his death. To many ill-informed peasants and professional agitators have taken to hoping that he would become a new Castro. It became necessary to put an end to their illusions."

Vasquez had been known since the fifties as a fighter against arbitrary rule in his native state of Guerrero. In 1965 he was jailed on a sedition charge. According to previous reports, Vasquez was liberated by guerrilla fighters in March 1968. The Mexican government now declares that he was shot "at the time of his escape."

Students in Barrage of Gunfire

[After the machine-gunning of a mass assembly on the grounds of the Polytechnic Institute in the Casco de Santo Tomás district of Mexico City on September 23, Mexican student leaders questioned witnesses. They were trying to establish the true picture of the attack in order to correct false and misleading reports which appeared in the notoriously corrupt Mexican press.

[The following are eyewitness accounts, as pieced together by the student leaders.]

* * *

More than 5,000 students, many of them women, attended the meeting. This is how one of the assembly's organizers described the way it began:

"To prevent a repetition of the shameless provocation at the July 26 demonstration,¹ the organizing committee decided to search those arriving one by one as they came in through the street gate. The girls' purses were opened, the men were frisked and their pockets gone through. In this way, provocateurs were excluded.

"The master of ceremonies began by reading a letter from some of the political prisoners in Ward M.² After that, the first of a list of six speakers began his talk. He reminded us of the importance of our struggle, that a year had passed since the government unleashed its brutal repression against us. He declared also that we would not cease our struggle until the government was totally unmasked before the entire Mexican people, who, in fact, already know who their real enemy is.

"He mentioned the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano — Mexican Communist party], which he criticized harshly for trying to canalize the movement to suit its reformist and capit-

ulationist principles.

"Indeed, the PCM was conspicuous by its absence in the committee that organized the meeting; not a single person openly espousing the line of the PCM participated. This is significant because on July 26 the PCM did try to mobilize its supporters for the suicidal meeting in the Alameda.

"When the first speaker finished, it was announced how the meeting was to proceed. According to the agreement reached in the organizing committee, the Movement's position on the electoral farce was to be made public at this meeting, the basic guidelines for commemorating the first anniversary of the Tlatelolco massacre were to be given, and there was to be a proposal for a national student strike for the first week of classes in October . . .

"The meeting continued with the reading of a letter sent by an electrical worker imprisoned last May along with a group of students. The letter gave greetings and called on us to continue the struggle, despite the advice of dubious 'allies' like the PCM.

"Later, 'the man who . . .' was presented, the 'candidate without any false pretenses'—a pig. This presentation was meant to show that no matter who is the candidate of the PRI [Partido Revolucionario Institucional — Institutional Revolutionary party—the government party in the de facto one-party electoral system in Mexico], the next president of Mexico, at bottom, will be an enemy of the people and a murderer of militants. This joke appealed very much to the students.

"While the pig was wandering among laughing students, the whole thing began. First some bombs were thrown from the other side of the fence. Then bullets started coming in earnest. I started to run to the School of Economics.

"I don't have a clear idea of what happened in all the confusion," he concluded.

"What happened when the barrage

of gunfire began?" we asked him.

"Most of us ran toward the buildings," a university comrade along with him said. "The committee had advised us to proceed there if there was any provocation. But the fence had not been opened. It was finally forced open by the pressure of the crowd but not before many *compañeros* and *compañeras* were hurt by being pressed against the barbed wire."

A *compañera* added: "As I ran toward the buildings, I remembered that I had left my purse in the fenced-off field. Without thinking, I went back because my papers and other things in it were very important to me. About five minutes had passed since the beginning of the barrage. When I slipped through the overturned fence, I could see the *compañero* who was master of ceremonies standing in the speakers' circle surrounded by dozens of police agents, or so they seemed, each of them waving a pistol. They pointed their guns at him and the *compañeros* who were still with him. I could see that at least one of them fell wounded."

Not all went toward the building. What happened to those who escaped through the street?

A *compañero* who took this route told us: "When we left through the main gate, several cars were parked along the sidewalk surrounded by police agents, some with pistols, others with clubs. One of them was directing the operations. He pointed out various persons who seemed to interest him among those leaving through the door, saying 'get this one' or 'get that one.' The individuals who were fingered got a thorough beating."

Such a report permits us to conclude that the teams carrying out the attack were "professionals," that is, strong-arm men armed with knives, switchblades, stilettos, bludgeons, whips, and all the other kinds of "minor" weapons. And, backing these bullies, came the "gunmen."

Another *compañero*, left behind by the fleeing crowd, was able to note the character of the repressive forces. "I was already on my way to leave the Casco and head home when I ran into a bunch of young guys who were brutally beating a student. They were using sharp-pointed weapons; had clubs and every kind of strong-arm weapon."

1. On the anniversary of the Cuban revolution some student groups tried to hold a public demonstration in Mexico City. It was brutally dispersed by the police. — *IP*.

2. Ward M of Lecumberri prison in Mexico City is where the political prisoners are being held. — *IP*.

An Election Like Any Other

By Guy Desolre

[The following article is from the October 4 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

If the very recent spontaneous strikes had not taken place, one would be tempted to conclude from the German elections that nothing has changed in the Federal Republic. Everything went as the pundits predicted, although with some variations hardly as important as most observers thought they might be.

The Social Democracy (SPD) [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands — Social Democratic party of Germany] scored some gains but to a lesser extent than had been forecast. The Christian Democrats (CDU-CSU) [Christlich Demokratische Union-Christlich Sozial Union — Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union] lost, but also less than forecast.

The accompanying table sums up the overall results on the national level. The only source of surprise might be the extent of the defeat of the liberals (FDP) [Freie Demokratische Partei — Free Democratic party]:

The gains and losses of the various parties locally did not diverge greatly from the national averages. The CDU-CSU kept an absolute majority in two Länder [states], reactionary Bavaria along with Baden-Württemberg (the only state, except for Hesse, where it gained ground slightly).

The SPD "captured" the absolute majority in two states, the North German free cities for Hamburg and Bremen. It was in Hamburg that the SPD made its greatest progress (6.3%). It gained the least in Bavaria (1.5%) and in the Saarland (0.1%). In all ten states of the Federal Republic, the SPD gained. In every state except two, the Christian Democrats lost. Nationally, the SPD has continued its ad-

	1961	1965	1969	Seats in 1969	Gains or Losses
CDU-CSU	45.3%	47.6%	46.1%	242	-3
SPD	36.2%	39.3%	42.7%	224	+22
FDP	12.8%	9.5%	5.8%	30	+19
NPD	0.8%	2.0%	4.3%	0	—
ADF	1.9%	1.3%	0.6%	0	—

vance almost uninterruptedly since 1949 (29.2%).

The liberal FDP's greatest losses (it lost ground in every German state) did not come in those areas where the SPD made its greatest gains. To the contrary, the FDP's greatest losses were suffered where the CDU-CSU downturn was the least, that is, in the states of Baden-Württemberg and Lower Saxony.

From this, it must be concluded that the FDP's bourgeois electoral following switched its votes to the CDU, abandoning its old party because it anticipated an SPD-FDP "mini coalition." These voters at least — the exception proves the rule — demonstrated a certain level of class consciousness in the elections.

The vote for the neo-Nazis of the NPD [Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands — National Democratic party of Germany] went from 2% to 4.3% of the total. But the number of votes and the percentage they received must be compared primarily with what they got in the state elections between 1966 and 1968. In comparison to what they got then, the NPD vote was cut by as much as one-half. With 4.3% of the vote, the neo-Nazis came below the 5% threshold needed to gain representation in the Bundestag.

Fascism does not wax strong in the fat years. These elections confirm the fact that the fascist vermin can only multiply in the event of a depres-

sion or a crisis. In the present period the majority of the extreme right voters themselves demonstrated their attachment to stability, to conservatism, and to "sound" values by voting for the party of Franz-Josef Strauss and not strengthening that of Adolf von Thadden. Furthermore, an appeal in this spirit appeared in the Munich neo-Nazi paper *Nationalzeitung* [not affiliated to the NPD], "Sicher ist Sicher" ("A Certainty is a Certainty") was a conservative slogan well suited to the mentality of these electoral cattle.

The NPD was also the object of attacks and warnings from nearly everyone, but this had a lesser importance. The unions (a large number of whose leaders are members of the SPD) were careful not to say who to vote for. They called on their members not to abstain and to vote against the NPD.

The theme of their lamentable campaign was to encourage voting for the three "national" parties and against "the extremists of the right and left."

For example, Otto Brenner, the head of I.G. Metall [Industrie Gewerkschaft Metall — the Metal Workers Union], the most "left" union, wrote in the last issue of the organization's journal: "Not one vote for the NPD. But we also warn the voters against throwing their votes to the Communist groups" (*Metall*, September 16, 1969).

The Communist party, which was reconstituted under the name DKP [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei —

German Communist party] in order to get around the ban on the KPD [Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands—Communist party of Germany], did not campaign under its own banner. It, or rather its leaders, chose to appear as the vague "Action for Democratic Progress" [Aktion Demokratischer Fortschritt—ADF]—without the slightest success.

The results achieved by this formation were lower by half than those attained by the German Peace Union [Deutsche Friedens-Union—DFU], the rubric under which the German Stalinists camouflaged themselves in 1965.

The Stalinist electoral front won 0.6% and 200,000 votes this year as against 1.3% of the vote in 1965. The cast-off radical-democratic clothing, which the CP put on for fear of scaring off the voters, did not arouse any more interest among the electorate than the CP itself.

In its new dress as in its old, the CP is thus continuing to decline (5.7% of the vote in 1949; 2.2% in 1953; 1.9% in 1961; 1.3% in 1965; 0.6% in 1969). Even in a city like Bremen, which was marked by the Klöckner-Werke wildcat strike a few weeks ago, the ADF won only 1.5%



VON THADDEN: Washed out in election.

October 20, 1969

as against the DFU's 2.5% in 1965.

Hardly were the elections over than the DKP leaders distinguished themselves by a new bit of buffoonery. They declared in a communiqué issued Monday [September 29] that their setback was owing to the fact that their electoral following showed a strong preference for the SPD and the FDP (this was rather suspected!), and in the same communiqué they advocated the formation of an SPD-FDP government "orienting itself in accordance with the people's will," as a "real" possibility for a new course. Giving themselves two black eyes in this way, they could hardly have given a better confirmation of the perspicacity of the voters in deserting them.

In this context, one can understand the position taken by those who make up what is called the extraparliamentary opposition in Germany, who called for abstention and did not intervene in the electoral campaign except to expose the ties of the traditional parties to the system. This position was correct inasmuch as none of the parties had any of the qualifications which sometimes enable the revolutionary left to call for voting for a workers party. The new voters who cast their ballots for the SPD by no means did so to open up a socialist perspective, even a reformist one. They were no less depoliticized than the other voters.

It could not be said that since the masses harbored illusions about the socialist principles of their leaders, they had to be given an opportunity to see what these leaders were worth. The masses had no such illusions and voted for the Socialist leaders precisely because they had no such illusions.

All the political organizations are part and parcel of the system. Except for the unions and the extraparliamentary opposition, all of these organizations are dependent on the state. In 1965, the SPD had an income of 57,500,000 deutsche marks [4 deutsche marks equal US \$1] of which 16,000,000 marks came from dues and 13,900,000 from state subsidies.

Abstention was therefore justified and the contrary would have meant giving a blank check to the old parties. Abstention was the position taken, among others, by the mil-



KIESINGER: Christian Democratic chief.

itants grouped around the periodical *Was Tun*.

Others wanted to go further and talked about a boycott. This proposal was ridiculous because such a tactic would require a special situation, forces that could be mobilized, and the possibility of achieving verifiable results. But all there was in Germany was an ultraleftist attitude, based on arguments that held abstention to be a principle. The figures on participation in the elections (exactly the same proportion as in 1965) and blank ballots (less numerous) show how ridiculous these arguments were.

The conscious political cadres are far too few to wield any real weight in the electoral arena in Germany. The wildcat strikes have shown that at most these cadres can "help" the masses in economic struggles, but nothing more. Where they have attempted to go beyond the purely economic limits of the demands, the militants have isolated themselves completely.

Such are the basic facts of the situation, which were also reflected in the depoliticized atmosphere of the elections.

But the strikes have brought to the surface, feelings of dissatisfaction on the part of the workers that involve much more than economic demands. These diffuse sentiments will be formulated, will take form, to the extent that the revolutionary left breaks out of its isolation. It will be a long march . . .

An Outspoken Student Movement

By Cl. Malagnov

[The following article has been translated from the September 5 issue of *Rood* (Red), the semimonthly organ of the Revolutionaire Socialisten (Revolutionary Socialists), the Flemish affiliate of the Belgian Confédération Socialiste des Travailleurs (Socialist Workers Confederation). A year's subscription costs US\$4. Inquiries and money may be sent to *Rood*, E. Bockstaellaan 187, Brussels 2, Belgium.]

* * *

Belgrade

"They don't live for the revolution any more, they live off it." That is what one of the leaders of the students in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia,* said in an interview published not long ago by Yugoslavia's most important weekly, *Vjesnik u Srijedu*. By "they," he was referring to the old leaders, those who together with Josip Broz Tito led the partisan struggle and the revolution.

Remarks like this are not uncommon. Still stranger, when you compare this situation with the other workers states, it is also not uncommon for such statements to appear in the press.

For a year, or to be more precise since the beginning of June 1968, students and the student movement have been in the news here. At that time, after a minor incident (a hall that was too small to hold all the audience at a concert), disturbances developed in Belgrade. These disturbances quickly turned into a political movement against repression, against bureaucratic privileges, and for real self-management.

The university was occupied and declared "Karl Marx University." Protesting especially against those whom they called the "red bureaucracy" (and

many even spoke of a "red bourgeoisie"), the students hung up portraits of Tito in partisan dress instead of the marshal's uniform of his official portraits. It was only after Tito himself intervened with promises to grant the students' just demands, that the movement came to a halt.

At the trade-union congress at the end of June 1968, Tito explained further that the "criticisms of the youth that we had allowed capitalist elements to develop in our socialist society were not unfounded." But the examples he gave were exclusively examples of *small-scale capitalist* accumulation (private hotels, the spread of small transportation companies with a few vehicles, etc.) and not of bureaucratic privileges enjoyed by members of the apparatus.

For the past year, the students have waited in vain for concrete implementation of the promises that were made to them. The Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia and the threat that likewise seemed to loom over Yugoslavia produced a reflex of national unity. As a result, a climate developed in which it was difficult for the students to successfully conduct any action in support of their demands, especially after the head of state had promised them that these demands would be granted.

But in this context those leaders who had favored a "strong hand" against the students prepared the way for repression.

A discussion on the student question took place in the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists. Marko Nikezic, who defended himself against administrative measures, was put in a minority. Petar Stambolic and Draza Markovic (who had called for forcibly dispersing the demonstrations last year but were outvoted then) won the majority this time.

On June 9 the Belgrade daily *Politika* announced that the paper of the students in Sarajevo (the capital of the

republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina), *Nasi Dan*, had been banned. Still worse, the entire editorial board was expelled from the League of Communists. In July the Communist cells in the Belgrade University School of Philosophy were dissolved because they had declared their solidarity with the students. Moreover, two Belgrade student papers, *Polet* and *Susreti*, were suspended. Some members of their editorial boards were also expelled from the League.

At the end of May the most radical student group in Belgrade issued a "30,000 Word Manifesto" (a play on the "2,000 Word Manifesto" of Prague in 1968!) in which they criticized the government because it had not kept its 1968 promises, and denounced "growing social inequality," as well as "the catastrophic consequences of the market economy,"* and the "enrichment of the red bureaucracy." A section of the students had called for a symbolic occupation of the university buildings for the anniversary of the 1968 events. But they were outvoted both in the League and in the student movement.

One fact is important. Milovan Djilas, the former No. 3 man in the party and the author of such works as *The New Class* and *Conversations with Stalin*, originally tried to win support among the students. But now he is attacking the students as "adventurists." Djilas, who had adopted openly Social Democratic and pro-American positions, tried in vain in the summer of 1968 to find a base among the students. Now he is attacking them with the same arguments as the conservative bureaucrats.

The chairman of the student council of the University of Zagreb (in Croatia), Dag Strpic, told the paper *Vjesnik* that the students' principal demands remain as follows: a new basis for distributing surplus value in the Yugoslav economy; the introduction of real workers power on all levels of the society; and a radical reform of the universities.

The student movement in Yugoslavia is outspokenly left and revolutionary, more so than in the other workers states (even in Czechoslovakia the

* Yugoslavia makes extensive use of market mechanisms in managing its economy. —IP.

movement in 1968 was rather confused). This is explained by the combination of four factors:

1. The university "explosion" in Yugoslavia has been quite spectacular. It contrasts sharply with the level of unemployment, including for young graduates.

2. The climate resulting from the self-management system has favored a certain degree of democracy. In contrast to the other workers states, people are not afraid to express themselves here.

3. There is much better information about international events than in the people's democracies. Here people read *Le Monde* as well as *l'Unità*,* *l'Humanité*, the *International Herald Tribune*, and *Pravda*.

4. Since the 1965 economic reform—and even before—the debate over the organization of society and self-management has been open, and no one can shut off this debate.

It is through this discussion—in which the national conference of workers councils in 1970 is to be a high point—that the students are able to break out of their temporary isolation, through which they can break out of the isolation the bureaucrats are trying to lock them into.

In contradiction to what has been written in the international press (for example, the articles in the Chinese press "supporting" the students), the Yugoslav students are not *opposed* to the system of self-management. To the contrary, they advocate full implementation of self-management; among other things, by the introduction of a permanent national congress of workers councils.

To the extent that they are able to present responsible, well-thought-out, and well-formulated proposals to the working class before the 1970 conference, they will have taken an essential step toward forging a front to defend the society against bureaucratic parasitism.

August 20.

* The national organ of the Italian Communist party.—*IP*.

Among Mexico's Wonders

According to a UNESCO study, 1.46 million tons of pollution are poured into Mexico City's air each year. This is increasing by 250,000 tons a year.

Venezuela

Marcos Gomez Scores MIR Leadership

[Marcos Gómez, a leader of the MIR (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) sent a letter to the Caracas daily *El Mundo*, indicating his point of view in the discussion now going on among revolutionists in Venezuela. *El Mundo* reported the letter in its September 8 issue. Because of its interest, we have translated the article in full.]

* * *

A few days ago, Marcos Gómez, a MIR guerrilla leader in the east, sent a message to the Buró Nacional Juvenil [National Youth Bureau] of his party. In this letter he expressed sharp criticisms of the party, warning that it was in danger of liquidating its revolutionary potential, or "deviating from the revolutionary road by capitulating."

After making a harsh analysis, summed up in seven points which he considered fundamental, Gómez concluded by saying that "the factionalism and right-wing preaching of those who are negotiating with the government behind the Party's back must be unmasked before the Party, the Youth, and the guerrillas without fear of any sort."

"The MIR," Gómez said, "is faced with liquidationism. By their lack of audacity and initiative, those who retain the traditional old left conceptions of organization and mass work threaten to reduce the MIR to an institutionalized bureaucratic apparatus opposed to the revolutionary aspirations of the people. They threaten to reduce it to a springboard for success in petty-bourgeois parliamentary democracy, making the Party into a broad constitutional and mass alternative."

"It is these people," he added, "who fear the progressive radicalization of the Party and the Youth, and who frequently protest loudly against sectarianism (which is how they view any bold and militant action in leading the masses). This is a pretext to conceal their real intentions and their malignant Social Democratic plans."

Further on he said: "The timid centrist direction of the leadership elected in January 1964 and confirmed with few changes in the first conference, facilitated the development of this tendency and the progressive bureaucratization of the Party. The repressive persecution and harassment did the rest. The Party suffered defeats. Unprepared for revolutionary struggle, it lost its ties to the masses, it became isolated, and along with this the internal crisis sharpened."

"The pragmatism, the astonishing passivity and incapacity of the central leadership, infected by petty-bourgeois ideology and habits, were more than sufficient factors to prevent the MIR from overcoming the objective difficulties of the revolutionary process. This has reduced the MIR to the condition of a profoundly weak-end Party, isolated from the masses, instead of what it should be—a revolutionary vanguard force."

"As a result," he pointed out, "the Party today is a mishmash of right and left opportunism. The MIR faces a historic challenge of tremendous implications. Threatened with destruction, the MIR must either rebel against its present condition and transform itself or perish. This is the alternative facing the revolutionary militants, activists, cadres, and leaders."

Green Berets in Latin America

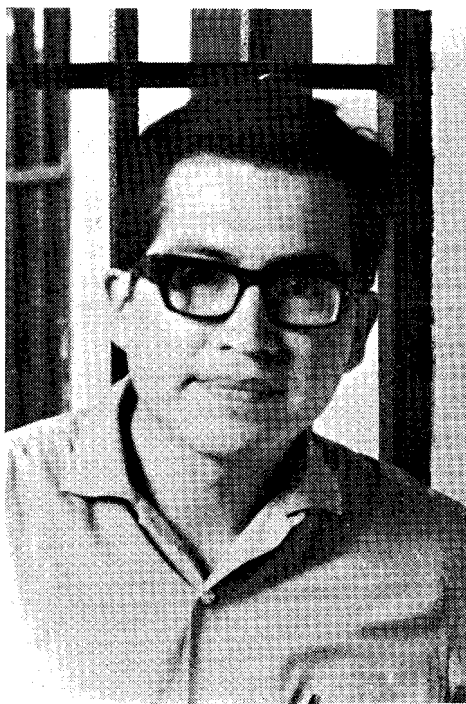
U.S. Senator Vance Hartke, a Democrat of Indiana, is the source of the following statement, as recorded in the June 25, 1969, *Congressional Record*:

"Not only does the United States support South American armies and police, but U.S. soldiers have on occasion engaged in actual combat against native rebels. U.S. rangers have battled the forces of Yon Sosa and Cesar Montes, two Guatemalan guerrilla leaders; Green Berets have also been in Colombia."

EXPENSIVE ROCKS

It cost \$24 billion to get 80 pounds of rocks from the moon. For the U.S. civilian labor force of 70 million persons, this averages out at \$343, or \$38 a year since the project was launched.

Gadea Sentenced to El Fronton



RICARDO GADEA

The "progressive" military junta of General Juan Velasco Alvarado sentenced three survivors of the 1965 guerrilla movement to long prison terms September 26. The best known of the three was Ricardo Gadea Acosta, the brother of Che Guevara's first wife. Gadea was sentenced to five years in prison.

Gadea's codefendants, Eusebio Dante de la Cruz and Carlos Erick Arata Hurtado, each received three-year terms.

De la Cruz and Arata, having been three years in prison before being tried, were ordered released. The main effect of the tribunal's verdict against them was to endorse their illegal detention by the previous regime.

Gadea, however, will have to serve out the remaining time of his sentence on Peru's ill-famed prison island of El Frontón, if the tribunal's verdict is not overturned. According to the September 26 issue of the Lima daily *La Prensa*, the former guerrilla has indicated that he will take his case to a higher court. "After consulting with his lawyer, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, Gadea reserved his right to appeal to the Supreme Council of Military Justice."

The War Council of the Second Police Zone, which passed sentence on the three revolutionists, admitted that

there was no proof that any of them participated in armed actions.

The sentences were based on charges of giving material support to the guerrillas, such as bringing in supplies and money, and helping to construct roads and paths in the Mesa Pelada area where the guerrillas were active.

All three of the defendants were convicted of crimes against "the constitutional order" and "state security." In addition, Gadea and de la Cruz were found guilty of "violating the public faith" for allegedly using forged voters' cards. The defendants were acquitted of the charges of "crimes against the security and honor of the nation," that is, treason.

The War Council's verdict also contained a number of allegations about the activities of the accused. Gadea was said to have received \$30,000 for the guerrillas from "Communist organizations in France and Chile." De la Cruz was supposed to have received

guerrilla training in North Korea, Arata in Cuba.

Two other participants in the 1965 guerrilla movement—Enrique Amaya Quintana and Oscar Alvarado Araujo—were each sentenced in absentia to two and one-half years in prison.

The case of Enrique Amaya Quintana is one of the most notorious instances of the "mysterious disappearances" of guerrillas captured by the repressive forces. No word has been heard from Amaya since 1965 and his comrades believe that he was summarily executed. They have demanded that the government account for his disappearance as well as that of other guerrilla fighters.

By passing sentence in absentia on "missing" guerrillas and thereby closing their cases, the military tribunal seemed to indicate that the same arbitrary and illegal practices will be continued under the "reformist" junta as were employed under the Belaúnde Terry government which preceded it.

Police Arrest Guerrilla Group

In the last week of September, a few days after severe prison sentences were handed down against three members of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) [Movement of the Revolutionary Left — a pro-Cuban revolutionary movement led by the late Luis de la Puente Uceda], the Peruvian regime announced the arrest of nine other members of the organization in Lima.

The nine, reportedly taken into custody between September 13 and 15, were accused of planning to initiate urban guerrilla warfare.

The alleged guerrillas were captured "in possession of firearms — pistols and machine guns — abundant Communist propaganda and training materials," according to the September 28 issue of the Lima daily *La Prensa*.

The government's announcement caused general concern, according to

La Prensa: "On learning the news of the arrest of the nine Miristas, many people asked, with understandable apprehension: 'Does this mean that urban guerrilla warfare in the style of Uruguay, Venezuela, Brazil, and Bolivia is about to be launched in Peru?'"

It seems possible, in fact, that the government intends to use the prosecution of the Miristas as an occasion for red-baiting the miners who went out on strike September 10. "The recent episodes arising out of the strike of the Cerro de Pasco miners and their 'march on Lima' put the Servicio de Inteligencia [Intelligence Service] on the track of these subversives," *La Prensa* wrote.

The names of those arrested were given as José P. Jorrot Calero, Fernando Carrillo Arauz, Mario Manuel Verano de la Fuente, Francisco Tord



VELASCO: Not unlocking prison doors.

Nicolini, Eduardo Gustavo Peralta Chávez, Leopoldo Efraín Cuentas Ancí, Carlos Torres Tuesta, Máximo Gálvez Román, and Víctor Rubén Elias Bautista.

However, *La Prensa* reported that the names of some of the prisoners were rumored to have been slightly altered by the police to conceal their relationship to prominent families. Two of those arrested were reportedly related to important military figures; one was supposed to be the nephew of a retired general.

"The Second Police Zone — before whose War Council the detainees and their respective warrants were brought — as well as the Dirección General de la Policía de Investigaciones [General Bureau of Police Investigation], and the Ministry of the Interior itself are maintaining the strictest secrecy regarding the identity, occupation, activities, and family connections of the detainees," *La Prensa* reported.

Informal inquiries had shown, according to the Lima daily, that the oldest of those arrested, Francisco Tord Nicolini, is a professor of Peruvian history at the Universidad Femenina del Sagrado Corazón. José Jorrat Calero and Fernando Carrillo Arauz were said to be noncredit students at the Universidad Católica.

La Prensa interpreted the government's prosecution of the Miristas as evidence that the junta intends to fol-

low a hard line with respect to the revolutionary left, despite its "progressive" and anti-imperialist-sounding declarations:

"In the opinion of many, General Velasco's government has just given a new demonstration of the fact that it is not inclined to tolerate 'urban guerrillas,' subversive activities, or bloody explosions, despite the regime's

connections with left personalities and advisers.

"The military tribunal has just sentenced three young revolutionists of the MIR to terms of three to five years in prison. Certainly in a few days the trial of the nine arrested by the Servicio de Inteligencia del Ejército [Army Intelligence Service] will begin and we will know what is involved."

Peru's Bonapartist Junta

[The following statement was issued August 20 by the Peruvian FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Revolutionary Left Front), the party of Hugo Blanco. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The junta's positions—the agrarian reform, the nationalization of Brea y Pariñas, etc.—surprised the people and made the regime's "revolutionary" demagoguery seem credible to broad sectors.

Sections of the left as well, even so-called Trotskyist groups like the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Socialist League] and *Voz Obrera* [Workers Voice] are saying that the junta is revolutionary and nationalist.

We orthodox Trotskyists of the FIR say that the junta is a bourgeois regime which wants to develop the country, but that it is not nationalist and still less revolutionary.

From the beginning, we said that it was bonapartist, that is, that it represents the interests of the exploiting sectors in general. Within the framework of this bonapartism, within the framework of its general objective of saving the system, it has leaned toward the sectors favoring economic development, that is, those capitalist sectors, both indigenous and foreign, which have an interest in industrial development of the country.

We all know that the imperialist penetration of Peru was the principal factor that blocked development, with the imperialists forcibly keeping the country in its role as a producer of raw materials.

However, from the beginning, imperialism also penetrated into the processing industry. The national bour-

geoisie was always weak. Thus the present attempts to develop the national economy benefit the imperialist sectors first of all.

The monopolies have always squabbled with each other. There is nothing peculiar, then, in the fact that differences exist today among those imperialist sectors that have an interest in developing the country and those that are linked to the traditional structures.

In conclusion, the development advocated by the junta does not have a nationalist and anti-imperialist character. It is development for the benefit of the neocapitalist sectors of imperialism. Its objective is not to benefit the workers but the capitalists.

Taking all this into account, we unconditionally support the progressive measures taken by the regime, but we do not support the junta, which is a bourgeois government.

At this time, more than ever, the working class must fight for a giant-sized general wage increase. The real producers of wealth are the workers and they must be the direct beneficiaries of industrial development.

The workers must fight for the nationalization of all foreign companies and the principal industries, for a monopoly of foreign trade, nationalization of the banks, a national plan of development, and workers control of production.

"The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself."

Kurds Under Attack

The Cairo daily *El Ahrām* reported October 9 that the Iraqi armed forces are once again attempting to liquidate the Kurdish rebels head by Mustapha El Barzani. Various Iraqi regimes have sought without success for a number of years to suppress the Kurds by trickery or by military force.

Campus Rebellion and the Class Struggle

[Vladimir Gracindo Soares Palmeira, a well-known Brazilian student leader, was among the fifteen political prisoners released in exchange for the return of U.S. Ambassador C. Burke Elbrick, who was kidnapped by Brazilian revolutionists September 4.]

[Upon his arrival in Mexico City, Palmeira gave the following interview, which was published in the October 1 issue of the Mexican magazine *Siempre*. The first question, indicated in a biographical note, was about the history of the Brazilian student movement as a whole. The translation from the Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Answer: The Brazilian student movement, and especially the student movement in Rio de Janeiro, was born in 1964, after the military coup. This movement had nothing in common with the previous student movement, which was of a narrowly academic and campus pressure-group type. The old student movement was always searching for a political unity unattainable in Brazil. The university left reflected the weakness of the left as a whole. The student leaders belonged to one or another party, and were loyal to their party and not to the students.

At the end of 1964, when the government thought it had liquidated all the political cadres in the country, it permitted elections in the schools. The unexpected result was the total victory of a new left, promoted principally by a leadership that came to the fore among the youngest undergraduates.

Question: What was the nature of the new student movement?

A: At the beginning it was clearer what the movement was against than what it was for. However, it was precisely the concept of an all-out

struggle against the dictatorship, conducted in accordance with the specific character of the university, that enabled the movement to achieve unity and to determine its strategic objectives.

At the start, the activity went no further than strikes in some schools of the universities and small local demonstrations. All of 1965 was spent in spirited discussion between those who accepted the law decreed by the dictatorship to regulate cultural life, and who conformed to this framework, and those who flatly rejected this decree and called for action on all possible fronts. The second view won out and finally gained the support of almost all the students of Brazil.

Q: What tactics did the movement follow?

A: The tactics flowed from the general thrust toward overthrowing the dictatorship. There were big street demonstrations and bloody clashes with the police. Repression was followed by new outbreaks. The students sought contact with workers and peasants and gave unconditional support to them in their demands, their strikes, and their conflicts with the armed authorities.

In 1966 we students realized that we were involved in an enormous national political movement and that we were heading for a direct confrontation with the armed forces and with a nominal government already undermined by mass agitation and violence in the streets. And we also realized that the only ones who could refurbish the government were the old politicians, who would do it in their old way with their old ideological weaknesses.

The crisis was essentially one of indecisiveness. The economic structures and imperialist props remained intact. Taking advantage of the crisis situation, the armed forces brutally broke up the student move-

ment and we lost everything that we had built up over three years.

Q: How did you reformulate your positions?

A: On the basis of a class concept, a social-group concept, and of separating out the fronts each person had to fight on. A good part of 1967 was spent in studying and applying the new tactic. The student population could be mobilized in its entirety only for student objectives and demands.

In the national political struggle, our "role" was to fight against the educational policy of the dictatorship. The regime's policy can be summed up as follows: to use the appropriations for higher education as a weapon to impose self-censorship on the autonomous universities and to extend the sector of private higher education through the intermediary of clerical or big business patrons. The objective was to depoliticize the student population. They tried to get across to the students that scholarships, jobs, and easy entry into the circles of real power came as a reward for docility.

Q: A "realistic" strategy, no doubt?

A: Of course. However, the students' thinking was too clear, especially regarding our civic responsibility and what we wanted the state to be. The proof of this is that the great repression in 1968 could no longer set back the workers movement, or the student movement, as the repression had been able to do in 1966.

The students must confine themselves to supporting the struggle of the working class without trying to organize or educate the workers, because every class has its own interests and its own areas of action. This restriction holds true even more for the peasants. The students who violate this limitation become politicians and run the risk of leaving the

universities in the hands of the right.

The dictatorship is the expression of a class and it fosters a culture that serves its interests. The objective of the students is to destroy this mechanism and convert the universities into centers of technical, ethical, and political training in the service of the broad masses. And it is this objective that determines the framework of the student struggle.

In the modern world, socialism requires well-trained intellectuals as much or more than worker and activist cadres. It is costly and dangerous for a revolution to have to develop thoroughly trained ideologists, technicians, professionals, and leaders in the heat of the struggle, while at the same time having to develop sources of production and work.

Q: That means beginning to open up the university to the less privileged classes.

A: This is of little avail while the universities train their students morally and intellectually to serve a corrupt state and an antinational bourgeois class.

Q: How did the government in Brazil react to the student activity beginning in 1968?

A: The mass mobilizations were really quite considerable. Almost all the schools in the universities participated in the student revolution, in the public demonstrations. For almost a year, hardly a day has passed without some outbreak. It matters little what level of brutality the repression resorts to or what technique it uses. The student movement is diversified and deep-rooted. It embraces a multitude of demands difficult to define.

The workers movement is also taking on more developed and varied forms. There is no lack of urban terrorist groups who regard the student strategy and tactics as slow-moving or ineffective. It is natural, then, for the dictatorship's response to take many forms and for the numbers of victims to increase.

Q: Does all this mean that the revolution is about to take power in Brazil?

A: By no means. The student move-

ment has not taken the conquest of power as an immediate objective. Its objective is to organize forcible resistance to the dictatorship and to organize all the sectors engaging in this resistance in order to bring about a profound and complete change in the society. It may be the workers and

peasants who will determine this change, when the time comes.

But in the meantime the positive thing in the popular struggle in Brazil is that it is corroding, weakening, and undermining a regime whose complete destruction is essential for building a new nation.

Libya

New Regime Puts Pressure on U.S.

U.S. military and civilian personnel reportedly plan to withdraw from Libya because of hostility from the new "revolutionary" military regime that toppled the Libyan monarchy September 1.

The first contingent will consist of 143 Peace Corps volunteers, who are leaving as transportation becomes available. Edward White, director of the corps in Libya, told a *New York Times* reporter October 2 that the new government had not asked his organization to leave the country, but that he did not want to wait for such a move. The volunteers had been teaching English in elementary schools. On October 1 the military government banned the teaching of languages other than Arabic at the elementary-school level.

Not all Peace Corps members will leave Libya, however, White told the *Times*:

"Some will stay here . . . since the new military Government has suggested that they 'work a while' to see if they can be used in other activities."

The major American installation is the giant Wheelus Air Base near Tripoli, where all U.S. pilots stationed in Europe undergo fighter training. The 2,500-man staff ceased training activities after the September 1 coup.

Libya's civilian premier, Dr. Mahoud Soliman al-Maghreby, announced September 18 that the agreement under which the base is operated will be terminated when it expires at the end of 1970. This means that the U.S. will have until December 24, 1971, to end its operation at Wheelus. Also involved are two British bases at El Adem and Tobruk.

Premier al-Maghreby gave his first

interview to a foreign newspaper September 27. John Bonar of the *London Observer* was the one singled out for the scoop.

"Dr al Maghribi spoke of his life in prison. He had been arrested in 1967 for his action as a leader of Libyan workers, in bringing about an oil embargo against the West during the Arab-Israel war. . . . He carried out three hunger strikes while in captivity and spent seven months in solitary confinement.

"On his Government's foreign policy he said they had not yet formed detailed attitudes, but they were non-aligned in the international sense. 'Of course,' he said, 'we are aligned with all the Arab countries on the Palestinian question.'"

Dr. al-Maghreby reiterated his opposition to American and British bases, but said they would be allowed to remain until the present treaties expire.

"On the question of oil, Dr al Maghribi said: 'The oil companies are welcome here so long as they respect the interests of the Libyan people.' He also made plain his dissatisfaction with the revenue arrangement between the Government and the oil companies. He said the posted price (the set value) of Libyan crude oil was too low and he stressed the quality and accessibility of Libyan crude as opposed to Middle East oil."

The October 5 *New York Times* commented in a dispatch from Tripoli:

"Western oil companies operating here acknowledge that the terms under which they do business are more favorable than anywhere else in the world at any time."

Auckland Demonstrators Protest Police Brutality

By Hugh Fyson

Wellington

On September 14 a demonstration of 1,000 to 2,000 persons took place in Auckland. It was to protest recent and repeated police brutality, provocation, and arbitrary if not illegal police raids on homes and premises.

It was also to protest the active connivance of the press and members of the Cabinet in the campaign against the young radicals. On the same day, fifty people attended a picket in Wellington, organized by the Victoria University Socialist Club in defence of the Aucklanders. In Christchurch, 200 marched under the banners of the Progressive Youth Movement [a broad, all-inclusive radical youth organization oriented toward "direct action"].

The public was curious to know why the protests had taken place. They had good reason to be ignorant on this point, for they had for the most part been completely fooled by a much publicized "assassination threat" story that had been fabricated at the time of the visit of U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, on August 9. [See *Intercontinental Press*, September 8, p. 792].

On August 8, police in Auckland raided ten homes and offices, some of which were involved with the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) — the "guilty" ones — and others which were not, such as the offices of the Peace Council and the Progressive Books store. Three rifles were seized from some PYM members, together with a number of totally inoffensive items, such as containers used for collecting money which the press mysteriously described as "plastic cylinders."

Next day, August 9, was the day of the Rogers visit. For some unknown reason his tour of other centres was cancelled and he went only to Auckland, perhaps in order to lend more plausibility to the "scare."

Protests were held in other centres without confrontations with the police,

but in Auckland police provoked the crowd, arrested eleven persons, and beat up a number of others. At the same time, spokesmen for the establishment expressed their "grave concern" for the preservation of "law and order," and their "deep disturbance" on hearing of the arms seizures.

But what evidence was there of an assassination plot? Just two tiny facts, which proved nothing. Firstly, there was an article in the *PYM Organiser* giving instructions on how to make Molotov cocktails. But even *Time* magazine has published such information; there is nothing exceptional about it. Secondly, certain PYM members were discovered in the possession of firearms. But police knew about the weapons long ago, for they were ordinary registered sporting rifles.

In view of the fact that there are plenty of local people who would easily qualify as "targets," why did the police leave off seizing them until August 8? Stranger still, only two weeks later the most likely "murder weapon," a rifle with a silencer, was, accord-

ing to the *Evening Post* of August 29, returned to its owner.

Rather, the evidence points the other way, to a carefully conceived and well-executed plan of harassment against the radical Auckland left.

The victims of the attacks recognized this and called a protest demonstration on September 7. Between 200 and 300 people marched on the Civic Administration Building in Auckland, but the number proved to be too small, and the participants not sufficiently restrained, thus giving the police the opportunity to repeat their August 9 performance. This time thirteen were arrested — including two of the leaders who had attempted to *restrain* the demonstrators.

However, after this second confrontation the young radicals realized that a mass protest was needed. Good organizing work, including appeals to fellow radicals in other centres, brought this about. Hence the September 14 actions in three cities, excellent publicity in all the main newspapers, and even television and radio interviews.

Socialist Action League Founded

Wellington

A new political grouping has been formed in Wellington, the Socialist Action League of New Zealand. At the moment it is hardly more than a committee, but it has as its objective the construction of a vanguard party on the Leninist model, a party which, it is hoped, would at some future date seek affiliation as the New Zealand section of the Fourth International.

Although Marxist ideas are not unknown in New Zealand, the Socialist Action League represents an important new development, for several reasons.

In the past, the New Zealand working class and its allies have achieved a number of victories, but each step

forward has also been the prelude to failures and betrayals by the successive leaderships and the discrediting of their ideologies.

New Zealand workers have suffered first from the after effects of the rural radicalism of the Liberal party at the turn of the century, then from the semi-Marxian syndicalism of the "Red" Federation of Labour, whose militancy was crushed by the master class in the great strikes of 1912 and 1913, and finally from the purely parliamentary reformism and right wingery of the New Zealand Labour party.

While the Communist party of New Zealand, formed in 1921, did at certain points have some influence in

certain trade unions, it has for the most part, and increasingly in recent years, been isolated from the broad masses of the country's workers.

Thoroughly Stalinist for most of its existence, it was a "paper tiger" in all essential respects. Its only claim to fame is that alone among the Communist parties of the "West," it supported Peking rather than Moscow in the mid-1960s.

The failure of the various socialist and radical tendencies of the past, which is more or less recognised by the vanguard elements in New Zealand, means that it is only the bearers of a revolutionary Marxist programme who have any real, long term prospect of resurrecting the socialist tradition.

In addition to this, the Socialist Action League arrives at a time when the radicalization of youth in the country, particularly student youth, is just beginning to deepen and widen. Indeed, the League is itself a product of this incipient radicalization.

New radical and socialist clubs have appeared on every campus in the past eighteen months. Each one claims

independence from the existing political parties, and finds its major inspiration not in the bureaucracies of the USSR, China, or the Social Democratic parties of Europe, but in the Tet offensive, the Black Power struggle, the worldwide student revolt, and the huge upsurges in France and Czechoslovakia last year.

One such club is the Victoria University Socialist Club, founded by some Trotskyist students in June 1968. This broad formation laid the main basis for the formation only fifteen months later of the Socialist Action League.

Particularly important in this has been the club's quarterly magazine *Red Spark*, which has published the ideas of the Fourth International for the first time to any significant extent in New Zealand. The new League now also expresses itself through the fortnightly bulletin *Socialist Action*, which made its first appearance on September 17.*

* Subscriptions are available at US \$1.20 a year. The address is *Socialist Action*, Owen Hughes, editor, P. O. Box 1663, Wellington, New Zealand. —IP.

Socialist Election Campaign in Wellington

The newly formed Socialist Action League (SAL) of New Zealand announced October 1 that it would run its own candidate for the Wellington Central electorate. The league's standard-bearer in the campaign will be George Fyson, a twenty-year-old university student and editor of *Red Spark*, the magazine of the Victoria University Socialist Club.

The SAL had offered to support the candidate of the Labour party against the ruling National party, if the Labour party leadership would pledge to withdraw New Zealand troops from Vietnam if they were elected.

The October 1 issue of *Socialist Action* explained the League's decision to run in opposition to the Labour party candidate:

"This move arises from the failure of the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Kirk) to reply to a letter sent to him by the SAL on Sept. 16, which sought his personal assurance that if the Labour Party becomes the next govern-

ment with himself as prime minister, the NZ troops in Vietnam will be withdrawn within 40 days of his assuming office. In a second letter the League emphasised that if such an assurance were to be given, then it would actively support the campaign of the Labour candidate for Wellington Central to the best of its ability.

"But Kirk's fortnight in which to reply to the letter of Sept. 16 expired yesterday without a reply from him. Why has he apparently deliberately chosen to remain silent? . . .

"It is inexcusable that any party of 'progress' should deliberately avoid committing itself on a question so fundamental and so critical to the future of humanity as the Vietnam war. *The Vietnam issue must be made an election issue.* If Labour will not do this then the task falls to the League and other interested parties, such as the Wellington Committee on Vietnam, which intends to raise \$1,000 for just that purpose."

Soviet Union

Human Torch on Trial

Court proceedings were scheduled to open October 2 in Riga against Iljas Rips, a Latvian Jewish student who set himself on fire last April in solidarity with the self-immolation of Jan Palach and other youths who protested the Soviet invasion of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. No information is yet available on the outcome of the trial.

Pyotr Petrov, chief reporter of the *Moscow Soviet Weekly*, in a message summarized in the September 28 *London Observer*, said Rips would not be charged with anti-Soviet activities. He claimed that the student's action had been provoked by his "abnormal mental condition." The suicide attempt, Petrov asserted, "had no bearing whatever on Jewish emigration from the USSR."

Peter Reddaway, a correspondent of the *Observer*, reported a comment on the Rips case from a Moscow underground journal *A Chronicle of Current Events*. According to Reddaway, the *Chronicle* said: "It is now evident that although Rips may well have protested at the Soviet treatment of Jews, his main public protest was against the occupation of Czechoslovakia and this is the basis on which he was charged."

The *Chronicle* added, "To prove an intention to subvert the present political system is too difficult . . . It is much easier to intern Iljas Rips on the pretext of his mental abnormality."

Rips was to be tried on the charge of having committed "a criminal act," that is, of endangering those around him when he set himself on fire.

Five Servants Too Much for Williams

In an interview in Detroit September 14, Robert F. Williams, the black revolutionist, said that he and his wife were accorded such privileges in exile in China that they felt embarrassed.

"They said," he recalled, "'As a black man in America, you have suffered much and you deserve the best.' I was treated so well (two cooks, two maids and a chauffeured car) that I felt guilty about my own people and it became harder and harder to accept."

A Maoist Theoretician Takes On 'Trotskyism'

By Les Evans

Two featured articles in the September 19 issue of *Peking Review* were devoted to exposing the mysterious "Theory of Productive Forces," allegedly held by Liu Shao-chi. The parentage of this obscure "theory," according to one Maoist author, included the Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky—as well as Edouard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky, and the founder of the Chinese Communist party, Chen Tu-hsiu!

The main article entitled "The Essence of 'Theory of Productive Forces' Is to Oppose Proletarian Revolution," signed by one Hung Hsueh-ping, seems to be aimed at a heretical grouping inside China:

"Liu Shao-chi is now a political corpse," Hung writes, "but the pernicious influence of the 'theory of productive forces' he spread has not yet been eliminated."

What are the actual views of these unnamed persons? In view of the total absence of proletarian democracy in the People's Republic of China, there is no way of knowing except for what may be glimpsed between the flashing knives of the Maoist journalists.

The first part of the so-called theory, according to Hung Hsueh-ping, is that ". . . socialist revolution is impossible and the socialist road cannot be taken in any country where capitalism is not highly developed and the productive forces have not reached a high level." This is easily recognized as the theory of the Russian Mensheviks, known more popularly as the "theory of the revolution by stages."

If Hung were honest, he would explain how Stalin revived this theory in the form of "two stages," one in which the national bourgeoisie would lead the revolution, and a distant second socialist stage. Hung would also explain how Mao with his theory of a "bloc of four classes" faithfully followed Stalin.

Hung claims that there is a "new form" of the "theory of productive

forces" applying to the period after a socialist victory. This new heresy consists primarily in the idea that "the main task of the Chinese people and our Party is to develop the productive forces as rapidly as possible [this phrase is attributed to Liu Shao-chi]."

What is heretical about this otherwise elementary Marxist proposition, according to Hung, is that (1) it denies that "class struggle" continues after a socialist revolution — by this, Hung means the notorious Stalinist use of this phrase as a justification for proscribing proletarian democracy and repressing all opposition; and (2) it suggests that a real socialist society can only be achieved on a higher material and technological basis than capitalist society — a concept that lies at the heart of all of Marx's writings — whether or not it fits in with the "socialist" pretensions of the Chinese bureaucracy.

We may deduce from this polemic that someone is arguing for the need to pay more attention to production and to turn away from the purges of the "cultural revolution," or that someone has even questioned whether present-day Chinese society can qualify as "socialism" as described in the works of Marx or in Lenin's *State and Revolution*.

The "new" part of the "Theory of Productive Forces," then, as far as it can be deduced from the Maoist ideologues, appears to be a legitimate criticism of Maoist misrule, within the framework of Marxist ideas.

The real indication that the Maoist case is a frame-up job, however, is their need to make an amalgam between views on the tactics and strategy of building socialism in China today and an entirely different theory held by different people at a different time on the possibility of making a socialist revolution at all in an underdeveloped country.

The connection is established through the two words "productive forces," a term which occurs fairly often in

Marxist literature.

A special article in the same issue of *Peking Review*, "From Bernstein to Liu Shao-chi," written by a certain Kao Hung, provides us with the genealogy of this "theory" — as certified by the Maoist propaganda department.

Stating the Menshevik conception of the impossibility of a socialist revolution in an underdeveloped country, Kao writes:

"For more than half a century, from Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky down to Chen Tu-hsiu and Liu Shao-chi, this handful of renegades to the proletariat passed off such an absurd theory as historical materialism, using it as a 'theoretical' basis for their opposition to the proletarian revolution."

After more or less accurately stating Bernstein's concept of "evolutionary" socialism and his belief in the necessity for an extended period of capitalist development preceding the socialist "stage" of society, Kao writes:

"Lenin waged repeated and effective struggles against this reactionary 'theory of productive forces' before and after the Russian October Socialist Revolution. Prior to the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that victory for socialist revolution would not necessarily be first won in those capitalist countries where the level of productive forces was the highest, but could be first won in Russia, the weak link in the capitalist world. The victory of the October Revolution fully confirmed the correctness of Lenin's brilliant thesis."

This paragraph would be quite correct — if Trotsky's name were substituted for Lenin's. It is true that Lenin waged an implacable struggle against the reformist wing of the Second International, and that he built the Bolshevik party, the revolutionary instrument required to establish the first workers state. But Lenin did not accept the view that a socialist revolution was likely in backward Russia until his famous "April Theses" in 1917.

It was Trotsky, in his theory of Permanent Revolution, which he worked out in 1905, who postulated the possibility of telescoping the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist phases of the coming Russian Revolution. It was Lenin's acceptance of Trotsky's theory in 1917 — at the same time that Trotsky accepted Lenin's organizational concepts — that resulted in the reorienting of the Bolshevik party toward the seizure of power. This agreement on basic principles made possible the close collaboration of the two revolutionary leaders for the rest of Lenin's life.

Kao Hung's inclusion of Trotsky in the category of those who held the "theory of productive forces" is a crude falsification. Says Hung:

"Taking over the 'theory of productive forces' advocated by Bernstein and Kautsky, Trotsky likewise feverishly attacked Lenin's theory that the victory of socialism was possible first in one country, and attacked the October Revolution. In 1922, in his post-script to *The Programme of Peace*, Trotsky drivelled that Russia had not reached or even approached the stage of establishing a socialist society . . . and that socialism was possible only when there was the basis of developed and thriving productive forces. He further asserted that a real upsurge in the Russian socialist economy was possible only after the proletariat had triumphed in several of the most important European countries. This meant that the Soviet Union, which was economically backward, was not qualified to build socialism. Such a fallacy is, in essence, designed to create counter-revolutionary public opinion for a capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union."

Even for a Stalinist hack, writing for an audience without access to historical materials, the choice of arguments is ill-considered. In 1922 Trotsky was commissar of war and head of the Red Army which he had built and led to victory. If his policy and expectations for the European socialist revolution were "counter-revolutionary," then Lenin and the entire Communist International must be adjudged "counterrevolutionaries" as well, because Trotsky's views on the questions cited by Kao were official Comintern policy at that time, and were shared by Lenin and the other leaders of the Soviet Union.

In fact, it was not until 1924, when Lenin was safely in his tomb, that Stalin for the first time came forth with

his revisionist theory that a self-contained "socialist" society could be built in a single country. Nothing was farther from the entire body of Marxist theory and experience up to that time.

Having tried to drag Trotsky into their frame-up, perhaps to refute Moscow's charges that Peking is somehow "Trotskyist," the Maoists still have to plant this hodgepodge "theory" in Chinese soil. Here is how that is managed:

"In China, the 'theory of productive forces' was first advocated by the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu. In 1923, in his *The Chinese National Revolution and All Classes in the Society*, he one-sidedly stressed that China's 'industry is in its infancy and its culture backward,' that 'even the bourgeoisie is very infantile and, objectively, the working class is even more infantile.'

"He ranted: 'Under normal circumstances, political power will naturally be in the hands of the bourgeoisie following success in the national revolution.'"

Here the Maoists, in the best Stalinist tradition, rewrite their own history. Chen Tu-hsiu, as is well known, was the founder of the Chinese Communist party.

In 1916 there were only 1,000,000 workers in China—an "infantile" working class judged by the Marxist criterion of the development of the "productive forces."

But it was on the orders of Stalin, not Chen Tu-hsiu, that the new Communist party subordinated itself to the bourgeois Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese revolution paid for that decision in the bloody defeat of 1926-27.

If the Maoists were really interested in the evolution of the bankrupt theory of the "revolution by stages," they would have to look not to Trotsky and Chen Tu-hsiu, but, as we have noted, to Stalin—and Mao.

Stalin, in his retreat from revolutionary internationalism, adopted the Menshevik theory discarded by the Bolsheviks in 1917 that a revolution in a backward country must go through an extended "democratic" phase. The reason for this turn was simple: In order to build "socialism in one country," Stalin was interested in diplomatic alliances with bourgeois governments abroad, not in new revolutions that might involve the Soviet Union in conflict with its bourgeois "allies."

What the Maoists now call the "theory of productive forces" was a con-

venient cover for the Stalinized Communist parties of the world to engage in class-collaborationist alliances with the "national bourgeoisie," on the excuse that a socialist revolution was not possible.

Chen Tu-hsiu did nothing more than bow to the Stalinized Comintern—as did Mao Tsetung. When Stalin's policy resulted in a terrible failure, Chen Tu-hsiu was made the scapegoat.

What the Maoists do not report is that after the 1927 defeat, Chen Tu-hsiu, unlike Mao Tsetung, learned from the experience and became the founder of the Trotskyist movement in China. He and his followers thus became targets for the Maoists as well as the Kuomintang. When the Maoists came to power in 1949 they even destroyed the grave of the founder of their party.

Mao, contrary to some popular illusions, never abandoned the theory of the "revolution by stages." It is the essence of the Maoist "bloc of four classes." Up to the eve of Chiang Kai-shek's defeat, Mao favored joining the dictator in a coalition government. It was Chiang's refusal to go along with his American advisers that prevented the alliance.

Hung Hsueh-ping in his article declares that "the Chinese national bourgeoisie was not the target of the democratic revolution," adding that the "socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production" was not completed until 1956, some seven years after the Maoists came to power.

Liu Shao-chi is merely dragged in by the hair at the end of this performance:

"Stepping into the shoes of the renegades Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky and Chen Tu-hsiu, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi consistently advocated the reactionary 'theory of productive forces.'"

These articles are also directed against the "Soviet revisionist Khrushchov renegade clique," who are said to be practitioners of the "theory of productive forces."

There is one thing that should be noted, however. Moscow and Peking have bitter disagreements on a whole host of questions, so sharp that they have come perilously close to a full-scale war. Each accuses the other of being a dictatorship, or even a fascist regime. They do not even maintain diplomatic relations.

But the two bureaucracies see eye to eye on one point: the need for a united front against Trotskyism.

The State of Emergency in Ceylon

[The following is the text of a statement issued September 26 by the Central Committee of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The government declared a State of Emergency on the night of the 13th of September, whilst the whole country was in darkness due to the sudden token strike of all unions of employees in the Government Electrical Department that afternoon, which had been preceded in the morning of the same day by the strike of all unions of employees of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation.

On the face of it, therefore, it was clear that the government imposed the State of Emergency and brought both the electrical and oil distribution services under an Essential Services Order for the purpose of suppressing the strikes in those two services.

In neither case, however, was the Essential Services Order effective in intimidating the employees on strike into abandoning their demands and submitting to the order. This is a most welcome confirmation of the fact that the Essential Services Order can only *illegalize* a strike, *but cannot suppress* the strike itself, *if the strikers remain united in their determination to continue the strike* till it is properly settled.

The government itself seems to have realized this fact. The Essential Services Order was revoked within twenty-four hours of its imposition, even though the threat of another strike in the Electrical Department remained; and now a settlement has been reached.

In the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation, too, the Ministry of Nationalized Services initiated talks for a settlement last week, though it has not yet satisfied the unions concerned on their main demands; and the strike continues.

A feature of both the strikes was the complete unity of all unions of all cat-

egories of the employees in the electrical and oil installations. This feature had already been manifested in the strike in the Ceylon Fisheries Corporation, which began in the first week of September and still continues.

Never before in Ceylon's history of strikes have staff officers and senior executive officers joined unions of clerical, supervisory, and manual workers in a combined strike!

Another aspect of the three strikes mentioned above, which has also been manifested in the Ceylon Tyre Corporation, where all unions of employees, other than the executive staff, are on strike since the first of September, is that the unions involved in the strikes are under leaderships of different political parties.

Even more significant of the unity of the employees in these struggles is the fact that branch unions of the UNP- [United National party—the ruling bourgeois party] controlled National Employees' Union, as well as branch unions of Philip Gunawardena's MEP- [Mahajana Eksath Peramuna—People's United Front—a petty-bourgeois formation] controlled union, in the state corporations under his ministry, are on strike, together with SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom party—a bourgeois party], LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja party—led by N.M. Perera, this organization was expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 for joining a coalition government with the SLFP] and CP-led unions, and the CMU [Ceylon Mercantile Union], several of whose leaders are members of the LSSP(R).

What is more, the branch unions of the UNP-controlled and MEP-controlled unions are now on strike, in open defiance of the orders of their political leaders, who have instructed their members to return to work.

It is in the context of this unity and determination of employees in state establishments to win their demands by strike action, *despite their sectional and political differences*, and despite the continuance of the State of Emergency

and the take-over of oil distribution by units of the army and navy, that the CMU has issued a call to all trade-union organizations to come together for joint protest action against the continuance of the State of Emergency and the use of the armed services for black-legging against the strike in the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation.

Any joint action that may be taken by the trade-union movement as a whole will be in the nature of a working-class warning to the capitalist UNP government against the use of its emergency powers to break the strikes in state establishments, instead of settling them by remedying the grievances of the employees in those establishments.

The series of strikes in state corporations that has taken place since June this year is a direct outcome of the sharp rise in the cost of living, which has taken place since the UNP government took office in March 1965.

In December 1966 it took one measure of rice off the ration, even though the other was given free. In November 1967 it devalued the rupee. Thereafter, it further reduced the value of the rupee, last year and this year, by the introduction of the scheme of selling foreign exchange for imports of a large range of consumer commodities at much higher rates than the official exchange rates, on what are called Foreign Exchange Entitlement Certificates (FEECS).

The cut in the rice ration hit mainly the manual workers, who have to buy additional rice at more than twice the price that they paid for the two measures of rationed rice previously. The increase in the prices of sugar, flour and kerosene, which the government imposed when it devalued the rupee, also hit them.

Devaluation hit all classes of the population, except the big capitalists; and FEECS have raised the cost of living generally, but especially for middle-class consumers, including junior and senior executives in state corporations.

Whilst the need for substantial salary

revisions at all levels in state corporations became more and more pressing, as in other sectors, the government's decision to grant increases in pay to government employees, following their pig strike at the end of last year, without any revision being granted to employees in state corporations, naturally made the latter very resentful and restive.

On top of this, there has been gross indifference manifested by the boards of state corporations towards various grievances of their employees, again at all levels. This has been coupled with political patronage and glaring high-handedness as well as corruption on the part of individual directors of certain corporations, with the obvious connivance, at least, of the boards themselves.

Several instances of such corruption had been brought to the notice of the prime minister himself, according to his own UNP-led union, but without any investigation or correction of such abuses.

Philip Gunawardena, as minister of industries and fisheries, refused point-blank to entertain representations from the unions in the Fisheries Corporation, in the matter of allegations of corruption on the part of members of the board of that corporation.

State corporations, in short, are being used to serve for political patronage on the part of the political parties in the government, and they have also become happy hunting grounds for all kinds of dubious characters, who have been appointed to their boards on political grounds. This has definitely contributed to a complete loss of confidence in such boards on the part of all categories of their employees, from the executive levels downwards.

In this situation, strikes in three important state corporations are continuing, without any immediate prospect of settlement, because the government is refusing to sanction salary revisions in those corporations, and is refusing to intervene to ensure proper systems of recruitment and promotion in them and to ensure that individual directors of corporation boards are not permitted to dabble in the financial or administrative affairs of the corporations.

The continuance of the State of Emergency and the continued use of the armed forces in the Petroleum Cor-

poration is not in the public interest. It only serves to deny employees in state corporations a just revision of their outdated and inadequate pay-scales, whilst the cost of living keeps on rising.

It also helps to perpetuate political patronage, corruption and maladministration on the part of inefficient and self-serving boards of directors. This is why all sections of the organized working-class movement should come together at a national level, de-

Denmark

Uninvited Guests at NATO Exercise

Copenhagen

As part of its counterrevolutionary preparations in Europe, NATO is giving a "fire brigade" special training in civil-war situations.

Last August this brigade scheduled an exercise called "Green Express" in Seeland, Denmark. Some 12,000 NATO troops from Denmark, West Germany, Britain, and the U.S. participated in it.

To answer this provocative action, an ad hoc committee was set up which included representatives of the Venstresocialisterne [Left Socialist party], Revolutionaere Socialister [Revolutionary Socialist party, the Danish section of the Fourth International], Socialistisk Ungdoms Forum [Socialist Youth Forum, the youth organization of the Left Socialist], and Revolutionaer Aktion [Revolutionary Action, a militant youth group affiliated to the Danish section of the Fourth International].

The committee called for a demonstration to be held the night before the exercise began. More than 500 young demonstrators met August 19 in front of the U.S. embassy and the Danish defense ministry.

In a speech at the rally, Lars Hutter, a member of the Central Committee of the Left Socialist party, said that the only way to finally get rid of NATO was through the European revolution.

This was the first demonstration of its kind in a long time which the police did not venture to break up. This

spite their political or other differences, as several of their branch organizations have done already, in the current strikes, to demand the immediate ending of the State of Emergency and military blacklegging and the settlement of the strikes by the grant of immediate and proper redress to the just grievances of the employees on strike.

*P. B. Tampoe, Secretary
Lanka Sama Samaja Party
(Revolutionary)*

was probably because of the disciplined and militant way in which the demonstrators conducted themselves.

On August 21, between 200 to 300 demonstrators left Copenhagen in automobiles for Seeland. They sought to barge into the headquarters of the NATO generals.

Only a few succeeded in this. Others, however, managed to cut the field wires so that the generals were for a time removed from active participation in the mock war.

Kjaer Rasmussen, a Left Socialist member of parliament, participated with the flying brigade that addressed the soldiers in different sectors of the area.

Most of the literature passed out by the committee dealt with the Vietnam war. It urged the American soldiers in particular to utilize their civil rights to protest the dirty war.

A Case for Sherlock Holmes

Scotland Yard announced September 30 that its drive to recruit black policemen had failed to turn up a single applicant. At present there are fifteen nonwhite policemen among the 90,000 cops in England and Wales.

Scotland Yard had sent a letter to the headmasters of boys' schools in the London area inviting applications. The Yard seemed puzzled by the lack of responses.

Chief Superintendent Kenneth Lee, head of Scotland Yard's community relations branch, ventured one explanation:

"It would seem that colored boys are afraid that if they join the police they will be shunned by their fellows."

My Friend and Comrade, Ivan Yakhimovich

[The following two documents recently became available in the original Russian. The first, a statement signed by twenty-five Soviet citizens, including former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, was dated April 2, 1969.

[The longer document, by Grigorenko himself, was not dated, but was clearly written about the same time.

[Both documents are in response to

the arrest on March 24, 1969, of Ivan Yakhimovich, one of the most attractive figures of the new Soviet opposition movement. For the text of Yakhimovich's letter to party secretary Mikhail Suslov, mentioned by Grigorenko, see *World Outlook* (former name of *Intercontinental Press*), March 29, 1968, p. 279-281.]

* * *

Statement of the Twenty-Five

We are greatly disturbed by the news of the arrest of Ivan Antonovich Yakhimovich.

For those who knew him personally or who are familiar with his open, and principled statements against violations of legality, occurring in our country in our time, there can be no doubt: the punitive organs are trying to take reprisals against a man of irreproachable honesty and great courage, of whose innocence we are convinced.

We will never accept acts of repression that infringe upon legal rights and the dignity of our fellow citizens.

We cannot be silent and indifferent to the fate of Yakhimovich. Therefore we consider it our duty to declare that we will do everything possible within the frame of the law to stop this

infamous attempt to take reprisals against Ivan Yakhimovich.

(Signed) G. Altunian, engineer; M. Abduljemil, worker; T. Bayeva, office worker; L. Vasiliev, lawyer; I. Gabai, philologist; V. Gershuim, worker; P. Grigorenko, major general, retired; R. Djemilov, construction engineer; N. Yezhelkina, office worker; E. Yefimov, editor; L. Ziman, teacher; S. Kovalev, biologist; V. Kozharinov, worker; V. Krasin, economist; A. Levitin-Krasnov, writer on religious subjects; A. Lazut, mathematician; Yu. Maltsev, philologist; L. Plyushch, mathematician; V. Rakitansky, physicist; I. Rudakov, worker; G. Samokhina, teacher; V. Timachev, geologist; I. Yakir, office worker; P. Yakir, historian; I. Yashinov, oceanologist.

Pyotr Grigorenko's Statement

And so the first circle in the process whereby a man gains enlightenment in this country has now been completed for Ivan Yakhimovich, too. On March 24 he was arrested, and a fabricated case is being built up against him.

This is the end of all illusions, of the secret hopes that frightful deeds were simply mistakes and that the views of the party and government leaders actually correspond to the ideals they speak about from official rostrums.

With arrest, these illusions disappear. Anyone who is a real Communist can never again be deceived by flowery

declarations. For especially sensitive people this is the most difficult and frightful turning point in their lives. I experienced all this myself at one time.

Now this experience has fallen to the lot of my dear friend as well. How it was for him you may judge from the letter he wrote just before his arrest.

The history of how this letter came into being is also instructive. A legal case was under way involving him. At the last interrogation before he was arrested he was confronted with slanderous testimony by one of the instructors at the agricultural college and a characterization of him, of similar qual-

ity, by the first secretary of the Kraslava region party committee.

Ivan drew the correct conclusions: if the investigation had reached the point where such documents were fabricated, the question of his arrest and conviction had already been decided beforehand. Making use of the fact that at that time they let him return home, he drew up the letter.

Whoever reads it will see what unbearable anguish echoes in its every line. Anguish not for himself, not for his life that was being mutilated, but for the ideals dear to his heart that have been trampled so mercilessly.

Yes, Ivan is a person of acute sensitivity, wholeheartedly devoted to the ideals he absorbed in childhood, a person of great honesty, trustfulness, and love for people. In his every step, in every action, there is moral purity, integrity of character, a faith in people and in the rightness of the cause to which he has devoted himself completely.

One would have had to see how he talked with people, how they behaved toward him, what a moving friendship there was between him and his wife, how his three daughters—the oldest being only eight — loved their father, in order to understand what a pure, honest, radiant person this is.

I came to know Yakhimovich in March 1968. He had traveled to Moscow in order to find Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Bogoraz [Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel, wife of the imprisoned writer Yuli Daniel]. Their appeal "To World Public Opinion" he had heard on the foreign radio. Under the immediate impact of it, he wrote a comradely letter—as one Communist to another—to one of the secretaries of the Central Committee, Suslov. The latter, as is customary in the relations between highly placed party officials and rank-and-file Communists, never answered the letter.

On the other hand, it was received with great interest by the *Samizdat*.^{*} It quickly began to circulate and soon

^{*} *Samizdat* — literally, Self Publishing

showed up abroad. After it was broadcast by the foreign radio, Yakhimovich was called in to the KGB. During a long interview it was made known to him, in particular, that Litvinov and Bogoraz had not signed any appeal, that this was a fabrication made up by the BBC. In order to clear up who was right—the KGB or the BBC—he came to Moscow.

From our first conversation I knew that I had to do with a convinced Communist, a highly developed Marxist-Leninist. This brought him close not only to me but to my fellow Communists as well—the seventy-two-year-old writer, *Aleksei Kosterin* [Grigorenko's emphasis], a member of the Bolshevik party since 1916, who had spent three years in czarist prisons and seventeen in Stalin's death camps; the sixty-four-year-old scientific worker, *Sergei Pisarev*, a member of the party since 1920, who had suffered the most frightful abuses in the secret police prisons, leaving their permanent mark on his life (a ruptured spinal cord); and the theoretical physicist *Valery Pavlinchuk*, a talented young scientist and one of the authors of the books *When Physicists Joke* and *More Physicists' Joking* [apparently, popularizations of recent advances in physics], who was secretary of the party organization at one of the scientific research institutes in Obninsk. Many questions were discussed by this group of five people devoted to the ideas of communism. And when, in the summer of 1968, clouds gathered over Czechoslovakia, we decided to express openly what we thought about the events in that country. The delivery of our collective letter to the embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was entrusted by our friends to Yakhimovich and me. On July 28, 1968, we fulfilled this mission.

The last time Ivan Antonovich and I saw one another was at the end of February this year. During his very short trip here (two days in all) the

House, a play on such acronyms as *Gospolitizdat* for State Political Literature Publishing House. The term refers to the widespread practice in which private individuals duplicate, usually by typewriter, material of interest and pass it on to others, often resulting in hundreds or thousands of manuscripts circulating privately. The crude form of reproduction results, not surprisingly, in sometimes quite disparate versions of the original item.



PYOTR GRIGORENKO

two of us probably discussed more than we had in all the time that had gone before. It was very hard to part. Perhaps because at that time the investigation involving Yakhimovich was already under way and his arrest was to be expected; and perhaps because by that time, of our group of five, only we two remained. *Aleksei Kosterin* and *Valery Pavlinchuk*, hounded by the savage bureaucratic machine, had passed away; subjected to harsh persecution, *Sergei Pisarev* had fallen seriously ill.

The deepgoing analysis of the internal and international political situation of the USSR and of the contradictions within the international Communist movement which I heard from my companion at that time showed that during the time we had been apart he had studied these questions intently, had done a great deal of thinking, and experienced a lot. The anguish and alarm with which he spoke about the ill-considered actions that had gotten our party and country into an exceptionally unfavorable position, weakening and undermining their international authority, are something that would have to be heard. The culmination of these discussions was our joint appeal "To the Citizens of the USSR" concerning the self-immolations in Czechoslovakia.*

* For the text of that appeal, see *Intercontinental Press*, March 31, 1969, p. 312.

Yakhimovich has spoken about himself quite movingly in his prearrest letter. I will therefore cite only some details of his biography. At the age of twenty-three he completed his university courses. The honorable labor of teaching, to which he devoted himself thereafter, enchanted him; he fell in love with it. However, he only worked in the schools for four years. The CPSU leadership summoned the party's cultural forces to the village—to save agriculture, which had been crushed by the whole preceding criminal policy. And for that reason, the young Communist Yakhimovich decided to abandon the work he loved. It was not for the sake of a career or for glory, but simply out of his Communist sense of conviction.

Joining the party in 1960, he spent a lot of time studying the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the current party documents. Everything he studied, assimilated in his mind, became part of his personal world outlook, the constant basis for all his actions. The proper development of his Communist consciousness was made possible by the fact that his life in the party began after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU; therefore he did not experience in its entirety the deadly workings on the mind, the dogmatism, of the personality cult period.

But without having experienced it, he nevertheless acquired an accurate enough picture of that period, and this made itself felt in the formation of his views. By himself he came to the firm conclusion that never again should the party oligarchy be permitted to get into position to run the show as it pleased, free of any control whatsoever, in both the party and state. Every Communist, no matter what post he holds, has an equal right to participate in the decisions affecting all internal party matters and in government affairs. Yakhimovich was certain that this was not only his conclusion but the general line of the party as well. He did not yet know then that the words of party and government leaders are one thing and their actual practice another. It would never have occurred to him that precisely the defense of the views he had worked out would bring him to the prisoner's dock.

So long as he proclaimed his right only to the first part of the formula

by which he had chosen to live, everything was fine. No one objected when he renounced the privileges provided by the teaching work he loved, and expressed the desire to go to work on a backward collective farm, paying no heed to the difficulties this new way of life would bring. On the contrary, this action met with the approval of the party apparatus.

In 1960 he was elected chairman of the Yauna Gvarde collective farm. He worked selflessly to master his new, unfamiliar, and complicated job. He approached everything through first-hand experience, learned from the rank-and-file farm workers. Because of his work, no time remained even for his family, whom he dearly loved. Nevertheless he resolved to find time even to do some studying in his new profession. In 1964 he began to attend the Latvian Academy of Agriculture. This exacting labor did not go unrewarded. Things began to go better for the collective farm. Even the central press began to talk about it. The collective farmers evaluated their chairman rightly, feeling a sense of respect and confidence toward him: four times they reelected him to that post.

But then came the time for the second half of Yakhimovich's chosen formula. He expressed his views on a very small question, and suddenly it became clear that his opinion was not only not needed by the party leaders but even irritated them with its reference to the usurped rights of party members. It turned out that the leaders were only for equal rights within the party in words, while in reality they were content with the inner-party situation established under the personality cult—a situation of total freedom from control for the leaders, their full independence from the party mass. It is no secret that in those accursed times a goodly number of scoundrels and careerists, of morally degenerate types, penetrated into the party. The remaining mass of party members, as a result of the innumerable brutal purges directed against thinking members of the party, were turned into politically indifferent people who lived by the principle: "The Central Committee knows best what should be done; our job is to submit unquestioningly to the party 'bosses.'" The ide-

ology of precisely that element of the party mass was supported and encouraged by the party leadership.

The highest party leaders themselves, trained in the stuffy, family-circle atmosphere among the "Boss's" retainers, responded to "guerrilla sorties" such as Yakhimovich's letter the way a bull responds to the color red. And whatever he wrote and however he wrote it, as long as it was done on his own initiative and not by order from above, he could expect only that fate which in fact has overtaken him. Bypassing the base-level party organization, they expelled him from the party; in essence he was thrown out by decision of the regional committee apparatus of party bureaucrats; then, when he had gone to take his exams for his fourth course at the agricultural academy, they removed him from his post as collective-farm chairman, in violation of the collective-farm charter. At the same time they dismissed his wife from the school where she was teaching Russian.

Yakhimovich, with three young daughters to care for, had to look for work and a place to live. They went to the city of Yurmala, to his wife's mother with whom they shared a room of *eight* square meters. [Emphasis in original.] They had been given permission to move, but after several days Ivan Antonovich was denied permission to stay where he was. It was necessary to go through all sorts of harassment to finally receive permission for temporary registration and, therewith, a chance to find work. Ivan was hired as a stoker at the sanatorium, and Irina as a kindergarten teacher, apparently with the not unfounded hope that the children, at that age, would not yet be prone to the influence of her "alien" ideology.

While Yakhimovich was trying to get permission to register and therefore was not working, he suddenly came under "suspicion" of robbing a bank, and a search was made of his home. But strange to say, the search was conducted not by the proper authorities but by the KGB and for some reason they did not hunt for the weapon used in the crime or for stolen money but leafed attentively through his books, confiscating all *Samizdat* material, as well as the notes, diaries, and letters of the "suspect." Soon an

investigation began, not into the crime for which the search had been conducted, but into suspected "spreading of slanderous rumors discrediting the Soviet state and social system." Incidentally, during this investigation it came out by chance that the real criminal, the one who had actually robbed the bank, had been detained long before the search of Yakhimovich's home.

What is the meaning of all this?! For the KGB, laws do not exist. If a person is arrested by this body, the case will be drawn up, the prosecutor will support the indictment, and the Soviet court, "fairest in the world," will condemn him. Past experience offers no examples to the contrary. Tens of millions of those rehabilitated posthumously or after long years of sitting in Stalin's camps are the best proof of the "fairness" of past sentences. And the present system differs from the former one only quantitatively (fewer are jailed), not in essence. At bottom it remains as before—"The KGB makes no mistakes." Therefore, Yakhimovich too will necessarily be condemned unless forces capable of stopping the criminal hand of the latter-day Stalinists can be found.

A single individual is nothing to the Stalinists. They will never take something on that small a scale into account.

War 'Surplus' in Saigon

Washington is investigating reports that the Saigon clique has sold more than 5,000 of the highly prized U.S. M-16 rifles to private international arms dealers as "war surplus." Some 200,000 weapons are on sale, including machine guns, grenade launchers, Browning automatic rifles and "M-16s."

A sales brochure dated June 19, 1968, lists 5,539 "M-16s" as available. After Senator William Proxmire demanded an investigation, the Pentagon announced that the "M-16" listed in the brochure was a Vietnamese "abbreviation" for German Mannlicher rifles manufactured in 1916.

A different version was supplied by the September 26 *Washington Post*. The *Post* interviewed Tran Khoa Hoc, third secretary for political affairs at the Vietnamese embassy in Washington. Hoc "identified the M-16 rifles on the list as U.S. manufactured."