

# Intercontinental Press

Africa

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## **Why Hitler Was Able to Overrun USSR**

## Tokyo Takes Title

Compelled by Tokyo to give up the title of the world's largest city, New Yorkers could still claim theirs was the world's dirtiest city.

Now they have lost that title, too. No less an authority than *Newsweek* conceded November 3 that the inhabitants of Tokyo, with 75,000 belching factory chimneys and 1.5 million cars, "are living in the world's most polluted air."

As against the 17 tons of soot per square kilometer falling each month in New York, Tokyo can boast 34 tons. Possibly New York's soot is qualitatively dirtier than Tokyo's, but it is hardly twice as oily and sticky.

Tokyo also appears to have moved ahead of New York in smog production. "On six smog-warning days this year, deaths in Tokyo rose from a daily average of 159 to as high as 197; in contrast, on New Year's Day when factories took a rest, the toll fell to 119." *Newsweek* did not publish the figures for New York — probably to avoid frightening its staff members who live in Manhattan.

The smog is so dense in Tokyo that nearby Mount Fuji is seen from the downtown area only 40 days a year.

Visibility on the sea route between Tokyo Bay and Uraga "fell to zero on more than 50 days last year; 147 ships collided or struck rocks."

The trees, naturally, can't take it. "So many of the city's legendary cherry trees have died that Tokyo has asked Washington for saplings from the very trees Japan gave the U.S. more than 50 years ago."

Entrepreneurs, alert to every possible way to make a yen, are turning the smog to good account. Oxygen-vending machines are a popular feature in coffee shops. For 90 yen or so you can get a whiff of instant relief.

Gauze sales have gone up, inasmuch as schools ask their students to wear gauze masks while attending class on smog-alert days.

Tokyo's traffic cops have also turned it into a good thing. Instead of a coffee break or tea time, they return to headquarters for an oxygen inhalation break.

### Maoist Biology

"The cadres and the peasants take the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works as a basic need in life." — Hsinhua, October 16, 1969.

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# A Travesty of Judicial Procedure

By M.R. Whitney

Every day since October 29 Bobby G. Seale, chairman of the Black Panther party, has been carried into the Chicago courtroom of Judge Julius J. Hoffman with a gag over his mouth, handcuffed, and chained to his chair. Seale is on trial with seven codefendants on charges of "conspiring" to provoke riots during the demonstrations at the Democratic party convention in Chicago in August 1968.

The government's cynicism in pressing the trial may be judged by the fact that the black leader and the other defendants are charged under the anti-riot provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, President Johnson's much touted legislation for providing more rights for black people.

The law provides penalties of up to ten years in prison and a \$20,000 fine for anyone who crosses a state line (including by use of the mails, television, or radio) with "intent to incite to riot or to organize, promote, encourage, participate in, or carry on a riot."

From the outset, the trial has been a frame-up attempt to pin the blame on the radical movement for the scenes of club-wielding police savagery that were seen on television around the world in August 1968. The fact is that the government-appointed National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, which made an extensive investigation of the events, declared in its report last December that what had taken place was "a police riot."

But it is not the police who are on trial. The "Conspiracy Eight" are men who in the government's view represent the American left. They are the victims of the police attack at the Democratic party convention.

In addition to Seale the defendants are: David Dellinger, 53, a well-known pacifist and the leader of a tendency in the antiwar movement; Tom Hayden, 29, a former leader of the Students for a Democratic Society and a project director of the Chicago demonstrations; Rennie Davis, 29, also a leader of the convention protests; Jerry Rubin, 31, and Abbie Hoffman, 31, both of the "Youth International



HOFFMAN. Not a hanging judge—just a gag-and-chain judge.

party," or Yippies, a virtually non-existent organization which they serve as chief jesters; and John Froines, 30, and Lee Weiner, 30, former staff members of the National Mobilization Committee, which Dellinger headed at the time of the demonstrations.

Although some of the defendants are familiar figures, none — with the exception of Seale — command significant followings, even on the left. This, and the predictable antics of Rubin and Hoffman, may have contributed to the government's belief that they could be easily victimized.

From its opening on September 24, the trial has been a travesty of judicial procedure. Rubin and Seale were separately kidnapped by police in California a week beforehand. Although they had agreed to appear in court, they were seized without warning. They were not permitted to telephone their attorneys, even to report what had happened to them. Instead of being flown to Chicago, they were chained and handcuffed and taken by car — isolated for a week from any contact with the outside world.

On the first day of the trial, Judge Hoffman issued orders for the arrest of four attorneys who had helped pre-

pare pretrial motions for the defense. They were charged with contempt for failing to appear in court, although they had never undertaken to do so. This was part of a crude maneuver to force Seale to accept an attorney not of his own choosing — a central issue in the trial.

The defendants are not even members of the same organization, and their only "crime" is having organized legal public demonstrations that were assaulted by the police. But Seale's connection with the events is even more remote, as he only came to Chicago as an invited speaker at an outdoor rally. He has insisted on his right to be represented by Attorney Charles Garry, a San Francisco lawyer who has frequently defended the Black Panthers. Garry has just undergone an operation in San Francisco and is recuperating. Seale has asked that his trial be postponed until Garry is able to be present, or that he be permitted to defend himself in Garry's absence.

Judge Hoffman has arrogantly denied both requests. The defense accused Hoffman of holding the four attorneys he had arrested as hostages to blackmail Seale into accepting another lawyer.

Hoffman's move drew such ire from the legal profession that some 200 lawyers from all parts of the country picketed the Chicago federal building September 29 protesting his arbitrary treatment of their colleagues. Hoffman released the attorneys.

The judge has turned down virtually every motion by defense attorneys William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass, while automatically sustaining almost every motion or objection of the prosecution.

For witnesses, the government has paraded a number of police spies and undercover agents. Their testimony has been contradictory and has conflicted with their own statements before the grand jury that made the original indictments.

Tom Hayden, one of the defendants, writing in the November 1 issue of the *Guardian*, a radical New York weekly, said of the case:

"The most concrete action charged any of the defendants so far was letting the air out of police car tires, throwing sweaters at undercover agents and other trivia which defense attorney William Kunstler asserts belong in a municipal police court, not before the federal bench.

"Occasionally there is a fantastic claim such as the one that Rennie Davis arranged for live television coverage in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel Aug. 27 [1968] and then ordered Mobilization marshals to kick the line of policemen in the shins so demonstrators would be clubbed before the TV audience. On this particular charge as on many others, cross-examination revealed no shins were kicked."

Judge Hoffman's October 29 chain-ing and gagging of Bobby Seale was to enforce his edict prohibiting Seale from cross-examining witnesses on his own behalf. Seale has announced that

he has fired attorneys Kunstler and Weinglass. The Black Panther spokesman—in part to prepare the court record for an appeal if he is convicted—has risen on numerous occasions and tried to cross-examine hostile witnesses or object to motions of the prosecution.

In ruling that Seale does not have the constitutional right to defend himself, Hoffman has called these statements "outbursts" and used them as a pretext for the shameful chain-and-gag restraints. Seale has been beaten in the courtroom by federal marshals several times when he has slipped free of his gag and cried out against this barbarous treatment.

On October 31 the trial was recessed for three days so that defense representatives could fly to San Francisco to consult with Charles Garry to determine when he would be well enough to come to Chicago and undertake Seale's defense.

sible measures" to prevent "a change for the worse in the status quo of this neighboring country." Even the United States State Department was forced to disavow Allon's saber-rattling as "unhelpful."

But Washington made its own threat even more explicit. An October 31 Associated Press dispatch reported: "Secretary of the Navy John H. Chafee said today that the United States was not eager to land troops around the Mediterranean but could do so if circumstances made it necessary."

The Beirut government has sought to demobilize the Palestinians through a proposed cease-fire and establishment of "coordination" between the guerrillas and the Lebanese army. The *New York Times* commented November 2: "The phrase implies that the commandos would be given limited freedom of operation, but only within the limits of what the army would be willing to approve."

Virtually all of the Arab regimes, with the Nasser government in the forefront, have sought to impose this "solution" on the Palestinians.

*Al Anwar*, a "leftist" Egyptian paper, accused "armed men" of starting the clashes at Rasheiya and other places, saying the Lebanese government had merely defended itself.

The government of Iraq has demanded an immediate end to hostilities.

The Soviet Union is participating in secret negotiations with the various parties in the dispute and has called for a "comprehensive solution" to the Middle East crisis.

Only Syria has given formal endorsement to the Palestinian demands, but it is noteworthy that the leader of Syria's Baathist supporters in Tripoli, Dr. Rafei, has declared that "strikes, demonstrations, leaflet distributions should cease in expectation of a political solution," according to a report in the October 28 *Le Monde*.

Three representatives of the commandos arrived in Cairo October 31, where Lebanese Commander-in-Chief General Emile G. Bustani has gone to participate in negotiations sponsored by the Nasser regime. Fatah leader Yasir Arafat has not yet decided whether he will attend the talks.

#### Purest Sewage in the World?

Windhoek, South-West Africa, is now recycling a million gallons of sewage a day, 30 percent of the city's water supply. According to UN experts, the drinking water is better than the residents ever had before.

## Lebanon

# A Crisis for the Whole Middle East

The attempts of the Helou regime in Lebanon to crush the Palestinian commandos operating within its territory have touched off the most serious political crisis in the Middle East since the Israeli blitzkrieg aggression against the Arab states in June 1967.

The latest confrontation began October 18 when the Lebanese army attacked Al Fatah guerrillas near the village of Majdal Selm close to the Israeli border. The clashes have since escalated between the 20,000-strong army and an estimated 4,000 guerrillas, with the army apparently getting the worst of it.

Fatah has not challenged the legitimacy of the pro-American regime. The commandos had limited their demands to their right of freedom of movement for raids into Israel. The confrontation was touched off when Fatah men sought to leave their mountain bases to take up winter quarters in villages in southern Lebanon.

The Palestinians have won widespread support among the Lebanese people, especially in Tripoli, which, with 300,000 people, is the country's second largest city. About half of the country's 2.2 million people are Muslims, the other half are Christians.

The guerrillas have sought to open new supply lines from their main base in the Mt. Hermon area in Syria. After an unsuccessful attempt to take the fortified town of Rasheiya near the Syrian border, Fatah claimed a major victory in a five-and-a-half-hour battle at the nearby village of Kfar Kouk October 31. An estimated 500 guerrillas beat back an assault by a full armored battalion of the Lebanese army numbering some 2,000 men.

Fatah also holds some nine miles of Lebanese territory in the north, from the village of Nahral Bared to the Syrian border. There are continuing clashes in many towns and villages.

The guerrillas have chosen Lebanon in their search for an open border with Israel in part because increased Israeli security measures in the occupied West Bank of Jordan have curtailed the effectiveness of operations in that area.

But the tiny country has become a pawn in a much larger struggle in which the other Arab states, Israel, and the major powers — the U.S. and the Soviet Union — are all maneuvering to affect the outcome.

Israel's Deputy Premier Yigal Allon threatened October 23 "to take all pos-

# Is Nixon Counting on Support Abroad?

By Joseph Hansen

NOVEMBER 2 — On the eve of the TV speech in which Nixon, according to his October 13 promise, is to "explain" his Vietnam policy to the American people, speculation is high over what he will actually offer.

From the viewpoint of the White House, the problem for Johnson's heir is a different one. If he makes a major concession to the antiwar sentiment, he can give a powerful impulse to the use of street mobilizations in advancing demands related to a host of issues, ranging from black freedom, student rights, jobs, and price controls, to pollution of the environment.

If Nixon decides not to give any substantial concessions, this can add fuel to the antiwar sentiment.

Nixon's closest advisers have intimated that their boss will try to do three things: (1) Defend his record in office up to now, citing the reduced level of fighting in Vietnam, the lowered rate of casualties, increased South Vietnamese strength and self-reliance, and how the war may yet be ended at the "negotiating" table. (2) Denounce the "intransigence" of the North Vietnamese government in responding to the "reasonable" attitude of his administration. (3) Make some demagogic appeals, implying a certain schedule on phasing out the war, but without any hard and fast commitments. To give plausibility to his demagoguery, Nixon can resort to various expedients, including announcement of a new "withdrawal" of troops within the figures already approved by the Pentagon (200,000 according to some sources).

"What he will not do, in the opinion of some of his most influential advisers," Max Frankel reported from Washington in the October 29 *New York Times*, "is sacrifice the interests of the Saigon Government of President Nguyen Van Thieu for a momentary political gain at home."

To counter the pressure inside the United States, the Nixon administration is seeking support abroad. More and more reports are appearing in the communications media about "fear" abroad of a U.S. "bugout" in Vietnam.

The countries where this "fear" has

suddenly appeared range from Australia to West Germany. It is not difficult to sense the hand of the State Department in these expressions of opinion, which are generally vague and ascribed to "authoritative sources."

This will hardly make much impression on the American people. They may wonder, however, at a new phenomenon that is being played up in the press.

As the *New York Times* put it in a front-page headline November 2: "Anti-U.S. Feelings Subsiding Abroad on Vietnam Issue." According to a worldwide survey made by correspondents of the *Times* on the eve of Nixon's November 3 speech, "indifference to the Vietnam issue is growing sharply in Europe, Latin America and Africa."

According to the *Times*, "Young people overseas are no longer fired up about the war, and antiwar demonstrations have become rare."

"Correspondents all over Europe report a spectacular decline of interest in the Vietnam issue," continues the *Times*. "Germans 'don't raise the subject at cocktail parties any more and don't express strong opinions if someone else brings it up,' the correspondent in Bonn reported.

"For Londoners Vietnam 'is a long way from Piccadilly,' and in Rome a left-wing student leader said: 'We always make some reference to Vietnam at our meetings, but we are concentrating now on problems and reforms at home.'"

The impression of these journalists may, however, prove to have been rather superficial.

Let it be recalled that in the United States itself, with the victory of Nixon, the antiwar movement subsided for a time. The reason was that most people assumed that Nixon had every reason to end the war. He had promised this in campaigning for office. And he won the election precisely because Johnson did not end the war and because Humphrey refused to take a different course. Most voters assumed that Nixon, looking ahead to 1972, would not want to court Johnson's fate. Therefore they gave Nixon what appeared to them to be a reasonable time

to get rid of the Johnson crew and to deliver on his promise.

Nixon deliberately took advantage of this to gain time. He did very well. Up to now he has gained a year's extension of the war.

The sector of the antiwar movement that saw through Nixon's strategy, warned about his aims, and continued to press for mass mobilizations, was not very large. At the center of this sector stood the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

In Europe, Nixon was even more successful in gulling the general public. Some of the most energetic opponents of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam were sure that Nixon would soon acknowledge the defeat of the U.S. and begin liquidating the war. Perhaps they had in mind the way de Gaulle pulled the French troops out of Algeria. This served to further demobilize the antiwar movement in Europe.

The Stalinists played a most perfidious role in undermining the antiwar movement by their silence and their do-nothing policy. The lead in this was provided by Moscow. The violent pitch reached in the Sino-Soviet conflict distracted attention from Vietnam. An additional source of disorientation was the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Now it can confidently be predicted that further prolongation of the war in Vietnam will provoke a revival of the antiwar movement in Europe on a scale eclipsing anything yet seen.

The Europeans will feel even more taken in than the Americans by Nixon's false promises. Besides, they will have the inspiring example of the resurgence of the antiwar movement in the U.S.

## New Light on "Vietnamization"

In mid-October, sixteen years after the end of the Korean war, U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird expressed the following pious wish on the continued stationing of U.S. troops there:

"I would like to see us move in the direction of 'Koreanizing' our activities in Korea just as rapidly as we can."

This would not include the withdrawal of U.S. forces, he added.

# 1,000,000 Protest War in Vietnam

More than 1,000,000 persons took part in antiwar rallies held in at least 700 places throughout Japan October 21, according to figures released by the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan. The largest rally took place in Tokyo. The October 22 *Mainichi Daily News* said police estimated the crowd in the capital's Yoyogi Park at 100,000 persons.

The demonstrations, the largest since 1960, were called under the slogans, "abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, immediate unconditional reversion of Okinawa, opposition to Prime Minister Eisaku Sato's U.S. visit and opposition to the war invasion in Vietnam."

The rallies were sponsored jointly by the Japan Socialist party, the Japan Communist party, Sohyo, the Japan Peace Committee, and other antiwar groups. The *Mainichi Daily News* reported:

"It was the first time the Socialists and their affiliate Sohyo had joined hands with the Communists in such a large-scale political demonstration.

"Sixteen industrial unions belonging to the 4,300,000-member Sohyo also staged short strikes or workshop rallies to mark the day.

"The National Railway Workers Union (Kokuro) and National Railway Motive Power Union (Doryokusha) continued their 'work-to-rule' slowdown struggle against the hauling of jet fuel to U.S. Air Force Bases in Japan."

Thousands of left-wing students staged their own demonstrations, and clashed sharply with police, particularly in Tokyo and Osaka. Police announced they had arrested 1,407 students by the end of the day — all but 185 of them in Tokyo.

The government mobilized a force of 25,000 riot police in the capital for the occasion and virtually closed up for the day, as did most private business. The October 22 *Yomiuri* reported:

"The International Trade and Industry Ministry made all female personnel leave for home at 3 pm while it organized a 150-man fire fighting team for

emergency night vigil, while at the Finance Ministry all personnel were instructed on how to handle fire extinguishers.

"At the Foreign Office, entrances and exits at its main gate were covered with wire netting for protection from stoning.

"At the Tokyo District Court female and male personnel finished their work at 2 pm and 3 pm, respectively, and went home."

Traffic in downtown Tokyo was down to one-third of normal. At Shinjuku Station, a frequent target for radical demonstrators, police erected a wall of five-millimeter-thick steel plates and covered railway signs with vinyl boards.

Small "guerrilla" groups belonging to the various Zengakuren factions confronted police in various parts of the city. The youths were armed with wooden staves, and, in some cases, with Molotov cocktails.

"About 200 students of the Chukakuha (middle core) faction of Zengakuren carrying wooden staves stormed into the JNR [Japan National Railway] Shinjuku Station at about 4:20 p.m. after walking along the tracks from Okubo Station on the Chuo Line," the October 22 *Japan Times* reported.

"Riot police who were on guard at the station closed in on them from all directions and made many arrests. The students put up little resistance."

In Osaka, Japan's second largest city, an estimated 35,000 persons held an orderly demonstration on Midosuji Street. Afterward some 11,000 left-wing students carried out a series of actions. *Mainichi* reported:

"The 'new left' group included radical university students and members of the militant Antiwar Youth Committee and of the Japan 'Peace for Vietnam' Committee (Beheiren).

"Among the group that gathered at Ogimachi Park were about 1,000 students from the Kyoto area and 400 from Kobe.

"The rally at the park was tumultuous from beginning to end, with each faction holding its own meeting to denounce the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty

and to demand immediate reversion of Okinawa—the main theme of the nationwide Antiwar Day struggle.

"Riot policemen 'disarmed' the participants at all seven gates to the park. When the radicals went into action for the demonstration toward the Umeda district, so did the riot policemen, walking alongside the chanting demonstrators, forming an unbroken line of durumine shields.

"The 'parallel walk' tactics of the riot police nipped in the bud any attempt of the demonstrators to deviate from pedestrian walks." There were scattered clashes with police and some firebombings later in the evening.

The broad support for the massive antiwar rallies was an indication of the popular opposition to Sato's scheduled renewal of the Security Treaty next year. The size of the October 21 demonstrations outside of Tokyo and Osaka were an augury of the struggles ahead. The 20,000 persons who marched in Kobe and the same number in Sapporo and other cities in Hokkaido, were symptomatic of the grassroots repudiation of the government's right-wing, pro-American policy.

## Great Britain

### Crisis in British CP

Old-line Stalinists are expected to do their utmost at the British Communist party's national congress November 15 to reverse the party's stand criticizing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The Kremlin stalwarts are led by R. Palme Dutt, the CP's best-known intellectual. Dutt has publicly called on congress delegates to vote down any condemnation of the Soviet blitzkrieg.

The Dutt faction blames the present leadership for the precipitous decline of the party in the past year, attributing it in part to their stand on Czechoslovakia.

According to the October 23 *Guardian*, "there has been a loss of some 2,000 adult members since the Czech events, and the party is now reduced to about 30,000. The decline in the Young Communists has been catastrophic—they are down by 37 per cent, from 5,938 to 3,741—and are some £2,000 in debt."

The Kremlin is said to be giving heavy support to the Dutt faction.

## November Antiwar Actions Planned

Tokyo

A series of militant mass antiwar actions are planned here in mid-November, building up to November 17 when Premier Eisaku Sato plans to leave for a visit to the United States to confer with Nixon on the return of Okinawa to Japan and on the proposed renewal of the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty next year.

Sohyo [General Council of Trade Unions of Japan] has called a one-to-three-hour token strike for November 13. Rank-and-file antiwar workers will try to broaden these strikes.

On November 15 the whole radical antiwar movement is to gather at a unified rally and demonstration sponsored by the National Committee of Antiwar Youth, the Peace for Vietnam Committee, and the National Federation of the All Campus Struggle Committees. This is certain to draw thousands of students, young workers, and citizens opposed to the war in Vietnam.

On November 16 these organizations will try to join a rally sponsored by the Japan Socialist party [JSP] and Sohyo—which have a policy of excluding radical student demonstrators. Clashes with the police are expected.

In Okinawa a one-day general strike has been called to protest the premier's visit to the U. S.

There have been antiwar mobilizations throughout the month of October. On October 10 a united rally of all the radical forces was held in Tokyo. More than 60,000 persons took part. Each organization held its own gathering beforehand; high-schoolers, the National Federation of All Campus Struggle Committees, the National Committee of Antiwar Youth, and the Peace for Vietnam Committee.

Representatives of the participating groups expressed their determination to fight against Premier Sato's visit to the U. S. and endorsed a call for the November actions. After the rally the participants marched from Meiji Park to Hibiya Park. The rally was opposed by the JSP, Sohyo, and the Japan Communist party [JCP].

On October 19, 700 youths held a rally at Sendai where ninety-five persons were arrested, fifty-four of whom were workers.

The following day seven students of the International Communist Student

League staged a militant demonstration at the embassy of the South Korean "Republic." They carried banners reading: "For the liberation of the Korean people!" "Down with the Park regime!" "For the united-front of Korean, Okinawan and Japanese fighting peoples!" and "Long live the Far-East Asian liberation revolution!"

October 21 was a nationwide antiwar action day. The police intervened on the eve of the demonstrations to expel the radical students from the campuses. On the day of the actions, Tokyo's downtown and administrative centers were under the complete emergency rule of the Metropolitan Police.

Radical student demonstrations were prohibited with the exception of those called by the Peace for Vietnam Committee and the Antiwar Youth Committee.

Youths defied the emergency rule and organized illegal street battles in which clubs and Molotov cocktails were used. More than 10,000 students and young workers took part in the fights that broke out at many places in downtown Tokyo. About 1,200 persons were arrested (some 300 were arrested in other cities as well).

The main center of the street battles was the area around Shinjuku Station. A band of about 200 armed members of Chukaku (Forward group) entered the station with their fighting equipment. All were arrested.

Several thousand youths gathered outside the station and fought sporadically with the heavily armed police for about eight hours.

The rally and march of the Peace for Vietnam Committee drew about 10,000 persons, 2,000 of whom clashed with the police.

The one-day joint action of the JSP, JCP, and Sohyo held at Yoyogi Park was a peaceful rally of some 60,000 persons. The rally leaders rejected the participation of the radical students and antiwar youth committees.

In the city of Sapporo in Hokkaido (Japan's northernmost island) about 1,000 students, joined by some 3,000 citizens, occupied a part of the street in front of Hokkaido University. They held barricades against the police until the following morning.

In Osaka about 1,000 telephone and telegraph workers staged a one-day strike. A joint committee of the "new left" groups held a meeting of some 7,000 students and workers. Elsewhere, a coordinating conference of antiwar young workers organized a rally of 10,000. The JSP-Sohyo rally drew 70,000 persons.

A demonstration of several thousand workers protested U. S. bases at Hawa city in Okinawa.

About 1,500 students and 250 young workers joined the JSP-JCP Yoyogi Park rally in Tokyo, where they clashed with police.

## Austria

### CP Dissolves Youth

A decision to dissolve the Austrian Communist party youth organization, the Free Austrian Youth, was announced in Vienna October 28. The measure was adopted at a plenum of the party's Central Committee by a vote of forty-five to twenty-five.

Starting next year, the 5,000-member youth organization is to be replaced by a new formation, the Youth Movement of the Communist party. The present young Communist magazine *Youth* 69 will no longer be printed in the party shop.

The youth had been a stronghold of the anti-Stalinist faction in the Austrian CP. It distinguished itself by vigorously attacking the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the old-line Kremlin hacks in the party.

Coming in the wake of the expulsion of Ernst Fischer, the most prominent Austrian Communist intellectual and reformer, this "reorganization" of the CP youth has generally been interpreted as a major triumph for the unreconstructed old Stalinist faction.

This triumph may prove to be a Pyrrhic victory. Such brutal Stalinist methods of crushing dissent among the youth cannot help but cost the party much of its youth membership. With most of its members middle-aged or elderly, the party can hardly afford such a loss. The rule-or-ruin tactics of the Stalinist faction threaten to split the Austrian CP. The reaction of the youth has not yet been reported.

### Havana Plans World's Largest Zoo

Cuba will complete the world's largest zoological park in 1973. It will cover 766 acres, divided into sections on Africa, America, Eurasia, Australia, and the polar regions.

# The Great Slaughter of Dairy Cows

[The following article has been translated from the October 25 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*.]

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A decision made by the Common Market Commission on September 15 became effective in mid-October. Every small peasant in the six Common Market countries is to receive a payment of 10,000 Belgian francs [US\$200] for each cow, provided he slaughters his entire herd.

Payment of 10,000 francs per cow is also provided for rich peasants who have more than ten milk cows giving at least 2,000 kilos [4,410 lbs.] of milk per year on the sole condition that these peasants completely stop putting milk on the market. In this case there is no *immediate* obligation to slaughter their cows. The rich peasants need only convert their farms from dairy farms into farms producing livestock for the slaughterhouses.

This operation is intended to reduce the number of cows in the six countries of the Common Market by 250,000 head and will cost the tidy sum of \$50 million (2,500,000,000 Belgian francs).

The reason cited by the Common Market authorities to justify this massive slaughter of European cows is overproduction of milk and butter. It is well known that the cold storage depots in West Europe are filled to overflowing with a mass of unsold butter—more than a half million tons, or more than two kilos [about four and a half pounds] of butter per inhabitant of the Common Market area! — and that this unsaleable mass is accumulating at a rate of more than 100,000 tons per year.

Is there really abundance in West Europe in the physical sense of the term? Is the consumption of milk and butter less than that needed to absorb the supply, that is, lower than the current production of dairy products *regardless* of their price? Some say it is, but it has never been proved.

The fact is that "pockets of pover-

ty" exist in West Europe (think of the underpaid workers in Belgium and Germany, regions of southern Italy, etc.) where the consumption of dairy products would mount significantly if the price of these products were cut.

It is true that such a drop in the price of dairy products would condemn a mass of small farmers to ruin . . . if there were no subsidies. But in fact the present prices are already subsidized. The whole question, then, comes down to this: in what form should this subsidy be paid — in the form of artificially high prices (which artificially restrict consumption) or in the form of direct subsidies to the farmers accompanied by a radical lowering of prices?

Direct subsidies would manifestly be more rational. But, out of opposition to "statism," it is preferred to hang on to a system with a "capitalist" appearance (a system of "profitable prices"), a procedure that is nonsensical from the economic point of view and that leads to a scandalous restriction of consumption and production. A "scandalous restriction of production," let it be said, because, after all, as they keep reminding us, the peoples of the underdeveloped countries are hungry and the threat of famine will remain for decades to come. The threatened famine is primarily a protein famine, a lack of animal proteins above all.

And at the very same time as appeals are made in the name of pity and charity to relieve hunger in the "third world," an underproduction of animal products is being systematically organized that can only intensify this hunger.

The 250,000 cows to be slaughtered produce a total of 250,000 to 600,000 tons of milk a year. This would make several hundred thousand tons of rendered butter and/or powdered milk that could be distributed to the children, women, and those ailing from undernourishment in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In fact, this operation (including the building of plants to produce the powdered milk) would probably not cost any more than the \$50 million that

is now to be spent on slaughtering these cows.

The Common Market Commission no doubt perceived how inhuman its decision appeared. Simultaneously with its vote to slaughter the 250,000 cows, it decided to donate 120,000 tons of powdered skim milk to the underdeveloped countries.

But this gesture to placate the commission's conscience (and reduce the existing stocks of surplus milk) does not offset the plan it adopted to "clear" the milk market. These 120,000 tons are taken from existing stocks, while the proposed slaughter of 250,000 cows affects current and future production.

The culmination of the criminal absurdity into which capitalism has brought the international economy is the fact that West European cattle are often fed with products exported by the underdeveloped countries.

The export of these products (for example, peanut-oil cakes) removes proteins from the consumption of "third world" inhabitants that have been the basis of their diet for centuries.

The powdered milk they are sent in exchange has less protein as a whole than the oil cakes (the "protein balance" of the third world in its trade with Europe and North America shows a large deficit). Moreover, a good part of the population that formerly mixed peanut oil or the nuts themselves into its daily diet does not have the means to buy this powdered milk.

But the beauties of the market economy are such that the export of oil cakes is "profitable" for the third world . . . just as slaughtering cows is "profitable" for the imperialist countries.

This is how capitalism succeeds in accomplishing the feat of simultaneously organizing overproduction and famine. This is nothing new for Marxists. It is new only for all those who believe in the virtues and merits of "organized capitalism."

### But the Stockholders Appreciate It

To keep the world safe for investments, the Pentagon maintains about 400 large, and 3,000 smaller, bases in thirty countries. A million troops are stationed in the bases, as well as 500,000 dependents and some 250,000 indigenous employees. The network costs U.S. taxpayers (which includes low income workers) between \$4 and \$5 billion a year.



## The General Electric Strike

More than 132,000 workers walked out at 280 General Electric Corporation plants in thirty-three states October 27 in the first nationwide strike to hit the giant company since 1946. The company, the fourth largest in the nation, has announced in advance that it will make no concessions beyond its first minimal offer that provoked the strike. The unions, a coalition of thirteen different organizations, have vowed to remain out until their demands are met.

The issues involved are purely economic, although implicit in the strike is a challenge to the autocratic bargaining practices of GE.

Frank Lovell, a veteran trade unionist and revolutionary socialist, writing in the November 7 issue of the New York weekly *The Militant*, described the situation:

"Among the giant corporations in this country GE has been most free to conduct its labor relations in a manner that was the envy of all the others. This was possible because of the weak, rival unions within its vast empire. This resulted mainly from the bureaucratic, cold-war expulsion of the United Electrical workers [UE] from the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations] in 1949 and the organization of a rival CIO union, the International Union of Electrical Workers [IUE].

"This circumstance of dual and feuding unions made possible the GE labor policy known as 'Boulwarism,' thought by some to be a clever formula for big business to deal with organized workers.

"The term derives from a former GE vice-president in charge of labor relations, Lemuel R. Boulware, who simply took advantage of union weakness and disorganization to dictate his own terms.

"That long period of union weakness appears now to have been overcome, at least for the beginning stages of the present strike."

The strike was called by thirteen unions, ten of which are in the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations]. The IUE is the largest, representing 88,500 of the strikers. UE has 16,000 members at GE. The other two non-AFL-CIO unions are the Teamsters

and the United Automobile Workers.

The unions have demanded an immediate rise of \$.35 an hour to cover the coming year with an additional \$.55 an hour for the following two years. The average wage at GE is \$3.25 an hour at present.

The company has replied with an offer of \$.20 an hour for the first year and refuses to discuss the second two years of the contract at this time. The bosses are gambling that higher unemployment or even a recession in the next year will put them in a better bargaining position to hold down wages no matter how prices rise. The company has also refused to consider a cost-of-living escalator clause demanded by the unions.

The government has said it will not intervene in the strike, but this has already been belied by its actions.

On October 27 in a television news interview Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz said that GE could not raise wages without having to raise prices, thus contributing to inflation. Union spokesmen challenged this claim and pointed out that GE's after-tax profits were \$90.2 million in the third quarter of this year, compared to \$81.3 million in the same period last year.

The government has also provided a team of "mediators" who are seeking to impose an arbitrated settlement. The unions have agreed to accept such a plan, but GE has refused. Frank Lovell commented:

"The outcome of such arbitration proceedings as proposed by the unions in this instance have rarely resulted in major gains for workers, especially when undertaken to avoid a strike. The failure of government spokesmen to score GE's arrogant attitude for its outright rejection of arbitration clearly shows how sympathetic and completely subservient these government agents are to the attitude and aims of the corporation."

It is not excluded that Washington will intervene later on the pretext of assuring production of war matériel inasmuch as GE holds numerous Defense Department contracts.

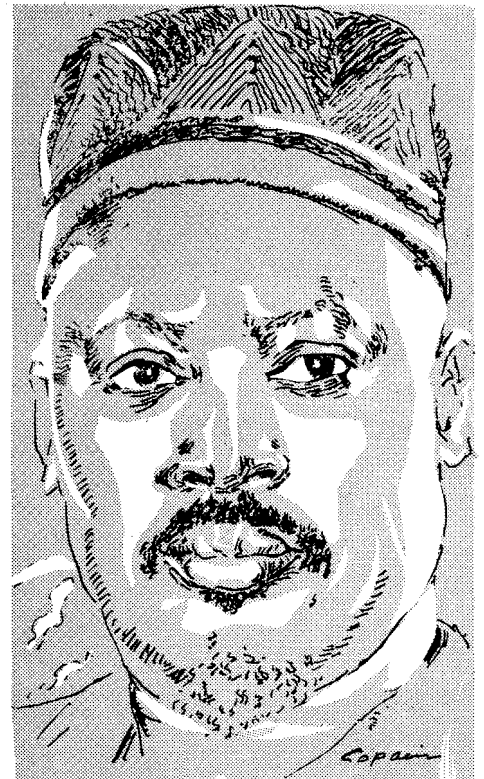
Despite an October 27 ruling by the United States Court of Appeals in New York that GE's widely publicized

"take-it-or-leave-it" bargaining strategy was a violation of the National Labor Relations Act, the company has refused to make a new offer to the strikers.

There have been scattered clashes between strikers and strikebreakers at several GE plants, especially at the giant Schenectady, New York, plant where thousands of pickets have confronted scabs and police.

The unions are assembling a "war chest" of strike funds and are preparing for a long strike.

## Odinga Imprisoned



Oginga Odinga, leader of Kenya's opposition Kenya People's Union [KPU], was placed under house arrest October 27 following the gunning down of eighty-nine of his fellow Luo tribesmen by President Jomo Kenyatta's bodyguards on October 25. Kenyatta has accused Odinga of provoking the incident in which eleven persons were killed to "bring about chaos and embarrass the head of state . . ."

Odinga has accused Kenyatta of seeking the confrontation as a pretext for suppressing his left-wing opposition months before the first national elections since Kenya became independent in 1963. All seven KPU members of parliament as well as the party's publicity secretary have been jailed.

## Behind the Nationalization of Gulf Oil

The nationalization of the Gulf Oil Company's Bolivian holdings by the country's new president, General Alfredo Ovando Candia, appears to have come as a surprise to both Wall Street and the White House. It may cause U.S. ruling circles to take another look at what is going on in their Latin-American backyard.

The first conclusions were indicated in a rather unusual article in the financial section of the October 26 *New York Times*, "A Tough Bolivia Shakes Oil Industry," by H.J. Maidenberg.

The first effect of the take-over, he reports, "was to shatter an article of faith that has long sustained foreign businessmen in Latin America." The article of faith was that "You can always do better with a military government than a civilian one because Latin American countries can only function under a strong hand."

Not even the Peruvian nationalization of the International Petroleum Company, Ltd., a Canadian subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), upset the hallowed article of faith. The petroleum industry's experts considered it to be a "special case" involving a dispute going back to the past century.

"But the Bolivian takeover was the first real shocker since the Cuban revolution. For several years the military backed government of Bolivia had provided an excellent climate for foreign investors that encouraged Gulf Oil to spend more than \$150-million to explore and develop their finds near Santa Cruz."

Gulf Oil built a pipeline over the Andes at heights of up to 14,000 feet to Arica in Chile where tankers could haul the precious stuff away. Some 32,000 barrels a day came from the field, out of which 25,000 were exported.

In addition to this, Gulf entered into a partnership with the Bolivian government to build a natural-gas pipeline from the Santa Cruz field to Buenos Aires, Argentina.

"Today," says Maidenberg, "confidence in dealing with military governments is shattered . . ." Also shattered

is any confidence that General Ovando can carry out his promise to compensate Gulf Oil.

"What then possessed the military men, who seized power a few weeks ago, to risk the inevitable wrath of Washington and the powerful foreign oil and other companies?"

The monopolists and their political agents must be buzzing over that one. According to Maidenberg, sources in diplomatic channels and in the petroleum industry offer a "couple of explanations."

The first is that upon assuming power, General Ovando at once confronted the same problems as the regime he kicked out. As Maidenberg puts it, "he lost actual control over the military . . ." It is not clear what is meant by this. As the unchallenged head of the army, Ovando seized presidential power and became dictator of Bolivia. This enabled him to undertake policies not open to a civilian figurehead in the presidential palace subject to a veto wielded by the officer caste.

The second explanation is more pertinent; namely, that "the military establishments in Latin America are faced with two choices: To continue their traditional role of defenders of commercial and industrial interests or to avoid potentially dangerous showdowns with the growing numbers of destitute masses and assume the role of leaders in their fight for a better life."

Bolivia, as the most poverty-stricken country in Latin America save for Haiti, is of course notoriously unstable. The masses have been simmering there for a number of years with periodic outbreaks of violence.

The bourgeois leaders have sought to contain the explosive forces by very harsh repressive measures, alternating with leftist demagogy. To be convincing, the demagogy has to be very revolutionary sounding and accompanied by occasional palpable concessions. To stabilize his new regime, General Ovando had to make a dramatic show.

"The choice in Bolivia was rather

simple," Maidenberg explains. "The country has almost no industry or large land owners. The tin mines are government-owned and have been since the Bolivian revolution of 1952, which led to the break-up of feudal estates as well. However, the years since the revolution have seen only painfully slow improvement in the lives of the lower classes. Bolivia continued to be ruled by a tiny Spanish-speaking elite that held sway over the Quechua and Aymara-speaking Indians, who make up close to three quarters of the population."

In this paragraph, the *Times* correspondent prettied up the picture somewhat. The truth is that in the past period the standard of living has actually declined, the government compelling the miners, for instance, to take a severe cut in wages and an increase in layoffs. That is why the mines have been held under army occupation.

The final explanation offered by Maidenberg is the conviction "among Latin Americans that Washington under the Nixon Administration has definitely turned its back on the region . . ." No one expects any "meaningful aid" from Nixon.

"So, the Bolivians decided to seize the only means of revenue, aside from tin, to use for development."

We now come to the most interesting part of this informative article. Bolivian government circles are responsive to pressures from Peru and Chile who hold the Pacific Coast ports of the landlocked country. Argentina exercises influence as a market for certain products and as an area of work for migrant laborers. And Brazil's "foreign service has enjoyed what many consider an inordinate influence over Bolivia, whose borders with the giant neighbor are ill-defined."

Maidenberg becomes even more specific:

"Since the Peruvian military coup d'etat in October, 1968, many Bolivians have been impressed by Lima's ability to withstand heavy United States pressures following the take-

over of I. P. C., a relatively insignificant producer by world standards. Bolivians have also watched with interest Peru's ability to obtain aid and vital technical assistance from Eastern Europe.

"Petroleum industry sources, for their part, are convinced also that Bolivia would not have taken over Gulf's operation if the Government had not received assurances of markets for the oil and natural gas, which Brazil has long wanted for her industrial heart of São Paulo.

"The best guess is that Bolivia's rulers will market the oil in Peru, which has been importing ever-increasing amounts of petroleum products in recent years at great expense in foreign exchange. Chile is considered another market for the same reasons and few would be surprised to see natural gas pipelines completed not only to Buenos Aires but São Paulo as well.

"Bolivia's alternative, in view of her limited internal market, would have been to wait for the trickle of oil revenues in the face of declining aid from Washington and the growing lack of interest by the Nixon Administration in the region."

Another very important element, which Maidenberg refrains from mentioning, is the current world context. The mighty United States, the most colossal military power in all his-

tory, is facing defeat at the hands of a tiny country like North Vietnam. The modern Goliath is, after all, vulnerable . . .

This has served to encourage a more venturesome attitude on the part of some of the bourgeois forces in Washington's satellite and "client" states. Perhaps twisting the lion's tail does not mean immediate loss of one's head.

On top of this, the State Department and Pentagon, before undertaking escalation in new areas of the world, must now take into consideration the great upsurge inside the United States itself of mass opposition to the war in Vietnam.

The massive antiwar demonstrations in the streets of virtually every town and village in the United States show that the times are not propitious for new foreign adventures. The Pentagon's capacity to send troops abroad without paying a heavy domestic political price has been greatly reduced.

Finally, for those who may feel pity for the stockholders of Gulf Oil, caught by such a sudden freeze in the climate for foreign investment, a comforting note from Maidenberg:

"As for Gulf Oil, its loss will probably be written off in taxes at home and the output from Bolivia will hardly be noticed in its worldwide operations."

whole country to demand that the Nixon administration stop the war of aggression in Vietnam, and immediately bring home all U.S. troops.

Your drive eloquently reflects the legitimate and pressing demand of your people — to save the honour of the United States and to avoid for their boys a useless death in Vietnam. This is also a very fitting and timely answer to the U.S. authorities who stubbornly persist in intensifying and prolonging the war of aggression in Vietnam, in defiance of the protests of American and world public opinion.

The Vietnamese people and the world's peoples fully approve and warmly hail your just struggle.

The Vietnamese people demand that the U.S. government completely and unconditionally pull out of Vietnam all U.S. troops and those of foreign countries belonging to its camp, and let the Vietnamese people decide themselves their own destiny.

The Vietnamese people deeply cherish peace, but a peace in independence and freedom. So long as the U.S. government has not stopped its aggression in Vietnam, the Vietnamese people will tenaciously fight on to defend their fundamental national rights. The patriotic fight of our people is also a fight for the objectives of peace and justice you are pursuing.

We are firmly confident that with the solidarity and courage of our two peoples, with the sympathy and support of the peace-loving peoples in the world, the struggle of the Vietnamese people and of the progressive people in the United States against U.S. aggression will end in total victory.

I wish your "fall offensive" a brilliant success.

Cordial greetings,  
PHAM VAN DONG  
Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

#### **Pull on Night Club Life in Cali**

Guerrillas in Colombia have collected more than \$600,000 in kidnapping ransoms from wealthy circles in Cali since August. Because of the threat, a serious decline has been noted in night-club life.

#### **Rise in GI Deserters in Sweden**

Sweden announced October 17 that fifteen more GI deserters have been granted resident status, bringing the total in the country to 307.

## **Document**

# **Hanoi's Letter to the American People**

[On October 14 Vice-president Spiro T. Agnew, moments after meeting with Nixon, appeared at a White House press conference. His subject was a letter read earlier in the day over Hanoi radio, hailing the antiwar struggle of the American people.

[Agnew called the letter a "shocking intrusion into the affairs of the American people." He did not explain why it was shocking for Hanoi to write a letter to the American people, but not shocking for Washington to burn Vietnamese babies with napalm.

[On October 15, Agnew and Nixon received a fitting rebuke—an antiwar mobilization exceeding in size any demonstration in the history of the country. The American people were

obviously in no mood to be fobbed off by McCarthyite red-baiting.

[The official English translation of the Hanoi letter has just been received in New York via Prague. The full text follows.]

\* \* \*

Hanoi, October 14, 1969

Dear American friends,

The progressive people of the United States have so far struggled against the war of aggression in Vietnam. This fall, the broad masses of the American people, encouraged and supported by many peace- and justice-loving American personalities, have again started a broad and powerful drive in the

## Students and the Coming Revolution

[Ernest Mandel, a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, was interviewed recently by *Politiken*, a mass-circulation capitalist daily in Copenhagen. The interview appeared in the October 3 issue of the Danish paper, along with comments by the reporter, Nils-Christian Nilson. Our translation follows; a few short phrases have been left out, which Mandel reports were garbled.]

Just as the American Herbert Marcuse is the philosopher of the student revolt, so the Belgian Ernest Mandel is the left movement's economic theoretician. His book *Marxist Economic Theory* has been regarded as a masterpiece of the newer Marxist literature since 1962. Mandel has gained a reputation as the sharpest critic of neocapitalism and as one of those persons who typifies the left movement in Europe.

Ernest Mandel is in Denmark to meet with the Danish left movement and representatives of the student revolt. According to his theories, the Western economy is heading into a period of decline which can bring with it the development of revolutionary situations.

"I think that we have already seen the end of the boom in the USA and that the West German Wirtschaftswunder [economic miracle] will be over and done with in a few years. After this, the whole Western economy will plunge into a decline," Ernest Mandel said.

He continued: "We will not get crises and unemployment on the scale of 1929, but the period of rapid economic growth is over. This will create difficulties for neocapitalism. The workers are not ready to accept a little unemployment willingly."

*Question: "Do You expect revolution in West Europe?"*

*Answer:* "It began in May 1968 in France. Both Italy and France today are in what I would call pre-revolutionary situations. Greece and



Ernest Mandel and his wife, Gisela, interviewed in Copenhagen. The State Department later denied a visa to the Belgian Marxist economist, blocking a debate with John Kenneth Galbraith at Stanford. Protesters are seeking to get the ban lifted.

Spain can quickly reach the same stage. A revolutionary situation is thus possible in four West European countries."

*Q: "Do you regard the most recent strikes as a part of this development?"*

*A:* "A strike per se is not a revolutionary action; it may be only a method of altering the distribution of income within the framework of neocapitalism. But now we are about to see strikes develop because the workers want codetermination. Such strikes are revolutionary. They will also reach Scandinavia but later than other places. The trade-union leaders here have discussed a codetermination law, but I am afraid that their aim is to divert an anticapitalist movement into collaboration with capitalism.

"If the trade-union leadership achieves success, that will enable them to make the codetermination law into something which does not benefit the workers. If the workers in the factories, on the other hand, begin to discuss their own affairs and start up strikes to exercise an influence on the matters of concern to them, Scandinavia will see a revolutionary movement that can spread like a prairie fire."

*Q: "Will the use of force be necessary for the revolutions that you want?"*

*A:* "The notable thing about the May revolution in France was that it was nonviolent. The rulers used violence when the students started out and when the revolt was ebbing. But they could not use violence against the 10,000,000 workers who occupied the fac-

ories. I don't like violence, but I will not capitulate to violence from the opposing side. The price for capitulation is greater than the cost of resistance."

Q: "What role does the student revolt play?"

A: "It has inspired a revolutionary movement. The students are the first sector to virtually free itself from the control of the bureaucracy. This has created possibilities.

"In the long run, the students have neither the strength nor sufficient weight in society to make a revolution. They can help the working class to organize and lead the struggle, but they cannot lead it.

"The French students could not restrict themselves to working on their own problems. They had to concern themselves with more general questions, but they failed because they were not organizationally nor ideologically prepared. At the same time they did not have the necessary strength.

"The students threw themselves into many problems, which worked to divide their front. Coordination could have been achieved only in a revolutionary party. The students' decentralization nonetheless brought them into contact with many groups. But I am not pessimistic as long as, despite divisions, the direction is to the left."

Q: "What parties in West Europe do you consider to be revolutionary?"

A: "None. If we had revolutionary parties, we would also have revolution. But that can come quickly. The preconditions for revolutionary situations are present."

Q: "You have spoken only about revolution in West Europe?"

A: "We need social revolutions in West Europe. In East Europe the need is for political revolution. The situation the workers and students in Czechoslovakia created was the beginning of political revolution."

#### Getting Out While They Can

The Los Angeles County Medical Association has estimated that 10,000 persons leave the area each year on account of pollution of the air, once famous for its crystalline purity.

## Israel

### In Arabic, the Thoughts Are Dangerous

#### Haifa

Four members of the Israeli Socialist Organization [ISO], which has both Arab and Jewish adherents, were arrested October 18 for distributing pamphlets in Nazareth and in the nearby Arab villages. Three of those held are Jews, the fourth an Israeli Arab.

The pamphlet explained the attitude of the ISO toward the scheduled October 28 elections to the Knesset. It was written in both Hebrew and Arabic.

Restrictive legislation requires that any Arab text must be cleared by the censor before publication. Even songs and poems in Arabic must be passed by the censor. In the Hebrew language this procedure is demanded only with texts on security, immigration, and petroleum.

The Arabic text in the proscribed pamphlet is a literal translation of the Hebrew text on the same piece of paper. But Israeli state officials do not allow Arab citizens of Israel to receive the same information as Jewish citizens.

Early in 1968 the ISO requested permission to publish an Arabic-language

weekly under the title *El-Nur*. Despite repeated inquiries, a final decision was not made by the government until September 8. The reply of the Haifa district officer was:

"In my authority according [to] point 94 of the Defence Regulations (Emergency), 1945, I refuse to grant you the requested permission certificate for edition of the above-mentioned weekly."

A few months ago, the ISO tried to publish a special Arabic issue of its paper *Matzpen* [Compass]. One-time publications do not require special permission, but must be passed by the censor if they are in Arabic.

The censor cut out the essential parts of political articles, the substance of which had been previously published in Hebrew. The ISO was forced to renounce the issue as not representing its political views.

Such is the celebrated Israeli "democracy": a double standard for Israeli Jews and Israeli Arabs. Given the present trend, however, this double standard will soon be eliminated — by further restrictions on the rights of the Israeli Jews.

### Carlos Fonseca Captured in Costa Rica

Major Carlos Fonseca, the main leader of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua [FSLN — Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional], was captured August 29 in Costa Rica.

The Costa Rican government did not announce that it was holding Fonseca until sometime in September. "Later," according to an October 15 dispatch of *Prensa Latina*, the Cuban government news agency, "the Costa Rican authorities allowed the Somoza security Agents . . . to interrogate Comrade Major Fonseca, thus emphasizing the collaboration between the Costa Rican authorities and the Somoza dictatorship."

A communiqué of the FSLN added: "The Costa Rican authorities have propagated rumors on the possible escape of Major Fonseca, thus preparing the eventual application of the well-known

law of flight or failing that, the open handing over of Fonseca to the bloody clutches of the Somoza regime.

"We charge that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) through the Yankee Embassy in Costa Rica, has taken over the direction of what they call a 'delicate' case of international politics, thus demonstrating the total submission of the Costa Rican government to their Yankee masters."

The FSLN denounced the "imprisonment, torture and deportation undergone by Nicaraguan revolutionaries in Costa Rica. . . . In the past six months we can cite the cases of Tomás Borge, Henry Ruiz, Germán Ponarez, Oscar Turcios, Francisco Rosales, Humberto Ortega and others . . ."

Fonseca is accused of participating in a holdup of the Uruca bank August 25. The FSLN denies any responsibility for the action.

# Why Montreal Exploded

By Dick Fidler

[The following article is taken from the October 20 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

\* \* \*

"If France had its May revolt, Montreal had its October terror."

That's how one Montreal daily, *La Presse*, described its own reaction to the day the cops copped out. On Tuesday, October 7, Montreal's 3,800 police and 2,400 firemen, at wit's end over their failure to win back wage parity with Toronto, stopped work and headed for Paul Sauvé arena for a "study session."

By the time they went back to work early the next morning, 800 troops just back from "peacekeeping" duties in Cyprus, were patrolling the city's streets, together with 700 provincial police and 77 RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted police]—and merchants in the English section of town were faced with an estimated two million dollars damage from looting and arson.

It was the first time the army had been called out in a Canadian city since the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

What happened in Montreal on October 7 was a social explosion resulting from the sudden release of collective frustrations. Above all, the frustration of the French Canadian youth, who are swarming onto the labor market from over-crowded schools and colleges to compete for jobs that are increasingly scarce or, where available, in English . . . in their national homeland, Quebec. Their growing revolt has been held in check only by the naked force of the state, in the first place its police.

On October 7, that force temporarily vanished from the streets, and thousands of these youth took advantage of its absence to vent their anger on suitable targets — the Murray Hill taxi monopoly, Birk's, Eaton's, McGill University, radio stations, the expensive hotels, and many other examples or symbols of English Canadian capitalist repression. For the most part, French establishments were spared, with the notable ex-



TRUDEAU. "They ran amok."

ception of Mayor Jean Drapeau's swank new restaurant. (This was enough to make the protection of City Hall a top priority for the incoming soldiers.) What may have upset the establishment most was the looting of several gun stores.

Equally revealing, however, was the behavior of the police. Imagine the shock of the powers-that-be in Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa to discover these guardians of law and order — among the most sophisticated in North America in the tactics of harassing and breaking up popular protests — themselves protesting!

And what a protest! Eyewitness reports told of how all 17 police stations emptied "within minutes" once the call to gather at the Sauvé arena had gone out over the police radios. The streets around

the arena were clogged with hundreds of police cars, while inside, thousands of cops — most still in uniforms, their guns at their sides — shouted invective at the city authorities and even threatened to march on city hall.

When panic-stricken authorities sent in the Quebec Provincial Police to restore order, "Montreal's finest" emulated the tactics of the young radical demonstrators they've so often been used to suppress. Flying squads, encountering QPP cars, overturned them or commandeered them for their own use. Some provincials were beaten up. Using the radios of seven provincial police cars they had seized, the Montreal cops succeeded in jamming radio communications for all the others.

The mayor must have been particularly galled by the policemen's most popular chant, one that he had heard hitherto only from leftist demonstrators: "Drapeau au poteau" — Drapeau to the stake.

Asked his opinion of what was happening in Montreal, a worried Prime Minister Trudeau said society had run "amok." Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque, equally shocked, excelled everyone in the national assembly in attacking the strike, attributing it to the "immaturity and irresponsibility" of the police union leaders who, admittedly, had lost control of their rank and file.

Quebec Liberal spokesman Claude Wagner, former attorney-general, said the Montreal events proved that Quebec stands on the "verge of revolution" and added:

"There is discontent in all strata of society and this discontent is only beginning to be expressed in a violent way."

Reporters conducting man-in-the-street interviews were hard-pressed to find anyone who opposed the policemen's wage demands. Many people related the explosion of discontent to the whole crisis of Quebec society, and even international factors. A quite typical response the next day was "The violence wasn't so bad . . . in Vietnam it's much worse. This was just a prelude to what not only Quebec but the whole of America will soon be going through . . ." (The police

work stoppage) was only a secondary cause of the riot here yesterday. One reporter remarked how many people spoke calmly of a "revolutionary" atmosphere existing in Quebec.

The Union Nationale government reacted to the crisis as if indeed a revolution were in the works. Soon after the army had been sent in, emergency legislation was being unanimously passed in the legislature putting all police in the 56 municipalities in the Montreal area under the direct supervision for at least 30 days of QPP director Maurice St-Pierre. The police and firemen were ordered to return to work or face fines of \$50,000 or a year in prison. The government even considered postponing the by-elections scheduled for the next day.

Three days later, when the Front de Libération Populaire called a protest march on City Hall, the authorities were so jittery that they mobilized the biggest police force ever — an estimated 4,000 cops backed by the army — to confront . . . 600 demonstrators.

The Montreal events of October 7 and the ruling class reaction to them reveal the fragility of the capitalist order when its repressive apparatus breaks down, especially in a society like Quebec, riddled with profound social contradictions. Lawlessness it may have been in Montreal that day and night, but even the most undisciplined protests — the looting and the arson — were directed at targets fraught with political significance.

The attempt of the Drapeau-Saulnier administration to blame the Company of Young Canadians for the violence only serves to show how devoid the authorities are of any explanation of, let alone solution for, the underlying causes of the explosive discontent.

On a slightly lesser scale of things, the Montreal incidents revealed afresh the volatile nature of Quebec's public service sector. These workers have been the main victims of the federal and provincial governments' austerity programs; but, thanks to their relatively high degree of unionization, they are in a good position to fight back. In this instance, the Montreal cops' demand for wage parity with Toronto cops was enough to trigger a political crisis of the first order.

Finally, there is the very revealing fact that, unable to rely on its police, the government called in the troops. These 800 soldiers — it could have been many more — are among the forces, the Royal 22nd Regiment, that the Trudeau gov-

ernment has been training around the world for use as "peacekeepers." A high army official was quoted in the *Montreal Gazette* as saying that their withdrawal from the city was delayed for five and a half days after the police had returned to work, in order to familiarize them with Montreal!

Writing in the *Toronto Star* of October 15, Professor James Eayrs of the

## CP Leaves Ukrainians in Lurch

Toronto

The Central Committee of the Communist party of Canada has disavowed the report of a top-level delegation that visited the Ukraine in 1967 and came back frankly admitting outrageous Soviet violations of Ukrainian democratic and national rights. The report was finally published in 1968 in the official organ of the Central Executive Committee, the party's top administrative body. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 1, 1968, p. 174.)

The October 15 issue of the CP's national weekly *The Canadian Tribune* says tersely that "the Central Committee withdraws the report of the party delegation to the Ukraine as an official document of the party" and "decides to undertake a thoroughgoing review of that report, including a discussion on the national question, with the aim of deepening our Marxist Leninist understanding of the national question and proletarian internationalism, and strengthening the unity of the party."

The report of the delegation to the Ukraine, which included long-time Stalinists like national leader Tim Buck, powerfully reinforced the growing doubts about the Ukrainian question among the rank and file, particularly the party's Ukrainian-Canadian supporters. The demoralizing impact was deepened a few months later by the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia. A number of activists dropped out of the party. A temporary schism appeared between the abject supporters of the Moscow line in the CC majority and the more critically minded CEC based in Toronto.

In withdrawing the embarrassing report on the Ukraine, the Central Committee is repeating what it did to the CEC's criticism of the Czech invasion,

University of Toronto notes that "the deployment in Montreal of the armed forces of Canada, first in place of the civil power, later . . . in aid of it, is more evidence that internal war is becoming the military's primary mission."

Montreal this month was the first instance of the army's new internal "peacekeeping" role in action in Canada. But it was only the beginning.

once again wiping the slate clean of any criticism of Moscow's policies.

For the Canadian CP, the national rights of the Ukrainians, like those of the Czechoslovaks, take a poor second to the arrogant big-nation privileges of the Kremlin bureaucrats.

This may "strengthen party unity" — what's left of it — but it's hardly "proletarian internationalism."

## Indonesian Jails Full

The military dictatorship in Indonesia admitted to holding 71,905 "Communists" in prisons and concentration camps on the fourth anniversary of its seizure of power in a military coup. The figure was given by General Maraden Panggabean, chief of staff of the army, and reported in a dispatch in the October 19-20 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

General Panggabean said that 30,000 of the prisoners, described as "Category C," would be released "soon." The general said they did not constitute a "danger" to state security.

Another group of prisoners, "Category B," will be sent into exile on remote jungle islands. About 2,500 persons have already been exiled on the island of Boeroe. Another 7,250 are to be sent to rural areas of central Borneo. This group, like the first, is not accused of having taken part in the alleged Communist coup attempt of October 1965 that was the pretext for the military bloodbath in which 500,000 Communist party members and supporters were murdered.

General Panggabean did not say what would happen to the remaining 32,000 prisoners who are presumably in "Category A."

## CMU Stands Firm Against Betrayal of Oil Strike

Ceylon's oil workers, on strike since September 13, went back to work October 11 after leaders of five of the six unions involved negotiated a secret agreement with the government behind the backs of their memberships, accepting a settlement that had been rejected by the workers on September 27. The union leaders represented a number of political parties, including the centrist Lanka Sama Samaja party, the ruling bourgeois United National party, and the pro-Moscow Communist party.

The only union to reject the sellout was the Ceylon Mercantile Union led by P. Bala Tampoe. Tampoe is also a leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylon section of the Fourth International.

The strike at the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation was one of the most bitter in the country's history. The government declared a state of emergency September 14 and made the strike illegal under an Essential Services Order. Army troops were used as strikebreakers, and workers were threatened with jail for exercising their right to strike.

On September 27 the Ministry of Nationalized Services, which operates the Petroleum Corporation, sent a letter to the Joint Committee representing the six striking unions, claiming that no further concessions would be made. The few demands that had been granted were called "the maximum" to which the government could agree. The letter added that it would only make such "concessions" if the strike were called off by 9 a.m. the following morning.

The Joint Committee issued the following reply:

"The Joint Committee will notify the workers on strike of this ultimatum at the meeting of the strikers to be held tomorrow morning [September 28] at Kolonnawa and Kollupitiya. As far as the Joint Committee is concerned, it will recommend to the workers of all Unions concerned to reject this ultimatum, since it is sheer blackmail and intimidation of the Unions on Strike."

Workers' meetings rejected the government's proposal unanimously, where-

upon the government reimposed the Essential Services Order on the night of September 28. This action was denounced by most of the major unions in Ceylon in an emergency meeting September 30.

On October 1 the CMU called a token strike and a mass rally in Colombo in which from 10,000 to 20,000 workers participated. That night representatives of major unions voted to call a general strike on October 12, to be accompanied by rallies and demonstrations against the Essential Services Order and the use of troops as strikebreakers.

A further meeting between union spokesmen and the Minister of Nationalized Services, V.A. Sugathadasa, took place October 6, but ended in a stalemate as the government had no new proposals.

Longshoremen launched a boycott of all Petroleum Corporation cargo October 8 in solidarity with the oil workers.

But at this point five of the unions began preparations to call the strike off — without consulting the strikers. The Ceylon Mercantile Union, which refused to join in this betrayal, warned the oil workers in an open letter issued October 11:

"Following the Conference of 6th October *secret meetings took place between some of your leaders and the Minister and Commissioner of Labour*. When our Union representatives came to know of this, they *firmly opposed any commitment being made to the Government to change or abandon any of the joint demands of the Unions on strike without the knowledge and consent of their memberships*."

"Despite the protest of our representatives, secret contact was made with the Minister of Labour, *by some of your leaders*, on the night of 7th October, *with the knowledge and connivance of the other representatives in the Joint Committee*, excepting ours. Certain secret assurances were given to the Minister of Labour behind the backs of our representatives and behind the backs of the general memberships of all the Unions on strike, that night."

The CMU described the agreement for which the other members of the Joint Committee had agreed to call off the strike:

"On the 8th of October, our Union received a copy of a letter addressed to the Joint Committee by the Commissioner of Labour.

"The second paragraph of this letter merely reiterated the demands on which the Minister had agreed to certain 'concessions' prior to 27th September.

"The third paragraph of the letter declared that the Committee appointed by the Government would submit an interim report on or before 15th December 1969, on the question of salary revision, and that the pension demand would also be referred to the Committee.

"The fourth paragraph declared that all remaining demands, *on which there was no agreement at all*, would 'be the subject of discussions after resumption of work.'

"In other words, *the same position that existed on 27th September was restated with one piece of additional information, namely, the date by which the Committee appointed by the Government would submit its interim report to the Government on the question of a salary revision in State Corporations*."

"Not an inkling has been given of *the basis* on which any revision will be proposed, or of *the date by which* any revision that may be proposed *will be implemented!*"

"The Joint Committee met on 8th October to consider the Commissioner's letter. Our representative tabled a written statement declaring that the terms set out in the Commissioner's letter remained unacceptable for ending the strike. They requested that this position be notified to the memberships of all the unions on strike in Colombo and in the outstations. The other representatives in the Joint Committee refused to consider our Union's position. They decided instead to send a reply to the Commissioner *agreeing to call off the strike within 48 hours, on the*



terms stated, provided the Ministry of Nationalized Services confirmed those terms and clarified the 'no-victimization' clause, in regard to the Essential Services Order.

"Our representatives protested against any such reply being sent to the Commissioner of Labour by the Joint Committee without the prior knowledge and consent of the memberships of the Unions on strike. When the other representatives insisted on sending such a reply that very night, our representatives walked out of the meeting, as they did not want to be a party to such a step being taken without your knowledge and consent."

Faced with this capitulation by their leaders, the strikers returned to work.

In the internal negotiations among the union leaders, the political attitudes of the various representatives toward the UNP regime was clearly shown. The six unions in the Joint Committee and their respective membership are as follows:

Lanka Petroleum Employees' Union [LPEU], 917 members; Jathika Sevaka Samithiya [JSS], 483 members; All Ceylon Oil Workers' Union [ACOWU], 436; Ceylon Mercantile Union, 270; Executive Officers' Union, 103; and the Staff Officers' Union, 53.

While the CMU is one of the largest unions in Ceylon, it represents only a minority of the workers in the oil industry. All of the larger unions have affiliations to political parties. The LPEU is tied to the three-party coalition of the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party [SLFP], the pro-Moscow CP, and the Lanka Sama Samaja party. Its president is a member of the SLFP and its secretary is a member of the Communist party.

The JSS is affiliated to the ruling United National party.

The ACOWU is tied to the LSSP, which played the dominant role in the decision to call off the strike.

The LSSP leadership worked closely with the government to end the strike before the October 12 demonstrations. As soon as the "agreement" was concluded the LSSP union officials unilaterally issued a press release announcing that the October 12 strike had been "postponed."

The pro-Moscow CP sought to outflank its coalition partner by claiming it was still in favor of the demonstrations, but its representative in the Joint Committee went along with the others in selling out the strike, knowing that

when the strikers returned to work there would be no demonstration.

The CMU's account of the events was substantiated by Kirthie Abeyesekera, writing in the October 23 issue of the Colombo weekly *Ceylon News*:

"The strikers," he wrote, "belonging to six unions including the CMU were all united. Later, personal rivalry among union leaders and the fear of some leaders of giving more power to an already powerful union, the CMU, — a union they were afraid of, — began to split the Joint Committee and to erode the unity of the strikers.

"When this happened, they completely overlooked this vital demand concerning the Essential Services Order, and military 'black legs' [strikebreakers] and began to negotiate behind the backs of the CMU to return to work."

As a last-minute concession to the strikers, the government accepted the

"resignations" of two Petroleum Corporation directors. CMU leader secretary Bala Tampoe told the *Ceylon News* that he welcomed the resignations, but they were only a beginning:

"He said that the workers were not going to allow themselves to be kicked about. They would not tolerate that from any Government. They would also resist methods like the utilisation of the Essential Services Orders, the Armed Services, the Police, etc. to keep them submissive.

"If the Government did not change its attitude to workers, then he warned that there were likely to be other explosions similar to that which occurred at the Petroleum Corporation. . . .

"Other people [managers] had to go from the other Corporations too, otherwise work in the Corporations would come to a stand-still."

## Belgium

# 1,000 in Antiwar March

By Susan Lind

### Brussels

About 1,000 protesters conducted a spirited march down the main avenue in the center of Brussels October 25 against NATO and the Vietnam war.

Delegations of young people came from different cities in Belgium, the largest being from Antwerp and Ghent.

Belgium is the seat of NATO, and its headquarters [SHAPE-Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers, Europe] are located in Brussels.

Shouting "SHAPE Out!"; "Victory to the NLF!"; "Two, Three, Many Vietnams!"; and "U.S. Go Home!" the marchers waved red flags and the flag of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The police had mobilized in numbers as large as the demonstration itself, and were equipped with special helmets, clubs, and large shields, but they didn't unleash any violence on the march.

The demonstration was organized by an ad hoc group initiated by the Jeune Garde Socialiste/Socialistischer Jonge Wacht [JGS/SJW — Young Socialist Guard], a revolutionary-socialist youth organization with branches in both the

Flemish-speaking and French-speaking areas of Belgium. Other left-wing youth groups here have tended to abandon the fight against NATO and the Vietnam war, and it fell to the JGS/SJW to bring the international antiwar fall offensive to Belgium.

Directly after the demonstration, a large number of enthusiastic young people gathered at the JGS/SJW headquarters in Brussels and discussed the formation of committees which would be the nuclei for organizing a mass anti-imperialist youth movement here.

### No Millenium in 2,000 A. D.

Dr. Harold Finniston, deputy chairman of the British Steel Corporation, made the prediction in an address to the engineering section of the British Association that by the year 2,000 people living in the world's big cities may be reduced to the astronauts' diet of bacon bits, fruit in a tube, and reconstituted water.

This is, of course, the situation to be expected if capitalist free enterprise lasts until the year 2,000. Nevertheless, the picture may be overly optimistic. There seems to be an assured source for reconstituted water, but can as much be said for the bacon bits and fruit?

# The Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia

By Les Evans

*The Seventh Night*, by Ladislav Mnacko. E.P. Dutton & Co., New York. 220 pp. \$5.95. 1969.

Ladislav Mnacko is one of the best-known Slovak journalists, the author of twenty books published in Czechoslovakia in the past twenty years. *The Seventh Night* is a rambling chronicle of the first week following the Soviet invasion on the night of August 20, 1968.

In the form of flashbacks, Mnacko reviews the twenty-year history of the Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia. His purpose is to explain the failure of its leadership, and Moscow's motives for deciding on the occupation.

At the same time he writes an apology for his own flight into exile on the morning of the eighth day.

Mnacko's book was written hastily "somewhere in Austria, September 1-20, 1968." Its chief merit lies in the author's keen eye and in his long experience as a reporter for *Rudé Právo* and other papers. He watched from the inside the rise to power of the Czechoslovak Communist party from 1945 to 1948. He attended the purge trials of the 1950s and knew both the victims and their executioners.

In the mid-fifties he became something of an iconoclast and a gadfly, exposing the grossest injustices and helping to initiate the process that culminated in the "Prague spring."

At the same time, his political views are contradictory, often romantic, and frequently confused. His explanation for the rise of the bureaucracy is a simplistic reference to the incompetence of the individual leaders involved: ". . . neither their training nor their intellect was equal to that, nor were their characters, formed and determined by years of destructive activity."

On the one hand Mnacko denounces "Soviet imperialism" in terms indistinguishable from any right-wing Social Democrat, and on the other hand he affirms his own communist convictions and his opposition to U.S. im-

perialism in far stronger language than is presently the fashion among the tame bureaucrats of Eastern Europe.

Mnacko's most glaring contradiction is his passionate support for the Zionist regime in Israel. Although not himself Jewish, he emigrated to Israel in 1967 to protest his government's backing of the more left-wing Arab governments. His book is cluttered with the analogies he seeks to draw between the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the June 1967 war in the Middle East.

In his blindness to the aggressive and proimperialist policy of the Israeli leaders, he almost makes a theory of the notion that the main thing wrong with the world is that "great powers" gang up on "small nations."

Having said all this, Mnacko's account is well worth reading for its bare description of events. The morning after the invasion, for example, near Mnacko's home in Bratislava:

"You could hardly get past the Slovak National Council building, near the broadcasting studios, for the tanks standing there. There were people around each of them, trying to convince the Russian soldiers that they should go away, explaining that nobody had invited them to come and that their leaders had misled them . . . Very few of the young men in the tank crews dared to answer, but the little that was said revealed a great deal.

"Most of them did not even know where they were or what they were supposed to be doing. Some of them thought they were on maneuvers, others were under the impression they were in Hungary. Two or three days later, in Central Bohemia, they were going to be surprised at how well the people spoke Czech, because they thought they were in West Germany in order to kill off the hydra of fascism."

In those first days it was the "legal" radio that organized the mass resistance, broadcast information, and even warned specific individuals that the Russians were looking for them.

As fast as the Soviet forces could close down one station, another would come on the air. Railwaymen sidetracked trains bringing in radio-locating equipment with which the occupiers meant to find and silence this "underground" network.

In the end, it was revealed that even the Czechoslovak army high command had put its emergency radio net at the disposal of the opposition broadcasters and that this unit in Moravia had continued to broadcast while the Soviet troops searched everywhere for the alleged little bands of "counterrevolutionaries" with illicit transmitters.

The Kremlin had set up its own radio station in Dresden, East Germany. This so-called Vltava station provided a barrage of propaganda meant to justify the invasion.

"In broadcasts from the Vltava station a woman's voice speaking Slovak with a strong Russian accent and a man's voice speaking Czech with a marked German accent would try to convince the Czech and Slovak people that they had given an enthusiastic welcome to invaders they hated, that they fully understood what was still completely quite incomprehensible. This station . . . would declare that the free, legal broadcasts of the Czechoslovak radio were being transmitted by West German and Austrian stations."

Slogans painted on walls answered the guns of tanks. Along with the names of Dubcek and Smrkovský, who were still prisoners in Moscow, people drew swastikas to link the Soviet invasion with the German invasion thirty years before.

The Kremlin's propaganda mills pointed to the swastikas as proof of counterrevolution and a fascist conspiracy, whereupon people painted them over and replaced them with less ambiguous messages.

Two of these, which struck Mnacko, read: "Wake up, Lenin, Brezhnev's gone mad!" and "Our friendship has been deepening so long, we've finally struck rock bottom."

Perhaps the most interesting sections of *The Seventh Night* deal with the early history of the CP regime. Mnacko describes the conscious decision of the CP to refrain from taking power in 1945, in deference to Stalin's pact with its imperialist allies.

"In May, 1945, the political situation in Czechoslovakia was ripe for the declaration of a Socialist constitution . . . Gottwald [Klement Gottwald, then head of the CP and later the first Stalinist president of Czechoslovakia] did not do it. . . .

"It may not have been Gottwald's mistake. Something may have been due to Stalin's respect for Benes [Eduard Benes, bourgeois president of the country at the time of the Munich pact. He became the first postwar president, with Communist support]. Perhaps the man of steel . . . was afraid of upsetting the regimes of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania—Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Ferencz Nagy, King Michael. . . . There was no Cold War yet, in 1945, and the Great Powers at least tried to look as though they intended to carry out their solemn obligations. And among those obligations, as we know now, was one giving the Western powers a partial influence in this region by setting up and preserving compromise governments there."

Gottwald finally came to power in 1948. After the consolidation of his regime, the purges began. Mnacko does not indicate whether these were directly on the order of the Kremlin, but they hewed closely to the model of the bloody frame-up trials in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. Their main aim, apart from silencing any actual opposition, was to root out and destroy any CP leaders with the slightest independent standing, any who did not owe their position wholly to the whim of the dictator in Moscow.

"The purges were carried out very thoroughly; those who had fought in the West were removed, as well as those who had fought in the East. In the course of questioning, the words were often heard: Comrade, how do you explain the fact that you survived the concentration camp when so many died there? In the end the hard fist of the revolution was beating up the working class. Were you a partisan? One whose name was a legend, not just an ordinary rank-and-file partisan? Away with you. You fought in

the East? Away with you. You were an officer in the Rising [the Slovak National Rising against the Nazis in 1944]? Away with you. . . .

"On what grounds were they 'convicted' of sabotage and subversive activity against Socialism? The state security police, the all-powerful secret police, used as its spies pathological professional informers and also men chosen from among the victims and given a doubtful freedom in return for their services; they used, too, proscribed Fascist thugs who had no other alternative but to serve."

The purges reached their peak in 1952 with the trial and execution of Rudolf Slánsky and a number of other top leaders of the Czechoslovak CP. They were accused of "cosmopolitanism" and "Zionism." The trial had sharp anti-Semitic overtones. It is perhaps a reaction to this crude anti-Semitism of the Czech bureaucrats that has led Mnacko to his present uncritical attitude toward the Israeli government.

The scope of the purges can be

gauged by the fact that some 70,000 persons had asked to be "rehabilitated" after serving prison sentences when the Dubcek government began to review the record last year.

Despite his disillusionment with the Kremlin bureaucrats he had supported, albeit critically, for so long, Mnacko has not deserted the ideas of communism.

"Maybe if the world had let us go on," he says, "we would have made something of Socialism in Czechoslovakia, something worthy of the name, something that would have attracted others. Perhaps that's the reason the West is so indifferent to what has happened to us."

The Slovak Writers' Union once accused Mnacko of being an anarchist and an adventurer because of his infatuation with Israel.

In his reply to them he declared: "I would rather be an anarchist and adventurer than the obedient tool of those unworthy to hold power."

## Strange Fare for Pravda's Readers

On September 29 *Pravda* began offering its readers an unusual feature—a series of stirring reports from a guerrilla front in the British-dominated sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

In his first article entitled "The Insurgent Mountains of Dhofar: Report from the Liberated Regions," the Soviet CP daily's special correspondent, A. Vasil'ev, described his trip to a guerrilla camp in Dhofar, a province of Muscat and Oman.

"For many days we wended our way through the mountains of Dhofar. We tramped along paths through thick forests, almost jungles. . . . We listened to the songs of the insurgents beside campfires . . . We entered liberated villages accompanied by thunderous salutes to the Soviet Union. With thanks, we took brimming cups of camel milk from the hands of Bedouin girls armed with rifles."

The guerrillas now control a large area of Dhofar, Vasil'ev wrote. "The English, in fact, occupy defensive positions. They still hold one base in the desert and a few on the coast."

The Dhofar Liberation Front was formed in 1964 by oil-field workers, Vasil'ev reported, and it staged its

first raids June 9, 1965. The guerrillas told the Soviet reporter that in 1966 a commando team carried out a daring attack on Saïd bin Taimur, the sultan of Muscat and Oman. According to the insurgents' claim, the sultan has not been seen since this attack and is believed dead.

A second article by Vasil'ev entitled "Along the Partisan Paths of Dhofar" appeared in the October 4 issue of *Pravda*. In this story, the Soviet correspondent gave his impression of the Dhofar Liberation Army: "'At ease! Right shoulder forward! Forward, march!' These standard military commands said a great deal. Indeed, despite its inexperience, this was already an army; already there was discipline and organization and not merely partisan bands."

Such enthusiastic reporting of a guerrilla movement in *Pravda*, even one in such a remote area, may signal a more leftish stance by the Soviet leadership in response to the rising international radicalization. But whether or not this turns out to be the case, Vasil'ev's reports of revolutionary warfare in the fabled mountains of southern Arabia makes for a stimulating change in this dull house organ.

# Why Hitler Was Able to Overrun the USSR

By Pyotr Grigorenko

[This October marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the expulsion of Hitler's armies from the Soviet republic of the Ukraine. The date was commemorated in a speech by the Ukrainian Communist party first secretary P. E. Shelest on October 17.

[Perhaps because this Western republic and its capital of Kiev suffered especially heavy losses as the Nazi troops advanced and later retreated, Shelest apparently felt compelled to refer to denunciations of the Soviet leadership's role in the disasters of the first year of the war.

[The TASS report began by describing the inspiring setting in which Shelest's speech was given: "Today in the heroic city on the Dnepr [Kiev], the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Ukraine and the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic met in a triumphant session dedicated to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of the republic from the German fascist bandits.

"The festively decorated October Palace of Culture was flooded with bright lights. To the rear of the stage, against a backdrop of scarlet banners mingled with flowers was a portrait of V. I. Lenin."

[Shelest evoked the Soviet resistance to the German invasion in stirring phrases: "In those turbulent days, the party, the people, and their army fused into one unit.

"Together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian people and its vanguard, the Communist party of the Ukraine, mobilized for holy war with the German fascist bandits. Already in the first months of the war, nearly 4,500,000 sons and daughters of the Ukraine, among them 300,000 Communists and over a million members of the Komsomol [Kommunisticheskii Soiuz Molodezhi—Young Communist League] poured into the ranks of the Soviet army."

[After this fanfare, the orator touched on a delicate subject: "Bourgeois ideol-

ogists in the West and sometimes even some of our shortsighted historians and writers stress only the failures and miscalculations, which were permitted in the beginning of the war, although everyone knows that already in the first days and first months of the conflict our army and navy put up stubborn resistance to the Hitlerite hordes. The enemy paid a heavy price in blood for every foot of our land he gained."

[Presumably one of the "shortsighted historians" Shelest had in mind was Major General Pyotr Grigorenko. Grigorenko has written a detailed and devastating account of the disasters the Soviet armed forces suffered in the initial period of the war. Grigorenko, a Communist since the age of twenty, held high command positions during the second world war. After the war he taught cybernetics at the Frunze military academy until 1961, when he was fired for accusing Khrushchev of following in Stalin's footsteps.

[On May 7 of this year Grigorenko was arrested by the secret police as he was preparing to defend the Crimean Tatars who demonstrated for permission to return to their homeland. Stalin deported this entire ethnic group to central Asia during the war for allegedly collaborating with the Germans.

[Grigorenko's study, entitled "The Soviet Collapse in 1941," was reportedly first submitted to the journal *Voprosy Istorii*, which rejected it. After being denied publication in the official press, Grigorenko's article was circulated clandestinely and a copy reached the West.

[It is unfortunate the Kremlin leadership has not seen fit to make this study available to the Soviet people. It would have been a more fitting memorial to the millions of Soviet soldiers and citizens who lost their lives in the German imperialist invasion than the hypocritical bombast of Shelest's speech.

[It can be judged from the excerpt from Grigorenko's article which follows how appropriate its publication would have been on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of the Ukraine.]

\* \* \*

In order to strengthen their country's defenses, for years the Soviet people denied themselves the most vital necessities and tightened their belts. They believed that their country was well armed against an enemy attack. But when the war broke out, we soon saw that our confidence in our strength was only wishful thinking, that we were completely at the mercy of a powerful foe.

At that time we witnessed a lightning, and, for many of us, wholly incomprehensible, advance of the Nazi troops. The German army group "Mitte" [Middle], which struck the main blow, was able to advance more than 120 miles in the first two days. On the fifth day, the advance units of the "Mitte" army group reached Minsk, and on the eighth day in the region surrounding this city the trap was closed on another large part of the troops of this military district.

By the end of the third week, the German troops in this sector of the front reached Smolensk . . . Out of 170 divisions, more than 100 were annihilated or suffered such heavy losses that they were unfit for combat. In twenty-four days, from the invasion to the capture of Smolensk on July 16, the German troops covered 420 miles (in a direct line).

At that point the threat became apparent of the tragedy that can rightly be called the greatest catastrophe of the Great Fatherland War. I mean the encirclement of our troops around Kiev.

After a heroic but hopeless struggle against the German tanks, which had broken through to the staff headquarters, the commander of the encircled army group, the very gifted young

general Kirponos, his chief of staff Tupikov, and the army group chief of intelligence, Colonel Bondarev, as well as many other officers, committed suicide to prevent inevitable capture.

Those who did not fall in the struggle and did not have time to end their own lives, died in German captivity or, after years of great suffering in German prison camps, had to face the charge of high treason and make the acquaintance also of Stalin's prison camps.

Why was our country—which over a long period and with great exertions had prepared to defend itself against a probable attack by the combined forces of world imperialism—unable for months to resist an attack by the army of Nazi Germany alone? And further: Was this course of events the result of some law, or were mistakes made which led to this deplorable consequence?

The late President Kennedy was indeed right when he said that victory has many relatives but defeat is always an orphan. Our 1941 defeat is also an orphan. All those who played a leading role at the time admit only a relationship to the victory. But since defeat cannot be completely without parenthood, this role has been shifted onto objective causes and laws.

It seems, however, that this sleight of hand will not be presented on the historical stage much longer. Stalin himself could not deny his "relationship" with the defeats in the first phase of the war. At a Kremlin reception on May 24, 1945, in honor of the army commanders, he was compelled to admit—although in the demagogic-hypocritical manner that was typical of him—"Our government has made many mistakes. There were desperate situations in the years 1941-42 when our army was forced to retreat . . . Many peoples would have told their government, 'You have not fulfilled our expectations, resign . . .' But the Russian people did not do that . . . Our thanks to the Russian people for this confidence!"

Let us forget for a moment that while at Stalin's behest they were drinking to the health of the Russian people in the Kremlin, at Stalin's command hundreds of thousands of the best sons of this people, who with their bodies had brought the Nazi war machine to a standstill, were

driven into the concentration camps. What is noteworthy is Stalin's admission that at the beginning of the war his government committed such mistakes that it should have been kicked out of office.

What these mistakes consisted in, Stalin did not say. In his answer to Colonel Razin's letter, Stalin sought—by reference to the ancient Greeks and Kutuzov—to present our army's defeats as a conscious and deliberate retreat undertaken with the objective of luring the enemy into the interior of the country in order to annihilate him there. This shameless falsification was converted by Stalinist toadies into "Stalin's brilliant doctrine on active defense," which for a long time killed any creative thinking in the realm of military matters and in the study of military history.

First the Twentieth Party Congress and then the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in its resolution of June 30, 1956, cited Stalin as the main one responsible for the mistakes and miscalculations which brought our country to the brink of disaster and caused the most terrible casualties among the troops. However, a complete repudiation of Stalin is not to be found in these documents.

To show the real causes for these errors, one would have to give an account of the facts and events in the prewar period. Let us after that determine what state our country's defenses were in at the time of the assault by the fascist hordes.

In the years of the first five-year plans, a powerful and diversified industrial plant was developed, including an armaments industry which was entirely capable of meeting the need for arms and munitions.

The Red Army was considered by all the foreign military specialists to be the most modern army in the world with respect to the technological level of its armament. It was in nowise inferior to even the German Wehrmacht. To demonstrate this, I would like to make a few comparisons. Let us begin with an analysis of the relationship of forces at the time of the outbreak of the war.

*USSR:* 170 divisions; 14,000-15,000 tanks; 8,000-9,000 warplanes.

*Germany and its allies:* 190 divi-

sions; 3,712 tanks; 3,000-3,500 warplanes.

But a mere quantitative edge does not yet mean superiority. Always—but especially under modern conditions—the qualitative features of armament have had a decisive significance.

Our air force already had more than 2,700 to 2,800 warplanes of the most modern make, that is, only a little less than the total number of planes Nazi Germany had. The situation with our artillery was still better. In its technical quality and the training of its crews, Soviet artillery was far superior to the German. As is well known, it was possible to maintain this superiority from the first to the last day of the war.

Only in 1943 did Germany succeed in developing tanks that were approximately as good as our T-34s and KWs, which we already had at the beginning of the war.

The qualitative superiority of our new-model tanks was so great that the German tanks did not dare attack isolated T-34 and KW tanks, even when they had a great numerical advantage. If these tanks, which were about half the number of the total German tanks, had been effectively employed, neither a two-to-one nor a ten-to-one numerical advantage would have done the enemy any good. With these tanks alone, the German tank assaults could have been resisted and the armored forces of the enemy smashed.

Thus, both the quantitative and qualitative analysis demonstrate unequivocally that there can be no question of material advantages on the side of the enemy. We had sufficient forces already in the first year of the war to halt the foe and crush him.

It must be recalled that in the last ten years before the war, by an incredible straining of all the energies of the people, an unbroken line of fortifications had been built all along the Western frontier from the Baltic to the coast of the Black Sea.

It should be clear now that all the objective factors were on our side. Obviously, the real causes of the defeats must be sought where certain people are reluctant to look for them, in the subjective factors, in the persons who directed the preparation of the country's defenses and who were to lead

the troops when the blow suddenly came.

At the beginning of 1941, on the eve of the war, a reorganization of the tank units in the border military districts was begun. From the standpoint of military theory, this was an impermissibly gross error. The armored battalions in the infantry divisions were abolished and combined in mechanized corps, re-formed after their dissolution in 1939. The dissolution of the armored battalions proceeded rapidly, while the big mechanized formations were built up only slowly.

The mechanized corps, which were supplied with crews and military equipment, were not accustomed to the new organizational forms and thus could not be considered as fully combat effective.

The situation was still worse with the corps which existed only on paper. The required crews were ordered directly from the infantry divisions to the locations of the projected formations, while the equipment arrived first at the military district arsenals and was only then parceled out to the corps.

For various reasons, chiefly because delivery of the new-model tanks was being awaited, the newly founded mechanized corps consisted of unarmed crews (members of the armored forces had no infantry weapons). It can easily be surmised what combat effectiveness these units had. In fact, they made especially well-trained prisoners of war.

In view of this situation, my calculations on the quantitative relationships of armored forces become unrealistic. A part of our armor was in storage when the German attack came and represented dead metal, not combat vehicles.

At that time, in face of the threat of war, only an intelligent leadership and a well-trained and disciplined officer cadre with full authority over their subordinates, only an experienced leadership, could have reduced the danger to any extent. What was the situation with respect to the officer cadre?

Today everyone knows that at that time thousands of officers were liquidated as "enemies of the people" and "foreign intelligence agents." Included among them were marshals M. N. Tukhachevsky, V. K. Bluecher, and A. I. Egorov; army commanders I. P. Uborovich and I. E. Yakir; naval command-

ers I. Orlov and V. P. Viktorov; all the commanders of the military districts; and many political officers.

It is known that the following groups of officers were discharged from the army: all corps commanders; almost all division, brigade, and regiment commanders; almost all members of the military councils and leaders of the political administrations of the military districts; the better part of the corps, division, and brigade commissars; as well as a large number of staff officers of the military districts and units.

Mass arrests, moreover, were carried out in the general staff, the ministry of defense, the military academies and the intelligence and counterintelligence services. Along with high-level and supreme commanders, many middle- and lower-ranking officers were arrested.

A large part of the new leadership cadres consisted of servile bunglers and men with scarcely any military training or education of any kind. A company commander became division commander over night. Under these conditions, an incredible careerism developed in the officer corps. Informers were transformed into "faithful students of Stalin." It was precisely these officer cadres, most of whom were militarily and politically untrained, who held the command positions at the beginning of the war. And officers just out of the military academies occupied the highest staff positions.

In one inspection, the professional qualifications of 225 regimental commanders were reviewed. It turned out that only twenty-five of them had attended regular officer training schools. The rest had only taken courses for junior officers.

The soldiers had little confidence in their poorly trained officers. The "sabotage" psychosis that was promoted by every possible means produced additional mistrust of the officers and completely undermined military discipline—the keystone of every army.

Thus, the troops had lost their trained and experienced officers and at the beginning of the war were led by poorly prepared if not entirely unprepared officers. The troops did not have the slightest familiarity with modern warfare and the new methods of armed struggle.

Our people paid a very high price for permitting Stalin's and Beria's hangmen to annihilate its most valuable officer cadres. Terrible human losses striking every Soviet family were the result of Stalin's "purge" of the country's leading cadres. If they had been at their posts at the beginning of the war, our combat losses would have been considerably less. Perhaps there would have been no losses at all, because Hitler would scarcely have dared to cross swords with our outstanding military commanders.

Before the assault on our country, Germany had attacked Poland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Greece, and Yugoslavia. Everywhere the same method was used — a surprise strike against the airfields with the aim of destroying the air force on the ground, wedge-shaped tank advances in various directions, rapid widening of these breaches with strong air-force support. Did we have any right — despite our respect for state treaties — not to prepare to counter such well-known methods?

The number of military airfields in the western military districts was extremely small and by no means adequate for an effective deployment of the numerically very strong air force in this area. Building of new military airfields was pushed forward very slowly, probably out of fear that Hitler might conclude from such activity that we were preparing an attack against Germany.

The troops had practically no anti-aircraft artillery and as a result of insufficient air cover, our soldiers were at the mercy of the enemy air force. Even the anti-aircraft protection of the airfields was badly organized, and as a result, we risked the total loss of our air power in a surprise enemy air attack.

By the cancellation of the 45 mm. cannons and antitank guns, our tank defense was greatly weakened. Somewhat earlier the excellent multipurpose SIS (76 mm.) cannons had been canceled on a whim of Stalin. The designers had received the order to develop a new antitank gun (the 107 mm.). Development of this weapon was never completed, while the 76 mm. antitank guns with which the troops were sup-

plied during the course of the war stood up excellently.

In other words, we had the capability for greeting the enemy tanks in the proper style. Instead of this, thanks to the "provisions" made by the government and the high command, we had to fight the tanks with infantry grenades and bottles filled with inflammable liquids (Molotov cocktails).

As a result of the reorganization begun shortly before the war, our armored units were virtually unfit for combat.

The fortified installations that were built along our old border in the thirties no longer existed. The bunkers were being used by the kolkhozes as vegetable storage cellars; the other installations were destroyed. A new defense line along the new borders had been begun. But the construction proceeded very slowly out of consideration for the touchiness of the Germans, and these fortifications were not ready when the war broke out.

The height of stupidity, which can be compared to treason, was the insufficient combat readiness of our troops. Former Minister of Defense Marshal R. Y. Malinovsky wrote in the *Journal of Military History*, No. 6, 1961: "The troops moreover had drilled under peacetime conditions. The artillery of the infantry divisions was on the artillery firing ranges, the anti-aircraft guns also on their firing ranges, and the corps of engineers were in their various training camps. The 'denuded' infantry regiments of the divisions drilled in their own camps. In the face of the threatening war danger, these gross errors bordered on the criminal."

More than half of the troops in our western special military district were in the area of Bialystok and further west, that is, in an area protruding deep into enemy territory. Such a dislocation would have been justified only in one case, if these troops were intended for a surprise offensive. With the enemy attack, these troops were already half surrounded. The enemy had only to strike short blows at the base of our wedge and the encirclement was completed. That meant that we ourselves had driven our troops into a trap.

The supplies of arms and munitions prepared for the event of war were

stored near the border, some of the stores were even located forward of the second echelon of troops in the border districts. On the outbreak of the war, the enemy naturally was able to capture nearly all these supplies.

In the first three to five days, we lost up to 90 percent of our air force. At the same time the fascist ground troops crossed the border. Thanks to the "brilliant foresight" of the "leader and teacher" (Stalin), these troops were opposed only by insignificant infantry forces, whose armored support was far away for the purpose of forming mechanized corps and whose artillery, anti-aircraft, and engineers were in their training camps.

This infantry, left on its own and almost unarmed, was not combat effective and could not accomplish much against the enemy's mass of tanks and infantry, whose assault was given strong support by artillery and mortars.

Anyone who understands anything at all about war can imagine what heroism was needed to overcome the shock of this surprise attack and the destruction it caused, not to scatter in panic, to go into battle with rifles and infantry hand grenades.

Moreover, they fought, indeed, without the permission of the "leader" (at the time this alone required considerable courage). As is well known, it was only six hours after the German attack that the order to shoot was given. The troops, however, were so "undisciplined" that they opened fire as soon as they were attacked. With every hour, the position of our infantry grew more critical. It suffered enormous losses and used up all its ammunition, without any orderly system of replenishment.

In the first two to three weeks, the troops in the western military districts lost up to 90 percent of their tanks and more than half of their tank crews.

On the first day of the war, the people's commissar for defense issued three totally contradictory orders. No one paid any attention to them, because they had no relationship to the real situation.

The peril of the situation increased because when the Stalinist regime lost its head it by no means lost its cruelty. Front-line commanders who undertook personal initiatives that were not to the liking of the "leader" or those in

his immediate entourage were punished.

This regime did not hesitate to display its cruelty. The victims were the command and staff of the western special military districts. In a drumhead trial the commander of this district, his chief of staff, and the chief of the communications units were sentenced to die before firing squads. The sentence was immediately carried out, and the troops were informed of it.

The other front commanders understandably suffered a shock. Who, after such an incident, would oppose even Moscow's most senseless orders, or strike out on his own initiative, before Moscow gave permission? But the situation then could be saved only by intelligent initiative from below, combined with coolly thought-out corrective action from above.

Unfortunately, this was not possible. Hardly had Moscow recovered from its first shock, when it went into another savage rage. The troops moved up from the interior of the country to fill the breaches, were ordered to "shoot the traitors who had opened up the front to the enemy." And so the heroes who, after desperate resistance, had spent days breaking out of enemy encirclement were received by firing squads.

Thus, virtually without trials, many soldiers and officers of the support services, front-line soldiers, fliers who had lost their aircraft, tank crews who had managed to escape from burning tanks, and artillery men who had dragged their guns along, were shot. A few days afterward, the soldiers who had done the shooting fell into a German trap and had to reckon on the same treatment.

Only the lack of a defined front line and the complete disorganization of the whole command system saved hundreds of thousands of men from senseless liquidation. But even those who were not shot had to bear the dishonorable designation of "surrounded" for years. The better part of them ended up in concentration camps and forced labor battalions.

It is well known that all the soldiers and officers returning from captivity after the war, ended up in Stalinist prison camps, where many of them remained for years. Even Major Gavtlov, who led the heroic resistance in

the Brest-Litovsk fortress, was released from a prison camp only after the Twentieth Party Congress. These facts show that Stalin and his closest collaborators sought scapegoats from the first day of the war and tried to liquidate or silence the witnesses of the tragic events in the first phase of the war.

A series of leading arms designers were arrested. Some of them were shot, including the inventor of the multiple-rocket launcher, known under the name "Katyusha."

It can be imagined that if there had been no reorganization of the forces in the western districts, that is, if these troops had been in combat readiness up and down the new border, if the old fortifications had remained intact, if two or three armored forces of T-34 and KW tanks had been built up in the Volga and Ural regions and been moved west, if Hitlerite Germany had been sternly warned against further hostile actions, and if these warnings had been backed up by diplomatic advances to Germany's Western enemies, Hitler would have thought long and hard before making up his mind to attack.

At the outbreak of the war we were militarily less prepared than we were in 1939 and we were totally isolated politically. The fact that despite this we had allies later on does not represent a success for Stalin's diplomacy but is evidence of the farsightedness of the statesmen of Great Britain and the USA. Our diplomacy did everything to isolate us from these countries and to turn them against us.

For these mistakes of our government, which are equivalent to unheard-of betrayal, the people alone paid. It paid above all with extraordinarily high casualties among its men in uniform. While the Germans lost only 4,000,000 men on all fronts in the second world war, we lost 13,500,000 on the German-Soviet front alone; thus our losses were 3.5 times higher.

The people also paid with millions of dead among the civilian population, who perished under the German occupation. It also paid, however, with millions of soldiers and officers, who, during and after the war, were persecuted by their own police. Of the persons who were responsible for our country's defenselessness at the time of the ag-

gression, no one was punished or even held morally responsible.

There are certain influential forces that have an interest in seeing that nothing is written about the beginning phase of the war. At a time when great

tensions exist in the world, when imperialist aggression in various parts of the world is being escalated and we stand on the eve of a third world war, the presence of such forces is alarming.

## Grigorenko Railroaded to Mental Home

Former Major General Pyotr G. Grigorenko has been confined in a Moscow psychiatric hospital, according to a report in the October 31 *New York Times*. It was widely believed that the Kremlin bureaucrats would not dare to bring the left Communist leader to trial after his arrest last May while seeking to provide legal aid for imprisoned Crimean Tatars in Tashkent.

The confinement of oppositionists in mental institutions has become a common practice of the Soviet secret police

to discredit the victims, and to avoid the embarrassment of a trial.

Grigorenko was held for a year in this fashion before being discharged from the army in 1964.

On October 20 Yuri Maltsev, a translator, was also imprisoned in a mental hospital. Maltsev was, with Grigorenko, one of the fifteen founding members of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Civil Rights in the USSR formed early this year. Seven of the fifteen have been arrested, but none have been brought to trial.

## Soviet Officers Jailed for Protest

Three Soviet naval officers were said to have been arrested in Tallin, capital of Estonia, last June, according to a report in the October 24 *New York Times*. Accounts which reached dissident Communist circles in Moscow in October said the three had drafted an appeal to the Soviet people and a lengthy "program of the democratic movement of the Soviet Union."

The program is said to condemn totalitarian aspects of Soviet society, to warn against a rebirth of Stalinism,

and to favor an easing of tensions in the cold war. The three, a senior officer named Gavrilov, a lieutenant named Paramonov, and a third who was not identified, had signed an earlier letter condemning the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The three were said to be part of the crew of an atomic submarine.

The October 24 *Washington Post* reported: "The sources said . . . that hundreds of others have been questioned and that about 30 houses have been searched."

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