



What Kosygin told Chou

New Revolutionary Party
in Czechoslovakia

Vietnam:
Upsurge in Antiwar Protest

Mexico:
Students Machine-gunned

India:
Cops Kill Maoist Guerrillas

BOLIVIA'S CIVILIAN PRESIDENT: Suffers usual fate at hands of generals—choice of going to airport or cemetery. See page 869.

Turn in the International Economic Situation

Need a Good Worker?

Manuel Rodriguez is seven years old. He lives alone in Lima, surviving as best he can with neither home nor job. Manuelito, as he is called, is able to look back on the "good times," when at the age of four he held a full-time job in a bread factory in Cuzco.

A United Press International reporter spoke to Manuelito and filed a story on his case that appeared in the September 22 *Washington Post*. At the bread factory, the UPI dispatch said, the four-year-old "worker" was "often given pills so he could stay awake longer to make more money. That was until his luck went bad."

Like thousands of others, Manuel and his mother moved to Lima from the depressed interior. "Every year," the UPI reporter said, "thousands of the unfortunate crowd into Lima's miserable 'barriadas' or slums searching for a 'better life.'

"Manuelito was soon left alone in the big city. His mother went to work for somebody and never returned. This happened when he was just a little older than four. Since then he has been on his own."

"I sleep wherever I can," Manuel Rodriguez told the reporter. "Sometimes I find a friend who takes me to his house, gives me some food, but this is not very often.

"It is hard to find a job here, competition is very fuerte (tough). Luckily I found this amigo who gave instructions on how to clean cars and carry packages and shine shoes."

The reporter thought that Manuelito had the "patient attitude of a man and the impetuosity of a child." With his melancholy brown eyes, he even seemed to be a "philosopher in knee pants," commenting: "Such is life."

Manuelito is not without ambition. "I want many things in life," he told the reporter. "A house, a bicycle, but most of all I want to see the rain from inside a house."

Ricardo Gadea Sentenced

According to a UPI dispatch from Lima, Ricardo Gadea, a brother-in-law of Ernesto Che Guevara, was sentenced September 26 to five years in prison for participating in a guerrilla movement in Peru in 1965.

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Nuclear Strike or Renewed Alliance?

By Joseph Hansen

Upon his return from the funeral of Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi, Gus Hall, the head of the American Communist party, gave a press interview in which he reported a conversation with Leonid I. Brezhnev in Moscow September 16. The conversation was of some interest, since, according to Hall, Brezhnev revealed to him the offer made by Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin to Chou En-lai in Peking September 11.

As reported by the September 25 *New York Times*, Hall said that the specific Soviet proposals were the following:

"● That critical border issues, specifically those relating to river boundaries where clashes have occurred and ill-defined regions where territorial violations are charged, be placed immediately in the hands of negotiators at the deputy ministerial level.

"● That the two countries immediately restore their ambassadors to their respective embassies in Moscow and Peking.

"● That the two countries meet to discuss a general resumption of trade and economic relations."

The objective of these proposals, according to Hall, "was to move governmental relations back to normal. The question of party and ideological differences would not be touched and would be left for later resolution."

Hall said further that the meeting with Chou came at Soviet initiative. "The Russians wanted to hold the meeting in Hanoi but the Chinese did not respond to the Soviet proposal until Mr. Kosygin had left North Vietnam after attending the ceremonies for President Ho. The Chinese acceptance came while Mr. Kosygin was on his way back to Moscow and his plane. . . was diverted from Tashkent to Soviet Central Asia. The Soviet Premier then flew back to Peking."

A further detail, reported by Hall, was that the two premiers met "for nearly four hours at the Peking airport. The Russians had objected to the choice of the airport as a site but the Chinese refused to meet elsewhere."

The Chinese now have the Soviet proposals under consideration. Hall expressed the opinion, "which he said was shared by other leaders of Communist parties, including the Soviet, that the Kosygin-Chou meeting would prove a turning point in the increasingly embittered Soviet-Chinese relationship, leading eventually to its improvement."

According to the *Times*, Hall said "many Communist parties were concerned at signs that unless the Chinese-Soviet quarrel was put on the road toward resolution it would lead to war. Such a war would be no mere border clash but a major world conflict."

Up to now, this is the most authoritative account of what Kosygin and Chou discussed at their now famous meeting. Peking has not yet offered its version, not even through a relay service such as the one maintained by Gus Hall.

If it were accepted at face value, the Soviet move would seem to be eminently reasonable, a genuine peace-seeking gesture.

As against this, however, a move of quite different kind must be weighed.

In a dispatch dated September 17—six days after Kosygin's talk with Chou—Victor Louis, the Moscow correspondent of *The London Evening News*, strongly hinted that the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime was planning a surprise attack on China.

Victor Louis, a citizen of the Soviet Union, is no ordinary journalist. He is regarded as having exceptionally close connections with the secret police, and his reports carry at least as much weight as those of a person like Gus Hall, if not more. He has been entrusted with a number of delicate missions as a "journalist."

For instance, earlier this year he twice visited Taiwan, evidently to put out feelers to Chiang Kai-shek. He was granted a long conversation with Minister of Defense Chiang Ching-kuo, the son and heir apparent of the aging dictator.

When Stalin's daughter Svetlana Al-



BREZHNEV: Did Stalin's heir tell it like it is to Gus Hall?

liluyeva was brought to the United States by the CIA under guise of publishing a book of memoirs, Victor Louis toured the capitals of the West, offering what was purported to be the original version of the manuscript seized in her apartment by the Soviet secret political police.

He was also the first one to report Kosygin's conference with Chou, showing that his pipelines are of an unusual order.

In his September 17 dispatch, Victor Louis wrote that it is a common assumption in Moscow that "Soviet nuclear rockets are pointed at Chinese nuclear installations."

He added: "There is no doubt that the tactic of scorched earth will be applied to Chinese territory whenever there is an attack by a small Chinese group.

"The Soviet Union has a whole gamut of rockets adapted to the terrain and to circumstance. Thus when the Chinese sought to occupy an island, the whole surface of the island was burned together with any Chinese troops and equipment there."

The reference to Chenpao Island in the Ussuri River is especially ominous, for it suggests that the Soviet forces utilized a scale of bombing comparable in effect to a tactical nuclear weapon.

This is the first time either side has hinted at such an intensity of fire power in the battle. On March 21 Moscow Radio called reports that the Soviet forces had resorted to nuclear action "a provocative false rumor."

In addition to this, Victor Louis said that "the Soviet Union is adhering to the doctrine that socialist countries have the right to interfere in each other's affairs."

Up to now the Kremlin has denied the existence of what has been called in the West the "Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty of socialist countries" or that what was applicable to Czechoslovakia was also applicable to China.

"Some circles in Eastern Europe," said Louis, "are asking why the doctrine that Russia was justified in interfering in Czechoslovakia's affairs a year ago should not be extended to China. Events in the past year have confirmed that the Soviet Union is adhering to the doctrine that socialist countries have the right to interfere in each other's affairs in their own interest or those of others who are threatened.

"The fact that China is many times larger than Czechoslovakia and might offer active resistance is, according to these Marxist theoreticians, no reason for not applying the doctrine. Whether or not the Soviet Union will dare to attack Lop Nor, China's nuclear center, is a question of strategy, and so the world would only learn about it afterwards.

"The appearance on Chinese territory of underground radio stations criticizing Mao indicates the degree of unification of anti-Mao forces within the country. It is quite possible that these forces could produce a leader who would ask other socialist countries for 'fraternal help.'"

In addition to the Victor Louis item, an article appeared in the August 30 *Sovietskaya Rossiya* signed by Marshal N. I. Krylov, commander of the missile forces of the Soviet Union, that sounded a completely different note from anything previously heard from the Kremlin concerning the possible outcome of a nuclear war. Up to the time of this article, the official opinion of the Soviet government coincided with that of the world's most responsible scientists—a nuclear war could mean the doom of mankind and possibly all the higher forms of life on this planet. Krylov disagrees with this.

"The imperialist ideologists," he wrote, "are trying to lull the vigilance of the world's people by having recourse to propaganda devices to the effect that there will be no victors in a future nuclear war. These false affirmations contradict the objective laws of history.

"Victory in war, if the imperialists succeed in starting it, will be on the side of world socialism."

This sounds like the Soviet counterpart of the Dr. Strangeloves of the West.

Krylov's article and the dispatch sent from Moscow by Victor Louis tend to confirm the substance of two previous developments that had met with some skepticism:

1. The rumor at the end of August that the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union had addressed a circular letter to foreign Communist parties indicating that consideration was being given to a preemptive nuclear strike against China.

2. The report given by Richard Helms, the head of the CIA, to the press that Washington "experts" now took the possibility of a Chinese-Russian war much more seriously than previously.

Helms said that photographs taken by American spy satellites of the Chinese-Russian frontier areas showed Russian forces deployed in the Sinkiang area as large as those of the U.S. in South Vietnam.

Besides this, Helms said, the photographs showed Russian missiles pointed at the main Chinese nuclear-weapons centers.

Helms also claimed that Moscow had been sounding its allies on what their reaction would be if the Soviet armed forces undertook a "limited preemptive operation against China." [See the article "War Imminent Between Soviet Union and China? in *Intercontinental Press*, September 15, p. 800.]

Of the various interpretations that might be placed on Moscow's game, two seem the most plausible:

1. Kosygin's trip to Peking was a diplomatic maneuver aimed at putting the Kremlin in the best possible light. In other words, it was a ploy intended to show how concerned Brezhnev-Kosygin are about maintaining peace, how reasonable they are, to what lengths they are prepared to go to ease tensions. And by way of contrast—if Peking should reject the diplomatic overtures—how unreasonable Mao is, how little concern he has for peace, how hell-bent he is for war.

2. The combination of Kosygin's "peace" trip and the threat to undertake a preemptive nuclear strike constitutes an application of the ancient "carrot and club" strategy, the carrot being an offer to reestablish at least a low level of Soviet economic assistance, the club being the H-bomb.

In either instance, Soviet diplomacy is remindful of the rattling of the atom bomb that Harry Truman engaged in during the period when the U.S. still had a monopoly on nuclear weapons.

One of the worst aspects is the way it plays into the hands of the "bomb them now" circle of Pentagon and White House advisers. These atomaniacs chilled the world with their clamor in the heyday of Senator Barry Goldwater for a preemptive nuclear strike against China.

Now the Kremlin lends plausibility to their arguments. "If the Soviet Union itself can weigh the advisability of a nuclear strike against China," they can suggest, "what's wrong with the 'free world' doing it?"

In fact Brezhnev-Kosygin have now destroyed the moral grounds for any objection on their part to the Pentagon feeding tapes into the computers to determine whether the most economical course might not be to use the bomb now against either China or the Soviet Union in a preemptive strike.

In the speculation over the reasons behind Moscow's latest moves in relation to China, one suggestion is that top circles of the Soviet bureaucracy are split over what course to follow. One side, the "hawks," is for war; the other, the "doves," is for making concessions in hope of reaching a modus vivendi with Peking.

Thus the threat to undertake a preemptive nuclear strike, and Kosygin's trip to talk with Chou are expressions of this as yet unresolved conflict.

In addition, of course, are those who prefer to close their eyes to Moscow's brandishing of nuclear weapons and a blitzkrieg, and who see Kosygin's stop-off in Peking as a sincere expression of Soviet concern for peace and an attempt to find a resolution of the dispute with the Mao regime in a way favorable to socialism.

Those who are inclined to give Moscow the benefit of the doubt in the Sino-Soviet dispute ought to insist that the Kremlin at once seek to undo the grave damage done to the Soviet Union and

the cause of world socialism by the "pre-emptive strike" propaganda:

1. The declarations of both Victor Louis and Marshal Krylov should be officially repudiated in the strongest possible way.

2. The sources that fed these two mouthpieces the kind of material they used should be named and likewise officially repudiated.

3. The Soviet government should inform the world that any warlike move by imperialism against China will at once entail appropriate countermoves by the Soviet armed forces, not excluding reliance on nuclear deterrents.

4. The Soviet government should issue a clear public statement offering to resume relations with China not only on the diplomatic-governmental level but on a level of trade and economic assistance comparable to the level before Khrushchev abruptly withdrew the Soviet technicians.

5. The Soviet government should affirm that it will not again permit its ideological differences to interfere with normal relations with China but will submit these to a free discussion in the world Communist movement, including all tendencies that support the Russian and Chinese revolutions, such as the Trotskyists.

6. As evidence that it does not have aggressive intentions against other "socialist" countries, the Soviet government should suggest to the Warsaw Pact regimes that all troops be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia, and take the lead in doing so at once.

These measures would offer convincing proof that Brezhnev-Kosygin are really sincere in their professions of concern about peace and about finding a friendly solution to the conflict with China that has grown to such menacing proportions.

Otherwise their professions of good intentions and their diplomatic maneuvers are hardly likely to overcome the rising concern over what they are really considering doing in relation to China.

Updating the Parthenon

The Papadopoulos regime announced September 18 that it plans to build three new modern prisons, in Salonika, Larissa, and Patras. Each is designed to hold 360 inmates. The decision was taken in order to meet an "urgent need" of modernizing Greek prisons, a spokesman said.

Bolivia

General Ovando Seizes Power

By Gerry Foley

The seizure of power by General Alfredo Ovando Candía September 26 surprised few. In fact, it may have been one of the least unexpected events in modern Bolivian history, having been anticipated since the overthrow of the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] regime in November 1964. At that time, Ovando, who spearheaded the coup, had to defer to his more "charismatic" associate René Barrientos Ortuño.

More than three weeks before the latest coup, *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne wrote from La Paz: "Many observers say that a coup by General Ovando is now inevitable. General Ovando denies any such intention."

The general, Browne wrote, had "established a reputation as a 'golpista'—coup maker in the 1964 coup when he is supposed to have told President Víctor Paz Estenssoro, 'I am taking you either to the cemetery or the airport.'"

Even during the rule of the military strong man Barrientos, who died in a helicopter crash April 27, rumors circulated periodically of an impending coup by Ovando. When Vice-president Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas, a lackluster conservative lawyer with no influence on the military, replaced Barrientos, few questioned that Ovando would move toward power. Only the time and the method were in doubt.

Most had assumed that Ovando would wait until the presidential election next July, thereby gaining the sanction of formal legitimacy. The elections could be expected to present no difficulties. As Malcolm Browne put it: "Control of blocs of votes and ballot boxes in the countryside is traditionally in the hands of powerful leaders. When the armed forces are strong in the countryside, their candidates generally win."

But the perspective of an untroubled transfer of formal authority was put in doubt late in August when the mayor of La Paz, Armando Escobar Uria, a

retired major general, announced his candidacy.

Escobar stressed his humble origins and sought popularity. His campaign, Malcolm Browne wrote, "has shown such promise that General Ovando has pointedly said that the armed forces would have to step in if any candidate began enlisting 'enemies of the people.'"

"A professional soldier with an iron will and an abhorrence for public appearances," is how *New York Times* writer Henry Raymont described him September 27. "During his long military career, General Ovando has been in close contact with United States military officials, who have found him an intelligent, hard-working man who gets things done without alienating his many military friends."

It was no surprise either that Ovando assumed a demagogic stance on announcing his coup, annulling the Gulf Oil concession, and hinting at nationalizations and a new agrarian reform. Demagogy has been part and parcel of the military-dominated regime that succeeded the ex-revolutionary MNR government.

However, this demagogic attitude did represent a striking metamorphosis for Ovando, who had been the "hard cop" of the Barrientos regime. "While President Barrientos traveled the country rallying the support of the Indian campesinos, General Ovando used his troops to break the might of the miners," Raymont wrote. Ovando had stressed "discipline." "What the nation needs is discipline," he told a reporter who interviewed him immediately after the 1964 coup.

It seems likely that Ovando has observed the course followed by the Peruvian junta, which has sought to win popular support, at least temporarily, through a policy of concessions and promises to the masses.

It remains to be seen if such a policy can achieve more than the most ephemeral success in a country faced with such abysmal poverty as Bolivia.

Top Democrats Bow to Pressure

By Les Evans

While President Nixon, in his first news conference in more than three months, September 26, was urging the public to give him more time to "end" the Vietnam war, twenty-four top congressional leaders of the Democratic party made public a stand that shows with extraordinary clarity how public pressure is deepening the rift in American ruling-class circles over the war.

Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, the national chairman of the Democratic party, announced that a secret caucus of twelve senators and twelve representatives had voted to demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Even more significant, the capitalist politicians endorsed a nationwide student strike against the war called for October 15 by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. This was the first time that congressional leaders have felt compelled to lend their names to actions called by the antiwar movement. It is an indication of their assessment of the depth of antiwar sentiment among the American people.

The participants in this secret caucus meeting included such Democratic luminaries as Senators Edmund Muskie, the party's vice-presidential candidate in the 1968 elections; Edward Kennedy; George S. McGovern of South Dakota; Frank Church of Idaho; Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota; Birch Bayh of Indiana; Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island; and Mike Gravel of Alaska.

The action of the Democrats came only twenty-four hours after New York's Republican Senator Charles E. Goodell had proposed legislation that would cut off all funds from American forces in Vietnam if they were not withdrawn by the end of 1970. The Democrats do not plan to incorporate Goodell's financial proposal. Instead they will limit their demand to a "non-binding sense-of-the-Senate" resolution calling for total withdrawal of U.S. troops by a certain date.

The major antiwar action scheduled for the fall is a November 14 student strike sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in

Vietnam, and a mass march on Washington November 15 sponsored by the New Mobilization Committee.

The Moratorium Committee is composed primarily of young supporters of Senator Eugene McCarthy's unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1968. It is funded by liberal Democratic organizations and individuals.

Despite its conservative and even pro-capitalist credentials, the moratorium has been organized in such a way that it can serve as a useful vehicle for mass antiwar opposition and cannot easily be co-opted to serve the interests of the capitalist politicians.

The central demand of the moratorium is the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Furthermore, it takes the form of local student strikes on campuses throughout the country. The character of these strikes will be determined by the relationship of forces on each particular campus. In many areas the moratorium is being organized by the Student Mobilization Committee. Local demonstrations will be combined in many areas with leafleting to build the

November 15 mass mobilization in Washington.

There is certainly a contradiction in a group of top imperialist spokesmen lending their names to help build an objectively anti-imperialist demonstration. But the contradiction is theirs and not the antiwar movement's. As an "opposition" party—voted out largely because of its identification with the war in Vietnam—the Democrats are anxious to gain a little credit by tying in with a movement they now recognize has massive popular support. Nixon, of course, like Johnson before him, has no such option.

The verbal endorsement of these capitalist political figures will undoubtedly give fresh momentum to the preparations for the October 15 and November 15 demonstrations. It goes without saying that any attempt on the part of these endorsers to water down the program of the movement, or to divert it from demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, will be fought by the thousands of independent antiwar activists.

The pressure on Nixon is mounting. His time is running out. This kind of congressional "revolt" never took place even at the low point of the despised Johnson regime.

The Democratic senators have even threatened to boycott the Senate on October 15 in sympathy with the striking students.

By keeping up the momentum, the antiwar activists can bring out the largest turnout yet seen in Washington in November.

Saigon Never Asked for U.S. Troops

A four-month search of Washington archives by the Nixon administration has failed to produce any evidence that American troops were ever requested by the South Vietnamese government. "We could not find a specific document" and there was no "formal diplomatic request" for the troops, a State Department official told the *Washington Post* September 23.

Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a critic of U.S. policy in Vietnam, had demanded to see such a document last May. The September 24 *Washington Post* said the administration "agonized over how to make

a reply that would not embarrass the U.S. position."

President Johnson, it seems, sent the first big contingents of American GIs in March 1965 without bothering to secure an invitation from the puppet regime in Saigon. The best Nixon could come up with was a vague reference to "continuing consultation," which, the government said, "amounts to a request."

Fulbright told the Senate September 12: "In terms of flouting by Government officials of the people's right to know the facts, there has been no period in American history comparable to that of our involvement in Vietnam."

'Commandos' Machine-gun Student Rally

Right-wing "commandos" opened fire with machine guns on a crowd of 3,000 students at the Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City September 23. At least twenty youths were reportedly wounded, some seriously. The students were holding a rally to commemorate the occupation of their school by federal troops on September 23, 1968, during the big student struggle last year.

A September 24 UPI dispatch from Mexico City attributed the attack to regular police. "A newsman at the rally," the UPI dispatch reported, "said he heard the automatic weapons fire from nearby and estimated it at "hundreds of rounds."

A spokesman for the Díaz Ordaz government admitted that police had attacked the students, but denied they had used guns: "Only tear gas and blows were used to disperse the crowd," he said. He added that there "may have been some arrests."

After the shooting started, police prevented newsmen from entering the area.

A report from Mexico City in the September 25 Paris daily *Le Monde* said right-wing "commandos" had done the firing. According to *Le Monde*, the point-blank fusillade lasted more than ten minutes. Despite the nearby deployment of hundreds of police, none of the assailants were arrested.

Le Monde said the student leaders, expecting an attempt to disrupt the meeting, had taken unusual precautions. All persons entering or leaving the Polytechnic Institute were checked by student guards from early in the morning. The student coordinating committee met during the day at a well-protected room in the institute.

At 5:00 p.m. the meeting began. *Le Monde's* correspondent described what happened:

"Visibly moved, one of the leaders opened the ceremony by evoking the memory of 'all the comrades assassinated by the Díaz Ordaz regime.'

"The demonstration was drawing to a close when several men leaped from three automobiles with submachine guns in their hands and opened fire

on the students. Other individuals, to the right and the left of the esplanade where the students were meeting, began to fire in turn." The students ran toward the back of the meeting ground where an escape route had been prearranged.

The *Le Monde* correspondent said several radical student leaders had been

victimized in the days before the rally. A few hours after the fusillade, the student leaders issued a declaration stating that they "will go into action to put a definitive end to the criminal machinations of the extreme right-wing students, or so-called students, who are directed by the government."

Great Britain

A Million Homeless Families

At least a million families are currently homeless in Britain according to a report by "Shelter," an organization concerned with housing for the poor.

The report, which was summarized in the September 12 London *Times*, dismissed official government figures which put the number of homeless families at only 18,689.

The Shelter report said: "The authorities have taken the word 'homeless' as literally as they possibly can. As far as they are concerned any family that has four walls and a roof around it has a home—even the families living in the 1,800,000 houses that the authorities agree are 'unfit for human habitation.'"

Official statistics do not include families unless they have applied to welfare departments for temporary accommodations—even if they are literally sleeping in the streets or in abandoned cars.

The Shelter report asks: "What of the three million families living in slums, near-slums, or grossly overcrowded conditions?" The report includes sixty-one case histories of families officially not listed as homeless. The following is an example, as summarized by the *Times*:

"Mr. and Mrs. B., of Hackney, London, who live in one cold, damp room that is so cramped that there is hardly space to walk. Their daughter, aged 16, and son, aged eight, have to sleep

in the same bed as their parents, while another daughter, aged six, has a cot. They share lavatory and washing facilities with 16 people. The ceiling and walls are damp."

'No Segregation Here'

Zarar Deen, a Pakistani worker at Cork Insulation and Asbestos Ltd., was fired from his job September 10 for using a company "whites only" men's room. He appealed to the Race Relations Board for reinstatement.

Cork Insulation denied any discrimination. In a statement that appeared in the September 13 London *Times*, the company declared:

"We have two sets of toilets. The set used by the immigrants was built many years ago at their own insistence. This custom has worked to the satisfaction of employees for many years. Mr. Deen was dismissed after warning, for a breach of this custom. There is no segregation here."

Rafi Irtizaali, a member of the Teesside Council for Community Relations, told the *Times*: "This sort of thing is not isolated. Mr. Deen had the courage to point it out where others have been frightened.

"Anyone who thinks there is no discrimination on Teesside is living in a fool's paradise. I can think of four major firms where instances of discrimination sackings have taken place."

Factional Bickering in Congress Party

[The following article is from the September 15 issue of *Marxist Outlook*, fortnightly journal of the Socialist Workers party, the Indian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The election of V.V. Giri as the President of India [August 19] and the defeat of the official Congress candidate Sanjiva Reddy brought the ruling Congress Party to the brink of a split. Giri's victory was made possible only by a large-scale defection of the Congress MP's and legislators in different states at the instigation of Prime Minister [Indira Gandhi] and her colleagues in the Central Cabinet, who had pressed for a "free vote" according to the "conscience" of each member.

The outcome indeed was a personal triumph for Indira Gandhi in her factional manoeuvres against the so-called Syndicate comprising the party's old guards—made possible by her new popular image created as a sequel to bank nationalisation.

The Congress President Nijalingappa and other senior members of the Congress Working Committee (CWC) like Morarji Desai, S.K. Patil and Kamaraj wanted stern disciplinary action to be taken against the Prime Minister and her supporters, who defied the party whip.

It appeared as if a showdown was inevitable between the two factions, leading to a breakup of the organization, by the time the CWC met on August 25, 1969. The deliberations at the CWC meeting, which dispersed after adopting a tame resolution urging unity among the party leaders, came as an anti-climax to the feverish behind-the-scene manipulations that went on in Delhi since the Bangalore session of the AICC [All-India Congress Committee].

Indira Gandhi, who was humbled at Bangalore by the Syndicate by choosing Reddy as the party candidate for the Presidentship against her will, literally turned the table on her rivals among the old guards at the CWC



INDIRA GANDHI: Wins Nixon's blessing.

meeting. The Syndicate, which claimed to have a majority in the CWC, found itself deserted by its supporters, who were only too eager to climb the Prime Minister's bandwagon.

But for a reported threat by Morarji Desai to walk out it is really intriguing that the once all-powerful stalwarts of the ruling party, should have accepted their total rout with such cool equanimity.

From a revolutionary Marxist point of view, there is nothing to choose between the so-called Syndicate and the supporters of Indira Gandhi. Those like the CPI's [Communist party of India—the pro-Moscow CP] Dange who tail behind a "progressive wing" of the national bourgeoisie, might have some reasons to feel jubilant over Mrs. Gandhi's triumph. But the basic reason for the last-minute compromise deal struck between the warring factions in the Congress leadership should be found in the changed attitude of the

capitalist class as a whole to current political developments.

A split in the Congress would have meant an end of the best organized and the biggest national party, which leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie wanted to avert. Despite their initial reservations about bank nationalisation the big business houses in the country by and large had set the tone for the debate inside the CWC, some of them by openly supporting the policies of Mrs. Gandhi as a more dynamic leader of their class.

Dr. Bharat Ram, a top industrialist of Delhi and President of the International Chamber of Commerce, in fact, hailed Mrs. Gandhi as "the only leader who can take the (Congress) party to success at the 1972 elections" (*Times of India*, August 25).

As if to counter the Masani-type witch hunt ballyhoo about an alleged communist take-over in New Delhi, Dr. Bharat Ram said: "Mrs. Gandhi is not a communist but the communists may push her into a position that suits them if there is a split in the party." As a shrewd industrialist he ought to know his class interests better.

Dr. Bharat Ram said that the Congress must survive since "It is the only party that can provide a stable administration." Albeit, a stable administration for the capitalist and other propertied classes! The powerful Birla House was known to have assured their support to the Prime Minister. The big monopoly newspapers like the *Hindustan Times* (Birlas) and the *Indian Express* (Goenkas) which had earlier trained their powerful guns against Mrs. Gandhi, described as a "captive of the communists," veered round to supporting her at the last moment.

The most significant has been the response from Washington from the policy makers of U.S. imperialism, who are the real mentors of bourgeois politicians in India in the final analysis. The *Times of India* in a report from its Washington correspondent on August 24 said:

"If the fulsome praise [of] the *New York Times* for Mrs. Gandhi reflects the sentiments of the administration—and there is reason to believe that it does—then New Delhi may be assured of the continued support of the U.S. Government."

It adds: "Two aspects of this rather lengthy editorial deserve attention. One

is that contrary to general expectations it does not regard the nationalisation of banks as the 'adoption of a sweeping old-fashioned socialism,' but rather as 'a bold tactical move designed . . . to dramatize her leftwing swing." In other words, there is no apprehension that Mrs. Gandhi is turning "communist."

"The most striking consequences of Mrs. Gandhi's victory in her tussle with the old guards in the Congress High Command," says the report further, "as far as the Presidential poll is concerned is that she will now be listened [to] with greater respect in Washington than ever before. The editorial says she has now become 'a Prime Minister in her own right and not a transitional figure trading on her legacy as the daughter of Nehru.'

"The paper has also suggested to the Syndicate, for which it has no good word at all, that it would be 'unwise' to try to punish Mrs. Gandhi for party disloyalty with the clear implication that the syndicate and its leaders have outlived their usefulness and become a dead-weight on India."

In fact one of President Nixon's top advisers, Senator Michael Gravel [Democrat from Alaska], supposed to be a banking expert, was in Delhi during the crucial week. He gave a clean chit for Mrs. Gandhi in almost identical terms.

As for Moscow, the Brezhnev-Kosygin bureaucracy has reasons to go over the reforms announced by Mrs. Gandhi more as a confirmation of its theory regarding the progressive role by the national bourgeoisie in India.

This background perhaps explains why stalwarts like S.K. Patil, Morarji Desai, etc., ate the humble pie and resorted to a veritable somersault at the CWC meeting. Even Swatantra Party's Rajagopalachari and Minoo Masani, who threatened the fate of a Sukarno to Mrs. Gandhi, have temporarily changed their tunes.

Another important factor that impelled the Congress old guards to sink their factional quarrels was the massive intervention of the working class in the political crisis, with nationwide demonstrations and rallies not only in support of bank nationalisation but for its independent class demands directed against the bourgeois state. A split in the Congress would have given a new impetus to the mass upsurge. Unfortunately the factional squabbles among Congressmen assumed an exaggerated

significance because of the bankruptcy of the traditional workers parties, which have degenerated into opportunist and class collaborationist allies of the bourgeoisie over a period.

This does not, however, mean that a crisis in the Congress Party is blown over with the CWC resolution. The contradictions within the ruling class are too deep-rooted to be resolved by such ad hoc compromises. It might be that the opponents of Mrs. Gandhi are biding their time to strike at her when the limitations of her seemingly radical measures will be exposed. In fact the

India

Police Execute Maoist Guerrillas

Dozens of Maoist guerrilla organizers and Gurijan tribesmen have reportedly been captured and executed by Indian government police in recent months in the Srikakulam area of Andhra Pradesh.

A September 12 report, issued in Peking by Hsinhua, the Chinese government news agency, described the execution of seven guerrillas, including the Maoist leader Panchadi Krishnamurty.

The guerrillas were members of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [CPI(M-L)], one of the contending Maoist factions that split from the Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)] in 1967.

They were captured and executed, apparently in the early part of June, although Hsinhua gives no date for the incident.

"It was at a time when Panchadi Krishnamurty and six other guerrilla fighters were moving from one place to another in Srikakulam," Hsinhua reported, "that the reactionary Indian government viciously sent a large number of armed police to arrest them, and promptly afterwards, ruthlessly murdered these seven revolutionary fighters."

"Before they fell," Hsinhua added, "Krishnamurty and the other six guerrilla fighters shouted: 'Long live the C. P. I. (M-L)! 'Long live the Indian revolution!' 'Revolution shall forge ahead in India!' 'Long live Chairman Mao!' 'Long live our beloved leader Comrade Mao Tsetung; a long, long life to him!'"

Krishnamurty was described as a

limitations of her fiscal reforms within the present capitalist framework, will be exposed much faster.

The task before the revolutionary left, therefore, is not to tail behind Indira Gandhi and her so-called progressive wing of the bourgeois Congress but take advantage of the enthusiasm roused among the masses by recent events to push forward their struggles around their class demands and programmes with the perspective of capturing state power by the working class with the support of the middle class wage earners and the rural poor.

founder of the CPI(M-L) and a member of its Central Organizing Committee. Five of the six other guerrillas were members of the CPI(M-L).

The September 15 issue of *Marxist Outlook*, the fortnightly journal of the Socialist Workers party, the Indian section of the Fourth International, reported a number of similar murders by the police. The government claimed in parliament that twenty-five Maoist guerrillas had been slain.

"Since then," *Marxist Outlook* said, "another 18 or more have been added to the list. On August 3 alone 12 people were killed outright in Parvatipuram area, and on August 7, two more."

"It is strange," the Trotskyist paper added, "that the police who were fired upon by men armed with guns, spears, bows and arrows should always come out of the 'encounters' unhurt while only the other side got eliminated. In fact there have been reports that men arrested are being shot in cold blood."

The Socialist Workers party condemned the pro-Moscow Communist party of India [CPI] and the formerly pro-Peking CPI(M) for their refusal to oppose the government's action.

"It is unfortunate that the traditional working class parties have allowed these killings to be perpetrated without a nation-wide protest. What is going on under a veil of secrecy in Andhra Pradesh has all the appearances of a war of extermination, for which the Indira Gandhi Government cannot disown its responsibility."

The SWP called on the working-class

movement "to demonstrate its solidarity with the struggles of the Girijans in Srikakulam and frustrate the reactionary conspiracy against them."

"We do not agree," the SWP declared, "with the adventurist tactics of the Naxalites [Maoists] of isolated combat action of the tribal masses or the rural poor without linking them with the working class struggles in the urban areas; but we defend the rights of the Girijans to conduct their struggles in the manner they think best. We condemn the murders in cold blood perpetrated by the Andhra Government and demand an impartial inquiry into the so-called 'encounters' between the police and the Girijans."

The Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was founded at a secret congress in West Bengal April 22. Its first public action was a May

Day rally in Calcutta. The new party did not succeed, however, in uniting all of the diverse Maoist groups, and it was only on July 16 that Hsinhua first mentioned its existence. (Previously the Chinese press merely referred to "Communist Revolutionaries," or "Naxalites," terms that encompassed all of the groups that had broken from the CPI(M) because of the latter's refusal to support the 1967 peasant revolt in Naxalbari, West Bengal.)

The largest "Maoist" group in Andhra Pradesh, led by Nagi Reddy, did not join the CPI(M-L). He is said to have refused to accept the Maoist dogma of boycotting bourgeois elections. The CPI(M-L) group in the Srikakulam region was initially a small split-off from Reddy's organization.

A sizable group of Maoists in Kerala also stayed outside of the CPI(M-L),

as did a group in West Bengal led by Parimal Das Gupta. West Bengal has been the stronghold of the new party.

Since July the Maoist press in Peking has given wide coverage to the CPI(M-L), evidently giving this group the "franchise" as the authentic Maoists in India. The July 16 Hsinhua release, for example, declared:

"Under the leadership of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist), the revolutionary people of India will surely respond to this great call of Chairman Mao ['to engage in great struggles . . .']. They will unite and hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought; they will be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

Since the above dispatch, Hsinhua has not mentioned any of the other Maoist groups in India.

Venezuela

Filed in the Wastebasket—as Expected

By J. Garcia Rojas

After the victory of the Christian Democratic party COPEI [Comité Organizado por Elecciones Independientes—Committee Organized for Independent Political Action] in the December 1968 elections, and the elevation of its leader Caldera to the presidency of the republic, a considerable part of the Venezuelan population expected important changes in social and economic policy. COPEI's whole campaign against the discredited Acción Democrática (AD) [Democratic Action] party of Betancourt and Leoni was based on the slogan "change" ("cambio").

The preceding ten years of rule by AD (1958-68), an old revolutionary nationalist party that turned reactionary and became an ally of imperialism, was marked by a struggle waged by the popular masses under the influence of the Cuban revolution and a bloody repression by the government and the ruling classes.

Thousands of workers, peasants, students, and revolutionary militants were arrested, tortured, and murdered by the repressive forces. The Betancourt and

Leoni regimes are responsible for more deaths (by far) than the dictatorship of General Pérez Jiménez which preceded them.

In this period the grave social and economic problems of the country—chronic unemployment, poverty, lack of industrial development, and heavy dependence on American imperialist enterprises (oil, iron), etc.—were not solved or even reduced to a tolerable level.

In order to defeat AD, COPEI presented itself to the voters as a force that would change this situation. This was the so-called peaceful and parliamentary revolution. By waging a "left" campaign, COPEI was able to win votes among the poor population. This was facilitated by the existence of a strong left current among the Christian Democratic rank and file, which created hopes and illusions among the popular classes.

As soon as he became president, Caldera began by offering a general amnesty. The far-left political prisoners (including guerrillas) were released. Even the leaders of the MIR [Movi-

miento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] and the Communist party were set free. Caldera also offered an amnesty to the guerrillas fighting against the army. This was the new government's so-called policy of national pacification.

There is no question that there was considerable sincerity in President Caldera's wish to bring "peace" to the country after years of rebellions, torture, murders, guerrilla struggle, etc. But, in the last analysis, what the government and the local bourgeoisie was looking for was to eliminate the armed guerrilla nuclei, the military arm of any extension of the revolutionary process.

Since under AD neither the army nor the political police, DIGEPOL [Dirección General de Policía—General Police Bureau], succeeded in stamping out the armed groups and clandestine organizations of the MIR and the CP, perhaps with subtler means COPEI could disarm the "extremists" once and for all.

So Caldera legalized the pro-Moscow CP but not the MIR and Douglas Bravo's followers. The Venezuelan CP participated in the December 1968 elec-

tions with an ultramoderate and harmless program. The left-wing sectors of the party (those which follow Douglas Bravo) and the revolutionary youth definitively turned their backs on the right-wing leadership of the CP. They did not vote at all. And the CP suffered a resounding defeat. It managed to garner only 100,000 votes, while in 1958 (with a smaller number of voters) it got 200,000. The capitulationist and parliamentary policy of the pro-Moscow CP proved bankrupt.

Several months have passed since the elections without the people seeing the "changes" promised by the Christian Democrats. Except for the amnesty (which unquestionably was rather extensive), the political and economic situation remains about the same. No steps have been taken to solve the grave problems of poverty and unemployment. The government has capitulated to the blackmail of the American oil companies (Washington's eternal sword of Damocles) which threaten to cut oil production if the authorities do not toe the line. It has followed a policy of concessions to the commercial, or so-called national bourgeoisie, which continues to enrich itself at a furious rate.

Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties of every variety have proliferated under the manipulations of venal and unscrupulous politicians whose sole aspiration is to live off the state budget. The result is that parliament (whose empty and interminable discourses have become a public joke) is becoming increasingly discredited, along with the legal parties, whether they style themselves "left" or "right" (naturally almost all of them call themselves "left").

The defeated AD, which was all-powerful before, is in full retrogression. It has become the most pro-American and anti-Communist party, and the most hostile to the revolutionary movements. By comparison, COPEI is quite far to the left!

It is a well-known fact and apparent to anyone that the popular masses are becoming increasingly indifferent and even hostile to the parliamentary and electoral comedies. The revolutionary forces of the MIR and the Douglas Bravo group continue to enjoy a strong following among the youth and considerable sectors of the populace.

But while it is true that the army has been unable to liquidate the guerrilla movement (it has failed to achieve even a local victory of any importance), it

is no less true that in eight years of fighting, the guerrilla movement has not snowballed.

The weakness of the guerrilla movement lies in its lack of a political program capable of mobilizing the urban and rural masses. The gun must be coupled with an idea. And only a clear, well-defined program with a socialist perspective can free the masses from the confusion skillfully promoted by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties.

As the resolution on Latin America passed by the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International says: "The

Canada

Toronto Socialists in Mayoralty Contest

The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian Trotskyist organization, announced September 16 that it would enter a candidate in the December 1 election for mayor of Toronto.

The League said it would also contest the nine aldermanic posts for which the New Democratic party (NDP—Canada's labor party) had not put up candidates.

The Young Socialists, the youth organization associated with the LSA/LSO, is considering running candidates for the Toronto board of education.

The League's decision was prompted by the failure of a September 6-7 NDP municipal convention to name a full slate for the aldermanic openings, or even a candidate for mayor. The convention did adopt a program considerably to the left of that proposed by the official leadership. Many of the positions of the Socialist Caucus, a left opposition in the NDP, were incorporated into the final platform.

The failure of the convention to nominate a candidate for mayor—in violation of a citywide decision made last spring—was due to the leadership's desire not to challenge incumbent Mayor William Dennison, an "undercover" member of the NDP. Dennison refused to seek the party's nomination for fear that it would compromise him in the eyes of conservative voters.

Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO, described the relationship between his organization's slate

fundamental dynamics of the Latin-American revolution is the dynamics of permanent revolution, in the sense that the revolution is developing into a socialist revolution without intermediary stages or dividing lines.*

Venezuela is no exception. Quite the contrary. The guerrilla groups remain in the field, but a clearly defined political program is still lacking.

* See the July 14, 1969, special issue of *Intercontinental Press*, which contains all the documents of the last world congress of the Fourth International. — IP.

and that of the NDP in the September 22 *Workers Vanguard*:

"Without a mayoralty candidate, there is nothing to tie the NDP's other nominees together into a slate; it is only a list. . . The League aims to pull the campaigns together with its mayoralty candidate and present a socialist alternative to the working people of Toronto."

"We intend to call a conference open to all union militants and socialists," Dowson said, "at which the candidate will be chosen. We intend to make this the biggest electoral effort yet for a labor administration, linking together all the forces rising across the city who want to replace Big Business rule through their Liberal and Tory machines with a working-class administration."

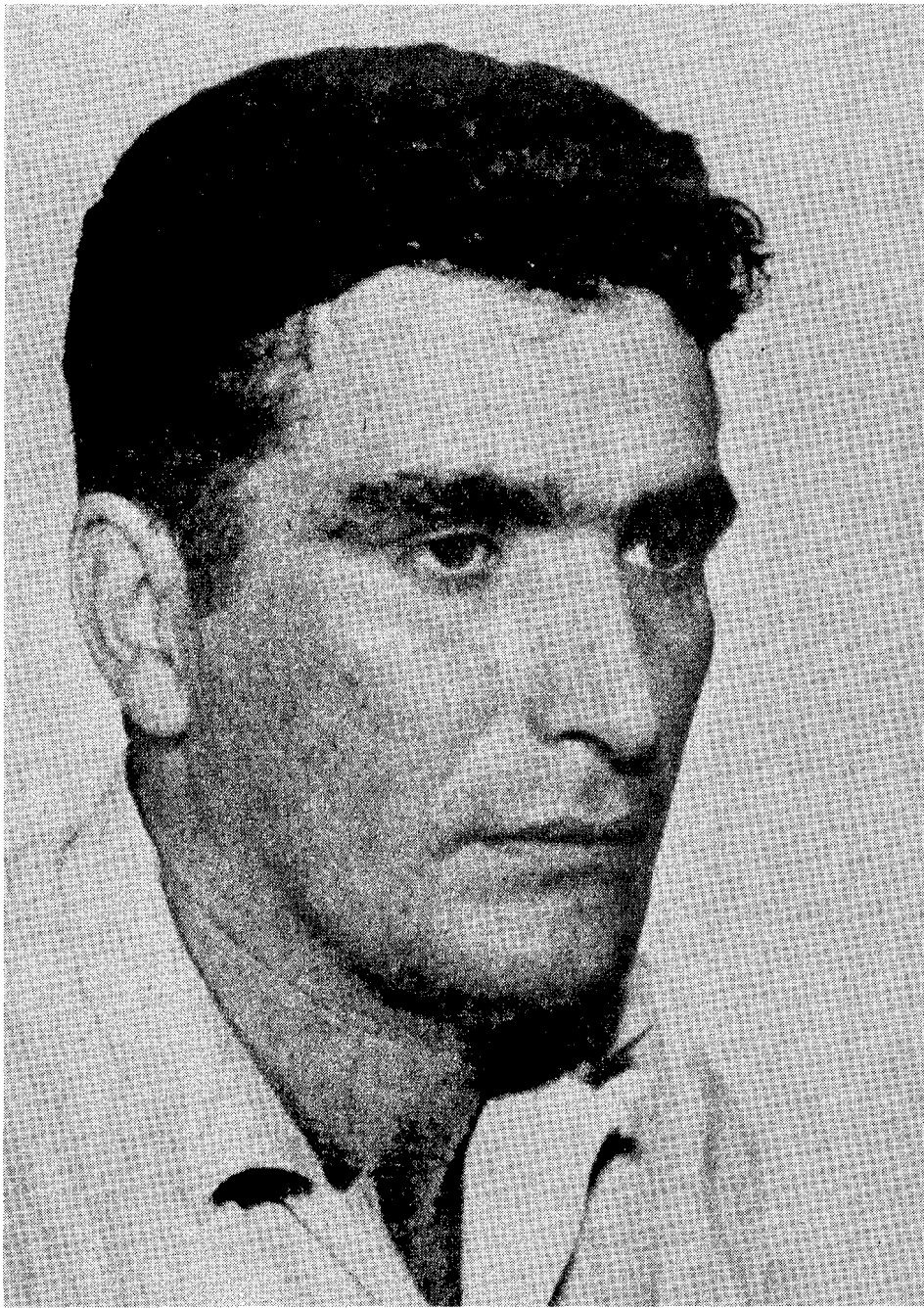
Estimated Abortions in World

In a paper presented at a recent conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, the Hungarian Professor Klinger estimated that 30 million abortions a year are practiced in the world.

Some 10 to 15 million of these operations are practiced in the developed countries.

For every 100 births, there are an estimated 70 to 100 abortions in Italy, 50 to 150 in France, 150 to 250 in Austria, 100 to 300 in West Germany, and 150 to 300 in Belgium.

In Great Britain, where the laws legalizing these operations are rather liberal, there are only 10 to 20 abortions for every 100 births.



Comandante Guido 'Inti' Peredo Leigue

"Inti Peredo, chief of the National Liberation Army of Bolivia and one of the most outstanding of that country's fighters who accompanied Major Ernesto Che Guevara in his heroic guerrilla group of Nancahuazú, died in action in the city of La Paz last Tuesday, September 9," the weekly English-language edition of *Granma*, official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba, announced September 21.

Although confirming the news of the guerrilla leader's death, *Granma* was

skeptical of the Bolivian government's claim that Peredo accidentally killed himself as sixty police and soldiers closed in to arrest him at his hiding place in La Paz. In Santiago de Chile, Antonio Peredo Leigue, the brother of the fallen leader, told *Prensa Latina* that he also doubted the official version.

"The Bolivian government, as if ashamed of its murders, always says the revolutionaries perish by self-immolation. I think that the news of the death of my brother Inti is true,

but that he fell fighting and was not the victim of [his own] grenade."

In a special statement to the Chilean journal *Clarín*, Antonio Peredo assessed the meaning of his brother's life and death as a revolutionist: "It is correct to say that Inti felt the necessity of revolutionary struggle from his childhood, but that does not mean that this impulse led him to take the road of guerrilla warfare. He helped to form the Communist party in my country, hoping to reach socialism by this path.

"He struggled indefatigably in the work of organization and propaganda and participated in strikes and protests. Of course, he suffered the rigors of political imprisonment directly in the 'revolutionary' epoch of Paz Estenssoro and Siles Zuazo.

"But the Communist party retreated into an attitude of reserve, turning its back on the Leninist principles of armed struggle. So Inti came to join the guerrillas as one of their leaders and was with Comandante Che Guevara from the first. This was the reason that the Bolivian Communist party had to declare its support for the guerrillas. But it did not sincerely hold this position. It later shamefully betrayed the guerrillas and sold them out before the eyes of all."

Granma made this comment on Peredo's death, ending it with words from his own statement following the murder of Che Guevara:

"Today the emancipation of Bolivia and of the scorned, reviled peoples of Latin America . . . becomes even more clear and luminous as a result of the example set by Inti—a name which by a symbolic, beautiful coincidence, means 'the sun' in the Quechua language. . . .

"In the universities and mines, in the fields and in the city streets, on the plateau and in the jungle—the people of Bolivia repeat, together with Inti, their song of battle:

"We will be the triumphant Vietnam that Che, romantic and heroic visionary, dreamed of and loved.

"Our banners bear crepe but will never be lowered.

"Let the imperialists and their lackies withhold their songs of victory, because the war has not ended; it has just begun.

"We will return to the mountains!
"Bolivia will again resound to our cry of *Victory or Death!*"

The Turn in the International Economic Situation

1.

[The following is an editorial scheduled for the September issue of *Quatrième Internationale*.]

* * *

Concurring signs indicate that the longest boom in the entire history of the American capitalist economy came to an end in 1969. The growth of the gross national product in real terms, that is, adjusting for the rise in prices, slowed from an average rate of 6.3% in the second quarter of 1968 to an average of 5.2% in the third quarter of 1968, 3.5% in the fourth quarter of 1968, 2.9% in the first quarter of 1969, and 2.0% in the second quarter of 1969. Unemployment, which had been steadily declining for years, began to rise during the second quarter of 1969. The increase was modest (140,000 more jobless), while the overall volume of employment is still continuing to expand. But these are the classic indices of a downturn.

More significant in this regard are the commercial and financial indices. In July 1969, retail sales were only 2.8% above those of July 1968. Since the cost of living increased 5.6% between these two dates, the volume of sales actually decreased by almost 3.0%. The volume of rail traffic in mid-July was only 0.7% above that of last year. The volume of interurban trucking even decreased by 0.8% from last year. Retailers' and wholesalers' inventories are 8.0% higher than the level of June 1968. Industrial inventories are 7.0% higher.

The end of the boom in the United States makes a recession in the American economy possible and even likely, but it is not yet certain. What supports the hypothesis of a recession is above all the tendency for conjunctural movements to snowball, which is inherent in the capitalist system based, as it is, on private ownership of the means of pro-

duction and decentralized investment decisions. Compared with the annual figures for increased industrial production (on the order of 5.0%), these figures show the beginning of insufficient demand. The most sensitive barometer, automobile sales, dropped 15% in July. It continued its downward movement during August.

The deflationary policy chosen by the Republican administration to choke off inflation has thus ended by choking off the boom. Credit restrictions have become tighter and tighter. These higher rates dealt an immediate blow to the construction industry. The volume of new housing construction undertaken fell from an annual average of 1,880,000 units in mid-1968 to 1,340,000 units toward the middle of 1969. Then the scarcity of liquid capital on the money market became so great (the supply of money, in the broad sense of the term, has shrunk 2.0% from last year) that we have seen interest rates of up to 12% on the so-called Euro-dollar* market. The "day-to-day" loans, which six months ago represented only 10% of the total debits of New York banks, rose to 17% of these debits at the end of June.

Another classical index of a downturn is that the short-term interest rate has begun to rise above the long-term interest rate (especially for treasury certificates and short-term commercial paper). No doubt, then, is possible; the American boom, which had lasted eight years, is over.

2.

duction and decentralized investment decisions.

When the signs of a downturn multiply, the capitalists are led by "sacrosanct self-interest" to behave in such a way as to aggravate the downward movement and transform into a recession what theoretically might be only a slowdown in growth.

* U. S. paper loaned in Europe. — *IP*.

sion what theoretically might be only a slowdown in growth.

Among the mechanisms of this snowballing movement, the following are to be noted: the tendency to liquidate inventories, and thus to reduce orders to industry (this movement seems to have begun already); reduced investment, beginning with a reduction in orders for new capital goods (in this case, the indices are not clear; orders for machine tools are still increasing, while producer goods orders as a whole seem already to be decreasing in volume when you take the price rise into account); reduction in the volume of construction (so far the decrease in the number of new housing units started has been balanced off by the increased cost of construction; but the total value of these housing starts is destined to decrease in its turn); the reduction in the purchases of consumer durables, etc.

All these mechanisms have the effect of reducing overall domestic demand and thus reducing employment and industrial activity. They touch off the classical chain reaction leading to an economic crisis (and a recession is simply a classic crisis of overproduction held down to a certain level by a large volume of public spending).

If, nonetheless, a recession is still not certain, it is because some countervailing forces are still operating. The volume of employment is still continuing to expand, and as a result of this, overall demand has not yet begun to decrease in monetary terms (the volume of demand is already declining as a result of the erosion of the average buying power of wages and salaries).

American exports continue on the rise, although a rash of protectionism could put a rein on imports. A mild slackening has appeared on the money market, because the highest interest rate in the United States in the entire imperialist epoch has drained off a lot of European "floating" capital in search of a higher return.

Finally, the Nixon administration might reverse its deflationary policy if it judges that the political and social

tensions it produces on the white working-class "front" are unendurable for U.S. capitalism while the Vietnam war goes on, the antiwar movement

broadens, the radicalization of the blacks advances, and the agitation among the students has by no means let up.

3.

If the Nixon administration wants to block the threatening recession, it must moderate its anti-inflationist policy. But any shift in this direction cannot help but considerably aggravate the crisis of the international monetary system.

The characteristics of this crisis are well known—a universal inflation which has "sustained" the economic expansion of the imperialist countries since the second world war, based on the one hand on the colossal growth of arms spending, and on the other on a no less striking increase in private indebtedness. Since the dollar is the principal "reserve currency" of the other capitalist countries (that is, along with gold, it serves as a cover for the various national currencies), the inflation of the dollar injected instability into the entire monetary system once it passed a certain threshold.

In view of the negative effects a collapse of the dollar would have on the international capitalist economy as a whole, the bourgeoisies of the principal imperialist countries (the "club of the ten"), except France, have agreed to shore up the international position of the dollar by creating an "international paper currency." "Special Drawing Rights" will be applied after September 1969. Only the French bourgeoisie failed to participate in this movement of interimperialist solidarity. But the devaluation of the French franc shows clearly that their objections have no weight financially.

This reform, however, is just a very modest one. It covers only \$9 billion over a three-year period. In the meantime, the United States balance of pay-

ments continues in deficit and American capital exports have even increased since the start of 1969. This makes continuation of the policy of restricting credit and monetary volume applied by the Nixon regime all the more imperative if the capitalist monetary system is to survive the crisis which has afflicted it for several years.

The increasingly frequent tremors periodically shaking the monetary system (November 1968; May 1969; the devaluation of the French franc in August 1969; the new squall predicted for October 1969 in the aftermath of the West German elections) indicate the extent of the malady and what hazards the collapse of the system would entail for the international capitalist economy—an abrupt halt in the expansion of world trade; a pronounced return to protectionism; an elimination of the export stimulus, which, on several occasions since 1945, has enabled the key imperialist countries (especially West Germany in 1966-67) to surmount recessions which threatened to become grave, and to do so on the cheap.

This is why it is not very likely that big American capital will decide to initiate a new round of inflation this year and more probably will prefer to pass through the purgatory of a moderate recession, hoping that the enormous volume of public spending (above all, arms spending) will counteract any risk of this recession turning into a grave crisis. It is ready to reverse engines in an inflationary direction if the recession lasts too long or has too explosive social consequences.

4.

The "overheating" which is now showing up in the West German economy contains all the elements of a recession of the same type as the one in 1966. And such a recession would be aggravated by the fact that the international economic conjuncture is much more unfavorable than in 1966. It would no longer permit compensating for a drop

in domestic demand by increasing exports.

The components of this "overheated" conjuncture are as follows: full utilization of productive capacity; a labor shortage exemplified by nearly a million job vacancies; enormous surpluses in the West German balance of trade (which exceeded \$4 billion in 1968 and

will doubtless go over this figure again in 1969!).

West German goods are in an exceptionally favorable competitive situation. Per unit labor costs have declined by 10% in Germany during the past two years, while they have *increased* between 7% and 15% for the West German capitalists' main competitors (the United States, Great Britain, and France), and 2.0% in Japan. The only other major imperialist country in which these costs have decreased is Italy, and the drop there will end with the big wage increases anticipated for the end of 1969.

In comparison with the 1967 level, the export price of German products showed a mere 3.5% increase in April 1969 as against 6% in the United States, 7% in Great Britain, 7% in France, and even 12% in the Netherlands. The result is that exports of West German manufactured goods in the second quarter of 1969 were 30% (!) above their average level in 1968.

The rebound could not be long in coming. It showed up in the second half of 1969. German prices will begin to rise in their turn. The export rise will weaken. Scarcity will show up on the capital market (accentuated by an increasingly extensive movement of West German capital exports). The interest rates will climb toward new records. Investments will experience an abrupt halt. Already a new revaluation of the deutsche mark [DM] which could have averted the overheating at the beginning of 1969, will no longer be able to do more than slow rising prices at the end of this year.

The only question still open is whether the "overheating" can be dampened by the "classical" means (fiscal and monetary expedients), or whether it will provoke a serious recession, as it did in 1966. If it breaks out in 1970, a recession will no longer be moderated by new export rises. The end of the boom in the United States; the effects of the austerity policy in France (added to the devaluation of the franc) and in Great Britain; the immediate repercussions, which any West German recession sets off in the economic situation in the Benelux countries, will block any substantial increase in West German exports.

It is not even excluded that the cumulative effects of these various phenomena will, if a recession occurs, re-

sult in a combination of a downturn in exports with a drop in German domestic demand. The best that the international capitalists can hope for today

is a half-year lag separating an American recession in early 1970 from a West German recession beginning only late in the year.

5.

A combined recession in the American and West German economies in 1970 would put the international capitalist economy in the most unfavorable situation it has known since the second world war. All the capitalist powers except Japan would risk being drawn into such a recession.

Japan is continuing an exceptionally rapid expansion sustained by the possibility of both industrialization at home and commercial expansion in all the Asian countries as well as those bordering on the Pacific Ocean. But an American recession would in any case deal a hard blow, since more than a quarter of Japanese exports go to the United States.

Such a recession would likewise not fail to involve grave consequences for the prices of raw materials and, therefore, for the economic situation of the semicolonial countries. Conversely, this would have severe repercussions on these countries' capacity to buy the products exported by the imperialist powers.

This would, in fact, be the first time since the economic crisis of 1938 that the great majority of the imperialist countries face the threat of being sucked all together into the whirlwind of a recession. The Common Market experts, as faithful servants of imperialism, are perfectly conscious of the grave risks such an eventuality would entail to the international stability of the capitalist system. They are doing their utmost to run up all the warning signals and consult each other with a view toward achieving a "common conjunctural policy" within the European Economic Community, if not in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (which takes in the major industrial capitalist powers in the world).

Far from seeking the greatest cyclical synchronization, this "common conjunctural policy" would, at least in the immediate future, aim simply at preventing an American recession from coinciding with a West German recession and a deflationary policy in France and Great Britain.

These endeavors have, however, limited chances of success primarily because of the international monetary crisis, which reduces the margin for maneuver and autonomy of action of each of the imperialist bourgeoisies. Any anticyclical policy cannot help but precipitate universal inflation. Any consistent anti-inflationary policy cannot help but increase the scope of the expected recession.

The possibility of a recession in the United States represents an all the more grave threat for the European imperialist powers because the United States has become one of the main outlets, if not the main market for these countries. The weekly *Economist* expressed itself on this matter not without lucidity in its August 23 issue: "If Germany (which usually sells about 9 per cent of its exports to America) fears that an American slowdown may curb Germany's trade balance and domestic production, then Britain (which usually sells 12 per cent of its exports to America) should presumably be terrified."

It must be reiterated that even a simultaneous recession in the United States and West Germany, as well as in the majority of the other imperialist powers, would not precipitate a new crash having the dimensions of the one in 1929-33. Such a catastrophic and prolonged depression is ruled out by military spending totaling over \$120 billion annually in the imperialist countries and by the certainty that if the recession lasts too long the capitalist leaders will prefer to start a new inflationary spiral rather than aggravate the crisis.

But what would occur in the case of a simultaneous recession in the major imperialist countries (with the exception of Japan) would be a much more serious recession than the one in 1959-60 (centered in the United States) and the one in 1966-67 (centered in West Germany). The drop in production, in overall demand, in the income of workers, and, above all, the drop in employment would be much more pro-

nounced in most of the imperialist countries than during those recessions.

It would involve a movement of eliminating the less profitable enterprises, business failures, and capital concentration, as well as a much more pronounced proletarianization of the middle classes. The radicalization of whole strata of the working class and an exacerbation of the class struggle would increase proportionately.

6.

The more the economic situation deteriorates for imperialism, the more inter-imperialist solidarity and "cooperation" will be stretched thin; the more international competition sharpens, the more every imperialist power will tend to apply monetary and commercial "remedies" corresponding to its own interests rather than to those of the system as a whole.

In recent months, confirmation of this has already been provided twice. The refusal of the West German big capitalists to accept revaluation of the deutsche mark, at a time when the "interests of the system" (including the interests of more sustained growth in West Germany) clearly demanded it, is explained by one single factor—the fear of losing too many markets in the immediate future, which they could have little certainty of recovering at the moment of need (most of all at the time of a West German recession).

A revaluation of the DM upward, combined with a devaluation of the French franc, would have made West German industry lose export sales on the order of \$600 million to France alone, without taking into account the losses on other markets as well as the losses on the domestic market. An overall loss of \$2 billion (i.e., half of the current surplus of trade) would have been likely. It was a risk that the big capitalists—and their political spokesman, Chancellor Kiesinger—did not want to take.

The way in which Pompidou carried off the devaluation of the French franc was a confirmation of the same tendency. He did not consult his Common Market "partners" or give advance notice to the International Monetary Fund. He engineered the devaluation so as to get the maximum advantages from the measures without worrying about its effects on the other imperiled

imperialist economies (above all, the British economy, where the pound is weaker than ever).

One incident typified this attitude. On the very eve of the day the French minister of the economy went to Brussels to vote with his Common Market colleagues for closer monetary cooperation, the decision was made to devalue the French franc. The following day Giscard d'Estaing was careful not to inform his "dear colleagues" of this. . .

In the event of a recession, then, monetary and trade reactions inspired by the principle of "every man for himself" are probable. The present parity of the pound sterling would not survive a sharp drop in British exports.

The attempt to reform the overall international monetary system in a way corresponding primarily to the interests of American imperialism would have still less chance for success in the event of an international recession than it had during a boom.

Rapid reversals of the tendency toward increased liberalization in trade among imperialist countries would be inevitable. Not only would American

protectionism become more pronounced, but other countries besides France (above all presumably Italy) would resort to trade control if the flight of capital increased, either because of speculative movement (the Italian balance of trade remains in the black and the competitiveness of Italian capitalist industry quite high), or because of fear of a social or political crisis.

In practice, this policy of "every man for himself" would lead to an attempt by the strongest imperialist powers, those with the greatest competitive capacity, to export their unemployment, excess production, and most severe social crises to their weaker competitors.

Thus grave social crises threaten those countries that end up as the weakest links in the imperialist chain, above all Spain and France, and doubtless also—for social and political, more than economic reasons—Italy. The chance for finding a safety valve elsewhere—for example, by increasing East-West trade—is quite limited in view of the very restricted opportunities remaining open in those countries to capitalists.

7.

The underlying causes of the deterioration in the situation of the international capitalist economy are not monetary ones but result from the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system. At no point in the phase of accelerated expansion was the capitalist system able to overcome these contradictions.

To say, as some do, that it is inflation that is creating the possibility of a generalized recession; or to reply, as others do, that it is the deflationary techniques used in fighting inflation that are the cause of the trouble, is to go no deeper than the surface phenomena.

If the capitalist economy has been affected by general inflation, this is not because "monetary techniques" have been wrongly conceived or applied. It is because without inflation international capitalism is absolutely incapable of bridging, even temporarily, the widening gap between the colossal development of productive capacity and the much more restricted expansion of ef-

fective consumption capacity (i.e., buying power) of the "ultimate consumer."

In this regard, it is very revealing that in the United States the total value of retail sales by the middle of 1969 was 45% above the average level of 1957-59, while industrial production nearly doubled in this ten-year period and the value of productive investments (annual purchases of producer goods, land, and industrial buildings) tripled.

It is the gap separating these three series that makes the end of the boom inevitable and not the monetary policy of the capitalist governments. The only thing this policy can do is determine when this halt will occur, that is, delay it (at the price of inevitably making it worse) or precipitating it (in the hope of attenuating it).

Likewise, if productive investments drop at a certain point in the cycle, it is owing essentially not to credit restrictions but to the accumulation of excess productive capacity in the principal branches of industry. Thus, in the case of the West German recession of 1966-67, the rate of utilization of installed capacity in the manufacturing

industry fell from a maximum of 95% at the end of 1960 to 88% in mid-1965, 80% at the end of 1966, and 78% in mid-1967.

In the same way today the rate of utilization of productive capacity in American industry has fallen from a maximum of 91% (at the peak of the boom in 1966) to 85% in 1967, 84% in the first quarter of 1968, and 83.5% in June 1969. If this movement continues and enlarges to any degree, a recession will become inevitable.

Everything that is occurring now in the international capitalist economy confirms the correctness of the fundamental theses of Marxism. As long as capitalism survives, economic fluctuations, a succession of booms and crises of overproduction, are inevitable.

These fluctuations flow from the very nature of capitalism. They derive from generalized commodity production, private ownership of the means of production, and decentralized investment decisions operating under the whip of competition and the class distribution of the national income, which does not permit a proportional development of social productive capacity and the effective consumption-capacity of the working masses. This is where the real causes of the recession are to be sought and not in the monetary phenomena.

8.

The cyclical downturn of the international capitalist economy will inevitably aggravate class contradictions and magnify workers' struggles in many imperialist countries, regardless of whether it culminates this time in a generalized recession or whether capitalism again escapes this danger.

In fact, the factors causing this cyclical downturn are now expressed in the form of repeated efforts by the bourgeoisie to arrest, or at least moderate, the declining rate of profit inevitable in this phase by mounting an attack on the buying power and employment level of the workers. Reducing employment, moreover, is intended to assure a drop in wages.

In the United States itself, the average weekly buying power of wage earners in April 1969 (\$77.62 in terms of 1957-59 buying power) was lower not only than that of September 1968 (\$79.86 in 1957-59 terms) but even below the 1967 average (\$78.53 in 1957-59

terms). It is not surprising that a series of American unions are now issuing demands for wage increases of up to 10%, which management will have trouble granting in the phase of decline in the economic cycle.

In Great Britain, unemployment has been constantly on the rise since 1965, going from 362,000 jobless in that year to 561,000 in 1967; 587,000 in 1968; and 608,000 for the period June-July-August 1969. Two London Business School professors predict 675,000 jobless during this winter, according to the *Sunday Times* of August 17. It is not surprising that under these conditions the British workers are stubbornly resisting all attempts at capitalist "rationalization" and defending their jobs against the employers' offensive.

In France the combination of devaluation and the austerity measures, which are to follow it, will unite these two offensives. The regime is said to intend to "freeze" buying power at the level of the opening of 1969 (that is, at a level where a good part of the May 1968 gains had already been wiped out), while depressing demand so as to inevitably increase unemployment.

Even if the present downturn in the international capitalist cycle does not end in a general recession, it cannot help but accentuate all these tendencies as well as the inevitable resistance of the workers.

What makes the situation explosive is the fact that, coming after the revolutionary upsurge of May 1968 in France and the appearance of a quite broad vanguard in Italy, this cyclical slump may impel important layers of workers to join in the revolutionary struggle of the vanguard against the structures of capitalism itself. This downturn may bring major sectors of the working class into the fight for workers control and against the authority of the bosses and the more scandalous manifestations of the capitalist market economy (note the success of the so-called Red Point Actions in several West German cities).*

This convergence will not be spontaneous. The deterioration of the economic situation will not automatically

result in broad anticapitalist struggles. The imperialist bourgeoisie still has room for maneuver. It will be quick to shift the heaviest burden of layoffs and reduced shifts onto the immigrant workers, to set one sector of the working class against another, and to exploit the demoralization among the unemployed or declassed petty-bourgeois elements in order to accelerate the tendency toward a "strong state," or even an outright protofascist tendency.

Constructing a new revolutionary leadership is, then, more than ever the No. 1 task. If the working class again misses the chance offered by a revolutionary upsurge, the initiative may pass to the right, or to the extreme right in more than one country.

But the immediate perspective is for development in the opposite direction. For the moment the strength of the revolutionary-minded left vanguard is growing at a more rapid rate in most imperialist countries than that of the

extreme right. The workers' capacity for struggle remains intact and their counterattack against the capitalist offensive will be broad and on a major scale.

Here, then, is a real chance for revolutionists to root their program and organization more deeply in the working masses and to fight boldly for a revolutionary-socialist solution to the capitalist crisis. This crisis, moreover, flows less from the possibility of a generalized recession or a certain decline in industrial activity than from the general tendencies of development of the capitalist economy, and especially from the increasingly acute crisis of capitalist production relations, which a growing number of workers are becoming aware of.

In this sense, 1970 promises to be not just a gloomy year for the capitalist economy, but a banner year for revolutionary class struggle.

August 25, 1969

Israel

"Shopping List" Approved

Premier Golda Meir of Israel told a meeting of the National Press Club in Washington September 26 that President Nixon had assured her of continuing support for the Zionist regime in Israel during her meeting with him

the previous day.

Nixon refused to reveal what concessions had been promised the Israeli regime, but Defense Department spokesmen reportedly said arms sales would be continued "if they were really necessary." The September 27 *New York Times* reported that Washington officials said the U.S. might "assist by making attractive credit and financial arrangements for the sale of more jet aircraft."

The September 26 *Washington Post* included the following items in what they called Mrs. Meir's "shopping list":

Twenty-five supersonic Phantom jets in addition to the fifty now being delivered — at a cost of \$3.5 million each. About eighty A-4 Skyhawks at \$1.25 million each, "as well as ground-to-air missiles."

Mrs. Meir said to the press club luncheon that her government had been under "no pressure whatsoever" from either the Johnson or Nixon administrations to withdraw its occupation forces from the lands seized from the Arab countries during the June 1967 war.



PREMIER GOLDA MEIR

* The Red Point Actions protested increased fares in public transport. They involved boycotts and the use of direct action. See "'Red Point Action' Helps the Youth," *Intercontinental Press*, September 8, p. 778. — IP.

Army Called Out as Strikes Sweep Island

Ceylon's Governor General William Gopallawa proclaimed a state of emergency September 14 as he called out troops and navy personnel to break strikes of electrical and petroleum workers.

As a result of the strike, a power blackout affected the entire island from 3:45 p.m., September 13, until 8:00 a.m. the following morning.

The *Ceylon Observer* reported September 14: "Oil and electricity were declared 'essential services' and employees in these two sectors who fail to report for work without adequate reason now run the risk of losing their jobs as well as being prosecuted for contravention of provisions under the Public Security Act."

"Last afternoon," the paper added, "the Ceylon Army moved into the Kolonnawa Installations of the Petroleum Corporation and got set to restart fuel distribution. All over Ceylon long queues of motorists formed outside petrol outlets, and sheds which were rationing sales ran dry within hours.

"The Army, however, could not get petroleum supplies moving as the power cut had crippled the pumps.

"The Royal Ceylon Navy which was delegated the function of getting the electrical services going moved portable generators belonging to the Department of Government Electrical Undertakings to Kolonnawa to get the pumps working."

The electrical workers agreed to return to work at 8:00 a.m. September 14, but the oil workers stayed out.

The workers were pressing wage demands in response to the rising cost of living resulting from devaluation and other inflationary measures taken by the government. In addition, the electrical workers were seeking guarantees on their status and conditions when the Department of Government Electrical Undertakings is taken over by the newly-created Ceylon Electricity Board, a state corporation. This transfer was scheduled for October 1 but has been postponed to November 1 as a result of the strike.

The strikes were remarkably solid, especially considering the fragmentation of the union movement in Ceylon.

Our Colombo correspondent writes:

"No less than thirty unions were involved in the Electrical Department strike, due to the splitting up of government employees' unions according to categories in each department, under the Trade Union Amendment Act of 1947. . . .

"A significant feature of the strikes in the Fisheries Corporation, the Petroleum Corporation and the Electrical Department was that the staff officers' (executives) unions also came out on strike, making the strike complete from top to bottom in the enterprises concerned. This is unique in Ceylon's history. . . .

"I think that the government was seriously shaken by the suddenness and the completeness of the electricity strike. Now that it has ended, the continuance of the strike in the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation is illegal. This faces us with the possibility of a major showdown with the government on the trade-union front."

The 15,000-member All-Ceylon United Motor Workers' Union, led by the centrist Lanka Sama Samaja party, reportedly has told the government that its membership "could not be expected to take orders from Army personnel who are transporting fuel to the depots."

The September 17 Colombo *Sun* added: "The Union has, therefore, in-

formed the Government that it was discussing with other unions the question of joint trade union action.

"Meanwhile, the UNP [United National party—the ruling bourgeois party] controlled Jatika Sevaka Sangamaya (Fisheries Corporation Branch) yesterday morning defied a directive from the executive of the parent union to return to work. The executive's directive was issued following talks with the Prime Minister on the broad outline for a settlement of the strike."

One government official received a cool reception when he tried to sell the fisheries workers on the government plan. The *Sun* reported:

"Mr. Shelton Jayasinghe, M. P., deputising for the Prime Minister called at the Fisheries Corporation premises yesterday [September 16] with the intention of addressing the strikers. The strikers were, however, not in a mood to listen to him."

P. Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, told reporters September 19 that if striking oil workers initiated discussions leading to a general strike, his union would be happy to join in such talks. He denied rumors that the CMU had already made plans for such a general strike.

The September 19 *Ceylon Observer* reported that the CMU General Council had voted to call a meeting of representatives of all trade unions in the public and private sectors "interested in securing complete freedom of association for all workers, security of employment, and adequate defence of the living standards of the people."

Petition in Italy for Ahmed Evans

A committee to save Ahmed Evans, a black nationalist sentenced to death on a murder charge arising out of the Cleveland ghetto uprising of July 23, 1968, was formed in Rome, Italy, this June. The committee launched a petition drive calling on the U. S. Department of Justice to reverse the court verdict. Evans had been scheduled to go to the electric chair September 23 but was recently given a stay.

The petition declared: "The Constitution of the United States itself guarantees citizens the right to trial by a jury of 'their peers.' And it cannot be maintained that a member of the white

middle class is in any respect a 'peer' of an Afro-American born and raised in a ghetto [Evans was tried by an all-white jury].

"Evans has been condemned to death, many other leaders of the Afro-American people have been forced into exile, are now under indictment, or have been sentenced to long prison terms. . . . We demand unconditional release of the persecuted Afro-American political leaders. Huey Percy Newton, Eldridge Cleaver, Martin Sostre, Robert Williams, and all their comrades and brothers in prison, exile, or under indictment."

Kapitsa: 'Our Ideologists Stand Isolated. . .'

[A speech by Pyotr L. Kapitsa, one of the Soviet Union's top-ranking physicists, was widely commented on in the world press this past June. The *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Le Monde*, and even the British Communist paper, *Morning Star*, gave it prominent coverage and quoted paragraphs from it.

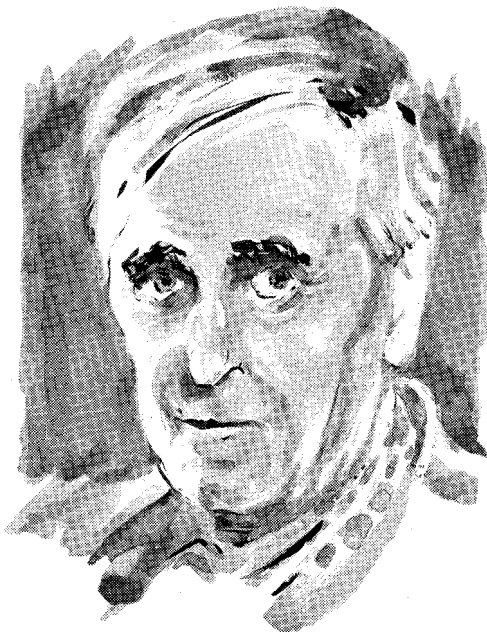
[What was noted in particular about Kapitsa's speech was his concern over the growing revolutionary movement in the advanced capitalist countries, especially among the youth. His statement that Soviet ideologists are isolated from that movement and that Trotskyists and supporters of Marcuse are influencing it also drew attention.

[Kapitsa first gained international prominence in the 1920s, when, because of his outstanding contributions in physics while working in Britain, he was elected to the British Royal Society. In 1934 he was reportedly restricted to the Soviet Union by Stalin and placed in charge of the Institute of Physics Problems in Moscow. There he played a role in developing Soviet nuclear and space technology. In the last years of Stalin's reign, Kapitsa was removed from his position, but was reinstated after the dictator's death and is a leading figure in the Soviet scientific establishment today.

[Noted for his opposition to conformism in thought (in 1967, in the magazine *Yunost*, he called on the youth to "learn the art of polemics from their grandfathers who made the revolution"), Kapitsa is reportedly being permitted to travel to Canada and the U. S. in October of this year.

[The text below, translated from *Voprosy Filosofii* (Problems of Philosophy), No. 5, for May 1969, has recently become available to us. Aside from the somewhat idealist manner in which the ideas are expressed, the document is of considerable interest as a reflection of the impact within the USSR of the world revolutionary upsurge.

[A note on the text's format: In the Russian journal it appears without quotation marks as part of a report on a discussion of new perspectives for the



KAPITSA: Criticizes Soviet failure to meet challenge of new rebel generation.

journal. However, except for the first sentence, it reads like a verbatim account, rather than a summary. Unfortunately, carelessness about distinguishing direct quotes from (distorted?) paraphrasing is one of the irritating weaknesses of Soviet journalism.]

* * *

Academician P. L. Kapitsa, who was the first to speak in the discussion, said that he had listened with interest to the report of I. T. Frolov on the perspectives for the journal *Voprosy Filosofii*, for he had posed in a timely way the question of the further development of the world view lying at the basis of the building of our socialist society. I think that we in the Academy of Sciences have underestimated the importance of these philosophic questions in our epoch.

The historian of the future will undoubtedly view our century as the struggle between two systems of organization of society—capitalist and socialist. This struggle goes on in several spheres: economic, political, ideologi-

cal. The development of our state during the half century after the October Revolution has shown that the socialist system of building society is fully viable. In comparing it with the most advanced capitalist system, that of the USA, it is possible with full objectivity to affirm that today, in the basic spheres of material and cultural development, in public education, in scientific development, and in defense capacity, both countries have attained approximately the same level. The only domain in which we still lag behind is that of industrial-technical development; at bottom this is because the productivity of labor in our country has not yet attained the level it has in the USA.

Thus, more and more the key question becomes the struggle between the ideological bases on which these two systems develop. Philosophy defines the ideological principles on which the interrelations of man and society are based. As we know, at the root of the ideology of capitalist society lies, first of all, the individual's striving for material comfort. At the root of socialist ideology lies the development of society as a whole, and the necessary condition for that is the all-round development of the individual. Therefore in socialist society the creative and ethical qualities of the individual are valued most highly and society strives to develop them. These contradictions in the attitude toward the individual in the two social structures lie at the root of the ideological struggle of the two systems. Today that social system is the most progressive in which the spiritual qualities of man are developed to their fullest potential, since that is the basis for his happiest possible existence.

It is well known that in recent years in the capitalist countries a revolutionary movement of mass character has grown up, especially among the youth. This movement embraces all the most advanced capitalist countries; it is growing, and its leader is the student youth. The forces that brought this movement into being are still not fully understood, but it is already established that this

movement was not aroused by dissatisfaction with the material conditions of man in society; it is aimed at changing the ideological conditions under which man is forced to live in capitalist society. Thus progressive public opinion in the capitalist countries is by itself, without outside influence, spontaneously posing the question of a reevaluation of the ideology on which capitalist society is based.

Along what path will that reevaluation go? Who will create a program for reconstruction which the progressive part of society will take up and which will lead them toward the progress of all mankind? Obviously this will be decided in the process of ideological struggle between different views, a struggle which has already begun and is developing rapidly.

Should we openly join in this struggle? What should our role in it be? Undoubtedly the ideas and principles which lie at the root of the building of communist society, as they have been presented by Marxism, are the only ones that can give this struggle the proper direction. This is now recognized by all of progressive mankind. Attempts are now under way to find the most effective way to develop this revolutionary movement. These efforts are being made in the process of struggle between ideologies of recent formation, such as that of Marcuse, for example. The Trotskyists and others have entered into the struggle.

We must not be afraid to admit that at present our ideologists stand isolated from this revolutionary process and in practice have no influence on it. This is not normal; it stands in contradiction to the fact that the very existence and success of our socialist society, as an example, in and of itself cannot help but be an influence on that revolutionary movement.

How can we most effectively enter into these revolutionary processes occurring in capitalist society? In order not to lag behind the development of progressive thought and to fully take into account the consequences of the scientific-technological revolution going on in the world, we should raise the level of our social sciences. Therefore we in the Academy of Sciences must appreciate highly the desire of the *Voprosy Filosofii* editorial board to promote the development of philosophy, having as one of their basic aims to exert influence on the development of

public opinion in the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries.

But in order to exert this influence we must join more actively in the ideological struggle going on there. In that struggle our philosophers will have to start on an equal basis with their opponents, just as our sportsmen must. It must be said that our ideologists will lose the privilege that they have in our country, where they do not encounter opposing views. In the coming struggle there will be none of that; all records will be kept on a strict and

Iran

ISA Holds Convention in Berkeley

By Steve Chainey

The sixteenth annual convention of the Iranian Students Association [ISA] in the U.S. met September 2-6 at the International House in Berkeley.

Some 300 Persians were present at the opening session. Fraternal guests included representatives of the Arab and Greek student associations, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Progressive Labor and Black Panther parties, the Confederation of Iranian Students in Europe, SDS [Students for a Democratic Society], and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

After the opening session, the convention was conducted in Persian. Topics included the split in SDS, the ISA's relations with other leftist groups in the U.S., the role of women in the organization, the expansion and tightening of the chapters of the ISA, and, most important, the question of renewing and strengthening the international defense of political prisoners in Iran.

At one point during the discussion, FBI agents escorted an Iranian student from the conference hall. Charged with not paying fines for traffic violations, he was released on \$500 bail.

This was merely one incident in the continual harassment of student leaders at home and abroad by U.S. and Iranian government agents.

In connection with the projected visit of the shah to the U.S. in the near future, the delegates mapped out a campaign against the repressive measures used to quell political dissent in Iran.

impartial basis.

Therefore I urge the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences to support the program presented by the new editorial board of *Voprosy Filosofii*, since it sets the journal the task of increasing its international influence, and I also urge that in the Presidium more time be devoted to examining philosophical questions concerning the ideological bases of socialist society. At present, in the scientific reports of the Presidium, this theme is not dealt with in practice. This must be changed.

Forums, articles translated into English, and demonstrations will be used to inform the American public about the real situation in Iran—particularly the myth that democracy exists—and the role of U.S. imperialism there.

Together with other foreign students and leftist groups, the ISA plans to form a committee for the defense of the Palestinian liberation movement. The committee would seek to gather and disseminate information and analyses of the Arab revolution.

For information on how to help defend political prisoners in Iran, the address is: Iranian Students Association, P.O. Box 1295, Berkeley, California 94701.

Why Japan Imports Eels

Japan is challenging the leadership of the other industrially advanced countries on many fronts, not least of them in the pollution of the environment.

"The rivers have become so polluted with human and industrial waste," reports the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "that formerly rich fishing grounds have become worthless. A popular Japanese food is eel, which was once abundant. But baby eels for stocking ponds can be netted only near the mouths of rivers, and now they have virtually disappeared. Eel raisers in Shizuoka now import fingerlings from the US by air freight at a cost of around 70 yen each, and the price of full-grown eels has become almost prohibitive. Most shellfish are now contaminated and unsafe, the health authorities warn. Fresh fish is expensive and hard to get, and frozen fish of dubious quality is being brought in from as far away as Africa."

New Revolutionary Party in Czechoslovakia

[The following declaration was issued in August by the newly formed Revolutionary Socialist party of Czechoslovakia. It is reprinted in full from the September 16 issue of *Black Dwarf*, a biweekly socialist paper edited by Tariq Ali and published in London. The document was one of several obtained in Prague by Ian Fraser, a correspondent of the *Black Dwarf* who recently visited Czechoslovakia. Fraser translated the declaration and supplied an introduction describing the new organization.

["The Revolutionary Socialist Party (Czechoslovakia)," Fraser said, "is the first definite organization to have crystallized out of the numerous discussion circles and groupings which formed inside and outside the party in Czechoslovakia in the 'Prague Spring' and thereafter. . . . Many present members of the RSP joined the CP in the Dubcek enrolment. The invasion, and especially the clandestine August plenum of the central committee in the first few days of the occupation, only increased the solidarity of the people behind the party leadership. It was only with the gradual concessions to Moscow, the reintroduction of censorship and the replacement of Dubcek by Husák in April that enough people started to listen to those who had been insisting all along that real change could not come from above.

["The RSP then formed is made up of the workers and students most active and conscious in the popular movement of 1968."

[Fraser says that the new organization does not yet have a fully agreed upon program and that at least some of its members reject the principle of democratic centralism. They are said to have produced a book entitled *The Basis of the System*, of which about 1,000 mimeographed copies were distributed. This book consists primarily of excerpts from Marxist works written in other countries, drawing heavily on the literature of the world Trotskyist movement, but also encompassing other anti-Stalinist tendencies.

[According to Fraser, this volume includes summaries of the following works: the Bolshevik party's 1918 program; an article by Mme. Kollontai on *The Family in the Communist State*; Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* (extracts); Milovan Djilas's *The New Class*; the demands of the Hungarian and Polish workers councils in 1956; Kurón and Modzelewski's *Open Letter to the Polish Communist Party*; *New Rise of the World Revolution*, the main resolution adopted by the World Congress of the Fourth International held in April of this year (one chapter); two articles by Ernest Mandel, one on the general question of bureaucracy, and one on the "cultural revolution" in China; a piece on bureaucracy and technocracy in the workers states by the French Social Democrat Serge Mallet; an article on bureaucracy by the dissident Yugoslav philosopher Mihail Marković; and several other similar works.

[The RSP, Fraser says, "has two main centres of activity, in the unofficial trade union committees and in the student movement. About half a dozen of the thirty or so members

of the Student Parliament of Charles University, Prague, are members, with some dozen sympathisers, and although the rest take a more moderate line they co-operate readily in activities. Members are prominent in the unofficial TU (trade union) co-ordinating committees in Prague and in factory committees, notably in the Metalworkers and university employees unions.

["The RSP has connections with the Printers' Union which enabled it to bring out 100,000 copies of the leaflet (a general call for the August 21 demonstrations on the anniversary of the Soviet invasion, signed "workers, students, intellectuals"—IP). . . ."

[In Fraser's estimate, the main organizational weakness of the new party is its lack of roots outside of Prague and, more notably, in the other Eastern European countries.

[The declaration below is significant for what it shows of the direction of the Czechoslovak movement for socialist democracy. It gives the lie to the Kremlin's charge that the movement aimed at restoring capitalism. The basic thrust of the document is a clear call for an antibureaucratic revolution, not only in Czechoslovakia, but in the Soviet Union itself. At the same time these Czech revolutionists make no concessions to bourgeois liberalism and explicitly reject any role in their struggle for such imperialist-controlled organizations as the United Nations.]

* * *

It seems that the victories of January 1968 are still alive in the thoughts of the people: the breaking free from fear, the will of the workers to decide their own affairs, the free discussion without any censorship or restriction, the confrontation of different views, conceptions and programmes; the idea of trade unions as a tool of workers defence and not as a tool of the bureaucracy serving to oppress them.

On the other hand we have been cured of many illusions. We no longer believe in the myth of legality, since we know that the bureaucracy uses the law to its own interests and against the people and we are prepared to break these anti-people laws, to combine legal work in the trade unions with illegal work, and gradually, if necessary, abandon legal forms of struggle. We do not believe in the realization of our demands within the framework of the existing system, since their dynamic threatens the interests of our bureaucracy and the international bureaucracy and they will not abandon their privileges voluntarily.

The attempts at decentralisation also tend to evoke the self-activity of the people and this constitutes a danger for the bureaucratic regime, and arouses a tendency to a take-over of power in the factories and workplaces by workers' councils, which will no longer be answerable either to ministries or to the bureaucratic centre.

We do not believe in the Action Programme of the CPC [Communist party of Czechoslovakia]—we know that it is humane, that it was written with the best intentions and that

we can agree with it in many respects, but we are aware that it is the programme of the liberal wing in the leadership of the CPC and that its aims must align—we all saw this in August—with the interests of the international bureaucracy, led by the rulers in the Kremlin. The August invasion demonstrated that this programme is not correct, for it is unworkable.

We no longer believe in a system where the leadership, even when it is as humane as Dubcek, decides for the workers without them, for only the workers themselves have the right to decide their own destiny.

We do not believe in socialism in one country, or that the power of the bureaucracy can be broken in a small isolated country like Czechoslovakia, which would from then on have "gone its own way," had its own "socialism with a human face," for socialism is only one and its face is human, otherwise it is not socialism.

We do not believe in neutrality, since in a world of social struggles we cannot be neutral, as we were in 1956, and as the Poles, Hungarians and Germans were in August 1968—that is not neutrality, that's a crime.

We do not believe in help from the UNO, we do not believe in "peaceful coexistence" of imperialism and the Kremlin counterrevolutionaries.

We believe only in ourselves, in our own reason, our own understanding and powers. When we say ourselves, we are not thinking only of the workers, technicians, farmers, students and intellectuals in our country, but of all those who are in a similar social position anywhere in the world, for we have understood that our struggle and our organization must have an international character.

Our position is very little different from the position of the workers in the neighbouring "peoples democracies" and it is above all with them that we must link up, and it is finally little different from that of the people in the USSR, where social oppression is often joined to oppression of nationalities—in the Ukraine, the Baltic republics, Transcaucasia, etc.

Even if the political awareness of the people of these countries is often lower than here—and it is lowest in Russia itself—they are our allies, our brothers, who are gradually becoming our comrades in struggle, just like the French and Italian workers, just like the oppressed people of Africa and Latin America, just like the workers of the whole world.

The 21st of August and the days following it must not remain the only period of resistance; opposition to Husák's police terror, which is increasing and enveloping the entire country, must become (otherwise it would lose all its mass character) more organized, better worked out and each one of us must link himself to this work, for otherwise our perspectives will be lost for many years.

That is why it is necessary gradually to work out a programme for your factory, your workplace, because it will be *you* who will decide the future economic policy as the supreme and sole owners of the means of production with which you work (tools, machines, equipment, means of transport, soil, etc.).

The ideas which emerge from your discussion about the economic, social and political programme of your factory together with your views and experiences should be written down, put up on posters—wall newspapers—distributed as widely as possible, passed on to workers of other factories, spread about in town districts and villages.

It is your right and responsibility to know how the managers run the factory and what pressure is exerted on them by higher organs—trade-union leadership, ministries, party apparatus, etc. You should know the prices of raw materials, the prices of the products and how they are determined.

It is your right and responsibility to know whether you are working for consumption or for further production, or whether you are producing for storage. It is essential to know what rewards, shares, prizes, etc., the economic leaders get.

This is your right and you should try and attain it through RTUMFC—*Revolutionary Trade Union Movement Factory Committee*, an official organization. You should make use of this right of workers' control of your own initiative. Publish the facts you discover and inform all the workers.

Any form of "participation" of the workers in running factories and enterprises must be rejected. Councils of workers which do not and under the existing system cannot have any real influence on economic management should not in the name of the workers accept a share in the responsibility for an economic policy which is heading for total collapse.

No participation in management, but workers' control today and workers' management tomorrow. That is our slogan for the attainment of *political* power by the Czech people.

In this respect it is very important to link up with workers from other factories; both from the same industry and same trade union and also outside irrespective of what trade union you belong to. Horizontal links are forbidden but it is up to you to defy this prohibition: working in the RTUMFC you have full rights to contacts, exchange of information and experiences and to co-ordination of further activity irrespective of trade-union membership.

Only your own activity is a real check to the gradual totalization of our life and only direct action can prevent a return to the darkest days of Stalinism. Only resistance and the unity of us all can hinder the bureaucracy from repression against students, intellectuals, trade unionists, or any of us.

It will be difficult to reintroduce political trials in a country where the workers are prepared to go on strike in protest against these trials. Strike action can have tragic results for the bureaucracy.

This joint united resistance against the bureaucratic centre is also the political creed of our Revolutionary Socialist Party. In conditions of active resistance we can struggle for our concepts against others, we can justify them in mutual discussion: in an atmosphere of fear and political trials we will become a small, isolated sect, since we can have no influence over a people largely cynical and despondent.

Not only our party, but each one of us is a guarantee of the future development of our society. Everyone must think deeply about what he has done and what he could do for our liberation.

Let us try to inquire into the essence of our system. There can be no talk of socialism here; we are not talking only about Czechoslovakia. If we examine this system, we must evidently always come to the necessity of an antibureaucratic, genuinely socialist revolution.

It turns out that the CPC and the unions are bound by

warnings and instructions from above, from the moment they are prepared to respect them. Thus they are progressively becoming, just like the state and economic apparatus, the army, the police and the courts, mere tools of bureaucratic power. Two things follow from this:

1. Not to abandon the positions which the workers have, especially in the TUs, RTUMFCs. We must hold them chiefly because it is within our power to prevent repressions and safeguard the interests of the workers in the face of the higher organs. It is of course not possible to have any illusions that the unions and the CPC could become really revolutionary instruments of the workers. The decisive factor will of course obviously be the struggles of the independent organizations of the workers against the bureaucratic power.

The situation hitherto—especially in the unions—permits a certain faction in the committees of the RTUM to agree in advance on united action against the conservative minority which may consider itself bound by party discipline. In numerous party organizations it is then possible to declare a complete boycott of commands from above, wait for the dissolution and set up other forms of struggle after dissolution—illegal work by the revolutionary part of the organization, of course strictly conspiratorial.

It could pay to follow a policy of not voluntarily leaving the CPC, but merely disengaging from it. This will cause the bureaucracy a lot of difficulties, and at the same time help the polarization of forces: those who will progress further, those who retire into private life and those who sell themselves to Husák.

2. Gradually to build up illegal groups, which will work alongside the legal activity in the RTUM and the CPC, and if we eventually lose our positions in those organizations, will go over to exclusively illegal activity, of which we spoke at the beginning. It is important for them to have an influence on the workers, even if nobody can know that they belong to such a group.

They must also have contacts in other factories, which should always be maintained only between two comrades, so as to minimize the risk of exposure. Do not keep any printed matter in rooms at the factory: rely on your memory, not on a notebook or address book.

Collect information, meet, pass on the information, publish it on wall newspapers. Do not let us allow ourselves to be driven into retreat, let us not turn our backs just out of cowardice.

The atmosphere at workplaces depends only on our courage and cunning. We are the overwhelming majority and against us there stand only a handful of people.*

At the present time in our country, discussions are going on about variants of the overall social programme. Our conception is that of a socialist, self-managing society,

* In another statement, an appeal to the youth, the Revolutionary Socialist party estimates that the bureaucracy as a whole in Czechoslovakia numbers some 270,000 persons, out of a population of fourteen million. They break this number down as follows: "The interests of this handful of people—presidium of the CC of the CPC, party secretaries, ministers of key branches, heads of party organisations at the ministries of defence and the interior—are directly served by 22,000 party apparatchiks, 50,000 employees of the ministry of the interior, 50,000 professional soldiers, 106,000 legal and administrative employees, 50,000 members of the economic bureaucracy."—*IP*.

of direct democracy of the producers. It is that of the fulfilment of the age-old ideals of free peoples, ideals of liberty, equality and brotherhood, which can be reached only by the removal of class differences and the creation of the possibility for everyone to decide individually about his own life, about his work and its results.

But for our society to reach these socialist goals it must—we are convinced—pass through a revolutionary process, must first of all destroy the bureaucracy as a social stratum, which means that it must take political and economic power from it. This is connected also with the destruction of all the repressive instruments of its power, especially the StB, State Security Police (Czech KGB), the army, the so-called people's militia and the censorship, simply to destroy the state apparatus and introduce general arming of the people.

The working people, which will thus take power, will combine according to its own interests in various organizations, which will put forward various conceptions and programmes. But its will will be expressed through its own non-party institutions—councils at the workplaces, in the various branches of industry, a central council of workers and organs of self-management of the people in towns and villages. These councils will no longer be responsible to a bureaucratic centre, but to the workers, who in an atmosphere of free discussion, freedom of the press and of assembly and association will themselves see to it that their representatives express their interests.

We are, however, of the opinion that our people cannot set out on this road alone: the geographic and economic situation does not allow that, the power of the international bureaucracy run from the Kremlin will not permit it.

The revolutionary process must spread to other countries: in co-operation with the people of those countries we want to live and work in the future. But not even our central and eastern Europe can be separated from other countries—socialism presupposes the co-operation and brotherhood of the people of the whole world. And therefore our sympathies are on the side of the Latin American partisans, the French students and workers, who in May 1968 gave to the workers of Western Europe a socialist alternative for their future; on the side of the Vietnamese, who are fighting against American imperialism.

For the world is only one, and people must decide whether they will accept the alternative of Messrs Nixon, Brezhnev or Franco, the alternative of passivity, fear, and unfreedom, or the alternative of a free, socialist society.

We believe that the Czechoslovak people will take one of the first places in this decision. Our programme will be constantly perfected and will be influenced by the sharpening tensions and contradictions in our countries between the workers, the intelligentsia and the students on the one hand and the bureaucracy, led by the pro-Moscow power centre, on the other. That is how we understand the class viewpoint in this historical period.

This programme cannot be realized unless numerous groups of vanguard workers and technicians, intellectuals and students exert every effort to organize. The organizations which arise, irrespective of differences in conception and programme would have to work together and carry out actions in common: they could join in a Front of popular resistance.

Some of you may possibly join our party, and gradually

gain contact. We would like to co-operate with other organizations and parties.

An important place in the popular resistance will of course be taken by the young, who are not bound by family responsibilities and worries and who were most severely hit in August—they lost their perspectives and again became deprived of rights.

The bureaucracy will be convinced that this youth without rights is a historical powder keg of great explosive force. We all consider our programme for the next period to be:

1. To support and uphold as much as possible popular activity, independent actions by the workers, to keep each other informed and to maintain as close contact as possible with workers of other factories.

2. To hold the positions gained in the CPC, in the unions and at workplaces.

3. At the same time to found small illegal groups on a strictly conspiratorial basis. To link up together, to carry out activities in concert and to work out in them a programme for anti-bureaucratic struggle, for the taking of power, a programme for the future socialist society.

August 1969.

Ideological Commission of the
Central Committee of the Revolutionary
Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia

READ IT— COPY IT OUT— PASS IT ON

Greece

'Voice of America' or Papadopoulos?

"The Voice of America is deliberately subduing its service to Greece and permitting the State Department to censor its newscasts so as not to upset the dictatorial military regime there." This was the conclusion of a report by Paul Grimes in the August 17 Philadelphia *Sunday Bulletin*.

The U.S. propaganda agency explains privately that it fears the \$35 million worth of equipment it maintains or its building in Greece might be confiscated if anything were said that disturbed the Papadopoulos government.

At present the "Voice of America" operates a 300-kilowatt transmitter on the island of Rhodes, which relays broadcasts to the Arab countries of the Middle East. A smaller station in Thessalonike is slated to be turned over to the junta after the completion of a giant \$28.7

million complex under construction at Kavalla in northern Greece.

The Kavalla operation will include ten 250-kilowatt transmitters to beam broadcasts to central Europe, the Balkans, and Southeast Asia.

One example of the flexible standard of "truth" as interpreted by the Voice of America was a broadcast on August 7. A news item was scheduled concerning a July 30 letter to U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers concerning American support for the Greek dictatorship. The letter was signed by forty-seven members of the U.S. House of Representatives and three senators. The legislators called for a sharp curtailment of U.S. military aid to Greece and expressed the conviction that the junta would "inevitably" be overthrown.

The broadcast was also slated to in-

clude a reply to the letter from William B. Macomber, Jr., assistant secretary of state for congressional relations.

The broadcast, even as originally conceived by the "news" desk of the "Voice," contained no quotes from the legislators' letter. It concentrated instead on Macomber's reply and was supposed to draw the neat, palatable conclusion that Macomber's views had been "welcomed" by the capitalist politicians.

Nevertheless, the script did include a mild dissent by Representative Don Edwards (Democrat of California) that purges in the Greek military had weakened the "effectiveness" of the totalitarian regime as a NATO partner.

"Before being broadcast," Grimes reported, "according to authoritative sources, the script was sent to the Greek desk at the State Department. It was returned to the Voice with the advice that the two sentences should be deleted. The Voice concurred."

Plants Can't Take It

In tests conducted at the North Carolina State University, scientists charted the growth rate of tobacco plants in peaceful quiet. They then subjected the plants to random noise from a loudspeaker on the chamber wall amplified to about 100 decibels, a level to be found in the streets of almost any modern city.

After two weeks, the growth rate of the plants decreased by an average of some 40 percent.

It is curious that scientists had not previously thought to test what effect noise pollution might have on plants. After all, constituting as they do the source of mankind's food supply, plants deserve a certain humane consideration.

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