

Death of Ho Chi Minh:

Vietnamese to Continue Struggle



Ho Chi Minh. See page 795.

**British Troops
Enter Belfast Ghetto**

**Libya:
With the King Gone,
Will the Oil Remain?**

**SWP Convention
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Bolivia:

New Guerrilla Front Crushed, Police Claim

Population Explosion

According to an August 30 UPI dispatch from London, "British drivers consider themselves the most overtaxed,

long-suffering, persecuted and cramped in the world."

Statistics show that Britain has 59.2

vehicles for every mile of road against 48.3 for West Germany, 47 for the Netherlands, 45.1 for Italy, 25.7 for France and 25.5 for the United States.

As for taxes, the average motorist in Britain pays the equivalent of \$80 a year for a license fee plus a tax of 52 cents on each gallon of gasoline.

However, New York drivers can present a case that is not without merit.

The August 25 *Wall Street Journal* reports that there are "five million cars in metropolitan New York, or 50 autos for every available parking space in the city's 6,000 lots and garages. The Automobile Club of New York says that creates the worst parking crunch in the nation. New York's problems may be a preview of what's in store for other big cities as cars proliferate and as parking lots give way to commercial buildings."

The demand for space for automobiles has caused parking rates in New York to jump to impressive levels. "Monthly rates of \$90 aren't uncommon in Manhattan; one garage charges \$125. Drivers parking for one day in the city pay as much as \$7.50."

Residents of Buenos Aires likewise have a claim that should be carefully weighed in deciding who is in front in feeling the effects of the population explosion in automobiles.

The streets in Buenos Aires, exceptionally narrow for a modern city, are now being torn up for new gas, water, and sewer lines, reports the *New York Times* (August 29).

In addition, save along a few key avenues, traffic lights in this city of 7,000,000 people are virtually nonexistent.

Thus the traffic jams are extraordinary. "There are no restrictions on the use of horns, and residents near important intersections must listen to several hours a day of continuous, impatient blasting by thousands of stalled cars."

The *Times* correspondent ends his dispatch as follows:

"How do you like this, pal?" a taxi driver asked, leaning steadily on his horn as he inched forward. "What does New York have that we don't, eh?"

One thing that New York doesn't have yet is a city ordinance like the one passed in Buenos Aires in August to help ameliorate the situation.

The ordinance makes it a crime, punishable by fine and imprisonment, drivers to curse pedestrians or other drivers too emphatically.

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EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

MANAGING EDITOR: Les Evans.

TRANSLATIONS: Gerry Foley, George Saunders.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

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PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 95 rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin, Paris 10, France.

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Vietnamese Pledge to Continue Struggle

The death of Ho Chi Minh September 3 marked the end of an era in the history of Vietnam, North and South. It gave rise, as might be expected, to a flurry of speculation throughout the capitalist world as to the effect of Ho's departure on the ability of the Vietnamese people to maintain their heroic resistance to American imperialism.

Many sections of the American press were forced to adopt an unusually respectful tone in commenting on the passing of the man whose name had become linked so closely with the struggle against American aggression in Vietnam. Harrison Salisbury, writing in the September 7 *New York Times*, said:

"Ho Chi Minh's death last week was a deep and incalculable loss for Hanoi, for the Vietnamese people—and even, time may yet reveal, for the United States. This was the considered opinion of most neutral observers who have followed Vietnam's tortured years long and closely, first during the conflict with the French and then with the Americans. . . .

"Even in 1969, with all the passions and hatreds of the war, all of the destruction, all of the reprisals, all of the fratricidal strife, Ho still would have won any popular referendum honestly and fairly conducted in the whole of Vietnam."

In tributes of this sort, Salisbury, and many other procapitalist journalists, implicitly admitted the spuriousness of Washington's professed reasons for having initiated the war in Vietnam and for continuing it now.

More important than this tardy and backhanded concession to the massive popular revulsion against the war, Salisbury also summed up the view of the more sober capitalist spokesmen on the effect of Ho Chi Minh's death on the morale of the Vietnamese freedom fighters:

"Hanoi without Ho almost certainly will prove just as difficult an enemy for the United States as Hanoi with Ho. . . . fighting man in Vietnam, both American and Vietnamese, is not likely to note any specific changes as a result

of the President's death. The battles will continue. The strategy of the conflict worked out two or three decades ago by Ho and his close associates is not likely to change. The truth is that the venerable old leader had played no active role in the day-to-day conduct of the war for a long time."

The Vietnamese themselves made clear that they had no intention of granting any concessions to Nixon because of the loss of an individual leader. On September 6 an editorial in *Nhan Dan*, the official daily organ of the North Vietnamese Workers party, called for continuation of the fighting, until "there is not a single aggressor in our country."

The editorial reiterated a recent statement by Ho Chi Minh on Nixon's token troop withdrawal: "The Vietnamese people firmly demand the withdrawal of all U.S. and satellite troops, not the withdrawal of only 25,000 or 250,000 but a total, complete, unconditional withdrawal."

Nhan Dan called for unity around the "firm leading collective."

The most prominent figures, who would undoubtedly be part of the collective referred to by *Nhan Dan*, include Premier Pham Van Dong; Le Duan, first secretary of the Vietnamese Workers party; Truong Chinh, a member of the Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly; and General Vo Nguyen Giap, who is presently defense minister.

Certainly this new team is going to have to take great care to maintain its "neutrality" in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Neither Moscow nor Peking seem in the least inclined to set aside their factional differences for even a momentary display of unity in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. In this respect the Chinese have thus far made the worst appearance. Chou En-lai made it a point to keep his September 5 visit to Hanoi to less than a day, leaving demonstratively just a short time before the arrival of Soviet President Aleksei Kosygin.

Ho's death passed without any significant changes in policy by either

Washington or Saigon. The most vulgar comments, as might be expected, came from the hired thugs who head the puppet regime in Saigon. Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky compared North Vietnam with a "snake without a head." President Thieu claimed to see "another blow to the already low morale of the Communist cadres and troops in North and South Vietnam alike." Few took Thieu's comments seriously, and the only action Saigon proposed to take advantage of this new "opportunity" was to refuse to take part in the three-day truce called by the National Liberation Front in Ho Chi Minh's honor.

In the United States the jingoists urged a new escalation. Nixon, already confronted with more antiwar opposition at home than he can handle, chose to avoid further provocation of this sentiment.

A more important test was whether or not Nixon would use the occasion of Ho's death to scale down the war. There is a widespread view among liberals (carefully nourished by White House handouts) that Nixon intends to end the war in the near future. The real purpose of spreading such illusions, of course, is to disarm and demobilize the antiwar movement, which has been a great political embarrassment for Nixon. The *New York Times* urged Nixon editorially September 5 to produce something more tangible than vague promises:

"The period of uncertainty in Hanoi created by the death of Ho Chi Minh presents a unique opportunity to the United States and its allies to make a bold new bid for peace."

Two days later it was already clear, even to the *Times*, that Nixon had not the slightest intention of making any kind of a "bid for peace." In a September 7 editorial the *Times* lamented:

"The death of Ho Chi Minh has created diplomatic opportunities that test the determination of Presidents Nixon and Thieu to press for a speedy end to the Vietnam war. Unfortunately, the initial response from Washington and Saigon has been discouraging."

New Guerrilla Front Crushed, Police Claim

"Bolivia, which has received large-scale United States assistance in 1967 to crush a guerrilla movement led by Ernesto Che Guevara, is in the throes of another guerrilla scare," *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne wrote from La Paz August 31.

Browne gave few details about these reports. However, the Bolivian press is full of them.

The new scare seems to have begun July 16 with reports of two developments—a series of raids by the secret police and the killing of a turncoat by the guerrillas.

A former guerrilla courier Honorato Rojas Vega, who had betrayed one of the groups in the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army—the guerrilla force led by Che Guevara], was shot in his home in the eastern city of Santa Cruz July 14. A statement issued in the name of the ELN declared that Rojas had been executed for treason.

The statement, quoted in part in the La Paz daily *Presencia* July 16 said: "His elimination was an act of justice, like many other such actions to come which will be carried out against those who have betrayed, are betraying, and will betray our people. Any violation of human rights is condemnable but when such violations are directed against the people, the wrongdoer must be punished."

The declaration concluded: "This act was not an act of vengeance. The Ejército de Liberación Nacional and the people know by what name to call it—passing the required sentence on a traitor."

On the same day that the press announced the execution of Honorato Rojas Vega, it carried the news of a press conference given by Colonel Eufronio Padilla, the minister of the interior. Padilla said that the security forces under his command had uncovered a "vast conspiratorial plan" and had forestalled an urban guerrilla campaign shortly before it was scheduled to go into operation.

He announced that the plan had called for the assassination of the president, the council of ministers, the top military leaders and political figures,

as well as left-wing elements considered to have betrayed the 1967 guerrilla movement. The leaders of the pro-Moscow party were supposed to have been marked for assassination.

The guerrillas, he claimed, intended to start their campaign with a sensational coup. They allegedly planned to steal the body of former President René Barrientos Ortuño, who was killed in a helicopter crash April 27. The guerrillas supposedly wanted to use the former president's body as a quid pro quo to recover the body of Che Guevara, which disappeared mysteriously after he was murdered.

Padilla showed the journalists detailed plans of action. The main points, *Presencia* said, "included the destruction of the Corani [hydroelectric] plant, roads, bridges, tunnels; and attacks on barracks in accordance, as the Minister said, 'with the newest methods.' The plan also provided for sabotaging airports, destroying the Valle Hermoso Refinery, cutting power lines, planting bombs in airplanes, blowing up the general staff . . ."

This is how *Presencia* reported Padilla's description of the military network the ELN had set up: "The Minister of the Interior revealed other aspects of the organization, such as the existence of laboratories for making bombs, for which Cecilio Alcón was responsible. Besides making bombs, these laboratories were supposed to prepare rockets armed with dynamite to explode on roofs, plastic explosives, bombs using metallic sodium and other chemicals which were highly explosive on contact with water, as well as incendiary bombs. He said that the ELN had radio jamming equipment, land mines, and booby traps.

"It [the ELN] had besides, six mobile units. Pacho was placed in charge of one of these. An Austin was assigned to Víctor. A 1960 model green Chevrolet truck to Silvia, who could not be identified. The truck was to carry the bombs. . . .

"Moreover, he noted that the ELN had specialists in preparing identity documents and passports, who were under the command of a 'Michel,' pre-

sumably a lawyer. . . . The supplier of arms and explosives was identified as a person named Jordán."

Padilla described the guerrillas' conception of the campaign they intended to wage this way, according to *Presencia*: "He stated that guerrilla movements were to be launched in mid-November in coordination with economic and social demands and a period of agitation in the mines, the factories, and the universities. He said that activists had gone to the mines to give classes and bring materials for terrorism, mainly bombs."

"The urban guerrilla organization," *Presencia* continued, "included the Castro-Communist groups of the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party—the Bolivian section of the Fourth International], PRIN [Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista—Revolutionary party of the Nationalist Left], and the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement—the former governing party]. They were under the direction of the government in Havana, where groups of Bolivians have been receiving training for guerrilla warfare."

Padilla said that the following members of the ELN had traveled to Cuba: Felipe Vásquez Condori, Elio Vásquez, Indalecio Nogales Cáceres, and Cecilio Alcón Quispe. Among those who had returned after receiving training, he said, were: Iván Marín Tejado Peredo, Víctor Antonio Córdoba Quisbert, Anselmo Herrera López, and Mariano Candelario Alegría Apaza.

The ELN general staff in Havana, Padilla said, includes David Adriázola Veizaga, Pombo, Urbano, Benigno, and Saldaña, former members of Che Guevara's force, who fled to Cuba after the disaster in 1967. One of these top leaders was said to be in Bolivia at the present time. Inti Peredo, who is considered to be Che's successor as commander, is also said to be in Bolivia. Peredo was reported captured July 15 but official sources denied the report following day.

Padilla showed the press large quan-

titles of captured guerrilla documents, arms, and equipment. Quantities of confiscated propaganda material published by the POR was also exhibited at the press conference.

Padilla said that a series of raids and arrests had been made in the cities of Cochabamba, Oruro, Santa Cruz, and La Paz, which he said represented the culmination of a long investigation. A special team of security agents from the Ministry of the Interior had been sent to Cochabamba, he said, which he described as the center of the conspiracy.

In Cochabamba, the secret police discovered a guerrilla headquarters on the corner of Paccieri and Lanza streets. As the police closed in, Padilla said, a gun battle developed, resulting in the death of one of the guerrillas, Rita Valdivieso Rivera, known as "Maya," and the wounding of her companion, who gave his name as Victor Guerra.

Two more alleged members of the ELN were picked up by the political police in Cochabamba, on the street near the city zoo. The two, José Antonio Moreno, known as "Braulio," and Antonio Córdoba Quisbert, known as "Huáscar," reportedly identified themselves as members of the POR.

According to *Presencia*, Moreno, "maintaining a firm attitude, said that he recognized Che Guevara as his supreme chief and after him the leader of his party Hugo González Moscoso. He said he also recognized Inti Peredo as a leader."

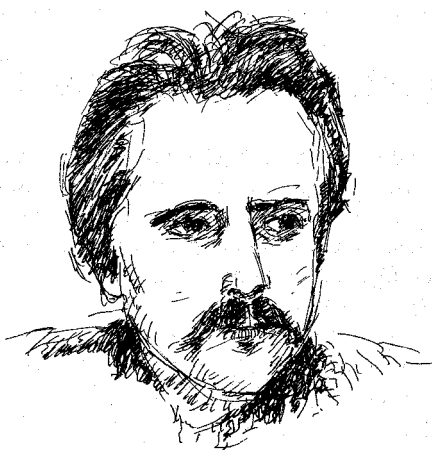
The two alleged POR members were said to have been captured carrying arms and dressed in Indian clothing. Padilla accused a person named Córdoba of being the person given the responsibility of executing Rojas Vega. But the press did not make any explicit connection between this person and alleged POR member Antonio Córdoba.

José Antonio Moreno reportedly blamed informers for the arrests, "because otherwise they [he and Córdoba] would not have been followed and still less arrested in Cochabamba."

Another alleged ELN member, Mario Campos, was reportedly arrested by the Prefect of Cochabamba province July 15.

The day after Padilla's report to the press was published, the story of the wounded ELN member Victor Guerra was made public. The testimony of the prisoner, recorded on tape, which the Prefect of Cochabamba played for the reporters, gave a grim picture of the

Debray in Worse Cell



After a lull following the defeat of Che Guevara, guerrilla activities are again on the rise in Bolivia. Meanwhile Régis Debray, who sought to bring out an eyewitness account of the front opened by Guevara, still remains in prison, serving a thirty-year sentence.

On August 23, Debray began a hunger strike to protest a ban against his wife visiting him in Camiri, according to the press.

After eight days, the authorities lifted the ban.

Mrs. Debray reported that her husband was in good health.

She said that Debray's hunger strike was also in protest against being shifted to a much worse cell and against a reduction in exercise time in the prison yard. He is now allowed only a few minutes each day outside his cell.

The Argentinian Ciro Bustos, who was imprisoned with Debray, joined in the hunger strike.

raid on the house at the corner of Paccieri and Lanza streets.

Guerra told how his companion Maya had begged him to kill her to keep her from falling into the hands of the police.

Guerra said that Maya had been near the door of the house when a shot came without warning, wounding her. Then, he said, he and Maya tried to escape out the door but saw that two policemen were posted in the street, one behind a tree and that many more were moving in. *Presencia* of July 17 gave the rest of the story in what were purported to be Guerra's own words:

"I asked Maya, who was carrying a small pistol, if there was another way out and she told me that there was, in

the rear of the house . . . When Maya went to the [back] door, she fainted, but recovered, opened the door, and saw that two cars were driving up.

"Then Maya begged me to kill her. I replied that she should be calm. But she demanded I kill her. 'Kill me, or I will go out and get myself killed, because I don't have any bullets.'

"I saw Maya shake her gun because it appeared to have jammed. Then she collapsed. I thought she was dead but later I heard a groan. I went back and killed her."

The chief of the DIC [Dirección de Investigación Criminal—Bureau of Criminal Investigation—the political police], Abraham Baptista, said that Guerra's main wound, a chest wound, was self-inflicted, probably the result of a suicide attempt.

In his testimony, Guerra said that members of the ELN preferred death to being taken prisoner. As he is supposed to have put it, they took this attitude "not because of regulations but out of moral determination and dignity, in accordance with the slogan of Victory or Death."

In addition to his serious chest wound, the police announced that Guerra had received a second wound in the course of being captured, a bullet wound in the buttocks.

Padilla had announced in his press conference that Maya had received revolutionary political training in Europe and had returned to Bolivia to take command of the ELN group in La Paz.

Guerra was identified as Enrique Ortega Hinojosa in a report in the La Paz daily *El Diario* August 8. He was described as a former professor at the University of San Andrés.

The same article also revealed that he had kept a diary in the style of Che Guevara, listing the strengths and weaknesses of all the ELN members. The diary was not shown to the press on the grounds that the government was still using it in its investigations.

In Oruro, the commercial center of the mining region, the ELN center was said to be headed by Felipe and Elio Vásquez Condori and located in a house on Bolívar street.

The mission of the ELN organization in Oruro, according to Padilla, was to recruit in the mines and organize protests against the military occupation of the mining centers (which have been heavily guarded since the regime

crushed the miners union in 1965).

The Vásquez brothers were said to have devoted themselves to studying the use of explosives and to have traveled to Argentina to pursue these studies. The student leader Benigno Ojeda was supposed to have maintained ties with the Oruro center. The Vásquez brothers had been arrested, Padilla reported.

In Santa Cruz, a Spanish national named Fidencio Santiago Martín was reported arrested.

In La Paz, Padilla said his agents had discovered the central office of the ELN located in Residencial Montes, at 728 Avenida Montes. He reported that it was a spacious headquarters with facilities for classes and special instruction.

The following alleged members of the ELN were arrested in La Paz: Víctor Alcón Quisbert, Felipe Alcón Quisbert, Gabriel Guzmán Llanos, Tomás Chambi Poma, and Anselmo Herrera López.

Padilla held a second news conference July 22 to announce a new raid in La Paz. The secret police, he said, had followed a suspect to a guerrilla headquarters at 11 a.m. on the preceding day. When the suspect entered the headquarters, a house on the corner of Avenida Busch and the Calle Carrasco, a policeman went to arrest him. Five other alleged members of the ELN in the building overpowered the policeman, according to Padilla. The July 23 issue of *Presencia* related the rest of the story as follows:

"Two more policemen were sent to enter the building and suffered the same fate as the first. The police fanned out and when the subversives saw that they were surrounded they decided to run for it. For this purpose, they used the captured policemen as shields. . . . Shots were exchanged between the police and the members of the ELN—as the Ministry of the Interior described them. . . . The fugitives then sped away in taxi No. 2467 which was parked near the place where the events took place. . . . To halt the police following them, one of the ELN threw a tear-gas grenade."

According to the reports, the police seem to have been able to follow the fugitives to the far end of the Plaza Villarroel and Landaeta street. The driver of the cab was captured, and the police accused him of being an accomplice of the guerrillas. The driver

refused to give any information about his passengers or their destination "out of fear of reprisals," *Presencia* reported.

The police announced that they had captured one guerrilla in their raid, who gave his name as Guillermo Fernández Guerra.

A half hour after the raid on the house on the corner of the Avenida Busch and the Calle Carrasco in Miraflores, police raided No. 332 Avenida Quintanilla Zuazo, reportedly owned by Miguel Paredes.

The daily *Hoy* gave the following description of the matériel captured in the raid: "There were long-distance communicators (walkie-talkies), water-coolers, hammocks, knives, boots, olive green clothing along with berets bearing the insignia ELN, a time bomb which was supposed to explode when the door of the house on the Avenida Quintanilla Zuazo was forced open—arms, ammunition of all calibers, knapsacks, provisions, and medicines as well as surgical equipment."

Padilla also announced the capture of a number of documents. He charged that some "foreign priests are misusing their office and proclaiming general subversion through urban and rural guerrilla warfare."

The next day, July 23, a new announcement came of raids and searches in La Paz and other cities, especially Cochabamba and Santa Cruz.

A dragnet had been thrown over the Plaza Villarroel, the Calle Landaeta, and several other areas in La Paz, Padilla said. Two of the five fugitives who escaped from the house in Miraflores were reported arrested but were not identified.

It was announced that two other guerrillas captured on July 21 and 22 had been subjected to questioning. One of them was said to have given information leading to the discovery of a guerrilla arsenal. Important information was hoped for from the other captured guerrilla, the authorities reported.

The police announced that they had captured "the brains" of the ELN's network of "contacts." They did not reveal his name but said that he was "a man of respectability and national and international fame. His identification and the verification of his complicity with the Castro-Communist subversives was a real surprise even for our experienced detectives."

The captured "brain" was supposed to be in charge of three headquarters

and to have acted as the "main contact in the University of La Paz." The authorities claimed to have captured "all the operational plans of the rebellion," causing the "disarray and disorientation of the subversives." Among the items reported captured were supposed to be lists of "contacts" and addresses in various parts of the country.

The police claimed to have captured enough modern military equipment and provisions to supply a unit of thirty men.

A series of arrests in the mining centers of Catavi, Llallagua, Siglo Veinte, and Uncia were also reported July 23. Among those known to have been jailed were Leonidas Rojas and the sixteen-year-old youth Félix Rocha, said by his relatives to have been arrested by mistake.

The alleged leader of the ELN support network, who had been captured in La Paz, escaped from his captors and was granted refuge in the Ecuadorian embassy, the daily *Los Tiempos* reported August 2. The escaped guerrilla was identified as Luis Silvetty, a painter.

Los Tiempos said that many of the important documents the government had captured were seized when Silvetty was arrested. Reports "indicate that it was the capture of the guerrilla leader [Silvetty] which was responsible for the police getting hold of the list of the [guerrillas'] collaborators, the addresses of their hideouts, the plans of their arsenals, and the plans for their terrorist actions, which had already begun."

Despite the number of arrests and the amount of captured equipment shown to the press, many organizations in Bolivia expressed doubts about the government's claims as to the scope and importance of the guerrilla movement.

The university student organization, the CUB [Confederación Universitaria Boliviana—Bolivian Student Confederation] issued a statement July 28 accusing the government of exaggerating the affair to justify increased repression.

The CUB statement said: "It [the CUB] denounces before national public opinion the fact that a new repressive campaign is being unleashed, especially against the staffs and students of the Bolivian universities. The revelations made by the Ministry of the Interior regarding alleged subversive activity by the Ejército Nacional de Liberación do

not justify this ministry's violating constitutional rights and its exceeding its authority to make arbitrary arrests on the pretext that the persons arrested are implicated in guerrilla activities."

The student federation of San Simón accused the government July 19 of "crudely and tendentiously inflating these events . . ."

The statement continued: "Above and beyond ferreting out the activities of a group which belonged to the so-called ELN, the government's fundamental objectives are the following:

"To use this pretext to block the reorganization and reunification of the trade-union movement which is on the rise in this country. For this purpose, to resort to persecution and intimidation of worker, student, and peasant leaders. On the word of the repressive bodies alone, they are trying to implicate these leaders in the activities uncovered.

"To create a state of mind among the people that would seem to give legitimacy to a coup d'etat. It seeks to impose a government of force which would give its complete endorsement to handing over the country's natural resources to the voracity of foreign combines and abolish the most elementary democratic freedoms."

The San Simón students' statement ended with this comment on the disclosures concerning guerrilla activities.

"Finally, on the fundamental problem which concerns us today, before criticizing the violent activity uncovered, which is an effect, we consider it necessary to point out and note once again that the poverty and exploitation in which the great masses of our people are submerged constitute the 'basic cause and motivation' for this activity, whose general objective of achieving liberation and national development represents the most cherished desire of all Bolivians."

Coming in the midst of a guerrilla scare and widespread repressive operations by the secret police, such a statement is indicative of the deep discontent in Bolivia.

And it was not the students who used the strongest language in denouncing the regime. A statement issued August 4 by fifty Bolivian and foreign priests with parishes in the mine centers had a still sharper tone:

"All are responsible for injustice who do not work for justice by all means available. All are responsible for injustice who remain passive out of fear of personal sacrifices and risks which

all bold and truly effective action entails.

"We denounce the capitalist system in force in Bolivia, which is the cause of the underdevelopment, of the poverty of the Bolivian people, and of the poverty of the miners in particular.

"We repeat our denunciation of the violations of trade-union rights in the mines. These violations systematically

Curacao

New Party Makes Gains

The newly formed Frente Obrero (Workers Front), composed mainly of longshoremen and unemployed workers, won three seats in the twenty-two-member parliament of the Netherlands Antilles September 5. Two of the party's three winning candidates are in jail, being held incommunicado on charges of sedition and inciting riots for their part in leading a workers' march on Government House May 3.

Wilson Godett, a leader of the longshoreman's union and one of the imprisoned candidates, was shot by police during the May 3 march in Willemstad in Curaçao. This incident touched off a riot in which two persons were killed and 150 were injured.

The government repression in May prompted striking oil workers, unemployed youths, and longshoremen to break with the ruling Democratic party and found the Frente Obrero.

The other imprisoned victor is Stanley Brown, a schoolteacher and publisher of a weekly newspaper.

The third winning candidate is Amador Nita, secretary-general of the dock workers union. The September 7 *New York Times* reported Nita's statement to the press on the outcome of the election:

"This is the first step to the ending of the exploitation of the working classes in the Netherlands Antillies. Giving us a flag and dropping outward colonial signs did not mean the end of colonialism in the islands."

Nita demanded the release of the imprisoned leaders of the Frente Obrero and added: "Then we will take a good look at the banks and insurance companies here."

The Democratic party, which the *Times* noted "is backed by well-organ-

ized business interests," holds eleven seats in parliament. Except for the three seats held by the Frente Obrero, the remaining eight seats are held by pro-capitalist splinter parties.

The program of the Frente Obrero has yet to be defined, although the party calls itself socialist. Many of its members reportedly wear khaki fatigues styled after those worn by the Cuban leaders.

This election marked the first time that a socialist party has won seats in the Netherlands Antilles parliament.

Great Britain

Appeal for Robin Blackburn

In a statement August 25, Professor J.A.G Griffith, who holds the chair of English Law at London University, and Ralph Milliband, senior lecturer in political science at the London School of Economics, appealed for the reinstatement of Robin Blackburn, a lecturer at the London School of Economics, who was dismissed because he approved the removal by students of internal gates at the school.

A special appeal tribunal recently upheld the school authorities.

Griffith and Milliband said that the reinstatement of Blackburn was a necessary condition if the school was to recover its reputation and restore harmony.

The dismissal of Blackburn, they contended, limited freedom of speech more than it should be at a university institution.

War Imminent Between Soviet Union and China?

Is a war imminent between the Soviet Union and China?

The question was given a grave turn by a report, emanating from the highest circles in Washington at the end of August, that the Brezhnev-Kosygin team was considering a preemptive nuclear strike.

Thus the *Christian Science Monitor*, which can be counted on to provide a faithful account of the briefings given the press in Washington, reported August 30 that there are "two main reasons for an inclination among experts to take the possibility of a Chinese-Russian war much more seriously now than they ever have before." The two reasons were given as:

"1. American reconnaissance (spy) satellites have photographed the whole of the Chinese-Russian frontier areas, with interesting results. The photographs show Russian deployment to the Sinkiang sector of forces as large as those the United States now has in South Vietnam; in other words, a very big army. They also show Russian missiles pointed at the main Chinese nuclear-weapons centers.

"2. The pictures from space have been confirmed by what might be called 'diplomatic reconnaissance.' This takes the form of reports from Eastern European diplomats of approaches to their respective countries from Moscow. The Muscovites have been sounding out their allies on what reaction would be if Moscow undertook a limited preemptive operation against China."

"Washington," the *Monitor* continues, "has been thinking about this subject since the Ussuri River incident of March 2 . . ."

The "gathering and assessing of intelligence" about the real status of Soviet-Chinese relations "have been going on now for six months."

Several conclusions have been drawn. The first is that the Russians have moved into a "military posture" from which they could do "several unpleasant things to the Chinese." These include:

●The 'takeout' by conventional bombing of the main Chinese nuclear installations.

●A sudden attack on Chinese defense forces in Sinkiang, which are inferior in numbers and equipment to the Soviet forces deployed opposite them.

●The capture of the entire province or area known as Sinkiang on some maps, as the autonomous Uighur region on others. It was under Russian control during World War II. The Russians know it well.

●Use of nuclear weapons against any target in China."

The nameless figure designated as "Washington" and "experts," of course, took a very responsible attitude.

It didn't seem to be in the interest of the Russians to attack, but on the other hand their invasion of Czechoslovakia showed that they could do some surprising things.

The conclusion reached was that "Washington should do whatever it can to try to prevent a real Chinese-Russian war."

Not out of love for the Chinese or the Russians, but because of the prospect of a lot of nuclear fallout.

In addition, a clear victory for one side or the other "would be more dangerous to the rest of the world than the present condition of a balance of power between them."

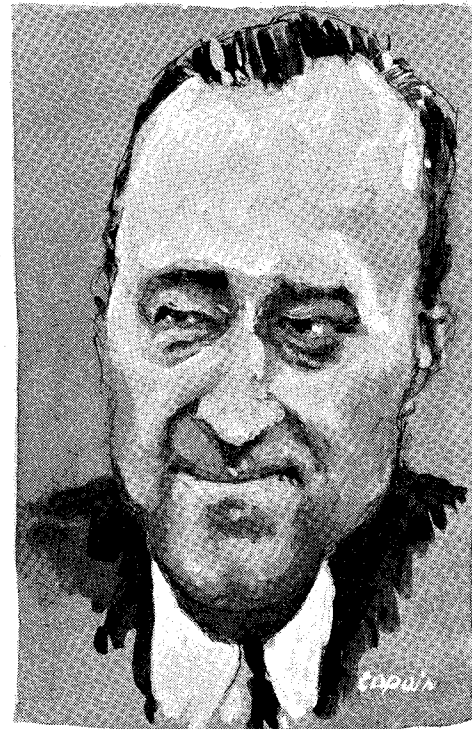
It did not take long for the identity of the mysterious Mr. "Experts" to become known. In setting up the press conference, Mr. "Experts" forgot to include the *Washington Evening Star*. So that paper did not feel bound by any oath to maintain secrecy. It named Richard Helms, the head of the CIA, as the man behind the mask.

The *Evening Star* also reported that William Rogers, the head of the State Department, was quite irritated over the briefing issued by Helms.

This irritation, however, may also have been arranged behind the scenes in order to make it easier for Helms to take all the blame in case this little game led to any trouble.

The diplomatic corps in other countries reacted with lifted eyebrows.

In Moscow, for instance, Western diplomatic circles were reported by the Paris *Le Monde* (August 31) to have



HELMS: Head of the CIA is a past master at inflating trial balloons and manipulating counterintelligence.

received the news "with great skepticism."

In London, according to the same source, British and American specialists recently undertook a "joint evaluation" of the situation, and reached the conclusion that a preemptive strike by the USSR to take out China's nuclear installations was "improbable."

In Hong Kong, on the other hand, the China watchers were of the opinion that Peking was inclined to take the possibility of an attack quite seriously.

The Chinese government has been mobilizing the population for any contingency, including a nuclear attack.

Whether or not the mounting border tension and outbreaks of violence escalate into a "brush" war or into something much more serious remains to be seen.

As for the Nixon administration, the reason for having Richard Helms make the move he did seems fairly obvious. Since the development of the Sino-Soviet conflict into an apparently irrep-

arable breach, Washington has become more and more interested in shifting its position so as to be better able to exploit the rift by playing one side against the other.

This requires improving relations with Peking. Hence the series of partial steps in this direction such as easing passport restrictions and the ban on buying Chinese products.

Helms's briefing is a way of saying to Peking: "Look, you may be attacked by the Russians the way they attacked the Czechoslovaks. They may even

bomb your nuclear installations. Wouldn't it be good to counter this by helping the U. S. to exercise a restraining hand?"

No doubt Peking will reply with further violent denunciations of both Washington and Moscow.

The Nixon administration has announced that it discounts this kind of propaganda. What Helms and Rogers will watch is any small actions that Peking might undertake such as facilitating the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with Washington's satellite powers.

Northern Ireland

British Troops Enter Belfast Ghetto

"It's tear gas first and then we fire," a British army commander threatened defenders of the Belfast Catholic ghetto September 6. This was the first time English troops moved against the population they were ostensibly sent in to protect August 15.

The confrontation developed when the troops attempted to remove one of the barricades blocking access to the Falls Road ghetto. This area was the target of savage pogroms August 14 and 15 conducted by pro-English Protestant mobs led by heavily armed Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and "B"-Special auxiliary police.

In face of the English army's threat, the defense force created by the besieged community appears to have held firm: "After a major show of strength by infantry with automatic weapons, the army produced a face-saving formula for the Catholic vigilantes in control of Albert Street, the central traffic artery of the barricaded Falls Road area. This was that the barricades would be removed 'voluntarily' . . .," the Associated Press reported September 7. The AP dispatch noted further on, however, that the only barricade removed was the one blocking traffic in Albert Street: "No move was made immediately against scores of other barricades. . . ."

The English army promised to protect the ghetto area from renewed pogroms. The leaders of the Catholic Civil Rights movement have acknowledged that it is the English government's duty to restrain the pro-English fanatics, if only because London is responsible for

the fact that the RUCs and "B"-Specials who led the pogroms are armed. The Catholic population is unarmed.

The leaders of the oppressed population, however, have made it clear that the essential reason English troops were sent in was to protect the Unionist regime. In defending themselves from the latest pogroms, the Catholic population in fact removed many areas from the jurisdiction of the Northern Ireland government. These communities are now governed by defense associations.

The Northern Irish enclave was created during the Irish Revolution of 1916-22 to preserve direct British rule in a corner of the island as well as the religious communalist system created by English rule. For fifty years a semi-police state has been maintained on the basis of oppression of a Catholic and nationalist minority representing close to 40 percent of the population. The leaders of the Catholic community have announced that they will not remove the barricades until the system of police repression is dismantled.

The Derry *Barricades Bulletin* wrote August 25: "Some people seem to think that the troops are here to protect us. They are not, any more than the RUC and the Specials. They are here to protect the interest of the British government in this part of the United Kingdom. As soon as it suits the British government for them to behave differently they will do so. Already they are taking down the barricades in Belfast. When the word comes down for the British soldiers to move in on our area,

they will do exactly that When they come into the area, they will be coming to re-establish the government's control and to pave the way for the RUC. But the return of the police is unthinkable."

The day after English troops forced the removal of a key barricade in the Falls Road area, the *New York Times* reported that English forces had used tear gas to separate crowds of Catholics and Protestants on the border of the area.

Many victims of tear-gas poisoning have been reported in Northern Ireland since the latest pogroms. They have all been Catholics. An estimated 1,000 tear-gas grenades were fired into one Catholic neighborhood in Derry where 10,000 people live. It seems unlikely that the Northern Irish police could have obtained this quantity of gas grenades from any other source than the British army.

If the English troops remove the barricades, which are the only defense of the unarmed Catholics, without disarming the Unionists, the effect would be to expose the Catholics to a massacre. It is by no means inconceivable that the British imperialist authorities hope that a bloodletting would terrorize the nationalist population into passivity. Whitehall has winked at the Unionist regime's systematic use of communal terror for fifty years.

'Lull' in Vietnam

"Casualty figures . . . suggest that while a lull does not take quite so many lives per week as a war, it can still be a fairly bloody form of foreign policy. . . . The argument may be made that since fewer men are killed and wounded in a lull than in a war, men should be more enthusiastic about it. And so they should be, except for human perversity. The average man, however, is likely to object that while he does not fancy being shot under any circumstances he thinks it particularly pointless to be shot waging a lull." — Russell Baker in the *New York Times*.

In his first interview since he suffered a massive brain hemorrhage a year ago, former Premier Salazar described how he runs Portugal. No one has yet told him that he has been deposed and that a new dictator is carrying on.

With the King Gone, Will the Oil Remain?

The leaders of the September 1 military coup that deposed seventy-nine-year-old King Idris I proclaimed the founding of the Libyan Arab Republic, which, they said, would be a "socialist" state.

Western capitalist circles expressed concern over the balance of power among the Arab states. Perhaps it has now definitively shifted in favor of the more radical bourgeois regimes in Syria, Iraq, and the United Arab Republic.

They also indicated uneasiness over the future of the vast Libyan oil reserves and the giant Wheelus Air Force Base held by the U. S.

The *New York Times* in a September 2 editorial urged the new military junta to use "good sense" to "maintain the oil flow since growing income from that source is essential for continued rapid growth of domestic living standards."

The still anonymous junta, which calls itself the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), was evidently well impressed with the *Times's* advice. The new government proclaimed that it would respect all pacts and agreements made with foreign corporations and governments and protect the lives and property of foreigners in Libya.

The *Times* reported September 3: "This was viewed as an assurance by the Revolutionary Council . . . that it would maintain oil concessions already granted to some 25 American, British, West German and Italian companies, which market Libya's rich oil resources."

The *Times* added: "United States officials expressed cautious optimism today [September 2] that the coup in Libya would not adversely affect American oil operations or the presence of Wheelus Air Force Base in that country."

"They stressed that information reaching here [Washington] 36 hours after the army take-over was still fragmentary. However, they drew official comfort from the following indicators:

●The Revolutionary Council, through its spokesmen, had assured United States, British, French and So-

viet diplomats that the move that toppled the conservative regime of King Idris was purely internal and was not aimed at any foreign country.

●Statements broadcast by the council made no mention of Israel, omitted any call for a holy war to free Palestine and pledged no solidarity in any such endeavor with such militant Arab countries as the United Arab Republic, Syria or Iraq.

●Oil was being loaded normally onto American-owned tankers at the four major oil ports. . . .

●No attempts have been made by the Revolutionary Council to interfere with the operations of the Wheelus Air Force Base at which more than 4,000 American servicemen and their dependents are based."

The coup appeared to have been bloodless. King Idris, described by the capitalist press as "austere" and "ascetic," was in Turkey (staying in a \$940-a-day hotel suite) when the take-over occurred. The heir to the throne, Crown Prince Hassan al-Rida, immediately abdicated any claim to his uncle's crown in favor of the military junta (although, according to some reports, Hassan was already under house arrest).

Two former premiers, Wains al-Quaddafi and Abodlhamid Bakkush, declared themselves in favor of the Revolutionary Command Council.

The council itself instructed all government officials to remain in their old jobs. It was also careful to avoid any mobilization of the masses. An indefinite curfew was imposed on the whole country, and the RCC explicitly urged the population not to stage demonstrations celebrating the overthrow of the monarchy or in support of the new regime.

The question of oil in Libya is decisive. With an area more than three times the size of France, Libya has a population of only 1,738,000. Until the discovery of oil, it was one of the poorest countries in the world, with an annual per capita income in 1951 of \$40. In 1957 oil was discovered by an affiliate of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Per capita gross national product jumped to \$1,000 in 1967 and

is expected to top \$1,700 by 1973.

At the same time, foreign oil companies pocket 40 percent of the total oil revenues of the country. In addition, they are draining off Libya's oil reserves at an accelerating rate because, since the closing of the Suez Canal, North African oil is cheaper than Middle Eastern oil.

Some 42 percent of the total oil consumption of West Germany, for example, comes from Libya.

There are thirty-eight oil companies owned wholly or partly by American interests in Libya. With a total investment of only \$1 billion, these companies rake off superprofits that may be as high as 50 percent of their total investment in a single year.

This uncontrolled outflow of oil may spell eventual disaster for the Libyan economy. Only 2 percent of the land area of the country is arable and when the oil is depleted the country will be reduced once more to an impoverished agricultural backwater.

The identity of the secret Revolutionary Command Council has not yet been revealed. First reports claimed that its chairman was Colonel Saad ed-Din Bushweirib. The September 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, published in Boston, identified him as a Cyrenaican who had been trained both in the United States and in the United Arab Republic. "He is believed," the *Monitor* said, "to belong to a clan of pro-Nasser Cyrenaican officers who had been preparing for the coup for a long time."

Cyrenaica, in eastern Libya, is also the stronghold of what royalist forces exist. King Idris was the Emir of Cyrenaica and the leader of the Senussi, a Cyrenaican Muslim sect, before he was put into power by the British in 1943.

On September 4 the Revolutionary Command Council dispatched an undisclosed number of troops to Bengazi, the main city of the Cyrenaican region.

Thus far, only two members of the RCC are known by name. These are Omar Adem, who was appointed commander of security forces in a rural area in Cyrenaica September 5, and

Colonel Bushweirib. The latter, at first believed to be the chairman of the junta, was finally identified merely as the new chief of staff of the armed forces.

The public broadcasts in the name of the junta have been limited in the main to vague patriotic appeals. The first announcement of the coup, for example, is printed below, as it appeared in the September 2 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*:

"Your socialist ideal is realized today, your ideal of liberty and unity. Give your total support to the revolution

which has been born in your beloved land, thanks to your sons and to your army, the army of the Libyan people.

"People of Libya, we have risen in revolt for your honor, so that you may repossess your usurped fatherland. We have rebelled in order to raise high the Arab banner. Raise your head, brother Libyan, and give your complete support, march with the ranks of the victorious revolution! Long live the revolution! Long live the proud Libyan people!"

At the same time, imports fell from \$1,525 million in 1966 to \$1,378 million in 1968.

In 1968 the Chinese ran a \$16 million surplus in trade with the capitalist bloc. Colina MacDougall commented: "Although the Chinese must have been cheered to avoid a deficit on non-bloc trade last year, it was only achieved by rigid control of imports."

The figures provided by the *Far Eastern Economic Review* for trade by China within the bloc of workers states shows an even more marked decline from 1966 to 1967 (no figures are available in this area after 1967).

Chinese exports to other workers states in 1966 are put at \$610 million. In 1967 this dropped to \$404 million. At the same time imports from the workers states reportedly dropped from \$1,135 million to \$849 million.

Total trade in both sectors, including both imports and exports, fell from \$4,295 million in 1966 to \$3,807 million in 1967, according to the estimates by the American analysts. Assuming that trade among the workers states remained unchanged from 1967 to 1968 (there has been no indication of increased Chinese exports in this area), the total turnover figure for 1968 was approximately \$3,620 million, down some \$675 million from 1966.

China

Trade Beginning to Recover

Colina MacDougall, writing in the August 14 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, provides some interesting figures on the foreign trade of the People's Republic of China for the years 1966-1968.

The statistics were compiled by American analysts in Hong Kong on the basis of trade figures released by China's trading partners in the capitalist world (the Chinese government publishes no figures of its own).

The conclusion drawn by the analysts

is that the cultural revolution "drastically affected the economy in 1967." In that year China was believed to have had its first trade deficit since 1961 (a disaster year for China). "Current thinking here," Miss MacDougall writes, "puts it [the 1967 deficit] at about \$111 million on non-bloc trade. . ."

Chinese exports to capitalist countries are estimated at \$1,630 million for 1966. This is said to have dropped to \$1,424 million in 1967 and plummeted still lower, to \$1,394 million, in 1968.

Great Britain

Big Bang or Wet Firecracker?

The annual report of the party executive, published September 1, shows the membership of the British Labour party to be the lowest since 1951.

This is considered to be one of the most significant indications of the doldrums affecting the party under the disastrous leadership of Harold Wilson.

In one year, male membership dropped from 427,495 to 401,499. Women members decreased from 306,437 to 299,357. The memberships in 1957 were 527,787 and 385,200 respectively.

The total membership is 6,086,625 today as compared with 6,294,614 in 1967. This includes members affiliated through unions.

To counteract this situation and to stir the party for a possible election, the executive decided to open a public-

ity campaign to cost £100,000 by the end of the year [£1 equals US\$2.20].

The Conservative party had already thrown down the gauntlet by retaining the advertising agency of Davidson, Pearce, Berry and Tuck for their publicity campaign. That agency came up with the frightening slogan: "Britain would be better under the Conservatives."

The Labour party brass picked the firm of Norman, Craig and Kummel, an agency famous for what it did for Danish Bacon, Durex, Aspro and "non-woven fibre disposable pants for women."

One of their most skillful appeals in putting over Durex was "Pitter Patter, Pitter Patter. The most beautiful sound in the world. Or the most menacing."

Norman, Craig and Kummel put one of their most creative directors to work. He conceived the idea of calling the campaign the "Big Bang."

He also thought up a central slogan: "Labour's got Life and Soul." This went over with the Labour bureaucrats with a big bang.

A series of corresponding slogans were thought up for buttonhole badges: "Soul!"; "Life and Soul"; "Let's Go with Life and Soul"; "Get Life and Soul, and Win"; "I'm the Life and Soul of the Party"; and "I'm a Soul-mate, Mate."

What kind of bang this will make on the rank and file is not yet apparent.

Some sour-minded skeptics think the bang will be like that made by a wet firecracker.

A 'Second Phase' to Come?

By Manos Markakes

In the recent period all the advocates of Greek "antidictatorial" bourgeois "democracy" have promoted the attempt to impose a second phase on the political evolution in Greece, which, in fact, would only be a new look and would not change the real state of affairs in the slightest. This new look, made and approved in the USA, would constitute only makeup on the face of the dictatorship.

We have seen a multitude of political developments recently. So far, however, they have had no more than marginal importance. The junta still dominates the situation and the political developments within the country. Despite its isolation, bankruptcy, and ignominy and in spite of its inner contradictions and frictions, the junta still retains power.

The fact that the junta remains in power demonstrates that inner contradictions are not sufficient to topple a tyrannical government from the throne. Dictatorship is deeply rooted in the decaying and dying bourgeois social order and in the form of democracy that goes with it. Dictatorship makes an excellent complement to this form of democracy. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that bombings by "democrats" and monarchist officers cannot bring down the dictatorship as long as the *workers movement* fails to develop and implement a revolutionary program.

But even if the dictatorship suddenly collapsed, the workers would gain nothing. What would occur would be only a masquerade, that is, the present dictatorship would be replaced by the clique of Frederika-Constantine-Karamanlis and Co. The only difference would be that this second "phase" would enjoy the wholehearted approval of both the Americans and their collaborators, the parliamentary and "democratic" establishment. Besides the demagogue Papandreou, many other "left" leaders have been quick to declare themselves agreeable to this deception.

Let us follow the events in their development since this spring. They began with a wave of trials in the special military courts. In these cases the Greek

Internationalist Communists received a not inconsiderable share of the penalties handed down; in fact, they received the most severe sentences. This shows that it is precisely those forces which want to give a revolutionary and Marxist direction to the working-class movement and its resistance organizations which the junta most fears.

The next crisis came a few days later. The junta collided with a number of high-ranking jurists and unceremoniously dismissed them. They bounced the chief justice of the Council of State [Michael Stasinopoulos, who was ousted on June 27], which is the country's highest administrative court. He stubbornly refused to "retire" and thus forced the junta to dismiss him, a procedure which violates its own "constitution" since this document also guarantees life tenure for judges.

The arrests and terror reached their height in connection with the accident suffered by Professor Karagiorgas, who, as we know, was seriously injured while assembling bombs in his home.

The situation became still graver. Numerous bombs exploded, among other places in the King George Hotel in Athens, where six were wounded (four members of the armed forces and two French tourists); in the cars of many members of the American military mission; on the second floor of the head of government's office building; in the offices of the American company, Litton Industries, and in the offices of the Greek civil service union ADEDY [Anotate Epitrope Demosion Ypallelon — Supreme Council of Public Employees], which collaborates with the junta.

In connection with the bombings, a certain "General Akritas" made his appearance and proclaimed his responsibility for all the explosions and for the new organization, the KEA [Kinema Ethnikes Antistaseos — Movement of National Resistance]. A leaflet distributed by the KEA announced that the actions against the American military missions have been temporarily suspended and that from now on the attacks will be directed against the junta and its collab-

orators. The KEA is a product of the monarchical, pro-Karamanlis, and pro-American Greek rights. It distinguishes quite judiciously between the "bad" military mission in Athens and the "good" parliamentary regime in Washington.

Aside from these resistance actions of rightist origin, there have also been a series of political probes undertaken chiefly by the rightists and by the EK [Enosis tou Kentrou — Center Union]. The central axis of all these probings was the idea of a combination between the EK and the ERE [Ethnike Rizospastike Enosis — National Radical



PAPADOPOULOS: Finds torture best means of running his corner of "free" world.

Union—the traditional rightist party]. The leaders of both parties in Athens, George Mavros and Panayotis Canelopoulos, have signed a joint agreement which assures free elections a year after the fall of the dictatorship. These elections are supposed to be conducted by a coalition government or by another government which could secure the agreement of both parties. The royal constitution of 1952 is to serve as the basis for this undertaking.

The advocate of "modernizing Greek capitalism," the demagogue Andreas Papandreou, surrendered easily and without protest to this agreement. The only thing that worries him is whether the parliament that results from this election will be empowered to revive the constitution or write a new one!

Mikis Theodorakis also heartily wel-

comed the agreement from his exile in the village of Zatouna.

The Partsalidis* "left," Antonios Brillakis (the Brillakis-Papandreou Agreement), the Bureau of the Interior of the Greek CP, etc., are keeping quiet. This means, therefore, that the Partsalidis faction is giving silent approval to an agreement which assures a center-right government in Greece. It means that they are approving an agreement that will install a government which will rule the country under the aegis of American imperialism, NATO, and the Greek general staff while it covers its nakedness with a tattered parliamentary mantle.

On the other hand, the Koligiannis faction has mouthed a few arguments against the agreement but in a wavering tone that leads one to believe that they will soon make up for this lapse! Other reactionary politicians, such as Markezinis and Averoff, have been making sacrificial offerings to the junta, appealing for its cooperation in applying their theory of "building bridges."

A bloodless transition from the present dictatorship to a junta of generals instead of colonels (which in fact was supposed to be established on May 29, 1967, under the leadership of Frederika and the newspaper publisher Eleni Vlachou) is, in my opinion, a pure utopia, even if the State Department gives its blessing to the entire design from on high. The Papadopoulos junta will continue to be supported by the Pentagon and NATO, and this support enables the colonels to proclaim boldly that they would rather fight to the bitter end than give up the battle voluntarily. (It is understandable that they cannot let go of the governing power so easily!)

The appeal to Congress by fifty members of the American Senate and House of Representatives constitutes a parallel

* The Greek Communist party is divided into two competing factions. The group led by Koligiannis are orthodox Stalinists and have the support of the Kremlin. The group led by Partsalidis follows a more independent line modeled on that of the Italian CP and has been denounced by official Soviet sources. On the split in the Greek CP, see "Koligiannis Leadership Repudiated by Greek Communist Party," *Intercontinental Press*, November 18, 1968, p. 1,010; and "Greek CP Plenum Disavows Koligiannis Leadership," *Intercontinental Press*, May 26, 1969, p. 520. — IP.

attempt to build up support in America for this "second phase."

All these chess moves by politicians and military figures in Greece and abroad have nothing to do with the Greek people or the wishes of the workers and all oppressed strata. The interests of the Greek working class are entirely opposed to these intrigues, schemes, tricks, and shady dealings by bourgeois politicians and professional swindlers. The working class will oppose all attempts to come up with solutions manufactured in the reactionaries' workshop. Such attempts serve only one end—to beat down the working class where it threatens to raise its head.

A Greek proverb goes "People want to have their cake and eat it too."* In other words the dictatorship is to be

* Literally: "The cake is to stay untouched and the dog is to stay full." — IP.

Spain

Franco Picks His 'Successor'

By Alfil

[The author is a member of the Federación de Estudiantes Democratas de Euzkadi (Federation of Democratic Students of the Basque Country). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The fate of the so-called Spanish National State seems already decided. In accordance with the organic law "approved by referendum" in December 1967, the Spanish Cortes [the fascist parliament] has just named Franco's successor as head of state. The heir apparent is Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón y Parma, for whom Franco has shown a special predilection. Around him will coalesce the most reactionary forces in Spain—the Falangist factions in the army, the "Traditionalist Falange" and the national episcopate.

The efforts of the Carlists—rock-ribbed conservatives for almost two centuries—to advance their own candidate to the throne were thwarted. They had hoped that the Caudillo would

maintained and at the same time wear a parliamentary mantle.

The workers know quite well that they themselves hold the solution to the Greek tragedy in their hands. This solution can be nothing but socialist revolution leading to a definitive overthrow of the junta together with the capitalist system of which the junta is a product.

For a Soviet Republic of workers, peasants, and students!

For a socialist Greece in the framework of a United States of Europe and the entire world!

When the people come onto the scene led by the working class, all the political demagogues, bourgeois deceivers and swindlers, who for decades have mocked, oppressed, and ridden roughshod over them, will be swept away like dry leaves and their "left" understudies along with them.

That day, I am convinced, is not far off.

August 7, 1969

choose Hugo Carlos, who is so mentally retarded that he has not yet learned how to talk. The Carlist pretender was the rallying point for the ultra-reactionary sectors of the higher Catholic clergy and the army.

A final force participating in these high-circle decisions was the Opus Dei, which sought absolute control of the Spanish National State through the Count of Barcelona, Don Juan de Borbón, the father of the heir designate. Opus Dei is a new force directed by circles tied up with the Vatican which hopes to develop a secularized capitalist class.

The appearance and spread of Opus Dei in Spain and in some Latin-American countries must be viewed not only as a religious and ideological phenomenon but as an expression of the consolidation of a Spanish financial and industrial bourgeoisie in a context where tradition supports the survival of an aristocracy. Opus Dei is the bridge between the upper bourgeoisie and an aristocracy fighting to

maintain its position as a ruling class.

The University of Navarre, Opus Dei's principal foundation, trains the leading cadres of the Spanish bourgeoisie which is linked to its "work." All students must at least show sympathy for the plans of Opus Dei. Anyone who resists is expelled. When the 1969 academic year ended in June, eighteen students who had distinguished themselves by their revolutionary activity were "cordially invited to enroll in another university where they would feel more at home." This is how Opus Dei applies its founder's precept which proclaims respect for personal freedom.

The Spanish corporate state is far from having conciliated the workers. The vertical organizations maintained by the Spanish state for thirty years have not enabled the workers to enjoy the fruits of their labor. The Spanish bourgeoisie is as rapacious as any other. The managerial unions do not humanize the bosses but rather only legitimize exploitation, which is given the name of an "eternal value." The Spanish workers are finding ways and means outside the state structure to struggle for their liberation. The lack of a vanguard organization is still a cause of disorder and disarray within the ranks of the workers.

For several months, Asturias has been the scene of increasing activity by the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores [National Confederation of Workers], which has an anarchist orientation. However, the persistence of the same old methods has again run up against the power of the state, which has become accustomed to striking down such organizational structures in the past thirty years.

In Catalonia, and more specifically in its industrial areas, the anarchist organizations are again making their influence felt. Something similar has been happening in the Basque provinces where big popular mobilizations have been staged since May 1. The slogans "Death to Franco" and "Death to Opus Dei" have become very popular.

Also this year it became evident that the Communist party was abandoning its positions. The statement from certain Soviet circles denying recognition to the republican government in exile induced a turn in the policy of the PCE [Partido Comunista de España—Communist party of Spain], which renounced clandestine struggle. In the meantime, all the official Spanish publications have announced a step-up in

trade relations with the "Communist world."

The Movimiento Nacionalista del Pueblo Vasco [Nationalist Movement of the Basque People] (Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—ETA) is beginning to fragment into various ideological currents which threaten to become permanent divisions. The tendencies operating in the ETA range from sympathizers of the pro-Chinese current to supporters of the Christian Democracy. Only immediate action by a revolutionary vanguard can prevent the dismemberment of the clandestine opposition in the Basque provinces. The intervention of the pro-Chinese in the ETA may also lead to the acceptance of extreme nationalism and separation from the revolutionary struggle of the other Iberian peoples.

The repression against the ETA has been brutal. Members who fall into the hands of the police are almost always turned over to the military courts. The penalties are usually out of all proportion to the alleged offenses, according to the legal standards applied in all the capitalist countries. On June 24, for example, the Tribunal de Orden Público [Tribunal of Public Order] sentenced José María Ibarguchi and Francisco Jaca Aranalde, alleged members of the ETA, to six years in prison

and a fine of 10,000 pesetas [69.8 pesetas = US \$1] for "illegal association and malicious mischief." They were acquitted of the crime of illegal propaganda with which they were also charged.

It cannot be denied that there has been a high level of capitalist development in Spain. But this development has taken place under the stimulus of American imperialist enterprises, giving rise to an intense process of capital concentration. The competitive capacity of Spanish industry has been overwhelmed, above all with regard to companies engaged in heavy industry, such as Altos Hornos in Biscay. Spanish finance capital has been subjected to a similar process.

The Spanish vanguard is compelled from the outset to work in underground conditions. There is not the slightest possibility for legal activity, not even in publishing literature. However, the sectors anxiously awaiting the appearance of a vanguard are continually increasing—blue- and white-collar workers, students, the ranks of the army, and, of course, the lower Spanish clergy and the members of all the religious orders and congregations which are developing ever closer ties with the people's struggle.

Philippines

Warden Defies Order to Free Huks

In 1950 some twenty-eight leaders of the Hukbalahap liberation movement were jailed in Manila on charges of "rebellion complexed with murder, arson, robbery and kidnapping." Six of the group, including peasant leader Federico Maclang and trade-union leaders Honofre Mangila and Ramón Espiritu, were sentenced to death. Eight others were condemned to life imprisonment.

Thirteen years ago, in 1956, the crime for which these men and women were tried was declared nonexistent by the Philippine Supreme Court in a related case. The defendant, Amado V. Hernández, was released after the court ruled that simple rebellion was the most that could be charged under Philippine law. The maximum sentence under this

law is twelve years in prison.

Now, nearly nineteen years after their arrest, fourteen of the Huk leaders are still in prison, five of them faced with possible execution.

The most barbaric side of this case is that on May 20 of this year, after a thirteen-year delay, the Supreme Court finally ruled that the Hernández decision applied to the imprisoned Huks, and all were eligible for immediate release—but army and prison authorities have refused to carry out the court's order!

William J. Pomeroy, who was himself imprisoned for many years for participating in the Huk rebellion, reported on the developments in the Huk case in the July 25 issue of the *Tribune*, Labour's independent weekly, published in London.

"Last year," Pomeroy wrote, "a National Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners was set up in the Philippines and began the collection of 50,000 signatures on a petition for the freeing of the group. Only when this campaign showed that it had broad support did the Supreme Court act. . . .

"It declared that 10 out of the 14 in the case still remaining in prison deserved only 10 years imprisonment, for 'simple rebellion,' and the rest only seven years. In other words, most had been kept confined nearly double the time specified by law and the others almost three times the legal limit. . . .

"Nevertheless, the Director of Prisons, Alejo Santos, refused to release those given 10 years on the grounds that they had not been in prison long enough. The reasons given by Santos and echoed by the army authorities were that because the prisoners' cases were on appeal during the incarceration, they were technically only 'detention prisoners' and that, under the law, detention prisoners were credited with but one half of time served. Therefore they must remain in prison until at least January 1970."

Pomeroy pointed out that "detention prisoners" were legally permitted to be free on bail during their appeals, but that the courts had consistently denied all requests for bail to the imprisoned Huks. Prison regulations also provide time off for good behavior equivalent to one-half of the total sentence for prisoners who have served more than ten years. This would give the Huk captives credit for thirty years in prison—but prison authorities refuse to credit them with any good behavior time, despite their exemplary conduct during their long incarceration.

"With their freedom thus blocked," Pomeroy reported, "eight of the prisoners immediately filed a *habeas corpus* petition for release, charging illegal detention following the Supreme Court ruling. On June 9 Judge Benjamin Aquino accepted the petition, declared the eight illegally confined, and issued a court order for their release within 24 hours. . . .

"When delivered to the prison, this order was also refused by Director Santos."

On June 5 a government spokesman announced that President Marcos would grant executive clemency to the eight Huks who had filed the writ, as part of the June 12 Philippine Independence Day.

In the intervening week, a decision was evidently made at the highest government levels—perhaps involving consultation with the Americans. June 12 came and the names of the imprisoned Huks were not on the president's clemency list. Judge Aquino also prudently reconsidered his decision and withdrew the habeas corpus writ.

At the end of June the committee on justice of the Philippine Senate instituted a hearing on the handling of the Huk cases. One of the prisoners, José Lava,

Denmark

Protest Czech Invasion at Soviet Embassy

Copenhagen

Some 1,000 demonstrators, mainly youth, assembled before the Soviet embassy here on August 21 to demand the immediate withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovakia.

The demonstration was sponsored by Det Nye Samfund [the New Society] and was supported by Revolutionaer Aktion [Revolutionary Action, a militant youth group affiliated to the Danish section of the Fourth International].

The rally was addressed by Vagn Rasmussen, a leading member of Revolutionaere Socialister [Revolutionary Socialists, the name of the Danish Trotskyist movement], and by Chresten Amby, a representative of the Left Socialist party in Copenhagen's town council.

Rasmussen stressed the point that the demonstration was not directed against the Soviet people, a strong ally in the struggle for world revolution, but against the Soviet bureaucracy which had betrayed the revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky in their own country and which was now doing the same in Czechoslovakia.

Revolutionary Marxists, Rasmussen said, defend the achievements of the Russian Revolution against imperialism, just as they defend the Chinese, Cuban, and Vietnamese revolutions.

Chresten Amby stressed the consistency of the socialist movement in its expressions of international solidarity. Its most important actions at the moment are in defense of the revolution in Vietnam. The bourgeois parties, in contrast, speak up only for freedom

was called to testify in his own behalf. Pomeroy described his testimony:

"Lava accused American interests of interfering in the cases and of bringing about 'an apparent conspiracy within all levels of the Government to delay our cases.' He charged American influence with being responsible for the concoction of the illegal offence, with inciting the Philippine Constabulary to burn court records in their custody in 1958 to delay resolution of their appeals, and with exerting pressure to keep them confined."

in Czechoslovakia.

A huge banner with the symbol of the Fourth International was prominently displayed. Among the placards was the following: "Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, yes. Stalin, no. Socialism, yes. Bureaucracy, no."

Some extreme right wingers tried to infiltrate the rally and bring in their reactionary slogans. The demonstrators blocked them.

A few who attempted provocative actions were handled the same way.

A resolution was passed explaining the revolutionary Marxist view of Moscow's invasion of Czechoslovakia. This was presented to the officials at the embassy.

They expressed dismay over the socialist demonstration and expressed the hope that a more cooperative attitude would be displayed in the future.

The delegation representing the rally told the embassy officials what they thought of the invasion of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

During the demonstration it was learned that Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers had been arrested. A contingent left immediately to demonstrate in front of the U. S. embassy.

A Correction

In Ernest Mandel's article on the devaluation of the French franc in our last issue, a sentence reads: "The losses incurred by the Bank of France since the beginning of 1968 total more than \$600,000,000." The year should be 1969. Elsewhere "Indian lira" should, of course, read "Italian lira."

SWP Convention Maps Fall Actions

By Les Evans

More than 660 delegates and visitors from forty-nine cities throughout the United States met in New York over the Labor Day weekend for the Twenty-third National Convention of the Socialist Workers party.

The size of the gathering itself, the largest in the party's history, was evidence of the depth of the new wave of youth radicalization in the U. S. and the success of the Trotskyist movement in winning the best of the young radicals to the program of revolutionary socialism. The great majority of the participants in the convention were young people ranging in age from their mid-teens to mid-twenties.

The convention was preceded by a three-month discussion in the party branches during which members contributed articles and resolutions to the internal bulletin for consideration by the whole membership.

Local meetings were held to evaluate the general political situation, assess the party's course, and lay plans for the future. At the conclusion of the local discussions, rank-and-file delegates were elected from each party branch to discuss and vote on the SWP's perspectives at the convention, which is the highest body of the party.

The convention was opened by SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs, who welcomed the delegates. He paid tribute to those comrades, such as Beatrice Hansen and Rose Karsner Cannon, who had passed away since the last party convention in 1967.

The convention heard reports on major areas of work and on political questions of particular importance, followed by discussion and a vote on the general line of the major resolutions and reports.

The first reporter was Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press*. He presented a resolution on the "cultural revolution" in China adopted earlier this year by the party's Political Committee.

Hansen outlined the broad area of agreement in the world Trotskyist movement on the nature of the Maoist leadership in China and on the sig-

nificance of the "cultural revolution."

There is agreement, he said, that a workers state exists in China, albeit one with bureaucratic deformations; that there is no proletarian democracy in China and no possibility of achieving it under the present regime; and that a political revolution is required to establish proletarian democracy in China.

Within this broad framework of agreement, Hansen discussed the divergent appreciations of the "cultural revolution" that have arisen within the world Trotskyist movement. He stressed the possibility of a very free internal discussion, not only because of the movement's democratic tradition but because of the absence of political differences on the key questions. The divergences over China concern questions of theory.

One of the most interesting problems in this regard, he pointed out, concerns the origin of the Chinese workers state. To search for some abstract "proletarian" character in the Stalinized Maoist party to explain the creation of a workers state in China can lead to erroneous conclusions.

The true origin of the Chinese workers state is to be sought in a specific combination of historical circumstances: the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese peasantry; the weakness of the bourgeoisie; the pressure of an armed people moving forward in a great revolutionary upsurge; the influence of the Soviet Union as a model owing to its victory in World War II and the successes of its planned economy; and the necessity, under the conditions of imperialist war and the challenge of the advanced capitalist countries, to either pass over to a socialist phase of the revolution or face defeat.

All these factors had a greater influence in ultimately transforming Chinese society than any "proletarian" strand in Mao's petty-bourgeois peasant party, a strand to be located, presumably, in its Stalinist heritage.

Hansen noted how mistakes in this fundamental question had led a num-

ber of tendencies to peculiar, and even quite dangerous, political conclusions. In particular he singled out the Socialist Labour League of Britain, led by Gerry Healy, and their American sycophants, headed by Tim Wohlforth, for criticism in this regard.

"The identification of Stalinism with a workers state," Hansen said, "took a different and perhaps still more remarkable twist in the thinking of Gerry Healy. He maintains that there are two, and only two, roads to a workers state—either under the leadership of a Trotskyist party or under the leadership of a Stalinist party.

"Thus in the case of Cuba, Gerry Healy refuses to recognize the existence of a workers state because the revolution was headed by neither a Trotskyist party nor a Stalinist party.

"If you wish proof of this aberration, it has conveniently been made available in the most recent issue of the *Bulletin* [August 26]. On pages S-5 and S-6, Tim Wohlforth, who seems to have displaced Cliff Slaughter as Healy's chief apologist, explains this remarkable theory.

"In Eastern Europe, he says, 'The very process of expropriation of capital in these countries was accompanied by a process of the creation of this workers' bureaucracy through the taking over of the government by a workers' party, the Communist Party, and the purging of the government of all forces unreliable to the tasks this party had to carry out—some positive tasks as well as reactionary tasks.'

"Wohlforth continues: 'The Castro government is in no sense a workers' bureaucracy. In fact Castro has carried out a series of purges against even Stalinist elements within his government—as illustrated by the two Escalante affairs—and maintains complete control in the hands of the petty-bourgeois nationalist forces who came to power with him.'

"Then Wohlforth gets down to the nitty gritty: 'In Cuba, and only in Cuba, the nationalizations were not ac-

accompanied by the emergence of a government controlled by the Stalinists."

"We hardly need any further enlightenment from this Healyite theoretician," Hansen continued. "His position is that if the process that actually occurred in Cuba had been led by a Stalinist, say Blas Roca or Anibal Escalante, then the Healyites would have at once agreed that a workers state had been established. If Blas Roca or Anibal Escalante had purged Fidel Castro and Che Guevara this would have been proof positive. . . ."

"It is this reactionary theory that has led the Healyites, out of concern for consistency, to commit such abominations as to call Castro another 'Batista,' to offer critical support to Cuban Stalinism when Castro became alarmed at the growth of bureaucratism, and to speculate, as they did openly in their press after Che Guevara left Havana in 1965 for another 'assignment,' that Castro had murdered his comrade-in-arms.

"Now for the icing on the cake. The Healyites make a great show in their press of alertness to the danger of succumbing to Stalinism. However, they have not set a very good example in practice. Besides succumbing to the temptations of Stalinism in Cuba, they succumbed in China.

"During the 'cultural revolution' the *Newsletter* suddenly blossomed with rave articles about Mao's Red Guards. It was quite a sight to see the great red banner of Maoism lifted high in the *Newsletter*. This lasted but a short time. Praise for Mao's Red Guards vanished as abruptly as it had appeared. For the past two years, the *Newsletter* has hardly mentioned the 'cultural revolution.'

"What happened? No explanation was ever offered. I suppose that the headquarters gang managed to get the ailing author of the articles back into a strait-jacket and that was that. It never occurred to them that he was only acting in strict consistency with Gerryhealy Thought."

Other splinter groups from the Fourth International which evolved similarly false analyses of China include the followers of Sam Marcy. Marcy, who is the political inspirer of the Workers World party and of Youth Against War and Fascism, came to the conclusion that Stalinism in power equals a workers state.

From identifying the Maoist regime as a workers state *because* of its Stalinist character, Marcy evolved, Hansen said, "into a Maoist of such fervor that he was capable of swallowing even the new constitution, announced at the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist party, designating Lin Piao as Mao's heir."

This inability to distinguish between a Stalinist regime and the workers state over which it rules led Marcy in 1956 to support the crushing of the Hungarian workers revolution.

"The Marcyites adopted the same position in relation to the current invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia," Hansen pointed out. "They even went so far as to help the Kremlin in its efforts to find a propagandistic cover for crushing the upsurge that was pointing in the direction of a political revolution in Czechoslovakia."

Another of these sectarian tendencies is that led by Juan Posadas. "Because of Mao's supposed receptivity to genuine Marxism," Hansen said, "Posadas came to believe that Mao derived his finest thought from reading the speeches and writings of J. Posadas. Just how this was accomplished was never made quite clear. Perhaps Posadas believed that Mao had set up a Latin-American Bureau in Peking that occupied itself with translating Juanposadas Thought into Chinese ideograms so that Chairman Mao could imbibe at this fountain."

After a lively and wide-ranging discussion on the whole phenomenon of Maoism and the Chinese revolution, the convention voted unanimously to support the general line of the Political Committee resolution on the Chinese "cultural revolution."

Barry Sheppard, former editor of the *Militant*, reported on the state of the world Trotskyist movement and the growth of the Fourth International. Of special significance was the demonstrated ability of the Fourth International to reach new radicalizing youth with its ideas and win them to its banner. Sheppard discussed the advances of the Fourth International in Britain and in India, and especially the gains made by the Ligue Communiste in France, including the wave of recruitment following the campaign of Alain Krivine for president of France in the June 1 presidential elections.

The main political report was given by Jack Barnes, SWP organization

secretary. He reviewed the fifty-year experience of attempting to build a revolutionary communist movement in the United States: the initial break from the Socialist party in 1919; the pioneer Communist party and its Stalinist degeneration in the mid-twenties; the expulsion of the Trotskyists and the founding of the *Militant* in November 1928; and the independent struggle of the small Trotskyist organization after 1933 to found a new revolutionary party in face of the mass pro-Moscow Communist party.

Important gains were made during the radicalization of the thirties and again in the postwar upsurge of 1945-46. These helped to sustain the party during the severe setback of the cold war and the witch-hunt. It has only been in the past several years that this setback has been overcome.

Essential in the process of rebuilding and extending the base of the SWP in the recent period, Barnes said, was the continuity of older experienced leaders who had gone through and assimilated the lessons of earlier struggles, such as James P. Cannon and V. R. Dunne, who were members of the Industrial Workers of the World and of the Socialist party left wing before World War I.

The party leadership today includes representatives of every revolutionary generation since that time. Active collaboration with Trotsky himself during his final exile in Turkey, France, Norway, and Mexico became an important element in this continuity.

Barnes analyzed the forces, both economic and political, behind the current radicalization, and indicated that he did not believe the capitalist class had the means at its disposal to grant significant enough concessions to the working class, the black movement, and the youth, to sidetrack or defuse the growing alienation from American society.

The reporter noted the contrast between the deepening mass radicalization and the organizational and political crisis of virtually all other tendencies on the left, including formations in the black movement—an outstanding exception being the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Communist party, which was once a sizable organization with considerable mass influence, today has only a small active membership. Even more significant, the CP has proved unable to construct a youth organiza-

tion and has far fewer adherents among the youth than does the Trotskyist movement.

The Maoists, grouped primarily in the Progressive Labor party, have emerged recently from a two-year entry into the Students for a Democratic Society with little to show for their time and effort. While they made some gains, they were far smaller than those made by the YSA in the same period operating openly and working to build such mass formations as the antiwar movement.

The most striking contrast is with the "regular" SDS which, until its convention in June, was generally regarded as the largest radical organization in the country. (Its leadership usually claimed some 30,000 or more members.) Since the split with Progressive Labor in June, the national leaders of the SDS have embarked on a sectarian ultraleft course.

They have used strong-arm squads against other political tendencies on the left—especially against PL—and have substituted ultra-Maoist verbiage for united mass action on a score of issues. The result has been a rapid disintegration and discrediting of SDS among the very layer of newly radicalizing youth to whom SDS formerly appealed.

A parallel development has occurred within the Black Panther party, previously the largest and most militant of the black organizations.

The result of this multisided process has been to put the YSA and the SWP in a position to contest for the leadership of the student movement as a whole in the period immediately ahead.

Jack Barnes laid heavy stress on the tremendous new opportunities and responsibilities for the Trotskyist movement in the United States in the struggle to construct a multinational revolutionary party in the heartland of world imperialism.

The political resolution and the accompanying report to the convention were approved by an overwhelming majority after a thorough discussion by the delegates.

Other major reports to the convention included a presentation by Clifton De Berry, the party's 1964 presidential candidate, on the "Transitional Program for Black Liberation"; a report by Gus Horowitz on the present stage of the antiwar movement; a youth report by Larry Seigle, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance;

and an organizational report by Jack Barnes. All of the reports were discussed and approved by the delegates.

Clifton De Berry emphasized the need for the black movement to form a nationwide black political party which could unite and coordinate the struggle and raise it to a higher level through the adoption of a transitional program geared to the special needs of black people, both as workers and as part of an oppressed national minority.

At the same time he insisted on the need to recruit more black members to the SWP to implement the perspective of creating a multinational revolutionary party. He cited gains in this area of party membership and activity in the past year.

Gus Horowitz described the role of the party and the YSA in helping to provide the organizational and political cornerstone for the mass antiwar movement from the first big demonstration in Washington in 1965.

He said that the lull in the antiwar movement, ascribable to the 1968 elections and the McCarthy campaign, had run its course and that a central task of the party would be to help

build the demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco scheduled for November 15.

He urged that antiwar and revolutionary-socialist organizations in other parts of the world be invited to take part in the campaign to make November 15 a giant international mobilization against continued American aggression in Vietnam.

In his organizational report, Jack Barnes cited some of the successes of the American Trotskyist movement in the past year. There was considerable discussion under this report of the expansion of the party in the South and the Southwest with the founding of branches in Austin, Texas; and Atlanta, Georgia.

Another topic of great interest was the increase in "regional work," full-time teams canvassing from local party centers to make friends, recruit members, and establish new branches.

Following these open sessions, the delegates met in closed session to elect a new National Committee.

When it was all over the delegates and visitors set off for their home areas, ready to put the decisions of the convention into action.

Pakistan

Peking's Seal of Approval

At the time of the massive wave of strikes, demonstrations and revolutionary popular mobilizations that finally forced the resignation of Pakistan's military ruler Ayub Khan last April, the professedly revolutionary press of the People's Republic of China remained silent. When General Yahya Khan imposed even stricter military rule over the Pakistani masses, the Chinese government still said nothing.

The July 21 issue of Hsinhua Selected News Items, however, published in Hong Kong by the Peking government, carried as its lead headline: "Premier Chou En-lai Gives Banquet for Pakistan Government Goodwill and Friendship Delegation." The article described the red-carpet treatment given to this "goodwill" emissary, Air Marshal Nur Khan, a member of the ruling military junta responsible for crushing the revolutionary movement in Pakistan this spring.

Noteworthy was a speech in the mar-

shal's honor given by Chou En-lai himself at the banquet in Peking July 13.

"In recent years," Chou declared, "the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan have constantly developed and grown stronger thanks to the joint efforts of our two governments and peoples."

Chou never once made any distinction between the ruling military dictatorship in Pakistan and the people under its boots. "Here I reaffirm," he said, "on behalf of the Chinese Government and people our resolute support to the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and national dignity and oppose foreign aggression. . ."

Chou denounced the "social-imperialism" of the Soviet Union for the benefit of the capitalist dictator he was entertaining. The Chinese foreign minister closed by proposing a toast, "to the health of His Excellency Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan."

The Roots of American Foreign Policy

By Joseph Hansen

The Roots of American Foreign Policy, An Analysis of Power and Purpose, by Gabriel Kolko. Beacon Press, Boston. 166 pp. \$5.95. 1969.

"For a growing number of Americans the war in Vietnam has become the turning point in their perception of the nature of American foreign policy, the traumatizing event that requires them to look again at the very roots, assumptions, and structure of a policy that is profoundly destructive and dangerous. Vietnam is the logical outcome of a consistent reality we should have understood long before the United States applied much of its energies to ravaging one small nation.

"We can only comprehend Vietnam in the larger context of the relations of the United States to the Third World, removing from our analytic framework superfluous notions of capriciousness, accident, and chance as the causal elements in American foreign and military policy. For the events in Vietnam expose in a sustained and systematic manner those American qualities that have led to one of the most frightful examples of barbarism of mechanized man against man known to modern history. The logical, deliberative aspects of American power at home and its interest abroad show how fully irrelevant are notions of accident and innocence in explaining the diverse applications of American power today, not only in Vietnam but throughout the Third World. If America's task of repressing the irrepressible is doomed to failure because it is impossible for six percent of the world's population to police and control the globe, critics of American policy should not attribute the undertaking to omission or ignorance. For if the United States can impose its will on the recalcitrant revolutionaries everywhere it will gain immensely thereby, and its losses will be proportionately great if it fails."

With these two opening paragraphs, Gabriel Kolko, a professor of history at the State University of New York at Buffalo, sets the frame of his study.

To understand American foreign policy, he asserts, the ideological views and backgrounds of the policy-makers must be understood.

They are not "disinterested, perhaps misguided, public servants." The fact is "that men of power do come from specific class and business backgrounds and ultimately have a very tangible material interest in the larger contours of policy."

When an American president like Johnson or Nixon talks about "consensus" he means the common views or "public opinion" prevailing in the ruling class. This consensus generally coincides with the views of the broad public, but in certain situations a differentiation can occur. This is the case today when mass opposition to the war in Vietnam is growing. It then becomes clear that "consensus is identifiable with class goals and needs, suitably wrapped in a vague ideology of American nationalism and its global

responsibility." Still further, these "class goals and interests prevail even when the consensus disappears, and it is at this very point we see that administrators base policy on the control of power and interests rather than society's sanction or consent."

As will be gathered, Kolko offers an explanation for the fact, so puzzling to sectors of the antiwar movement, that in the face of very widespread and deep opposition to the war in Vietnam, both the Johnson and Nixon administrations have persisted in carrying on the war.

In the chapter "The Men of Power," the author demonstrates with considerable effectiveness that American policy both nationally and internationally is not controlled by a special "military-industrial complex," but by the capitalist class as a whole. "This dominant class, above all else, determines the nature and objectives of power in America. And for this reason no one can regard business as just another interest group in American life, but as the keystone of power which defines the essential preconditions and functions of the larger American social order, with its security and continuity as an institution being the political order's central goal in the post-Civil War historical experience."

On the basis of several statistical studies, which are cited in the book, along with tables, Kolko proves his point that the men who determine foreign policy are drawn from the American corporate structure. "The conclusion is that a small number of men fill the large majority of key foreign policy posts. Their many diverse posts make this group a kind of committee government entrusted to handle numerous and varied national security and international functions at the policy level."

This conclusion is verified with specific references to the careers and activities of well-known individuals in government.

The chapter "The American Military and Civil Authority" is of particular interest because of Kolko's criticism of C. Wright Mills's argument concerning the rising importance of the "military-industrial complex."

Kolko maintains that generals and arms are but tools for the advancement of "permanent objectives" and that these are determined by the civilian authorities.

"The notion of an independent military dynamic and ethic occludes the real interests and purposes of American foreign policy, which is not to fight wars but to gain vital strategic and economic objectives that materially enlarge American power everywhere. That the military is a neutral instrumentality of civilian policy is inherent in the fact that increasingly the major object of strategic military policy is how to avoid using suicidal nuclear armaments while successfully advancing American economic and political goals. These ends are active, the struggle for them the potential cause of nuclear conflict that could destroy the world; only the most extreme imperatives ever led the

civilians to consider this risk and option. If a distinctive military ethic, a regenerative theory of bloodletting and heroism, has ever existed, it has not caused a war in which civilian men of power did not first conceive of some more rational, material goals."

Kolko does not deny the close relation between the military and business. In fact he provides illuminating material showing how intimately intertwined the two establishments are. His point is that business is in command.

One of the themes Kolko stresses is the importance of theory in understanding why the U.S. went into Vietnam and why it persists in staying there. Unfortunately, in his opinion, "There is no comprehensive theory of the contemporary world crisis."

This must be put down as an overstatement. The world Trotskyist movement, at least, has presented a comprehensive theory and has sought to keep it up to date. However, we will not go into this question here. Kolko happens to present a theory that is not inconsistent with the Trotskyist view.

The United States has "unique economic interests and aspirations" in the world. These explain its "consistent interventionism," and explain ultimately "why the United States is in Vietnam."

First of all, the United States is dependent on other areas for critical raw materials. This dependency is mounting at an astonishing rate. Most of the future sources of supply are to be found "only in the continents in upheaval and revolution."

It is difficult to estimate the potential role and value of scarce minerals in these areas to the United States, but it is sufficiently clear "that the future of American economic power is too deeply involved for this nation to permit the rest of the world to take its own political and revolutionary course in a manner that imperils the American freedom to use them."

Besides this, profits made in overseas investments are involved.

The ability to procure such materials as are needed is one of the keystones of economic power in the world today. It is "vital to the future of its mastery of the international economy" for the United States to maintain its existing relations with "the poor, weak nations."

The United States consequently has a dominant interest in world economic stability, and anything that undermines that condition presents a danger. "Countering, neutralizing and containing the disturbing political and social trends thus becomes the most imperative objective of its foreign policy."

The pattern of the postwar world "has vastly benefited the industrial nations of Europe and the United States, who have done almost nothing to alter a situation that has greatly favored their own economies."

For example, "from 1950 to 1966 the share of the developing nations in world exports fell from 31.2 percent to 19.1 percent. Latin America suffered worst in this regard."

The improved competitive position of the European capitalist powers and Japan has heightened the danger to America's world position. "They have collectively displaced the United States as the major importer from the Third World and since 1953 have almost equaled the United States in exports to these nations."

A further complication is American competition with the

Third World in the export of agricultural products. "For the United States is not only a highly industrialized nation, consuming raw materials, but its immense agricultural output requires it to sell ever-growing quantities of food abroad, closing possible markets and earnings to developing nations. America's agricultural exports grew from \$2.9 billion in 1950 to \$6.9 billion in 1966, its agricultural imports increasing only by one-eighth during that period."

The consequences for the Third World have been stagnation, decline, and greater misery—mighty forces driving the masses in those areas onto the road of revolution.

Kolko examines some of the complex aspects of American relations with the other advanced capitalist powers and the Third World. His analysis leads to some far-reaching conclusions.

"The existing global political and economic structure, with all its stagnation and misery, has not only brought the United States billions but has made possible, above all, a vast power that requires total world economic integration not on the basis of equality but of domination. And to preserve this form of world is vital to the men who run the American economy and politics at the highest levels. If some of them now reluctantly believe that Vietnam was not the place to make the final defense against tides of unpredictable revolutionary change, they will concede that they must do it somewhere, and the logic of their larger view makes their shift on Vietnam a matter of expediency or tactics rather than of principle. All the various American leaders believe in global stability which they are committed to defend against revolution that may threaten the existing distribution of economic power in the world.

"When the day arrives that the United States cannot create or threaten further Vietnams, the issue at stake will be no less than the power of the United States in the world. At that point, both the United States and the rest of the world will undergo a period of profound crises and trauma, at home as well as abroad, as the allocation of the earth's economic power is increasingly removed from American control. If, in the process of defending their prerogatives, the leaders of the United States during those trying years do not destroy the globe, piecemeal as in Vietnam or in a war with China or Russia, we shall be on the verge of a fundamentally new era for the United States and mankind. The elimination of that American hegemony is the essential precondition for the emergence of a nation and a world in which mass hunger, suppression, and war are no longer the inevitable and continuous characteristics of modern civilization."

The final chapter "The United States in Vietnam, 1944-66: Origins and Objectives" is a condensation of a paper presented by the author at the International War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm in May 1967.

Kolko's central thesis in this chapter is that the situation in Vietnam was "in no sense a civil war, with the United States supporting one local faction against another, but an effort to preserve a mode of traditional colonialism via a minute, historically opportunistic *comprador* class in Saigon."

The U.S. took over where the French left off after their defeat. And Washington escalated the confrontation to decisive proportions. "For the United States to fail in Vietnam would be to make the point that even the massive intervention of the most powerful nation in the history of the world was insufficient to stem profoundly popular social

and national revolutions throughout the world. Such a revelation of American weaknesses would be tantamount to a demotion of the United States from its present role as the world's dominant superpower."

The course followed by the U. S. in Vietnam also shows that civilians, and not the military, bear primary responsibility. "Civilians, above all, have calculated the applications of American power in Vietnam and their strategies have prompted each military escalation according to their definitions of American interests. Even in conditions of consistent military impotence and defeat, Vietnam has fully revealed the tractable character of the American military when confronted with civilian authority, and their continuous willingness to obey civilian orders loyally."

In support of his thesis, Kolko traces U. S. policy in Vietnam since World War II when Roosevelt's attitude reflected "the seed of opposition to the independence movement that already existed in Vietnam."

In an "Epilogue: on Reason and Radicalism," Kolko argues against the "specious liberalism which believes one simply replaced individuals in office with other men, such as a Kennedy or McCarthy, rather than solving problems with an altogether new system based on a radically different distribution of power and assumptions as to its application."

In Kolko's opinion, "the assumption of marching in front of the Pentagon or the Democratic convention implies that the existing system can be something other than what it is short of actually depriving it of access to power and levers for controlling society, and that the beneficiaries of power will not ruthlessly apply their resources should, for example,

the protesters lock arms and sweep through the White House."

He is particularly critical of acting "without first also considering the premises and relevance of one's conduct. . ." Thus, to a certain extent, "sustained structural analysis and theory must precede commitment in depth to one or another mode of tactics and action. This is especially true, as in the case of most recent liberal and radical protest, when the opposition base their actions on the illusions of the existence of 'freedom' in this form of consensual society, thereby also unthinkingly strengthening elite-encouraged mythologies concerning the nature of the political process or the efficacy of moral pleas."

Kolko scores both "liberal opportunism" and "mindless radical heroism" as futile. He appeals for analysis and theory in depth, recognizing, however, that if they are divorced from active human responses to social conditions they can land in sterile scholasticism.

The author ends his book with an appeal to American intellectuals "committed to radical humanist change" to prepare "with clarity" for the coming revolutionary opportunities: "To transform society they must first understand it, its structure and purposes, its toughness and weakness, and define appropriate means and tactics of change which seriously take these durable realities into account. And even if such an articulation of tactics, principles, and goals is hardly an exclusive or sufficient activity in the total process of future history, action today based on convenient and comforting myths and assumptions beclouds the clear vision that will be required when profound social change is again possible in the United States."

China

Sensational Tour of Nuclear Plant

The June 15 issue of the London *Sunday Times* printed a remarkable scoop—a report by Francis James, an Australian religious journalist, of a trip he made in a part of China not visited by foreigners for ten years or more.

He toured China's secret gaseous diffusion nuclear plant near Lanchow, and the Lop Nor testing sites. He managed to bring out photographs.

James said that the main control room of the nuclear plant looks "like the flight-decks of a dozen Boeings." He said he was permitted to talk freely with China's top nuclear scientists.

How did he do it? Well, he had to get some contact lenses in London, so he decided to go by way of China. The Chinese gave him a transit visa, and let him go as far as Lanchow. There, by luck, he ran into an Uighur "of enormous influence" whom "I had met before." This Uighur made the difference.

Atlas magazine escalated the sensational account another notch, republishing it in full in the August issue.

The China watchers in Hong Kong remained skeptical.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review*, for instance, deplored the poor quality of James's photographs. Blurred—no Mao badges or slogans visible anywhere. The "cultural revolution" seemed nonexistent in this part of China.

The top nuclear scientists in their conversations with James were mistaken as to the number of bomb tests they had conducted. They forgot to mention the last one—on Mao's birthday.

James drove from Hami, through an oasis, a desert, and a large swamp to Lop Nor in "about three hours." The distance is more than 200 miles.

The staff writer of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* added: "I last saw James in Hongkong on March 22. Ap-

parently he did not, as he said he would, cross the Hongkong frontier into China. I understand that a Francis James flew from Hongkong to New Delhi on Panam's Flight One on March 29. Nevertheless, he says in his article: 'In March and April this year I travelled through Sinkiang'—so he certainly must have got a move on to have got there even before the end of March."

The finishing touch to the mystery was an Agence France-Presse report from Peking quoting an official spokesman of the Information Bureau of China's Foreign Ministry:

"It was claimed by James that in calling in China this year he visited nuclear bases in Sinkiang and Lanchow. This is pure fabrication. Nothing like this happened."

As for James, it was reported he was lecturing on his almost incredible adventures in distant China.

Canada and the United States

[The following document was adopted by the 1968 convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian Trotskyist movement. It throws sharp light from a Marxist standpoint on the growing United States control over the economy, culture, and political life of Canada. The full text is reprinted from the August 25 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, published in Toronto.]

* * *

Relations between Canada and the United States have always been a dominant factor in Canadian politics. The British Conquest was largely motivated by the determination of the British Crown to build a military bastion on this side of the Atlantic from which it hoped to defeat the revolutionary New England states. Confederation was primarily carried through to overcome the immediate threat of the secession of the West to the United States or its conquest by the United States.

Today, along with the long-standing and now built-in deficit in trade relations, a decisive factor in Canada-U.S. relations has become the extent of U.S. capital investment in the Canadian economy. It is greater than the combined total of United States investment in all of Latin America and arrogates to itself political power appropriate to such a massive investment.

Coupled with this direct influence is the fact that U.S. capitalism, the last firm bulwark of world capitalism, has had thrust upon it and has seized the responsibility of sustaining capitalism as a system on an international scale—Canadian capitalism included.

The rising forces of the world socialist revolution, together with the declining position of all other capitalist powers and their weak position, both in absolute terms and relative to the U.S. colossus—their deteriorating position in world trade, their inability to sustain an effective military force in the era of supercostly intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear devices to promote and defend their own particular interests—has forced them to become, if not completely subservient, reluctant, but nonetheless compliant tools, or at best junior partners of Wall Street and its imperialist interests. This is true in the case of the biggest and most solvent capitalist powers including those where U.S. investment plays little direct role in their economy.

The dynamic of U.S. capitalism and the world situation has overcome the economically artificial division of the northern sector of the American continent by an east to west border, not by violating this border or by Canada's absorption into the U.S. as the fifty-first state, but through trade and investment. In fact, it serves the interests of U.S. capitalism to maintain the myth of Canadian "sovereignty and independence."

The Canadian capitalist class is a powerful, tightly integrated, highly conscious and cohesive force, firmly in control of the state apparatus which it has constructed and shaped to serve its interests. The position of the Canadian

capitalist class in control of the Canadian state apparatus is not challenged by U.S. capitalist interests.

But while in control of the state, the Canadian capitalist class is by no means in control of the Canadian economy—in fact it is less in control than the rulers of any other advanced capitalist country in the world.

The facts of the colossal weight of U.S. capital investment are unchallengeable. Its scope, its myriad points of contact and influence, no doubt exert a decisive influence on Canadian political life (as well as on its social and cultural life) and Canada's role in the world conflict between capitalism and the forces of the international socialist revolution.

Does U.S. capital dominate the Canadian economy through control of what might be described as its strategic or decisive sectors? This question has been posed in an attempt to settle the somewhat formalistic question—Does the Canadian capitalist class actually rule Canada or does the U.S. capitalist class in effect own and rule Canada?

The strategic position of U.S. capital investment in relationship to what might be called strictly Canadian capital and their relative roles in the determination of Canadian affairs is not only difficult to assess but as we will see is largely irrelevant. If at other times there were conflicting antagonistic interests which caused the Canadian capitalist class to pursue or attempt to pursue policies that took it into real conflict with the U.S. ruling class, this is no longer the situation. It is now apparent that the Canadian capitalist class has arrived at a mutually agreeable relationship with U.S. capital in their common exploitation of the work force of this country and its vast natural resources. The rationalization of the auto industry on a continental basis is taking place with particular and carefully worked out adjustments as to the overall impact on the Canadian-U.S. economy.

Far from seeking to conquer Canadian capitalism and to assimilate Canada into the United States, the American ruling class has sensitively developed a special role for Canada in their global imperialist strategy.

Washington has made special adjustments and concessions in order to keep the Canadian economy on an even keel. It has exempted U.S. investment in Canada from complying to special regulations that would have created difficulties for the Canadian economy. It has developed a working relationship which places the preservation of Canadian imperialist investments—many of which are undoubted fronts for U.S. imperialist interests—under the protective wing of the rapacious eagle. It has even worked out plans whereby it could hope to effectively quell revolutionary developments in Canada which might imperil U.S.-Canadian capitalist interests—Operation Camelot.*

In return for these and other services, the Canadian bour-

* Project Camelot was a Pentagon study of the revolutionary potential of certain Latin-American countries which also covered Quebec.—*IP*.

geoisie have defended all down the line the unpopular U. S. imperialist assault against the Vietnamese people, remained committed to the costly and completely militarily outmoded alliances of NATO and NORAD, and suffered the ignominy of U. S.-controlled corporations flagrantly violating Canadian law.

Thus in reality the relationship of the Canadian capitalist class vis-a-vis the U. S. capitalist class can best be described as that of partner—junior partner.

Radicalization

Ever-widening layers of the Canadian working class and petty bourgeoisie are developing an understanding and sympathy for the popular struggles developing across the globe—and they see Washington as the ruthless and bloody subverter of these struggles. An increasing number question the whole rationale of the cold war and its pacts and alliances such as NATO and NORAD—they are beginning to see the United States, and not the USSR and the workers states, as the aggressive military force that threatens mankind with a world war and possible nuclear destruction.

They see the U. S. as a violent society, a racist society, and a huckster society, reflected in the TV, radio programs, the books and the magazines that flood across the border. An increasing number are developing a concern about the flagrant violation of the law by U. S.-based corporations in this country which leads to loss of trade and, of course, jobs for Canadian workers.

These above tendencies have been designated in some circles as nationalist—Canadian nationalism. The term is a misnomer, causing confusion rather than giving insight into this phenomenon, its dynamics and direction. More correctly, it should be designated as an elemental anti-imperialist sentiment—developing towards an anticapitalist consciousness. Because it is essentially anti-imperialist, it finds no basis of support in any sector of the Canadian capitalist class and its spokesmen, who defend U. S. imperialism not only out of a natural affinity but with a clear understanding that their fate is inextricably tied to that of the U. S. ruling class.

Nationalism in advanced capitalist countries such as Canada has traditionally been a tool of the ruling class. In 1939 the banner of national unity was raised in order to gear the nation, specifically the working class, to sacrifice their lives in an imperialist world war. It is now being raised to mobilize English-speaking Canada against the legitimate struggle of the Québécois for their national rights. This bourgeois nationalism stands in the way of a class differentiation in society—in particular, the development of class consciousness amongst the workers and, where the workers are already organized along class lines, is designed to fracture them.

What in common with this, has the phenomenon which we can see developing across the country over the question of Canada-U. S. relations?

Far from promoting this "nationalism," the Canadian ruling class, their parties and their spokesmen, stand firmly united against it. The bourgeoisie show such unshakeable and impervious unity in their acquiescence before U. S. imperialism and its domination over Canadian internal and external affairs that they expose themselves more and more as apologists and lickspittles for the U. S. ruling class. Thus we have Prime Minister Trudeau publicly declaring

that Canada can only have the relationship to the U. S. that Poland has as a satellite to the USSR, and his various ministers stating that Canada must sell military supplies for use by the U. S. in its genocidal aggression in Vietnam or suffer the gravest economic dislocation—unemployment, etc., etc.

This brand of "nationalism," far from uniting the nation behind the bourgeoisie, far from smearing over class lines, is tending to unite the overwhelming majority of all other classes and sub-classes *against* the bourgeoisie. It is discrediting the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie as not representing any interest that could be said to be Canadian, as being in essence agents of another power—a foreign power, U. S. imperialism—whose role is increasingly becoming more clear and more hated and more feared.

In fact the traditional parties are discrediting not only themselves but the very state institutions that have been erected to cover over the real power structure. They are saying that these institutions in reality have no power that can prevail over the economic power of the U. S. ruling class.

In admitting that they are party to Canada's internal and external policy being made in Washington and Wall Street, the bourgeois parties are even performing the salutary task of undermining the parliamentary illusions of the Canadian people. They are underscoring the need for the working class to take the power and to lay down new economic foundations from which new social relations will form.

Demagogy

The bourgeoisie, of course, have not ignored this sentiment. Tory leader Diefenbaker gave it a high priority in his 1963 campaign. Although he never moved off the plane of nationalist demagogy in his high-powered bid to retain office, this lost him the confidence of every important sector of the bourgeoisie. The Liberals assigned Walter Gordon the task of encompassing this anti-imperialism, to which they gave a nationalist interpretation, within the Liberal Party, and even struck off a commission under Melville Watkins to investigate foreign investment. Both Gordon and the Watkins report have been pigeonholed.

It was this "betrayal of Canadian independence" that prompted the editors of *Canadian Dimension*, an important journal of liberal petty-bourgeois opinion with considerable influence in NDP [New Democratic Party—Canada's labor party] intellectual circles, to issue an appeal in 1967. It urged that the "long-term" socialist solution be put on ice in order to realize the primary task of establishing Canadian independence through a new political formation that would be "politically non-partisan and would cut across racial, regional and class lines."

The response to *Canadian Dimension's* strictly nationalist appeal—reportedly, only four elderly Tories on the Prairies wrote in—is extremely revealing. *Canadian Dimension's* appeal broke up on the reality that the sentiments to which it attempted to appeal were not nationalist but essentially anti-imperialist and therefore class sentiments in terms of Canadian political life. Nor did the Communist Party get anywhere with its crudely anti-American supra-class appeal for the construction of an antimonopoly people's coalition that would encompass in its ranks those

elements of the bourgeoisie who would put the interests of the nation before profits. The same goes for the Progressive Workers Movement (Maoist). Its more radical-sounding appeal proved unable to raise the process even a millimeter higher onto the first stage of its projected national liberation struggle that would encompass sections of the bourgeoisie.

Radical Sentiment

This anti-imperialist sentiment is an important fact of Canadian political and social life. To accept or pin the label nationalist on it is not only to designate it incorrectly. It leads to a dismissal, if not an opposition to it. On the contrary, we must recognize the essentially radical character of this anti-imperialist sentiment and develop it.

As U.S. imperialism is driven to ever more desperate, more openly vicious lengths in its role as defender of capitalism everywhere, opposition will continue to mount. In country after country this will sharpen working-class opposition to the capitalist class who identify their fate with the fate of U.S. imperialism. The working-class movements will increasingly bring to the fore demands for an independent policy of opposition to U.S. imperialism. The demand for an independent foreign policy for Canada— one of solidarity with the colonial peoples' freedom struggle and trade and aid with Cuba, China and the other workers states— will become more popular.

To recognize this anti-U.S. imperialism and develop it is to concede nothing at all to any form of anti-American chauvinism. On the contrary the most effective anti-imperialist activists here have found tremendous forces right inside the U.S. with which to identify and link up their struggle. The Canadian antiwar movement has developed its most successful actions in solidarity with the much more massive anti-Vietnam war actions in the U.S. In the process it has deepened the understanding of the Canadian workers as to the character of their own bourgeoisie through its effective campaigns against the Canadian government's complicity with the U.S. in the Vietnam war.

It would be a tragic error to get hung up on broad abstract formulas and thus fail to make a correct assessment of the actual situation. The revolutionary socialists have successfully evaded this sectarian danger. We did not oppose the moves towards setting up Canadian unions separate, independent and apart from the so-called international unions on some abstract principle that we are internationalist and revolutionary and this was nationalist and hence reactionary. We considered that the support this had among militants was largely a reaction against the undemocratic manipulations of the trade-union bureaucracy. We expressed our sympathy with this, and to those who would listen we cautioned that bureaucracy was endemic to reformist unions in our epoch and cannot be escaped merely by setting up an autonomous Canadian union (see *Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions*).* We also attempted to make an overall evaluation of the situation and concluded that there was really no significant trend in this direction, that these forces were not viable and were gen-

* *The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions* by Ross Dowson. Available for 25 cents from Vanguard Publications, 824 Yonge Street, Toronto 5, Ont., Canada. — IP.

erally composed of conservative elements.

Nor are we indifferent to the increasing economic penetration of U.S. capital into Canada, its increasing control of the economy, and what goes with that—its determination of Canada's role in world affairs. All the less can we be indifferent in that the Canadian working class is organized in a mass reformist party and we, aspiring to establish ourselves as its vanguard, are seriously projecting the possibility of an NDP government. The concept that U.S. penetration, besides being an inevitable process, is a progressive phenomenon on the way to shaping up an integrated North American economy that would provide the foundation for a Socialist United States of America, is a hangover from pre-Leninist concepts of imperialism. Such "longsightedness" would bring us down in the quicksands immediately in front of us.

The Canadian economy is not only being grossly distorted, serving as a low wage sector of the U.S. economy, but it is an integral part of the latter's imperialist war machine directed at the rest of mankind which it threatens with total destruction.

Public Ownership

We have advocated the public ownership of the basic means of production so that the economy can be planned and production geared to use. This is our general propaganda line—we have not worked out any list of priorities and in fact have presented this viewpoint in general around issues of the day. In response to the curtailments of railway services and attendant layoffs we have called for the public ownership of the CPR [Canadian Pacific Railway] and its fusion with the CNR [Canadian National Railway]. It was a matter of indifference whether the CPR was or is now basically U.S.-owned. With the closure of the Dosco coal mines, we urged their nationalization along with the Sydney steel mills, and their operation in an integrated Maritimes development plan.

The issue of economic domination is already being debated, and answers are being projected. There is the proposal to "open up to Canadian stockholders, buy into American corporations": the "buy Canada back" proposition; and the proposal to establish a supplementary public sector in order to develop a more specialized competitive economy. Since U.S. branch plants include many of the key industries, there can be no serious talk of public ownership and planning without nationalization of U.S. capital interests. Without making public ownership of U.S. interests a general demand, as U.S. interests violate Canadian law by refusing to accept orders from Cuba and China, etc., the question of their nationalization increasingly comes to the fore. This is not the separating out of "bad" capitalists from "good" capitalists for "punishment" by nationalization, but popularizing the whole concept from necessity. The specific action is posed in defensive terms, which is always a good stance for the revolutionary deed.

A clear understanding of the progressive implications of this rising anti-imperialist sentiment is necessary so that we can meet the new challenges that it will pose before us— particularly insofar as, thanks to our orientation to the New Democratic Party, we are today not restricted to academic educational work but are formulating policy for forces in a movement that is speaking to the masses.