

War Criminal Nixon

QUIZ TEST: Was it Johnson or Nixon who said: "I refuse to be the first President to preside over an American defeat"? See page 891.



Leon Trotsky:

A Political Dialogue

Strike Wave in Yugoslavia

Hugo Blanco:

Mobilization of the Peasants

Brazil:

Debate Over Elbrick Kidnapping

Alaska Oil Rush:

The End of the Wilderness?

'Routinely Used'

In 1965, when it first became known that the U.S. was using tear gas in Vietnam, Secretary of State Dean Rusk told reporters, "We do not expect that gas will be used in ordinary military operations."

The gas, he claimed, would be used for "riot control," as a "humanitarian" way to spare Vietnamese civilians from being shot up by American troops.

In mid-September 1969 the Pentagon was still peddling this line, but the September 29 *New York Times* reported that a special study by the U.S. command in Saigon submitted to the Pentagon a year ago showed this claim to be a lie.

Tear gas, the *Times* said, "had rarely been used to save civilian lives. Furthermore, it [the U.S. command in Vietnam] said it doubted that tear gas could be used in Vietnam for that purpose."

In its recent statement, the Pentagon declared: "Riot-control agents are particularly useful in reducing civilian casualties when the enemy has infiltrated into population centers . . ."

The U.S. army has used 13.7 million pounds of tear gas in Southeast Asia since 1964. Its main use is to drive Vietnamese freedom fighters or civilians in "hostile" villages out into the open where they can be slaughtered by air strikes and artillery. The use of gas as a weapon of war is specifically prohibited by the 1925 Geneva Protocol, which has never been ratified by the U.S. Senate.

The claim that gas is not used in "ordinary military operations" has now been dropped. "Last week's statement by the Pentagon," the *Times* said, "clearly indicated that American policy had shifted and that tear gas was routinely used in combat."

You Can Say That Again

"The steady deterioration of Post Office services is a national scandal. Incredible delays in delivery, general mismanagement, and postal rates that keep rising are creating a disastrous situation for printers who depend upon postal service to meet the needs of their customers."—From the editorial page of the September issue of the trade journal **Printing Impressions**.

In This Issue:

| | | |
|-----------------|--------|---|
| | | FEATURES |
| Dick Roberts | 899 | End of the Wilderness? The Alaska Oil Rush [Illustrated by Copain] |
| | 902 | Millions in Europe on Strike |
| Leon Trotsky | 908 | A Political Dialogue |
| | 912 | Dirt and Grime Front |
| | | VIETNAM |
| | 890 | Gas "Routinely Used" |
| | 910 | Green Berets Bring in "Not Guilty" Verdict |
| | | U. S. A. |
| | 891 | Another War Criminal in the White House |
| Les Evans | 898 | The "Free" World's Drug Capital |
| | 903 | Meany Salutes Nixon |
| | 907 | Pesticide Bloom on the Grape |
| | | LAOS |
| | 892 | "Little But a Shooting Range" |
| | | CZECHOSLOVAKIA |
| Gerry Foley | 893 | As Expected—A Purge in Stalin's Style |
| | | YUGOSLAVIA |
| | 896 | Widespread Strikes |
| | | VENEZUELA |
| | 896 | Internal Discussion in the MIR |
| | | SWEDEN |
| | 897 | Still Favors North Vietnam |
| | | PERU |
| Hugo Blanco | 904 | The Mobilization of the Peasants |
| | | ITALY |
| Guy Desolre | 906 | End of the "Center-Left" Experiment |
| | | BOOKS |
| George Saunders | 910 | Moscow Still Haunted by Trotskyism |
| | | DOCUMENTS |
| | 911 | Brazil: The Debate Over the Elbrick Kidnapping |
| | | DRAWINGS |
| Copain | Cover, | Richard Nixon; 897, Tage Erlander; 903, George Meany; 906, Mariano Rumor; 907, Cesar Chavez |

Intercontinental Press, Post Office Box 635, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

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.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; biweekly in July; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion,

unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

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

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York 10010. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Copyright © 1969 by Intercontinental Press.

Another War Criminal in the White House

By Les Evans

Nixon has received a number of setbacks in his effort to get the American people to grant him more time to continue the U. S. aggression in Vietnam.

A new ground swell of campus antiwar activity, the refusal voiced by leading members of Congress September 29 to go along with the administration's proposed "moratorium" on war criticism, and a general rise in antiwar sentiment—shown by public opinion polls—constitute only the most dramatic examples.

Public anger has been deepened still further by the arrogant attitude of the White House toward it critics, and by two major scandals related to the war in Vietnam: the Green Beret murder case, and the "secret" escalation of U. S. military intervention in Laos.

Nixon set the "public be damned" tone in his September 26 news conference—his first in three months, and only the third such press briefing since he has been in office—when he rejected, out of hand, setting any specific date for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

He accused even members of his own party who have raised such proposals, such as Republican Senator Charles E. Goodell, of trying to "undercut and destroy the negotiating position we have in Paris."

Nixon dismissed the student antiwar movement in the most insulting way:

"As far as this kind of activity is concerned," he said, "we expect it. However, under no circumstances will I be affected whatever by it."

When questioned about reports of American combat operations in Laos, the commander-in-chief denied that any U. S. troops were in Laos "on a combat basis." According to him, American planes were merely engaged in "aerial reconnaissance."

Since this sounded thin, he added: "We do have, perhaps, some other activities." What they were, he refused to say.

The "other activities" may be judged

by a report in the September 23 *Washington Post*:

"American aircraft are now flying more sorties in Laos than they were in North Vietnam at the height of the bombing, which is some 12,500 sorties a month."

A public opinion sampling taken September 14-17 by the Louis Harris organization showed that only 35 percent of those polled approved Nixon's handling of the war in Vietnam. This was down twelve points from June.

Such a precipitous decline suggests only one conclusion. The broad public has lost patience with Nixon. Upon taking office he appealed for time to put into effect his "secret plan" to end the war. He was granted time. Now the time is up. Nixon's policy of stretching things out is bankrupt.

The popular repudiation of Nixon's course has further widened the split on this question within the ruling class. The division over tactics—not over the "principle" of military aggression—began with the rise of the antiwar movement after Johnson escalated the conflict.

A considerable sector of top businessmen and capitalist politicians have now become convinced that it is not possible to crush the Vietnamese revolution by military means, and that to continue the attempt will entail too high a price in terms of social tensions at home and loss of prestige abroad.

A recent poll of 325 top U. S. business executives showed the growth of this split over tactics even in the highest echelons of American finance capital. The survey, taken by Daniel Yankelevich, Inc., a New York "attitude-research firm," was summarized in the September issue of *Fortune*, an expensive business monthly published in Chicago.

"When asked which national problems seemed 'most pressing and critical,'" the *Fortune* article said, "the corporate panel placed Vietnam at the top of the list by a considerable margin."

Some 49 percent of the executives interviewed took this position.

"Many executives pointed out that Vietnam has a bearing on practically all the other major problems facing the nation. An Illinois insurance executive remarked: 'We were sucked into the Vietnam war like boobs, wasting our resources and brains that should be applied to our social problems, ghettos, and control of crime.' Though his language was harsher than most, he reflected the prevailing mood. . . ."

"More than a quarter of the executives said they had converted from hawks to doves in the past year alone, and others indicated they had turned lukewarm on the war even earlier."

Nixon's response to this feeling, not to mention the fresh upsurge of anger over the war among those who suffer its costs, has been to mimic Johnson. Like a nineteenth century thespian, he reads declamations cooked up by his team of speech writers from the Madison Avenue advertising agencies. His lieutenants in Congress add their bit to his flag-waving oratory.

For instance, Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott and House of Representatives Republican leader Gerald R. Ford appealed September 29 for a sixty-day "moratorium" on all criticism of Nixon's policy in Vietnam.

This pitch, which was strictly for the birds, was rejected by leading congressional Democrats and by other Republican politicians.

Taking another lesson from the man from whom he inherited the war, Nixon had the TV cameras set up in the White House Rose Garden. There, on September 30, he presented a Presidential Unit Citation for bravery to a group of U. S. marines. Then he read his script—one no doubt prepared by one of Johnson's former speech writers—urging the American people not to "buckle and run away," accusing his critics of wanting to "cut and run."

A little more than a year ago John-

son was spouting in the same way against the "nervous nellyes" who wanted to "tuck tail and run."

Nixon spelled out his objective in Vietnam—and it was not a "negotiated settlement" or an end to the war at all. Senator Hugh Scott, Nixon's congressional mouthpiece, told reporters October 1 that his boss had declared he would not be "the first President to preside over an American defeat."

This is the real reason why Nixon is stalling for time, why he refuses to give in to the demands to end the war. He and his supporters know that an American withdrawal from Vietnam would mean a victory for the Vietnamese revolution. It would have an incalculable impact on revolutionary movements around the world and would mark a major setback for American imperialism.

As for Nixon's congressional opposition, they give the appearance of dancing between the frying pan and the fire. They voted for the war. They have kept financing it out of the public treasury. Virtually all of them began as hawks. But the public is getting more and more aroused.

Consequently, these congressmen are in deathly fear of suddenly finding themselves isolated; and, maybe, going down like Johnson.

This has brought many top Democrats, including Senators Edward Kennedy, Eugene McCarthy, and Edmund Muskie, to go so far as to endorse the nationwide student Moratorium against the war October 15.

What cheap politics! If a single one of them felt the least bit of genuine opposition to the war, he would be utilizing every power of his office to impeach Nixon as a war criminal, and to shut off funds for the war.

Instead, these cynical machine politicians, who share the guilt of Nixon and Johnson for the war, talk about the October 15 demonstration as a "moral event."

What they are really after is to gain the moral aura of being "antiwar" while continuing the dirty business of backing Nixon with dollars and helping to cover up his war crimes.

James Reston in his column in the September 28 *New York Times* tried to apologize for them:

"We are not operating in the United States under the parliamentary system, where a Prime Minister can be

confronted by a vote of no-confidence and brought down overnight by a vote of the majority opposition. Mr. Nixon is in office for four years. The Congress cannot dragoon him unless it is either prepared to deny him funds to carry on the war or impeach him, neither of which they have the will nor the votes to do."

Neither of which they have the will nor the votes to do! Well said, especially about their lack of guts.

The effective opposition to the Nixon-Johnson war program is not in Congress. It is on the campuses and in the streets. It is in the independent antiwar movement, particularly the Student Mobilization Committee.

The SMC is working with the organizers of the October 15 Moratorium to help build that action into a genuine mass militant repudiation of government policy.

The SMC has been the most consistent advocate of the uncompro-

Laos

'Little But a Shooting Range'

Despite Nixon's assertion that no U. S. troops are in Laos "on a combat basis" and that only "aerial reconnaissance" flights are made over that country, more and more facts about the "secret" war are leaking out.

The September 23 *Washington Post* reported: "American advisers, both civilian and military, are instructing Lao troops, American pilots are flying air cover, and last week a dispatch from the field disclosed that Thai troops dressed in Lao army uniforms penetrated the Plaine des Jarres. . . . [they] were provided with heavy United States logistical and air support."

But the American bombing of Laos is the most alarming and as yet little-known activity in the "secret" war. Stanley Karnow, writing in the September 29 *Washington Post*, said that U. S. aircraft "are bombing areas of the country more intensely than North Vietnam was hit prior to the bombing halt last fall." The *Post* has estimated that some 12,500 bombing sorties a month are flown over the country — more than at the height of the bomb-

ing demand, "Bring the GIs Home Now!"

One of the most promising signs for the antiwar movement—and one of the biggest headaches for Nixon—has been the unprecedented response to antiwar organizers on campuses around the country since the schools opened this fall.

Business meetings of the SMC have turned into mass meetings at hundreds of campuses across the country.

The September 20 *Washington Post* commented: "The SMC is . . . rapidly rising to replace SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] as the most visible leader of campus activists."

The SMC has launched a "No Peace for Nixon" campaign. This will include demonstrations wherever Nixon speaks in the United States, as well as the October 15 Moratorium, a November 14 nationwide student strike, and the November 15 march on Washington, with a simultaneous march in San Francisco.

ing of North Vietnam.

A description of the effects of this campaign was supplied by T. D. Allman, writing from Vientiane in the October 1 *New York Times*:

"The restraints on the United States in bombing Laotian targets have been significantly relaxed over the last six months. . . ."

"Refugees from the Plaine des Jarres area say that during recent months most open spaces have been evacuated. Both civilians and soldiers have retreated into the forests or hills and frequently spend most of the daylight hours in caves or tunnels. Refugees said they could only plow their fields at night because they were unsafe during the day.

"So long as the United States bombing continues at its new level,' a European diplomat said here this week, 'so-called Communist territory is little but a shooting range. . . ."

"The Laotian war, according to Government figures, so far has produced more than 600,000 refugees, or about a quarter of the population of the kingdom."

As Expected — A Purge in Stalin's Style

By Gerry Foley

A heavy police guard ringed Hradcany Castle in Prague when the plenum of the Central Committee of the KSC [Komunistická Strana Československa—Communist party of Czechoslovakia] opened September 25. The borders of the country had been closed to newsmen and tourists. Reports circulated of police alerts in Prague and other cities.

On the eve of the Central Committee plenum, the Prague City Committee of the KSC expelled seventeen anti-Stalinist members, including Bohumil Simon, the organizer of the special party congress held in August 1968 in defiance of the Soviet occupation. The morning of the day the CC plenum opened, five members of the parliament of the Czech lands resigned.

Already, a week before the plenum, political arrests had begun. Dr. Rudolf Battek, an anti-Stalinist member of parliament; and Vladimír Nepras, a former member of the staff of the banned anti-Stalinist weekly, the *Reportér*, were seized on political charges.

Battek and Nepras were among the authors of a second 2,000-word manifesto, the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* reported in its September 29 issue. This declaration, which has been circulating in Prague for more than a month, boldly denounced the reinstatement of a climate of bureaucratic terror:

"We despise the censorship. Its introduction relegates us to the place of those pitiable nations that do not have freedom to speak to themselves or to address the rest of the world; it makes impossible the existence of an informed public opinion; it encourages the propagation of absurdities; it makes it more difficult to keep a check on the government; it protects incompetent functionaries and permits other immoralities."

Inside the heavily guarded castle, Gustáv Husák, who replaced the former Alexander Dubcek as Communist party secretary at the May Central Committee plenum, delivered a

speech announcing the long predicted purge of the party:

"In order to restore the unity of our party on the principled bases of Marxist-Leninist teaching, it is essential to keep up a daily struggle against right-opportunist forces and views in our party. It is essential to win over to our side, and convince, wavering and disoriented but honest members of the party. It is essential to purge the party of those persons who stubbornly hold to incorrect political and ideological positions—or who, despite the fact that they hold party cards, wage an active struggle against the political program and aims of the party. Today we are presenting a series of proposals for the expulsion from the Central Committee of those of its members who have deviated from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, who have compromised the party in critical times, and who have shown no tendency either to abandon serious errors or to give aid to the party in a difficult situation."

Thirty-three Communist party leaders most closely associated with the post-January 1968 de-Stalinization fell victim to the purge. Dubcek was stripped of all his posts except membership in the Central Committee. His most popular supporter, Josef Smrkovský, was expelled from the Central Committee and removed from his posts as chairman of the Chamber of the People and deputy chairman of the federal assembly.

Also expelled from the Central Committee were Marie Mikova, the vice-chairman of the Chamber of the People; Milan Hübl, former rector of the party political academy; Jiri Hájek, minister of foreign affairs at the time of the August 21 invasion; Zbynek Vokrouhlický, former chairman of the Československý Svaz Mládeže [Union of Czechoslovak Youth]; Zdenek Mlynar, a member of Dubcek's staff and a coauthor of the Action Program, the official blueprint for de-Stalinization; and Frantisek Vlasak, minister of state

planning during the "Prague spring."

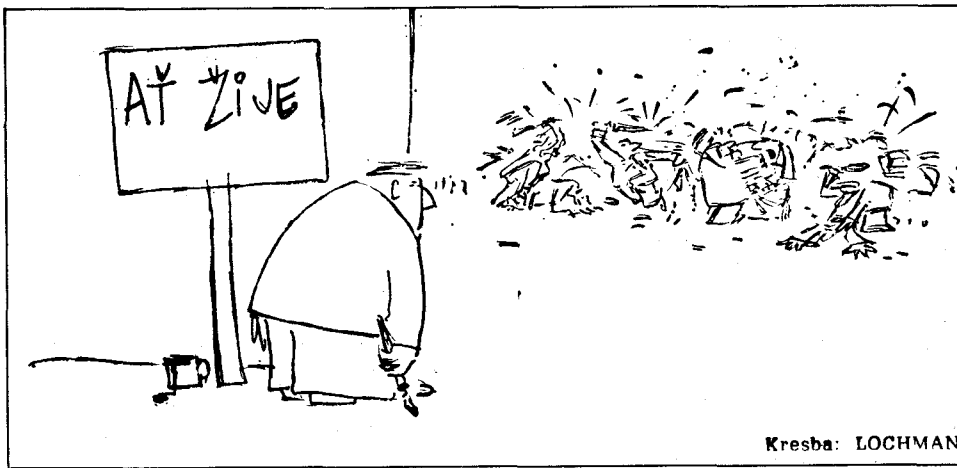
Three members of the Central Committee were expelled from the party—General Václav Prchlik, former top political officer of the Czechoslovak army; Václav Slavik, a journalist and former Central Committee secretary close to Smrkovský; and Alfred Cerny, South Moravian regional party leader, who was co-opted to the Central Committee August 31, 1968.

General Prchlik is assumed to have stood especially high in the Soviet blacklist. He was removed from his army command in the spring of 1968 as a result of Soviet pressure after he denounced Kremlin domination of the Warsaw Pact forces. He was also among those who refused to vote for ratification of the treaty authorizing the stationing of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory.

Frantisek Sorm, president of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, was "authorized to resign" from the Central Committee. Sorm may have been removed in retaliation for the *Black Book* published by the Academy of Sciences. This publication was a telling refutation of the Soviet *White Book*, a piece of crude propaganda put out to justify the August 21 intervention.

The following eighteen persons were also "authorized to resign": Josef Spacek, one of the most popular anti-Stalinist leaders; Bohumil Simon, chairman of the Prague City Committee of the Communist party during the Czech spring; Josef Boruvka, minister of agriculture during the de-Stalinization; Jiri Judl; Vladimír Kabrna; Josef Hauer; M. Fiserova, president of the Union of Czech Women and one of the twenty-four members co-opted to the Central Committee August 31, 1968; L. Hrdinova; Antonin Krotek; Zdenek Smolik; Jaroslav Balaj; Bedrich Kralík; Ivan Malek; Ludmilla Jankovcova; Jirina Zelenkova; Josef Zuda; Josef Svoboda; and Martin Vaculik.

Oldrich Cerník was stripped of his membership in the Central Committee bureau for the Czech lands but allowed



This cartoon appeared in the April 1969 issue of Reporter. The opportunist in the foreground has written "Long Live" on his placard but is awaiting the outcome of the melee before filling in the name of the beloved new leader.

to remain as federal premier. Cerník has been classed in the "center" group wavering between Husák and Dubcek.

Reporting Cerník's drop in status, Havlin, the chief of the Czech press relations bureau, said September 29 that the premier had talked freely about "his part in the responsibility for the poor results . . . and helped in the search for the source of these failings. His contribution to the discussion was honest and honorable and that is why he has again been entrusted with forming the government."

Others dropped from membership in the bureau for the Czech lands were Cestmír Cisar, considered one of the main inspirers of the reform program; Jaroslav Karhan; Vojtech Matejčka; and Karel Simek.

The purge seemed to have virtually eliminated the influence of the reformist faction in the higher party bodies. At the same time, most of those promoted to replace the ousted reformers seemed to be Stalinist hacks.

Dubcek's place on the party Presidium was taken by Josef Kempny, the chief of the party ideological commission and the director of the crackdown on the press. Kempny also became premier of the Czech lands, forming a new government coming closer to the Kremlin's specifications.

Miroslav Moc, the editor of the "purified" party daily *Rudé Právo*, was added to the Central Committee, along with Pavel Auersperg, a former close associate of the old-line Stalinist exparty secretary and ex-president Antonín Novotný.

Two supporters of the Soviet invasion, Drahomír Kolder and Oldřich Svestka, were co-opted to the Bureau for the Czech Lands.

The purge in the top party bodies was, however, only to be the first step in an all-embracing "purification" of the party, Husák said.

"The Central Committee must, therefore, be an example to the party organizations at the regional and area levels, inspiring them to purge the opportunistic elements from their ranks and reinforce their ideological unity. But the principal field of battle remains in the rank-and-file organizations.

Husák announced that all party cards would have to be turned in at the end of the year and would be re-issued only to "those militants faithful to the program of the party and who support it actively."

Husák made it clear that the purge would extend to all areas of the society: "On all levels we must step up the political struggle to purge the mass organizations of opportunistic influence, especially in the trade unions and the youth movements. We must give special attention to the selection of leaders in these large and influential organizations.

"Complex work awaits us also on the cultural front, in the area of education, science, and art. These areas have been strongly infected by opportunist tendencies. The party cannot surrender its influence over such sensitive components of our society."

It was strongly suggested that the

"purification" of Czechoslovak society would be accompanied by a resurrection of the inquisitorial spirit of the purge trials in the fifties.

"Sometimes we hesitate to use the term 'counterrevolutionary forces,' on the basis that counterrevolution always means direct armed struggle against the revolutionary forces of the working class, shootings, murders, etc.

"But if we consider the workers movement, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and by the Communist party, to be the basic revolutionary tendency in contemporary society, then the forces antagonistic to this movement, antagonistic to the basic goals of the revolutionary movement, have always been—and this was true objectively in our case — counterrevolutionary forces, no matter what the level of their activity . . ."

In addition to purges and victimizations, Husák indicated that harsh police repression was planned to wipe out any remaining possibility of resistance:

"The experience of the revolutionary struggle in the world and in our country demonstrates that after being defeated in open battle, antisocialist and right-wing forces resort more and more to illegal and semilegal methods of struggle, calling for passive resistance, sabotage, and individual terror. They seek to organize subversive activity. They try to hold onto positions in various branches of culture, education, the government and economic apparatus. They hide, they want to 'hibernate,' waiting for new opportunities, new mistakes."

On October 3 *Le Monde* reported that the bureau of the federal assembly had lifted General Prchlik's parliamentary immunity and that a judicial investigation of his activities was in progress. Attacks continued against Josef Pavel, the minister of the interior at the time of the invasion. Pavel is accused of having provided false identity cards for top Czech CP officials, including Smrkovský and Cisar, to enable them to leave the country.

The Communist party university committees in Prague, Brno, Bratislava, and Kosice have been reported dissolved.

In preparation for purging his department, the new minister of education, Jaromír Hrbek, has sent a questionnaire to all individuals connected with the ministry which requires them

to answer personal questions and denounce all officials "discredited by their attitude and their antiparty and anti-Soviet acts."

The questionnaire includes this warning: "Do you realize that any deviation from the truth in your self-criticism would strongly compromise you and rule out any effort to help you? Do you realize that you will also be judged by your collaborators and that any differences between their statements and yours will be studied?"

The liquidation of the last vestiges of democratic freedoms and legality in Czechoslovakia went hand in hand with the most abject obeisance to the Soviet Union. Husák proclaimed that the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact powers had acted in the interests of socialism and the world workers movement when they invaded Czechoslovakia.

"In the situation that developed in the summer of 1968, the entry of allied troops was motivated by the interests of defending socialism in Czechoslovakia from right-wing, anti-socialist, and counterrevolutionary forces, by the common interests of the security of the socialist camp, and by the class interests of the Communist and workers movement.

"In no sense was it an act of aggression against the people; it did not represent an occupation of Czechoslovak territory or a suppression of freedom and the socialist order in our country."

Husák's denunciation of the August 21 declaration of the party Presidium which condemned the Warsaw Pact powers' intervention was written into the resolution of the plenum. The Presidium statement was rescinded on the basis that it "did not proceed from a class standpoint, was non-Marxist, and fundamentally in error."

Husák did not explain, however, why he himself had opposed the Soviet invasion in August 1968 or what had induced him to change his mind. He also failed to note that his declaration represented a vindication for his colleague Vasil Bilák, who, symbolically, chaired the opening session of the plenum.

Bilák, an early defender of the Soviet invasion, was pictured in an unflattering way in many of the cartoons current in the weeks following the occupation. One caricature of the period showed him delivering a dec-

laration from the natural aperture at the rear of an elephant marked with the Soviet symbol.

Even while he acclaimed the "socialist" motives of the invasion, Husák confirmed speculation that the object of the Soviet attack was to prevent the fourteenth Czechoslovak party congress from convening as scheduled early in September 1968. This congress had been expected to enact a program of democratic reforms in the structure of the state and the party. There was an unprecedented measure of democracy in the election of delegates.

"Right-wing and antisocialist forces used this situation to develop a broad assault in connection with the Fourteenth Party Congress. For all practical purposes, the party leadership lost control of the preparations for the congress. By organizational means and especially through the help of the mass communications media, the right-wing and antisocialist forces exercised a decisive influence on the election of delegates to the congress and of the candidates for the new Central Committee.

"They did so with the clear aim of seizing control of the party at this congress. This matter of advancing the date for convening the congress, the unpreparedness of the party leadership, and the aggressiveness of the right-wing forces increased the danger to the development of socialism in our country. It also deepened the crisis in the relations between us and our sister parties."

Husák put the entire blame for the invasion and its consequences on the Czechoslovak party leadership: "It can be said that a more frank execution of our party policy could have prevented the entry of troops onto our territory in August 1968 as well as the political and psychological complications and consequences this caused at home and abroad."

The special party congress held after the invasion, under the protection of the Prague workers and with the overwhelming support of the population, came in for heavy fire. Echoing Husák's speech, the plenum resolution declared that congress and all its works invalid.

Husák stressed the irregular nature of the congress, pointing to the fact that most of the Slovak delegates had been unable to attend. However,

many anti-Stalinist Czechoslovak leaders point out that none of the present leaders of the party and the state gained their posts through free elections.

The Central Committee plenum did not, however, yet represent a complete victory for the old-line Stalinists and Kremlin toadies. Husák criticized the Novotný regime for "gross violations of legality" and for its inability to adjust to the de-Stalinization process of 1953-56.

While concentrating his fire on the Dubcek faction, Husák also took one swipe at the most brazen quislings: "Speaking about party unity, it must be said that in some places old sectarian tendencies have appeared which impede our progress and weaken our consistent struggle against right opportunism as the main danger."

The ousted reformers may face still further abasement. Dubcek has not yet been forced to make a self-criticism. He was accused of incompetence and weakness but not crimes. Even the Kremlin collaborator Alois Indra took a moderate tone for the time being in criticizing the ousted leader.

But the fact that no crimes have been attributed to Dubcek is no guarantee for the future. In a recent *Rudé Právo* interview, arch-conservative Vasil Bilák recalled that the Hungarian premier Kadar had warned him in the spring of 1968: "Be careful no Czechoslovak Imre Nagy develops in your country. Nagy also was not ill-intentioned; but the logic of things brought him into the camp of the enemy." Nagy's innocent intentions, obviously, did not save him from the executioner.

Pravda has described the plenum as the "first step in the consolidation of the party and Czechoslovak society, a decisive turn by the party from the policy of reformism, Social Democracy, and nationalism to the policy and practice of Marxism-Leninism . . ."

It remains to be seen what steps the Kremlin will take next in its efforts to shore up the badly shaken Stalinist governmental structure in Czechoslovakia.

Literacy Drive Among Berlin Cops

To show that they are at least politically literate in arguing with students during university incidents, West Berlin policemen are beginning voluntary training in Marxism, Leninism, and related subjects.

Widespread Strikes

"Like hunted hares, the party and trade-union functionaries raced through the center of Yugoslavia's largest port city. 'Stop thief!' the striking proletarians shouted after the union financial director, Josip Cujec, who escaped into the Torpedo concern buildings."

That is how the September 22 issue of *Der Spiegel* described a tense moment in the harbor workers' strike last June in the Croatia port of Rijeka.

According to the West German weekly, the harbor strike resembled a virtual insurrection in its violence. "The dock workers in Rijeka armed themselves with cables four and a half feet long and an inch and a half thick—they wanted to lynch their bankrupt union leadership. Floor by floor they cleaned out the office building of their enterprise. Under a rain of blows, the general director, Kazimir Jelovica, fled to the Bonanija Hotel. His colleague Dr. Josko Vukov ran into the hotel and was beaten up in the foyer."

The violence of the strike was attributed to low wages in the industry and lack of response to repeated protests. *Der Spiegel* reported that dock workers in Ploce, who struck along with the Rijeka workers, protested in vain three times last year against average wages equivalent to US\$25 a month.

In their latest action, the dockers used direct action. "The workers then revoked all the resolutions of the union and self-management council contrary to the interests of the workingman—that is, cuts in wages and overtime pay, curtailment of vacations and sick leave," according to *Der Spiegel*.

The authorities imposed harsh penalties on the eight alleged leaders of the strike. One worker, Ismet Kunovec, was sentenced to two years and ten months in prison.

Despite this harsh repression, however, the union and management officials have reportedly not yet regained their confidence: "The chiefs are still suffering from the shock of the rebellion. They do not dare to return to their desks. Some of the leading officials are

afraid even to stay overnight in their own homes."

The presidium of the Yugoslav trade-union federation has rejected the strike as "a means of pressure." Nonetheless, the harbor workers' strike represents only one of the more dramatic episodes in a rising tide of strikes in Yugoslavia. While only 139 strikes were recorded in 1966, 2,000 were reported in 1968.

In 1969 the strike wave swept all of the six Yugoslav republics. This militancy extended even to the Yugoslav workers outside the country.

Der Spiegel reported that 380 emigrant workers at Verolme Werft in Rotterdam struck not only against their capitalist employers but also against the Yugoslav firm Industromontaza, which hired them out to the Dutch concern. The workers accused Industromontaza of exploiting them like a slave master by collecting part of their wages.

The strike wave acquired momentum under the impetus of rapid inflation. Already this year, the cost of living

has risen by 7.3 percent. Rents have increased by 18.7 percent. Under these conditions, the regime seems afraid to impose a strike ban.

Der Spiegel listed the following examples of labor unrest in 1969:

- In January, the auto mechanics, drivers, and commercial artists struck.
- In February, the building, metal, and textile workers struck.
- In March, the clerks of the Subotica district court and the workers at the Jugostroj building trust struck.
- In April, steelworkers struck as well as the actors at the Zagreb Comedy.
- In May, the lumbermen, as well as a section of the workers at Rakovica motor factory, staged a protest, which was the first factory to initiate workers self-management.
- In June, besides the Croatian dockers, high-school teachers and students struck in several areas.
- In August, the steelworkers in the Celje works in Slovenia and the textile workers at the Hasan Brkic factory in Livno downed tools.
- In September, 450 locomotive machinists staged a warning strike against the importation of electrical locomotives which they feared would cost them their jobs.

Venezuela

Internal Discussion in the MIR

[The following is an account of a clandestine press conference given by Professor Sáez Mérida, one of the leaders of the outlawed MIR (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in Venezuela. It was published in the Caracas daily *El Nacional* September 4. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Professor Simón Sáez Mérida said yesterday in a press conference that the entire MIR is engaged in a process of questioning, which he considers "necessary and inevitable."

Sáez Mérida was accompanied by two of his colleagues in the party leader-

ship—Carmelo Laborit and Jorge Rodríguez.

"The MIR," Sáez Mérida said, "has suffered many understandable internal crises. Our pursuance of a revolutionary line within a very complex national context, the blows we have suffered from a powerful enemy, and our own errors explain these conflicts in part. Today we are undertaking a wide-ranging and profound internal discussion. We have no internal 'factions,' but we do not preach any ridiculous 'monolithic unity' either. There is a sharp ideologic struggle, a confrontation of differing opinions.

"What is new, however, is that this internal debate is being directed in accordance with a new, extraordinary

method, which breaks boldly from the traditional schemas and organizational routines. This method involves many risks, but we hope that it will lead us to reorganizing the party into a party of a new type."

He explained that everything was being questioned—the party's leadership, organizational structure, political line, and methods of work. All the members are participating in this discussion, he said. He pointed out as well that it was hoped that this questioning would go beyond the MIR, promote discussion throughout the revolutionary movement, help to unify it on new bases, and help in formulating a more flexible and correct understanding of developments.

He said that this questioning is being organized by a commission that includes himself and the other leaders Antonio Delgado Lozano, Carmelo Laborit, and Jorge Rodríguez. A reporter asked him if he had been taken back into the party's general secretariat. He replied that there was no general secretariat because everything was being questioned.

"What is the party's position on armed struggle?"

"All that is taken up in the political line that is under discussion."

"Do you have a personal opinion on this armed struggle question?"

"I have no personal opinion. My points of view, like those of others, are being discussed in the internal process I have spoken about.

"Is it true that the MIR is negotiating with the government to obtain legal status?"

"We are not engaging in any discussions to get legalization."

"Are you uninterested in obtaining legal status?"

"It is not that we are uninterested. We do not underestimate the importance of legality. The situation is that we are faced with legality in an institutional context in Venezuela that converts representative democracy into a deception. If this institutional machinery is not dismantled, if the institutions in Venezuela are not democratized, any legal status for a left party will always be, in one way or another, an unreal, fictitious legality."

Sáez Mérida made an additional comment to explain what he meant by institutional machinery. He pointed out what happens when a left party has legal status and decides to participate in elections. Then the machinery of the com-

munications media, the bodies which control these media, prevent this left party's message from reaching the masses. In short, it is accorded legal status but the communications media are closed to it.

"Rather than fighting for legality," he added immediately, "we prefer to struggle for the democratization of the institutional system, the dismantling of the machinery to which I have referred.

"For example," he continued, "people talk about defending law and order, the rights established by the constitutions. But the government is still resorting to the expedient of mysterious disappearances and torture."

Professor Sáez Mérida also referred to the debates going on over the Judicial Act. He said that this was a farcical polemic between the government and the opposition over the appointment of judges, a squabble over the bureaucratic distribution of judicial posts in which both parties want to impose a political patronage system in the judicial branch and at the same time present their quarrel as a democratic and legal debate.

"The Venezuelan people," Sáez Mérida said, "know that this is just one more masquerade, because beneath these pre-

tenses repressive and institutional realities exist and operate, which deprive this legality of all meaning. In the last ten years not only has an intensification and militarization of repression developed but a diabolical police and judicial machine as well as a precipitous militarization of the administration of justice."

In addition to his other statements, Professor Sáez Mérida protested against Venezuela's participating in the maneuvers known as "Operación Unitas X" on the grounds that it involved a mechanism of military colonization whose purpose was to bring Venezuela's forces under the subordination of the armed forces of the United States.

He noted that Venezuelan naval units have been participating in this operation for ten years.

He expressed solidarity with the strikers at Siderúrgica y Lummus and protested against the government's arguments that this strike is illegal. He added that although the laws guarantee the right to strike, every time a strike occurs it is declared illegal.

He called the workers' attention to what he termed organizational structures whose only purpose is to frustrate the workers struggles and resolve conflicts behind the backs of the masses.

Sweden Still Favors North Vietnam

After twenty-three years in office, Sweden's Social Democratic Premier Tage Erlander retired September 28 at the age of sixty-eight. He was succeeded by the minister of education, forty-two-year-old Olof Palme, a long-

time protégé of Erlander.

Washington maintained chilly silence over the change, for, if anything, Palme is considered to take an even more favorable attitude toward North Vietnam than Erlander, who had already won the State Department's disapproval because his government recognized Hanoi and let the National Liberation Front open an office in Stockholm.

Erlander also permitted the Russell War Crimes Tribunal to hold hearings in Sweden after it was barred from other European countries, under pressure from the U. S.

In 1968 Olof Palme scandalized the White House by joining the North Vietnamese ambassador to Moscow in an antiwar protest march in Stockholm.

The party congress that elected Palme as the new premier also heard Swedish Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson promise \$40 million worth of economic aid to North Vietnam.



TAGE ERLANDER

The 'Free' World's Drug Capital

New York City, the richest city in the richest country in the world, also has the distinction of being the "biggest single point in world narcotics traffic, both in terms of consumption and distribution."

This is the conclusion of a two-month study of the narcotics problem by the *New York Times*.

The *Times* presented its findings in a series of four front-page articles in its September 23-26 editions. The series was written by Richard Severo. There are, he said, an estimated 100,000 heroin addicts in the city. On the average each of them must spend \$30 a day to supply their habit—far more than most New Yorkers can make on a job.

"Dr. Michael Baden, associate medical examiner," Severo said, "estimates that the city's heroin users are spending at least \$850-million a year with pushers on the street, and may be stealing as much as \$2.6-billion a year in property."

The addicts are victims of capitalist society. They are primarily black and Puerto Rican, without education, without jobs. In turn they prey on the poorest sections of society—the black and Puerto Rican communities of New York.

There is virtually no attempt on the part of city or state officials to rehabilitate the addicts. Nor has a single "responsible" official proposed the simple measure adopted in Britain of registering addicts who would not accept rehabilitation and supplying them with the drug as a way of eliminating the multimillion dollar illegal narcotics trade and separating the unfortunate dependence on narcotics from its present association with crime.

The police are paid off by the dope pushers and make no serious effort to cut off the supply at its source. The *Times* reported:

"In slum neighborhoods, suspicion of the relationship between the police and drug pushers is widespread. Sources within the Police Department said that some of their colleagues were taking bribes and that the department was not doing enough to clean itself up.

"The breakdown in law and order does not start on the street," said one detective, who asked that his name not be used. "It starts at a very high level in the Police Department where top brass protect the department, whether it's right or wrong."

The cops, who operate in the non-white ghettos as an occupying army, make little effort to protect these communities from the depredations of the "junkies." In large sections of New York—Harlem, much of the Lower East Side, Hunts Point in the Bronx—simple survival dictates a level of brutality on the part of average citizens that has little in common with the official portraits of the "affluent" society.

"At least one large, organized group of Puerto Ricans and Negroes," Severo reports, "have beaten up pushers and addicts on the Lower East Side. . . .

"Tenement-dwellers on the Lower East Side have armed themselves not only with clubs and knives, but also with rifles and handguns, to protect themselves and their buildings. . . .

"Over and over the visitor finds evidence that some neighborhoods have become armed camps, filled with people who believe that the only way to survive in New York in the year 1969 is with guns, knives and chemicals."

The worst area is said to be Hunts Point in the Bronx. In this area, Severo says, "Many city services, such as police protection, garbage collection, water supply—and citizen obligations, such as payment of taxes, decent maintenance of property, some semblance of civil order—do not occur with any degree of predictability. . . .

"On three of the worst streets, residents have less than a 1 in 20 chance of dying a natural death. . . .

"Heroin addicts are everywhere in Hunts Point—on street corners, in abandoned buildings, in occupied buildings, on rooftops, in hallways, in basements—buying and selling dope freely and openly at all hours of the day. . . .

"And behind closed doors, wedged tight with iron bars bolted to the floor, sit the nonaddict residents of Hunts Point, most of them Puerto Rican, many

of them with little knowledge of English or what it takes to survive in New York, wondering when they will be mugged, or when their flats will be burglarized, or when their children will come home with a bag of heroin purchased in the schoolyard."

Heroin addicts of fourteen are not uncommon and it is reported that children as young as eight have been taking the drug.

Heroin is big business. One kilogram [2.2 pounds] costs about \$4,000 in Marseille. On its arrival in New York it is sold to wholesalers for about \$24,000. When diluted and sold in individual doses, this original kilogram can bring in as much as \$400,000. A lot of palms can be greased with that kind of money. And as one attorney for a police benevolent association told the *Times*, "Policemen who take bribes know they can't be prosecuted. . . . Once you're labeled an addict or a prostitute, even if you tell the truth, nobody will believe you."

Meanwhile, the victims of this operation—addicts and slum dwellers—are left to fester. A Roman Catholic priest, interviewed by the *Times* reporter, summed up the role of police. They "regard Hunts Point as a garbage can," he said, "and they think their only job is to keep the top on it and not let the garbage out."

Research Center Indexers

The Radical Research Center, at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, has announced the publication of the first issue of the *Alternative Press Index* for late October. This index, similar to the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, will cover the July, August, and September issues of the major radical and "underground" publications in the United States.

The center has asked for volunteers to help in the compilation of this index. The work can be done at home and mailed to the center. *Intercontinental Press* is among the publications that have not yet been indexed. Anyone interested in this work should write to the Radical Research Center, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota 55057.

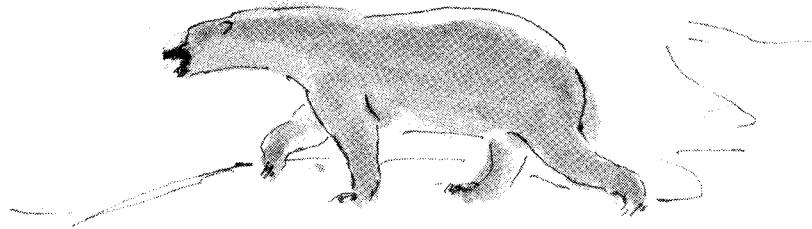
The index, which will be published quarterly, will be available to individuals and "organizations working for social change" for \$6 a year. The cost to libraries and similar institutions will be \$15 a year.

"Silk Route" Now Paved Highway

China has paved the "silk route" and opened it for trade with Pakistan. Goods are now hauled by trucks instead of camels and yaks as in Marco Polo's time.

The Alaska Oil Rush

By Dick Roberts



The biggest discovered oil reserves in North America and possibly the world; the highest bidding for leases in oil history—totaling over \$900,000,000; the most costly privately financed construction project in world history—estimated at another \$900,000,000; the achievement of a 500-year navigational dream—commercial crossing of the Northwest Passage; these are aspects of the rush to oil on Alaska's forbidding North Slope.

So, too, the September 10 auction in Anchorage's Municipal Auditorium which brought together nearly 1,000 representatives of the world's most powerful oil trusts—men who carried in their attaché cases bank notes for tens of millions of dollars. Emergency measures were enacted by the Federal Reserve Board to protect the U. S. money market during the auction.

Outside the Anchorage auditorium, "A modest protest was also mounted," according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

"Several cars were parked nearby, plastered with signs reading '\$2,000,000,000 Indian Claims Robbery.' The State of Alaska," the *Wall Street Journal* explained, "and the Federal Government are enmeshed in a complex of land claims by native Alaskans."

This referred to the Eskimos, who crossed the Bering Straits and settled in North America perhaps as long as 15,000 years before the white man; who are poverty-stricken today and constitute about 20 percent of Alaska's

population; whose tiny settlements at Point Barrow, Anaktuvuk Pass, Kaktovik, Wainright, and Point Hope dot the North Slope.

And there are the giant oil rigs that have already been constructed at Prudhoe Bay, the hundreds of miles of gravel road across the tundra linking them, their thousands of empty black oil barrels and other trash scattered across an area already estimated to be the size of the State of Massachusetts—perhaps destroying for all time the land of the caribou, the grizzly, the wolf, wolverine and Dall sheep; the countless millions of migratory waterfowl; and the enormous bowhead whales, seals, walrus, and polar bears who live offshore.

Oil!

On June 25, 1968, the Atlantic-Richfield Co. disclosed that its Sag River State No. 1 well had "encountered oil in the same triassic formation" as its Prudhoe Bay State No. 1 well which hit oil in February 1968.

That characteristically understated announcement, less than a year and a half ago, sparked the scramble for oil in northern Alaska which is certain to change the maps of the world oil empires—and the face of the Great Northwest of North America as well.

A month after this announcement, an oil consulting firm in Dallas estimated that the North Slope "could develop into a field with recoverable reserves of some five to 10 billion barrels of oil." That is the lowest estimate of the North Slope potential; more recent guesses place the figure between 20,000,000,000 and 40,000,000,000 barrels.

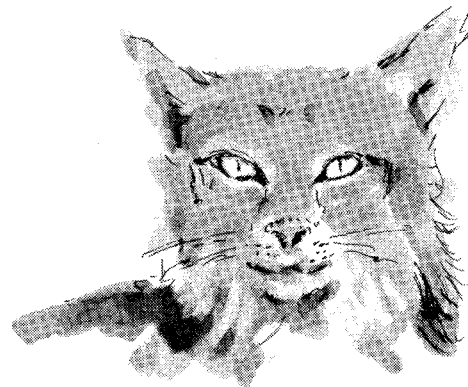
The magnitude of this discovery can be shown by a few statistics: the total known oil reserves in the United States, excluding Alaska, stood at 31,000,000,000 barrels in 1968. The total known oil reserves in the capitalist world in the same year was 372,000,000,000 barrels.

Consequently the North Slope field could be as large or larger than the

total oil reserves in the United States outside of Alaska, and it could be equal to about 10 percent of all "Free World" oil reserves.

Several related factors all the more magnify the importance of Prudhoe Bay: while the last decade has seen a sharp increase in U.S. and world demand for oil, the known oil reserves in the United States, excluding Alaska, have been shrinking. Outside of the United States, oil reserves have been expanding.

Between 1958 and 1968, estimated oil reserves in the United States shrank from 33,000,000,000 barrels to 30,-



DOOMED

000,000,000 barrels. But in the same period, estimated world reserves increased from 215,000,000,000 barrels to 372,000,000,000 barrels. This has intensified the fight for access to the highly protected U.S. market and, at the same time, the fight for control of world reserves.

Three main groupings are discernible in this competition which spans continents and oceans: the five multinational trusts headquartered in the United States with immense oil reserves outside of this country; the two multinational trusts headquartered in Europe; the dozen or more "domestic" U.S. oil trusts whose main sources are Texas and Louisiana.

In descending asset size, the first



DOOMED



DOOMED

group is composed of Standard Oil of New Jersey (Rockefeller), Gulf (Mellon), Texaco (independent), Socony Mobil (Rockefeller), and Standard of California (Rockefeller). The second group is composed of Royal Dutch/Shell and British Petroleum. These seven giants, together with the Compagnie Française des Pétroles, control 90 percent of world petroleum commerce.

The word "domestic" must be placed in quotations in describing the third group because competition has forced all of the big Texas and Louisiana oil firms to go abroad for reserves. For this reason, in fact, none of them are strictly domestic producers and their position in various oil disputes depends on the proportion of domestic to foreign production. The following list places these second-ranking U.S. oil corporations in descending order by size of their imports—from the largest importer to the smallest: Sinclair, Atlantic Richfield, Sun, Phillips, Cities Service, Continental, Union, Ashland, Getty, Hunt.

The last are larger than is generally realized. Getty's assets in 1968 stood at \$1,700,000,000 compared to assets of \$5,000,000,000 for British Petroleum, the smallest of the big seven. Nevertheless, their political connections seem disproportionately great. With such highly placed representatives in government as the late Speaker of the House of Representatives Sam Rayburn and former President Lyndon Johnson, the Texas-Louisiana oil interests have been able to build a formidable tax and import quota system to defend domestically produced oil.

Oil imports to the lucrative East Coast market are limited to 12 percent of domestic demand, although it costs \$3.80 a barrel to market Texas oil in

the East Coast region and only \$2 a barrel to ship oil to the same region from the Persian Gulf.

Intensification of world-oil competition has seen a new battering at the doors of U.S. oil-import quotas and a redoubling of the guard at the domestic barricades.

An interesting example, which has been heavily debated in the U.S. Congress but not widely publicized, is the demand of Occidental Petroleum, a California-headquartered producer with fields in Libya, for a tariff-free port in Maine. Occidental claims that it could cut the price of New England oil and gasoline in half with such a port. But it is doubtful that the Texas interests will allow the necessary legislation to reach a vote.

Prudhoe Bay consequently gains immense importance because it offers international trusts an *internal source* of oil, free from import barriers, right inside the multibillion dollar U.S. market.

British Petroleum has already purchased the Sinclair gasoline station network to sell the Alaskan oil it hopes to pipe and/or ship to the United States. BP has offered, in addition, to purchase the Standard Oil Company of Ohio—in possibly the most spectacular international merger of the last three years.

Humble Oil, the main U.S. subsid-



DOOMED

itary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, claims it can ship oil from Alaska, through the Northwest Passage, to the U.S. East Coast for \$1.40 a barrel, yet another 60 cents cheaper than the oil shipped from Venezuela and the Middle East.

And at the same time, Prudhoe Bay offers the Texas-Louisiana interests a new bastion against international penetration of the domestic market.

It is no wonder that oil men have scrambled to the Alaskan North Slope with millions in their pockets, little regard for the formidable natural barriers they must overcome, and no regard whatsoever for the wilderness they intend to decimate.

Man's Ingenuity

A reporter for the Anchorage *Daily News* has supplied us with a vivid series of articles describing the Alaskan oil region (reprinted in the September 4, 1969, *Congressional Record*, pp. S. 10160-10176):

"Winter hits the North Slope like a closed fist in October and soon the whole vast, limitless plain is white in the wan twilight . . . For months it is dark: the sun never edges above the horizon and day at most is a pink stain where earth meets sky. . .

"It is cold, 65 below sometimes [-54 degrees Centigrade], and when the wind blows hard the whiteout is so bad you can barely make out your own fingertips."

There is no port, highway or railroad, the nearest railroad and highway being in Fairbanks, 390 miles to the south. But Atlantic-Richfield and Humble, the two firstcomers to the North Slope, have already constructed or are in the process of building thirty giant rigs. The six rigs that are operating require 40,000 gallons of Arctic-grade diesel fuel a day.

This has been supplied by air and sea transportation. Equipment is flown via C-130 Hercules (troop transport) planes — "Herkybirds" — to an airport ninety miles south of Prudhoe Bay; and then to the oil sites via S-64 Sikorsky helicopters — "flying cranes" — (another product of Vietnam war technology).

"Living quarters for personnel," *Business Week* magazine reported September 13, "are prefabricated into Hercules size modules, 40 feet by 10 feet by 9 feet. Oil rigs, too, are broken down

into packages, even though it takes 71 Herky flights to carry the equipment to drill just one hole."

Via the Bering Straits sea route, British Petroleum undertook the largest oceangoing tug and barge expedition in history. A total of thirty-eight barges towed by eighteen tugs hauled 88,000 tons of cargo. At one point en route, the ice opened for just one 24-hour period in the first week of August, and once in the last week of August.

But these accomplishments pale before the two projects that have been planned to remove the oil from Prudhoe Bay: the world's most expensive pipeline running 800 miles across Alaska to the open-water port of Valdez on the Gulf of Alaska; and a fleet of ice-breaking tankers moving year-round through the Northwest Passage.

The pipeline is largely a British Petroleum project. To be constructed of 48-inch Japanese-made pipe, it must cross hundreds of miles of shifting permafrost—the permanently frozen Alaskan subsoil which has not yet been mounted with a stable highway. In order to supply the energy for pumping along the way, BP plans to build miniature refineries which will refine the crude oil in the pipe.

Figures released in connection with the BP-Standard Oil of Ohio merger indicate the prize this oil trust has in mind: BP plans on taking at least 2,500,000 barrels a day out of the slope by the late 1970s. This compares with a total U.S. oil production of 9,100,000 barrels a day, at present!

The Rockefeller group is gambling on the Northwest Passage. It was Humble's 115,000-ton tanker Manhattan, the largest U.S.-flag merchant ship, that broke through the ice of the Northwest Passage in September. Humble has already placed orders for six 250,000-ton tankers, at \$50,000,000 each. It speaks of operating 20 to 30 such supertankers by the late 1970s. Humble's more modest estimate places its tanker oil shipments at 1,500,000 barrels a day by 1980.

"Going . . . Going . . . Gone!"

The State of Alaska sold 450,000 acres of an estimated 12,000,000 acres of the oil-rich North Slope on September 10. The results of this auction are worth examining since they give some indication of the balance of power in world oil competition; they



DOOMED

may also foreshadow a new stage of centralization of the world oil combines.

That the bids on over 100 oil lots were far from speculative is indicated by one example: The highest bid for a single lot, next door to one of the original Atlantic-Richfield wells, was placed by the Amerada-Hess group, at \$72,277,000. The next lower losing bid on the same lot was \$72,113,000, placed by the Mobil-Phillips group—less than 1 percent lower!

The Texas-Louisiana interests placed the highest bids in three groupings: Amarada-Hess, Getty Oil, Louisiana Land and Exploration, and Hunt combined to pick up eighteen of the most hotly contested lots at nearly \$270,000,000; Union Oil and Pan American Petroleum combined to purchase fourteen lots; and a team headed by Hamilton Bros. Exploration picked up another eight lots.

The Rockefeller interests came in second with various combinations of

Standard Oil of California, Mobil, and Phillips Petroleum to purchase twenty lots.

British Petroleum combined with Gulf to purchase six lots totaling \$97,000,000. It is a large sum of money, but only places third. *The Economist*, Britain's financial magazine, felt called upon to explain: "Put bluntly, BP is rather happy with what it already has in Alaska. . ."

Significantly low on the list of winning bids were both Texaco and Shell. They combined to purchase a few lots at less than \$1,000,000.

And Alaska's Wilderness?

Whichever combination of oil trusts proves to be the main gainer in the Prudhoe Bay oil scramble, it is certain that there will be one great loser: the Alaskan wilderness. Anchorage *Daily News* reporter Tom Brown puts forth an argument that most inhabitants of the North American megalopolis would find hard to refute.

"Consider," he argues, "that to the detriment of his air alone American man each day:

"Pours into the atmosphere 180,000 tons of carbon monoxide, 33,000 tons of hydrocarbons and 17,500 tons of nitrogen oxide from the exhausts of 90,000,000 motor vehicles.

"Belches from the chimneys of his factories, homes and coal and oil-fired power plants 100,000 tons of sulfur dioxide.

"Burns 800,000,000 pounds of trash, garbage, leaves and so forth in incinerators pouring more tons of pollutants into the atmosphere. . .

"The land and water area of the 50 states, including Alaska, totals 2,300,000,000 acres. Of this about 10 percent remains in its natural state. Most of that 10 percent is right here in



Alaska—in places like the North Slope."

But these are only superficial statistics that do not reveal the real dangers to Alaskan nature and wildlife from the onslaught of the oil business. There are factors that only an ecological expert can explain.

Man has not yet discovered how to build a stable structure on the permafrost. An initial attempt to get to the North Slope consisted in a gravel highway stretching north from Fairbanks. Now known as "Walter J. Hickel Highway" after the Alaska governor who has become Nixon's Secretary of the Interior, the highway today is a canal—half the length of Alaska.

The gravel, which is the only material generally available on the Slope for constructing roads, airports and the like, is also the gravel that the

salmon lay their eggs in; removal of it could also cause disastrous silting.

Trash poses a particular problem for the Arctic region because it will not decay and there are no valleys to hide it in. The trash of a naval base in the Aleutian Islands from World War II still remains: "thousands of Quonset huts; the carcasses of wrecked airplanes; countless tons of trash that was bulldozed off a cliff and now litter its face and the sea below."

But of all dangers to the natural environment the greatest is that of water pollution that could result from an oil spill, another Torrey Canyon or a Santa Barbara. "I shudder to think what would happen if you lost a 250,000-ton tanker," Jim Brooks of the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service told Brown.

"It would gum up the coast of Alaska and Canada so bad that sea birds,

marine mammals and vertebrates in the beach zone would be disastrously affected. . . The oil would be confined by the ice and couldn't spread. . .

"An oily polar bear is going to be a cold polar bear. The oil will destroy the insulation of his pelt and he probably won't survive."

As to the projected oil pipeline, "it took only 300,000 gallons of oil, or about 7,140 barrels, to turn Santa Barbara into a disaster area earlier this year. When the pipeline is operating at its designated capacity of about 2,000,000 barrels a day, that much oil could escape from it in five minutes."

The Anchorage reporter opened his series of articles with the comment, "Alaska is facing its first environmental crisis. Two of its most valuable resources—oil and wilderness—are in conflict."

Europe

Millions of Workers in Strike Battles

[The following article was first published in the September 20 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Nearly everywhere in Europe, the vacation period is over for the workers and, consequently, for the bourgeoisie as well. Class battles have resumed on a large scale. The "October confrontations" have come sooner than thought.

Italy

In Italy the 10,000 workers in the FIAT Mirafiori plant in Turin gave the kickoff, exploding all the plans of the bosses and the trade-union bureaucrats. The other plants followed, and the management responded with a lockout, whose only effect was to broaden the confrontation.

But this was only a starter. The contract negotiations in the metals industry were broken off after they had hardly begun. The union representatives came out of their first meeting with the bosses to announce a four-day general strike.

The demands were set at a high level, after consultations with the rank and file (according to the unions, 1,500 rank-and-file assemblies were held in which 260,000 workers participated).

The demands included: cutting the workweek to forty hours; a wage rise of 15,600 lire [US\$26] a month for skilled and white-collar workers; a major hike in the minimum wage (35 percent); and the right to hold meetings on company premises.

Observers estimate that if the workers' demands are granted, it will mean a 40 percent increase in labor costs for the company over a two-year period.

But the agitation is not confined to the metals industry. The building workers staged a one-day general strike (90 percent effective) and are expected to go out again. Other one-day strikes have been carried off by the brick-makers (September 19 and 27), the cement workers (September 23 and 24), the office workers in the gas works, business clerks, earth movers, postmen, and telegraph operators.

In short, one thing is certain. The

Italian fall will be a hot one, hotter than expected.

Germany

This is where the surprise came. The German unions had the reputation of keeping "their troops" in step (as *Libre Belgique** wrote). And the bosses had nothing but praise for the desire displayed by the bureaucrats to improve the social climate. But this climate has just been chilled by a wildcat strike in the Hoesch factories (25,000 workers) in Dortmund.

IG Metall [Industrie Gewerkschaft Metall—the Metal Workers Union] was caught completely off guard by this strike, although the union has been considered to be one of the most dynamic, and highly sensitive to rank-and-file movements.

The *Nouvelle Observateur's* correspondent wrote that the manager at Hoesch at first wanted to call the police to put an end to the disorder but that one of his colleagues succeeded in convincing him to get a shop steward in-

* A Brussels paper known for its reactionary views.—*IP*.

stead. But this was to no avail: "The union stewards themselves were out-distanced by the events."

September 2 was an important date for the German workers movement. First of all, it was the first time since 1928 that a wildcat strike has occurred in Germany. Secondly, the strike proved to be a detonator, showing that the spirit of the workers was not the one complacently described by the European bosses, and the sociologists and journalists in their service.

All that was needed for the Hoesch workers' anger to explode was for the company to announce a bigger pay-off in dividends after refusing to grant a wage increase. The workers at Hoesch needed only to go out on strike for others to follow them, not only in the other affiliates of the same concern, not only in the metals industry but in related industries. Nearly a million workers took part in this movement, despite its "illegal" character, and also despite its condemnation by the Social Democratic ministers.

France

In France also the confrontation took place earlier than expected. The unions of the railroad workers were compelled to go along with a movement launched by the ranks. The workers began this struggle on a program of demands that would cost SNCF [Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer Français—French State Railroad Company] dearly and endanger the "rationalization" demanded by the government.

The climate is such (the conductors in Avignon, on going out, first occupied the train stations for several hours) that at this writing the union leaders are not sure of getting the ranks to accept the agreements they concluded with the SNCF management.

And the railroad workers are not alone. It is likely that by the time this goes to press RATP [Régie Autonome des Transports Parisiens—Paris Transport Company] will also be on strike. Moreover, a series of work stoppages are expected in the PTT [Postes Télégraphes Téléphones—the government-run Postal, Telegraph and Telephone system] from September 29 to October 4. And the beginning of the high-school term has been disrupted by a monitors' strike.

* * *

Taken as a whole, these movements have exhibited a number of important features:

● The strikes today are being initiated essentially by the rank and file, and the union leaders are generally playing an inhibiting role. This was true in both Italy and Germany (where the union leaders condemned the first movements) and partially in France.

● The strikes are increasingly of a wildcat or "illegal" nature. This has been true for several years in England (according to a government report, more than 90 percent of the industrial conflicts are of this nature). This holds true for Italy and likewise Germany today.

The custom of giving advance notice has receded nearly everywhere. And the bosses as well as the governments do not dare take a hard line any more for fear that repression would end in a result opposite to the one anticipated, that is, it would extend the movement (the lockout at FIAT had this result).

● The workers are learning—in struggle—that fighting is much more profitable than negotiating. They are daring to challenge "collective agreements," and they find themselves better off for it.

The German metal workers went on strike right after the unions signed a new contract (the day after the contract went into effect). The agreement provided for an 8 percent wage increase—in stages. By striking for a few days, they won a 15 percent rise and reconsideration of the contract.

● The scope of the movement is forcing the unions to toughen their stand. This is true in Germany where IG Metall had to demand a 14 percent wage increase in advance of contract negotiations coming up in the steelworks in November. It is true also in England where the Trades Union Congress rejected all government interference in contract negotiations.

But this development has been most marked in Italy. There, the workers are forcing the union leaders to negotiate under the pressure of strikes, and not to agree that contracts signed for entire branches of industry become binding on the shop stewards on the firing line in the plants. They are compelling their leaders to arrange constant consultation with the ranks.

Thus, the unions have had to agree to give official status to "united plant committees" (these committees already existed de facto in many plants where they had been organized by "leftists," at Pirelli in Milan, for example).

● It must be noted also that there is general agreement everywhere on viewing the agitation as the work of the "leftists." It is clear that at FIAT especially (where no union covers more than 5 percent of the total work force), the workers newly arrived from the south feel closer to the "movimento studentesco" [student movement] than the union bureaucrats.

In Germany the press has denounced the activity of the "extraparliamentary opposition."

In France, Séguy has again attacked "leftism." All of this, obviously, is not by chance.

Salutes Nixon



MEANY: Not with hawks—with vultures.

At a time when congressional leaders and even businessmen are critical of Nixon's war in Vietnam, the president found an ally October 2 in America's top labor bureaucrat, George Meany.

Speaking at a national convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in Atlantic City, Meany gave full support to Nixon's war policy.

"He [Nixon] is seeking peace by negotiation," the AFL-CIO president said, "and those in high places in our government structure who advocate unilateral withdrawal are not in any way advancing the idea of a negotiated settlement."

Meany's sentiments were echoed by Nixon's secretary of labor, George P. Shultz, who also addressed the convention.

The Mobilization of the Peasants

By Hugo Blanco

Throughout our history, peasant mobilizations in Peru have had one fundamental objective—*land*. That is still the case. This is why the revolutionary slogan "Land or Death!" sank into the marrow of the vanguard peasants.

The most recent mobilizations do not contradict this rule. In Cospán and Huancaya, the objective is clear—they are fighting to recover the land. In the case of Huanta, we know that underlying the student and democratic issues was the big problem—*land*. For years the peasants have seen their lands usurped by the boss ranchers of the area. Since the authorities were totally on the side of these ranchers, the demands of the peasants resulted in onslaughts of "legal" repression. The Ayacucho events, related to the student problem, were the straw that broke the camel's back. The peasantry exploded.

The previous agrarian reform law, associated with "popular cooperation," succeeded in braking the thrust of the peasants and in sowing illusions among them. But they were soon disillusioned and a new awakening began.

Now this reformist junta has decreed a new law, a law more advanced than the preceding one but which in essence is still a law involving buying and selling land.

It is possible that an attempt will actually be made to enforce this law because it is aimed not just at taking the steam out of the peasant movement. Reflecting the interests of the development-oriented bourgeois sectors, both national and foreign, this law seeks to create an internal market of small landowners, who would be consumers of industrial products, and likewise raise funds for capitalist industrial development. I repeat, because of the bourgeois interests involved, the government may try to implement this law.

But the junta's wishes are not enough to assure enforcement of the law. The boss ranchers have always blocked enforcement of any law curbing their absolute domination by buying off the officials. The bureaucracy, or the au-

thorities and officials, are just as corrupt as they ever were. Bribes are on the order of the day.

The big industrial farming estates on the coast are one thing. They are a strong bulwark of the old oligarchy. And from these strongholds, as from a feudal castle, the oligarchy will fight to the death against any attempts to bring about capitalist development. Here the junta had a political interest in smashing this group as a reactionary sector and incorporating it into the development-oriented bourgeoisie (and in the process eliminating the influence among the workers in the area of the APRA [Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana—American People's Revolutionary Alliance—an old revolutionary nationalist party turned reactionary]).

The isolated ranchers in the mountains, however, are a different matter. They are boss in their localities; but on the national scale their weight is less than that of the sugar and cotton producers.

These ranchers will hardly oppose the law forcibly, still less resort to armed resistance. They will do what they have always done—bribe the authorities and functionaries to delay and divert the application of even this bourgeois law.

And the bureaucracy is the bureaucracy. That is, besides fulfilling its function of serving the exploiters—in this case, the development-oriented bourgeois sectors—it watches out for its own interests most of all. Thus, it will hardly turn down the bribes.

Moreover, the peasantry itself will oppose implementation of the law in many cases. It will almost always oppose the way in which it is implemented.

The most likely result of all these contradictions is that the law will be applied in an uneven, distorted, protracted, and quite bureaucratic way in the interior of the country.

Throughout this process there will be friction and bloody clashes. But make no mistake about it. The conflicts be-

tween the junta and the ranchers will not go beyond friction. Bloody clashes will not occur between them. A rancher would have to be pretty crazy not to give way in the end.

The struggles will be the same as they have always been. On the one side, the peasants will fight for their rights, for the land, against the abuses of the ranchers, and against the bias of the authorities. On the other, the repressive forces will fight for the exploiters, either the local ranchers or the exploiters as a whole, who are represented by the junta.

Up to this point, I have discussed the "spontaneous" tendencies. But there is another factor. There is the political vanguard, the revolutionists who go where the masses are, enter their "spontaneous" organizations, feel the pulse of their immediate and "spontaneous" aspirations, and participate in their "spontaneous" struggles.

From there, from the very center of the real, existing peasant movement and—with the heart of Túpac Amaru* in our breasts and the blood of our martyrs flowing in our veins—we must orient the struggle, organize it, and direct it toward an agrarian revolution that will be part of a socialist revolution led by the proletariat.

FIR's [Frente de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Left Front] fundamental slogans for the countryside remain the same—*Organize, Broaden, and Consolidate the Peasant Movement*.

As for the law itself, our principled position is firm. This law which treats the land as a commodity to be bought and sold and which is turned over to the bureaucrats for enforcement is not what the FIR proposes. The Trotskyists have advocated and continue to advocate "*Land Yes, Payment No!*"

Committees elected by the peasants must carry out the agrarian reform.

* The descendant of the Incas who led a rebellion against the Spanish rulers in the late eighteenth century. — *IP*.

That is what we advocated and practiced in La Convención.

Nonetheless, we have always respected and deferred to the will of the workers. If there are sectors of the peasantry that want to apply this bourgeois law, we will fight shoulder to shoulder with them for its enforcement, watching out to see that all the positive provisions are implemented, combating the negative aspects, and always stressing that only by mobilizing can the peasants guarantee enforcement of even this limited bourgeois law. We will always stress organizing, extending, and consolidating the peasant movement. We will always stress direct participation by the peasants in enforcing the law.

In La Convención our active and militant position is clear—"Not a penny to the enemy! The land is ours; we won it by our struggle, by the blood of our martyrs, by the torture and prison terms our leaders have suffered!"

The land is already in our hands. The peasants have already carried out their land reform. What must be done is to defend it and extend it, not independently but in conjunction with the struggle of all the peasants and of the people in general.

There is another important aspect. Great expanses of land throughout Peru have been illegally seized from the peasant communities, even by bourgeois standards. The boss ranchers are trying to use the Agrarian Reform Law to avoid restoring these lands to their rightful owners. They are trying to get these lands "expropriated" so that they can collect "compensation" for them. In these cases, we must fight for pure and simple *return* of these lands.

Regarding the form of organizing the masses, we must be very flexible. We have always preferred peasant unions as the form of mass organization of the peasants. This form, up to now, has proved the most suited to the struggle. However, we must not make a fetish of peasant unions. If the peasants continue to respect their village communal organization and use it for their struggle, there is no reason why we should insist on their organizing themselves into a union. The struggle of village commune members in the central part of the country indicates such a case. In Ongoy, on the other hand, the combative force was a peasant association in opposition to the ossified communal organization.

Finally on the question of the "cooperatives" proposed by the law: if the peasants are organized democratically in unions, village communes, etc., we will fight to get these cooperatives into the hands of their organizations. Even if such organizations do not exist, we will fight to create them because their objectives are far-reaching, and running cooperatives is only one of them. But if the peasants have already gone on a mass scale into the cooperatives proposed by the government and have recognized them as their own organizations, we will fight within them to make them profoundly democratic and to extend their field of activity.

In short, the details and specific operating procedure can only be worked out through direct contact with reality. Any pretense of drawing up a detailed plan of work a priori is empty talk. The revolutionists who go into the countryside and join the peasant movement will, in the last analysis, be the ones to determine what is to be done. The form of struggle is dictated by the reality, and the reality of the countryside is in the countryside. This redundant remark is necessary because many imagine that this reality is behind a desk.

The latest agrarian reform law is easing the tension in the countryside, deferring for the time being the possibility for armed struggle. However, the contradictions have not disappeared and new ones are emerging. The development of these conflicts into armed struggle depends on the revolutionists getting into the center of the peasant movement.

The more rapidly the revolutionists incorporate themselves into the *present* movement, on the basis of its *present* organizations, its *present* level of consciousness, its *present* needs, and its *concrete, immediate* and acutely felt demands, the more they identify with them and share them, the more quickly they can raise this struggle *consciously* from this low level to armed struggle.

Even more so in armed struggle than in other aspects of the fight—since it represents a *higher stage*—only contact with reality can provide specific indications as to how this armed struggle is to be developed, what its organizational forms should be, etc. In the meantime, peasant defense brigades developing out of the peasant struggle itself, as we have outlined it, remain the perspective. More concrete details, a priori

"plans" purporting to map out the road to victory, can be expected from the armchair revolutionists.

We Trotskyists must listen to the revolutionists who speak to us from the countryside, from within the peasant movement. It is their advice we will most respect. And this is all the more so because there is a plethora of armed-struggle quacks around, who are not even familiar with the countryside.

We know that the peasants will fight arms in hand for the revolution. But in Peru today the proletariat, the vanguard par excellence of the socialist revolution, is acquiring greater importance every day.

We have seen such important manifestations of the class struggle in the cities that we cannot even say flatly that the revolution in Peru will come from the countryside.

Each day the workers inspire more respect; and it may be that they will decide to assume from the beginning the vanguard role that history has assigned them.

Students to the countryside. My position is as follows on the debate in the universities over whether or not passage of the agrarian reform act is an occasion for the students going in a massive way to the countryside:

I repeat my appeal to the students to make a mass turn toward the countryside. We must keep up our criticism of the agrarian reform but not stay in the cities to discuss it. He is a better revolutionist who goes into the countryside and promotes this reform, sincerely believing in it, than the one who stays on the campus and combats it from a "doctrinaire" revolutionary position.

The revolutionary position on the agrarian reform must be defended in *action*.

The position of the FIR is clear in this regard. Students to the Countryside, Directed by Their Own Organizations!

On the party. It is in the course of all this work, precisely in its course, that the party organization must be built in the countryside with the best elements that come to the fore in the class struggle. This was what was left out in La Convención; it was the basic deficiency from which everything else followed.

The "syndicalism" over which we criticized ourselves in regard to Chaupimayo did not consist in failing

to raise the economic aspirations of the masses to a political level. This was done in a generally correct way. Our "syndicalism" consisted of not concretizing this political advance of the masses, and especially of the vanguard, in a political organization with Bolshevik discipline which would have best been able to consolidate this vanguard.

The unification of the revolutionary

left will likewise be achieved in and through this work, as well as through work in the cities, principally among the proletariat. This work likewise must start from the present struggles of the workers. Thus, through a program of transitional demands, we will arrive at socialist revolution.

Land or Death!

We Will Win!

El Frontón Prison, August 20.

off from the PSI and formation of the "United" Socialist party).

The gulf between the social tensions, simmering problems, and demands of the masses on the one hand, and the ability of the political and institutional system to respond to these pressures is widening continually.

What, then, is the significance of the formation of a new Rumor government? In my opinion, the answer is this: *the formation of this government is a stop-gap effort by the bourgeoisie to fill the power vacuum produced by the continual rise of revolutionary tensions in the country.*

The solution furtively eyed by a section of the bourgeoisie and part of the PSI—to incorporate the Communist party little by little into governmental circles, starting at the local and provincial levels—seems in fact premature and was blocked by vehement resistance in the ranks of the majority itself.

Another alternative would have been to swing to the right in search of an authoritarian solution. A military coup was prepared in 1964 (the SIFAR scandal) and there is again talk of such a possibility (the army high command has reacted violently to allusions to preparations of this sort, denying the allegations and terming them "slander"). Such a solution seems difficult to impose in a country where the working class is highly combative and where the CP and the unions are very powerful. But this eventuality cannot be entirely excluded.

There was, moreover, another authoritarian solution besides the military one—staging elections in a climate of carefully prepared panic, enabling energetic rightist figures to step forward as "saviors" of the country.

But this possibility likewise had to be rejected, since the conditions for such an operation are not yet ripe. First, the United Socialist party must consolidate its organization, and the right wing of the Christian Democracy must strengthen its positions within the ranks of its own party.

This was it, so far as possible temporary solutions went.

Both in the period following the fall of the first Rumor government and during the formation of the second, the Communist party was conspicuously quiet. *L'Unità*, the party daily, centered its attacks mainly on the anti-Communism of the right-wing United Socialist party. This orientation can naturally be

Italy

End of the 'Center-Left' Experiment

By Guy Desolre

[The following article was originally published in the September 13 issue of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The situation in Italy after the formation of Mariano Rumor's second government can be summed up as follows: Up until the beginning of July, Italy had a *government in crisis*; since the beginning of July, it has had a *crisis of government*. A government has been found for the country, but the governmental crisis has not abated. The new all-Christian Democrat cabinet formed by Rumor was in fact presented as a transitional regime.

Although all the ministers belong to the same party, this cabinet must govern in the spirit of the old center-left coalition (which included Socialists, Christian Democrats, and Republicans) until the situation is "clarified" in the fall. Only then will it be possible—at least so the Socialists of the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—the Italian Socialist party led by Pietro Nenni] and the majority of Christian Democrats hope—to begin working out a new center-left formula.

The leaders of the old PSI have pledged their support to a one-party cabinet. They decided that their parliamentary group would vote for the government. Elsewhere in this resolution they assigned "an essential role to the PSI and the Christian Democracy for



RUMOR: "It's only the beginning . . ."

a policy of democratic renewal." Thus, they confirmed that they intend to form a new center-left coalition as rapidly as possible. The first part of the resolution (a vote of confidence for the Rumor government) was fought, however, by the "left wing" of the PSI led by Lombardi.

All of this failed to resolve the crisis in the least. It only brought the crisis into a *new phase*.

Rumor talks about "continuing" the center-left policy, when it is precisely the continuation of this policy that is being challenged within the ranks of the old majority itself (right-wing split-

interpreted as indicating a favorable inclination toward the development of a broadly "democratic" government. At best, it can be interpreted as the expression of profound embarrassment.

In a notable article in the last issue of the factional organ of the CP left wing, *Il Manifesto*,* Lucio Magri, one of the leaders of this faction, wrote that the Italian workers movement stood at a crossroads. The question was whether the left wing should prepare for a test of strength on the order of the French May revolution, but in a coordinated way this time, or should regard a head-on confrontation as an adventure and do everything possible to avert it.

Magri wrote, for the opportunistic leaders of his own party, that "the very idea of a crisis more readily evokes the fear of fascism than the possibility of revolution."

It is a long time since the European workers movement faced such a dilemma. How it is resolved will depend primarily on the ability of the revolutionary left currents to organize themselves for the confrontations that are inevitable during the fall.

The "lightning strike" at the FIAT factory in Turin and the riots in Caserta gave an early kickoff to the hot autumn to be expected in Italy.

The explosion in Caserta came in the wake of the events in Battipaglia and Turin. Touched off by a minor incident, the relegation of a local soccer club to a lower division, the eruption in Caserta had an unusual aspect to it. Hundreds of "tifosi" [sports fans] demonstrated to shouts of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!" using molotov cocktails instead of their traditional noisemakers.

The lightning strike of 800 workers in shops 32 and 33 in the FIAT-Mirafiori plant was touched off last week by the management's laying off 2,500 workers whose jobs were eliminated by technological advances.

While the Turin conflict died down temporarily at the beginning of the week, the slowdown strike at the Pirelli factories in Milan is continuing and the workers in the Montedison factories, who have been on strike since July 22,

*Lucio Magri. "Crisis, Movement, Alternative," *Il Manifesto*, Nos. 2-3 (July-August 1969). A few months ago, Magri published a notable book — *Reflections on the May Events*.

have occupied the city hall in Orbetello, near Crosseto.

New contract negotiations in the metals industry, affecting more than 1,300,000 workers, opened this Monday [September 8]. The old contract expires December 31. Contrary to the usual practice, strikes will not be suspended for the period of negotiations. Moreover, to enable the rank and file to play a role in the negotiations, united plant committees will be formed.

This development demonstrates the big trade-union federations' recognition of the combativity of a workers movement which, struggling to break out of the shackles of bureaucratic domination, found its own formulas of independent organization in rank-and-file committees.

For several months the Italian political scene has been haunted by a daily accumulating potential for social ex-

plosions. Facing the hot fall looming up, the bourgeoisie is condemned to holding to a wait-and-see position. It found a temporary expedient in the all-Christian Democrat Rumor government.

However, more than ever the bourgeoisie's ability to mend its fences will depend on the revolutionary strategy of the opposing side.

It is illusory to think that a solution to the crisis can be found in progressively, "peacefully," shifting the "center-left" all the way over to the left. The center-left was introduced in 1962 in an attempt to rationalize the Italian capitalist system and find a new equilibrium.

The urgent social and political problems of today and the resulting crisis of the system indicate that the phase that opened in 1962 with the center-left experiment has irremediably come to a close.

Pesticide Bloom on the Grape

At a hearing conducted in Washington September 29 by the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, Cesar Chavez, the forty-two-year-old director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, said that own-

ers of vineyards in California were using pesticides in increasing quantities.

Thousands of workers, mostly Mexican-Americans, were becoming ill, he said, after breathing and touching the California's ultrareactionary rich farmers have refused to discuss the issue with union leaders.

"They see this as an extension of the collective bargaining process, which they are not prepared to accept."

The union submitted a laboratory report on a sample of grapes taken from a Washington chain grocery store which showed residues of aldrin 180 times above the "acceptable" level of human tolerance.

On September 30, Anthony A. Bianco Jr., of Fresno, California, told the Senate subcommittee he did not know how the poison could have gotten on the grapes bearing his label.

"The aldrin scare is no more than another effort to whip me into submission," he said.

In its difficult battle to act as bargaining agent for the field workers, the union has called for a nationwide boycott of California grapes.

Consumers have responded well in many cities. They will no doubt appreciate the tip-off on pesticide contamination.



CESAR CHAVEZ

A Political Dialogue

By Leon Trotsky

[The following imaginary debate was written by Trotsky in Coyoacán a little more than a year and a half before he was assassinated by an agent of Stalin. It reflects the arguments which members of the Fourth International encountered at the time from people influenced by Moscow. Although this was more than three decades ago, it has become timely again because of Peking's condemnation of Soviet ruling circles and appeals for a revolution in the Soviet Union. Superficially, it might seem that Mao has come over to Trotsky's position.

[It should be carefully noted, however, that Trotsky called for only a political revolution. He defended the economic and social structure established by the October Revolution. The Maoists, in contrast to this, contend that the Soviet Union has gone "capitalist" and even "fascist." Trotsky would have disagreed with such a position today as vehemently as he did in 1938. He would have asked the Maoists to name the date of the counterrevolutionary change, to explain the counterrevolutionary process, and to indicate its substance economically and socially. Peking has not yet attempted this, mainly, one must suppose, from lack of evidence; but also because the bureaucracy in China has many points of resemblance with the one in the Soviet Union.

[The article is printed with the permission of Merit Publishers from the book *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1938-39), to be published in November.

[A translation from the German version appeared in the British publication *Workers Fight* in September 1939. This translation has been compared with the Russian original and revised by George Saunders. It has not previously been published in the United States.]

* * *

(This conversation takes place in Paris. It could for that matter also take place in Brussels. "A" is one of those

"socialists" who can only stand on their feet when they have some power to lean on. "A" is a "friend of the Soviet Union" and is naturally a supporter of the Popular Front. The author finds it rather difficult to characterize "B," for "B" is his friend and cothinker.)

A. But you cannot deny that the fascists use your criticisms. All the reactionaries shout for joy when you unmask the USSR. Obviously, I do not believe all these slanders about your friendship with the fascists, your collaboration with the Nazis, etc. That's only for fools. Subjectively no doubt you maintain a revolutionary point of view. It is not, however, the subjective intentions that matter in politics, but the objective consequences. The right uses your criticisms against your will. In that sense, then, one can say that you are in an objective bloc with the reactionaries.

B. Thanks very much for your brilliant objectivity. But you have discovered, my friend, an America that was discovered long ago. Even the *Communist Manifesto* told us that feudal reaction tried to exploit for its own use the socialist criticisms directed against the liberal bourgeoisie. That is why the liberals and the "democrats" have always, and invariably, accused the socialists of an alliance with reaction. Honest, but—how shall we put it?—somehow limited, gentlemen have spoken of an "objective" alliance, of "actual" collaboration. Real crooks, on the other hand, have accused the revolutionaries of having made a direct agreement with the reactionaries, spreading rumors that the socialists work with foreign money, etc. Truly, my friend, you have not invented gunpowder.

A. One can answer your analogy with two decisive objections. First, that so far as bourgeois democracy is concerned . . .

B. You mean imperialist bourgeois democracy?

A. Yes, I mean bourgeois democracy, which—we cannot deny this—is at the moment in deadly danger. It is one thing to expose the imperfections of bourgeois democracy, when it is strong and healthy, but to undermine it from the left at the very moment when the fascists want to overthrow it from the right, that means . . .

B. You don't have to go on; I know this tune only too well.

A. I beg your pardon, I haven't finished yet. My second objection comes down to this: It is not merely a question of bourgeois democracy this time. After all there is the USSR, which you used to recognize as a workers state and which you apparently still recognize as such. Complete isolation threatens this state. You reveal only the defects of the USSR, and consequently this lowers the prestige of the first workers state in the eyes of the workers of the world, and thus objectively you are helping fascism.

B. Thanks again for your objectivity. In other words what you mean to say is that one must only criticize "democracy" when criticism constitutes no danger for it. According to you, socialists are to shut up precisely when decaying *imperialist* bourgeois democracy (not just "bourgeois democracy" in general!) has proven in practice its complete inability to cope with the tasks posed by history (and this inability is precisely the reason why "democracy" crumbles so easily under the blows of reaction). You are reducing socialism to the role of a "critical" ornament upon the architecture of bourgeois democracy. You will not acknowledge to socialism the role of *heir* to democracy. What it boils down to is that you are a very frightened conservative democrat, that's all. And your "socialist" phraseology is nothing but a cheap ornament upon your conservatism.

A. Well, what about the USSR, which undoubtedly *is* the heir of democracy and constitutes the embryo of the new society? Mind you, I do not deny that there are errors and deficiencies in the USSR. To err is human. Imperfections are inevitable. But it is not by accident that all of world reaction attacks the USSR . . .

B. Aren't you at all uneasy at re-

peating such banalities? Yes, in spite of the Kremlin's voluntary but useless crawling upon its belly, world reaction continues its struggle against the USSR. Why? Because the USSR has, up to the present, maintained the nationalization of the means of production and the monopoly of foreign trade. We revolutionaries attack the *bureaucracy* of the USSR precisely because its parasitic policy and suppression of the workers undermine the nationalization of the means of production and the monopoly of foreign trade, which are the basic components of socialist construction. Here you see the tiny, the very tiny difference between us and reaction. World imperialism calls upon the oligarchy of the Kremlin to carry its work to a conclusion and, having introduced military ranks (distinctions, decorations), privileges, domestic servants, prostitution, punishments for abortions, etc., to also introduce private property in the means of production. We, on the other hand, call on the workers of the USSR to overthrow the Kremlin oligarchy and to build a true Soviet democracy as the necessary prerequisite for building socialism.

A. But you cannot deny that the USSR, despite all its imperfections, constitutes progress?

B. Only the superficial tourist, whom the hosts of Moscow have favored with their hospitality, can regard the USSR as a single unit. There are in the USSR, besides extremely progressive tendencies, also malignantly reactionary ones. One must know how to differentiate between the two and to defend one against the other. The never-ending purges show, even to the blind, the power and tension of the new antagonisms. The most fundamental of these social contradictions is the one between the betrayed masses and the new aristocratic caste which is preparing the restoration of a class society. That is why I cannot be "for the USSR" in general. I am for the working masses who created the USSR and against the bureaucracy which has usurped the gains of the revolution.

A. But do you mean to say that you demand the immediate introduction of complete equality in the USSR? But even Marx . . .

B. For goodness' sake, don't use

these worn-out phrases of Stalin's hirelings. I assure you, I too have read that in the first stage of socialism there cannot yet be complete equality and that that is the task of communism. But that is not the question at all. The point is that during the last several years, as the bureaucracy has become more and more omnipotent, inequality has *grown* by enormous dimensions. It is not the static situation, but the dynamics, the general direction of development, that is of decisive importance. The inequality in the USSR, far from adjusting itself, sharpens and grows daily and hourly. The growth of this social inequality can only be stopped by revolutionary measures against the new aristocracy. That alone determines our position.

A. Yes, but the imperialist reactionaries use your criticisms as a whole. Therefore it follows, doesn't it, that they also use them against the gains of the revolution?

B. Of course they try to make use of them. In political struggle every class tries to make use of the contradictions in the ranks of its opponents. Two examples: Lenin, who, as you might have heard, was never for unity just for the sake of unity, tried to separate the Bolsheviks from the Mensheviks. As we have since found out from czarist archives, the police department with the help of its provocateurs, further deepened the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. After the February Revolution of 1917 the Mensheviks continually insisted that the aims and methods of Lenin coincided with those of the czarist police. What a cheap argument! The police hoped that the splitting of the Social Democrats would weaken them. Lenin, on the other hand, was convinced that the split with the Mensheviks would enable the Bolsheviks to develop a truly revolutionary policy and to capture the masses. Who was right?

Second example: Wilhelm II and his General Ludendorff tried during the war to use Lenin for their own purposes and put a train at his disposal for his return to Russia. The Russian Cadets and Kerensky called Lenin nothing else but an agent of German imperialism. And it can be said for them that they certainly used more convincing, or at least less stupid, arguments in their

favor than their imitators of today are employing. And what was the result? After the defeat of Germany, Ludendorff admitted — read his memoirs — that in his estimation of Lenin he had made the biggest mistake of his life. The German army, according to Ludendorff's admission, was destroyed, not by the armies of the Entente, but by the Bolsheviks through the October Revolution.

A. Well, what about the military security of the USSR? What about the danger of weakening its defenses?

B. You'd better keep quiet about that! Stalin, having broken with the earlier Spartan simplicity of the Red Army, had crowned the officer corps with five marshals. But he could not bribe the commanding staff that way. So he decided to destroy it. Four of the five marshals — precisely the ones who had some ability — were shot, and with them the flower of the military command. A hierarchy of personal spies of Stalin was created over the army. It has been shaken to its very core. The USSR has been weakened. This weakening of the army goes on. Parasitic tourists can sit back and enjoy the military displays on the Red Square. It remains the duty of a serious revolutionary to state quite frankly and openly: Stalin is preparing the defeat of the USSR.

A. And what are your conclusions then?

B. It is very simple. The petty pick-pockets of politics believe that a great historical problem can be solved by cheap claptrap, cunning, intrigue behind the scenes, deception of the masses. The ranks of the international labor bureaucracy are teeming with such pick-pockets. I believe, however, that social problems can only be solved by a working class which knows the truth. Socialist education means *to tell the masses the truth*. Truth most often has a bitter taste and the "friends of the Soviet Union" like sweets. But those who like sweets represent the element of reaction and not of progress. We shall continue to tell the masses the truth. We have got to prepare for the future, and revolutionary politics is far-sighted politics.

December 20, 1938

Moscow Still Haunted by Trotskyism

By George Saunders

"In recent times a series of books have appeared, devoted to the struggle of V. I. Lenin and the Communist party against Trotskyism."

That is how the current issue of *Kommunist*, theoretical magazine of the Communist party of the Soviet Union [CPSU], describes the increasing space given by Kremlin ideologists to attacks on the program and activities of the Fourth International.

P. Pospelov, in issue No. 12, pp. 46-59, calls special attention to this recent "series." Although his piece is billed under the heading "From the History of the CPSU" and is entitled "The Lessons of the Leninist Party's Struggle Against Trotskyism," its purpose is mainly to review that series and call attention to it.

Pospelov cites the following four major contributions to the anti-Trotskyist cacophony which have appeared in the last year alone. (In summarizing and commenting on them at length, Pospelov in effect adds his own contribution, the fifth in the series.)

First, *Trotskyism—The Enemy of Leninism*, a collection of documents compiled by B. S. Vlasov, Moscow, Politizdat, published in late 1968. (For a review of this collection, see *Intercontinental Press*, June 2, 1969, p. 548.)

Second, a book called *The Struggle of the Bolshevik Party Against Trotskyism (1903—February 1917)*, by V. A. Grinko, N. A. Mitkin, Ye. F. Sopin, and S. S. Shaumian, Moscow, "Mysl" publishing house, also late 1968.

This effort was sponsored by the Department of CPSU History at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee.

A third book, *The Struggle of the Bolshevik Party Against Trotskyism in the Post-October Period*, edited by Prof. V. L. Ignatyev, Moscow, "Mysl" publishing house, 1969, was also prepared under the direction of the above-mentioned department of the Central Committee's "Academy."

Fourth, an article entitled "On Contemporary Trotskyism and Its Sub-

versive Activities," by M. Basmanov, which appeared earlier this year in *Kommunist*.

This is the same Basmanov whose article "Trotskyism in the Service of Anti-Communism" appeared in a 1967 book by the same Central Committee "Academy." (For the text of that article, with notes criticizing it, see *World Outlook* [former name of *Intercontinental Press*], March 22, 1968, pp. 245-64.)

Basmanov's latest opus, which appeared in *Kommunist* No. 7, pp. 98-108, is of special interest because of the attention it pays to current developments in the international revolutionary movement. A translation of the article in full, with a rebuttal, is planned for a coming issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

To return to the article in *Kommunist* No. 12, Pospelov, unlike Basmanov, hardly touches on current developments, giving much of his space to a justification in detail of the Stalinist stand against the Left Opposition. He reviews the dispute of 1923-27, especially the issue of Soviet dependence on the world economy, at some length.

Pospelov's general thesis, however, is not new: "On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October socialist revolution, the plenum of the CPSU

Central Committee adopted theses on 'Fifty Years of the Great October socialist revolution.' In those theses it is emphatically stressed that Trotskyism was and remains a savage, malicious enemy of Leninism, passing over into anti-Sovietism."

Pospelov's and the other "works" in this series can be taken, on one level, as a warning to Soviet citizens that Trotskyist ideas will be treated as "anti-Soviet slander," that is, as grounds for imprisonment or other forms of repression. The concern to rehash the "correct" Stalinist view of the fight in the 1920s indicates, among other things, that Soviet dissidents must be looking back to the views of the Left Opposition with curiosity and sympathy.

The same issue of *Kommunist* (No. 12) carries a review article whose main aim is to refute the view that Lenin's "April Theses" in essence confirmed Trotsky's prognosis of permanent revolution. The article denies that Lenin had to reorient the Bolshevik party in order to break away from coalitionism and to struggle for assumption of power by the workers.

Apparently this question had not been set forth "correctly" in a recent book on the October revolution, *Oktiabrskoe vooruzhennoe vosstanie: semnadtsaty god v Petrograde* [The October Insurrection: 1917 in Petrograd], Leningrad, 1967, 2 vols.

Worse yet, *Novy Mir*, the anti-Stalinist liberal monthly, had praised the book despite the "outright mistaken positions on some principled questions of the history of October" contained in it.

Green Berets Bring in 'Not Guilty' Verdict

Seven grinning Green Beret officers arrived at Travis Air Force Base in California October 1 after Nixon intervened to quash indictments against them in the case of a murdered Vietnamese civilian. They told reporters they were not guilty.

Captain Robert F. Marasco, named earlier by the army as the triggerman in the killing, was with the other officers. He also said he was not guilty.

In a July 24 letter to his wife, however, published in the September 30 *Washington Post*, Marasco wrote:

"There were numerous reasons why we could not let him go, so the powers to be decided to do away with him. Being the people involved, it was up to us to come up with a plan and execute it."

One of the Beret officers, Captain Budge E. Williams, explained his attitude toward the affair (as quoted by the October 5 *New York Times*):

"I regard all enemies as dangerous. When you find one, you kill him. That's what they pay me for, not to worry about his social problems."

The Debate Over the Elbrick Kidnapping

[The following statement, received by us from Brazil, presents the position of the Partido Operario Comunista (Communist Workers party) on the kidnapping of U. S. Ambassador C. Burke Elbrick and the new repressive measures undertaken by the dictatorship. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The spokesmen of the dictatorship can say anything they want now. They can say that "the government is master of the situation," that it is going "to shoot the subversives," that the fifteen persons released are banished, and that their liberators are being tracked down. The bourgeois press can slander the revolutionists and proclaim the dictatorship's "humanitarian" motives.

But the truth is that the dictatorship's Independence Week celebration, which was planned to demonstrate the military power of the bourgeoisie, was dominated by a feature that was not on the program, and which the "gorillas" did not bargain for. In exchange for the American ambassador, fifteen revolutionists were snatched from prison cells and torture. Everyone in this country and abroad learned about the clandestine struggle being waged and the affronts to the military dictatorship has been obliged to swallow.

Now, after its fright, anxiety, and humiliation, the dictatorship is talking big again. It has already announced 2,000 jailings, special tribunals, and the institution of the death penalty. This is natural. In our unequal struggle, we revolutionists are just beginning to win momentary or partial victories. We cannot win the war at one blow. After the assaults of the revolution, the reaction is resuming the offensive and trying to give the impression that it dominates the situation as securely as before.

This is the way it is after a victorious strike. The bosses do everything possible to eliminate the leaders and take back their concessions. This is the way it is after an insurrection that does not go all the way to overthrow the regime.

This is the way it is after every individual action by the vanguard. But it is these actions, apparently checkmated by the reaction, which awaken, teach, and mobilize ever broader masses, who resume the struggle on ever ascending levels.

So the repression can mobilize all its police dogs now, its American detectives and gangs of torturers. Obviously the revolutionists will do their best to stay out of the clutches of the police. But the most important thing, what the repression cannot in any way hide, is the feeling that has been created of demoralization among its own forces and of confidence in the power of the revolution. This is our principal gain and we must exploit it to the fullest.

A "Moral" Problem?

The method the bourgeoisie is using to try to discredit the courageous action of the ALN [Ação Libertadora Nacional—National Liberation Action] and MR 8 [Movimento Revolucionario do 8 de Outubro—October 8 Revolutionary Movement*] is that of moral outrage. "Blackmail," the magazine *Veja* screamed indignantly, though it has no qualms about making its pages available every week as a sounding board for the demoralizing regime's most primitive propaganda campaigns. "Blackmail" is the tune struck up by the entire bourgeois press on this continent from Uruguay to Mexico and Peru.

All the bourgeois press condemns this method of applying pressure as immoral. The MDB [Movimento Democrático Brasileiro—Brazilian Democratic Movement] and CNTI have joined in this chorus despite the difficulties put in their way by the generals.

The jailing of the fifteen political prisoners, as well as several thousand others held in the dungeons of a regime that has no program but repression and exploitation, is not immoral.

* Named for the date of Che Guevara's murder.—*IP*.

The jailing of twenty metal workers in Rio de Janeiro, who put up an opposition list in their trade-union elections, is not immoral.

The imprisoning of hundreds of students for maintaining their own organizations is not immoral.

The jailing of two workers who organized last year's strikes in Minas Gerais and São Paulo is not immoral.

Torturing Sergeant Lucas to the point of death is not immoral, nor the murder of Marquito, nor the murder of Father Henrique.

Faithful to the hypocrisy of liberalism, these moralists only approve of methods that can be defeated by the dictatorship. It would be "moral" for the revolutionists to appeal cordially to the American ambassador to intercede in favor of releasing the political prisoners and putting an end to the repression. The natural outcome of such an episode—the jailing of the ingenuous petitioners—would also be "moral."

For these bourgeois moralists, a worker who goes to his boss politely to explain his aspirations is moral, and one who joins with his comrades to struggle for his demands is immoral.

In a nutshell, the methods by which the exploited can defend themselves from the blows of reaction and attack so that the oppressor power cannot repress them are "immoral."

But it will not be necessary to argue on this level. In much more concrete matters, the outraged liberals who oppose the "blackmail" involved in the kidnapping of the ambassador have not a word to say against the routine methods of the repression—torturing prisoners to the point of death to extort confessions.

The press always refers euphemistically to "rigorous" questioning, but it never says what the "rigor" consists of—that is, "the talking stick," tearing out fingernails, applying electric shocks to the genital organs, etc. This also is blackmail—the police get a lead on the whereabouts of a fighter in return for giving momentary physical relief.

But there is a great difference between

these two forms of extortion, and this difference reflects the distance between two world views. Between bourgeois morality—which in theory opposes all violence but in practice accepts the most sordid methods, and proletarian morality which advocates and follows methods conducive to ending exploitation—there is an abyss, the abyss between decadence and liberation.

It is the task of the whole revolutionary left to expose all the hypocritical buffoonery by which the reactionaries and the bourgeois opposition in unison are trying to discredit an action that demoralized them all.

Importance of the Action

We have already said that we do not agree with characterizing the present armed actions as the expression of a revolutionary war in this country. "Revolutionary war" is a precise term which has a precise meaning. "War" means the existence of two armies and "revolutionary" means a class confrontation expressing the fundamental contradiction in the society in question.

Thus, revolutionary war is not in progress in this country. The workers in the cities and countryside do not yet have an army of their own. The present armed actions of the vanguard are useful insofar as they prepare the way politically for arming the revolutionary social forces.

Obviously the kidnapping of the ambassador, important as it was, could not alter this picture. What, then, was the significance of this action? We can say that its importance was not limited to that of the fifteen fighters of the left who were set free. Certainly the release of these fifteen militants was very important.

Some of them—like Gregório Bezerra who was tortured in the streets of Recife in April 1964—have been imprisoned since the coup. Others have played an important role in the struggles that have taken place during the rule of the dictatorship—Dirceu, Wladimir [Palmeira], and Travassos of the student leadership; Ibrahim in the strike in Osasco; Zaratini, who was imprisoned and tortured along with the peasants in Pernambuco; Sergeant Onofre; and many others.

But as important as the fifteen prisoners released may be, it was not the simple sum of their individual courage

that gave the Elbrick kidnapping the significance it had.

Still more important than the release of these fifteen comrades was the manner of their release. That is, the main achievement of the operation was the great encouragement it gave the workers, and the great demoralization it sowed in the regime and its repressive apparatus.

Today the dictatorship has announced introduction of the death penalty and the most furious repression. This is a desperate attempt to recover its morale, to give a demonstra-

tion of force, and to offset the blow it has suffered by instilling fear in the masses.

It is a futile attempt. The revolutionists are not frightened by any of the reactionaries' threats. And we know now, more than ever, that the dictatorship cannot rely on any popular sympathy. We will know how to mobilize the workers to put an end to this system of terror and poverty once and for all. The death penalty they have enacted will be turned irremediably into a sentence of death against them themselves.

September 10, 1969

Dirt and Grime Front

Bigger and Better Vacuum Cleaners

Relief is in sight for the denizens of the world's dirtiest city, New York. The other capitals of our globe may well sit up and take notice, for what may be shaping up here is a prototype of the city of the future.

One of the big sources of dirt and grime in New York, according to the experts, is the dust from buildings being torn down.

Harold Romer, director of the field services for the Department of Air Resources, has announced that an experiment costing \$120,000 is projected to see if this source of air pollution can't be eliminated forever.

What is envisioned is two types of plastic enclosures. Smaller buildings will be enclosed completely in a bubble that will then be inflated with a blower. As the building comes down, under the hands of the wreckers, the dust-laden air will be allowed to escape through a filter. The filter will catch the dust.

For larger buildings, sheets of plastic, maybe ten feet square, will be attached to a scaffolding around the condemned building. This would put a sealed blanket around the building, according to Mr. Romer, "with the exception of the top, which would be left open for the intake of air."

Powerful blowers would suck air in through the top, while at the ground level a huge vacuum cleaner-like device would collect the clouds of dust in a monster bag.

Mr. Romer said that up to now building contractors have taken a "standoff-

ish position" on the plastic enclosure suggestion, claiming that it would be expensive.

With the \$120,000 made available by the federal government, Mr. Romer hopes to show that in practice the scheme will be worth its cost in terms of "improving the quality of the city's air."

The idea sounds so brilliant, in fact, that it is to be hoped it can be tried for the city as a whole. One big plastic bubble for the entire island and its suburbs.

And the same for all the surrounding cities, otherwise New York's giant rotors might draw in their dust.

Some problems are foreseeable, of course, such as disposing of the city dust bags, which can hardly be dumped in any old wastebasket or garbage can.

Likewise people of fixed habits, insistent on clinging to the "good old days," might find it difficult to adjust to such an innovation as living in a vacuum cleaner.

For instance, the constant roar of the motors and the rush of air toward the filters might be magnified by them into a source of complaint until they finally became used to it as part of the overhead cost that must necessarily be paid in return for the advantages of the modern way of life.

Despite these negative features, it's one of the best ideas yet proposed by those with capitalist know-how who have been pondering over the ever-worsening problem of dirt and grime.