

Look Who's Talking

Nixon Caught in Bind

France:

**A Bonapartist Regime
Without a Bonaparte**

Germany:

**New Helmsman
for Capitalism**

**Maoist Adventure
in Chicago**

Political Situation in India



"A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete corps of impudent snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals." — Spiro Agnew. See page 979.

Intellectuals Condemn Ban on Mandel

Orange County Jail

The new Orange County Jail in Santa Ana, California, near Los Angeles, deserves to be considered as one of the most fitting symbols yet produced of the "free world."

It does not have any visible bars. That's right. A jail with not a single bar to be seen.

In fact, the jail is beautifully designed from the architectural point of view. Molded in concrete, it consists of three separate buildings suggestive of shoe boxes and soap packages linked up and cantilevered in a light and airy way.

It could be taken for a modern school or for an annex to the United Nations.

The trick was to reduce the usual windows to slots only seven inches wide. Seven inches is the maximum separation permitted under California law for bars used in windows.

For esthetic reasons, some of the slots, which are thirty inches long, were made horizontal instead of vertical. The resulting pattern is a handsome variant of the swastika.

For safety reasons, the slots do not open on the cells but on the corridors manned by the guards.

Between the guards and the prisoners are walls of glass one-half inch thick. These walls, since they are not visible from outside the jail, have sufficient bars to more than make up for the lack of them on the external walls of the buildings.

Thus the prisoners are actually kept in heavily barred glass cages, which in turn are enclosed in the stunningly designed concrete screen.

The corridors are ingeniously constructed so that the guards can watch the prisoners from two levels. The inmates are kept in four cell levels in the two-story structures.

The prison has been designed for 1,800 inmates. They are segregated into separate buildings according to sex.

However bleak life may be inside, the "free world" can take pride in how perfectly this architectural wonder meets the elementary need of keeping up appearances.

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Intellectuals Demand End to Ban on Mandel

Dr. Salvador E. Luria of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology [MIT], who has just been awarded the Nobel Prize in biochemistry, heads the nine initiators of a petition being circulated in academic and literary communities throughout the United States protesting the State Department's denial of a visa to the Belgian Marxist economist, Ernest Mandel, a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*.

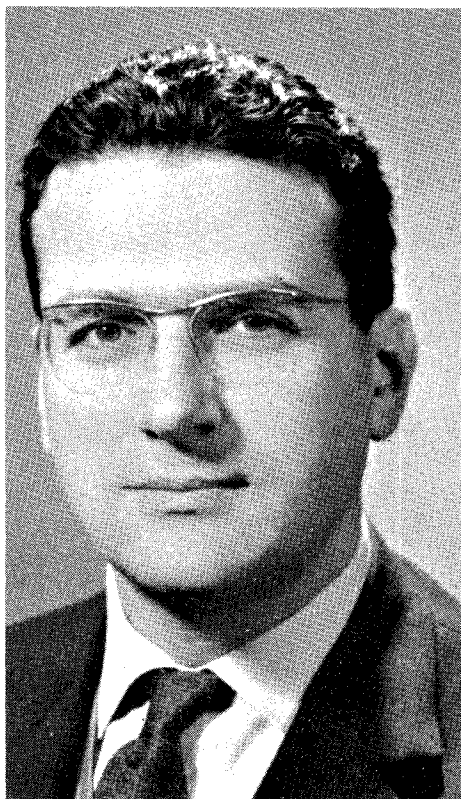
Mandel was scheduled to debate the former ambassador to India John Kenneth Galbraith at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California, October 18. He was forced to conduct the argument by tape and transatlantic telephone when the State Department refused to lift the ban on his four-day visit. [See "State Department Bars Ernest Mandel," *Intercontinental Press*, October 27, p. 939.]

The other sponsors of the petition urging the U. S. authorities to rescind the ban upon his entry are Richard Falk, Professor of International Law, Princeton University; Susan Sontag, author and critic; Prof. Gabriel Kolko, University of Buffalo; Prof. Noam Chomsky, MIT; Prof. Robert Paul Wolff, Columbia University; Richard Poirier, editor *Partisan Review*; Prof. Arno Mayer, Princeton University, and Prof. Robert Heilbroner of the New School for Social Research.

The petition is being circulated by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which is sponsoring, together with the Socialist Scholars Conference, a conference on "Agencies of Social Change: Toward a Revolutionary Strategy for Advanced Industrial Countries" at Town Hall, New York, November 29.

Mandel and two other European socialists, André Gorz, an editor of *les Temps Modernes*, and Lucien Goldmann of the Sorbonne, are on the program.

Mandel has also been invited to speak in early December at six leading Eastern universities; MIT, Princeton, Amherst, Vassar, Columbia, and the New School for Social Research. He has also been invited to participate in an



ERNEST MANDEL

MIT-sponsored conference in Boston on "Problems of Conversion from Military to Civilian Production in the Economy" with Professor Galbraith and Dr. Luria.

The State Department has received a spate of letters, calls, and telegrams from university presidents, faculty members, scientists and influential intellectuals, demanding that Mandel be permitted to fulfill these engagements.

They insist on the right of Americans to hear his views in person as well as to read his books and articles.

In a letter to the *New York Times*, eight of the petition signers condemned the "egregious violation of academic freedom" in Mandel's case and called upon the public to make Washington reverse its decision.

Under similar pressures, the State Department recently rescinded its bans upon other European radicals and

upon the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes.

Further protest actions are planned if the government does not promptly grant Mandel a visa.

Text of Petition

[The letter reproduced below, sponsored by the nine prominent intellectuals listed in the article above, is being circulated in academic and literary circles throughout the United States.]

* * *

Ernest Mandel, the noted European Marxist scholar, was barred from participating in a conference organized by the Graduate Students Association at Stanford University, California, October 17-18, where he was invited to debate Professor John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard on "Technology and the Third World." The United States State Department denied him permission for a four-day visit without any official explanation and persisted in its refusal despite protests from Stanford, Princeton, and Harvard faculty members.

This is the latest of several such exclusions over the past year. The most publicized was the case of the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes who, on February 22, was prevented from docking in Puerto Rico. Even after protests by writers organizations, newspapers, publishers and high former government officials, formal permission to enter was withheld from him. In a March 5 editorial on this action, the *New York Times* commented: "One sure way to tarnish the United States is for some bureaucrat to decide that a writer, painter or other artist is an 'undesirable alien' because of his works or beliefs . . . Congress ought to re-examine and eliminate those purposeless restrictions, which make the United States ridiculous rather than secure."

The ban upon Ernest Mandel is especially arbitrary since he made a two-

month tour of the United States last September-October, when he spoke at thirty universities from coast to coast. There is no doubt about his scholarly qualifications. He has an international reputation in the fields of economic history and theory. His major work, *Marxist Economic Theory*, has been published in many languages. Upon its recent appearance in the United States, Professor Robert Heilbroner of the New School for Social Research, wrote in the June 5, 1969, *New York Review of Books* that "the masterful re-presentation of Marxism by Ernest Mandel is as welcome as it will be indispensable."

Yet the State Department decrees that, so far as it is concerned, he is no longer welcome in this country. As scholars and American citizens, we cannot permit "some bureaucrat to decide" who we can or cannot hear any more than what we should read. We are able to read Mr. Mandel's books and articles. We likewise insist on our right to hear him discuss these questions in person.

Ernest Mandel has been invited to speak at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton, Columbia, Amherst, and the New School for Social Research in early December. He has also agreed to participate with other internationally esteemed scholars including Lucien Goldmann and André Gorz at a conference at Town Hall in New York November 29 under the joint auspices of the Socialist Scholars' Conference and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation on the subject of "Agencies of Social Change."

We ask you to join with us in signing this petition urging the United States State Department to rescind its ban and give Ernest Mandel a visa to come to this country for these engagements.

The issue at stake transcends the insulting treatment of a scholar of Mandel's attainments or discrimination against his political beliefs and associations. It concerns the right of free communication and cultural exchange essential both to democracy and fruitful scholarly activity.

We should act in this instance of injustice to call a halt to a policy that the *New York Times* has rightly assailed as "a vestige of the restrictive era of the nineteen-fifties."

France

A Bonapartist Regime Without a Bonaparte

By Pierre Frank

Paris

For several weeks the situation in France has been marked by considerable disarray in the leading circles in both the economic and political realms. The head of government has spoken of a "malaise"; an important figure like Edgar Faure,* of "disenchantment"; the ministers have been indulging in mutual backbiting; deep lines of cleavage have shown up in the Gaullist parliamentary group.

Neither the devaluation of the franc in August nor the strikes which have continued without letup since the end of the summer vacation are sufficient to explain this situation. We are seeing something which goes much deeper than anything previously experienced in contemporary French society.

In 1958 capitalism used the crisis provoked by the Algerian war to install a "strong regime," a Bonapartist regime centered around the person of de Gaulle. The objective was not solely to find a solution to the war in Algeria. In removing an impotent parliamentary regime, the capitalists sought to accelerate important transformations in the economy (industrial concentration, rapid urbanization, etc.).

Since this operation produced immediate and substantial results for big capital, these interests resigned themselves to paying the overhead costs represented by some of de Gaulle's caprices. But in May 1968, the French capitalists saw the other side of the coin. While de Gaulle succeeded in stopping the movement at the time, he lost the confidence of the bourgeoisie.

The capitalists feared that as a result of some of his whims or pig-headed attitudes — like his refusal to

devalue the franc — de Gaulle would end by blowing up everything. So the bourgeoisie seized the first opportunity to hang de Gaulle by his own rope, forcing him to withdraw from the government.

Following de Gaulle's ouster, the Gaullist Pompidou was elected president of the republic. At the same time, a new cabinet was installed under the leadership of another follower of de Gaulle, Chaban-Delmas. The new premier broadened out the government and the parliamentary majority to include other factions of the bourgeoisie.

All this was done with scrupulous respect for the constitution of 1958. De Gaulle's high-handed manner was dropped, to be replaced by more accommodating relationships in the political world.

Less than three months after eliminating de Gaulle with a finesse only veteran political wheelers and dealers are capable of, the gears of the political machine jammed; they no longer meshed with the political life of the country.

What happened? However complex the effects, the cause is very simple.

The 1958 constitution was tailor-made for de Gaulle. The explicit provisions of this Bonapartist constitution as well as the objective needs of French capitalism require that the president of the republic play a Bonapartist role and not that of a figurehead as in the two previous republics.

The history of France has known Bonapartes and Bonapartist constitutions, but no Bonaparte has ever directly succeeded a Bonaparte; every Bonapartist regime has ended in disaster (Waterloo and Sedan*).

Was it to be different in the case of the Fifth Republic? The French

* De Gaulle appointed Edgar Faure minister of education after the May-June upsurge to direct the pacification of the universities. —IP.

* Napoleon III and his army were captured by the Prussians at Sedan. —IP.

bourgeoisie was able to eliminate de Gaulle with exceptional adeptness. But all its adeptness has not been sufficient to replace de Gaulle with another "Bonaparte."

A Bonaparte cannot be manufactured. And no one can turn himself into a Bonaparte on the spur of the moment. Such a figure must have a personality corresponding to certain given historical and political conditions.

So it took just a few weeks for it to be realized that none of the post-de Gaulle figures — Pompidou, Chaban-Delmas, and Giscard d'Estaing . . . — had the makings of a Bonaparte and that the whole team together did not carry enough weight to equal such a personality.

De Gaulle suppressed his own supporters as well as the official opposition. His successors are proving to be mediocre politicians, men of no stature, who are not up to the offices they hold and the problems they have to solve.

This is the underlying origin of the disarray that has struck the French bourgeoisie, even if it itself does not clearly realize this.

There are some who are nostalgic for de Gaulle, who wonder every morning: "What would de Gaulle have done in this situation?" And we are witnessing the amusing spectacle of a public controversy among the Gaullists over whether or not they should ask themselves this question. However, a return of de Gaulle to power is very unlikely, unless this Bonaparte too wants his "hundred days."*

Although, as we will see further on, the present situation may persist for quite a long time, everyone in France is becoming increasingly aware that the question of power will be posed.

In a recent press conference, Pompidou himself, without anyone bringing up the question, evoked the May 1968 events to add that under no circumstances would he step down. He obviously could not say anything else. But this by no means predetermines what he would do if the going got a little rough.

* The "hundred days" in which Napoleon ruled after escaping from Elba and before being defeated at Waterloo. — *IP*.

The fact that the government in power today has no authority is not the only aspect of the situation creating disarray among the bourgeoisie, and it may not be the most serious aspect for them.

Big capital put de Gaulle in power to topple the archaic structures that



POMPIDOU. Didn't have the makings.

impeded its expansion. Among these structures were those linked to the parliamentary system, primarily the political parties, even though France did not have a tradition of well-organized bourgeois parties like Great Britain.

But in this area as in others, de Gaulle destroyed what existed without putting anything in its place. As can now be seen with glaring clarity, the Gaullist party, the UDR [Union pour la Défense de la République — Union for the Defense of the Republic] does not have the slightest ideological cohesion; it was only an agglomeration of rapacious individuals, who began to close ranks immediately after de Gaulle's departure in an attempt to postpone the inevitable melee that will be fatal for them.

For all practical purposes not much is left of the old traditional parties of the bourgeoisie. The Indépendants

(the classical right) are breaking up; the bourgeois moderates are fragmented and will have great difficulty in forming a parliamentary bloc, even leaving the individual deputies the right to vote as they please; the Radicals who left the defunct FGDS [Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste — Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left — a coalition of right-wing Social Democrats and liberals] are wandering like lost souls.

Worse still, the Gaullist regime — assisted by May 1968 — dealt a terrible blow to the Socialist party. It is not, moreover, easy to pinpoint the position of this party and the best course is to review the development of the events.

In the aftermath of the December presidential election in which Mitterrand, the candidate of the united "left," including the Communist party, forced de Gaulle into a runoff vote, the Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste was formed. It included the Radicals, the SFIO [Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière — French Section of the Workers (Second) International, the main grouping of Social Democrats], some political clubs, and the Convention des Institutions Républicaines [the Convention of Republican Institutions, a small formation led by Mitterrand].

This federation, as the participants saw it, was to be a stage in the formation of a new Socialist party, a modern Socialist party, uniting the entire "non-Communist left."

One of its objectives was to gain a greater electoral and parliamentary weight than the PCF [Parti Communiste Français — French Communist party]. The FGDS made middling gains, without, however, achieving this objective. Not without difficulty, a deadline was set for convening the founding congress of the new Socialist party.

But May 1968 arrived and the breakup began. The electoral debacle the FGDS suffered in the June 1968 elections exacerbated the dissension. The Radicals were the first to leave the FGDS. The organization fell dormant. However, the founding congress of the new Socialist party was nonetheless set for the beginning of May 1969.

By a most unlucky chance, this was

just the moment de Gaulle chose to resign, thereby forcing a presidential election. Then came a blowup over choosing a candidate. The historians, we may be sure, will have their work cut out for them in explaining the incidents and maneuvers accompanying this event.

Finally, a new Socialist party was formed, but Mitterrand and his Convention refused to come in on the deal. Some groups were still wondering whether they should join it. And the new party itself lacked unity.

Guy Mollet withdrew from the central leadership but he helped to put an outsider, Savary, in his place. Savary, who was not in the mainstream of the old SFIO, had therefore to start out by trying to achieve some degree of unity in this new Socialist party.*

As a result of this fragmentation, the "non-Communist left" suffered considerable losses, which were noticeable at the time of the presidential elections. The Socialist candidate Defferre received only 5 percent of the vote, although the Socialist following in the country, while declining, is still greater than that figure.

This situation of a Socialist party running out of steam and becoming impotent is entirely new for the French bourgeoisie. When capital found itself in difficulty in the past — in June 1936 and in the aftermath of the second world war — the Socialist party represented a first-class political force, whose roots in the working class were strong in 1936 and still considerable though diminished in 1945-47.

The result of this is that the French bourgeoisie, which is so fragmented, now finds the only organized mass force facing it to be the PCF together with the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail — General Confederation of Labor, the CP-dominated union federation].

The French bourgeoisie in the person of their effective political leaders know very well that the PCF has no intention of overthrowing the capitalist system. They know very well that the PCF is now a reformist party.

But they also know that this is not *their* reformism.

They know that this party cannot give them exactly the same guarantees given to British capitalism by the Labour party and to German capitalism by the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands — Social Democratic party of Germany].

The bourgeoisie know how to use this party but do not have confidence in it, and they will have to be on the brink of an abyss before they will entrust the PCF with ministerial posts. De Gaulle did this in the postwar period, but that was de Gaulle before whom even a Thorez snapped to attention.

May 1968 provided proof positive that the leadership of the PCF and the CGT do not want to overthrow the capitalist system. But this great social crisis also caused difficulties for this leadership. The working masses revealed a considerable potential for struggle. A revolutionary current to the left of the PCF appeared and threatened to outflank it.

Thus, this leadership felt the need of presenting its line in a form that would enable it to keep a better rein on the masses. Recently Séguéy, the general secretary of the CGT, made a speech which the bourgeoisie have tried to use to raise a hue and cry about subversion.

In substance Séguéy said that the development of the economic struggles of the working class would end by raising political problems, that Pompidou was certain not to finish out his seven-year term, and that the question of a "democratic alternative" would arise.

This democratic alternative is the PCF's old line, that is, "unity of the left" for "advanced democracy." What was new, however, was that while in May the PCF and the CGT denied the existence of a far-reaching movement posing the need for a political solution, now these people are taking preventive action to popularize their political solution.

The Communists are not the only ones saying things like this. The secretary of the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the independent trade-union federation], Deschamps, said recently that if the government proved incapable of meeting the workers'

demands, the CFDT would raise the question of a change of government and possibly of the system.

The PCF and CGT leaders can indulge all the more freely in talk about a "democratic alternative" in the present situation. In the state the "non-Communist left" is in, this alternative is still more illusory than in the past and this gives the CP a pretext for shifting the blame for the lack of a political solution onto the Socialists.

To sum up, the French bourgeoisie has no coherent political or combat forces capable of driving back the masses that are in motion at this time. It finds itself forced to live from day to day, taking advantage of the fact that the leadership of the mass movement is not pushing beyond the limits of economic struggles.

Such a situation may, then, persist even for quite a long time in its present form, unless new elements — a serious recession, an international crisis, etc. — intervene to ignite the powder keg.

This does not mean that no developments of any importance will occur but it does mean that we are not about to see a solution of any stability. There is a crisis of leadership in both of the fundamental classes of the society and neither one of these crises can be resolved quickly.

A new vanguard did, of course, appear in May 1968, but it, too, is still quite fragmented. Most importantly, while its influence is quite widespread among the youth, including the young workers, this vanguard still has a very narrow base in the main body of the working class. The present situation does not offer the vanguard the advantages it had following the May 1968 crisis.

At that time, indeed, there was above all the opportunity to garner the fruits of the tremendous experience that had just been undergone. At the present time the danger exists that because of their weakness the vanguard forces will become scattered in chasing after all the numerous economic struggles.

The vanguard must try to utilize its forces effectively by choosing carefully where and when to participate and by concentrating its energies there so as to increase its base in the working class. But at the same time it must reach very broad masses with

* The PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié — United Socialist party] must also be included among these forces. Its leaders dropped the "leftism" they affected in the wake of May 1968, seeking to involve themselves in the inescapable orbiting of these different fragments of "French socialism."

propaganda countering the illusory and fallacious "democratic alternative" with the socialist solution — that is, organizing workers committees in the

great struggles to come and establishing a regime based on such councils.

October 17.

labor slate after the NDP, entering the Toronto aldermanic race for the first time, failed to nominate a full slate, and refused to run under its banner either a mayoralty candidate or Board of Education candidates."

Kenya

'Cannot Teach with Empty Stomachs'

Members of Kenya's National Assembly in Nairobi, under pressure from angry teachers, demanded October 2 that the government pay the salaries of 10,000 teachers who had not been paid for two months. Local councils claimed that they did not have the money to pay employees of local schools.

In September some 40,000 teachers threatened a nationwide strike if their wages for July were not paid immediately. The Finance Ministry came up with the funds and the strike was called off.

A dispatch from Nairobi in the October 3 *Nationalist*, published in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, reported that at the beginning of October "... five local councils — ranging from Nyeri just to the north of Nairobi to Homa Bay on the shores of Lake Victoria

in the northwest — were again unable to raise enough money to meet the teachers salaries."

On October 1 the teachers union ordered its unpaid members to report daily at county pay offices instead of to their classes. One union statement said: "The teachers are not on strike, all we are doing is to pursue our salaries for September."

The *Nationalist* reported that members of the National Assembly said it was "appalling that Kenya was alone in its apparent inability to pay teachers, while it could find enough money for extra payments for ministers."

One legislator, George F. Oduya, declared October 2, "they cannot teach when their stomachs are empty. When a worker has worked you must pay him."

At the nominating meeting, the candidates outlined the main issues of the campaign. A central plank will be opposition to the war in Vietnam and an appeal to end Canadian complicity in U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia. A number of local issues were also raised.

"Richard Fidler," the *Workers Vanguard* said, "a member of the executive of the Ontario Tenants Association, pointed out that rent took a larger chunk of the income of Toronto tenants than was the case for tenants anywhere else in North America, and emphasized the necessity of an extensive municipal low-cost public housing program."

"Joan Newbigging outlined the discrimination against women in this society and stated that the first measure introduced by a Toronto labor administration must be equal pay for women in City Hall itself."

"Harry Stone explained how only a labor administration could take effective action against the businessmen who are drowning the city of Toronto in all forms of pollution."

Representatives of Toronto's radical and labor movement also spoke.

On October 15 John Riddell addressed a rally of 200 demonstrators called by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in solidarity with the Vietnam Moratorium in the United States. Riddell scored Mayor William Denison for his attacks on the antiwar movement.

Canada

Riddell to Run for Mayor of Toronto

The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [LSA/LSO] nominated a slate of candidates October 10 for Toronto's municipal elections, topping its list with John Riddell for mayor. Riddell is the LSA/LSO organizer in Toronto.

The socialist slate is designed to fill in uncontested positions in the list adopted by the New Democratic party [NDP], Canada's labor party, so that voters will have the opportunity to cast their ballots for labor and socialist candidates for all major municipal posts.

In addition to a nominee for mayor,

the LSA/LSO named four aldermanic candidates. The Young Socialists nominated six candidates for the Board of Education.

The four running for alderman are Joan Newbigging, an activist in the women's liberation movement; Richard Fidler, managing editor of the *Workers Vanguard*; Harry Stone, a printer; and Marlie Ritchie, an antiwar activist.

"This is by far the biggest election effort ever launched by the LSA or YS in Canada," the *Workers Vanguard* reported October 20. "They decided to make this all-out effort to fill out the

Why Not Accept Thieu's Offer?

President Nguyen Van Thieu of the Saigon puppet regime is not without a certain sardonic humor. When told that Nixon might want to withdraw more troops from South Vietnam, Thieu said he had no objections so long as the U.S. footed the bill. "Give me a number," he told the press September 27, "and I will give you a bill. If you help me adequately, all right."

The bill for leaving the troops there is running at perhaps \$3 billion a month. If Thieu would consider it adequate to go on the Pentagon payroll at half that price in return for his permission to withdraw all the U.S. troops at once, wouldn't it be worth making the deal?

Ovando Nationalizes Gulf Oil

General Alfredo Ovando Candia announced the nationalization of the Bolivia Gulf Oil Company October 17, several hours after his troops had occupied the company's offices in La Paz and its plant in Santa Cruz. The \$140-million enterprise is a subsidy of the Gulf Oil Company.

Ovando's move came exactly two weeks before Nixon's October 31 press conference when he is scheduled, at long last, to announce his Latin-American policy. The Bolivian junta, which seized power September 26, has said it is considering "the amount, conditions, and methods" of compensation to Gulf for the property.

Ovando, who has described his military dictatorship as "leftist nationalism" and "fundamentally the same" as the regime in Peru, has been under heavy pressure at home to put up an "anti-imperialist" front. The Bolivian economy has stagnated for years. The rate of American private investment in all of Latin America has declined in recent years. Foreign "aid" from Washington, which was increased after 1961 in the Alliance for Progress as an "answer" to the Cuban Revolution, has also been cut back.

In addition, the scandal of CIA involvement in the Bolivian government, especially in hunting down and executing Che Guevara in October 1967, had been damaging to the stability of the preceding regime. Ovando was head of the army under the late Barrientos and was reputed to have given the order to murder Che Guevara.

On the eve of his coup, Ovando was accused by a right-wing journalist of accepting a \$600,000 bribe from Gulf to protect its interests if he were elected president in the scheduled May 1970 elections. Ovando suppressed the story and the elections by toppling President Luis Siles Salinas.

One of Ovando's first acts was to assure Washington that Gulf would not be nationalized, although he did suspend the 1962 legislation, under which the oil monopoly operated, in



GENERAL OVANDO. Launches military regime with effort to gain leftist aura.

order to renegotiate the division of the profits.

Particularly embarrassing for the dictator's new "leftist" image was Washington's haste to recognize his regime. Diplomatic approval came through in record time on October 10. An October 11 Reuters dispatch said the State Department "stressed that its new policy of giving quick recognition to military governments in Latin America did not specifically imply approval of such regimes."

But in Bolivia it was noted that this "new" policy did not seem to apply to governments such as Cuba or North Vietnam or China. It was widely concluded that Ovando had made a secret deal with Nixon to protect U. S. interests in Bolivia.

During the first week of October, more than 1,000 students marched on Murillo Plaza, where the government palace is located in La Paz, to de-

mand that Gulf Oil be nationalized without compensation.

The students held a rally beforehand at the University of San Andrés where they commemorated the second anniversary of the death of Che Guevara, and the killing of Inti Peredo September 9.

Carlos Núñez, writing from La Paz in the October 16 issue of *Prensa Latina*, the Cuban government news agency, described the meeting. (*Prensa Latina* gives no date for the rally, but it apparently took place October 8 or 9.)

"The university building, a few blocks from the center of the city, had its facade decorated with large portraits of Che and Major Guido Inti Peredo, killed here one month ago in circumstances that have still not been completely cleared up.

"At noon in the auditorium, leaders of the Bolivian University Confederation (CUB) and the local University Federation (FUL) in fighting terms spoke of Major Guevara and the continent-wide struggle against imperialism.

"During the day loudspeakers placed in the building of San Andrés University broadcast revolutionary slogans and songs about Che, along with the demands of the university students to the new regime. . . .

"Two hours later the 'march in defense of natural resources' began, followed by an improvised meeting in Murillo Plaza. During the demonstration the students stoned the U. S. Embassy and the U. S.-owned 'Bolivian Power Company' building. The police used tear gas to break up the demonstration."

Ovando put on his best left face for home consumption in announcing the take-over. He described the seizure as an "engagement" by the army "to assure the sovereignty of the nation over the resources of the country and to recover the natural riches ceded to foreign companies to the detriment of the national interest."

Ovando spoke at an October 17 press conference, surrounded by his newly appointed civilian ministers and the principal military chieftains. The October 19-20 Paris daily *Le Monde* carried part of his declaration:

"Faced with a foreign and antinational conspiracy, fomented to shackle the revolutionary process, the armed forces have charged the government with nationalizing the Bolivian Gulf Oil Company."

As a further gesture, Ovando established diplomatic relations with Rumania, and a Rumanian trade delegation arrived in La Paz October 15.

(On September 29 Ovando offered to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba if the Cubans would leave his dictatorship alone and not encourage revolutionary struggles against his regime.)

Ovando has not indicated whether the nationalization of other American properties is contemplated. The United States Steel Corporation and other American companies have invested some \$13 million in Bolivian mines.

Other major U. S. firms operating in Bolivia include the W. R. Grace Company, First National City Bank, Trans American Resources, Marine Midland Grace Trust Company, Chase Manhattan Bank, World Homes, and Philipp Brothers.

In fact, Ovando is reportedly carrying on negotiations for Gulf to continue transporting and marketing Bolivian oil from the "nationalized" fields.

The military regime also belies its leftist facade by continuing to hold dozens of political prisoners arrested last July or at the time of the killing of Inti Peredo. These include members of Peredo's ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army], and of the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario — Revolutionary Workers party — the Bolivian section of the Fourth International].

But Ovando may have unleashed forces that he cannot control. The October 23 *New York Times* reported that the government had been unable to persuade peasants northeast of La Paz to return an American gold dredge they had seized October 17.

Union members struggled with military parade marshals during a gov-

ernment-sponsored march October 20 called to celebrate the nationalizations. One student told a correspondent of *Le Monde*: "It is not the regime which issued from the September 26 coup that we support, but the decision that it has taken. We are afraid, however, of being betrayed again."

The union federation, Central Obrera Boliviana [COB — Bolivian Confederation of Labor], has raised a series of demands that go beyond the present aims of the Ovando regime. The October 22 *Le Monde* reported:

Austria

CP in Crisis Over Czechoslovakia

Brussels

At a meeting held at the beginning of October, the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist party [Kommunistische Partei Oesterreichs] decided to bow to the pressure from Moscow to support the invasion and occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The opposition nevertheless made a strong showing. A motion that would have required the party to continue to support the Dubcek tendency against the unreconstructed Stalinist Husák-Strougal group was defeated, with thirty-six votes against but with twenty-four in favor.

The strength of the opposition derives from the support it enjoys among the youth and among Communist trade unionists and shop stewards.

The opposition now fears that it may face expulsion. The magazine *Tagebuch*, considered to be the voice of the opposition, is no longer being handled by the party's printshop. A new organization has been formed, "Association of Friends of the *Tagebuch*," to support the publication.

An indication of the more objective attitude adopted by *Tagebuch* is the review, published in the latest issue, of the German edition of *The Young Lenin* by Leon Trotsky. It is so favorable that it amounts to a reversal of the former stand on Trotsky.

"The workers' confederation demands the nationalization of other American mining operations, of imports, of the banks, and [calls for] the establishment of diplomatic relations with all the socialist countries. They also demand the expulsion of the members of the American military mission, of the Peace Corps, and of the Inter-American Regional Labor Organization [Organización Regional Inter-Americana de Trabajadores—ORIT—the discredited affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions]."

On October 13 the theoretical leader of the opposition and the party's most respected spokesman, the well-known Marxist professor, Ernst Fischer, was expelled because of his forthright stand against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. [See *Intercontinental Press*, "CPs Glum at Groveling of Czech Stalinists," October 27, p. 959.]

A few days later, some fifty prominent intellectuals protested the expulsion. Another plenum of the Central Committee was called for October 27-28 to review the action taken against Professor Fischer.

The official reason given for expelling Fischer was his public appeal, calling on the Austrian Communist party to break with the Kremlin and turn towards building a "new left" in Austria.

The opposition within the Austrian Communist party is composed of disparate elements, ranging from right-wing opportunists to sincere, revolutionary-minded anti-Stalinists.

The right-wingers are, of course, responsive to the pressure of bourgeois public opinion. The left-wingers, on the other hand, are acting in accordance with what they consider to be the principles of Communism.

The crisis in the Austrian Communist party creates new openings and possibilities for the revolutionary-socialist movement in Austria.

A Moscow "Theoretician" Exposes Maoism

By M. R. Whitney

"China in the Vice [sic] of Maoism" is one of those Soviet literary productions in the propaganda war against Maoism designed to appeal to adherents of the Kremlin of the more sophisticated type, even if they can't spell.

The article, written by one Fyodor Burlatsky, was first published in *Izvestia*. It has since been circulated by the Soviet government, and an English translation was made available in the August 5 issue of *Soviet News*, published by the press department of the Soviet Embassy in London.

Burlatsky avoids the crudities of similar articles issued by the Chinese. He does not, for example, charge outright that the Peking regime has restored capitalism or that it heads a fascist state—charges which the Maoists level at the Soviet bureaucrats.

"Events in China and the present policy and actions of the Chinese leaders," Burlatsky writes, "show that they are striving to turn China into a force that is openly hostile to the socialist community and to the cause of the security of nations."

Whereas the Maoists charge that Moscow acts in open collaboration with imperialism, Burlatsky limits himself to claiming that "Peking's actions against the international communist movement in practice merge with the efforts of imperialism in its struggle against the socialist countries and the people's liberation cause."

The Kremlin author attempts to explain the origins of the Sino-Soviet rift. "Beginning from the late 1950's," he says, "Marxist-Leninist parties had been voicing their concern about the dangerous nature of the processes taking place in China and pointing to the increasing degeneration of the leading group which had usurped all state power in China and to the steadily growing deformation of the social and political structure of the country."

The end result of this process of degeneration, Burlatsky asserts, was

the creation of a "military-bureaucratic dictatorship."

At this point Burlatsky begins to tread on what for a Soviet bureaucrat must be rather thin ice. He tries to explain the origin of the bureaucracy in China:

"The difficulties of industrialisation in a country like China and the character of the social forces which the revolution leaned upon, in which peasants and the petty bourgeoisie objectively provided the basis, favoured the Maoists in their struggle against scientific socialism and favoured their petty-bourgeois policy which became increasingly intertwined with nationalism."

This statement can, of course, be applied to the Soviet Union as well as to China. It is, in fact, a simplified plagiarism of the analysis of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union made by Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the 1920s.

Having dipped into the arsenal of Trotsky's revolutionary criticism of bureaucratism, how will this Soviet apologist use his find without hanging himself?

Burlatsky cannot admit that the Chinese Communist party was from the late 1920s a petty-bourgeois bureaucratic formation modeled on Soviet Stalinism. That would be getting too close to home. He is at least compelled to explain the cordial relations between Moscow and Peking in the early days of the Chinese People's Republic.

Burlatsky invents a sudden "change" in the character of the Chinese CP after 1956. To "prove" this, he falls back on the mystical power of Mao Tse-tung to single-handedly mold the entire party and nation to his whim.

"Ideological degeneration in the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China started from the top, from the very summit of the political pyramid on which Mao Tse-tung had established himself. . . .

"This degeneration spread into the

bulk of the military and political cadres grouped around Mao Tse-tung and then penetrated into various strata of Chinese society, as well.

"This process developed soon after the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956 . . ."

At this point Burlatsky lapses into idealism, as he is unable to show any concrete change in the relationship of forces, either in the outside world, or in China itself, that precipitated this supposed turnabout in 1956.

(The Chinese, of course, have a similar problem in dating the "capitalist restoration" in the Soviet Union. As good Stalinists, they are compelled to conjure up a counterrevolution in 1953-56, *after* the death of Stalin — although all of the basic policies of the present Soviet government were evolved during the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the twenties and thirties. Neither side can admit the truth: that the narrow national interests of each of the Stalinist bureaucracies preclude international revolutionary cooperation.)

Having avoided the rope in this neat way, Burlatsky turns to a pragmatic criticism of current Maoist practice. Here he scores a few obvious points:

"All power is concentrated in the hands of a select circle while the Mao cult has developed into downright idolatry." Again, "The Army is declared to be the basic and, in effect, sole support of the proletarian dictatorship."

In passing, the Soviet author implies that in the internal factional dispute in China, the Soviet Union gives at least critical support to the wing headed by Liu Shao-chi, identifying this group as the "internationalist forces" in the Chinese CP:

The Maoist "slogan of 'purging the party of people who follow the capitalist road' [the Maoist designation for members of the LIU faction] in reality means destroying the opponents of the personal dictatorship of

Mao and Maoism and the extermination of the party's internationalist forces."

One aspect of the Maoist program particularly nettled our champion of the privileged Soviet ruling strata. This was the Maoist insistence on wage-leveling and reliance on moral rather than material incentives.

"So," Burlatsky exclaimed, "they try to cause strife between the poorest and least cultured of the peasants and the middle peasants, between the unskilled labour recently recruited from the countryside and veteran workers, between the young people and their seniors, and so on.

"The intellectuals, against whom all the social resentment which has accumulated because of the flops in Maoist policy is channelled, are subjected to particularly sadistic persecution."

On this last point Burlatsky might have drawn a comparison with the treatment of dissident intellectuals in the Soviet Union — where they are sentenced to long terms in labor camps and in places of remote exile for their views. He did not provide any details on the type of "sadistic persecution" preferred by the Chinese leaders, thereby making such a comparison more difficult for his readers.

As to Mao's theoretical justification for the persecution of intellectuals and other strata, Burlatsky cites "the notorious thesis of the 'continuous' sharpening of the class struggle." He does not mention that the author of this thesis was Stalin, and that it has never been officially repudiated by his own government.

On this score Burlatsky avoids criticising the Maoists on their most vulnerable point: their defense of the cult of Stalin.

Here he might be expected to win some sympathy from the Soviet people who suffered under the despot. In the international Communist movement as well, he could be expected to gain support from anti-Stalinist currents. This would not even violate the bureaucratic orthodoxy of the Kremlin, inasmuch as the "de-Stalinization" initiated under Khrushchev has never been formally disavowed.

It is significant, then, that this Kremlin scribe never once mentions the name of Stalin.

On the other hand, he does come up with a Soviet answer to Mao's charge that the Kremlin bureaucrats

are the "new Tsars." He suggests, indirectly, that the Maoists are new emperors. In the process he hints that the Chinese state may be some kind of "state capitalist" system and not a workers state at all.

"China had in the past a tradition of state ownership," he writes, "which, however, was used in the interests of the exploiting classes. No wonder then that Chiang Kai-shek's government, far from trying to abolish this tradition, on the contrary, did all it could to promote it. . . .

"The purpose of a socialist economy is to fulfil the requirements of the working people, to ensure, as Lenin said, the full welfare and free comprehensive development of all members of society. This comprises the fundamental difference between a socialist economy and any other type of economy.

"When this aim is deformed, however, when a bureaucratic authority succeeds in making the economy serve its nationalistic and aggressive purposes, what then?"

Yes, what then, Burlatsky?

It is when he comes to Maoist foreign policy that Burlatsky steps on the banana skin. Up to this point he has argued that the Maoists are petty-bourgeois bureaucratic nationalists. Now, he asserts that they are too internationalist—that, in fact, they are Trotskyists!

A few paragraphs are worth quoting:

"The present Maoist policy, both domestic and foreign, as worked out by the Ninth CPC Congress, is based on the thesis of the impossibility of the victory of socialism in China without the victory of the world revolution.

"The report by Lin Piao, who quoted Mao Tse-tung, said:

"From the point of view of Leninism, final victory in one socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the wide popular masses of the given country, but also depends on the triumph of the world revolution and the liquidation of the exploitation of man by man throughout the entire world, which will lead to the liberation of the whole of mankind."

"No special effort is needed to find the ideological sources of the thesis of the impossibility of victory of socialism in one country. It has already long been known, not only in our

party but throughout the entire communist movement, that this was precisely the thesis with which Trotskyism attempted to attack Leninism in our country, tried to turn the party away from the solution of the tasks of economic and social construction and tried to push our country on to the road of adventures and provocations."

Here Burlatsky appeals to prejudices that at once ring the bell for ossified and unthinking supporters of the Soviet bureaucracy. For the Maoists, of course, to be called "Trotskyist" is the ultimate in insults; this is a term they have flung at the Khrushchevists in their "dialogue." But what impression can it make on anyone else?

There is an obvious contradiction between labeling the Maoists "nationalists" and labeling them "Trotskyists," and Burlatsky can't have it both ways. Which are they?

The truth is that the Maoists are no more internationalists than their Soviet counterparts. And just as little are they Trotskyists.

Burlatsky makes no further attempt to "prove" this point. Instead he sums up his criticism of Maoist foreign policy this way:

"It is no accident that the Maoists conduct a policy of international provocations, of artificially stepping up tension in relations with other countries, of constantly presenting their neighbours with territorial and other claims."

Throughout his article, Burlatsky seems to have done little more than take a list of charges made by Peking and say, "You're another!"

As for his last point, charging Peking with a policy of international provocations, artificially stepping up tension, and presenting their neighbors with territorial and other claims, Burlatsky forgets that living in a glass house makes it inadvisable to throw stones at others.

For instance, what about the Soviet invasion and occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic?

Faceless Bureaucrat

The Hungarian Communist party paper *Nepszabadsag* reported recently that in a test of youths in a Budapest industrial school, some 96 percent did not know the name of the country's premier, Jeno Fock.

A Maoist Adventure in the Streets of Chicago

The massive turnout for the October 15 Moratorium against the Vietnam war was in striking contrast to the October 8-11 demonstrations held in Chicago by the Students for a Democratic Society [SDS], once regarded as the largest radical youth organization in the United States. While millions participated in the antiwar Moratorium, only a few hundred assembled for the ultraleft confrontations in Chicago that SDS strategists projected as the opening battle of the American socialist revolution.

The Chicago fiasco showed how rapidly the disintegration of SDS has progressed since its national convention in June. At that time a minority of the organization, meeting in a rump caucus session, expelled the majority of the convention delegates who were members of the pro-Maoist Progressive Labor party [PL] or of the Worker Student Alliance [WSA], which supports PL. Both the "majority" and the "minority" claim the SDS name, although it is generally conceded that the convention minority, including the national office staff, are the "real" SDS.

The main issues in the split were PL's growing organizational strength and its political sectarianism, including its rejection of black nationalism, its condemnation of the North Vietnamese for having entered the Paris talks, and its characterization of the Cuban leadership as "petty-bourgeois adventurers."

Since June the "real" SDS has undergone several more splits. The "majority," which still controls the national office, is the Revolutionary Youth Movement I or "Weatherman" faction (the name comes from a line in a popular song, "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows" — critics of SDS have been quick to agree). This group calls on workers to give up their "white skin privilege," dismisses GIs who will not join their demonstrations as "pigs" (police), and proclaims the virtues of revolutionary violence by a dedicated paramilitary minority. The

Weatherman grouping generally considers itself to be Maoist.

The Revolutionary Youth Movement II [RYM II], which recently split from the Weatherman, is moving up fast as the dominant tendency in SDS. In general it shares the politics of RYM I, although it condemns the Weatherman faction for its adventurist tactics. RYM II includes a variety of political positions, ranging from hardened ultraleftists to many newly radicalized youth who want to reconstruct SDS in its old "nonideological," all-inclusive form.

Other SDS splinters include the San Francisco Bay Area Revolutionary Union, which poses as the "true" Maoists and which is attempting to resuscitate the cult of Stalin.

Dozens of local SDS chapters have disaffiliated from all the national factions. Many have dropped the name SDS. Some have become antiwar committees or have affiliated to the Young Socialist Alliance, the Trotskyist youth organization in the U. S.

The PL-WSA SDS was not in evidence in Chicago. RYM II and Weatherman were both there but could not agree on common action. What took place was described in the October 18 issue of the *Guardian*, an independent radical newsweekly that until recently was friendly to SDS but has criticized its ultraleft turn.

"The Oct. 8-11 'invasion' of Chicago organized by the Weatherman faction of SDS — the one national action sponsored by the nation's largest white radical organization all year — fell flat on its face," wrote *Guardian* correspondents Carl Davidson and Randy Furst.

"Aside from a few hundred hard-core Weathermen and supporters, the 'kick-ass' action was a fiasco. Many of the demonstrations scheduled during the four-day antiwar protest failed to take place.

"The Weatherman 'mass march' Oct. 11 attracted no more than 200 people. . . . and the action by Weatherman's womens' militia was stopped

by police before it got off the ground. . . .

"After four days, virtually the entire Weatherman group was in jail, some with serious injuries. One of the few Weatherman leaders still free said, however, that the action was a 'victory.'"

The SDS leadership had predicted that 50,000 persons would take part in the October 11 "mass march."

The actions began with a rally in Lincoln Park October 8. About eighty helmeted Weatherman members and about 200 of their supporters cheered as a speaker denounced antiwar GIs who would not join their "red army." "He's got to join us or else he's a pig," the speaker said. The *Guardian* reported what happened next:

"Chanting, 'Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh . . . ' the Weatherman group marched out of the park. Many carried clubs. The marchers, followed by police, plainclothesmen and reporters, veered down Clark St. toward Chicago's rich 'Goldcoast' community, running through the streets breaking windows in buildings and cars. Although Weatherman leaders carefully instructed the group only to 'hit the cars of the ruling class,' every car in the area was smashed."

For the next several hours the Weatherman guerrillas were decimated in unequal fights with heavily armed police.

At one intersection, the *Guardian* reported, "demonstrators beat up a taxi driver who left his car. On Wells St. two bystanders were attacked by the demonstrators."

From this point on, the demonstrations went downhill. In one case the police opened fire, wounding several youths. It became clear that no new forces were arriving to replace the large numbers who were arrested. The adventure ended with some 290 persons in jail (not all of them SDS members) under \$750,000 bail. One Weatherman was charged with a attempted murder. He is accused of striking a city attorney in the back

with a lead pipe, paralyzing him from the neck down.

RYM II staged several peaceful rallies during the confrontations, but all were dispirited and none brought out more than 2,000 persons.

All of the SDS factions abstained from building the antiwar Moratorium the following week.

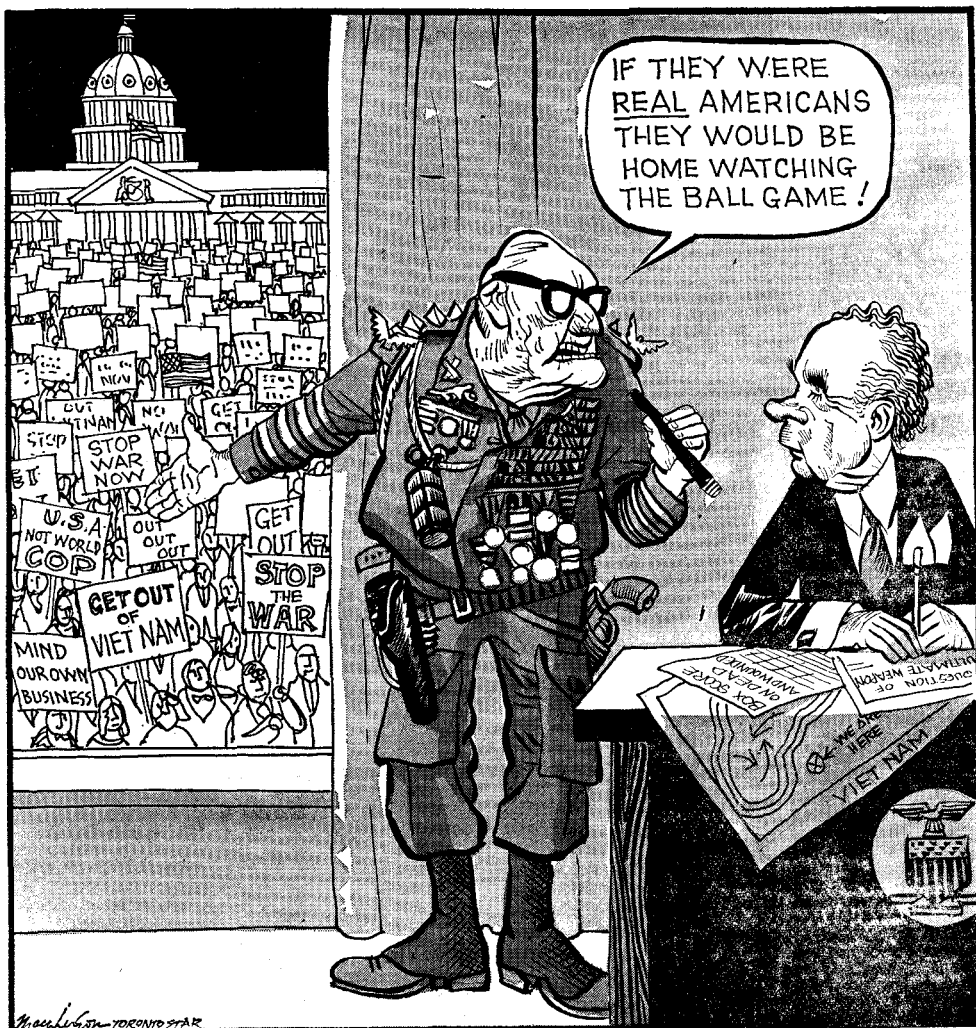
The revolutionary-socialist weekly the *Militant* summed up the Chicago experience in its October 31 issue:

"Although all the major factions of SDS now declare themselves to be revolutionaries, they virtually ignore the fundamental lessons contained in decades of revolutionary struggle. They have not absorbed the fact that revolution is a process, that it takes time and patient work to win the masses of people to a revolutionary perspective, that the only way the people will be won to this struggle is around concrete political issues which challenge the system.

"Instead of joining with masses of people in struggle and educating them on the basis of the issues they are moving on, the ultralefts stand in grand isolation, issuing ultimatums to the masses. . . .

"This abstention from the real struggle stands in stark contrast to the role which is being played in this movement [against the Vietnam war] by revolutionary socialists of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, who worked actively to build the Moratorium. On Oct. 15, speakers for the YSA and SWP appeared at scores of meetings and rallies, where they were able to present their socialist ideas to literally tens of thousands of people. And, in area after area, their participation gave the Moratorium a militant character it would not have had if left in the hands of the liberals."

The timing of the Moratorium helped to dispel the effects of the Chicago disaster, but it is certainly true that the ruling class has used the SDS action to picture revolutionists as advocates of mindless and purposeless violence. In this sense SDS's tactics are a disservice to the revolutionary movement as a whole in the United States and were repudiated as such not only by the majority of organized left-wing groups but by the thousands of radical youths who expressed their



— Macpherson in the Toronto Star

opinion by avoiding Chicago October 8-11.

At least one tendency besides the Weatherman group did not share this assessment, however. Hsinhua, the official news agency of the Maoist regime in China, expressed the view October 12 that "the reactionary U.S. ruling circles were scared out of their wits by the brave actions of the young people [in Chicago]."

Hsinhua cited with approval a shout by one group of demonstrators: "The only direction is insurrection, the only solution is revolution."

But lest the Weatherman leaders get the idea that they have been recognized as the "true" Maoists, it should be noted that the dispatch does not mention SDS by name; and the same issue of Hsinhua carries a lengthy greeting to Chairman Mao on Chinese National Day from the chairman of the National Committee of the Progressive Labor party.

Peril in Trade War

In an address to the eleventh world congress of the International Federation of Forwarding Agents Associations in New York September 29, Theodore C. Sorenson, a former Democratic adviser to the White House, warned that a trade war could have disastrous effects on the NATO alliance.

It was unrealistic, he held, to expect the United States to carry the whole burden of preventing a commercial war.

Sorenson was particularly exercised over "those European practices and preferences that discourage or discriminate against American exports. . . ."

"This unfair competition, he said, is "making all the harder the task of those in this country who believe in trade expansion."

The press did not report whether he condemned those American practices and preferences that discourage or discriminate against European and Japanese exports, thus making harder the task of those in Europe and Japan who believe in trade expansion.

Down the Drain

By 1970 the Vietnam war will have cost the American public somewhere between \$100 and \$150 billion.

To the Factories and Fields!

By Hugo Blanco

Let's consider some key sentences in the *Transitional Program*, one of our party's fundamental documents, written by Leon Trotsky:

"It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should in-

clude a system of *transitional demands*, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

Again: "It is necessary to establish this firm rule: self-isolation of the ca-

pitulationist variety from mass trade unions, which is tantamount to betrayal of the revolution, is incompatible with membership in the Fourth International."

Trotsky said this at a time when "Trade unions, even the most powerful, embrace no more than 20 to 25 percent of the working class, and at that predominantly the more skilled and better paid layers." In other words, the trade-union movement was not as important as it is today.

In these words we see in a completely clear way how Trotskyism approaches the workers' struggle: It starts from the *immediate, concrete* problems of *greatest concern* to the masses; it starts from their *present* level of consciousness, in order to raise it to ever higher levels.

This is not "syndicalism," nor "economism," since it does not engage in these struggles to become lost in them, since it utilizes them as a means of educating the masses, since it elevates them by degrees.

Nor is it spontanéism, since although it joins the "spontaneous" organizations, supports the "spontaneous" demands, the "spontaneous" struggles, it does not do so in order to follow spontanéism but to bring these organizations, these struggles, these demands, *consciously* to ever higher levels pointing toward a socialist revolution.

The *Transitional Program* thus replies clearly to the fakery of the petty-bourgeois propagandists who depreciate participation in the current struggles of the masses, in their current organizations; who depreciate the struggle for immediate demands over which the masses feel most concerned.

Thus Trotskyism replies to those who talk and talk about revolution without doing anything, those who elaborate and elaborate extremely ingenious plans for "armed struggle" but who disdain the daily struggle of the masses.

Peruvian Trotskyism, organized in the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario — Revolutionary Left Front], repeats once again its slogan: To the factories and to the fields.

To the mass organizations, basically the unions and communities.

Start by paying attention to the current, immediate, concrete struggles.

Mexico

Prisoners Appeal for Martin Dozal

Mexico City

Martin Dozal's comrades in Lecumberri prison have become alarmed over his physical condition as he continues his hunger strike.

On October 9 they made an urgent appeal to the judges in charge of his case to meet his demand; namely, a trial in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.

Dozal, a twenty-five-year-old Polytechnic School teacher, was arrested in connection with the student protests in the summer of 1968 and has been held in prison for more than a year without being brought to trial or being sentenced.

The appeal for Dozal was signed by the members of the political prisoners' rotating press committee — the internationally famous novelist José Revueltas, Martín del Campo, and Pablo Alvarado Barrera. The declaration gave the following description of Dozal's situation:

"Martin Dozal's physical condition has now deteriorated to an alarming degree. His liver is functioning abnormally. It has swollen considerably and indicates a danger of cirrhosis. There is frequent vomiting, acute gastritis, and muscle and stomach pains.

"Martin Dozal began his hunger

strike on September 26 as a means of appealing to the judges responsible for his case, His Honor Eduardo Ferrer MacGregor and His Honor Benito Pliego y Pliego, to make a decision. His case is still being held open. These judges have not even bothered to reply or even acknowledge receipt of his appeals.

"This state of affairs cannot continue. We appeal for a rapid solution. We appeal to these judges to grant a reply in the case of our compañero Martin Dozal. It would be criminal to permit any more delay, even for one day."

The political prisoners' press committee stressed that international protests were vitally needed in Dozal's case. The campaign in Mexico has been weakened by the fact that during this period the university and Polytechnic students are on vacation and scattered.

The committee asked that letters and telegrams supporting Dozal be sent to the following officials:

Lic. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, Presidente de México, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F.; Lic. Alfonso Corona del Rosal, Regente del Distrito Federal, Departamento Central (Zócalo), Mexico 1, D. F.; and Lic. Luis Echeverría, Secretario de Gobernación, Av. Bucareli y Calle General Prim, Mexico 1, D. F.

A Sinister Provocation

Mexico City

One of the most sinister of the daily provocations to which the political prisoners in Mexico City have been subjected occurred in September. An anonymous declaration, disseminated by the American news agency UPI, was attributed to the political prisoners mentioned in it. The complete text of this declaration was as follows:

"WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF THE FOLLOWING POLITICAL PRISONERS:

- "1. CARLOS SEVILLA GONZALEZ
- "2. ELI DE GORTARI
- "3. JOSE REVUELTAS
- "4. HEBERTO CASTILLO
- "5. DEMETRIO VALLEJO
- "6. VALENTIN CAMPA
- "7. GILBERTO RINCON GALLARDO
- "8. VICTOR RICO GALAN
- "9. OTHON SALAZAR
- "10. RAFAEL ESTRADA VILLA
- "11. ADAN NIETO
- "12. DANZOS PALOMINO
- "13. ROLF MEINERS HUEBNER
- "14. LUIS TOMAS CERVANTES CABEZA DE VACA

"UNLESS THESE POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE RELEASED BEFORE OCTOBER 2 (TWO) OF THIS YEAR AND ALLOWED TO TAKE ASYLUM IN THE COUNTRY OF THEIR CHOICE, THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE OF TLATELOLCO, DIAZ ORDAZ, MARCELINO BARRAGAN, LUIS ECHEVERRIA, CORONA DEL ROSAL, WILL SUFFER THE ACTION OF PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE.

"SEPT. 69" *

Besides being disseminated by UPI, this little note turned up in the form of a letter in many homes in the Federal District, just as dozens of other "documents" slandering and defaming the student movement of last year were circulated by mail under pseudonyms

which only slightly concealed the provocative machinations of the Diaz Ordez regime's police forces.

A few days later, another note began circulating, apparently in reply to the first. The second note was signed by a clandestine "organization" calling itself the "Boinas Rojas de Netzahualcōyotl [the Red Berets of Netzahualcōyotl], in honor it would seem of the Aztec emperor and lawmaker. The crudest thing in all this was that the political prisoners also received a copy of the note from this organization. The text was as follows:

"IF THE THREATS IN THE ANONYMOUS NOTE THAT YOU SENT TO UPI, A COPY OF WHICH IS ATTACHED, ARE CARRIED OUT AND IF PRESIDENT DIAZ ORDAZ, GENERAL MARCELINO GARCIA BARRAGAN, DR. LUIS ECHEVERRIA, DR. CORONA DEL ROSAL, OR ANY OTHER OFFICIAL OR THEIR FAMILIES SUFFER ANY HARM TO THEIR PERSONS OR PROPERTY, YOU, YOUR FAMILY, AND THE PERSONS LISTED AND THEIR FAMILIES WILL PAY THE PRICE YOUR ACTIONS DESERVE WITHIN 24 HOURS."

This obvious and shameless provocation was probably motivated by the regime's fear of an occurrence like the kidnapping of the Yankee ambassador in Brazil and the subsequent release of fifteen political prisoners in that country.

The innumerable Mexican political forces, assisted by the CIA (judging from the style of the UPI involvement), *wanted to move early to forestall any such action by issuing a warning that there would be harsh reprisals against the political prisoners and their families and friends.*

The overwhelming majority of the prisoners in Lecumberri (102 out of 107)* immediately issued a news re-



DIAZ ORDAZ. Witch-hunter in chief.

lease advising the public of a number of pertinent facts. This release, dated October 1, said the following:

"The persons who 'will pay the price' are those who have visited the prisoners threatened and have been put down on the list attached to this cowardly warning. This is all the more obvious inasmuch as in some cases you can still read this heading in the photocopy we received — 'was visited by the following persons'! From this it can easily be deduced that those who sent this threat got their information and probably their orders from the police offices that receive copies of the lists of persons visiting the political prisoners.

"The political prisoners in Lecumberri categorically deny the imputation that they authored the anonymous note delivered to UPI and declared that this is the first time they ever heard of its existence. In fact, everything indicates that both the anonymous note and the threat from the 'Boinas Rojas de Netzahualcōyotl' are simply part of a new provocation. We do not know what the objectives of this provocation are but they could very well be to prepare the ground for some assault on our persons or that of our relatives and friends.

"We demand that an investigation be opened to clarify the source and objectives of the threats that have been directed against us; that those persons

* This note was handwritten, all in capital letters, presumably in order to make it more difficult to identify the handwriting. —IP.

* Demetrio Vallejo and Valentin Campa did not sign the statement because they are being held in another prison in Santa Marta Acatlita.

who received information as to the names and addresses of our visitors be identified; that the relationship be established between those persons and the 'Boinas Rojas de Netzahualc6yotl'; that the activities of this strange organization and the various police forces of the country, including the military police be investigated; that the relation between this organization and the other foreign police and terrorist organizations like the CIA and the FBI be probed; that the relationship of this organization to the recent acts of provocation and terrorism which have taken place in this city be investigated; that it be investigated whether this organization had anything to do with drawing up the declarations which many of those imprisoned because of their participation in the student movement were forced to sign; that the relationship be investigated between this organization and the manifold tortures many of the prisoners have been subjected to; that the relationship between this organization and the acts of provocation carried out during the student movement, such as the machine-gunning of schools, the destruction of vehicles, etc., be investigated; that the relationship be probed between this organization and the gutter press, like *El Sol de M6xico*, *La Prensa*, and *El Herald*, which have distorted the news, creating a climate of violence; that the relationship between this organization and the public officials encharged with our trials be investigated.

"We demand this investigation with the understanding that as long as these points are not entirely clarified, we will hold the officials of the various government bodies that received copies of our visitors' lists responsible for anything that might happen to our relatives, our friends, or ourselves."

The importance of the provocation lies in the fact that it indicates the emergence in embryonic form of a terrorist organization *linked to the authorities*. Only through such collusion could the terrorists have obtained the political prisoners' visitors list.

How such paramilitary organizations operate has been shown in Guatemala, where the Mano Blanca [White Hand] and similar organizations waged a campaign of violence and intimidation against the masses.

There is great danger that such a process will develop here unnoticed by the vanguard of the student movement and its international allies.

Lebanon

Helou Stirs Up a Hornet's Nest

Reports October 26 indicated that Arab revolutionists were still holding three police stations in Tripoli, Lebanon's second largest city. The *New York Times* carried a picture of a police station in Beirut flying the flag of the Palestinian freedom fighters.

The liberation forces were also reported to have seized the city of Bint Jbeil and the nearby village of Deir Mimass in the south of the country.

Police stations throughout the small Mideast state were reported isolated and heavily guarded. Dispatches from Western correspondents left no doubt that substantial sectors of the population had joined in the resistance of the Palestinian guerrillas, which the pro-

imperialist government of President Charles Helou is attempting to suppress.

The Beirut government announced that it held Syria responsible for Fatah's occupation of the village of Yanta, six miles from the Lebanese border. Both the Israeli and U. S. governments have hinted that they would regard intervention from other Arab states as grounds for occupying the country.

Other Arab states denounced Helou's crackdown on the guerrillas. Moscow decried the U. S. threat of intervention. It was evident that an attempt to bolster the threatened Lebanese regime in its confrontation with Arab nationalist forces could extend and deepen the crisis.

New Zealand

Call for Antiwar Actions November 15

Demonstrations have been scheduled in several New Zealand cities to coincide with the November 15 march on Washington against the Vietnam war.

The protests will focus on demands for the immediate withdrawal of New Zealand troops from Vietnam, the severing of ties with the U. S.-dominated SEATO and ANZUS military alliances, and the cancellation of proposed "Omega" installations for guiding U. S. Polaris submarines.

Socialist Action, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Wellington, reported October 15:

"In Christchurch the Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) and the Radical Students Alliance (RSA) are planning a rally on November 15 at the Student Union in the town, with folk singers, speakers and at least four blues bands. They are being helped by the University Fabian Society and the Ecological Revolutionary Association (ERA).

"In Wellington [the capital] the University Socialist Club is hoping to organize a similar activity, and will definitely hold a march to Parliament and

a demonstration, in co-operation with the Wellington Committee on Vietnam. The COV is also planning to do a considerable amount of propagandising by means of letterboxed pamphlets and ads in the daily press. Also, the Wellington PYM has promised to help build November 15. The PYM has been picketing the D. I. C. building, which houses the Diplomatic Mission of the Saigon regime, every Friday night for the last four weeks.

"The candidate for the Socialist Action League, George Fyson, who is standing in Wellington Central, is making Vietnam and November 15 the first point in his programme."

A call for the November Action, issued by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam of the U. S., has been reprinted in the newsletter of the Medical Aid Committee for South Vietnamese People (NLF Areas), and is being circulated across the country. *Socialist Action* added:

"Reports of plans from Auckland and Dunedin have not yet reached Wellington, though it is expected that demonstrations will occur there also."

New Helmsman for German Capitalism

By Gerry Foley

Social Democratic leader Willy Brandt was elected chancellor of West Germany October 21 by a vote of 251 to 235 in the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament. He won three votes more than the required majority.

Brandt will head a coalition government of the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands — Social Democratic party of Germany] and the FDP [Freie Demokratische Partei Deutschlands — Free Democratic party of Germany, a small independent bloc of liberals and conservatives].

FDP leader Walter Scheel became minister of foreign affairs and is regarded as the No. 2 man in the new government. His party received 5.7 percent of the vote in the September 29 elections — only about 1 percent more than the neo-Nazis led by Adolf von Thadden — and has thirty seats in the Bundestag.

The formation of the Brandt cabinet marked the first change of the party in power in the history of the German Federal Republic. Despite its long-established reformism, the little that remained of the SPD's socialist traditions and trappings made it suspect to German big capital throughout the postwar period.

Moreover, in the period of the Economic Miracle, the German capitalists had no need of a demagogic party. Their preferred instrument of rule was the reactionary clericalist Christian Democratic party, described by the party's parliamentary whip Rainer Barzel in the 1961 elections as "the only political association that places itself under God's command."

The formation of a government in which the SPD is the largest component was taken in Washington as marking the emergence of a capitalist two-party system similar to the American model. There is some truth to this conclusion.

First, the SPD has gone far along the road to transforming itself from a workers party into a bourgeois electoral machine. The last vestiges of the



BRANDT. Tears of joy over trust placed in him by German capitalist ruling class.

party's old socialist principles were liquidated by the Bad Godesberg party congress a decade ago. By participating in a coalition government dominated by the Christian Democrats since December 1966, the SPD proved that it was totally integrated into the system of capitalist politics.

The election of an SPD chancellor indicated that the party leaders' long-sought goal of becoming a respectable and fully accepted part of the German political establishment was at long last attained.

In its October 22 issue, the *New York Times* described the rejoicing among the Social Democrats as the new cabinet was sworn in:

"Mr. Brandt's tears started when his party deputy, Herbert Wehner, came up to embrace him. Mr. Wehner, whose 10-year-old strategy of broadening the party base paid off with victory, also wept. . . .

"One of Mr. Brandt's first acts as the first Social Democratic Chancellor of the Federal Republic was to light

a cigarillo. In the hall outside, Mayor Klaus Schütz of West Berlin, a Brandt protégé, grinned broadly and said: 'That's the way real revolutions take place.'"

Schütz gained some international notoriety in February 1968 for his innuendo that the participants in the European youth demonstrations against the Vietnam war in West Berlin were depraved types. He called on the people of the city to "Get a good look at these characters, right in the eye."*

The architect of the new "modern" SPD, Herbert Wehner, is an ex-Stalinist.

A second probable reason for the new status of the SPD in bourgeois eyes is that with the fading of the Economic Miracle and the increasingly numerous strikes occurring in the country, the West German bourgeoisie may have felt the need for a government with a fresher, younger, less worn-out image — and with more direct influence on the union bureaucrats.

Brandt is a far more engaging figure than the stodgy Christian Democratic leaders, if only because of his record as an antifascist refugee — a rare distinction in the top German political circles.

Furthermore, the new chancellor's history as a radical youth who "mellowed" might not be entirely to his disadvantage in Germany today. Brandt was briefly a member of the SAP [Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei — Socialist Workers party, a long defunct centrist grouping which split to the left from the SPD in the prewar period.]

It became clear immediately after the coalition agreement was reached that the unions and the workers were expected to make sacrifices for the privilege of having a Social Democratic government.

The SPD's assumption of the prin-

* See "Behind the Shooting of Rudi Dutschke," by Gisela Mandel in *World Outlook* (now *Intercontinental Press*), April 26, 1968, p. 369.



SCHEEL. Holds Brandt on a short leash.

cial governmental responsibility through a backroom deal with a small bourgeois grouping could not help but usher in a new stage in the degeneration of German Social Democracy. In fact, the FDP seemed to be determining the main lines of the new cabinet's social policy.

As an essential condition for joining the coalition, the FDP demanded that the Social Democrats drop their program of worker participation in industrial management. The SPD moved immediately to bring the union bureaucracy into line.

The West German weekly *Der Spiegel* wrote October 13: "To appease the suspicious union bosses and their entourages, SPD chief Brandt sent his traffic minister [designate] Leber on a tour. For four hours last Tuesday, this ex-chief of the Building, Stone, and Earth Workers Union argued with his colleagues.

"With the help of his successor in the Building Workers Union, Rudolf Sperner, and the mine workers' leader Walter Arendt who aspires to a ministerial portfolio, Leber sought in the IG-Bergbau [Industrie Gewerkschaft Bergbau — Mine Workers Union] headquarters in Bochum to make it clear to the functionaries that insisting on the codetermination demand would endanger the inauguration of the first Social Democratic Chancellor of the postwar period."

Only feeble protests, *Der Spiegel* reported, were raised by the DGB [Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund — German Union Federation] chief Heinz Oskar Vetter and the Chemical Workers chief Karl Hauenschild. Vetter complained, "We unionists must have a free hand."

Der Spiegel noted, however, that in the end the union leaders accepted the conditions of the coalition without a murmur.

Lastly, the SPD-FDP government may represent an occasion for the West German ruling class to experiment with a more independent foreign policy. The militant "front-line-of-the-free-world" stance maintained by the successive Christian Democratic governments greatly restricted capacity for maneuvering.

Now increasing intrainperialist economic competition seems to be arousing an interest in bolder diplomatic moves.

As foreign minister under the preceding Christian Democratic-dominated coalition government, Brandt was associated with a more flexible attitude in regard to the East European workers states and a willingness to abandon West Germany's formal territorial claims on its neighbors. There has also been a nationalist trend in the FDP favoring a détente with the Soviet bloc so as to strengthen the country's international political position.

The clause on policy toward East Europe in the coalition agreement was as follows: "The SPD and FDP favor guaranteeing the territorial integrity of all our neighbors and the inviolability of the demarcation lines, the border lines, and the frontiers in the East through binding agreements on the renunciation of force and the threat of force until a final settlement by a peace treaty."

On assuming office, Brandt changed the name of the ministry for "Gesamtdeutsche Fragen" [All-German Questions], which expressed the Bonn regime's claim to represent all of Germany, to the ministry for "Innerdeutsche Beziehungen" [Intra-German Relations].

It was hinted that the new government would drop the old policy of refusing to recognize East Germany as a sovereign state and withholding diplomatic relations from any country that recognized the Pankow government. This policy has been becoming increasingly untenable in recent years.

The indications that Brandt would follow a more independent course internationally aroused some concern in Washington. However, the influential *New York Times* editorial staff writer C. L. Sulzberger advised the American leaders to keep the expected shifts in German foreign policy in perspective:

"As the new regime consolidates its position it may show itself less eager to endorse all major U. S. diplomatic attitudes and more subject to pressures for de-emphasizing NATO's military aspects — although Brandt fully realizes his nation's integrity depends on that alliance. . . .

"Come what may, one can expect change both in the form and substance of Bonn's diplomacy and an attempt to raise the stature of the political dwarf to that of the economic giant."

Japan

H-Bombs in Okinawa

U. S. B-52 bombers based on Okinawa have been carrying H-bombs on regular patrol missions in the vicinity of China and North Korea, the Japanese news agency Kyodo cabled October 23.

The agency claimed to base its report on "reliable sources" in Okinawa. According to these sources, the B-52s fly out of Kadena air base at 2:30 p.m. in a six-plane formation, always accompanied by KC135 refueling tankers. The first two planes in the formation are believed to carry the H-bombs.

The Kyodo report touched off a wave of protest on the American-occupied Japanese island where the bombers are based. Even Chobyō Yara, the liberal chief executive of the Ryukyu chain, which includes Okinawa, declared: "I am very shocked. I do not know why patrols have to be carried out, but they are desirable neither for Okinawa nor for the peace in Asia." Yara said that he would demand withdrawal of the bombers.

The Okinawa Reversion Council, which demands return of the island to Japan, has called for a strike November 13 — the same day the second round of fall antiwar actions is scheduled to begin in the U. S. — to protest Tokyo's complicity in the continued use of the territory as a military base.

Nixon Caught in Bind

by Joseph Hansen

The most important bit of news from Washington last week was the report that the two groups organizing mass antiwar demonstrations in the United States in mid-November had agreed to support each others' efforts.

On October 21, spokesmen of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam said they saw no conflict between their activities.

Sam Brown, speaking for the Vietnam Moratorium Committee which organized the giant October 15 demonstration, said there was no split between the two groups. Instead, "there is a difference in emphasis."

Brown's stand was of special importance in view of the heavy pressure exerted from right-wing sources to induce the Vietnam Moratorium Committee to try to challenge the New Mobilization Committee.

A key component of the New Mobilization Committee, the very active Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, had already appealed for common action. At a press conference in Washington October 20, Carol Lipman, executive secretary of the student antiwar organization, announced full support of "all antiwar activities," including the second national moratorium November 13 and 14 and the New Mobilization Committee's "March Against Death" in Washington and San Francisco on November 15.

Thus it appears certain that the two groups will pull together for three days of antiwar demonstrations only one month after the biggest demonstration ever seen in America.

In face of the clamor in the streets for immediate withdrawal of the troops, Nixon is floundering. He made a try at witch-hunting, assigning his vice-president and toady Spiro T. Agnew to run up the trial balloons.

Waving Hanoi's letter of solidarity with the American people in their opposition to the war, Agnew demanded that the Vietnam Moratorium Committee "repudiate" this "shocking intrusion into the affairs of the American people."

After being repudiated himself, he tried a new tack. In a speech October 19 in New Orleans, he said of the antiwar moratorium: "A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete corps of impudent snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals."

He also accused American youth of overwhelming themselves "with drugs and artificial stimulants."

Agnew needs a better broom to sweep back the tide. On October 23, *Newsday*, a Long Island journal, printed an interview in which Agnew admitted that his own daughter, Kim, had wanted to march on October 15 with a black arm band.

"I wouldn't let her," said Agnew. "She was unhappy for a day, but she got over it."

Hubert Humphrey, the head of the Democratic party, was in there with Agnew. On the eve of the October moratorium, Humphrey appealed to the country to oppose the demonstrations, because "We have only one President at a time, and I think the worst thing we can do is try to undermine the efforts of the President."

Humphrey followed this up October 15 with a much-needed explanation. He had promised Nixon, he said, that he would never say, "You are the man who lost the war."

Humphrey continued: "As head of the Democratic party—and, by God, I am the leader of the party—I didn't want him to worry about me stabbing him in the back later."

Nixon, of course, stabbed the voters in the back when he welched on his promise to end the war in Vietnam. Humphrey can understand that. It's routine in the trade.

Still trying to maintain his now worn-out strategy of bidding for time while he continues Johnson's policy of pursuing the war in Vietnam and seeking some kind of settlement like the one in Korea, Nixon has been reduced to improvisation on almost a week-to-week basis. His projected November 3 speech is an example.

This was announced in hope of de-

flating the October 15 demonstration by promising to review the situation in Vietnam. That implied he was about to make some substantial concessions.

The American people paid no attention, pouring into the streets on October 15 by the millions.

Now the congressmen of both parties and the entire bourgeois communications media have centered full attention on the projected speech.

What will Nixon say? All kinds of rumors are circulating. These range from announcing a unilateral cease-fire and the withdrawal of 300,000 troops to a demagogic restatement of his "hold tough" and "give me more time" position, sweetened perhaps with another token withdrawal.

In Washington it is reported that Nixon, when he announced the speech, had no idea of what he would say. He wanted only to puncture the October 15 moratorium and throw the doves in Congress off balance.

According to John W. Finney, writing in the October 26 *New York Times*, Nixon, "in all probability," has not yet decided what to say. "He is caught, some observers believe, in a self-created dilemma. Unless he offers a dramatic new proposal, such as a specific plan for withdrawal of all ground combat troops or a cease-fire, he risks alienating not only the expectant doves, but an electorate which shows signs of deepening impatience with current Vietnam policy."

It can be added that if he concedes, this will constitute an immense victory for the antiwar forces, testifying in particular to the efficacy of mass demonstrations in the streets. The lesson will not be lost on the American people.

And if he refuses to concede, the anger of the masses will mount all the higher precisely because they were led to expect something big.

Escalation to "Sophisticated" Level?

In a press interview September 28, President Nguyen Van Thieu said that his regime has enough manpower to carry on the war in Vietnam if U.S. troops were to be withdrawn but lacked the firepower. This, Thieu suggested, could be made up by Nixon.

What Saigon needs, Thieu explained, is "more sophisticated weapons, like atomic warfare."

A surprised reporter asked, "More sophisticated weapons like what, sir?"

"Like atomic weapons," Thieu replied, "something like that."

The Political Situation in India

[At a meeting in Bombay the first week of June, the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers party, the Indian section of the Fourth International, adopted the resolution printed below. We have taken it from the July 15 issue of *Marxist Outlook*, the fortnightly journal of the SWP.]

* * *

The broad political trends that emerged in the country after the general elections in March 1967 continued to be reflected in the mid-term elections held in four states of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Punjab in February 1969.

In West Bengal, the left-dominated United Front emerged victorious as against the Congress and other capitalist parties, indicating a new stage of radicalization of masses of workers, urban petty bourgeoisie, and rural poor in the state.

In U.P. [Uttar Pradesh], the Congress managed to win a majority in the Legislature as in 1967 (a majority which it subsequently lost because of defections) but the Jan Sangh, the Hindu communal party, suffered a set-back yielding its position as the second largest party in the state to the Bharatiya Kranti Dal [BKD], a formation of the Congress defectors.

In the Bihar Legislative Assembly, the Congress has emerged as the largest single party and has formed a precarious coalition government with the support of regional capitalist parties and independents.*

The Akali Dal and the Jan Sangh alliance has emerged as the ruling bloc in the Punjab Legislature.

These political trends can be summed up as follows:

(1) the growing disintegration of the

Congress as the dominant national party of the capitalist class, creating new problems of political stability of the bourgeois rule both at the Centre and in the various states; (2) the failure of the traditional workers parties to project a real class alternative to the capitalist rule — despite the radicalization of the masses in several states, particularly in Kerala and West Bengal — thanks to their increasing involvement in opportunist parliamentary manoeuvres and multi-class coalitions with capitalist and even reactionary communal parties; and (3) relative consolidation of extreme right-wing capitalist parties like the Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party, Akali Dal, BKD, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in certain regions.

The leadership of the Congress Party has realized that its monopoly to hold office at the Centre and in different states has disappeared and it is reconciled to the idea of "sharing power" with other "like-minded" parties.

There are, however, two distinct tendencies within its leadership, pursuing two separate strategies: a "conservative" wing, represented by leaders like S. K. Patil, favours the idea of a coalition of the Congress with rightist capitalist parties like the Jan Sangh, Swatantra, BKD, DMK, etc. (extended up to the Praja Socialist Party [PSP] but excluding the Communist parties), while a so-called "liberal wing" associated with Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her middle-class "socialist" hangers-on, both inside and outside the Congress, favours a "left-oriented," Congress-led coalition with "left" parties, including the Samyukta Socialist Party [SSP], PSP, Communist Party of India [CPI] and the Communist Party of India (Marxists) [CPI(M)].

These differences among capitalist politicians centre round the tactic of preserving the stability of their class rule at the Centre in the context of a growing crisis experienced by the

capitalist class as a whole. At one stage it appeared as if the Congress leadership itself would break up on this issue, but a split has been averted for the time being, both wings having given up the talk about "polarization" of forces among themselves because of the common fear that a split would completely destroy the Congress as a national party at the present juncture.

Although the two rival wings have temporarily reconciled their differences, there is no guarantee that such ad hoc arrangements would prevent the differences erupting again.

From a revolutionary Marxist standpoint there is nothing to choose between the so-called right-oriented coalition and a left-oriented coalition at the Centre, both of which subserve the needs of the capitalist rulers of India and their imperialist allies.

In fact the experiments of national coalitions in underdeveloped countries like Indonesia, Iraq, and Ceylon have amply demonstrated that the ruling bourgeoisies of these countries have utilized the association of traditional left parties in governments to disorient the masses from the path of struggle and eventually to establish their own naked class dictatorships.

There are no immediate prospects of a rightist coalition emerging at the Centre. But the reactionary bourgeois parties, notably the Jan Sangh, Swatantra, BKD, have initiated attempts to integrate themselves under the banner of a united party to face the threat posed to the capitalist system by the emerging struggles of workers and peasants and growing radicalization of the masses.

The attempt of the bourgeoisie to create a strong alternative political party has not succeeded so far.

It should be noted, however, that the Indian bourgeoisie has been able to preserve a parliamentary facade of its class rule during the last two decades — unlike the bourgeois rulers of other newly independent countries who have been forced to resort to military or semi-military dictatorships openly backed by the armed might of U. S. imperialism.

This has been further facilitated by the role of the traditional workers parties which have themselves sunk deep into the quagmire of parliamentary cretinism and have helped divert mass discontent into parliamentary channels.

* Since the adoption of this resolution, the coalition government led by the Congress Party in Bihar has fallen. A non-Congress coalition government which succeeded it lasted only a few weeks. Now Bihar is under President's rule.

The present manoeuvres of the capitalist parties, and their middle class and "left" allies, are still being conceived within the existing capitalist constitutional framework.

The failure of capitalist rule to resolve any of the basic problems of the masses, either in the urban or the rural areas, is giving rise to new struggles of workers, petty-bourgeois wage earners, students and the youth, as well as the rural poor, who are the main victims of the present capitalist "underdevelopment."

These struggles, for the present, are without any positive direction and are limited to pressure tactics aimed at achieving minor reforms or winning concessions for the masses within the capitalist framework.

The general strike of the Central Government employees last year, for example, could have brought about a nation-wide confrontation of the entire working class in common action against the bourgeois state; but the gigantic struggle was betrayed by traditional leaderships of the working class.

The isolated struggles of workers in different states are sabotaged by the refusal of the leadership to coordinate them on a nation-wide scale. This can also be said of the struggles of teachers, bank employees and other sections of white-collared employees.

The student strikes in various universities for educational reforms and against corrupt practices of educational authorities have been allowed to dissipate into blind protest campaigns in the absence of a positive anti-capitalist leadership to coordinate them.

The struggles of the rural poor, especially of the agricultural workers, for land and tolerable living conditions are easily suppressed by the bourgeois state in the absence of an effective leadership of the urban proletariat to intervene on their behalf.

Threatened as it is by a mass upsurge, the Indian bourgeoisie, which is already facing an unprecedented crisis on the political and economic fronts, might move in the direction of discarding its parliamentary rule and resorting to a military dictatorship.

But the recent mass upsurge in Pakistan which toppled the Ayub regime proved to be a damper to such a move. It also showed that a military dictatorship in itself is not a way out

of its crisis for the bourgeoisie in underdeveloped countries.

The ruling class in India, before resorting to the extreme step, might try out other alternatives of its class rule, i.e., either a left-oriented coalition at the Centre, or should it prove to be short-lived, a right-oriented coalition. These manoeuvres, however, cannot save capitalism from its inevitable doom.

The revolutionary Marxists must counter these manoeuvres with the slogan of a "Workers' and Peasants' Government."

The unstable character of the capitalist economy, subjected to pulls and pressures of international capitalism, is also reflected in the unstable character of all the traditional bourgeois parties which are undergoing a process of splits and disintegration.

The various capitalist parties themselves, torn between different regional loyalties, lack a truly national outlook. A new phenomenon is the emergence of regional chauvinistic formations like the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and separatist movements in Telangana and other regions.

While the reactionary capitalist parties exploit regional sentiments of the masses to disrupt the unity of the exploited masses, the traditional left parties in their anxiety to subservient short-sighted electoral objectives also encourage regional chauvinist forces.

Only a positive intervention of the revolutionary proletariat on the basis of an anti-capitalist socialist programme can prevent or combat these disruptive and divisive forces.

The traditional left parties can hardly be distinguished from traditional bourgeois parties in their opportunistic parliamentary practices. The Indian "left" is undergoing a process of disintegration and differentiation. The reformist socialist parties, SSP and the PSP, for example, have had a series of splits in recent years. Neither of them can be considered a serious challenge to the bourgeois state. Attempts to unite them into a single "democratic socialist" party have misfired.

The two traditional Stalinist parties, the CPI and the CPI(M), despite their mutual differences on questions of tactics, have degenerated into social-democratic defenders of the bourgeois parliamentary order, both being commit-

ted to the "parliamentary road to socialism."

The role of the two CPIs in the so-called "United Front" governments in Kerala and West Bengal bears ample testimony to their utterly opportunist class-collaboration policies.

The theoretical justification for the multi-class, left-sponsored coalitions is provided in the case of the CPI by its programme of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal "national democratic revolution," to be accomplished by the proletariat in India in alliance with the national bourgeoisie, and in the case of the CPI(M) by the programme of a "people's democratic revolution" also to be achieved in alliance with the national bourgeoisie, but under the hegemony of the proletariat.

In practice, however, both parties pursue the policy of defending bourgeois property relations, because their immediate goal is consolidation of capitalism and not its liquidation.

After the break-up of the united CPI, the "Marxist" wing initially adopted pro-Peking positions in the Sino-Soviet ideological polemics while the Dangeite CPI pursued its line of subservience to the Soviet bureaucracy. Since the 1967 general elections, however, the CPI(M) has been criticized by the Maoist leadership of the Chinese CP as a "neo-revisionist" party and the CPI(M) has also now adopted an anti-Peking stance.

The CPI(M) has openly criticised the decisions taken by the Chinese CP at its recent ninth Congress.

There has been also a move initiated by the Soviet bureaucracy to bring the two CPs in India closer and bring about their eventual merger into a single party subservient to the international strategy of the Soviet government. These attempts have so far failed to yield any positive results because of the bureaucratic organizational practices of both the parties.

The opportunist role of the CPI(M) and its left allies in the "UF" [United Front] ministries of Kerala and West Bengal — in the name of placating their bourgeois allies like the Muslim League and the Bangla Congress — has caused a great deal of frustration among the militant cadres of the party. The outcome has been the emergence of adventurist pro-Maoist groups labelled by the capitalist press as "Naxalites" in different states.

Some militant dissident cadres of the

CPI(M) have, however, oriented to the Trotskyist movement represented by the SWP in various states.

The formation of the "third" Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), openly owing its allegiance to Maoism, is a projection of the revolt of a section of the militant cadres of the CPI(M) against its opportunist leadership, inspired no doubt by the leadership of the Chinese CP.

As opposed to the parliamentary cretinism of the CPI(M), the so-called "Naxalites" advance the adventurist and unrealistic programme of armed guerrilla action of the rural poor in the villages against the state.

But politically the Naxalites accept the CPI(M) programme of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal "people's democratic revolution" based on a four-class bloc of the proletariat, the middle class, the peasantry and the non-monopolist national bourgeoisie, and reject the programme of a socialist revolution for India.

The basic strategy of the Maoist groups appears to be that of building a party that subserves the foreign policy exigencies of the People's Republic of China; but different tendencies among them have so far failed to integrate themselves into a united national party because of their differences on tactical questions like boycott of parliamentary elections, relative role of the working class in the revolutionary movement, etc.

All this is an indication of the bankruptcy of the traditional Stalinist parties, either pro-Moscow or pro-Peking, to project a revolutionary leadership of the Indian working class capable of accomplishing a socialist revolution which alone can provide a solution to the multi-sided problems of the Indian masses.

As for the smaller or regional Marxist parties like the RSPI [Revolutionary Socialist Party of India], the SUC [Socialist Unity Centre], etc., their political positions can hardly be distinguished from their bigger left partners in the so-called united fronts.

The RSPI, for example, rejects in theory at least the parliamentary road to socialism and accepts the programme of a socialist revolution for India, but in practice it refuses to break with the multi-class UF ministries in Kerala and West Bengal which serve as defenders of capitalist property.

The traditional left parties in an underdeveloped country like India, it must be recognised, cannot enjoy the luxury of being the reformist agents of the bourgeoisie as in the case of their "social democratic" counterparts in the advanced capitalist countries because of the inability of the Indian bourgeoisie to make any concessions to the masses.

In their squabbles for distribution of the spoils of office within the parliamentary framework, the left parties behave no better than the capitalist parties; they subordinate their activities on political and ideological fronts to the exigencies of the parliamentary fronts.

In contrast to this, revolutionary Marxists believe that activities on the parliamentary front should be completely subordinated to the needs of class struggle outside.

In the contest of the emerging struggles of the masses, however, there are bound to be further processes of differentiation among the traditional left parties whose leadership will come into increasing conflicts with their militant rank and file. All the attempts of these parties to find a modus vivendi among themselves as appendages of the capitalist system, in the name of operating a "parliamentary

democracy," are bound to fail.

There is indeed a great deal of "confusion" in left politics. But one positive gain is the open debate now taking place in every left party, although in a chaotic manner, about the tactics and strategy of the revolutionary movement. There is a search for a revolutionary alternative among the militant cadres of traditional workers and left parties. They are learning from the experiences of mass movements that the basic problems of the masses — of growing unemployment, worsening poverty, etc., inevitable under an underdeveloped capitalist economy — can be resolved only by making a clean sweep of the decadent capitalist system by means of a socialist revolution led by the working class.

The present "ideological confusion" in the working-class movement can be resolved only in the process of new united struggles of workers, the rural poor, and the radical youth which will throw up a revolutionary leadership guided by the experiences of the Fourth International which has kept alive the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in spite of the betrayals of the traditional Stalinist and social-democratic parties on a global scale.

India

Indira Gandhi's Camp Followers

Two of India's three Stalinist parties are under fire for openly supporting V.V. Giri, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's candidate, who was elected president of India last August 19.

Both the pro-Moscow Communist party of India [CPI] and the formerly pro-Peking Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)] endorsed Giri's candidacy. Their invocation of the Stalinist dogma that it is justified to support the "liberal" bourgeoisie against the reactionaries was made more difficult by the fact that Giri's opponent was also a member of the same ruling Congress party. But this did not stop the two CPs from applying the same class-collaborationist policy that

has proved so disastrous for working-class movements, from the Spanish Civil War to the Indonesian debacle in 1965.

Under India's electoral system there is no popular vote for the presidency. Instead, an electoral college, composed of all members of parliament and of state legislatures, casts ballots which are tallied in a complex system based on preferential weighting.

Giri, the candidate of the "left" wing of the ruling Congress party, was opposed by the official Congress party standard-bearer, Neelam Sanjiva Reddy. The final outcome was a close one — 420,077 votes for Giri against 405,427 for Reddy. A large bloc of

votes was cast for Giri by the so-called United Front governments in West Bengal and in Kerala. Both are dominated by the CPI(M), with representation from other parties ranging from the CPI to liberal bourgeois groups.

One sharp criticism of the stand taken by the CPs came from the Revolutionary Socialist party, a left-centrist participant in the West Bengal United Front. The RSP staged a procession in Calcutta September 12 to present an open letter to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi during her visit to West Bengal. In a press conference, Makhan Paul, the secretary of the RSP's West Bengal State Committee, outlined his party's objections to the behavior of its coalition partners. The September 12 Calcutta *Hindusthan Standard* reported:

"The recent measures taken by the Prime Minister, Mr. Paul said, created confusion among some of the fraternal Left parties which, directly or indirectly served to aid the Congress leadership in its effort to mislead the masses about the actual political significance of the so-called 'Socialist and Leftist upsurge' taking place in the Congress.

"The CPI and its fellow-travellers were eagerly coming forward to clasp the hands of the so-called progressive Congressmen under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi. They had offered to politically cooperate with Mrs. Gandhi's faction in the Government and outside. Even the question of forming a united front and a national democratic coalition with progressive Congressmen was being freely talked about."

This class-collaborationist approach was not limited to the pro-Moscow party. The RSP leader continued:

"The CPI(M), on the other hand, while formally discounting the possibility of its participating in any such coalition Government, talked of waiting for the 'progress of differentiation and contradictions inside the Congress' and took up a rather shamefaced attitude of responsive cooperation. This kind of thinking only served to confound the masses politically and actually helped the Congress in deceiving them, Mr. Paul said."

(The RSP spokesman did not explain his own party's participation in

the multiclass coalition government in West Bengal, nor did he identify the source of the CPs' policy in the program of Stalinism.)

Criticism of this kind elicited a hasty "left" justification from the two CPs, now that the election was safely behind them.

The same day the RSP letter was made public, Promode Dasgupta, a well-known spokesman for the CPI (M), told a rally in Midnapore that his party's support for Mrs. Gandhi was nothing but "the support of the hangman's noose to the condemned convict."

Meanwhile in Bombay, B. T. Ranadive, a member of the CPI(M) Politburo, said at a public meeting that Mrs. Gandhi had "no special love for socialism" and that her step to nationalize the major banks last July was a "hoax" designed to consolidate her personal position in the Congress party.

The CPI also tried to dissociate itself from its electoral activity. The September 17 Calcutta *Statesman* reported:

"On Tuesday [September 16] the CPI leader, Mr Biswanath Mukherji, said his party had never called Mrs Gandhi progressive, though it had supported some of her actions such as the nationalization of banks and opposition to the rightist candidate, Mr Reddy, in the Presidential poll."

But these declarations do not square with what the two CPs were saying during the election.

In July the CPI(M), the more "left" of the two CPs, announced that it would defend the present government against any parliamentary move from the right to bring it down. The party invoked the classical reformist argument that Indira Gandhi represented a "lesser evil" than her opponents in the Congress party, and should therefore be supported. The July 23 Calcutta *Statesman* reported:

"Mr P. Sundarayya, the CPI(M)'s general secretary, declared at a Press conference in Calcutta on Tuesday that his party would oppose any no-confidence motion against the Prime Minister, if it was directed against her latest policy announcements. . . .

"While apparently pragmatic in its current outlook, the party made a considerable exercise in its statement on the 'immediate political situation'

in explaining why the Prime Minister's faction in the Congress Party required to be supported against 'the greater enemy', to quote Mr Sundarayya, represented by 'the Syndicate [Congress party right wing] clique.'

"He said that whenever conflicts arose in the ruling party it would be 'our task to isolate the greater enemy.'"

Sundarayya released to the press a political resolution adopted at a meeting of the party's Central Committee that had just concluded. This document prepared the way for the CPI (M) to cast its votes for the "progressive" bourgeois candidate for president. It said:

"It is in the interest of the democratic forces that they combine at every stage to foil the attempts of extreme reaction to secure strategic positions. It is necessary in this background that the official Congress nominee for Presidentship [Reddy] be defeated so that the clique is weakened."

The CPI(M) went so far as to declare August 15, on the eve of the election, that it would call a one-day general strike in West Bengal if Sanjiva Reddy were elected. And the United Front government which it dominated gave public support to Giri's candidacy.

One of Giri's first acts after the returns were in was to send his thanks to Jyoti Basu, the leader of the CPI (M) in West Bengal.

"The President-elect, Mr V. V. Giri," the *Statesman* reported August 21, "has expressed his gratefulness to the West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Ajoy Mukherjee, and the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, for securing for him a large margin of votes . . ."

On August 22 Sundarayya reiterated his party's pledge to vote with the Indira Gandhi faction in parliament against any motion of nonconfidence proposed by her opponents on the right. He said that the CPI(M) was not prepared to enter any formal coalition, however. The party's Politburo did adopt a resolution hailing Giri's election victory.

The CPI(M) voted in the West Bengal cabinet to declare August 25 a legal paid holiday to celebrate the event.

The CPI was even more effusive. They held a meeting in Calcutta August 21, addressed by Ranen Sen,

secretary of the West Bengal CPI. The *Hindusthan Standard* reported:

"Addressing the rally the speakers emphasised that Mr Giri's victory was the victory of the progressive forces against the reactionary capitalist and monopolistic elements. It was not the victory of any single man but the victory of the masses of India."

All that, and in an election where the masses were not even allowed to vote!

Sen even criticized those parties in

the coalition that showed less elation over Indira Gandhi's success than seemed called for:

"Mr. Ranen Sen said some parties did not express their jubilation at the victory of Mr. Giri though they supported him in the Presidential election as they thought that he and Mr. Reddy belonged to the same reactionary group. But they were wrong. Mr. Giri's victory denoted the victory of the progressive forces against the reactionary elements."

The World's Biggest Electric Chair

The inhabitants of Clam Lake, a settlement of seventy-five persons in the Chequamegon National Forest in northern Wisconsin, are alarmed over a U.S. Navy project so highly classified that top officials have even stamped newspaper clippings about it as "secret."

At first sight, the alarm in Clam Lake appears unreasonable. It involves only two antennas.

But the antennas are highly unusual. First of all, they are each fourteen miles long. Secondly, up to now at least \$28 million has been put into the project, which includes a transmitting station. Thirdly, the final antenna grid might be 150 miles wide and 150 miles long and would cost from \$2 billion to \$10 billion.

A \$10-billion broadcasting station is somewhat more than Clam Lake needs.

Still odder is the power rating of the antennas already up — 2.4 million watts. The largest commercial radio stations in the U.S. are limited to 50,000 watts.

The current thrown into the two "Project Sanguine" antennas electrifies nearby metal objects and can upset telephones, television sets, and even household lighting in the area.

When protests began to be heard about the strange antennas, the navy ordered a study from Hazleton Laboratories, Inc., of Falls Church, Virginia. The laboratory noted:

"It has been shown that there can be pronounced effects on the longevity, body weight, growth, behavior, central nervous system, reproduction, etc., in animals as well as effects on plant development from ultrahigh frequencies."

While little work has been done in

investigating the effects of low frequency ranges, which is what these antennas are designed for, "there may be some effect on sperm production . . ."

In suggesting further study, the laboratory observed:

"The antenna will be enormous and, therefore, many people, domestic and farm animals, fish, insects, earthworms, birds and indigenous plant life will all be exposed to its fields for very long periods of time unless they are killed by it, are removed, or, in the case of free-ranging animals, are driven out by noxious effects. Of course, it may be that the fields will be totally benign."

What is the purpose of the monster antennas? Officials are not talking. It has leaked out, however, that the White House or Pentagon could order signals from such a transmitter to Polaris submarines cruising in the world's oceans with nuclear missiles. The long wave lengths penetrate the ocean water to great depths. The submarines would not have to surface for instructions.

Moreover, the signals are practically unjammable. Unless "the enemy" builds a larger, more powerful transmitter.

But while "the enemy" is doing that, the navy will have extended the grid. Eventually it is expected to cover most of northern Wisconsin, where approximately one million people live.

Local opposition arose out of fear that the project will drive away game and fish and electrify everything in sight. The campaigners say that the navy is going to turn the forests into "the world's biggest electric chair."

Also, they argue, the project is part of the arms race and it is high time to stop this insanity.

Free Enterprise on Rise in USSR

Such an upsurge in burglaries has occurred in the Soviet Union that the Moscow police are doing a land-office business in a burglar-alarm that connects directly with police headquarters.

The fee is \$3 a month for the service, and it is easily available. Apparently it operates through a sensitive electronic device attached to the telephone in such a way that no one, not even the subscriber, can detect it.

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