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A YEAR OF TURMOIL



Winding Down the War

Conrad, in the Los Angeles Times

Cartoonist Conrad expresses his view of Nixon's claim to be ending war in Indochina. 1971 saw repeated escalations of U. S. aggression against Indochinese peoples.

Index
for 1971

A Year of Turmoil

By Allen Myers

The year 1971 opened with good news from Peru: the release from prison of Hugo Blanco. The Trotskyist peasant leader, who had been imprisoned since May 1963, was released December 22 as part of an amnesty decreed by the government of General Velasco Alvarado.

Less than nine months later, Blanco was suddenly exiled to Mexico by the same military government, which disregarded its "leftist" image as it moved to smash a teachers' strike.

These events in Peru were in many respects characteristic of 1971. Sharpening conflicts and sudden mass struggles around the world forced governments, parties, and individuals to take stands, define their real positions clearly, and act accordingly.

The Bengali Freedom Struggle

On March 25, a war for independence erupted in East Bengal when Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan unleashed his troops in a genocidal assault upon the largely unarmed population.

To maintain domination of the Ben-

galis and a reactionary Pakistan "united" on the basis of religion, Yahya did not hesitate at a bloodbath. More than 10,000,000 refugees—predominantly Hindus—poured into India.

The Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces) of Bangla Desh soon demonstrated their ability to harass Yahya's occupying army.

The struggle tended inevitably to challenge the leadership of the bourgeois Awami League. Moreover, the prospect of a triumphant revolution in East Bengal frightened the Indian capitalists. An independent Bangla Desh could inspire a separatist movement in West Bengal and other parts of India.

These considerations led the Gandhi government to increase military pressures on the Pakistani army, culminating in a full-scale invasion of East Bengal at the beginning of December. The aim of the invasion was to establish an Awami League-dominated government under Indian tutelage in Dacca.

One of the first casualties of cross fire in Bangla Desh was the claim

of the Chinese government to be a consistent supporter of national liberation movements.

The Maoist government provide Yahya with arms and a \$20,000,000 interest-free loan, besides serving as the chief international propagandist in defense of Yahya's genocidal war.

In backing Yahya, Mao found himself in alliance with Richard Nixon, whose support for the Pakistani butcherer was equally firm, although somewhat less brazen. After March 25, the U.S. State Department declared an "embargo" on arms aid to Pakistan. It was later revealed by members of Congress, however, that the U.S. had continued to ship millions of dollars' worth of military supplies to Yahya.

For the Soviet bureaucracy, the Bengali struggle represented nothing but an opportunity to form an alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie. The Soviet-Indian "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation," signed on August 9, provided Indira Gandhi with moral and material support for her attempt to abort the Bengali revolution.

Nixon's Trip to Peking

In exchange for favors received, Yahya Khan played a role in helping to arrange the planned meeting between his two chief allies. On July 15 Nixon and the Chinese government simultaneously announced that Nixon would visit Peking "before May 1972." (The visit was later set to begin on February 21.)

One immediate result of the announcement was the dropping of U.S. opposition to the admission of China to the United Nations, a position that had become increasingly untenable in any event. While Nixon was displeased by the October 25 vote of the General Assembly to expel Chiang Kai-shek's representative, it was a small enough price to pay for the opportunity to engage Mao in the day-to-day details of preserving the status quo under the banner of "peaceful co-existence."

In the United States, the July 15 announcement was received with elation by the ruling class, which saw it—correctly—as a blow to the anti-war struggle. The communications media were flooded with propaganda about the step toward peace that had allegedly been taken. Nixon was immediately relieved from the pressure

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to respond to the offer made by the National Liberation Front at the Paris talks to release American prisoners in exchange for an early withdrawal date.

Nixon quite deliberately exploited the hopes aroused by the rapprochement, sending his adviser Henry Kissinger on a second trip to Peking immediately prior to the November 6 international antiwar demonstrations.

Continued Aggression in Indochina

In Indochina, Nixon had need of any help he could get. His strategy throughout the year was to try to appease antiwar sentiment in the U. S. by deception while simultaneously escalating the destruction of Indochina.

In January, thousands of Saigon troops, supported by massive U. S. air raids, made a bloody attempt to open Cambodia's Highway 4, the link between Pnompenh and the port of Kompong Som. While Highway 4 was duly proclaimed "cleared," it in fact remained virtually impassable throughout the year.

At the end of January, the fighting shifted to southern Laos as 30,000 Saigon troops invaded that country behind armored columns and aboard U. S. helicopters. This major new escalation of the war produced a series of warnings from the Chinese government implying that it might be forced to intervene.

This prospect raised a very genuine alarm in sections of the U. S. ruling class, which began to fear that Nixon was letting matters slip out of control.

Less than two months after the invasion was launched, Thieu's army was driven from Laos in the worst defeat imperialism had suffered in Indochina since the Tet offensive of 1968. Representatives of the Saigon regime admitted casualties equal to 25 percent of the invasion force—which consisted of the most "elite" units—and less biased observers put the figure at 40 percent or higher.

While the Laos invasion was still in progress, the *New York Times* obtained a copy of a secret Pentagon study of the Indochina war. The *Times* began publishing excerpts from the "Pentagon Papers" on June 12, but was temporarily prevented from continuing by the Nixon administration until the paper won a Supreme Court decision.

The Pentagon Papers provided a detailed refutation of the lies used by Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon to justify U. S. aggression in Indochina, and served to spur the growth of antiwar sentiment.

This embarrassment was followed by an electoral farce in Saigon in which Nguyen Van Thieu emerged as the only candidate.

At a November 12 news conference, Nixon publicly proclaimed his intention to maintain an occupation army in South Vietnam as long as Thieu needed it, and threatened to escalate the air war still further.

Ten days later, 45,000 Saigon troops were sent into eastern Cambodia in an unsuccessful attempt to relieve 20,000 of Lon Nol's troops, who were strung out along Highway 6 between Pnompenh and Kompong Thom. On December 1 and 2, Nol's forces were driven in disorder from two towns along the highway. A week later, liberation forces were attacking Pnompenh's southern defenses, and appeared to be drawing a ring about the capital.

Deepening Opposition to the War

On March 31, an army court sentenced First Lieutenant William L. Calley Jr. to life in prison for the mass murder of civilians in Mylai three years earlier. In the United States, the verdict was greeted with a storm of protest, based on the belief that Calley alone was being held guilty of crimes for which higher-ups were also responsible.

The protest reached such proportions that Nixon himself intervened, saying he would personally review the findings once all military appeals had been completed.

The uproar over the Calley case typified Nixon's need to tread cautiously in the face of deepening antiwar sentiment around the world.

One of the most massive expressions of this sentiment yet seen occurred on April 24. In the United States, marches organized by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) brought hundreds of thousands into the streets of Washington and San Francisco. Estimates of the total number of demonstrators ranged from 800,000 to more than 1,000,000.

Impressive solidarity actions on the same day brought out tens of thousands in Copenhagen, London, Paris,

Rome, Montréal, and Toronto. On April 30, New Zealanders staged their largest antiwar protest, as more than 35,000 marched in cities and towns throughout the country.

On July 30, a second wave of protests swept New Zealand in which more than 32,000 participated, many of them unionists marching under their own banners.

Equally massive demonstrations were staged in Australia on June 30. An estimated 100,000 marched in Melbourne, and thousands more demonstrated in every state.

On August 18, the New Zealand and Australian governments announced that they would withdraw all their combat troops from Vietnam by the end of the year. While both said that they would maintain "advisers" in the country, the announcement was a major victory for the antiwar movement and a striking confirmation of the power of mass mobilizations.

Despite the illusions created by the Nixon-Mao diplomacy, on November 6 NPAC was able to stage mass protests in seventeen cities across the United States. Once again, the actions were backed by solidarity demonstrations in Europe and Canada. The Canadian demonstrations reached their peak on November 3, as more than 100,000 persons across the country protested against the war and the Amchitka nuclear bomb test carried out by Nixon on November 6.

The independent mass demonstrations became the vehicle for the beginnings of participation in the antiwar movement by organized labor in the United States. While such participation consisted primarily of endorsements from union officials rather than the mobilization of the ranks, the endorsements provided the antiwar

Next Issue

This is the final issue of the year. We do not publish during the last week of December or the first week of January. Our next issue will be dated January 10, 1972.

We hope you have enjoyed the 1,128 pages of news, eyewitness reports, and commentary published by Intercontinental Press in 1971. Stay with us in 1972 for the stories behind the headlines of world events.

movement with an important opening to approach and involve millions of workers.

The year 1971 also saw a continued spread of antiwar sentiment and actions within another sector of the population with the power to force an end to the war—the GIs.

Avoidance of combat by GIs has become so common that it is now freely discussed in the bourgeois press.

On April 26, a spokesman for the Provisional Revolutionary Government's delegation at the Paris talks announced a policy of fraternization with GIs. The National Liberation Front, he said, would not attack GIs who refused to fight against the Vietnamese.

Rebellion and Repression in Ceylon

On March 16, the coalition government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike—in which the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party and the pro-Moscow Communist party are junior partners—declared a state of emergency.

The emergency regulations were used in an effort to decapitate the leadership of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna [JVP—People's Liberation Front], a leftist youth organization that had supported the governing "United Front" in the May 1970 elections but had become disillusioned by the coalition's failure to fulfill its campaign promises.

On April 4, the JVP responded to the repression by attacking police stations throughout the island.

The ferocity of Bandaranaike's suppression of the rebellion indicated the fear aroused in the ruling coalition. Mass arrests of more than 16,000 youths—most of them still confined in concentration camps—and execution without trial were the means used to put down the JVP, with some international assistance.

Yahya Khan and Indira Gandhi forgot their differences long enough to join in sending gunboats to Bandaranaike's aid. President Tito of Yugoslavia sent artillery to shell the jungle retreats of the JVP. The Soviet bureaucracy provided armored cars, helicopters, jet planes, technicians, and instructors. Mao Tsetung generously decided that the Chinese people would pay the expenses of the counterrevolution, and gave the Ceylon regime a \$30,000,000 interest-free loan.

The government, however, felt too insecure to relax its police measures even months later. On November 25, Bandaranaike told parliament: "The restoration of civil liberties, such as the holding of public meetings, is not possible right now, because the leaders of the young students and workers, presently under detention, have many followers outside prison."

Growth of Reaction in the Middle East

On January 8, the "Hashemite Nero," King Hussein, launched the first of several offensives aimed at completing the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance begun in the September 1970 civil war.

A war of attrition continued throughout the year, with repeated attacks on guerrilla bases. In June, it was reported that Hussein's forces had joined the Israelis in firing on commando units entering or leaving Israeli-occupied territory.

The weapons directed against the fedayeen were primarily American. In the ten months following September 1970, Nixon provided Hussein with a minimum of \$30,000,000 in arms. Even more ominous was a report published by the *Christian Science Monitor* that a team of U.S. army "advisers" was working with Hussein's troops.

Hussein's efforts to liquidate the fedayeen were intended to clear the way for a "political" settlement with Zionism—one perhaps involving the establishment of a rump state for Palestinians on the West Bank of the Jordan River. His task was made easier by a rightward shift in several Arab governments.

On November 13, 1970, the Syrian government, which had been the only Arab government to provide the fedayeen with material aid in September, was overthrown by a coup.

In May, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, claiming that there had been an "attempted coup," launched a purge of left Nasserites in the Arab Socialist Union, the country's only legal political party. Ninety-one persons, including Vice President Aly Sabry and Minister of War Mohammed Fawzi, were arrested and brought to trial.

At the same time that Sadat opened his purge, the government of General Nimeiry in the Sudan outlawed all mass organizations except his pro-

posed "Sudanese Socialist Union." On July 19, Nimeiry was arrested in a coup led by a former government minister who had been dismissed as a "Communist sympathizer."

The new regime, however, was overthrown within three days by Sudanese troops flown from Egypt under the command of Egyptian officers. Once back in power, Nimeiry quickly carried out executions of leaders of the Communist party, which had supported the coup although it appears that it was not actually involved in its preparation.

With the temporary decline in the danger from the Palestinian revolutionists, the Zionist regime found itself confronted by another threat. Israeli "Black Panthers"—Sephardic Jews—staged a series of protests against the racial discrimination they suffer in Israel. Their demand that government funds be spent on improving Israeli society rather than encouraging immigration struck directly at the ideological basis of Zionism.

African Colonial Regimes Tighten Their Hold

On November 24, the racist minority government that oppresses the 5,000,000 Africans in Zimbabwe won recognition for "Rhodesian" independence from the British government. The agreement between Ian Smith and the British Foreign Secretary will, when ratified, serve the British and United States governments with the pretext for complete abandonment of the economic sanctions decreed six years earlier by the United Nations.

Aside from Smith himself, the most enthusiastic supporter of the agreement was South African Premier John Vorster, who sees a white-ruled Rhodesia as a buffer state between apartheid South Africa and Black nationalism in the states to the north. During the year, Vorster provided

Correction

In Pierre Frank's article "The Split Between Healy and Lambert" in the November 29 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, an error in translation was made. The second paragraph on page 1047 reads: "This orientation toward the Social Democracy has recently been intensified. After all, isn't it necessary to 'save' Mitterrand's Socialist party?" The second sentence should read: "After all, isn't it necessary to 'save' the Socialist party from Mitterrand?"

evidence of the sharpening contradictions inside South Africa by stepping up the persecution of all sources of opposition.

In February, thirty members of the Unity Movement were arrested in countrywide raids. Fourteen were indicted under the notorious Terrorism Act, but before the trial opened one had been tortured to death by the police. The repression extended even to white liberal critics, with the Anglican dean of Johannesburg being sentenced to five years in prison for the "crime" of aiding families of political prisoners.

Repression and Reformism in Latin America

General Velasco's exiling of Hugo Blanco and the leaders of the Peruvian teachers' strike was one expression of the inability of the "military reformist" regimes in Latin America to solve any of the basic social contradictions of their societies. On November 9, Velasco's "revolutionary" rhetoric gave way to the brutal suppression of striking miners, in which twenty-nine were killed.

Another "leftist" military regime was toppled in Bolivia in August by a military uprising supported by the ultrarightist Falange Socialista Boliviana (Bolivian Socialist Falange) and the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement) of former president Victor Paz Estenssoro.

General Juan José Torres, who had been installed as president in October 1970 in an attempt to head off a mass mobilization that prevented a right-wing coup at the time, fled to the Peruvian embassy early in the morning of August 22. Two of the leaders of the rightist uprising had been arrested and then freed by Torres after unsuccessful coup attempts in January and March.

A cause for alarm to the defenders of capitalism was the formation in February of the Asamblea Popular (People's Assembly). While the Asamblea included representatives of bourgeois parties and was prevented by the reformists of the Communist party from clearly posing the issue of who should rule, it nevertheless had the potential of developing into a soviet. Because of the lack of a mass revolutionary party, this potentiality was not realized.

In Argentina the military regime indicated that it was seeking a way to return the country to civilian rule without touching off a mass uprising in the process. After a general strike in Córdoba in March, General Alejandro Lanusse, the power behind his predecessor Roberto Levingston, took control in his own name.

Lanusse quickly legalized the bourgeois political parties and promised elections in 1973. Recognizing the need for support of sectors of the working class for such a transition, Lanusse also opened up negotiations with the followers of former dictator Juan Perón.

In the Dominican Republic, the police-backed terrorist organization "La Banda" brought the death rate of opponents of Joaquín Balaguer's rule to a level higher than during the regime of Trujillo. The terror was, if anything, even worse in Guatemala, where two right-wing groups competed in assassinating opponents of President Carlos Arana Osorio.

In Mexico, President Luis Echeverría on January 26 freed seventeen political prisoners held since 1968. Another sixteen were released in March. These actions, however, were hardly a move toward liberalization. On March 16, the government unveiled a "Communist plot" supposedly involving the Soviet Union, East Germany, North Korea, and China. And on June 16, Los Halcones (the Hawks), a right-wing goon squad apparently patterned on those in the Dominican Republic and Guatemala, made their public appearance in a brutal assault on a student demonstration.

In Chile there were ominous signs of rightist forces beginning to mobilize against the reformist Allende government as the year ended, with street demonstrations by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces reminiscent of the mobilization that preceded the 1964 military coup in Brazil.

In face of deliberate sabotage of production by the bourgeoisie in both the industrial and agricultural sectors, the Unidad Popular (People's Unity) government sought to "compromise" by restraining the struggles of workers and peasants. In some cases, this resulted in the outright repression of peasants attempting to seize unused land.

The Chilean example produced its

imitation in Uruguay in the form of the Frente Amplio (Broad Front). Despite its ability to mobilize 500,000 persons in a militant demonstration six days before the November 30 elections, the Broad Front polled only about 20 percent of the vote. Not the least of the Broad Front's problems compared with Chile was the greater relative weight of the Communist party, which used its influence to ensure that the candidates and program of the popular front did not step outside the bounds of bourgeois respectability.

Thirteen years after the victory, revolutionary Cuba still remained an example for the oppressed of Latin America.

Fidel Castro's state visit to Chile in November was an important break in the long blockade maintained by Washington. Supporters of the Cuban revolution welcomed this encouraging sign. Nevertheless, Castro's tour appeared designed to ease mass pressures exerted against the Allende government. This was especially evident in some of Castro's speeches and remarks during the visit.

Perhaps even more harmful to the interests of the Cuban revolution was the imprisonment in March and subsequent "self-criticism" of the poet Herberto Padilla. The case marked a serious departure from the standards of artistic freedom that had previously been maintained in Cuba.

The Kremlin Tightens the Screws

The twenty-fourth congress of the Communist party, which met March 30-April 9, ratified a reversal in the limited easing of controls that had been granted to the masses in the years following Stalin's death. This was seen most clearly in the growing use of confinement in psychiatric prison-hospitals as a means of suppressing political dissent.

The fight against this vicious form of oppression became a major theme of *samizdat* literature, which continued to flourish despite all difficulties.

The unfavorable publicity created by the trials of thirty-four persons—thirty-two of them Jews—provided an example of why the bureaucracy prefers quieter methods of dealing with opposition. The thirty-four, whose trials were staged between December and June, were accused of varying de-

gress of complicity in a plot to hijack an airplane in June 1970.

While the Kremlin's propaganda made much of the defendants' Zionist beliefs, this aspect of the case only raised a far more embarrassing subject: the suppression of the national rights of minorities in the Soviet Union. The fact that many Soviet Jews feel they can preserve their national identity only by emigration to Israel exposed the bureaucracy itself as the major source of Zionism in the Soviet Union.

The twenty-fourth congress took place in the shadow of a workers' uprising in Poland that toppled Wladyslaw Gomulka from power and forced the government to grant significant economic concessions. Between mid-December and February, strikes and demonstrations shook Gdansk, Szczecin, and Lodz, and threatened to spread to Warsaw.

These events were presumably still fresh in the mind of Leonid Brezhnev, who emerged in 1971 as the Soviet party's supreme arbiter, when he journeyed to Prague in May for the long-delayed congress of the Czechoslovak Communist party. The gathering enthusiastically applauded Brezhnev's approval of the "normalization"—i.e., the reimposition of the Stalinist strait-jacket on the country three years after the "Prague spring" was interrupted by Soviet troops.

There was a note of bravado in the bureaucrats' self-congratulations, however, for there were signs that sectors of Czechoslovak society—particularly the youth—retained their determination to fight for socialist democracy. The trial and sentencing of nineteen young "Trotskyists" in Prague for their propaganda activities against the bureaucracy indicated that the Husak regime is well aware of its lack of popularity.

Ferment among the youth also continued in Yugoslavia. Students of the University of Ljubljana staged a sit-in May 26 to protest the arrest of three participants in a demonstration against visiting French Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas.

National Struggles in the Developed Capitalist Countries

For the first time since the second world war, the concentration camp system was introduced in a Western country as a method of crushing mass

political opposition. It was the British government, supposedly the most "civilized" and stable of the big capitalist powers, that resorted to this measure.

After a series of increasingly brutal attacks on the nationalist population of Northern Ireland, British troops in this imperialist fortress-state rounded up hundreds of alleged terrorists in predawn raids August 9 on the Catholic ghettos.

A virtual insurrection of the nationalist people throughout the London-dominated enclave forced the British army to back off from its all-out assault on the ghetto communities. But smaller-scale raids were continuing at the end of the year in an apparent attempt to wear down the resistance. At the same time the British government was pressing the neocolonialist Dublin regime to cooperate in the repression of militant nationalist currents.

Despite the tightening noose of repression, however, the passive resistance of the nationalist community—the rent and tax strike—remains unbroken. And as the difficulties of the capitalists deepen both in Ireland and internationally, England's oldest colony threatens to become the focus of new and more powerful struggles against the system of exploitation that the Irish people have fought throughout all of modern history.

In the United States, there was a noticeable increase in nationalist activity in the Spanish-speaking domestic colony, particularly in the Chicano population of the Southwest and West. Opposition to the war in Indochina continued to be an important issue, with well over thirty Chicano Moratoriums having been held to date.

Perhaps even more significant was the growth of the Chicano independent political formation, La Raza Unida party (LRUP). The party has won governmental control in San Juan and Crystal City, Texas, and has won significant percentages of the vote elsewhere in Texas and in Los Angeles. In February, an Arizona LRUP was organized in Tucson, and on October 30 the Texas party voted to organize on a statewide basis for the 1972 elections.

The Black nationalist movement in the U.S., on the other hand, has yet to produce a viable political organization that can mobilize the masses of the ghetto. The year 1971 saw the continued fragmentation of the Black Pan-

ther party, which split into two wings behind Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver.

The deepening nationalist sentiment of oppressed minorities in the U.S. also found expression in the rebellion of prisoners—the major proportion of whom are Black or Spanish-speaking—against the brutal conditions under which they are forced to live. The mass slaughter September 13 of prisoners and hostages alike in the prison at Attica, New York, indicated the government's fear of this new revolutionary upsurge.

On October 16, the anniversary of Trudeau's imposition of the War Measures Act depriving Canadians of their civil liberties, more than 8,000 persons demonstrated in Montréal for a French Québec. The refusal of the Québécois population to be intimidated showed that the nationalist movement retained its potential for struggle against English-Canadian and U.S. exploitation.

Widening Struggle for Women's Liberation

The revolt of the oppressed majority, women, saw a widening and deepening of the struggle in many different parts of the world.

On February 7, the Swiss government was dragged part way into the twentieth century when a referendum approved a women's suffrage amendment to the federal constitution.

In London on March 6, some 4,000 women demonstrated for equal pay, free nurseries, and the right to abortion. On March 15, hundreds of Filipina women marched through the streets of Manila to demand equality.

The demand for unrestricted access to abortion was a major issue for the feminist movement in the United States, Canada, and much of Europe. Hundreds of prominent women in France and West Germany challenged laws against abortion by signing a statement that they had had illegal abortions.

International demonstrations for the right to abortion were held November 20 in Canada, the U.S., England, France, and Australia.

An indication of the growth of the movement in the United States was the change in attitude exhibited by the two major capitalist parties, which began to drop their previous attitude of condescension and to look for ways

to channel feminist sentiment into the swamp of capitalist politics.

In the Soviet Union, where women have formal legal equality, there were indications that the bureaucracy was preparing to outlaw abortion because of its concern over the falling birth-rate. This consideration led the slavish Communist parties of the United States and France to adopt reactionary positions opposing a woman's right to decide for herself whether or not she will bear a child.

The Crisis of Capitalist Economy

On August 15, Richard Nixon signed the death certificate of the international monetary system established at Bretton Woods at the end of World War II. That system, which gave international legal sanction to the supremacy of the dollar, had been hopelessly undermined by the spiraling inflation of the dollar and American capitalism's loss of competitive position relative to Western Europe and Japan.

By imposing a 10 percent import surcharge in an effort to force revaluation on its competitors—particularly West Germany and Japan—the U.S. ruling class opened the way to protectionist warfare for already saturated markets.

With the U.S., Great Britain, and Italy in the midst of recessions, and Japan on the brink of one, it was clear that the postwar economic boom was ended. The more or less controlled inflation that bourgeois economists hoped would prevent cyclical crises had destroyed the system of fixed exchange rates without being able to prevent recession. (In 1970, the U.S. had an inflation rate of 6 percent while an average of 25 percent of the industrial capacity was unused.)

In preparing to go to economic war with each other, the leading capitalist governments made it clear that they intended the brunt of the battle to be borne by their respective working classes. The ninety-day wage freeze and Nixon's "Phase Two" wage board in particular indicated the intention of U.S. capitalism to deprive its competitors of the advantage of higher wages in the United States. The harnessing of George Meany and other top union bureaucrats into the mechanism for driving down the living standards of American workers, how-

ever, created an opening for the emergence of a left wing in the union movement to fight in defense of wages and jobs.

The British bourgeoisie, with the aid of a significant section of the parliamentary Labour party, prepared for the coming storm by hastening to seek the cover of the Common Market. The bankruptcy of Rolls Royce in February presumably convinced any waverers who thought England could still "go it alone" with the Commonwealth.

It proved a good deal more difficult for the Heath government to convince the British working class to allow its hands to be tied as part of the process of joining the Common Market. Opposition to the Industrial Relations Bill, which increases government control of the unions, was manifested in one-day general strikes March 1 and 18, each of which involved more than 1,000,000 workers—the largest political work stoppages since the general strike of 1926.

In Italy, there were signs that a section of the ruling class, which has less room for partial solutions than the American or British, had decided to back the neofascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement). The MSI was able to lead some of the protest in the south over the selection of regional capitals, and in the June 13-14 elections—covering primarily the southern part of the country—it received 13.9 percent of the vote.

In preparing for the economic bat-

tle, the Japanese bourgeoisie also had to contend with a high level of working-class combativity, as the spring wage-offensive demonstrated. In addition, the student radicalization continued to deepen. Particular struggles, such as the defense of farmers being dispossessed for the new Tokyo airport, appeared to win support from the public.

The Nixon administration made no secret in the weeks following August 15 that its prime target on the international plane was the yen, which it wanted revalued by as much as 20 or 25 percent. Such a revaluation would severely hamper the export ability of an economy already on a downswing.

There are few if any capitalist countries that will escape sharpened class conflicts as a result of the economic crisis. The New Zealand government testified to this at the beginning of November when it succeeded in smashing the Seamen's Union. The law used against the union is now being cited by the Liberal party government in Australia as a model for Australian legislation.

The Testing of Tendencies

The sharp clashes of 1971 provided a clearer than usual standard by which to judge the claims of the tendencies competing for working-class leadership.

For the Social Democracy, 1971 was the year the British Labour party helped take Britain into the Common

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Market, the year in which the Austrian Socialist party won its absolute majority in parliament for the purpose of integrating the working class into the capitalist state, and the year in which the New Zealand Labour party criticized union-busting from the right.

The pro-Moscow Stalinist parties were nowhere able to rise above the level of reformism and opportunism, while the sharp right-turn of the Chinese government disillusioned those

who believed that Maoism was a revolutionary current and appeared to set off a power struggle in Peking that resulted in the fall of Mao's heir apparent, Lin Piao.

Among the groups proclaiming allegiance to Trotskyism, the "International Committee" of Gerry Healy and Pierre Lambert flew to pieces under the impact of the Bolivian events.

Only the groups aligned with the Fourth International were consistently able to participate in, lead, and as-

semble cadres from the mass struggles of 1971—a role sometimes acknowledged by hostile governments in the form of attempted repression. The growth of Trotskyism was symbolized by the May 16 Paris march of 30,000 commemorating the centennial of the 1871 Commune.

These cadres will now use the lessons they have learned to meet the tests that will be posed in the coming year on the road to the socialist revolution. □

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