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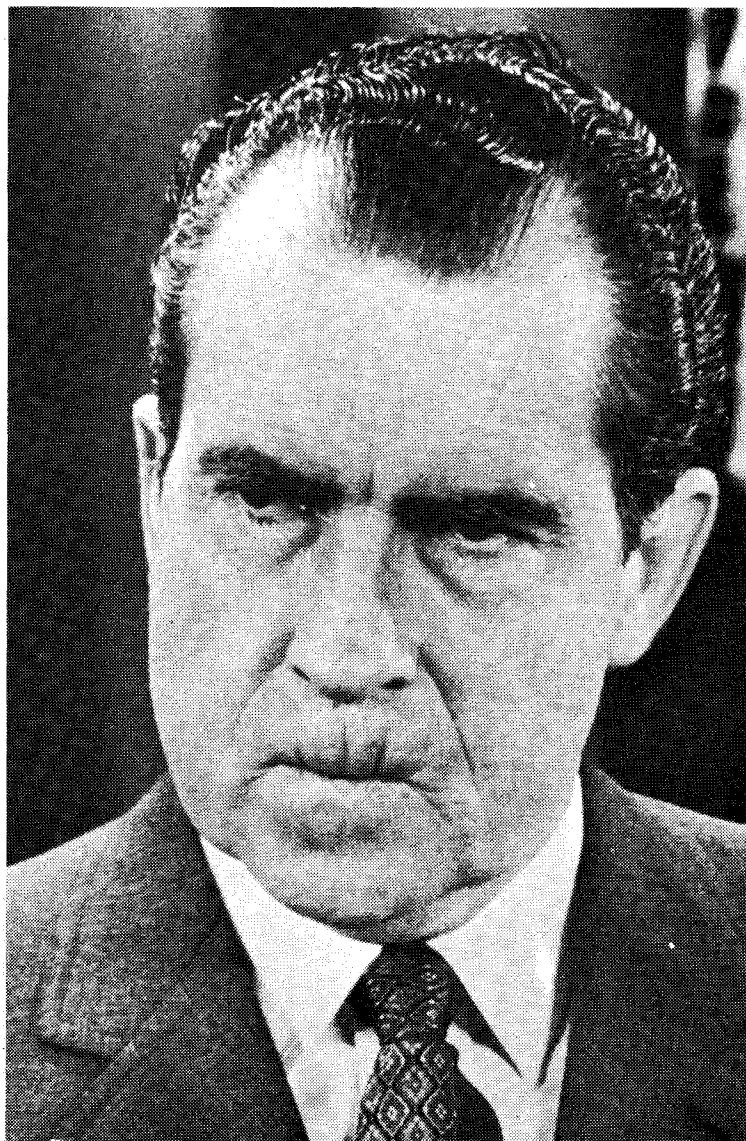
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Why Nixon Holds Lead in the Polls



'THE PRESIDENT': Polls are to his taste.

Bombing of Civilians Continues in Vietnam
Mandel Answers 'Newsweek' Slander
Norway Deals a Blow to Common Market

The Dirtiest Show

Hidden sexual desires motivate the behavior of most stock-market investors, according to a report scheduled for publication in *The Investors' Review*. For example, a determination to "screw the jobbers" quite likely stems from an unsatisfactory sex life.

As described in the *Irish Times* of September 23, the author of the report, George Blakey, is a partner in a London firm of stockbrokers. Besides practical experience in the market, he is married to a consultant pathologist.

Evidence of the real basic drives of investors is to be found in the jargon of the stock market: "... 'climaxes' and 'upward thrusts' jostle with the 'strips and straddles' of the option market and the 'double bottoms' and 'plunging necklines' of stock market chartists."

Stock-market activity is filled with suggestions of "repression and perversion." The very name "stocks and bonds" is proof of this.

Besides hidden sexual desires, the investor is also governed by feelings of inferiority, ignorance, mass compulsion, animal reflexes, greed, fear, and good, old-fashioned stupidity.

Blakey says there seems to be a direct parallel between dogs learning to associate food with a particular stimulus and investors in a bull market learning to associate rake-offs with every call from a stockbroker.

As in the case of dogs being switched on signals, the difficult period comes when the bull-market reflex must undergo extinction and be replaced by a bear-market reflex.

The report is not intended to discourage bulls and bears from finding a sexual outlet in the stock market. The author only wants to help them overcome any hangups standing in the way of making a fortune.

"Constant success in the market," says Blakey, "is the privilege of the few, not of the many, but it is also true that, while some successful market men are born, others can be made."

"At the moment," he adds, "there are too many investment analysts and not enough investment psychologists." □

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Why Nixon Holds the Lead in the Polls

By Fred Feldman and Joseph Hansen

All the recent polls in the United States show McGovern slipping so far behind Nixon as to indicate a landslide for "The President" in the November 7 elections. While hedging on the accuracy of the polls or conceding that a shift in sentiment could occur, the commentators in the bourgeois press are already trying to assess the meaning of a big Nixon victory.

For instance, Stewart Alsop, one of the pundits of the right, commenting on the growth of support for George Wallace and similar signs, said in the September 18 issue of *Newsweek*: "Such evidence, admittedly inconclusive, suggests that a historic shift to the right is going on in this country, like the shift to the left in the '30s that made the Democrats the majority party. If this is what is happening, it will take some sort of cataclysm—a really foul money scandal involving the White House, say, or disaster in Vietnam, or a totally unexpected recession—to give George McGovern a serious shot at the Presidency."

James Reston saw things in a different light. In the August 25 *New York Times* he said: "The emergence of a new and more permanent realignment of American politics, dominated by conservatives, is a . . . dubious proposition. Mr. Nixon has achieved a remarkable personal comeback in American politics, but the fact is that Mr. Nixon has gained domination of his party and of the Democratic [right-wing] opposition, not by going to the right but by going to the left."

That at least some sectors of the American capitalist class do not consider McGovern to be a "gone goose" is shown by the editorial announcement of the *New York Times* September 28 in favor of the Democratic candidate. Of course, this influential voice of the Eastern Establishment, rather than discounting the polls, may be taking this stand to bolster the Democratic wing of the two-party monopoly of the electoral arena or to prepare for the next presidential elections in 1976.

All the commentators agree that Nixon made his greatest gains through his handling of foreign policy—the very issue on which he was most vulnerable in the first three years of his presidency because of his con-



McGOVERN: No amateur at shell game.

tinuation of the Vietnam war. The seeming reversal in his popular standing was achieved by the tactic of successive withdrawals of American ground troops. The result was greatly reduced casualties among the U.S. forces in Indochina and creation of the illusion that he was bringing the war to an end.

Nixon's escalation of the air war has not punctured this illusion as yet, since American casualties have remained low. At the same time, the bombing of North Vietnam appears to those who have been taken in by the poisonous anti-Communist propaganda to be a way of ending the war by "keeping up the pressure" and gaining a military victory.

Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow were of decisive importance to him in creating the image of "peacemaker." He succeeded—so the propaganda goes—in carrying out "tough bargaining" with the Communist "enemy," compelling both Mao and Brezhnev to back up, leave their ally North Vietnam in the lurch, and even fall over each other in wooing Nixon. "The President" thus lessened the danger of a sharp confrontation with the two Communist powers that might have led to another world war.

If one thing is perfectly clear, it is that Mao and Brezhnev bear major responsibility for the success of Nixon's maneuver to picture himself as an international "peacemaker" while bringing to fresh heights the most savage bombing in all history. They can congratulate themselves for perhaps having given the scales just the tilt needed to assure the world and themselves four more years of Nixon.

Nevertheless, even with the polls enormously in his favor, Nixon is leaving no holes open that money can close. He has a campaign chest of at least \$17.6 million, \$10 million of it from secret donors.

From this it should not be inferred that the Democrats are without resources. During July and August McGovern matched Nixon's outlays; they spent \$5 million each.

In all likelihood, however, the Republicans will spend considerably more than the Democrats as the two campaigns near the deadline. (That this is strictly a game for the tycoons can be judged from the fact that in 1968 the Republicans and Democrats spent \$58.9 million for television advertising alone. This year the two parties are expected to lay out \$400 million in total expenditures.)

Their Objectives

Nixon's chief objective can be stated very concisely: "Get The President Re-elected."

McGovern chose a more complex task than merely capturing the White House, although it happened to be his only chance of winning in view of his initial status. His chief objective was to block the radicalized youth in the United States from breaking out of the bourgeois frame of politics.

During the primaries, McGovern crusaded as an antiwar, antiestablishment reformer. He directed his appeal quite consciously to the growing antiwar movement. Many antiwar activists, feminists, Blacks, and other groupings were taken in by McGovern's pose of honesty and sincerity.

To add an aura of good faith to his promises, he initiated changes in the rules of the Democratic party calculated to delude the antiwar youth and other activists into thinking they could "take over" the Democratic party. Some became convention delegates, although they had little voice in the decisions that were made there. Many activists were drawn away from demonstrating in the streets and from building the independent mass movements. They were inveigled into taking the self-defeating course of campaigning for the Democratic party.

As McGovern's campaign manager Gary Hart told the *New York Times Magazine* (May 14): "Our strategy all along was to coopt the left."

Commenting on the reforms made in the procedures and rules of the Democratic party, R. W. Apple said in the May 5 *New York Times*:

"The goal of the American political system is to contain protest and rage within the electoral process, thus keeping it from bursting into the streets as revolution. The goal of the parties is to provide a vehicle for such protest and the Democratic reform rules, designed in large part by Mr. McGovern, were brought into being by the exclusion of much of the antiwar movement from the convention of 1968.

"Those rules have done precisely what they were designed to do; without them, neither Mr. McGovern nor Mr. Wallace would have done so well as he has this year."

McGovern won the nomination by a great show of independence from the Democratic machine. This, however, confronted him with a real dilemma. How was he to win the machine's support—which was necessary for fund-raising and for mobilizing the votes controlled by the political bosses and ward heelers—without antagonizing the radical youth he had snared during the primaries?

McGovern tried to meet this dilemma by moving rightward. Since his nomination he has changed his stand on every issue—the war, amnesty for draft resisters, welfare reform, taxing



DALEY: Forgives erring candidate.

the wealthy, military spending, abortion law repeal, marijuana law reform, and gay rights.

In other words, he moved toward the "mainstream," going to the LBJ Ranch for a summit conference with ex-President Johnson and to Chicago for a summit conference with Mayor Daley. It was McGovern's way of countering Nixon's trips to Peking and Moscow for summit conferences with Mao and Brezhnev.

No 'Fiery Radical'

If McGovern anticipated that some of his followers might find this difficult to swallow, he discounted the damage of such a standard move in capitalist politics. After all, under the two-party system, his followers have no "realistic" alternative but to support him as a "lesser evil." However, McGovern's crawling on hands and knees to Johnson and Daley has not satisfied the machine, while many of his young supporters felt chagrin over their champion's antics.

Tom Wicker commented on McGovern's dilemma in the September 24 *New York Times*:

". . . the fact is that one of his foremost personal problems is the long season of compromise and retreat he has gone through in order to persuade his party and the labor unions that he is not a fiery radical.

"Apparently, he has had some success in that effort, but at considerable cost. Because the fact also is that George McGovern's hard-core support, the people at the heart of his campaign, had thought all along that he *was* a radical, at least in contrast to the accepted norms of American two-party politics. . . .

"But the process of 'moving to the center,' which Mr. McGovern has either acquiesced in or proved unable to resist, has all but destroyed his above-politics appeal."

After detailing some of McGovern's compromises, Wicker said: "It may be that political success in America still requires a candidate to avoid strong positions and play to the prejudices of the voters. But if so, Mr. McGovern has no hope of beating Mr. Nixon at that game; and anyway, there is growing evidence that millions of Americans are sick and tired of politics and politicians as usual, with their promises, their evasions, their pretensions and their failures."

Meany's 'Neutrality'

The labor bureaucracy split over McGovern's nomination. None of them, however, moved an inch away from their policy of keeping the working class tied to the capitalist parties.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, which is dominated by the reactionary George Meany, took a stand of "neutrality." The "neutrality," however, was intended to assist Nixon. Thus Meany attacked McGovern in terms reminiscent of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, calling the South Dakotan an "apologist for the Communist world." (*New York Times*, September 4.) Meany, still a "hawk," is particularly concerned about upholding and continuing U. S. involvement in Indochina.

A few union bureaucracies, notably the heads of the Teamsters union, are openly supporting Nixon. Most of the union bureaucracies, however, have stuck to their long-time policy of betraying the labor movement by backing whatever candidate the Democrats nominate.

In the August 4 *Militant*, Frank Lovell evaluated this division among the labor bureaucrats:

"The majority of workers who go to the polls will vote Democratic. But

many will not do so enthusiastically because it has brought them no returns in the past.

"An unspoken fear haunts Meany and the others, including those who had already endorsed McGovern. They fear those young workers who reject the traditional ways of the old union-management bargaining relations, oppose the war, demand living wages now, and think there ought to be jobs for everyone—the young workers McGovern appears to be trying to reach.

"The old-line union officials are much more afraid of these union members than they are of Nixon. They are waiting for assurances that McGovern will in no way encourage this explosive element in the unions before they start pouring money into his campaign.

"Their fears are largely ill-founded. McGovern's campaign managers are busy trying to convince union offi-



MEANY: Foursquare for 'neutrality.'

cialists that his election will relieve some of the present pressure on the union movement and help defuse the possible explosion."

Twins, Yes, But Not Identical

Despite his apparent lead, Nixon is not particularly popular. After visiting three midwestern cities, Max Frankel of the *New York Times* reported (September 15) that voters were "unenthusiastically for the Pres-

ident and uniformly unreceptive to something about George McGovern." Apathy toward both candidates seems to be widespread.

McGovern and Nixon are both unscrupulous politicians devoted to preserving capitalism and imperialism. This should not obscure the important tactical differences between them which reflect differences of opinion in the U. S. ruling class.

George Breitman described these differences in the September 8 *Militant*:

"While the ruling class makes occasional mistakes, it does not consist of fools. It is keenly aware that the future of its rule depends on its ability to contain, co-opt, ride out, or somehow reverse the present radicalization. . . .

"Nixon came to office promising to handle this problem by being tougher than Johnson had been. (This led more than a few radicals to pin the 'fascism' label on Nixon, which may have given them some kind of emotional satisfaction, but did little to prepare anybody for the realities of the first Nixon administration.) But he soon found that he did not have a completely free hand. He therefore adopted the strategy of trying to ride out the radicalization, of letting it spend itself if possible, of avoiding a head-on collision for the time being, while sniping at the flanks of his opponents and trying to strengthen and unite the forces of conservatism and reaction in preparation for more favorable conditions under which the old relationships could be restored.

"But Nixon's tactics, which were forced on him so to speak, should not be permitted to obscure the fact that his basic approach to the radicalization is to crush it as soon as a favorable opportunity presents itself. If reelected, this is what he will attempt to do, if possible.

"McGovern, on the other hand, wants to smother the radicalization in a tight embrace and dissolve it into reform politics, sporting a new rhetoric and sideburns. While he hasn't attained that objective yet, and perhaps never will, it must be admitted that he has made an effective beginning."

Breitman concludes that the U. S. ruling class may be making a serious tactical error in opting for Nixon's approach.

At this point, Nixon appears to be

headed for reelection. Despite the polls, however, he is taking the stance that he will believe in the reality of this "miracle" when he sees it. The fact is that dissatisfaction is deep among the workers and other low-income lay-



WALLACE: Bolsters bid of 'President.'

ers over such issues as high unemployment and continually rising prices. The Vietnam war, too, can boil up, affecting the outcome of the election.

What If Nixon Wins?

How a Nixon victory would affect the class struggle in the United States is a question that has already led to speculation in the press of the American radical movement. We will leave this aside, indicating only a few basic points.

As between Nixon and McGovern there is no essential difference from the viewpoint of the interests of the working class and the labor movement. Both of them are dedicated political champions of the capitalist system. Their argument is over tactics—how best to defend that system. The example of what happened after the Johnson-Goldwater contest in 1964 ought to be sufficient reminder of the narrowness of the differences between the two big American capitalist parties in practice.

It should be recalled, too, that the

electoral process only reflects the class struggle; it does not determine the course of that struggle except in a superficial sense. Moreover, even as an indicator of the status of the class struggle it is notoriously poor, always lagging behind the real movement at the point of production and in the streets.

This holds especially true for the United States where not even a reformist labor party exists and where apathy toward the outcome of elections is the rule and not the exception among the low-income groups.

The ballot box in the United States offers such a distorted reflection of the class struggle as often to be extremely difficult to decipher. To take the election returns in the United States as a direct reflection of the status of the class struggle is a grossly mechanical error that can lead to serious misjudgments of the morale and militancy of the working class, particularly in its readiness to engage in battles in defense of its standard of living.

This is enough to indicate that a Nixon victory would have little effect on the deeper trends in the American class struggle, all of which point to increasing radicalization of the working class and its allies whatever the temporary ups and downs.

The Other Parties

Of the other parties running in the election, the furthest to the right is the American party, founded by Alabama's racist Governor George C. Wallace. In 1968 Wallace ran as a third capitalist candidate against both Nixon and Humphrey. The Republicans feared that Wallace would repeat this in 1972, thus endangering Nixon's reelection bid by attracting the racist, ultraright vote. Whether because of political considerations or because he was badly wounded in an assassination attempt, Wallace decided to remain in the Democratic fold. The practical effect of this was to strengthen the Republicans. Most of those who were for Wallace in the primaries will support Nixon as a "lesser evil" to McGovern.

With Wallace's withdrawal, the American party nominated John Schmitz, an ultraright California congressman who accuses Nixon of being an undercover socialist. Schmitz

is not making much impact on the electorate.

Besides the Socialist Workers party, there are three other radical slates in the 1972 elections. The De Leonist Socialist Labor party is running a presidential candidate. Virtually the only activity of the SLP from decade to decade is to run a presidential slate every four years. In the U.S. left, this fossilized formation plays no role whatsoever.

The People's party, a remnant of the middle-class Peace and Freedom party of 1968, is running peace activists Dr. Benjamin Spock and Julius Hobson. The September 14 *New York Times* quotes Spock as saying, "I hope McGovern gradually picks up speed and does win the election."

With such an attitude, it is unlikely that Dr. Spock will campaign energetically for People's party votes.

The Communist party, whose candidates are Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, is following the tactic employed by the Stalinists since the Roosevelt-Landon contest in 1936; that is, conjuring up a qualitative difference between the Democratic and Republican candidates. The August 1972 issue of *Political Affairs*, the Communist

party's monthly magazine, said in an editorial:

"The key goal in the campaign remains the defeat of Nixon. The McGovern candidacy offers the first serious possibility of achieving that aim."

Jenness and Pulley

Only the Socialist Workers party is presenting a revolutionary-socialist alternative to Nixon and McGovern. Besides Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for president and vice-president, the SWP is running about 100 candidates.

In their battle on the electoral arena, the Trotskyists face many obstacles. Most Americans, including most radicals, still believe that social change can be achieved by backing the "best" candidate in a bourgeois party. Undemocratic election laws, lack of finances, and a virtual blackout in the communications media are further obstacles.

Nonetheless, the SWP candidates have campaigned energetically, reaching many people with the revolutionary-socialist alternative to capitalism and winning some of them to the ideas of Trotskyism. □

Antiwar Sauce for Nixon's \$1,000 Plate

About 15,000 antiwar demonstrators gathered in Los Angeles September 27 around the Century Plaza Hotel, where Richard Nixon was starred at a \$1,000-a-plate campaign dinner. The National Peace Action Coalition, the Los Angeles Peace Action Council, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Vietnamese Student Union for Peace, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and McGovernites combined forces in a protest action that was called and organized on eight days notice.

Efforts of some McGovern backers to turn the action into a pro-McGovern rally were unsuccessful. Posters brought by the National Peace Action Coalition, the Student Mobilization Committee, and other groups emphasized the antiwar theme.

Republican politicians tried to make an issue out of some young McGovern supporters' use of Democratic party telephones to publicize the protest. A McGovern campaign spokesman in

Los Angeles responded by disavowing any connection with the demonstration. He said that "no one in our campaign organization has endorsed or actively organized" the slated action.

Harry Ring, reporting for *The Militant*, said:

"The throngs that marched around the Century City Plaza area on which the hotel faces were spirited but disciplined and extended full cooperation to the monitors.

"The big turnout was a morale-booster for antiwar activists. Their spirits were reflected in the hoots of derision that greeted the Cadillacs rolling up to the hotel for the affair. The demonstration underlined why Nixon is conducting his campaign with a minimum of public appearances."

"It was a fitting reply," Ring said, "to the frequent pronouncements about the 'death' of the antiwar movement." □

Bombing of Vietnamese Civilian Areas Continues

As the monsoon season in North Vietnam approaches, the country has been subjected to continued heavy bombing raids by U. S. planes. For four successive days at the end of September, more than 300 strikes were flown against the North, inflicting severe damage, according to U. S. military spokesmen in Saigon.

The Associated Press gave this account of one day's raids: "Many of the air strikes Wednesday [September 27] were reported concentrated on one major target, a sprawling military storage complex 84 miles northwest of Hanoi, which American sources said was a transshipment point for war materials from China.

"In the first attack of the war against the depot, the Air Force said, F-4 Phantom jets from three bases in Thailand dropped 2,000-pound laser-guided bombs and conventional 500-pound fragmentation bombs on the target. [Fragmentation bombs are anti-personnel bombs and are useless against concrete and steel.]

"Pilots reported that they destroyed or damaged more than half of the 70 buildings in the complex and that numerous storage buildings were left in flames."

A dispatch from Saigon October 1 by *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm Browne reported that U. S. fighter-bombers attacked four North Vietnamese air bases the day before in what was described by an American spokesman as "the heaviest blow to date against enemy aircraft on the ground."

The Nixon administration appears to be considering ways of countering the bad flying weather of the monsoon so as to maintain the high level of its murderous bombing assault on the North. This seems to be the motivation for the decision to send forty-eight F-111A swing-wing fighter-bombers back into the air war for the first time in four and a half years. The planes, which were grounded in 1968 after several were lost owing to mechanical failures, can carry twice the bomb load of any other fighter-bomber and have an intricate radar system that allows them to fly at tree-top level in overcast skies.

"It's time to bring in this type of specialist," an Air Force spokesman explained in referring to the fact that the monsoon is moving from north of the Hanoi-Haiphong area to the southern North Vietnam panhandle. "This is a plane that will be going North, against heavily defended targets."

According to the U. S. military command, the F-111As were again used in raids over the North for the first time on September 29. Reuters, however, reported a claim by Hanoi radio that one of the planes was shot down near the Yenbai airfield, eighty miles northwest of Hanoi, on September 28.

An example of the deliberate bombing of civilian targets was provided in the *Washington Post* September 28 by *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reporter Richard Dudman, who has just returned from two weeks in North Vietnam. He described the rural town of Kienan, eight miles southwest of Haiphong: "Whole blocks had been leveled. Among the ruins could be

seen what was left of houses and a restaurant but nothing resembling anything remotely related to military activity. The officials said that the town was chiefly an agricultural center but had some light industry such as the manufacture of rice huskers and vegetable cutting machines."

The North Vietnamese have accused the United States of dropping caterpillar larvae over the South Vietnamese province of Quangngai on July 27, according to a report in the October 2 *New York Times*. "The area has long been controlled by Communist forces, and repeated efforts have been made to deprive their troops of rice supplies by chemical destruction, burning and infantry raids," the *Times* noted.

Meanwhile, the Lon Nol regime in Cambodia announced on September 29 that it had abandoned efforts it began in January to recapture the temples at Angkor, which have been occupied by liberation forces since June 1970. □

In Dollars, in Wounded, in Dead, in Defeat

A Balance Sheet of Nixon's Vietnam Policy

"By the end of this week President Nixon will have presided over the Vietnam war for longer than it took the United States to fight and win World War II," observed *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis September 25. "From Pearl Harbor to Japan's surrender it was three years, eight months and one week." Lewis went on to draw up a political and statistical balance sheet of the Nixon policy in Vietnam.

"The direct cost in American lives is 15,243 men killed in action and 5,164 'nonhostile deaths,' as the Pentagon calls them—Americans killed in Indochina by such things as aircraft failure, not enemy action. Another 53,375 men have been wounded seriously enough to be hospitalized.

"Asian military casualties are less certain. South Vietnam has listed more

than 80,000 of its own soldiers killed during the Nixon years, and 240,000 wounded; it claims more than 400,000 Communist troops killed and 600,000 wounded.

"Civilian victims are much more numerous, although again precision is not possible. A Senate subcommittee has made these estimates for the last three and one-half years: 165,000 South Vietnamese civilians killed, 400,000 wounded and 1,850,000 made refugees; 2,000,000 Cambodians made refugees. There are no reliable figures for North Vietnamese civilian victims."

Between Nixon's inauguration and the end of August 1972, Lewis points out, U. S. planes have dropped about 3,750,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cam-

bodia. At the moment, the figure is close to 100,000 tons a month.

He cited "cautious estimates" by two professors, Arthur H. Westing and E.W. Pfeiffer, that these bombs have left approximately 7,500,000 craters in Indochina and have displaced 750,000,000 cubic yards of earth.*

According to U.S. budget figures, the cost of the war during this period has been \$60,000 million. This figure, however, "does not include much of the cost of outside bases serving the war, or of aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia." Lewis estimated the real cost at more than \$100,000 million.

"All this has been spent—lives and money and nature—to carry out a stated policy of American *withdrawal* from Vietnam," he noted. And while there are today some 36,000 American ground troops in Vietnam as compared to 542,000 in January 1969, "in other respects the trend is different.

"In January 1969, there were 72,000 Navy and Air Force men of the Seventh Fleet off Vietnam and at the bomber bases in Thailand. Today the official figure is 84,000. The number serving the war at the B-52 base in Guam and in other places is not disclosed, but it would bring the total of Americans involved in the war in September 1972 to over 100,000.

"The United States is now using 200 B-52s in Vietnam, North and South—almost double the number deployed in January 1969. There are 800 smaller U.S. planes, fighter-bombers, compared with 1,000 to 1,200 in 1969. Four aircraft carriers are operating off Vietnam, twice as many as in January 1969."

Since the resumption of heavy bombing of the North, the Saigon command has reported the loss of 101 planes. In the same period of time, he indicated, reports from Vietnam put the number of U.S. airmen captured or missing at 106.

What, he asked, has Nixon accom-

plished? "In the official Washington view the significant accomplishment is that the Saigon Government has survived."

On the other hand, the greatest use of explosive power in history has not crushed the Vietnamese people either militarily or politically. Instead the "Communists now have substantial control or influence in many parts of South Vietnam—probably as much there as in 1969, and certainly more

in the other countries of Indochina."

"In short," Lewis concluded, "three years, eight months and one week of American fighting in Indochina have not achieved stability on our terms. The reason is no secret: We are trying to impose an alien system on a people with a long history of resistance to alien intrusion, against a political force that is the legitimate representative of Vietnamese nationalism. Until we stop that attempt, there can be no stability and no peace." □

Rule in South Vietnam Is 'Pay or Die'

Greased Palm—First Step in Medical Care

Few countries in the world rank lower than South Vietnam in terms of medical services. For most South Vietnamese such services are virtually nonexistent.

"The few private hospitals in [South] Vietnam are accessible only to the rich and influential," *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg wrote September 8 in a report on the "shortcomings" in the medical care the Thieu regime provides for those under its control. "The poor go to Government hospitals, usually badly equipped ones in province capitals. Many Vietnamese say that only the poor and dying go to them."

Even the dying may not be admitted or treated, for "only special payments to doctors, nurses and other medical personnel will assure any attention."

One patient at the Saigon City Hospital told Schanberg that in the hospital's emergency room, the nurses' sense of urgency can be activated only by money. Relatives have to give them 500 piasters (about \$1.20), he said, "to get them to look at the patients and take action immediately. Otherwise, they will let the patients die."

Most of the Vietnamese civilians admitted to American military hospitals under a "special war-casualties program" had illnesses not related to the war, Schanberg reported. Many were "persons of political importance who gained admission by their influence."

Of the somewhat more than 2,000 South Vietnamese doctors, 1,600 are in the armed forces (1,000,000 men), leaving only about 400 for the rest of the population (17,000,000).

Many patients who manage to make

it inside a hospital apparently see a doctor only rarely, if ever. "For long periods of the day, there may not be a single doctor in a provincial hospital. Its 500 or 600 beds are filled, sometimes with two or three people to a bed. Other patients lie on the floor and still others lie in hallways outside the wards."

Army doctors are supposed to help out in nearby civilian provincial hospitals under a program that began three years ago, but which, according to Schanberg, "does not seem to have had wide effect." One foreign doctor in a civilian hospital told him that although army doctors "theoretically" are even responsible for certain wards there, "in practice, they make rounds irregularly, sometimes only once a week, caring mostly for those patients who pay them."

In a country where civilian casualties have shown a sharp rise under the increasingly heavy rain of U.S. bombs, about the only thing lower than the quality of medical care must be the survival rate of the wounded. □

Women's Party Founded in Belgium

An organization called the Parti féminin unifié (United Feminist party) was recently founded in Brussels.

The initiating group called attention to Belgium's backwardness with regard to upholding the rights of women. In parliament, for instance, there are only 12 women (6 deputies out of 212 and 6 senators out of 178).

The founders announced that the new party will run candidates in the next election on a platform opposing discrimination and defending women's rights regardless of differences in language, religion, class, or political opinions.

* In their study "The Cratering of Indochina," published in the May 1972 issue of the *Scientific American*, Westing and Pfeiffer estimated that Indochina had been pitted by 26 million craters caused by American bombs and shells in the seven-year period 1965-71. See "Nixon's Summitry and the Bombing of Vietnam" in *Intercontinental Press*, July 10, p. 787, for a summary of the findings of Westing and Pfeiffer.

Imperialists Project Real 'Terrorist International'

By Jon Rothschild

The United Nations General Assembly, the speaker said, has "an obligation to take action of vital importance to the international community.

"Let it prove that the United Nations can meet this test. Let it show people everywhere that this organization—here—now—is capable of the concrete action necessary to bring us closer to a world free of violence, the kind of world which is the great goal of the United Nations Charter."

The author of the above stirring call to peace was William Rogers, the U.S. secretary of state and the man responsible, at least insofar as Henry Kissinger is otherwise occupied, for formulating the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. He addressed the General Assembly on September 25, the opening day of the UN debate on "terrorism."

Rogers proposed that the United Nations convene a meeting early in 1973 to draft a "convention" against terrorism. He sponsored a resolution calling for immediate action against terrorism and for the drafting of the international convention. Leaving no point uncovered, the U.S. delegation distributed to each of the 132 national delegations a proposed convention draft for their consideration. This despite the fact that the resolution calling for the convention has yet to be approved.

The draft resolution "urges all states to take immediate steps to prevent the use of their territory or resources to aid, encourage or give sanctuary to those persons involved in directing, supporting or participating in acts of international terrorism."

It further "calls upon all states urgently to take all necessary measures within their jurisdiction and in cooperation with other states to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism and to take effective measures to deal with those who perpetrate such acts."

The draft convention was more precise—and quite sweeping—in defining terrorism. After listing a series of offenses, Article 1 of the draft notes:

"An 'alleged offender' means a person as to whom there are grounds to believe that he has committed one or more of the offenses of international significance set forth in this article."

It then states: (Article 2) "Each state party undertakes to make the offenses set forth in Article 1 punishable by severe penalties."

Article 10, paragraph 2 of the draft states: "Any state party having reason to believe that one of the offenses set forth in Article 1 may be committed shall, in accordance with its national law, furnish any relevant information in its possession to those states which it believes would be the states mentioned in Article 4, paragraph 1 if any such offenses were committed." (Article 4, paragraph 1 deals with acts of terrorism organized in one country but directed against another.)

Once the legalistic gobbledygook of the two U.S. resolutions is disposed of, their real—and extremely dangerous—content becomes clear. The heart of the first resolution is the call for states to deny use of their territory to those aiding, encouraging, or supporting alleged terrorists. According to the second resolution (the draft convention), alleged offenders may be assumed guilty if there are *grounds to believe* that they have committed some act.

The draft goes still further—states that *have reason to believe* that an offense *may be committed* (note the vague "have reason" and the hypothetical "may be") must cooperate with the intended target-state in suppressing the alleged terrorists and their supporters.

In reality, the resolution and the convention draft, with their witch-hunt terminology, declare the entire colonial revolution to be in violation of international law. If both the resolution and the convention draft were adopted and enforced, all Arab states would be obligated to arrest all fedayeen and all their supporters. Lebanon and Syria would be obligated

to inform the Israeli government of the names and activities of liberation fighters. African states in which guerrilla fighters against colonial domination have taken refuge (Zambia, Tanzania, etc.) would be called upon to put all revolutionists under arrest, to turn over Angolan freedom fighters



GROMYKO: Backs U.S. plans in the UN.

to Portugal, anti-apartheid fighters to the Pretoria regime. Cuba could be held accountable for all guerrilla activity in Latin America.

Conceivably, countries like France and Germany could use the convention as an excuse to send Greek exiles back to the jails of the Athens junta. Failure of any country to comply with these strictures could become "legal" justification for wanton military attacks against the country concerned. The recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon, for example, would have been an internationally sanctioned act.

Largely because of the opposition of a number of Arab and African states that would be affected, there

are some grounds to believe that neither the U. S.-sponsored witch-hunt proposals, nor any very similar "compromise," has much chance of passing the assembly. Such an assumption may well be false.

On September 26, the day after Rogers's address, the General Assembly heard from Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. This bureaucrat took the opportunity to attack the Palestinian resistance movement, which has been the central target of the imperialists' propaganda.

"It is certainly impossible," said Gromyko, "to condone the acts committed by certain elements from among the Palestinian movement that have led, notably, to the recent tragic events in Munich.

"Their criminal actions deal a blow also at the national interests and aspirations of the Palestinians; these acts are used by the Israeli criminals in order to cover up their policy of banditry against the Arab peoples."

"The Soviet Union, from positions of principle, opposes these acts of terrorism that disrupt the diplomatic activity of states and their representatives, transport ties between them and the normal course of international contacts and meetings."

In the context of Gromyko's third-camp position on the Arab-Israeli conflict and his denunciation of the "criminals" on both sides, his expressed concern for the national aspirations of the Palestinian people has a distinct Orwellian ring. And the Soviet regime's principled opposition to terrorism did not prevent Gromyko from dining, the night before his speech, with the presumably noncriminal Rogers. The *New York Times* reported that the two leaders discussed terrorism.

The Cuban delegation was the only one absent from the opening of the terrorism debate. Some observers interpreted this as a boycott of the proceedings.

In addition to the UN diplomatic offensive, there were two other indications that the U. S. ruling class is vigorously pressing forward its witch-hunt. While Rogers was in New York to address the General Assembly, the White House announced the formation of a cabinet-level committee, headed by Rogers, "to deal quickly and effectively" with terrorism. The exact

functions of the committee were not disclosed.

Several hours before Rogers spoke to the UN, an Interpol conference in Frankfurt, West Germany, approved by a vote of 58-0 with no abstentions a U. S.-backed resolution urging the 110 member states to step up their action against "nonpolitical" terrorism. Secretary General Jean Nepot was quick to explain that acts which some countries might consider political would be deemed criminal by Interpol.

Governmental action is but one facet of the "antiterror" witch-hunt. As the diplomats formulate resolutions, sections of the capitalist press continue their hysterical cries aimed at setting the political climate for coming crackdowns. A notable example was an article published in the September 24 *Rocky Mountain News*, a Denver newspaper. Entitled "A world syndicate of terror," the piece was written by Alain Cass, who is identified as a "London Express Writer."

Cass, following the lead of the September 18 *Newsweek*, weaves a James Bondian web of fantasy. He claims to have gotten the inside dope from a "high-ranking Intelligence official" in Rome: "The large avuncular figure

behind the desk leaned over and handed me a fat dossier stamped 'Top Secret.'

"'It's all there,' he said drily, 'names, dates, organizations — the lot.'

"Indeed it was. A complete record of the first meeting in Florence of an international syndicate of terror, a grouping of revolutionary extremists from Ireland to South America with the fantastic aim of coordinating violence on a world scale."

Cass's list of alleged culprits closely tallies with *Newsweek's*. There is but one difference, probably ascribable to the *London Express's* British audience. While *Newsweek* cited the Fourth International as the power behind the "Terrorist International," Cass claims the head gangsters to be "the official wing of the I. R. A. and the British Black Panthers."

But more significant — and more sinister — than Cass's cooked-up "facts" is his conclusion. In contradiction to his self-professed revulsion to murder, he calls for the formation of a real world syndicate of terror: "What is needed now is an international force, as ruthless as the terrorists themselves, to hammer home the fact that murder, in anyone's language, is unacceptable." □

Mail Returned to Sender

Who Perfected the Letter Bomb?

Ami Shachori, an official assigned to the Israeli embassy in London, was killed September 19 while opening his mail. An explosive device had been concealed in a letter addressed to him; it blew up when the standard-sized envelope was opened. Within several days postal officials and policemen had intercepted a large number of similar booby-trapped letters, all of them posted from Amsterdam and addressed to various Israeli government personnel around the world.

It was widely assumed that the "letter bombs" had been sent by Black September or some other fedayeen group. The anti-Arab hysteria whipped up by the Western press and governments took another great leap forward, with the United States and Israel naturally in the lead. What had the world come to? Civilized people,

the press complained, can no longer so much as open their mail without fear of assassination. What sort of subhuman barbarians would resort to such methods to achieve political goals?

An answer to that question was provided by the September 24 edition of the *London Sunday Times*.

The letter bomb, it seems, was invented by Martin Eckenberg, a Swedish chemist who settled in London around the turn of the century. He sent several of the devices to Swedish businessmen who had rejected consideration of his inventions. Swedish police tracked him down and he was imprisoned in London. Eckenberg went "comprehensively mad" while in jail and killed himself in 1910. Both the chemist and his ingenious inven-

tion were forgotten—until September 3, 1947.

On that date, a large package labeled "scientific instruments" exploded in a postal sorting-office in South West London. Two men were injured in the blast and part of the building's roof caved in.

The sender of the package was never found. Some suggested the IRA might be responsible, but British security agents were convinced the bomb was Palestinian in origin. Palestinian by geography, that is—not by nationality. At the time, thieves had fallen out in that part of the world: The British army and Zionist paramilitary organizations were engaged in a struggle over control of Palestine. British security felt sure the postal bomb was the work of either the Stern Gang or the Irgun Zvai Leumi, two "extremist" Zionist outfits. (The Irgun, founded and led by Menachim Beigin, was responsible for the April 9, 1948, slaughter of Arab civilians in the village of Deir Yassin. Beigin, who has been a minister in the Zionist government, now heads Gahal, an ultrarightist Israeli political bloc.)

Two days after the first explosion, the security agents' suspicions were confirmed. Eight letters sent from Turin to prominent British political and military leaders were found to contain bombs. They were intercepted when one of the letters, which had been incorrectly addressed, was partially opened by someone who felt metal wires and became suspicious.

These bombs were made by Yaacov Eliav, who was then a Stern Gang member and now works for an Israeli security company. The *Sunday Times* explains that "he simply smoothed a stick of gelignite between two sheets of draughtsman's paper and wired it to a percussion cap linked with a tiny battery in the folds of the paper. This was posted in a large, official-looking envelope. When that was opened, a spring was released, closing the electrical circuit and triggering the explosion." So much for subhuman barbarian number one.

A few other letter bombs were subsequently intercepted by British authorities. But after November 1947 when the British army was withdrawn from Palestine, security was relaxed, the assumption being that the Zionist military apparatus would calm down. Not so. In May 1948, a twenty-five-year-old student was killed when he

opened a package addressed to his brother, Roy Farran. The intended target had been an officer in the British army in Palestine and had been acquitted of a charge that he murdered a Jewish youth. The Stern Gang had vowed to kill him anyway.

Two weeks later, a postal bomb was discovered by the wife of General Evelyn Barker, former commanding officer in Palestine. At that point, the British set up a special office in Kent to handle suspicious packages. But the anti-British ardor of the Stern Gang had apparently cooled. No more bombs were discovered.

It could be argued—and frequently is—that the Stern Gang and the Irgun were fringe outfits and that responsibility for their deeds can in no way be placed on the Israeli government or the Zionist mainstream. However, in the early 1960s, the Israeli government, displaying its renowned pioneering spirit, raised the science of postal terrorism to a new level. The *Sunday Times* writes:

"In 1963 they [the Israelis] mounted a short campaign against West German scientists working on rocket and missile projects in Egypt.

"It was very successful. Four Egyptian technicians died when a scientific manual addressed to their German superior exploded in their office. The secretary of another German rocket scientist working in Egypt was blinded when a parcel, sent from Hamburg, exploded as she opened it. A parcel sent from Stuttgart failed to explode.

"Israel's complicity was accepted when the then head of Israeli security, Iser Halprin, resigned after Ben Gurion publicly reprimanded the security forces for the campaign and announced he was halting it. The campaign had by then succeeded: the scientists got the message and quit almost to a man.

"Nor, apparently, was Ben Gurion's 'disapproval' a permanent bar. A few months before the war in June 1967, the chief Egyptian intelligence officer in the Gaza Strip, Major Mustapha Hapaz, died as he opened a book bomb. A few months later, the Egyptian military attaché in Jordan was killed in the same manner. Both had been known by the Israeli secret service to have connections with the Arab fedayeen commandos."

During July of 1972, the *Sunday*

Times writes, the Israelis "were really busy. They mounted a letter bomb campaign in Beirut during which at least 10 booby-trapped letters and packages were sent to senior Arab guerrillas and prominent Palestinians. Most of the targets were people who had wide contacts outside the guerrilla movement itself and whose job was public relations—or at least non-military. The reasoning behind this seems to have been that mail to the leadership would have been carefully screened and had little chance of arriving at its destination."

The *Sunday Times's* article, it should be noted, is far from pro-Arab. Black September is referred to as "the savage Palestinian commando organization behind the Munich massacre." The author apparently accepts the fact that either Black September or one of the other fedayeen groups was responsible for the recent anti-Israeli letter bomb campaign, although some evidence is advanced to indicate that this may not be the case—such as the fact that no commando group has claimed credit for the bombs, which is nearly unprecedented in the history of fedayeen actions.

It is of course conceivable that some fedayeen decided to retaliate against the Israeli campaign with a few letter bombs of their own. It is also possible that the Israeli secret service sent the bombs themselves to bring opprobrium on the Palestinian resistance movement. But regardless of the identity of the senders of the latest letter bombs, the Zionist authorship of the technique seems well established. The Arabs are at best neophytes in this field of warfare. If Black September is in fact responsible for the bomb that killed Shachori, the Zionist rulers may take credit for transmitting one feature of their make-the-desert-bloom technology to the "backward" Arabs.

Technique alone, of course, is insufficient. Real explosives must be used if a letter bomb is to pass from theory to practice. In this connection, there is a footnote to the whole affair. The September 21 *New York Times* reports the following item: "United Press International quoted Scotland Yard as saying that the explosion that killed Dr. Ami Shachori . . . was probably caused by an American-made explosive that had been dumped into Communist-controlled areas of Vietnam." □

Norway Deals a Blow to Common Market

By David Thorstad

On the eve of the referendum on Norway's entry into the Common Market, fires were kept burning on mountaintops throughout the country. The ancient Norse warning that a foreign enemy was invading was the culminating gesture of a vigorous two-year campaign by anti-Market forces. By mustering a decisive "no" vote they succeeded in dealing the Common Market a considerable setback.

Common Market officials in Brussels called the result of the referendum a clear "defeat for Europe."

The *New York Times* termed it "a heavy blow at the whole concept of European integration and Atlantic cooperation."

"Even before becoming a reality," editorialized *Le Monde* September 27, "the idea of a 'Europe of the Ten' has thus been returned to the archives of history."

"Some very important people in this country woke up with a headache," said Arne Haugestad, the head of the main anti-Market group, Folkebevegelsen mot EF (People's Movement Against the European Common Market), the day after the vote. "This was a historic victory for ordinary citizens against the state."

The vote rejecting the treaty of accession to the Common Market negotiated by the Labor government of Trygve Bratteli was decisive—53.9% to 46.1%. Balloting in the two-day referendum was heavy, with more than 75% of the 2,600,000 eligible voters casting votes.

The vote swung decisively against entry only in the late hours of tabulation. The first editions of the September 26 newspapers came out around 1:30 a.m. announcing a pro-entry victory. But by that time it was already clear that the voters had rejected the proposal.

At 2:30 a.m., between 200 and 300 students demonstrated in front of the university in Oslo, singing "Victory Is Ours," the song of the Norwegian partisans during World War II.

Although the vote was only advisory, the Labor and Conservative

parties—which both supported entry—pledged to abide by it.

A definite split between town and country was apparent. In the northern and central regions, early returns were 60-70% opposed to entry, whereas Oslo voted 55-65% in favor. In the fashionable Bygbo section of the capital, the "yes" vote reached 80%.

Out of a population of 3,900,000, some 200,000 activists on both sides of the question were mobilized during the final days of the campaign to ring doorbells and buttonhole neighbors, reported *New York Times* correspondent Michael Stern from Oslo September 22. "Arguments for and against the Market dominate broadcasting, fill the news columns of the newspapers and seem to be the only thing people want to talk about," he wrote.

"In Oslo, sound trucks are blaring slogans through the crisp autumn air. Youths are marching up and down the main avenues wearing shoulder-to-knee placards front and back. Lapel button sellers and leaflet distributors block almost every downtown corner and try to draw passersby into conversation and debate."

The anti-Market forces were a disparate coalition of forces that had never before found common cause. Some 130,000 of them paid 10 kroners (\$1.60) to join the Folkebevegelse, and of these 50,000 became "proselytizing activists," in the words of *Washington Post* correspondent Bernard Nossiter. The fact that seventeen members of parliament joined the grass-roots movement gave it what Haugestad referred to as "the necessary minimum of respectability."

Farmers—who constitute only 10% of the work force, but who pumped more than \$1,000,000 into the Folkebevegelse—were a key component of the opposition. They opposed entry because the market's rules would force the government to revise the current pricing system, which assures them an income almost equal to that of city workers.

The country's 50,000 fishermen in

the biggest fish-producing country in Europe feared an invasion of their rich fishing grounds by the strong fleets of Great Britain and Germany. They also resented what they considered the excessive bureaucracy of a Brussels decision—made before Norway even began to negotiate its terms of Common Market membership—to set a "community" fisheries policy. "A policy on fishing rights that Norway would have to adhere to even though she did not participate in its creation," noted Clyde Farnsworth in the September 28 *New York Times*, "was considered by Norwegians—and all Scandinavians—in the same passionate terms as the policy of taxation without representation that colonial Americans rebelled against in 1776."

Also active in the anti-Market movement were the ecology-minded, who were concerned over what the Common Market's stress on bigness and growth would do to Norway's environment and natural beauty; radical youth; pan-Scandinavians, who were afraid that entry would further estrange them from Sweden and Finland, which have decided not to enter; left-wing trade unionists; conservative Lutherans, worried about close association with predominantly Roman Catholic countries like France and Italy; and conservative nationalists.

Nossiter reported in the September 27 *Washington Post* that Haugestad "is defensive about the obviously nationalist appeal of his movement, its reliance on the flag and its play on emotions that amounted to a scarcely disguised anti-German and anti-Italian feeling in some segments.

"You will find we had some groups that were negative in a nationalistic sense," he acknowledges. "I disagree with them. We used the flag because it ties together all groups, because it symbolizes the independence of Norway. The main point is who is going to rule, Brussels or the Norwegian people."

For many, fear that the quality of life in Norway would become submerged in the mediocrity of "bigness" was an important factor in their decision to vote "no." Not atypical of this attitude was the comment of a schoolteacher in the semirural town of Ski, who told Michael Stern of the *Times* that he voted "no" because he thought the Common Market would lead to more urbanization. "If you

look at the treaty," he said, "you will see that it contains many good things for businessmen, industrialists, for capitalists.

"But what will they do with their opportunities? They will expand factories and build new businesses and draw more and more people into big cities. They will encourage centralization and the people won't be able to live where they were born, where they belong. The land will get empty and much that is good in Norway will disappear."

Another factor that probably helped more than one Norwegian decide to vote "no" was a statement by French President Georges Pompidou during the week preceding the referendum indicating that he firmly favored Spain joining the Market. The Franco regime is very unpopular in Norway.

Arrayed against the Folkebevegelse was virtually the entire Norwegian establishment. In addition to the two major parties, the pro-Market forces included the official trade-union leadership (who provided 30,000 door-to-door canvassers), big and small businessmen, much of the civil service (which is not insignificant in a "welfare state" like Norway), the state television, the Federation of Norwegian Industries, bankers, financiers, and 90% of the 200 newspapers.

The advice of this powerful alliance was rejected in spite of the predictable difficulties that would arise out of a "no" vote. One of these was the possibility that the Common Market would decide to go slow on signing a trade agreement with a nonmember Norway. Indeed, the day after the referendum, the Common Market Commission in Brussels rejected Norway's request for early negotiations on such an agreement. The agreement is important because Norway's exports—mainly fish and agricultural products—to the now nine projected Market countries (including Denmark, where a referendum on membership is to take place on October 2) account for 65% of its total exports.

The vote also created a political crisis in Norway, where the Labor government had said it would resign if the vote was negative. Bratteli has since indicated that his government will do so on October 6. Since neither the Labor party nor the Conservatives will participate in an anti-Market government, it will probably be up to the Center party (which opposed

entry) to attempt to form a new coalition government with other minority parties. According to the Norwegian constitution, new elections cannot be held before September 1973, so the prospect is for a year of a weak, caretaker government of the Center party, the Liberals, and the Christian Popular party.

Bratteli is expected to propose to the king that the head of the Center party, Per Borten, succeed him as premier. However, Michael Stern noted in the September 27 *New York Times* that the problem may be complicated by the fact that Borten "was forced out as Premier in 1971 after he admitted that he had lied in a case involving the leakage of an ambassador's report on the progress of the Common Market negotiations. There is widespread doubt that he would be able to gather enough support to form a government."

The coming year is apt to be one of intense political activity in Norway leading up to the elections. The Labor party, which has dominated Norwegian political life for around a quarter century, and the labor confederation, tens of thousands of whose members broke with their leadership over the Market issue, will probably go through a period of reevaluation. Changes in the leadership of both would not be unexpected.

A reassessment of Norway's membership in NATO is a possible by-product of the anti-Market campaign. It is a possibility that the *New York Times* editors on September 28 called to the attention of the Center party. While noting that its leaders may not

be opposed to NATO, it warned them that "the energetic allies they picked up in the campaign against the Community will try to use this result as the opening wedge for prying Norway loose from all formal ties with the West, beginning with NATO."

The impact of the Norwegian vote will be felt for a long time. Its most immediate effect will be on the Danish referendum, by putting new wind in the sails of anti-Market forces. Whether the gust will be strong enough to blow Denmark out of the Market, too, is not yet clear.

Sweden and Finland are now considering another effort to revive a proposed economic union between the five Scandinavian countries, Nordek. This is almost certain to be done if Denmark votes against membership in the Market.

The "no" vote in Norway is also expected to be felt in England, which had been counting on Norway as an ally in the Market. Although the decision to enter has already been made in England, anti-Market forces may now press for a referendum on the matter. In addition, according to John Allan May in the September 27 *Christian Science Monitor*, a "no" vote by the British Labour party at its annual conference in Blackpool at the beginning of October becomes "a very likely development." If Prime Minister Heath, who is becoming less and less popular, should lose the next elections, it would mean that the next government would be committed to renegotiating the terms of Britain's entry (Harold Wilson's position) or to taking Britain out of the Market altogether. □

Vietnam Dirt Buries the White House

When Brigadier General (Retired) S. L. A. Marshall read "The Cratering of Indochina" in the May issue of *Scientific American*, he got writing mad. In it, Arthur Westing and E. W. Pfeiffer, both biologists and former Marine Corps officers with combat experience, detailed the ecological destruction wrought in Vietnam by U. S. bombs.

They estimated that from 1965 to 1971 the bombs created a total of 26 million craters, about four-fifths of them in South Vietnam. General Marshall, who refers to the cratering of the earth's surface as "dimpling," complained in an article syndicated by the *Los Angeles Times* that

Westing and Pfeiffer had exaggerated the size of the craters produced by the standard 500-pound bomb and had thus overestimated the degree of destruction.

In the September issue of *Scientific American* the two authors defended their estimates in convincing style. They put it in terms even a general should understand:

"To suggest the enormity of just one aspect of the environmental disruption thus caused, it can be noted here that the total soil displaced could have filled and refilled the White House (including both of its wings) once every hour and three-quarters during this entire seven-year period."

Five Irish-Americans Still Face Trial

By Gerry Foley

"'Welcome home, daddy' signs were waved by several children as the men stepped off a plane at New York's Kennedy Airport," the pro-Provisional IRA weekly *The Irish People* (published in New York) said in its September 30 issue, reporting the return to their homes of five Irish-American activists jailed for four months in Texas. "A crowd of more than 1000 people, including several members of congress who have been active in the fight to free them, cheered.

"Their lawyer Mr. Paul O'Dwyer said the U.S. Government had been out to destroy the Irish Northern Aid Committee, the chief Irish republican fund-raising group in the U.S."

A caption to a photograph gave the following description: "Linking arms with loved ones and holding cherub-cheeked tots on their shoulders, they fell in line behind skirling pipers from the Saffron Kilts of Babylon, L.I. [Long Island] and marched through the terminal's corridors to a press room where they sharply denounced the Justice Department for its role in their incarceration."

The five men — Kenneth Tierney, Mathias Reilly, Thomas Laffey, Paschal Morahan, and Daniel Crawford — had been held in a Fort Worth prison for four months for exercising their constitutional right to refuse to answer the questions of a federal grand jury investigating American support for the Provisional IRA. They were accused of being involved in running guns to the besieged Catholic ghettos of Northern Ireland.

Paschal Morahan, a twenty-five-year-old carpenter from the Bronx, denounced the U.S. government for launching a general attack against the supporters of Irish freedom in the United States: "We believe we were just picked out of a hat and brought here [to Texas]. I think it was just a witch-hunt. None of us had ever been in Texas before and we hadn't known each other before."

Paul O'Dwyer said: "The tyranny in Ireland is not unlike the tyranny we've been witnessing in Texas for

the last four months." He accused the government of "taking orders from a foreign country" (i.e., Britain), arguing: "There is something putrid when New Yorkers have to be taken 1,400 miles to answer questions."

The prominent civil-liberties lawyer had a good case against the methods of the Justice Department, but the prima facie evidence did not seem to warrant his putting the blame on the British government. In fact, the accusation about Washington taking orders from Whitehall had a distinctly anachronistic ring, as if O'Dwyer were repeating the slogans of the late nineteenth century in the hope that they would have the same effect today in a world where it is Washington that gives the orders.

The reaction of the American capitalist press to the struggle of the nationalist minority in Northern Ireland indicates that Washington did not need any orders to go after the Irish activists. The *New York Times*, the voice of the most internationally oriented sector of U.S. big business, has repeatedly urged the Irish to "cooperate with Mr. Whitelaw," the British overlord of Northern Ireland. The big American dailies barely lag behind their British counterparts in denouncing "IRA terrorism."

It is impossible to believe that, after four years of struggle for democratic rights in Northern Ireland, the government and the press in the United States remain uninformed about the nature of the Irish people's fight. The fact is that the dominant interests in the United States have the same outlook as the ruling circles in Britain. Both oppose any upsets in the status quo anywhere in the world, a status quo that they have created and in the last analysis maintain.

The U.S. government is quick to act against revolutions led by socialists. But it has proved just as ready to crack down on all movements that threaten the established order, as in the case of the Dominican Republic in April 1965, when Johnson sent marines to crush an antidictatorial uprising that occurred without guidance

from Communists or revolutionary socialists. It is as a result of the U.S. government trying to suppress independent movements of oppressed people everywhere that the Justice Department is, in the words of Thomas Laffey, "riddled with fascism."

The American public has been conditioned to regard all revolutionary movements as "totalitarian." But in the case of the Irish struggle, this conditioning is not complete. In the first place, the Irish nationalist movement has such a long history that there are still memories of a time when broad sectors of preimperialist American society sympathized with it. Secondly, it was dormant during the period when the Cold Warriors were whipping up hysteria against national liberation movements in the rest of the world. Thirdly, because of the history of urban machine politics in the United States, capitalist politicians salivate at the possibility of identifying with any white ethnic bloc. Flattery of the Irish, the Italians, and the Jews, in particular, is believed to be a sure-fire vote getter.

On the other hand, this situation has led to the Irish having more illusions about capitalist politicians than other national groups. A few years ago, for instance, I remember hearing a supporter of the IRA guerrilla campaign of 1956-62, a minor Democratic machine politician, say to a public meeting that when he was confronted with a charge of Communist infiltration into the Irish movement, he offered to show the FBI a list of the activists and dared them to point out "one Communist." After the case of the Fort Worth Five, presumably, the honorable judge would be less cooperative with federal investigators.

With the approach of the national elections in the United States, political pressure built up for the release of the New York Irish activists, forcing the Supreme Court to order that bail be given and then forcing the reactionary Texas judge to set a reasonable one. Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and some local New York congressmen associated themselves with demands for the release of the five.

However, Kenneth Tierney seems to have made too hasty a judgment when he said: "It's great to be out. My faith is restored in the U.S. judicial system and in the fact that the Bill of

Rights and the Constitution have not been completely strangled." The first phase of the Fort Worth Five case has shown that public protest can force the repressive system to retreat. But the prosecutions will continue after the elections.

Furthermore, on September 28, another Irish-American, Patrick Purcell, a forty-one-year-old bus driver from Pearl River, New York, was arrested on charges of procuring weapons for the IRA. He is being held on \$10,000 bail on the grounds that there is "substantial risk of flight" in his case.

Also, on August 23, the American consul in Belfast banned Mrs. Maire Drumm, a veteran Irish nationalist fighter, from the United States. In his letter to Mrs. Drumm, Consul Lars H. Hyde said that she had been "found ineligible under Section 212(a)(28)(F) of the Immigration and Nationality Act as amended" and he cited the law as follows:

"Section 212(a) Except as otherwise provided in this act the following classes of aliens shall be ineligible to receive visas and shall be excluded from admission into the United States:

...

"(28) Aliens who are, or at any time have been, members of any of the following classes: . . .

"(F) Aliens who advocate or teach or who are members of or affiliated with any organization that advocates or teaches (i) the overthrow by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; or (ii) the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character; or (iii) the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property; or (iv) sabotage."

Unfortunately *The Irish People*, which reprinted this letter, did not ask why, among other things, such successful advocates of "overthrowing" "all forms of law" as representatives of the Greek dictatorship and other reactionary military dictatorships are welcomed to the United States with official honors.

In an editorial, the September 30 *Irish People* complained:

"Irishmen in this country found out once more this past week that few

people care about their fellow freedom fighters. It can be from the outrageous 'Bail' for the Fort Worth Five set at a half a million dollars by Judge Brewster which carried with it the statement 'I want the bond to make it more worthwhile to be here rather than somewhere else' to the horrible situations existing at the Curragh Prison Camp in the South of Ireland—the so-called Free State of Ireland. In both cases Irishmen were languishing in Prison and in the latter instance eleven men were facing death—two within hours of death [from a hunger strike].

"As grave as the situations were, few Americans knew about them because the press refused to publish it. Had it been Jewish people subjected to even half the torture or harassment the whole world would have known about it. Perhaps Irishmen and Irishwomen should wake up and let the world know of our plight."

It is to be hoped that this call to action reflects the sentiments of the Irish Northern Aid Committee, the American support group of the Provisionals. This organization has already held a large rally in defense of the Fort Worth Five of "some 3,000 Irish-Americans, many wearing T-shirts and proclaiming 'I. R. A. all the way'" (*Irish Times*, August 14). A similar one is planned for October 6. Still, the fact that the August 13 rally was held in a purely Irish sports arena limited its impact on the general American public. A demonstration marching down one of the main streets of New York could have been more effective.

The *Irish People* mentioned only the Jews as a group that has been more successful than the Irish-Americans in pressing its demands. It could have given other instructive examples. There is the case of the anti-Vietnam war movement, for instance, that has changed the whole political climate of the country in a few years by continuing to demonstrate in the streets and other public places, appealing directly to all sections of the American people and refusing to hitch itself to the star of any capitalist politician or party.

Other national groups, also, such as the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and even the Native Americans have been able to win the support of the most politically active and idealistic youth in all communities by chal-

lenging the power structure blocking their aspirations in militant and uncompromising ways.

In contrast to these groups, however, the Irish-Americans have tended to rely on their "friends" in City Hall and in Congress. There is a very clear lesson here. It would be helpful in building an effective defense of the Irish fighters if the *Irish People* pointed it out.

Furthermore, since it is clear that the Justice Department attack is aimed at all Irish patriots, no matter what their politics, the *Irish People*, it seems, should certainly have stressed the need for Irish-Americans to unite in support of all victims of repression. Instead it carried a letter denouncing the Official IRA support group for trying to raise money for a prisoners' defense fund, on the grounds that the Fort Worth Five and most of the prisoners still in jail in Ireland are aligned with the Provisionals. The writer complained: "We think it unfair that this organization [the Official IRA affiliate] should be permitted to take advantage of TRUE IRISHMEN."

Surely it would have been much more positive to call on the Official IRA supporters to prove their right to be considered part of the Irish movement, if this is doubted, by helping to fight the U. S. government repression now aimed at Provisional backers.

Unity of both the Provisional and Official IRA supporter groups is important, in particular to defend the right of Irish revolutionists to communicate with Irish communities outside Ireland and to maintain the connections among the various sections of the Irish nation scattered throughout the English-speaking world. It is especially urgent to defend this right, now that the Dublin government has apparently begun to deport American-born Irish nationalists.

In its campaign for the release of the Fort Worth Five, Northern Aid has enjoyed the support of some well-known Democratic party politicians. Will they keep up their support after the elections?

Rather than rely on such figures, a better policy would be to encourage Irish-Americans to unite and take their case directly to the American people in demonstrations and mass protests that can include everyone ready to support the fight for Irish freedom and full political rights for Irish fighters. □

Ernest Mandel Answers Newsweek Smear

[The following is the text of a letter dated September 14 sent by Ernest Mandel from Brussels to the editors of *Newsweek* in New York, protesting their publication of lies about him and the Fourth International. For more details about the *Newsweek* article see "'Newsweek' and the Real 'Terrorist International'" in the September 25 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In your Sept. 18, 1972, issue you devote two whole paragraphs on page 34 to the movement I am part of, the Fourth International, and to myself. The only trouble with these paragraphs is that they do not contain a single word of truth.

The Fourth International was not founded two years ago in Brussels, but thirty-four years ago in Paris. It is not a terrorist organization but has always rejected the philosophy and methods of terrorism, opposed to the Marxist principles it stands for. The Brussels conference* issued no call to "shoot" on any scale. More modestly, it tried to coordinate the struggle of radical workers, students and intellectuals against the take-over of Europe by a few hundred multinational corporations, either American or European. The call it issued was for a Socialist United States of Europe, based upon social ownership of the means of production administered not by any top-heavy bureaucracy or state apparatus, but by democratically elected councils of producers, under a multiparty system.

The sentence you attribute to me, reproduced between quotation marks, was never spoken by me, neither at that conference nor anywhere else. On the contrary, foreseeing this type of misrepresentation, I explicitly stated in my conference report that we do not fight by means of dynamite, bombs or the like.

* The reference is to a congress of European Trotskyist groups held in Brussels in November 1970 at which Ernest Mandel gave a report. For details see "3,500 Young Revolutionaries at Brussels 'Congress'" in *Intercontinental Press*, December 7, 1970, p. 1051. — IP

Your attempt to picture us as a "Terrorist International" can therefore only be characterized as a total distortion of the truth.

Equally scandalous is the assertion that "Trotskyites see themselves as the catalysts provoking governments into ever harsher repressive measures. This, they believe, will encourage Fascism and, in turn, produce more radical fanatics and more cracks in established society."

Anybody doing his elementary homework before writing an article could easily have found out that one of the great intellectual and political achievements of Leon Trotsky was that he understood — nearly alone — as early as 1930 the mortal threat fascism represented to the German people. He desperately sought to unite Communists, Social Democrats, and unionists by the millions — and not just a few "fanatics" — to prevent a fascist take-over of that key country. His followers ever since have acted in the same spirit, and are rightly considered by fascists the world over as their most implacable enemies. To accuse such a movement of deliberately wanting to "provoke" the development of fascism is again a complete and unadulterated lie.

It is true that in addition to its above-mentioned basic goals, the Fourth International firmly supports, in a spirit of solidarity with all victims of oppression and exploitation, popular mass resistance movements against oppressors, even if the rulers of these countries leave them no other avenue open for struggle but armed struggle. A similar position of support to such movements, e.g., in the Portuguese colonies, has recently been adopted by the World Council of Churches and the Swedish Social Democracy. You don't taint them with the brush of being "terrorist organizations" for that support. There is no reason to taint us with that brush either.

As a matter of fact, even the editors of *Newsweek* fully identify with at least one armed resistance movement against oppression, called the American War of Independence. Have they

therefore adopted the philosophy of terrorism? It would also be interesting to know how they characterize the resistance movements which sprang up all through Europe against Nazi oppression, e.g., the Warsaw ghetto uprising. To my knowledge, there is only one movement which slandered these heroes as being "bandits" and "criminals": the movement of Hitler and his henchmen.

Nobody should be surprised that terrorists who happen to wield state power and, in that position, pursue their political goals by murdering thousands of innocent people — Hitler was only the most extreme example of them, and by no means the only one — call their opponents "criminal terrorists." The political function of this linguistic trick is obviously to facilitate and justify in advance mass repression, mass persecution, mass torture and, if necessary, mass killing of political opponents.

In the 1870s, an obscure terrorist made an attempt upon the life of the German Emperor William I; Bismark used the occasion to outlaw the Social Democracy for fifteen years. In 1934, the no less obscure Nikolaev murdered the local boss of Leningrad, Kirov; Stalin used that occasion to arrest, and subsequently murder, practically all his political opponents in the Communist movement of the USSR. Neither the German Social Democrats nor the Soviet Trotskyists had actually committed a single act of violence against the regimes of Emperor William I or Joseph Stalin. They were convinced that they could best further their goals under the circumstances through mass education, mass organization, and mass struggle of the working class. This, those terrorist rulers feared much more than desperate and inefficient acts of individual terrorism. Therefore they used the first occasion to suppress these political opposition movements under the pretext of "fighting terrorism."

Today, especially since May 1968, the Fourth International enjoys growing influence among revolutionary youth and workers in many countries. It tries to centralize their generous efforts at social change towards concrete and realizable political goals. This is seen by the rulers as a threat against their rule. So they attempt to organize a growing repression

against us. For that purpose, a frame-up on the occasion of some terrorist incident is a welcome opportunity.

Police informers and other professionals in the noble art of curtailing freedom of thought, speech, organization, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frame-up. They cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions, of

broad social forces, and that it is ridiculous to attribute to Marxists the wish to "conspire" and to build socialism without the conscious resolution of the majority of the toilers. This is typical of the police or James Bond-type mind. But it is a disgrace to free journalism that newspapermen cooperate in such endeavors, deliberately or through sheer ignorance. □

Arrests Political Opponents

Marcos Stages Nationwide Witch-Hunt

By Fred Feldman

Since his declaration of martial law September 23, President Ferdinand Marcos has mounted a nationwide witch-hunt against political opponents of his regime. Ostensibly aimed at a "Communist conspiracy" backed by an unnamed foreign power, the crackdown has resulted in the arrest of more than 150 persons, including Senator Benigno Aquino Jr., secretary general of the opposition Liberal party and a probable presidential candidate in 1973.

On September 30, Luis Taruc, a former leader of the Huk rebellion, was jailed. Taruc is an unlikely insurrectionist. He surrendered to Filipino authorities in 1954, informed on several of his comrades, and was released in 1968 before the completion of a fifteen-year sentence because of his willingness to cooperate with Marcos.

The September 28 *New York Times* reported that Marcos has "specified 19 new categories of individuals who are subject to arrest and indefinite detention. . . .

"The new categories are mainly criminal. Those accused of evading income taxes, of crimes against public morals and of 'crimes against liberty' were three of the categories.

"The President's order today made certain a still more varied assortment of individuals would soon be in detention along with those already being held. No specific charges have been made against any of those detained, and no indication has been given as to when or if trials are to be held and what the prospects for release are, if any.

"Mr. Marcos has made it plain that he will exercise power, if necessary, to overrule any court judgment in favor of a detainee."

Alejandro Melchor, Marcos's executive secretary, told a Washington, D. C., news conference September 25 that "opposition leaders now under arrest would be tried for treason by regular courts rather than under martial law." (*New York Times*, September 26.)

Marcos has also initiated a purge of government employees. According to the September 30 *New York Times*, 452 have already been fired. "At the same time he called for every Government employe to submit a letter of resignation by Oct. 15, indicating that by this time it would be decided whose resignations would be accepted and whose rejected. It is estimated there are 400,000 employes of the Philippines national government, and it has been reported that as many as a third of these may be dropped."

A major target of Marcos's attacks has been the press. Joaquin Rocas, publisher of *The Manila Times*, the nation's largest newspaper, has been arrested. Other newspaper figures seized by the police include: "Max Soliven, one of Mr. Rocas's chief columnists on the Times and a consistent critic of President Marcos; Rosalinda Galang, a Times reporter; Armando Doronila, editor of *The Daily Chronicle*; Roberto Ordonnez, a staff member of *The Daily Herald*; Teodoro Locsin, editor of the weekly *Free Press*; Napoleon Rama, a writer for *The Free Press*; Luis M. Mauricio, publisher of the *Weekly Graphic*, and the

Rev. Cornelio Lagerway, a Dutch Roman Catholic priest and an editor of Catholic publications." (*New York Times*, September 29.)

A strict censorship has been imposed. New regulations bar publication of editorial comment, political advertising, or any "materials that tend to incite or inflame people against the Government or its constituted authorities, and materials that undermine the faith and confidence of the people in the Government or any of its arms. . . .

"All material for publication internally or abroad must be cleared by the Department of Public Information. . . ." (*New York Times*, September 29.)

All but two of the country's newspapers remain closed by Marcos's order.

At his September 25 news conference in Washington, D. C., Alejandro Melchor told reporters that martial law might lead to the cancellation of the 1973 presidential elections.

Melchor said that "Marcos would remain in power 'as long as necessary' for carrying out a nationwide land reform and other measures that have been presented under the label 'new society'. . . .

"Mr. Melchor said in response to questions that martial law might be maintained for as long as 'two years.' He said that while '200 years' would be required to attain President Marcos's objectives of redistributing land, stamping out corruption, doing away with 'private armies' and transforming the country economically and socially, 'with the martial law it can be done quicker.'

"'In terms of Marcos, I would see an indefinite martial law,' he added.

"Mr. Melchor noted that the draft of a new constitution now before a constitutional convention in Manila provided for a two-year extension of President Marcos's present term."

Another supporter of Marcos's action, Cornelio Villereal, speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives, gave the lie to the government's claim that the declaration of martial law was a response to the September 22 attempt on the life of the secretary of defense.

Villereal said, according to the September 26 *New York Times*, that "the imposition of martial law had been studied for a long time, had been decided on and was in effect already last Thursday, well before the am-

bush Friday night of Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile. . . ."

"Mr. Villereal said the ambush had no connection with the President's decision. Rather, he said, Mr. Marcos had made the decision earlier because of 'excesses' in the exercising of Filipino freedom and the 'pattern of subversion' that had developed there."

The September 26 *Le Monde* quotes official admissions as to the popular unrest which Marcos is meeting with repressive measures.

"According to him the (Maoist) New People's Army has 100,000 'active fighters' and sympathizers, and battles 'are raging' on the islands of Luzon (in the north) and Mindanao (in the south). The foreign affairs minister, on the other hand, claims that the New People's Army and other leftist organizations 'manipulate the students and youth, harping on subjects like imperialism, fascism, feudalism, the biased judicial system, low wages, unemployment, inflation and even the distribution of relief. All this enables them to win the sympathy of the masses.'"

It is this discontent that inspires Marcos's vague promises of "reform." On September 26 he proclaimed the entire country a land-reform area although details of his land-reform plan have yet to be published. On September 30, the nation's biggest sugar dealer, Antonio Roxas Chua, was detained. Three other sugar dealers were also seized. According to the October 1 *New York Times*, Chua was "being questioned in connection with recent manipulation of sugar supplies that has caused shortages and price increases."

On the other hand, Marcos has assured Washington that his regime will protect the interests of imperialism. Recent decisions of the Philippines Supreme Court forbidding land ownership by Americans and barring some companies from employing non-Filipinos in any capacity had disturbed foreign investors. In an interview reported by Tillman Durdin in the September 27 *New York Times*, Marcos indicated that his government would not inconvenience U. S. firms by strict enforcement of these decisions. He also promised more favorable consideration for U. S. oil companies, which have about \$400 million (of the \$2,000 million total U. S. private investment) invested in the Philippines.

Marcos said that "martial law would be necessary until 'we have completely dismantled the entire apparatus of the Communist party' and ended the vio-

lent and subversive insurrectionary activities that he has cited as the chief reason for the proclamation of martial law." □

Perera Tries Worming His Way From Within

Striking Ceylon Bank Workers Hold Tough

As the nationwide strike of Ceylonese bankworkers continued, the Ceylon Bank Employees Union [CBEU] responded sharply September 18 to an anti-strike leaflet issued by a group calling itself the "LSSP faction" or "socialist group" planted within the union. The leaflet called on bank employees to return to their jobs. It "made a series of allegations against the Union leadership," according to the September 28 *Ceylon News*.

The "faction" represents the Lanka Sama Samaja party, one of the "socialist" partners in Bandaranaike's coalition government. Finance Minister N. M. Perera, a leader of the LSSP, is resorting to scab labor and police violence in an effort to break the bank strike.

The CBEU denounced the slander campaign launched against the striking workers by the United Front government and its backers. The union's statement was summarized in the *Ceylon News*:

"The Bank Union . . . said they have been called 'agents of the BBC, of the Voice of America, the CIA, the Herbert Ebert Foundation, the UNP [United National party], Mr. Thondaman, the Federal Party, the Borah merchants and of landed proprietors in the outstations, who have given them 'handsome contributions in cash and kind.'"

"In a crude attempt to give the issue a communal twist, the false allegation has been made that the General Secretary is a member of the Tamil United Front and that our strike is connected with the threatened action of that organisation.

"There is nothing new in all this. Even in 1962, when the President and General Secretary were both Sinhalese, our strike was denounced by the Government as being part of a Federal Party plot to overthrow it."

Only five employees had returned to work since the leaflet was issued, the union said.

The *Ceylon News* also reported the union's response to an offer to "mediate" made by the Bank of Ceylon's Staff Officers Association, which has not supported the walkout.

CBEU President Oscar Pereira said that the union had not been officially informed of the proposal and therefore couldn't consider it. Another union figure, S. Sivasubramaniam, said: "Those who are with us are our friends. Those who are not with us are not our friends. We do not wish the latter category to intervene on behalf of us."

Other Sri Lanka unions have rallied against the government's strike-breaking efforts. The *Ceylon News* reported that the "Joint Front of Trade Unions in the Ceylon Electricity Board has appealed to the Prime Minister to settle the strike by negotiation 'without trying to break it up by the use of anti-trade union laws and threats.'" □

Chou Greets Queen of Iran

"As the distinguished Iranian guests walked around to meet the welcoming crowds, the airport was a scene of jubilation, with people beating drums, singing and dancing, and shouting 'A warm welcome to Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi, the Shabanou of Iran!' and 'Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and Iran.'"

This is how the Chinese government's official English-language weekly described the welcome given to a representative of the Persian monarchy, whose absolute powers were restored by a CIA-sponsored coup in 1953.

In his welcoming speech, according to the September 21 issue of the Karachi daily *Dawn*, foreign minister Chou En-lai said:

"Under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah of Iran, the Government and people of Iran have made continuous efforts and achieved successes in safeguarding state sovereignty, protecting national resources, developing national culture and building their country. The Chinese government and people sincerely wish you continuous new victories on your road of advance."

Unionists Debate How to Fight Antilabor Act

London

The way British trade unionists are to fight the Industrial Relations Act was at the top of the agenda of this year's Trades Union Congress—one of the most turbulent in the TUC's 104-year history.

On the first day at Brighton the delegates voted overwhelmingly to suspend thirty-two unions that have thus far defied the TUC's instructions to withdraw from the government's register of trade unions. The thirty-two have a combined membership of nearly 500,000—about 5 percent of the TUC's total membership.

The September 4 suspension means the loss of the TUC's facilities and the protection of the "Bridlington agreement" banning interunion poaching of members.

The suspension of the thirty-two needs to be seen in the context of the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act. This has been mounting during the past eighteen months, culminating in July in a strike of 170,000 dockworkers that won release for five imprisoned members of the union.

At last year's congress, an opposition led by Hugh Scanlon, left-wing leader of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, succeeded in persuading delegates to adopt the line that affiliate unions should deregister in protest against the legislation. Writing in the September 3 *Observer*, David Wilson summarized what happened afterward:

"Until last July the response was mixed. Moderate unions like the National and Local Government Officers' Association and the General and Municipal Workers did deregister, but forty wavered, including some big ones. Then the dockers went to Pentonville [a London prison] and Scanlon was vindicated; three big unions fell into line quickly—the iron and steel trades, shopworkers, and electricians—and only 700,000 people, instead of 1,600,000, were left outside the TUC fold."

Without a fight over registration, opposition to the act undoubtedly would have collapsed. But the question remains as to how well the TUC's

General Council is giving leadership in this struggle.

Mr. George Smith, in his presidential address, defended the TUC's tripartite talks with the government and employers and warned the congress that the trade-union movement must never imagine it was an alternative form of government.

Before the opening of business on the first day, the General Council voted by twenty to eleven to oppose a composite resolution of the engineering union calling on unions to boycott the reactionary labor law altogether.

The resolution, which called for "solidarity," including industrial action if unions or workers are victimized, and the setting up of a special fund for fines, had the support of many unions including the AEUW with 1.4 million workers, and the 1.6 million-strong Transport and General Workers' union. However, the more militant line was defeated at the congress by 5,677,000 to 3,479,000.

The congress also adopted the ambiguous economic-policy recommendation of the General Council which simultaneously was critical of the government but conciliatory towards efforts to negotiate a wages policy. While "rejecting wage restraints in any form," the congress left the door open for continued tripartite talks on curbing inflation with senior ministers and the Confederation of British Industries.

In view of the government's economic record over the past year—the loss in real wages for at least one-third of the country's 10 million organized workers, the rise of unemployment to near the one million mark, and the likelihood that retail prices, which are climbing this year by 7 or 8 percent, will rise more sharply next year—an intransigent approach toward the Tory government would have been appropriate.

A motion declaring opposition to British entry into the Common Market on principle was greeted by cheers from the delegates, but a second motion on Europe seemed to admit the possibility of entry on better terms.

A ban which, for twenty years, has prevented Communist party members from being elected delegates to the annual conference of trades councils was lifted by the congress.

The moderate line of the General Council on the major policy issues carried at the congress. But the mood of the delegates as a whole was one of militancy and great determination to bring down the present Tory government and repeal its Industrial Relations Act. This reflected the defeats suffered by the government at the hands of the miners, railwaymen, and dockers in the previous six months or so.

Some observers apparently drew opposite conclusions. Stephen Johns, in a front-page article in the September 8 issue of *Workers Press*, organ of the Socialist Labour League, said the congress "witnessed the birth-pangs of a new ultra-right alliance."

"Brighton 1972 was not the year of the left," he concluded, "but the year of the new corporate-state TUC, when union leader after union leader went over to the camp of reaction."

It is a fact that some right-wing trade-union leaders are more afraid of workers' militancy than they are of the Tory government. Afraid of leading a real fight against the government over this issue, they employ all the arguments about the danger of sequestration of union funds and the need to defend themselves in the courts.

But the possibility of militant struggle against the Industrial Relations Act was not ruled out definitively by the victory of the moderates at the 1972 TUC.

The coming year, in fact, may well see major encounters between the government and the organized trade-union movement—and not only in the courts. □

U. S. Drops Seale's Contempt Charges

U. S. Attorney James R. Thompson announced September 27 that the government will drop contempt-of-court charges for which Judge Julius J. Hoffman sentenced Black Panther party leader Bobby Seale to four years in prison.

Last May the appellate court overturned the sentence and ordered the prosecution to permit the defense to inspect transcripts of tapped telephone calls.

Alleging that this would injure "national security," the government gave up the case.

At one point during the trial, Seale, who acted as his own attorney, was ordered bound and gagged to silence him.

Oily Backdrop to Venezuela's Coming Elections

By Jose Ricardo Eliashev

The first half of this year in Venezuela was marked by the selection of presidential candidates for the 1973 elections and a conflict with the big oil companies of the West. At the same time the contradictions that are causing a deterioration in relations between the United States and the Christian-Democratic government in Caracas appear to be getting much worse.

In December 1973, some 4.5 million Venezuelans are scheduled to go to the polls to elect a successor to Rafael Caldera and a new national parliament. It will be the fourth experiment in the democratic style adopted by the country's ruling classes since the ouster of the Marco Pérez Jiménez dictatorship in 1958, which had been kept in power for six years because of its excellent relations with Washington.

An outstanding development in this preelection year was the approval of the so-called Reversion Law. This law provides that the Venezuelan state will take over all oil operations upon expiration of the concessions granted to the big U.S., British, and Dutch companies, which are profitably exploiting the subsoil of this South American country of 912,000 square kilometers and 10.8 million inhabitants. Although this will not occur until 1983, the intervening decade will undoubtedly be characterized by new and explosive confrontations between Venezuela and the United States.

However, it was not only passage of the Reversion Law that colored the present situation in Venezuela but also the report drawn up by Caracas against the trade treaty that has tied this country to the United States since 1939, and which the big monopolies termed a "reciprocal" treaty. The treaty expired last July 1, but it will automatically remain in effect until the end of 1972, while a new agreement is being negotiated. In theory, the 1939 document granted Venezuela preferential tariffs for delivering its oil to the United States, in exchange for which Washington was to keep prices frozen on certain industrial

goods that the South American nation imported. The treaty was renegotiated by Pérez Jiménez in 1952 as one of the first actions taken by his government to seal its "partnership" with the United States.

Ratification of the Reversion Law marked the high point of the nationalist aspiration of Rafael Caldera and his Christian-Democratic party COPEI [Comité Organizado por Elecciones Independientes—Committee for Independent Political Action] to induce the oil barons to leave the country within ten years. In passing this law, Caldera gave expression to the still confused hopes of at most a sector of the Venezuelan bourgeoisie, for following it a howl of protest went up from the powerful businessmen's group Fedecámaras. Through its president, Carlos Guillermo Rangel, this body, representing the most solid industrial, farming, and financial interests in the country, indicated its "fear" about what this legal measure involved, confirming once again its organic dependence on the United States. Thus, speaking on February 19—appropriately enough at the United States Chamber of Commerce in Venezuela—the head of Fedecámaras reiterated his defense of U.S. capital, gave an impassioned tribute to the oil companies of the West operating in the country, pleaded for prudence on Caldera's part, and attacked what he called "unbridled state collectivism and planning." In its place he demanded a return to "free initiative," which the big bourgeoisie feels is in some danger in Venezuela.

The North American response was not long in coming.

On March 6, the U.S. State Department made its first official response to the "audacity" of Caracas. It did so in a statement by Secretary of State William Rogers to the effect that Venezuela might cease being a supplier of oil to the United States, and that U.S. fears had been increased by the new prices the South American country was demanding for oil and by the measures announced by President Cal-

dera. The then ambassador to the United States, Julio Sosa-Rodríguez (a specialist in the field who was subsequently replaced so he could head up the Venezuelan delegation in negotiating the country's entry into the regional Andean Pact) hastened to dispel Washington's fears. Sosa-Rodríguez indicated that the North American supply of Venezuelan oil was not endangered by the measures announced by Caracas.

The customary U.S. heavy-handedness in diplomacy was bemoaned even by the Fedecámaras, whose executive director, Ciro Anz Fonseca, termed Rogers's statements "regrettable." The bosses' spokesman complained about the inconsistency of the United States toward its old partner and friend, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie.

But since the Reversion Law was passed, the oil companies have demonstrated that they exert a real, powerful control over the dependent economy of this country. They did this in classic imperialist style. They let it be known that Venezuela's share in the world market for crude oil was declining, and added, on the other hand, that known reserves were diminishing and that a mild winter had shrunk the usual demand in Western Europe and the United States.

Thus, production during the first quarter of this year was 18% below what it was during the same period last year (3,096,405 barrels per day compared to 3,772,732 barrels per day). As a result, the exporting of crude oil fell, and in January 1972 was more than 920 million barrels less than it was during the same month in 1971. Exports of by-products during the same period fell by more than 620 million barrels compared to January 1971.

The arguments made by the oil companies were patently false. During the first four months of 1972 the United States increased its oil imports by some 30%, while Venezuela's share of the market fell from 25% to 15%. The beneficiaries of this were Saudi

Arabia, Iran, Indonesia, Canada, Libya, and Nigeria.

On March 22, the Venezuelas minister of mines and petroleum, Hugo Pérez La Salvia, took the matter head on and declared that there was no justification at all for reducing production. He accused the companies of boycotting sales in order to get the government to rectify its nationalist policy.

At the end of the first five months of this year, production was 17.45% below what it was during the same period of the previous year—daily production from January through May 1972 was 3,115,334 barrels, as opposed to 3,772,902 for this period in 1971.

It was therefore not accidental that the Venezuelan chancellor, Aristides Calvani, in a statement to the so-called Organization of American States on April 14, declared that "it is not unusual for foreign investments in Latin America to serve more to develop the country in which they originate than the country in which they are placed. Thus, they have been inspired more by a spirit of plunder than the common good." The same day, with the reshuffling of President Caldera's cabinet, Calvani ceased to head up Venezuela's diplomatic apparatus. Perhaps his speech represented a kind of post-humous boldness for a man who is considered to be one of the best-disposed on the entire continent toward the White House.

Speaking before the twenty-eighth special session of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) on June 18, minister Pérez La Salvia stated that an international commission had been set up to protect Iraq's traditional markets because of the Baghdad government's planned nationalization of the Iraq Petroleum Company and the resultant threat in the West to stop buying Iraqi oil. But the interesting thing is that Venezuela was elected as one of the five nations making up this body (along with Libya, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Abu Dhabi) in an explicit reference to the fact that the OPEC might react in the same way if the traditional markets for Venezuelan oil were threatened by the Western oil companies.

On leaving Caracas on August 31, the president of Shell in Venezuela, J. J. de Leifde, stated in a new offensive against the nationalist strategy that

he found the decrease in Venezuelan oil potential over the last two years "worrisome." The cards were on the table, and that sector of the bourgeoisie represented by the Christian Democracy of Caldera could see the limits of its nationalist boldness. Big business responded in the old language of violence.

But the meaning of this open conflict between imperialist capital and certain elements of the Venezuelan ruling bloc can be fully explained only by relating them to recent political events, particularly the campaign that has already begun between the different parties and social classes. The December 1973 elections have greatly stirred the political scene in recent months, and there is no reason to assume that the process will die down in the coming period.

The fifteen months that remain before Rafael Caldera leaves the Miraflores presidential palace will see a battle between at least four national political groupings, to which could be added the specter of a military coup (up to now an improbable variant) and the systematic and corrosive pressure of Fedecámaras, expressing the fear of the armed forces and the high command of the owning classes over the possible outcome of the electoral contest.

Today the Christian-Democratic party COPEI, which has held power since two successive AD [Acción Democrática—Democratic Action] administrations came to an end in 1968, faces a three-fold challenge—from the right, the center, and the left. All are threatening the "handful of big industrialists, businessmen, bankers, profiteers, and landholders" whose interests it represents, according to the analysis of Pompeyo Márquez, a prominent Venezuelan Marxist and a top leader of the new group MAS [Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism].

COPEI and AD are the two big parties of the Venezuelan bourgeoisie, and both groups have been in control of the state since 1959 when the provisional military government, set up with the overthrow of Pérez Jiménez on January 23, 1958, came to an end.

Both organizations have revolved around their two top leaders—Rafael Caldera in COPEI and the legendary Rómulo Betancourt in AD—throughout the last few five-year periods, during the course of which they meticu-

lously prepared themselves to rule over a modern, capitalist Venezuela. Nevertheless, the parliamentary solution of 1959 appears to be tottering.

The modern, chaotic Venezuela is based on the prosperity derived by the ruling classes from the country's one-sided wealth in oil—the crumbs of which remain in the country while the largest part of the booty goes to the United States. In the decade of 1960-1969, the "great democracy to the North" took some \$5,400 million out of the country—a staggering \$539 million a year. These figures, published by the Jesuit priest Fernando Martínez Galdeano in a recent issue of the religious magazine *SIC*, become still more striking when one realizes that this is the same amount invested by the United States in Venezuela in the twentieth century up to now. Thus in one decade Venezuela returned to the U.S. what the U.S. invested in seventy years.

This should not be surprising. Venezuela buys more than 50% of its imports from the United States, while almost 40% of its oil goes to that country. U.S. capital controls 72% of the oil, 99% of the minerals, 68% of industry, and 72% of the financial institutions in Venezuela. These figures give a picture of dependency that requires no further commentary.

From Berne, Switzerland, where he went into exile when his presidential term expired in 1964, Rómulo Betancourt developed into a key figure for the ruling classes in Venezuelan politics. His return to Venezuela this year was expected to be an opportunity for him to place himself at the head of AD as a contestant for the country's highest post.

Betancourt arrived in Venezuela the third week in May, sixty-eight years old and with a political past that made him a very valuable candidate for the right. He did not want to get involved in the battle, however, and on July 20 he declared that he would not run for the presidency, adding that it had not been his intention to do so ever since he left the country for Switzerland.

With this unknown factor out of the way, AD chose as its presidential candidate, Carlos Andrés Pérez, the party's general secretary and a deputy for forty-seven years who was minister of the interior in the Raúl Leoni government, the AD administration that followed Betancourt. Characterized as a "hawk" for the liberal

centrism that Betancourt made into a strict orthodoxy, Pérez received his party's nomination on August 19, becoming the last of the candidates to be selected. He had practically no rivals once Betancourt announced that he would not run. The only man who could have even slightly competed with him was Gonzalo Barrios, the candidate who was defeated in the 1968 election by 32,000 votes. But Barrios lacked Pérez's broad appeal. In addition, his nomination in 1968 cost AD its entire left-wing anti-Betancourt faction, which formed the MEP [Movimiento Electoral del Pueblo — People's Electoral Movement], and took 400,000 votes away from the party. The MEP was not the first split in AD; already in 1962 the entire left wing left, later forming the legendary MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary Left].

The major specter haunting the regime of party rule in Venezuela — both the ruling COPEI and the currently oppositionist AD — is the resurrection of Marcos Pérez Jiménez, exponent of a shirtless, lumpen, and fascistlike Venezuela. Pérez Jiménez returned to electoral activity in 1968 by winning a seat in the Senate from Caracas (which he was subsequently denied) and supporting the election of Rafael Caldera as president. On August 22, the general secretary of the CCN [Cruzada Cívica Nacionalista — Nationalist Civic Crusade], the party formed by Pérez Jiménez, announced that the ex-dictator would return to the country on November 15, ready to join in the electoral campaign, and denied that he was going to support COPEI this time around.

Pérez Jiménez and his party know what they want and it will not be easy for them to discipline their forces to stay within the boundaries of the kind of regime proposed by AD and COPEI. This is a force that lacks any roots in the unions or the universities and whose politics are of another variety.

Pérez Jiménez understands that his job is to serve as a shock force for the military and business sectors most closely tied to the United States; and, in line with these interests, he declares himself an enthusiastic partisan of the "Western" and "Christian" political world view. His prescription calls for a dose of law and order, and in the

present political conjuncture his strategy consists of favoring total dependence on the United States, an emphatic opposition to Venezuela's entry into the Andean Pact (to which Chile and Peru lend an unmistakable anti-imperialist color), and a violent opposition to President Caldera's Reversion Law, which is too "nationalist" for the taste of this ex-dictator who is known as a kind of dull Caribbean Mussolini.

Pérez Jiménez's real support lies with those extreme right-wing military groups personified by the retired general Martín García Villasmil, former defense minister and a faithful Venezuelan reproduction of the Chilean Roberto Viaux — a gung-ho military type who considers the regime of rule by political parties to be washed up in Venezuela. But this profession of anti-liberal faith — which Fedecámaras also fervently shares — has a definite ideological tendency: to take state power away from the political parties and turn it over to a firm alliance between the military and big capital. This is a prescription that is much more reassuring to the generals and industrialists scared by Rafael Caldera's recent nationalist stance on oil and by the growing strength of the left.

Meanwhile, COPEI resolved its internal problems by selecting as its presidential candidate Lorenzo Fernandez. Fernandez left his post as minister of the interior when his candidacy was announced on March 18. He received the backing of the other candidates whom he defeated for the nomination, including Luis Herrera Campins, Edecio La Riva Araujo, and Aristides Beujon, in what was apparently an internal monolithic front. This is the first time that Caldera, who is the founder, ideologist, and top leader of COPEI, is stepping out of the limelight and leaving it to a man noted for his moderation, his good manners with both foreign and domestic big capital, his restraint, and his support for "law" and "order." The Venezuelan left, hounded and divided in a tropical country with a skillful and slick ruling class, seemed two years ago to be condemned to remain on the outside looking in at the electoral spectacle the regime planned to put on in December 1973. But things did not turn out that way.

Just after its sixth congress, the PCV [Partido Comunista Venezolano

— Venezuelan Communist party] suffered a big left-wing split, which gave rise in the first months of 1971 to the MAS under the leadership of Teodoro Petkoff and Pompeyo Márquez. On May 26 of this year, in an impressive demonstration of more than 60,000 persons in Caracas's "Nuevo Circo" bullring, the MAS announced that its presidential candidate would be José Vicente Rangel, a forty-three-year-old lawyer and independent leftist deputy in parliament.

The traditional sector of the Venezuelan left, grouped around what is today a smaller PCV, joined in an alliance with the left-liberal parties — the already mentioned MEP and the traditional URD [Unión Republicana Democrática — Democratic Republican Union] of Jovito Villalba. These three organizations formed a popular front modeled on the Chilean Unidad Popular, the Uruguayan Frente Amplio [Broad Front], and the peculiar ENA [Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos — National Encounter of Argentines]. It chose as its name Nueva Fuerza [New Force], and, after arduous internal negotiations, on July 29 it named as its presidential candidate Jesús Angel Paz Galarraga, head of the MEP and a senator of that Social-Democratic group, which originally split off from AD, of which he was the general secretary. When the left wing of AD decided to leave the party (after AD had played the chief role in almost a decade of right-wing governments, in close alliance with the United States, and with an openly repressive attitude toward the left, the workers and peasants' movements, and student activism), it was he who founded the MEP and launched the presidential campaign of Luis Beltrán Prieto Figueroa, for whom the leadership of the PCV ordered its members to vote.

In announcing Rangel's candidacy in Caracas, Petkoff and Márquez affirmed revolutionary socialism as a valid alternative and criticized a reformism "that wastes the energies of the masses." They emphasized the irrationality of capitalist development in Venezuela and defended the correctness of running in the elections "in order to fight the bourgeoisie on its own ground."

Observers see great possibilities for the MAS in next year's election, especially with the 1.5 million new voters, who make up a third of those present-

ly eligible to vote. The democratic-nationalist program of Nueva Fuerza could attract some layers of the lower and middle classes. As a result, Rangel and Paz Galarraga could be competing for the same votes, and with similar programs, although the MAS is placing greater stress on its socialist outlook, and Nueva Fuerza is reaffirming its Social-Democratic makeup. In this context, a tactical understanding between the MAS and Nueva Fuerza cannot be ruled out if the candidacies of Carlos Andrés Pérez and Leandro Fernández, and the probable reactionary, lumpen offensive of Pérez Jiménez overwhelm the political scene and give it a predominantly right-wing color.

The MAS, a veritable "star" of the Latin American new left, has opted for mobilization of the masses instead of the gun in a country that has undergone ten years of guerrilla movements since Betancourt took power.

Not as Severe as Under Capitalism

USSR Grapples With Pollution Problem

Environmental pollution in the USSR, the measures taken to control or reverse it, and the growing concern of many Soviet citizens over this problem are discussed by Keith Bush in an article "Environmental Problems in the USSR" in the July-August 1972 issue of *Problems of Communism*.

This is a journal published by the U. S. Information Agency, and Bush is "Senior Economist" for the U. S. funded anticommunist Radio Liberty. Despite his procapitalist bias, the author provides some useful information and even makes some damaging admissions concerning pollution under capitalism.

Water pollution is the most severe environmental problem faced by the USSR, according to Bush:

"Although they have yet to reach the level of pollution of, say, the Rhine or the Mississippi, the great rivers of Russia are becoming increasingly affected. This is particularly true of the Volga, which alone carries half of the country's industrial effluents into the Caspian Sea. Sewage facilities in the Soviet Union are often still primitive. . . . Until the mid-1960s, some 300,000 to 400,000 cubic me-

But the MAS ("a tremendous challenge to the electoral strength of the traditional parties," according to the April 21, 1972, issue of the British magazine *Latin America*) for the moment prefers to cancel out one approach—armed struggle—so as to throw itself into a determined struggle in the electoral arena. It is probable that it will meet with some success in this field, given the extreme errors of the PCV, the shortsightedness of its leadership, and the obsequious attitude of its leaders (Jesús Faría and Gustavo Machado, for instance) toward the Soviet Union.

But the very real right-wing threat embodied in the "holy alliance" between Fedecámaras, Pérez Jiménez, and military men like García Villasmil looms on the horizon in the form of new and sharper confrontations, in a Venezuela that is too close to the United States to be thought of as some kind of demilitarized zone. □

ters of raw sewage was flushed each day into the Moskva River. This has reportedly been stopped, and virtually all domestic sewage is now purified. But the discharge of untreated industrial waste water into this river flowing through the Soviet capital is expected to continue until 1976."

"On the other hand," Bush admits, "the USSR has so far been spared the disruption of water supplies caused by massive infusions of household detergents in the West."

Administrative measures to control water pollution have included harsh prison sentences for some of those held responsible: "Thus, the chief engineer of a sugar refinery was sentenced to one year at corrective labor for permitting discharge of untreated wastes into a river."

Air pollution in the Soviet Union is substantially less severe than in the capitalist West. This results not only from a lower level of industrial development but also from social and economic policies which are more conducive to a healthy environment than those followed under capitalism:

"In the field of public urban transportation, most Soviet cities have a

distinct environmental lead over their Western counterparts. . . . In marked contrast to the noxious diesel bus service now prevalent in the West, trolleybus and tram networks continue to receive priority in the USSR. . . .

"Another source of air pollution—accounting for nearly one-tenth of atmospheric contamination in the United States and perhaps more in Western Europe and Japan—is domestic heating and refuse disposal. Here, too, the USSR would seem to have an advantage, and its claim to have the best regional heating in the world may well be true. . . . The Soviet use of natural gas is another plus: by 1975 some two-thirds of the population will be using this relatively clean fuel. Air pollution in the Soviet Union is also reduced by the widespread practice of central treatment and incineration of refuse, mainly at combined heating and incinerator plants."

Bush concludes: "Thus, the air over Soviet cities would appear to be less burdened with emissions stemming from private cars, public transportation, domestic heating, and refuse disposal. Nevertheless, it is appreciably degraded by truck exhausts and by industrial pollution."

Because the regime bars free discussion of environmental problems along with much else, some works on this subject are circulating in *samizdat*: "The most noteworthy of such well-informed discussions include Andrei D. Sakharov's treatise *Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom*, the first issue of *Veche*, and Vladimir E. Maksimov's *Seven Days of Creation*."

Some of the consequences of hampering free discussion on this topic are noted by Bush:

"Control of the media has meant that the officials, executives, and technicians concerned, as well as the broad public, are less than fully informed regarding the successes and shortcomings of other nations in curbing environmental disruption. It has also meant that only 'approved' debates are aired: thus, the misgivings of certain scientists regarding the possible damage caused by the stratospheric ozone shield by SST flights are simply not disseminated. *Samizdat* offers a supplementary and alternative channel of dissemination. But as yet its radius is limited, and other issues are paramount." □

Sharpening Competition Among Imperialist Powers

By Ernest Mandel

Since Nixon's speech on August 15, 1971, the forms of interimperialist competition have taken a spectacular turn. What was only hinted at before is now proclaimed in a loud voice. Occasionally, insults are again even being heard in fashionable society.

The background to this is the general slowdown in economic growth, the staggering decline in the rate of profit in countries like Great Britain, Italy, and Japan, and the series of recessions that have followed one another. Hardly has the recession in the American and West German economies ended than a new one is appearing in Great Britain, and the outlook is becoming gloomier in France as well.

This intensification of the economic difficulties of international capital is going hand in hand with a serious crisis of political leadership in the bourgeoisie (it is symbolic that three or four Common Market countries will be having legislative elections in the near future) and sharp social struggles in many places. As a result, "sacrosanct self-interest" is more than ever on the agenda.

The Markets in Eastern Europe

The American imperialists, who are very worried over the U.S. deficit, attempted to bring things back into balance through a de facto devaluation of the dollar. They counted on this move making their goods, which were now cheaper, sell better, especially in Western Europe and Japan. This was one of the main goals of Washington's *diktat* of August 15, 1971.

One year later, they are still wide of the mark. In spite of the fact that exchange rates were adjusted to the advantage of United States trade, the rate of increase in American exports lags behind that of imports. The continued inflation of the dollar obviously has something to do with this.

This is why Yankee imperialism has changed weapons. It no longer hopes to increase all of its exports whatever their category; it aims rather to fill

two gaps that have gradually developed over the past decade in its competitive arsenal: the gaining of a virtual monopoly over the markets of the noncapitalist countries by its main competitors; the loss of its own monopoly over the market for public supplies (aviation, weapons) in Japan and Western Europe.

A full-scale American offensive on these two fronts began with the conference between Nixon and the new Japanese prime minister, Tanaka, in Honolulu and Kissinger's trips to Peking and Moscow. The Japanese purchases of Yankee military equipment and airplanes, the Chinese purchases of Boeing jets, and the Soviet purchases of American wheat will contribute toward correcting the American balance of trade during the coming year. An offensive in the export of planes and American military equipment to Western Europe will undoubtedly also develop on a large scale during the months to come.

These gains were certainly not made without favors being handed out in return. Nixon had to give Japanese imperialism permission to officially reestablish links with Peking, to the disadvantage not only of Chiang Kai-shek, but even of American exports of industrial goods, steel goods, vehicles, and petrochemical products.

Nixon will be led to grant sizable credits to the Soviet bureaucracy, since the USSR's present level of gold production is hardly adequate to pay for the anticipated purchases of American products. The exchange of Soviet natural gas for American industrial goods requires a new expansion of Soviet industry in Siberia—to which Yankee credits will undoubtedly contribute (this market has been taken away from the Japanese competitors, though they do not yet admit defeat). Aside from the already familiar diplomatic concessions made to the Chinese bureaucracy, the end of the blockade offers trade advantages as well, although more modest than those promised Moscow.

On the whole, it is the European

imperialists who risk being the losers after all these maneuvers. Not only will their up to now privileged outlets in the USSR, Eastern Europe, and China be sharply cut into, but Japanese products—whose swelling amount in the United States Washington wants to restrict—will begin increasingly to compete with European products in European markets themselves.

This is why West German imperialism, not wishing to fall behind Washington and Tokyo, is rushing in its turn to Peking. This is the very meaning—at least on an economic level—of Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, which has been approved by the great majority of the German bourgeoisie.

Bickering Over Monetary Policy

On the monetary plane, there remains a deepgoing antagonism between the "bloc" of European imperialisms (including, this time around, Great Britain) and American imperialism.

All the imperialist countries that have a surplus in their balance of payments with the United States have built up sizable amounts of depreciated dollars over the past few years. After 1969, these dollars were, in fact, no longer exchanged for gold. Since August 15, 1971, they no longer *can* be. In Europe, voices are more and more insisting that this cannot go on.

Indeed, in an economic system of international trade, no owner of goods or credit can be forced in the long run to accept a currency he no longer wants as a means of payment and exchange. The present system cannot last. It has already set off an unbridled speculation in gold, the price of which has reached \$65-\$70 an ounce on the free market, as against the "official" price of \$38 between central banks. At last Gresham's law begins to take effect on an international scale. Bad money drives good money out of circulation. Even between European countries and with Japan, no

country any longer wants to pay off its debts in gold. While they wait until they can exchange their dollar holdings, the European and Japanese bourgeoisies use them to buy up government stocks and property in the United States, that is, to appropriate part of the surplus value produced by the American proletariat.

Therefore, the imperialists are attempting to reorganize the world monetary system. But in the economic climate described above, these efforts are subject to two very contradictory restrictions. All the imperialist powers would like to avoid a shrinking of world trade. At the same time, each has to prevent a readjustment of the monetary system from resulting in a worsening of its own competitive position.

Let's just take one example. British imperialism has already lost the competitive advantage it gained by devaluing the pound sterling in 1969. Therefore it hangs onto the system of floating exchange rates, that is, onto its hope for a new devaluation (whether open or camouflaged), in order to preserve a small safety valve for an increasingly explosive social and political crisis.

But its partners and competitors, who were ready to go along with this mechanism in 1969, are more and more balking at seeing it become institutionalized, so to speak. While the English capitalists can obtain certain trade advantages by following the American example and altering the exchange rate for the pound, the Germans are refusing to pick up the tab the next time around. The industrialists on the other side of the Rhine are announcing that they would no longer be able to conserve their outlets if their products are constantly going to get more expensive as a result of changes in the rate of exchange. This is one of the reasons why Schiller was removed as the West German finance minister, since he insisted on defending a system of floating exchange rates.

Competition and Political Power

The most effective solution from the point of view of the European imperialists would be to go beyond the stage of joint recriminations against Washington's monetary policy to one of joint actions. Above all, this would

mean establishing a monetary union within an expanded Common Market and to act as a single trade bloc (which would be the most powerful at the present stage) on the world market.

Such a monetary union, which has been under discussion for a long time, would obviously involve a decisive step toward setting up an imperialist superstate. It would be inconceivable in the present state of the capitalist economy without working out a common budgetary and fiscal policy and without an industrial and public-works policy, that is, without the creation of a truly European government.

The Gaullist regime, which had voiced the most determined opposition to any transformation of the Common Market confederation into a federal state, finally went along with the idea of a European monetary union, all the while holding back from accepting everything that this implied.

The European summit conference, which is to take place in Paris October 19-20, had as its central goal the laying of the groundwork for this new stage in the economic integration of capitalist Europe. If Pompidou seemed to suddenly switch on this during the past few weeks, it's because he noticed that the "committed Europeans" in power in other capitals—Bonn in particular—are no longer ready to take effective action along this path.

The fact that the enthusiasm of German imperialism for Europe has chilled is by and large a response to two immediate concerns. On the one hand, Bonn is afraid that a monetary union put together without guarantees that basically unstable economies like those of Great Britain and Italy first restore their economic health (and the least tremor is apt to put the French economy in the same category) would mean that the German bourgeoisie would once again, and forever after, be picking up the pieces. In its opinion, it's not worth the trouble.

On the other hand, the immediate result of a decisive step toward a European monetary union would be a sharp clash with American imperialism. And American imperialism has a top-notch weapon that it can rely on for blackmail: the withdrawal of some of its troops from Europe.

Because of the uneven development deriving from expansion of West Ger-

man imperialism's economic and financial power and restriction of its military capacities, such a clash strikes the bourgeoisie for the moment as being too risky. Beforehand, France should be brought back into NATO, and an independent nuclear capacity for Europe should be created; in short, it must have a minimum of military strength on its own. Meanwhile, the word is prudence.

While the Common Market governments have decided in the final analysis to go ahead with the European summit conference in Paris in spite of everything, it is for reasons of prestige and internal politics rather than out of hopes for immediate progress on the road to integration. The furthest they will get is a modest "European monetary fund" designed to reduce somewhat the inequalities in the reciprocal balance of payments between the countries that belong to the Common Market.

For the moment, the big maneuvers in interimperialist competition militate against any substantial strengthening of the Common Market. A new stage in the European interpenetration of capital, and a new hardening of the American counteroffensive in trade would be necessary for the tactic of the leading capitalist groups in Germany and Great Britain to change.

September 18

'Scholar-Tyrants' Win

The Peking bureaucracy has decided to reintroduce examinations into the educational system. While no explanation has been given, there is, by Maoist standards, reason for suspicion. During the "cultural revolution," examinations at all levels were denounced as "an instrument for fooling the people and for grooming successors for the ruling classes."

When college entrance exams were discontinued by government decree in 1966, Peking students wrote to The Great Helmsman hailing the move, which eliminated "a tool which serves the restoration of capitalism," and which would "deal the bourgeois scholar-tyrants a heavy blow."

The Maoist press has not disclosed whether the restoration of exams heralds the restoration of capitalism. We may note, however, that certain of the by-products of the abolition of examinations might have been dangerous. Engineering courses were cut from six years to three, with one-fourth of the new program devoted to ideological instruction. Perhaps the effect on bridge-building was adverse.

The Downfall of Lin Piao

By Livio Maitan

Between 1965 and 1969, Lin Piao was Mao's main collaborator in the group directing the "cultural revolution." At the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist party he was even formally designated as Mao's successor. Now he seems to have been included, although not explicitly, in the gang of "renegades, enemy agents, and opportunists who sneaked into the party in order to usurp its leadership, seize power, and restore capitalism."

The meaning of this precipitous fall has so far not been very well illuminated by the official sources (nominally the polemics are still being aimed primarily against Liu Shao-chi). But even when the present reticence is dropped, it can be easily predicted that Lin Piao will become the object of stereotyped denunciations and placed in the traditional role of the scapegoat, responsible for all failures and all deviations. It will not be easy to extract from this kind of material the elements needed for making a precise analysis of the episode.

What can be done now, however, is to define the overall political framework in which this newest grave crisis in the leadership broke out and to distinguish the essential issues that were at the root of the conflict that arose in 1970-71 in the small group that emerged victorious from the cultural revolution.

That Peking has made a turn in its international policy no longer needs to be demonstrated. The main motive for this shift was the Chinese leaders' desire to take advantage of the margin for maneuver opened up by the difficulties in which U.S. imperialism found itself, even if they had to pay a high price to do it, in order to break out of their isolation and at least postpone a military conflict with the United States for a long time. The basis for serious feelers in this direction was provided by Washington's need to find a new balance of power in Asia that could compensate at least partially for its failure in the Vietnam war or camouflage this defeat to some extent.

The results obtained so far are

known to all. China has entered the UN. It has established or is about to establish normal relations with the major capitalist powers. The United States itself has been forced to end its anachronistic policy of ostracism by sending its president to Peking. A whole series of neocolonial countries have renewed, or are renewing, economic and political relations with China, relations whose significance cannot be underrated. There is no doubt that all this has had, and will continue to have, an important effect in bringing China into international trade, which will probably have positive consequences for the economic development of the country.

The price that China has paid or will pay for this cannot yet be gauged precisely inasmuch as many things remain fluid (Nixon's meeting with Mao itself was only a first step and decisive questions are still up for discussion). But a perceptible deterioration has already been noted in China's relations with the Vietnamese leaders (who have not concealed their negative appraisal of Nixon's meeting with Mao and Brezhnev and of the pressures that have been brought to bear on them to accept a disastrous compromise). It is also evident that Peking has lost prestige in the eyes of the masses in a series of countries that have directly experienced the concrete consequences of its orientation. Likewise, the Chinese have lost credibility in the eyes of more or less recently formed groups that have seen the collapse of the illusion that Peking represented a new center of inspiration for revolution throughout the world.

The changes in internal policy have been less spectacular, but there have been unquestionable rectifications in trends, methods, and emphasis. We might say, as regards economic policy above all, that there has been a return to greater realism, with the lines of discussion more reminiscent of the phase of readjustment in 1961-64 than of the Great Leap Forward and the cultural revolution. A leader of the Chinese CP—who was not unaware

that his statements would be quoted—said recently to a *Le Monde* reporter who certainly cannot be counted among the detractors of China: "We put too much emphasis on politics. . . . All the exaggerations must be eliminated. It is necessary to return to practical work, and the emphasis will be put on efficiency, on production, on science, on technology."

The space reserved in Chinese publications for developments and problems in production and the fact that they have started once again to provide data supporting claims of advances confirm this indication. It is symptomatic, moreover, that the Chinese are beginning to talk once more about the need for individual incentives and that for the first time in a long while there has been an across-the-board wage increase.¹

As regards the countryside, two articles have been given a significant spread recently in the *People's Daily*, criticizing past cases of abolishing family ownership of livestock. It was stated that "sow-raising on a collective basis must go hand in hand with sow-raising on an individual basis; neither method can be dropped."

Another change concerns the style of leadership and propaganda. The cult of Mao has been scaled down considerably. The Little Red Book seems to have gone out of style, and it has been recommended that overly prolix or too hard-to-digest articles not be offered to readers. There has even been an attempt to put the blame for the cult of the leader, which began to take hysterical forms in 1966, on Liu Shao-chi—and implicitly on Lin Piao (see, for example, Tien Chesong's article in *Peking Review*, No. 30, 1972). Some incorrigible apologists have even tried to argue that Mao was hostile to his own cult.

The reality is that magnifying the cult seemed to be the indicated method for the cultural revolution phase—both to whip up an atmosphere of fanati-

1. See the articles by Robert Guillain in the August 1, 2, and 3, 1972, issues of *Le Monde*. According to the same source an effort has been made to reinforce discipline in the factories through the party or through trade-union-type organizations. I should note that there was no qualitative change in the structure of wages during the cultural revolution, but the propaganda constantly stressed the need for rejecting material incentives and not demanding wage increases.

cism and to set up an infallible supreme authority. But for a period in which, to repeat the phrase of the official already quoted, "all exaggerations must be eliminated," even the exaltation of Mao has to be toned down.

Finally, a more important decision has been made as regards the instruments of leadership, the structures of political power. The traditional conception and practice always involved the absolute primacy of the party, concretely of its leading bodies and its apparatus. But during the cultural revolution, as a result of the profound crisis that shook the apparatus of the party and the state, the military apparatus was acquiring a decisive weight and in the crucial phase the army emerged as the backbone of the regime. This was expressed concretely in the preponderance assumed by officers in the so-called revolutionary committees and in the positions they won in the party bodies themselves at the Ninth Congress in April 1969 and in the period immediately following.

As I explained in my book *Partito, esercito e masse nella crisi cinese* ["Party, Army, and Masses in the Chinese Crisis"],² it would be absurd to try to draw a clear dividing line between politicians and military officers in a country like China that has gone through decades of civil war under the leadership of the party. However, a distinction has been gradually developing between the political apparatus in the strict sense and the military apparatus, in view of the difference in their functions and needs, especially in specific situations.

At the conclusion of the great crisis, it was logical, therefore, that some would consider that the status quo in which the army held de facto primacy should be maintained. And the international context, with the continuation of the Vietnam war and the resulting dangers to China itself, could be taken as an argument in favor of such a solution. At the same time, it was logical for others to press for a return to the traditional practice, which had become possible once again since the party apparatus was in the process of being rebuilt. It is clear that at least in principle the second tendency won out.

It was inevitable that all these acute

2. Samona e Savelli, Rome, 1969.

questions that I have listed briefly would produce a new crisis—less clamorous but in some respects no less profound than the one in the preceding years. It was inevitable also that the clash would occur on various levels, including the new Political Bureau and its new Standing Committee, which once again have been completely turned upside down. It is impossible to say—at least for the present—to what extent conflicts have taken place at lower levels, all the way down to the local cells. But if we consider that for three years the Mao group itself used revolutionary-democratic and internationalist themes to win the support of broad sectors of the masses and that in the same period tens of thousands of youth underwent an indisputable process of political education, it is reasonable to assume that even though the 1970-71 turn did not encounter any organized resistance it still must have provoked profound unrest in substantial sectors of the rank and file, the final result of which will be to stimulate the development of critical elements.

It would be an error to consider that the positions taken by the Chinese leaders in the most recent period have a definitive character. First of all, the new policy has not yet been sufficiently defined on all levels. Secondly and most importantly, it has always been a characteristic of the Chinese bureaucracy to adapt pliantly to the changes in situations on the basis of an underlying empiricism. In the same way as it shifted gears in 1970-71, it may do so again in the future. For example, if on the international front new dramatic tensions arose in Asia, if the Vietnam war were to be prolonged for an entire period with all the dangers this entails, reducing the room for coexistence-type maneuvers, the Chinese leaders might be forced back to a "hard" line, impelled by the need to stay the hand of imperialism by other means.

In any case, the shift has been a rather profound one, and it is likely that the motion in this direction will continue for at least a few years. If the Vietnamese conflict is ended, the turn could be accentuated by the signing of a general agreement with American imperialism itself.

* * *

The news that has been officially leaked about Lin Piao suffering a de-

feat in a plot against Mao and being killed in the course of a daring escape should offer valuable food for thought to all those who came under the spell of Maoism and fell prey to the myth of the cultural revolution. Those who tried to see in the recent events a kind of right-wing reaction led by Chou En-lai defeating the left, represented by the trio of Mao, Lin Piao, and Chen Po-ta, should be the first to consider how arbitrary their speculations were. Mao is now being presented as the intended victim of a plot by Lin Piao and as the mastermind—along with Chou—of Lin's overthrow.

Of course, we do not know to what extent the official version corresponds to the truth. But it is clear that Mao is continuing to play his special role as the balancer, as well as the symbol, of the bureaucratic leadership. When a conflict arises, the way he shifts his weight is decisive in determining the winning bloc—the line of which can differ according to the circumstances. Thus, he is presented as the mastermind and guarantor of the line adopted, while the role inevitably awaiting the losers is the unenviable one of scapegoat, of the very personification of error and betrayal. I hope I will not offend sophisticated Maoists if I point out that this practice is fundamentally Stalinist, even if in Stalin's time the losers usually ended up facing firing squads, while in Mao's time the losers generally wind up in a reeducation camp.

The support the Chinese have given to the bloodstained Pakistani dictatorship; Peking's openly siding with the Ceylonese government at a time when it was drowning a revolutionary movement of young intellectuals, students, and peasants in blood; the profuse praise for such figures as the emperors of Iran and Ethiopia, touted as defenders of national independence; the disconcerting positive assessments of the Common Market and Great Britain's joining it; and, the culminating episode, the cover the Peking meeting gave to Nixon at a time when he was escalating his devastating onslaught on Vietnam, have destroyed the myth of the revolutionary intransigence and incorruptibility of the Maoists. These developments have starkly exposed the fact that, like the Soviet leadership, the Chinese leaders are always ready, when they deem it necessary, to sacrifice the needs of the

revolutionary struggle of the peoples oppressed by imperialism to their own diplomatic and military requirements.

The recent reorientations in economic policy show how feeble and fanciful the theories were of those who thought they had discerned in China an entirely original method of building socialism, based on a qualitatively different scale of values and priorities. One example speaks louder than dozens of articles to refute these apologists: A few weeks ago China decided to buy some models of the Concorde supersonic passenger plane, the symbol of the irrationality of certain economic choices in advanced capitalist societies!

The Lin Piao affair has demolished the myth of the revolutionary democracy that was supposed to have resulted from the cultural revolution

and to be based on a dialectical relationship between the masses and the leaders, guaranteeing the masses themselves the real exercise of power. A portentous conflict has occurred at the highest levels of the party and the state. The main figures involved were leaders that emerged victorious from the preceding agony. The No. 2 person in the regime has been defeated and removed, even physically from the scene. And the Chinese people have not even been informed of all this!³

According to the accredited official version, the conflict between different

3. It is significant that the first official reports were supplied to foreigners or disseminated abroad. The Chinese leaders were obviously interested primarily in international policy objectives.

lines took the form of a plot, foiled thanks to the skill of the leader and ending in an unsuccessful attempt by the master connivers to flee to the Soviet Union. It may be that this version is untrue. The fact remains that the struggle was conducted in an atmosphere of palace intrigue and the whole affair was decided within a small elite. This is quite a different thing from revolutionary democracy! Quite a different thing from self-government of the masses!

In China also a fight must be waged for genuine proletarian democracy. And in the leadership of this struggle will be those Chinese militants who were able to draw the correct lessons from the Lin Piao episode, breaking definitively with the myth of Maoism.

June 25, 1972

Opposed to Women's Liberation

Kirk Bans Speech by New Zealand Socialist

By Keith Locke

[The following article appeared in the September 15 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in New Zealand.]

Norman Kirk is ready to go to almost any lengths to stop "Socialists for Labour" campaign supporters from appearing on official party platforms. He hit the roof when he discovered that the party's Wellington regional body (the Labour Representation Committee) had invited Kay Goodger, a leading Socialists for Labour activist, to speak on "Women and Political Action" at its "People, Politics and Participation" seminar, September 1-3. Goodger had been elected as the Wellington Women's Liberation Movement's speaker at the meeting.

Eventually, some of the organizers gave in to pressure from the parliamentarians and dropped Goodger from the programme. But invited speakers still included activists from protest groups such as Nga Tamatoa and the Secondary School Students' Association, plus ecology activists and women's liberationists, and Kirk would have none of it. All parliamen-



KIRK: Wants no parliamentarians at meetings with leftists.

arians were forbidden from attending the weekend, and the party's national president, Bill Rowling (who was scheduled to open the proceedings), and Gerald O'Brien MP withdrew from the programme.

The right-wing Labour leaders, in their own way, joined hands with Muldoon, who on August 31 attacked the seminar, saying that for the party to organize a meeting for "protesters" showed that it was totally out of touch with the electorate.

The fact that every single MP went along with the ban underlines the necessity of the Socialists for Labour campaign. Supporting the election of a Labour government, socialists will do what the party leadership categorically refuses to do: bring into the election the real issues people are concerned about and acting on today.

"It seems that the Labour party leaders are afraid that key feminist demands such as the repeal of the abortion laws will be raised by Ms. Goodger," said the Wellington Women's Liberation Movement, protesting the ban on Goodger in an August 31 press statement that was carried in newspapers across the country.

Besides bringing feminist issues into the elections, Young Socialists for a Labour Government activists like Goodger will be campaigning on the demands of the antiwar, high-school, trade-union, and Polynesian movements.

REVIEWS

Mexico's Interrupted Revolution

[The following review appeared in the August issue of *Bandera Roja*, the journal of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista, a Mexican group that adheres to the Fourth International. The book under review, *La Revolución Interrumpida* by Adolfo Gilly, has received considerable attention in Mexico, and it is to be expected that an English translation will be forthcoming before long.

[Gilly wrote the book in Lecumberri prison while serving time as a political prisoner. Arrested and tortured in April 1966, he was not released until March 2 of this year.

[The translation of the review is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

La Revolución Interrumpida by Adolfo Gilly. Ediciones "El Caballito," Mexico, D. F., Mexico. 401 pp. 55 pesos. 1971.

La Revolución Interrumpida is the first essay on the Mexican revolution of 1910 that considers it from a scientific point of view as a process and not as a completed stage of which only the memory remains, plus a caste that has held and exploited power for decades in the name of what they call "the Mexican Revolution."

To write history is to become involved with the present in a critical way. Unless the historian follows a scientific method, takes the Marxist approach and a partisan position, prejudices of a class nature will stand in the way of an objective analysis. Gilly states: "To understand the revolution is to understand the historical illegitimacy and the inevitable coming disappearance of the Mexican bourgeoisie."

From this it is clear that whoever meekly accepts the system, its bureaucratic hierarchies, its structural dependency, will find it difficult to bare its causes in the framework of the class struggle, that is, beyond the limits of the dominant ideology and the official history.

"The history of a revolution," Trotsky said, "is . . . a history of the forcible entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny."¹ To understand this, as Gilly does in his book, is to understand that individual champions do not play the main role in the history of the masses. This concept is alien to the bourgeois mind. The bourgeoisie prefer, to believe that history is made by an individual taken in the abstract—the leader—who is not, as they see it, an organizer but a willpower standing above the masses and their struggle.

Traditional history views the Mexican revolution as the product of the will of Madero, Villa, Carranza, Zapata, and Obregon; it is not interested in the contradictions among them, still less in viewing each of them as representatives of specific class interests. Zapata and Villa as leaders of the peasant masses represented their struggle for land and governmental power. This struggle, this violent irruption—and only this—was the Mexican revolution.

It was a struggle, as Gilly affirms, that has not been concluded, that has only been interrupted, suspended like a menacing sword of Damocles over the neck of the national bourgeoisie.

One of Gilly's main merits is to present the Mexican revolution as part of the world revolution. This view, naturally, is not a fantasy as Octavio Paz makes out. "The international character of the socialist revolution, which constitutes the third aspect of the theory of the permanent revolution," Trotsky says, "flows from the present state of economy and the social structure of humanity. Internationalism is no abstract principle but a theoretical and political reflection of the character of world economy, of the world development of productive forces and the world scale of the class struggle."²

Gilly demolishes the petty-bour-

geois and Stalinist interpretation of the Mexican revolution as a nationalist democratic revolution:

"The history of all the revolutions, whether victorious or defeated, from the Russian revolution up to now," he says, "has without a single exception belied this theory, demonstrating to the contrary that in the *social* development of capitalism there is no historic gap between the agrarian and anti-imperialist tasks with which the revolution in the so-called backward countries begins and their transformation in the course of the revolutionary process into socialist objectives and the struggle for workers power."

In Mexico this process of transforming the agrarian and anti-imperialist tasks—which without any doubt were written on the banners of the peasantry in arms—into socialist objectives was interrupted because of the absence of a proletarian leadership. This was why the later achievements of the Mexican revolution such as the agrarian reform and the expropriation of the foreign-owned companies served more to prop up capitalism in Mexico than to liberate the exploited masses from its bonds.

Whereas the Stalinists maintain that the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible only after the stage of bourgeois democracy has reached its culmination, the Mexican example confirms the revolutionary Marxist view that democracy in the backward countries becomes possible only when the masses have taken power.

An especially fine chapter in Gilly's book is the one devoted to analyzing the Cárdenas period, which reflected the profound capitalist crisis of the thirties, coinciding with a militant upsurge of the masses on an international scale. In Mexico the pressure of the masses impelled the Cárdenas leadership to take "radical" measures—nationalization of the oil industry, distribution of the land, socialist education, and an international policy of solidarity with popular struggles. At the same time, in contradiction to this, dialectically and a little paradoxically, this was the period in which the bases of the

1. *The History of the Russian Revolution*, p. xvii. — IP

2. *The Permanent Revolution & Results and Prospects*, p. 133. — IP

future development of the national bourgeoisie were established.

Gilly does not specify with great precision the type of government that emerged after the revolution. Nonetheless he provides all the elements necessary to define it as a bourgeois regime of exceptional nature; more concretely, it was Bonapartist in nature. It played the role of arbiter in the conflict between classes, a role that served always to strengthen the ruling class. As a result the only historical alternative open to the country will be the masses, as Gilly maintains—and along with this, the proletarian vanguard, lacking from 1910 to 1940, which will pick up the thread of a revolution interrupted in its development toward socialism.

This review is intended to offer only a rough idea of Gilly's book, which covers many subjects other than those I have indicated of vital importance to understanding historic developments in Mexico in recent decades. These include an interpretation of the dynamics of the peasant struggles, the formation of capitalism in Mexico before the revolution, and many others.

It is necessary to say, however, that *La Revolución Interrumpida* is the work of one of the best-known members of the Posadist movement, a pseudo-Trotskyist tendency with which we of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista disagree in principle. On the theoretical level we disagree, among other things, with the Third World position held by the Posadist tendency, which is no more than a reflection of revisionist speculations of the kind held by Marcuse, giving priority within the world context to revolutions in the underdeveloped countries. We hold that in the process of the permanent revolution there are no priorities, but a dialectical interrelationship between the three focal centers of the world revolution—the imperialist countries, the degenerated or bureaucratized workers states, and the colonial and semicolonial countries.

It appears to me that this unilateral and mechanistic position of the Posadists explains one of the main shortcomings of the book, that is, its failure to analyze the crisis of the capitalist system in this epoch, which in some imperialist countries has brought about prerevolutionary situations. It is a crisis that has plunged the world powers into global conflagrations, a phenomenon that is not only parallel

to our revolutionary process but fully converges with it.

Finally it must be pointed out that the majority of the reviews and critical appraisals in Mexico have not been very serious. They attack the fundamental point that Gilly stresses—the applicability of the theory of the permanent revolution to the process of the

Material on the Political Trials in Poland

Sad Orzekl . . . ("The Court Sentences . . ."). (Documents Series, material on the political trials in Poland, 1969-1971.) Instytut Literacki, Paris. 319 pp. \$6.50. May, 1972.

In Poland, as in the other Stalinized workers states, the documents most informative about the political ferment in the country are still likely to be transcripts from the trials of dissenters. Among other things, sincere speeches in favor of socialism and honest Marxist analyses are more apt to be heard from the dock than from any other official platform.

Thus, the group of liberal exiles of the Instytut Literacki in Paris who, among other things, publish the monthly magazine *Kultura* have also done revolutionists a service by putting out these documents in the original Polish. Not only do they record the procedures of the Stalinized Polish court system in detail, but they give a voice to the persecuted political dissenters who speak through these texts, some of whom are genuine socialists as much opposed to world capitalism as the bureaucratic distortions of the system in their own country. Karol Modzelewski and Jacek Kuron are two examples. The book includes two speeches by Modzelewski and the plea of the two young Marxists' lawyer, Tadeusz de Virion.

The political positions of the Ruch group, represented by Stefan Myszkiewicz-Niesiolowski and Benedykt Czuma, are less well known, but interesting as an indication of the thinking of some Polish rebel youth. Czuma's last words to the court, in particular, have the merit of obvious courage and forthrightness: "I am also deeply convinced that, in acting the way I did, I did my duty with respect to my children. Every child has

Mexican revolution. I will return to these criticisms in future articles to better clarify the Trotskyist methodology. In my opinion *La Revolución Interrumpida* is required reading for revolutionists, for activists, and for all those desirous of an objective view of the dynamics of the class struggle in Mexico.

a right not to be ashamed of his father. And my children would have to be ashamed if they saw that I did nothing to oppose the evils that I have witnessed. . . .

Czuma called, among other things, for "public control of the distribution of the national income" and "creation of independent unions."

Other texts relate to the trials of oppositionists allegedly linked to *Kultura*, such as Maciej Kozłowski and the "Taternicy" group.

Another case, the prosecution of Bogusław Blajfer in 1969, deals with the protests against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The indictment is included.

The most interesting documents for revolutionists are probably those from the second Kuron-Modzelewski case. They tie together a number of threads in the activity of the oppositionist youth who led the March 1968 demonstrations. In his final words to the court, for instance, Modzelewski said:

"On the youth active at the University of Warsaw. Some of them are from intellectual families, often with prewar Communist backgrounds. These youth are bound to these traditions and take them seriously. Many members of the Young Communist League were disillusioned with that organization but serious about socialist ideology. The youth felt acutely the gap between the ideology and the reality. The third group were from provincial areas, poorly off materially, and came to nonconformist positions because of their circumstances. . . .

"Our [Kuron and Modzelewski's] first concrete act on getting out of prison was listed in the indictment—putting out a leaflet on Vietnam. . . . I was the author of this leaflet. It was a reaction to the silence of officials during Vietnam Solidarity Week."

—Gerry Foley

Intercontinental Press

Ceylon Union Calls for Struggle Against Repression

[The following resolution denouncing the repressive policies of the Bandaranaike regime was adopted at the twelfth delegates' conference of the Ceylon Mercantile union on September 3. The resolution was signed by P. B. Tampoe, general secretary of the CMU.]

* * *

1. This 12th Delegates' Conference of the Ceylon Mercantile Union recognizes that capitalism in Sri Lanka is incapable of providing the increasing population with productive employment and of maintaining even the deteriorated standards of living now prevailing for the masses of the people.

In this context, this Delegates' Conference takes note of the fact that the United Front Government of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Lanka Samasamaja Party and the Communist Party (Moscow wing) no longer pretends to be able to bring down the cost of living, or to provide gainful employment for the majority of the unemployed, or to improve the conditions of life of the masses of the people in any way, as it promised when seeking election in May 1970 and, immediately after its assumption of office, in the Throne Speech of 14th June 1970.

This Delegates' Conference notes that, on the contrary, the cost of living has gone up considerably and that the problem of unemployment has become even more acute, since the United Front Government took office. In these circumstances, far from guaranteeing freedom of speech, organisation, assembly, and public procession, "in law and in practice," and ensuring the freedom of the Press, as well as full trade union and political rights for workers, as it undertook, the United Front Government has done the opposite under the State of Emergency that it established on 16th March 1971, and still maintains.

Under the Emergency, human and democratic rights have been suppressed as never before, and over 10,000 persons still remain deprived of their

liberty arbitrarily, following the killing of untold numbers of youths by the Police and other armed forces of the capitalist State, in dealing with the "insurrection" of April 1971.

In this situation this Delegates' Conference resolves that the main task of the Union is to continue its struggle against the repressive policies of the capitalist regime, whilst striving in all sectors in which the Union is organised, and in association with other mass organisations wherever possible, to resist further attacks upon the living standards of the people, which are threatened in consequence of the economic policies of the Government and its subjection to the dictates of imperialist financial institutions and other capitalist pressures.

This Delegates' Conference resolves, in particular, to continue to oppose the expansion of the Police and armed forces of the State, and the expenditure of hundreds of millions of rupees thereon.

This Delegates' Conference further denounces the acceptance by the Government of military aid from the United States government and other governments, to the value of tens of millions of dollars, and calls upon the people of this country to unite to oppose any and every move to convert Sri Lanka into a base for the counterrevolutionary activities of Imperialism in Asia.

2. This 12th Delegates' Conference of the Ceylon Mercantile Union recognises that the traditional Left parties, whether they be labelled as "Samasamajist" or "Communist", or profess to be Marxist, are subservient to the capitalist state in Sri Lanka and are thus incapable of serving to protect the interests of the working class and the masses of the people against the prevailing repression and the various measures that are being taken to reduce mass living standards, in the efforts of the capitalist class and the government to cope with the crisis of capitalism in this country.

This Delegates' Conference accordingly resolves that it is essential to the defence of the interests of the

masses that the Union should devote special attention in the period ahead to the task of bringing about a regroupment of mass forces under the independent political leadership of the working class, in accordance with Socialist principles.

3. This 12th Delegates' Conference of the Ceylon Mercantile Union denounces the Criminal Justice Commissions Act as a completely reactionary piece of legislation which is designed to keep thousands of political prisoners in captivity indefinitely without trial, whilst diverting public attention from this fact by the device of providing for a series of inquiries before a Criminal Justice Commission that has no power under this law to set any person in custody at liberty, if it finds that person not guilty of any charge made before it.

This Delegates' Conference accordingly resolves to carry on a systematic campaign, on as wide a basis as possible, for the repeal of this iniquitous law and the release of all political prisoners held in custody, without trial under the ordinary law.

4. This 12th Delegates' Conference of the Ceylon Mercantile Union denounces the proposal to frame a new Press Law, under which any and all comment on decisions or proposals of the Government will be made subject to censorship, and resolves that the Union should join hands with all other organisations that may be willing to do so to resist the implementation of this utterly reactionary proposal.

5. This Twelfth Delegates' Conference of the Ceylon Mercantile Union endorses the decision of the General Council to make a call for a nationwide one-day hunger strike, from dawn to dusk, in protest against the repressive policies of the Government and the reactionary laws it is using (Public Security Act), or has enacted (Criminal Justice Commissions Act), or is about to enact (Press Council Bill), in pursuance of those policies, and calls upon all members of the Union and all those who value human and democratic rights to join in the hunger-strike fixed for 18th October

1972, by the Union jointly with the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union, the Ceylon Workers' Congress, the Central Council of Ceylon Trade Unions, the Joint Front of Trade Unions in the Ceylon Electricity Board, and the Human and Democratic Rights Organisation.

6. This Delegates' Conference of the Ceylon Mercantile Union expresses its solidarity with and salutes the courageous decision of the Ceylon Bank Employees' Union to refuse to submit to the threats of the Government in its struggle for the proper settlement of its long-outstanding demands, and calls upon the Government to negotiate such a settlement with the Union on

strike, instead of trying to break the strike by the use of its repressive powers under the Emergency, and prolonging it thereby.

7. This Delegates' Conference of the Ceylon Mercantile Union expresses its solidarity with and salutes the courageous decision of the Joint Front of Technical Officers' Trade Unions to refuse to submit to the threats of the Government in its struggle for the proper settlement of its demands, and calls upon the Government to negotiate such a settlement with the Unions on strike, instead of trying to break the strike by the use of its repressive powers under the Emergency, and prolonging it thereby. □

Kalanta, 20, a student who had set himself afire in a park May 14.

"Mr. Kalanta, a Catholic, is believed to have acted in protest against reported religious restrictions in Lithuania, which have given rise to several petitions over the last year. One, signed by 17,000 parishioners, was sent in March to Secretary General Waldheim of the United Nations. Official Soviet accounts have described Mr. Kalanta as mentally ill.

"Several more self-immolations were reported by dissidents to have followed, but without generating any riots."

In recent years, a struggle of nationalist coloration has developed against the Kremlin's police rule. The Roman Catholic Church has sought to take advantage of this movement.

Shabad's report indicates that Soviet officialdom would like to pass off the outbreak in Kaunas as a drunken riot led by confirmed criminals:

"A dispatch by Tass, the official Soviet press agency, said 'most of the accused' had been 'in a state of heavy intoxication' and that this was viewed as an aggravating circumstance under Soviet law. This country is in the midst of an intensive campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism.

"Apparently in an effort to discount any nationalist motives in the rioting, which was never reported in the controlled Soviet national press, the Tass dispatch also said two of the defendants had previous criminal records."

Charged With 'Hooliganism'

Eight Put on Trial for Kaunas Outbreak

A trial of eight persons charged with "hooliganism" opened in Lithuania September 25. The "hooliganism" was apparently a reference to street battles last May 18-19 between youths and police in Kaunas, Lithuania's second largest city. [See *Intercontinental Press*, June 5, p. 630.]

Moscow correspondent Theodore Shabad, reporting in the September 26 *New York Times*, said: "According to dissidents' reports from Lithu-

ania, the two days of street fighting in Kaunas had involved several thousand youths who shouted 'freedom for Lithuania!' and hurled sticks and stones at policemen and paratroopers. Two policemen were reported to have been killed and about 200 of the rioters arrested.

"The rioters, mostly 16 to 24 years old, were said to have taken to the streets during the funeral of Roman

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