

# *Radical Forum*

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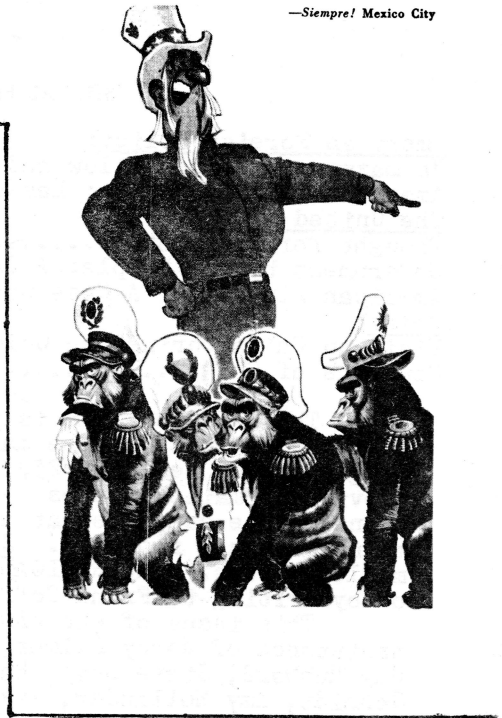
**Who is this man?** (See page 1)

# Radical Forum

-Siempre! Mexico City

## WHO IS THIS MAN?

Who, indeed, is the question the RADICAL FORUM is after. Who does he stand for? What is he doing? And why does he act in the way he does? We've been researching and have come up with some clues as to his identity. Our first exhibit reveals that he has been unabashedly pro-colonial; explanations are offered for this seemingly strange behavior. We next pick up his trail in the jungles of Southeast Asia to discover a number of atrocious facts, in more ways than one. Getting a little closer to home, we find this seemingly righteous looking man has a rather unseemly criminal record. We next observe his activities in the field of civil rights enforcement, but there we apparently lose his trail. We can't find anything at all! We finally try to find out about this man by looking at his enemies. It becomes quite apparent, after examining the last two exhibits on his arch-foe (China), why the two are enemies. Some of you will have already figured out who this man really is. As for the rest of you, we'll keep looking into his background in future issues.



In this, our first issue, we include articles on subjects that will be frequent topics in future editions of RADICAL FORUM: China, Vietnam, American capitalism, U.S. foreign policy and revolutions in the "third world." If you find these subjects interesting, perhaps you will be interested in discussions which the RADICAL FORUM will hold on these and other topics. Further, we certainly welcome original articles, letters to the editor, and comments or replies to articles appearing in the RADICAL FORUM. Those who are interested in participating in discussions or contributing articles may contact the RADICAL FORUM at its literature table by the Student Union (Ackerman Union).

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-- Frank Coffman, Pete Singer, editors

THOUGHT FOR THE MONTH:

"...malnutrition among the poor (in the United States) has risen sharply over the past decade. . .only 5,400,000 of the 29,900,000 citizens officially defined as poor participated in surplus-commodity or food-stamp programs, and two-thirds of the school-age children in poverty do not receive help under the School Lunch Act. Some just watch their classmates eat. . .Most Americans believe that the Federal (government's) food programs (including the school lunch program) are designed to serve the interests and needs of the beneficiaries. This is not true. They are designed and administered. . .by a concern for maximizing agricultural income, particularly within in the big production categories. . . .When a food program fits into this scheme for maximizing the income of the rich and corporate farmers, the poor receive a grudging calorie or two. But if their hunger does not happen to parallel the surpluses which the Government underwrites, that is usually just too bad. . .These statistics do not, however, simply define the pangs of empty stomachs. . .There is. . .a permanent brain damage which results from severe and prolonged protein deficiency."

-- Michael Harrington, "The Will To Abolish Poverty," Saturday Review, July 27, 1968

## AMERICA'S COLONIAL POLICY:

### A Study in Pragmatism

by Pete Singer • Pragmatism, as everyone knows, is America's national philosophy, and this alone would make one wonder about the anti-colonialism the United States is reported to exhibit. William James, one of the founders of pragmatism, observed: "What, in short, is the truth's cash value?", and to American leaders the truth, as well as foreign policy in general, has been subordinated to the ultimate goal of a liberal state: One's enlightened self-interest. According to pragmatism there is no way to prove the existence of an objective reality; rather something is true when it works. Thus, American leaders have shunned taking absolute stands on ideological issues, for believing something might work for oneself in one situation — but not in another. As the Deputy Under Secretary of State under Eisenhower put it: "Before closing I should like to make it clear that we believe it to be our own duty to approach colonial questions in terms of the enlightened self-interest of the United States." And, indeed, the last time the United States has taken a forthright stand on anti-colonialism was during the American Revolution.

The colonial policy of American leaders after World War II reflected their schooling in pluralistic politics: it had something for everybody. If you were extremely anti-colonial you could take heart in America's position that the time of colonialism had ended and all peoples had to be given eventual self-determination; if you were just somewhat anti-colonial you might like the idea that while the status quo could not be preserved, "No one but a demagogue would deny that basic advantages were brought to the African territories."<sup>2</sup>; if you were neutral, priding yourself on your open mindedness and lack of taking extreme positions, you might have liked the idea that extreme anti-colonialism was a "neurosis."<sup>3</sup>; if you tended towards pro-colonialism you might have been charmed by the idea that while all peoples were capable of self-determination, all were not capable yet; and if you were extremely pro-colonial you would have been endeared to the notion that violence under no circumstances was a solution to colonialism and that the time and manner of independence was at all times to be decided by the colonial power. The virtue of this breakdown is that it allowed the United States to claim it was pro-colonial but at the same time to arrange with the colonial power a time and manner of independence that would best suit their interests.

The Assistance Secretary of Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs explained what these interests were in terms of Europe: a "major objective which arises out of our relations both with the metropolitan powers and with the peoples of Africa, is our desire to assure the development and mutually advantageous economic relations between them, in the interests of contributing to restoration of a sound European economy and in the interests of furthering the aspirations of the African peoples. On the one hand the contribution of Africa to economy of Europe is a significant one. Its importance can be gauged by the fact that the volume of Africa's exports to Western Europe in 1948 totaled about 2.5 billion dollars, or approximately half as much as the United States itself exported to Europe. Thus, from the point of view of narrowing the trade gap in Western Europe, a relatively small increase in Africa's production will go far toward improving the



present dollar deficit position of the Western European countries." The colonial powers themselves argued that "only by maintaining their colonial systems in some form could they make up their economic deficiencies .."<sup>4</sup>

This economic dependence of Europe on its colonies was analyzed in detail in The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy, written by a Study Group of prominent members from academic and governmental circles and such organizations as the Council on Foreign Relations, and published by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the National Planning Association in Washington. The Study Group noted that nations of Western Europe and Japan had outgrown their economies in that foreign markets were essential to their continued growth.<sup>5</sup> This same observation was suggested by a United Nations study<sup>6</sup> and the Department of State Bulletin remarked that: "The densely populated ERP (European Recovery Program) countries must obtain raw materials from overseas areas to supplement their own inadequate resources. They pay for these imported raw materials by exporting manufactured goods to many parts of the world. The expansion of world-wide markets for their exports is consequently a life-and-death matter if Western Europe is to be on a self-sustaining basis."<sup>7</sup>

The Study Group observed that exports depended on Western Europe and Japan achieving a favorable balance of trade with the underdeveloped countries so as to obtain primary products cheaply enough for competitive exports. However, primary production had lagged with the result being higher primary prices. One reason for this lag was the unstable international conditions that prevented a sufficient influx of capital into underdeveloped countries to develop their primary resources. What the analysis of the Study Group boiled down to was that a new set of stable relationships would have to be developed between the industrial and underdeveloped countries. This was vital to insure a steady flow of primary and raw materials from the underdeveloped world and for the less developed countries to provide essential export outlets. The United States, as the leader of the Western world had the responsibility for taking leadership in creating this new world order which would take the place of the outgrown economic order of the Nineteenth Century.

The United States faced serious problems, however. One was that "the new economic nationalism of the underdeveloped countries has contributed to the declining effectiveness of the international economy."<sup>8</sup> This has taken the form of various restrictions on the import of foreign capital and on the industries which foreign capital can develop, and in protectionist tariff policies which have hampered the foreign trade of the industrialized nations. Economic nationalism also has taken the form of resistance to economic organizations of complementary industrialized and underdeveloped nations. The value of such organization is illustrated by an observation of the Study Group on the British Empire: "The impact of these external difficulties on the British economy would be even greater if they were not mitigated by the advantages derived from what remains of the British Empire and from the protected markets for British exports in the Commonwealth and Sterling Area."<sup>9</sup> These relations between Europe and its colonies were summed up by another Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian, and African Affairs who stated: "in the course of this relationship between the metropolitan power and the African territories, there grew up

interlocking economic relations, the violent disruptions of which would seriously weaken our European allies."<sup>10</sup>

How then, should American policy have reacted to the fact that on the one hand its military and trading partners in Europe were dependent on the maintenance of their traditional economic ties with their colonies but at the same time there was nationalistic agitation throughout the colonial world, which threatened a "violent disruption" unless pacified. The Study Group suggested that "The United States does have, however, the right and the duty to try to define and protect vital Western security and economic interests which are threatened by the designs of communist imperialism and the profound transformations now occurring in non-communist Asia, Latin America and Africa .... The moral duty to respect the freedom the self-determination of these other societies .... does not require the West to surrender its own security and its truly vital economic interests in the name of a self-determination which insists upon expressing itself exclusively in a national form .... It will not always be possible for the West to avoid interventions which are too reminiscent of colonialism."<sup>11</sup>

American leaders have realized that colonialism was bound to fall eventually, but it was essential that the nature of the new independent governments conformed to the necessities examined above. One way of doing this was through foreign aid. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported that: "Only by participation in that process (the development of underdeveloped countries) will we have an opportunity to direct their development along lines that will best serve our interests."<sup>12</sup> How this has been done through foreign aid will be the subject of another article, but how the United States has used its colonial policy to shape the world in its interests will be discussed in the following pages.

One other important matter that should first be touched on is the economic importance of the underdeveloped world to the United States itself. John McCloy, former President of the World Bank and adviser to the U.S. Government, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that "I have a feeling that our economic security, as distinguished from our military security is to a certain extent dependent upon a developing growth in these underdeveloped areas that I have been talking about. I do not feel the American economy can continue to expand at the rate it is expanding within itself; it has got to move out to help other areas. And in order to maintain our domestic economy, we have to think of the world economy rather than just our own domestic economy."<sup>13</sup> Another typical statement was that of Nelson Rockefeller, who as chairman of the International Advisory Board, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that: "But this dependence for raw materials and markets on other countries and other people is not something we can take for granted. We cannot take for granted that we will be able to obtain raw materials we need from other countries, nor that they will buy our manufactured goods."<sup>14</sup> Rockefeller, like all other American leaders realized these two factors were essential for American economic growth but at the same time realized that American foreign policy would have to insure the proper international conditions to allow advantageous economic relations with the world to continue. President Kennedy expressed the continued concern of American leaders



with the economic relationship of the United States to the rest of the world. Believing that increased exports could help reduce unemployment he stated: "We must either trade or fade. We must either go backward or forward .15 Our businessmen, workers, and farmers are in need of new markets."<sup>15</sup>

How then does this economic introduction related to America's colonial policy? To begin with, the Study Group noted that the concept of self-determination could not be embraced in any absolute sense, because of the importance of shaping the development of underdeveloped countries in the interest of the West. The speech by the American representative on the 43-power U.N. resolution that was carried without opposition in 1961 and on which the United States abstained, revealed the U.S.' preference for self-government which insured close ties with the former colonial ruler rather than "complete" self-government: "The resolution is also heavily weighted toward complete independence as the only acceptable goal, thus ignoring the charter provisions for self-government of dependent areas within larger political contexts. We see this reflected in the title of the resolution and in many of the preambular and operative paragraphs. The penultimate preambular paragraph, for example, speaks of the 'inalienable right' of all peoples 'to complete freedom', which seems to point to full independence in all cases. For our part, we must question the wisdom of espousing principles which would result in some cases in unnecessary political fragmentation and which would fly in the face of the political and economic realities in many areas of the world. Fully democratic self-government within a larger and stable political system is sometimes more worthy as an immediate objective than full political independence."<sup>16</sup>

The stand of the United States on self-determination has even begun to separate it from the other Western powers. At the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development in 1964 General Principle One declared, "respect for the principle of sovereign equality of states, self-determination of peoples, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries." The underdeveloped nations and the communist countries tended to vote in a bloc for the resolutions. Of the sixteen developed nations only Britain abstained on this resolution while the United States was the only country to vote no."<sup>17</sup>

Another aspect of the U.S.' anti-self-determination policy is explained by Harry Rudin of Yale in Current History: "Recent United Nations debates on human rights have brought into the open an American policy highly disturbing to Asians and Africans who have their independence or seek it. The United States and the major colonial powers have made it clear beyond all possible doubt that they refuse to include in the right of self-determination anything like sovereignty over natural wealth and resources. In effect, this policy says that countries may eventually get political independence but not economic independence. Taken in connection with the commercial disabilities we have attached to our grant to independence to the Philippines, the policy carries a real threat to colonial and underdeveloped areas, hard to reconcile with the promises of the United Nations Charter."<sup>18</sup>

One of the reasons the United States refused to ratify the UN Declaration on Human Rights was because economic self-determination was written into it.

Examining the development of American colonial policy more specifically we can begin by observing in the postwar years when actual independence appeared possible: "our behavior in the immediate postwar years looked more like a rout than a retreat."<sup>19</sup> After World War II, the United States tried to play the part of a "moderator" by urging African nationalists to moderate their demands while at the same time urging upon Europe more internal self-government (for the colonies).<sup>20</sup> This, of course, would lead to the goal of self-government within the "proper political framework."

In the forties and early fifties the United States made few statements on black Africa.<sup>21</sup> American policy was epitomized by its praising the British Government for its "realistic speed" in planning to give the Gold Coast its independence in 25 years.<sup>22</sup> With the advent of the Eisenhower Administration the United States took an even more conservative stance. According to one study of the subject, after 1953 there was a "change in emphasis to one that attempted to restrain what appeared to be the headstrong rush of Africa towards independence."<sup>21</sup> The same study sums up the years from 1953 to 1956 as "Hesitation to support publicly self-government in Africa because of the commitment to the Western Alliance, best summed up by the cliché 'don't rock the boat'.<sup>23</sup> Throughout the fifties the United States continued to harp at the theme of the "dangers of premature independence" and urged that traditional and "mutually" advantageous economic ties be retained when independence did come. However, American officials did not foresee independence for a decade or two and went to lengths to express its opposition to any fixed target dates.

When independence did come for many African nations in 1960, mostly former French colonies, it came in a form that was called neo-colonialism by African nationalists. That is, African raw materials were given preference on the Common Market which tended to strengthen Africa's one-crop economies while in return European manufactures were given tariff breaks on entry into African nations which tended to stifle domestic industrialization. Barbara Ward Jackson in Foreign Affairs discusses this relationship: "Guinea on the ex-French side, Ghana on the ex-British side, oppose association on the ideological ground that the relationship is basically dependent and neo-colonialist, perpetuating unequal relationships, making economic mockery of new-found political independence and frustrating the great Pan-African dream. Nor can this simply be dismissed as an extremist view. The moderate Nigerian Government has refused, so far, to consider association and 'Eurafrica' has few more forceful and eloquent critics than Mr. Jaja Wachuku, Nigeria's Foreign Minister. In the East, the Tanganyikan Government has let it be known that if Britain join the Common Market, Tanganyika will leave the Commonwealth."<sup>24</sup>

In case some "independent" African states rejected these "mutually advantageous relations" France stood by with, and has used, its 11th Division, officially designed as 'La Force d'Intervention'. The New York Times, writing on France's mutual defense pacts with twelve former colonies, observed: "It is the 'anarchy' clause that gives Paris the



option to bolster governments it favors and to thwart opposition movements viewed as too leftist or overly independent of French policy."<sup>25</sup> Political observers have failed to report an American protest of this "peculiar institution". But to a nation with so many doubts about "complete independence" one might expect this arrangement to be viewed as "in harmony with existing political and economic realities."

A Special Study Mission report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee mentioned the importance of the colonial question in Africa in connection with two American interests: "The United States is particularly interested in seeing that the colonial question is solved peaceably because of its need for strategic military bases .... The United States interest in the settlement of the colonial problem stems also from the fact that strategic raw materials from Africa are vitally needed in the industrial machine."<sup>26</sup> "Peacefully" settling the colonial question of course means on the terms of the colonial power, precluding the dangers of "premature independence", insuring the maintenance of "traditional" and "mutually advantageous" relations, and perhaps even throwing in 'La Force d'Intervention' or its equivalent.

Studying American colonial policy towards specific territories is most enlightening in the case of Portugal's overseas "provinces" as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and the Portuguese called them, to the dismay of many of the provincials. With the other colonial powers the United States could easily support the independence programs of gradualism but Portugal has refused to consider granting independence at any time. Thus, the United States has been forced to reveal its true colors. Does it consider self-determination as primary and thus support sanctions against Portugal or does it believe the terms of independence must be always chosen by the colonial power and therefore oppose anything harsher than 'advice' given to Portugal? When Portugal was admitted to the UN it denied it had any non-self-governing territories, for it considered its colonies part of Portugal itself. Many of the anti-colonial nations attempted to establish a committee to determine whether Portugal's reply was, in fact, accurate, but the United States objected on the grounds it would violate Portugal's sovereignty.<sup>27</sup> The American position in the UN has been that it understands Portugal's problems and does not wish the nation ostracized. Rather it hoped in time to persuade Portugal to give its possessions some form of independence, but at the same time maintain Portugal's "presence" in Africa.

The need for this presence, as is the case with the other colonial powers, is Portugal's economic dependence on its colonies. Salazar has told the U.S. that the loss of Portugal's African colonies "would almost inevitably be the prologue of an acute and prolonged depression at home and a balance of payments crisis abroad; for in losing the colonial monopoly market for her exports Portugal would at the same time be deprived of the artificially cheap raw materials her obsolete industries need in order to compete in world markets."<sup>28</sup> The economic importance of Portugal is important to the United States since Portugal, though a fascist dictatorship dating from the thirties, is in NATO. The continued "stability" of Portuguese Africa is also important, for if "extreme nationalists" took power they might make "rash" decisions "inimical" to "American institutions."

The United States opposed a UN resolution recommending immediate independence for Angola "in the belief this would be counterproductive in Angola rather than promote social and economic progress for the Angolan people in view of the desperate shortage of educated trained people."<sup>29</sup> The other underdeveloped states which might be said to have some concern for Angola did not agree. In one of the U.S.' defenses of Portugal in the UN, the American representative, Adlai Stevenson, stated: "Mr. President, as an old friend and ally of Portugal, the United States is by no means deaf to the complaint of the distinguished representative of Portugal that there has been little attempt to assess the positive features of the Portuguese presence in Africa .... it is not the elimination of Portuguese relationships with Angola or with Africa that should be our goal."<sup>30</sup> Stevenson praised Portugal's recent "reforms" and said "the United States has told Portugal that it is ready to give sympathetic consideration to any request by Portugal for material aid in education, vocational training, and work rehabilitation in Angola." There were apparently those outside the UN who also made little attempt to assess the "positive" features of Portugal's rule, for Stevenson added: "we are prepared to support a United Nations educational program for young Angolan refugees." The Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs reiterated in 1963 the American position of maintaining a Portuguese "presence" in Africa: "We would hope that the Portuguese, in view of their experience in Africa, could continue to play — like their European colleagues — an important role on that continent. We have no desire to see the Portuguese forced out of Africa."<sup>31</sup>

Less practical minded nations have refused to overlook the 500,000 (250,000 dead) Angolan refugees who fled from the Portuguese terror tactics used against a guerilla uprising. Forced labor and physical punishment are other aspects of Portuguese rule that nations, lacking in America's pragmatic traditions, cannot ignore. As with the self-determination issue the United States is finding itself increasingly isolated in its defense of Portugal. In the UN a small clique of pro-Portuguese die-hards, consisting of South Africa, Portugal, Spain, Britain and the United States (exercising its usual "moral leadership", no doubt), being joined usually by a few NATO powers, have been holding the fort.

The United States exercised its moral leadership most recently at the end of 1967 when the General Assembly adopted the resolution of the Committee on Trusteeship condemning Portuguese policies in Africa. The vote was 82 to 7 with the five stalwarts being joined by the Netherlands and Australia. The resolution condemned "the colonial war being waged by the Portuguese government against the peaceful people in the territories under its domination, which constitutes a crime against humanity and a grave threat to international peace and security." The resolution also mentioned the "forcible export of African workers to South Africa." The British delegate objected to the resolutions allegation of "foreign economic and financial influences." The resolution appeared to give Mozambique's resistance organization "a great psychological lift."



That the United States has become identified as the leader of the pro-Portuguese block is indicated in a newspaper article which reported: "The irate emerging African nations that led the fight for the resolution directed their fire particularly at the U.S. The resolution called on all states but 'particularly the military allies of Portugal in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization' to halt sales of weapons or equipment and training of personnel 'within or outside the framework of NATO!'"<sup>32</sup>

In the case of France's North African possessions the United States took a completely pro-colonial stance. It should be noted that in the Algerian War 1,000,000 Algerians lost their lives. In the cases of Tunisia and Morocco the United States either abstained or voted no on resolutions concerning self-determination, or supported resolutions the Afro-Asian bloc considered inadequate.<sup>33</sup> Congressman Walter Judd later testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "We did a lot of things that we ourselves didn't believe in, our Government did, to try to get the French to come along into the EDC (European Defense Community)."<sup>34</sup>

American enthusiasm over continued French control over Algeria was almost boundless. The Department of State Bulletin declared during the Algerian War: "The United States stands solidly behind France .... It is undeniable that the terrorists and those who seek simply to drive France from North Africa are encouraged by any indications that there may be differences between France and her allies, in particular the United States, regarding North African policy .... let everyone realize that France, in its search for liberal solutions that will insure the continuance of its presence in North Africa has the wholehearted support of the United States Government."<sup>35</sup> In 1957 eighteen Afro-Asian states introduced a resolution that recognized the right of self-determination for Algeria. The U.S. representative said the United States would oppose it and any other proposal that would "constitute intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of France."<sup>36</sup> Douglas Dillon, as Ambassador to France reiterated the old theme that "my government has loyally supported the French government in its search for solutions to North African problems, solutions that will make possible long-term close cooperation between France and the Moslem communities of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. The United States has consistently supported France when North African subjects have been discussed in the United Nations."<sup>37</sup>

The United States got another chance to support colonialism in Vietnam. By the end of the Indochinese War the United States was providing 80% of France's supplies and itself considered intervention (at the time). A State Department pamphlet published in 1951, on "Indochina: The War in Southeast Asia", explained the United States' concern: "Thus the independence of six countries — Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, and Malaya — depends on holding the line in Indochina. A break-through would not only add another satellite to the Soviet orbit but would also pave the way for aggression against Indochina's neighbors. These countries together comprise the greatest rice-producing area in the world. They are the source of 80% of the free world's supply of natural rubber and half of its tin. The loss of these resources would be serious to the free world and would enormously increase the military capabilities of the Communist bloc."<sup>38</sup>

The State Department brought the pamphlet up to date in 1953 but there was one section which did not need to be modified. "Indo-China: The War in Viet-Nam, Cambodia, and Laos" explained: "this is a matter of enlightened self-interest. If Indochina fell, Thailand and Burma would be in extreme danger; Malaya, Singapore, and even Indonesia would become vulnerable to the Communist power drive. Ceylon, India, and Pakistan would find it difficult to maintain their freedom of action in the international field and would face greatly increased subversive pressures from within. An asiatic Communist empire holding the Indochinese-Malay peninsula — controlling over 90% of the world's natural rubber and some 60% of its tin and dominating the great shipping lines of the Pacific — could deal powerful blows to the economy of the free world."<sup>39</sup>

Another compelling reason to keep Indochina "free", that is, under French control, was explained by the Study Group previously mentioned: "the danger is that prolonged frustration of Japanese exports — and thus of the energies and ambitions of the Japanese business class — could contribute to a rift between Japan and the West and a reorientation of Japanese foreign policy toward neutralism. The history of the 1930's should be a warning to the West, and especially to the United States, that failure to make sufficient economic opportunity for the expansion of Japan's exports and for Japanese economic growth can be disastrous .... The logical way to open this opportunity would be to make possible greater Japanese participation in the development of Southern Asia."<sup>40</sup> Being extremely deficient in raw materials Japan must export to pay for raw material imports. Declining exports drove Japan to invade China in the thirties, but now, as Clare Booth Luce says, Japan's "great China market lies behind the Iron Curtain."<sup>41</sup> Southeast Asia would serve as the ideal substitute for China. Secretary of State Dulles, testifying before the House Ways and Means Committee, explained this, stating: "In this connection our foreign policy can help by promoting the development of the underdeveloped areas of South and Southeast Asia, where there could be mutually beneficial trade with Japan. There again, however, the situation is complicated by the Communist aggression in Indochina, which seeks to bring the 'rice bowl' area of Southeast Asia under Communist rule."<sup>42</sup>

President Roosevelt had remarked about the French colony: "France has milked it for one hundred years. The people of Indochina are entitled to something better than that."<sup>43</sup> However, once again France was economically dependent on Indochina. The French argued that "the loss of Viet-Nam would have serious effects throughout the empire and ultimately disastrous effects on the French economy."<sup>44</sup>

This by now familiar story was repeated concerning Indonesia. When the Japanese left Indonesia after World War II, an independent government had been established. When the former Dutch rulers attempted to reassert control the issue was brought before the United Nations. The United States tended to side with the colonial powers on resolutions until the Dutch completely discredited themselves by violating a UN cease-fire arrangement.<sup>45</sup> To U.S. geo-politicians, the issue was simple. In a speech, Secretary of State Rusk began his discussion of Indonesia by mentioning its strategic position and large population. He then explained that "Its natural resources, including oil, tin, and rubber, are among the most extensive in the free world."

He then told of the Communist threat to Indonesia and concluded: "It is within this context that U.S. policy toward Indonesia must be considered."<sup>46</sup>

In the case of Dutch West Irian (part of the islands that form Indonesia) the United States has abstained on resolutions concerning it in the UN.<sup>47</sup> When the UN adopted a resolution by a margin of 33-13, requesting the Netherlands to submit information on the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam (in South America) the United States voted no.<sup>48</sup> The United States did likewise on a similar resolution pertaining to Danish Greenland.<sup>49</sup>

Another important aspect of American colonial policy is its policy towards its own possessions — the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, which is still a colony. The U.S.' systematic economic exploitation of the Philippines during the colonial period is a subject too broad to fit here but will be discussed in a later article. For those interested in the subject, the standard works on Philippine-U.S. economic relations have amply documented the shameful affair. The United States and the Philippines by Garel Grunder and William Livezey and especially American Economic Policy toward the Philippines by Shirley Jenkins for the post-independence period, should be referred to.

Has American colonial policy succeeded? It has in aiding its European allies to establish neo-colonial economic and political ties with their former colonies, but in attempting to present itself as an anti-colonial force the United States has gone down to ignominious defeat. In a UN speech the delegate from Pakistan voiced the disillusionment of the underdeveloped states: "let me state that our experience in this Organization has been that we hear a great deal about freedom, democracy and the self-determination of peoples from the group which might be called the Western states; but whenever we have had to deal concretely with the freedom, liberty, independence and self-determination of a particular people, that role is, by and large, with rare and noble exceptions, abandoned by the Western States."<sup>50</sup> An article in Current History reported: "our country is increasingly regarded as a supporter of an imperialism that is very much alive so far as many areas of the world are concerned .... Cited often is the fact that the American grant of independence to the Philippines was made on such economic terms that years must elapse before the islands can industrialize and become economically free. Many people, including Frenchmen, believe that the long and costly war between France and Indochina could have been ended sooner but for the insistence of the United States on having the war continued and offering to underwrite its cost to France."<sup>51</sup>

The United States was embarrassed at the recent International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran and attended by 80 delegates, including the U.S. According to a newspaper account, "The United States yesterday joined the ranks of chief whipping boys at another violent session of the International Conference on Human Rights here. Both African and Arab delegates lashed out at the U.S. for supporting the white separatist regime in South Africa, Portuguese colonialism and Israel ... The delegate of the organization of African Unity (the political organization of independent black Africa), Sammel Alemayehou, attacked the U.S. along with other Western powers for

selling to South Africa and Portugal arms used to subjugate Africans.

He appealed to Western powers to stop their economic support for South Africa, and held them equally guilty along with the Pretoria regime, the Portuguese, and the white Rhodesians for keeping 30 million Africans in servitude."<sup>52</sup>

American foreign policy will be analyzed in future issues in relation to the following topics: colonial policy towards the Philippines, Vietnam, foreign investment policy, foreign trade policy, foreign aid, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Cuba 1898-1968, the Cold War, and disarmament.

#### Footnotes

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2. Ibid., April 30, 1956, p.717
3. Ibid., May 23, 1955
4. Ibid., Jun 19, 1950: Alliance Policy in the Cold War, Arnold Wolfers (ed.); The United States and the Colonial Debate, Robert Good, p. 235
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7. Department of State Bulletin, January 9, 1949, p. 37
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29. Department of State Bulletin, August 19, 1963
30. Ibid., March 5, 1962
31. Ibid., November 18, 1963, p. 784
32. New York Times, November 18, 1967; San Francisco Chronicle, November 17, 1967
33. For Morocco see Department of State Bulletin, September 7, 1953, p. 25-6; New York Times, December 18, 1952, p. 16; for Tunisia see Department of State Bulletin, April 28, 1952
34. Hearings: Mutual Security Act of 1955, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 81st Congress, 1st Session, p. 482
35. Department of State Bulletin, April 2, 1956
36. Wolfers, op. cit., p. 225
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40. Political Economy of American Foreign Policy, p. 135
41. Department of State Bulletin, January 3, 1955, p. 77
42. Department of State Bulletin, May 25, 1953, p. 744; see also Eisenhower's statement on the mineral resources of Indochina and its economic importance to Japan, which was the key to the containment of Russia and China in the Far East (Public Papers of the Presidents, Eisenhower, 1954, p. 382-3).
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**NOTICE:**

To Whom It May Concern:

The UCLA Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), now under the name Robin Hood Slate, welcome all students to their open discussions held each Wednesday evening at 7:30 in the Student Union (Ackerman Union).

(Ads in the RADICAL FORUM may be obtained at 10¢ per line.)

## THE ORIGIN OF THE VIET-CONG

### How the Guerrilla War in Vietnam Began

By Frank Coffman

According to official U.S. doctrine, the Vietnam war is the result of external aggression. Lyndon Johnson, for instance, asserts that "North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation of South Vietnam. Its object is total conquest." To prove this, our State Department has carefully compiled evidence to show that Hanoi has been sending men and arms into South Vietnam ever since mid-1959.

But, unfortunately for the official version, the fact is that native guerrillas were operating in South Vietnam as far back as 1957 -- two years before Hanoi started its infiltration. In other words, the war was not caused by North Vietnamese aggression, but rather began as a conflict among southerners in which North Vietnam later became involved. (1)

Even before they received outside support, indigenous guerrillas in the South were doing quite well entirely on their own efforts. By March 1959, before infiltration from the North started, President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam admitted that his country was already a "nation at war." Diem was speaking of his war with home-grown rebels, whom he called "Viet-Cong" -- Vietnamese Communists of the South. Thus, our government's claim that the war resulted from "North Vietnamese aggression" is simply not true.

In its eagerness to prove North Vietnam guilty of aggression, the U.S. State Department rides rough-shod over the most essential facts about the conflict. If certain facts cast doubt upon the official line, they are ignored; when history refuses to obey, it is re-written; unsupported (and unsupported) assertions are elevated to the level of historical truth and stated as fact.

#### Repression and revolt

Not surprisingly, few experts on Vietnam agree with the State Department's "foreign aggression" theory of the war. Most Western authorities point out that the Saigon regime's brutal and repressive policies (against both communist and non-communist elements) very nearly drove the population of South Vietnam into revolt and made civil war with the southern communists unavoidable. Prof. Philippe Devillers, an historian of modern Vietnam, writes that

The revolt in South Vietnam is the direct product of the oppression of a peaceful rural populace by a police state. (2)

According to another authority, Joseph Buttinger, a one-time supporter of the Diem regime, The Diem Government (in Saigon) itself created the conditions that pushed the population to the brink of open rebellion. (3)

And a former member of Diem's cabinet declared in 1960 that the conflict was an insurrection, not an invasion:

The uprising is justified: in a country where the elementary rights of the citizen are ignored, the will of the people can only make itself felt through revolution.

According to the guerrillas' own account of events, the Diem regime, by its oppressive policies, provoked a popular rebellion and thus started the war. The rebels contend that Diem, in an effort to wipe out remnants of the communist Viet Minh (4) in the South, "established a reign of terror and repression." The guerrilla movement declared in March 1960 that the Saigon authorities "have by their own actions forced the people into self-defense."

This version of the war's beginning is by no means incredible. It is true, for instance, that as early as June 1956 -- before any guerrilla threat existed -- Diem sent the Army on great sweeps through the countryside in search of suspected Viet Minh supporters and sympathizers. (5) It is also true that the communist Viet Minh were generally peaceful during the first years of South Vietnam's existence. Although the communists always maintained at least a low-level of operation in the South, their activities in the early years (until late 1957) fell "short of open violence," as the State Department admits in its 1965 White Paper on Vietnam. The southern Viet Minh therefore turned to the use of violence only after the Saigon regime commenced its anti-communist repressions. And, as pointed out previously, the anti-Diem resistance fought for nearly two years (until mid-1959) before it received even the slightest military assistance from North Vietnam. (The reason for Hanoi's initial reluctance to aid the rebels will be discussed later.)

Further, the Saigon armed forces did round up communist suspects with considerable brutality. In fact, these anti-communist campaigns, which began in earnest in 1957 and '58, became so fierce that the Viet Minh were threatened with physical extermination. Prof. Philippe Devillers, writes that in 1958, Round-ups of "dissidents" became more frequent and more brutal . . . A certain sequence of events became almost classic: encirclement of villages, searches and raids, arrest of suspects, plundering, interrogation enlivened sometimes by torture, deportation and "regrouping" of populations . . . The revolt in South Vietnam is the direct product of the oppression of a peaceful rural populace by a police state. (6)

In addition to outright military force, Diem attempted to use "psychological warfare," so to speak, against the Viet Minh. Coupled with the Army's searching operations were raucous "communist denunciation" rallies. One American writer notes that These public exhibitions were sometimes a brutal and physically painful experience for those marked as (communist) sympathizers. . . . It is thought by some observers that these mistreated individuals became a significant source of support of the Viet Cong in later years. (7)

It must be stressed that Diem undertook these severe measures against the communists as early as June 1956, long before any guerrilla danger could justify such measures. A non-communist observer pointed out in late 1956 that during a time of

peace in South Vietnam, "All the techniques of political and psychological warfare, as well as pacification campaigns involving extensive military operations, have been brought to bear against the (communist) underground." (8) Thus confronted with possible death or arrest at the hands of the Diem regime, the communists had no choice but to fight back in order to survive. And fight back they did. In 1957, the first year of open revolt, rebels assassinated perhaps as many as one hundred government-appointed village chiefs, thereby attacking, for the first time, Diem's authority in the country-side. It should be noted that the killing of village chiefs in no way offended the peasants, since usually the chiefs in questions were hated tyrants. In fact, these executions were often approved by the peasants and even tended to "endow the Viet-Cong with some of the characteristics of Robin Hood and his band of merry men." (9)

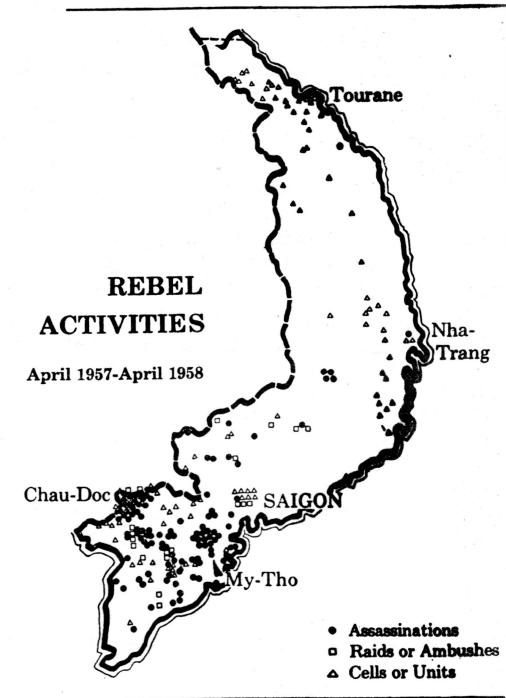
A spontaneous rising

The guerrilla war in South Vietnam started in a spontaneous manner. Local Viet Minh elements, who were being tracked down by the Army, did not wait for any orders from above before going into action. On their own, the Viet Minh began to seek out and kill government officials and collaborators who had aided the regime in its witch-hunt for Reds. Scattered raids and bombings were also conducted. Such activities were initially confined to the southern part of South Vietnam, where, significantly, Diem had concentrated his early anti-communist terror campaigns -- an indication that Diem's repressions were related to the rise of rebel activity. One leader of the guerrilla movement recalls that the uprising started without any central direction:

"The people began to revolt against the dictator Diem. The many separate uprisings finally merged into one great rebellion . . . There were many clashes, one so much like the other that it is impossible to say the war started at any given point."  
(10)

When, in late 1957, the communists turned increasingly to armed struggle, they were by no means alone. Diem's heavy-handed, and sometimes indiscriminate, measures had affected non-communist elements, and even innocent bystanders, as well as the Viet Minh. As an exile Vietnamese publication wrote,

The Saigon government's repression of the communists





is severe . . . . However, as under all dictatorships, it is the innocent who are the hardest hit by the government's measures. . . The province chiefs are worried by the discontent among the people. (11.)

In their struggle against Diem, the communist Viet Minh could therefore work with a variety of disaffected segments of the population. The Cao Dai and Hoa Hao, two large religious sects in South Vietnam who were persecuted by the government, were both major allies of the Viet Minh in the early period of the resistance to Diem. Landless peasants also opposed the Saigon regime because it upheld the onerous landlord-tenant relationship. (12) The great mass of the peasants were thus potential supporters of a revolution. In short, the Diem government, by its tyrannies large and small, alienated most of the population and turned the people increasingly to thoughts of rebellion. Viet Minh political workers, being past masters at revolution, provided the organizational framework and leadership for this mood of discontent in South Vietnam.

Captured guerrilla documents reveal that at the outset of the conflict, the communists hoped to prevent a full-blown civil war from developing in South Vietnam. For their part, the communists in the early years engaged primarily in political agitation and organization, rather than regular guerrilla warfare. Initially, the rebels used only enough force in order to preserve themselves in the face of the government's repression. They utilized violence merely in self-defense. The Diem government, however, refused to compete with the communists on a political level, and instead fell back mainly on police state measures to suppress dissident elements. The violence of the government compelled the communists to use counter-violence and eventually to shift to regular armed struggle. A captured guerrilla document explained that in the beginning the communists "pursued the legal and illegal political struggle, but soon discovered they were not strong enough or effective enough to prevent enemy mopping-up operations and the killing and imprisoning of people." The guerrillas therefore had to reconsider their strategy; they moved from defensive to offensive military operations, with the object of forcibly overthrowing the Saigon administration. (13)

In 1958, the rebellion expanded, and, for the first time, regular guerrilla warfare began. The "National Liberation Front" was not formally established until December 1960, but even as early as 1958, the guerrillas called themselves a "liberation front," with their own "liberation radio."

**More repression**

Diem's response to signs of rural discontent was simply to crack down with armed might. By its own admission, the Saigon regime dealt ruthlessly with all communist suspects and sympathizers. An official government publication warned on July 14, 1959 that anyone caught helping the communists would be put to death:

We must let the peasants know that to give shelter to a communist or follow his advice makes them liable to the death penalty.

As to how to deal with the rebels, this publication cried simply, "all must suffer execution." To carry out such policies, Diem appointed police state hacks to key government positions. Pre-

vince and district chiefs frequently resorted to brute force to achieve their ends. The discovery of an arms cache, for instance, could be the occasion for widespread reprisals against the local peasants. Government officials at the village level committed many crimes:

Cases of extortion, bribery, intimidation, arbitrary arrest, summary execution and mass torture were commonplace. (The Saigon Post, Jan. 10, 1964.)

These village officials, who frequently acted as police informers for the regime, (14) became prime targets in the guerrillas' terror campaign against the government. Village officials were the Saigon regime's link with the rural areas; as the number of assassinations by the guerrillas mounted, the government increasingly lost control of the countryside.

#### Hanoi's attitude

Despite the progress of the guerrillas, Hanoi initially declined to lend the guerrillas any support -- moral or material. North Vietnam was not at all enthusiastic about the uprising and even publicly scolded the guerrillas for "premature action." The North Vietnamese warned that a war of liberation could draw the United States into a large-scale conflict, for which Hanoi was not yet prepared. The northern communists were primarily concerned with their own nation's economic development, rather than a risky conflict, possibly involving the U.S. The liberation of South Vietnam, said Ho Chi Minh, should, and would, be led by the North -- but at the proper time. Plainly, however, the southern guerrillas were not following such guidance. Thus, a communist-led rebellion grew up in South Vietnam without the assistance, or even the approval of Hanoi. (15)

In early 1959, the Saigon regime realized that events in the countryside were taking a serious turn for the worse. Throughout the country, armed bands were springing into existence. The deteriorating situation led Diem in March 1959 to characterize South Vietnam as a "nation at war."

Months after Diem's remark, Hanoi finally started on a small-scale to assist the rebels: South Vietnamese who had gone to the North after Vietnam was divided in 1954 began to trickle back to join the insurrection. But all told, only about 300 men returned in 1959, according to official South Vietnamese estimates. And in the next three years, North Vietnam provided only modest assistance to the guerrillas. (U.S. government sources estimate that even by 1965 only two percent of the guerrillas' weapons came from the outside; (16) the bulk were either captured or home-made.)

#### 1960: the turning point

In January 1960, the guerrillas launched their first big attack of the war. The target of attack was the Tua Hai fort in Tay Ninh province, northeast of Saigon. From this fort, the Saigon armed forces had exercised military control over half the province. Army units at Tua Hai launched forays into the local villages, with the result that "many experienced Viet Minh cadres were flushed out, taken prisoner and executed. This intimidated the population." (17) As elsewhere in South Vietnam, the Viet Minh in Tay Ninh province were driven to taking countermeasures against the government. The leader of the local Viet Minh recalls

that

There were only two courses: take to arms and defend ourselves or die like chickens. We could not count on any outside force coming to the rescue. We had to stand up or be wiped out. (18)

So the Viet Minh in the area banded together and fought back. On the night of January 27, 1960, 300 guerrillas, armed with only 170 weapons, overran the Tua Hai fort, destroyed an entire Army regiment and allegedly captured 1,000 firearms. With Tua Hai knocked out, the rebels could operate more freely and the guerrilla forces in Tay Ninh grew by leaps and bounds. To the rebels, this great victory in Tay Ninh province marks the beginning of the present civil war. For the first time, guerrillas in a pitched battle soundly defeated superior enemy forces.

The rest of the story is well-known:

Neither Diem nor his successors could turn the tide of battle, and, by 1963, at least two-thirds of the peasants were under guerrilla influence. In the villages the rebel movement created the most popular and the most efficient local government the country had known since its loss of independence in the 1860's. (19)

By early 1965, the South Vietnamese guerrillas, who called themselves the "National Liberation Front," were rapidly approaching victory. (20) It was at this time that the U.S. intervened massively to save the Saigon regime from total collapse. Since 1954, the various governments in Saigon had survived only because of our enormous financial backing (21); money wasn't enough, however, and now American troops were required on a large scale. 1965 was the year the United States decided to turn the internal war of South Vietnam into an American war against the Viet Cong.

Hanoi countered the American build-up by increasing its infiltration. But even in late 1965, a U.S. Senator reported, after a trip to Vietnam, that the conflict was still a civil war within South Vietnam. He said, "I was amazed to discover that the bulk of the Viet Cong are not infiltrators from North Vietnam, but men who were born and reared in South Vietnam." (Sen. Stephen Young, U.S. News and World Report, Jan. 3, 1966.)

Today, of course, North Vietnamese troops are heavily involved in the conflict. But this must not obscure the exclusively southern origin of the war: Indigenous South Vietnamese guerrillas were operating on their own for almost two years before they received any outside support. Nor should we forget that regular North Vietnamese Army units entered the war on behalf of the southern guerrillas only after the massive intervention of American men and materiel.

#### NOTES:

1. "...anti-Diem guerrillas were active long before infiltrated North Vietnamese elements joined the fray." Bernard Fall, The Two Vietnams (1967), p. 345.
2. The Nation, Dec. 5, 1966.
3. Joseph Buttinger, Vietnam: A Dragon Embattled, Vol. 2, p. 977.
4. The Viet Minh were the anti-French resistance forces led by Ho Chi Minh. They were the predecessors of the Viet Cong.
5. See the Times of Vietnam (Saigon) for July 7, July 21 and December 8, 1956.

Notes (cont.)

6. China Quarterly, Jan.-March 1962, p. 13.
7. William Nighswonger, Rural Pacification in Vietnam (1967), p. 36.
8. William Henderson, Foreign Affairs, January, 1957. Mr. Henderson described South Vietnam as "a quasi-police state characterized by arbitrary arrests and imprisonments, strict censorship of the press and the absence of an effective political opposition."
9. Denis Warner, The Last Confucian: (1963), p. 89.
10. Kuno Knoebl, Victor Charlie (1967), p. 41.
11. La Cause Vietnamienne (Paris), Feb:1960.
12. "Today 70 percent of the arable land in Vietnam is dominated by landlords. . .the rents demanded are often 30 to 50 percent or higher. . . Whenever the Viet Cong move into an area, they eliminate landlord domination and reallocate land owned by absentee landlords to the landless peasants." Christain Science Monitor, March 6, 1968.
13. Douglas Pike, Viet Cong (1966) pp. 91-92, 101
14. To weed out communists from the population, the government set up a mutual-spying system in the villages. Village chiefs (appointed by the government) usually acted as informants for the secret police. Philippe Devillers, a French historian on Vietnam, writes that "the people in these villages were closely watched and even tortured."
15. See Donald Zagoria, Vietnam Triangle (1967), p. 104-06; and George Kahin & John Lewis, The United States in Vietnam (1966), p. 112.
16. Malcolm Browne, The New Face of War (1965), p. 24.
17. Kuno Knoebl, Victor Charlie (1967), p. 44.
18. Wilfred Burchett, Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War, p. 115.
19. Bernard Fall, The Two Vietnams (1967), p. 365.
20. President Johnson has stated himself that "military victory (was) almost within Hanoi's grasp in 1965." New York Times, Sept. 30, 1967.
21. Since 1954, American aid has paid for most of the expenses of the various regimes in Saigon.

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"Surrounded by some 200 GIs at Camp Stanley, 28 miles south of the Demilitarized Zone, the President raised the specter of 200,000,000 Americans woefully outnumbered in the world by 3,000,000,000 foreigners. 'And if might did make right,' Johnson warned, 'they'd wipe over the United States and they would take what we've got -- and we've got what they want, don't you think we haven't.'"

Chicago Sun-Times, summer, 1967.



"When I look at the bombed-out peasant hamlets, the orphans begging and stealing on the streets of Saigon and the women and children with napalm burns lying on the hospital cots, I wonder whether the United States or any nation has the right to inflict this suffering on another people for its' own ends."

Neil Sheehan, New York Times Magazine, Oct. 9, 1966.



An eye-witness description of an air raid against a peasant hamlet: "The napalm was expected to force the people--fearing the heat and the burning--out into the open. Then the second plane was to move in with heavy fragmentation bombs to hit whatever--or whomever--had rushed into the open... I could see some villagers trying to head away... There were probably between 1000 and 1500 people living in the village when we attacked. It is difficult to estimate how many were killed. It is equally difficult to judge if there actually were any Viet Cong in the village, and if so, if any were killed."

Prof. Bernard Fall. Ramparts, Dec. 1965.

"United States and Vietnamese military officials decided the Communists were using (the village of) Duc Hai as a base for operations... It was periodically and ferociously shelled and bombed by Vietnamese and American planes...no one really knows how many civilians were killed. Some reasonable estimates run as high as 600... At least 10 hamlets in this province have been destroyed. At least 25 other hamlets have been heavily damaged."

New York Times, Nov. 30, 1965.

"Truong Thanh's troubles began when the Vietnamese province chief heard that a company of Viet Cong was sheltered in the village... Better than risk a bloody ground battle, the province chief called for a United States air strike."

Newsweek, August 22, 1966.

"Within three hamlets, about 1000 peasant homes have been blasted apart by bombs and shells or incinerated by napalm...at least 100 civilians are estimated to have been killed."

New York Times, Feb. 14, 1966.

"I was in a village (when)...American planes came over on a reprisal raid. ...there were no Viet Cong there, ...but the village was almost totally destroyed. Such events, and more tragic ones, occur every day, night and day, throughout our country."

Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire by Thich Nhat Hanh  
(Wang, 1967), p.66-68.

"The usual procedure of the U.S. attacks is to pound the place with bombs and shells with unreserved thoroughness before infantry men move in... In all cases I had witnessed, hamlets considered as belonging to liberated districts had been burnt down 100 per cent, without exception... A helicopter will come over the village, spraying it with indiscriminate fire."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Feb. 11, 1968.

"'It became necessary to destroy the town to save it,' a United States major said today. He was referring to the decision by allied commander to bomb and shell the town (of Ben Tre) regardless of civilian casualties."

New York Times, Feb. 7, 1968.

After a bombing raid against a village, U.S. Marines sometimes shower the village with leaflets. One leaflet tells the peasants that, "Your village was bombed because you gave help to the Viet Cong...Your village will be bombed again if you harbor the Viet Cong in any way."

New Yorker magazine, March 9, 1968, p. 42.

The treatment of prisoners-of-war

"Vietnamese Army police and para-military organizations frequently shoot Viet Cong prisoners out of hand, beat or brutally torture them or otherwise mistreat them."

New York Times, Sept. 30, 1965.

"An American unit will move into a village, or an area, and round up every male. A South Vietnamese liaison officer will then interrogate each man, and if he believes the man is a Viet Cong guerrilla, or even a sympathizer, the man will be taken off to a detainment camp. After interrogation, he is usually executed... in South Vietnam, officials only smile at your naivete when you ask to visit an internment camp."

New York Post, July 25, 1965.

"The interrogation of prisoners is usually rough in war, but in Vietnam it is often a matter of overwhelming cruelty. ...In the (Mekong) Delta, South Vietnamese soldiers use U.S. armored personnel carriers as instruments of torture. A Viet Cong is tied to the vehicle by a rope and slowly dragged through the rice paddies. A victim may survive being pulled through one or two of the water-covered fields, but he is dead by the third."

Victor Charlie by Kuno Knoeb1 (Praeger, 1967), p. 115.

"In fighting over here, I have seen things done that I know are war crimes... I have seen people killed that had their hands in the air. I have seen a man killed that was already hurt and had no weapon; the sergeant cut his head off. Also a lot of people here are carrying ears of people. The policy here is anyone killed is a Viet Cong."

The letter of a G.I. in Vietnam in Letters From Vietnam, edited by Glenn Munson (Parallax, 1966), p. 121.

A documentary film of a South Vietnamese Army patrol: "The films... show such gory happenings as the execution of a 17-year-old suspect, ... the final scenes show a soldier beating his rifle butt against a prone figure sprawled in the pathway, apparently an executed suspect. Other soldiers look on, and one moves forward to cut a trophy from the body with a knife. Lastly, a soldier appears carrying in one hand what is clearly a freshly severed head. He dumps it nonchalantly in the middle of the path perhaps as a warning to future Viet Cong sympathizers."

Los Angeles Times, May 23, 1965.

"The only suspect that could be found this afternoon was a thirty-two year old woman who was supposed to be a Viet Cong nurse... I asked (the American officer) what would happen to her... He said that this depended on how much information the Vietnamese could get from her, but that most likely she would be killed and buried in a mound behind the Vietnamese Army Interrogation Center."

Saturday Review, March 25, 1967.

"General Loan (chief of the Vietnamese National Police) has the power to arrest and torture anyone in Vietnam without the benefit of a trial." A released prisoner described the National Police headquarters: "I saw one room where several prisoners were lying on the floor. ...They had been beaten around the head until they were paralyzed... From the next room I could hear the screams of a man being tortured."

Karl H. Purnell (CBS reporter in Vietnam),  
True magazine, July 1968.

"In the children's ward of the Qui Nhon provincial hospital, I saw for the first time what napalm does. A child of seven lay on a cot by the door. Napalm had burned his face and back and one hand. The burned skin looked like swollen, raw meat; the fingers of his hand were stret out, burned rigid... All week, the little boy had cried with pain, but now he was better... Farther down the ward, another child, also seven years old, was still crying. He had been burned by napalm too, in the same village. His mother stood over his cot fanning the little body, in a helpless effort to cool that wet red skin. Whatever she said in Vietnamese, I did not understand, but her eyes and her voice revealed how gladly she would have taken for herself the child's suffering."

Ladies Home Journal, January, 1967, p. 108.

### Medical care for wounded Vietnamese civilians

"...less than half of the 100,000 (Vietnamese) civilians wounded each year ever make it to one of Vietnam's 58 'hospitals'. Those who do generally wind up on corridor floors, or two or three to a bed. The hospitals are no better than sheds, rife with epidemics." Despite these unspeakable conditions, the U.S. cut the medical budget for Vietnam by \$3 million this year!

Time Magazine, Oct. 20, 1967.

"Not one hospital servicing the people of Vietnam meets even the bare minimum of sanitation or other support conditions with which to carry out simple medical practices... conditions of unbelievable filth and neglect...crowded, filthy beds...rats stalk the halls... No real mean has been worked out for getting the war injured patients to hospitals ...babies and children are dying daily because of pure neglect and lack of concern."

Testimony before the Senate subcommittee on refugees and escapees, 1967, p. 324.

### War Refugees

"When I discuss the refugees in Vietnam, I am talking about literally 25 per cent of that nation's population... Over 80 per cent (of the refugees) claim they were either deposited in camps by the Americans fled to camps in fear of American airplanes and artillery."

Sen. Edward Kennedy, January 25, 1968, after an inspection tour of more than 25 refugee camps in Vietnam.

Most refugees I have questioned told me that...they left their homes because they could no longer bear American and South Vietnamese bombs and shells... Refugee slums have risen in the cities almost as fast as G.I. bars."

Neil Sheehan, New York Times Magazine, Oct. 9, 1966.

The U.S. and the South Vietnamese government neglect the refugees and the majority must shift for themselves. For example, in 1965 only \$1 was allocated for each refugee. Consequently, refugee centers are "crowded, disease-prone camps, whose inmates live in misery and enforced idleness." (Saturday Evening Post, Jan. 29, 1966) Another observer notes that "the squalor and hopelessness of too many refugee camps is staggering". (Life, Dec. 15, 1967) The New York Times (Oct. 28, 1967) described the refugee camps as being "squalid, jerry-built, often without dependable water supplies or even primitive sanitation".



Civilian casualties

"There seems to be a predisposition on our side to no longer be able to see the Vietnamese as a people against whom crimes can be committed."

Prof. Bernard Fall (the foremost expert on Vietnam in the U.S.), Ramparts, Dec. 1965.

"Almost every provincial hospital is crowded with civilian wounded, a majority of whom evidently are victims of American and South Vietnamese artillery."

New York Times, August 21, 1966.

"The villagers are supposed to be warned to get out before the bombing starts, but it is a lie to say that this is done even half the time... 90 percent of the wounds are inflicted by American and South Vietnamese artillery, bombs, and naval gunfire."

A doctor at a civilian hospital in Vietnam,  
Life, Jan. 27, 1967

"American operations have killed and wounded more innocent peasants than Viet Cong, and the Americans are blamed and hated for this."

Thich Nhat Hanh, New York Review of Books,  
June 9, 1966.

According to a doctor with three years experience in Vietnam, injuries to the Vietnamese civilian population are inflicted in the following ways:

1. Cannon: 55% (and higher)
2. Bullet: 15%
3. Bomb: 15%
4. Grenade: 3%
5. Mine: 2%
6. War burns (napalm, phosphorous, flamethrowers, jettisoned gasoline tanks): 8 to 10%

Thus, more than 80 percent of the civilian wounds (and deaths) are caused by our forces. Further, the doctor says, "We frequently have patients admitted with blast syndrome from bombing or gas poisoning from tunnels. Ten percent of the latter usually die in the hospital. ... We also get cases that have been tortured by ARVN (Army of Vietnam) or security police."

New Yorker magazine, March 16, 1968, p. 127.

"...at least 80 per cent of the war-related trauma (is) due to Vietnamese government or U.S. military activities."

"Diary of an American Medical Intern in Vietnam"  
Saturday Review, March 25, 1967.

The following is a quote from an American combat pilot in Vietnam:  
"I don't like to hit a village. You know you are hitting women and children too. But you've got to decide that your work is noble and that the work has to be done."

New York Times, July 6, 1965.

Most civilian injuries in Vietnam "are with indiscriminate weapons, bombs, napalm, artillery fire..." - Dr. Frank Ervin. "...a majority, or at least a considerable number of the (civilian) injuries are from aerial attack, heavy bombardment, artillery..." - Dr. John Constable.

Testimony before the Senate subcommittee on refugees and escapees, 1967, pp. 261, 239.

"...A WAR OF UNPARALLELED BRUTALITY"

The Vietnam conflict "is a war of unparalleled brutality... Small helpless villages are ravaged by sneak attack. Large scale raids are conducted on towns, and terror strikes in the heart of cities".

---President Johnson, April 7, 1965.

The quotes below speak for themselves. They prove that indeed, as the President says, Vietnam is a war of great savagery. For convenience the following quotes have been put into three categories dealing with the bombing of villages, the treatment of prisoners-of-war, and our treatment of civilian casualties and refugees.

Aerial bombing of villages

"Hamlets are habitually bombed and shelled at the request of a South Vietnamese province or district chief who has been told by some paid informer that communist troops are present."

New York Times Magazine, Oct. 9, 1966.

"Mr. Mohr reports the bombing of villages on the basis of information --often unfounded--that Viet Cong have been sheltered there. He cites such other violations as the burning of civilian houses and undirected artillery fire into areas not listed as Viet Cong controlled...Innocent civilians suffer in every war, but in Vietnam, the number of civilian casualties seems excessive."

New York Times, August 21, 1966

"A few sniper shots from a hut are sometimes enough to subject the entire community to air attack or artillery...The bombing and strafing of villages to attack relatively few Viet Cong soldiers has caused widespread resentment among South Vietnamese..."

War Without Honour by Gerald L. Stone (Jacaranda Press, 1966), p.83.

Bombed-out villages: "I have visited such hamlets, and there is no question that the results are revolting...huts are flattened, and civilian loss of life is generally high. In some cases, charred bodies of children and babies have made pathetic piles in the middle of the remains of market places."

The New Face of War by Malcolm Browne (Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 118.

✓ Some specific cases:

"More recently the Viet Cong became so bold as to hold a cluster of villages in broad daylight. To dislodge the Viet Cong, our side pounded the villages to pieces with medium field artillery and artillery and napalm, causing the encircled population huge casualties. The Viet Cong escaped."

Prof. Bernard Fall, New Republic, Feb., 22, 1964.

Book review: Pete Singer

LAW AND ORDER IN THE WHITE COLLAR JUNGLE

"Free private enterprise is the very basis of our free system. On this foundation stand the freedoms we hold so dear -- freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, and freedom of the individual."

--- Douglas Dillon, Acting Secretary of State under Eisenhower, Secretary of the Treasury under Kennedy.

Liberalism asserts that the best society is produced when each individual vigorously pursues his enlightened self-interest. Detractors of this theory claim it is merely a rationalization for a society where the better placed are allowed to exploit and take advantage of the rest of the population. White Collar Crime by criminologist Edwin Sutherland empirically examines the central institution of a liberal society -- private enterprise -- with the jarring conclusion that not only does self-interest eat away at all values, but that corruption is such a universal and integral part of the American economy that even its critics will be shocked by his findings.

Sutherland examines the life histories of the 70 largest corporations in the United States to find the number of decisions of courts and commissions against them for having violated the law. The average number of decisions against any one of the 70 corporations was 14 and each of the 70 corporations had been convicted at least once. What this means for American industry as a whole can be illustrated by the fact that only 50 manufacturing corporations out of the some 420,000 in existence make 48% of all corporate profits in the United States and since this figure was published concentration has continued. (See Senator Estes Kefauver's book In a Few Hands, p. 190.)

Thus, we are stared in the face with the knowledge that the corporations which produce the things we use, who finance our political parties and various public organizations, the representatives of which sit on the ruling bodies of our universities, have been judged by the courts of the lands as -- technically speaking -- criminals.

The average corporation has been convicted more than four times of restraint of trade -- establishing monopolies and price fixing -- and some over 20 times. One of the most publicized examples of the deterioration in the quality of merchandise through agreements among businessmen are international agreements to withhold new inventions such as light bulbs that would never burn out, in order to sell more bulbs. Automobiles and other mechanical devices are especially built so as to break down which gives their producers more business. Stainless steel razor blades had long been invented before an English firm broke then into the market and so forced American firms to put them out. The author observes: "The preceding analysis has demonstrated that practically all large corporations engage in illegal restraint of trade and that half to three-quarters of them engage in such practices so continuously that they may be properly called 'habitual criminals.' . . . Not law, but expedience and practicability have determined the limits of restraint of trade." Sutherland writes of the new economic system that has been created through these practices: "To a great extent prices, profits, the flow of capital, and other economic phenomena are determined by formal and informal organizations of businessmen. In this private collectivism the public is not represented. . . . The change in the economic system from free competition to private collectivism has been produced largely by the efforts of businessmen."

The average corporation has been convicted more than once for misrepresentation in advertising while three convictions is the average for violations concerning patents, trademarks and copyrights. The author writes of corporations: "They have used the patent system which grants the inventor a monopoly for a period of years, as a device for destroying the system of free enterprise and competition."

In the field of unfair labor practices there are over 700 decisions per corporation. Businessmen are, of course, the most vociferous opponents of legislation to protect labor and this opposition even extends to the simple protection of the workers' lives by laws regulating safety conditions. A most tragic example of this attitude was the violation of mining laws by one of the 70 corporations which resulted in the death of 200 to 500 workers (out of 1500) from silicosis while many others were permanently injured. The number of deaths could not be determined with accuracy because according to reports the bodies were simply dumped in trenches without death certificates. This is not an isolated incident, so to put it impolitely, even murderers are among the 70 "official" criminal companies which dominate American industry.

The average corporation has been accused two and half times of financial manipulation though most have not been convicted. However, reports of persons connected with individual corporations and various investigating committees convinced the author that all of the corporations have engaged in these activities. Financial manipulation includes embezzlement, misrepresentation of funds, the use of official position for personal advantage, stock market manipulation, the looting of a subsidiary by a parent corporation which controls it but does not own it wholly, and all sorts of other devices.

Perhaps most shocking is the section on war crimes. Twenty-four decisions were made against the 70 for violating regulations during World War II. These included tax evasion, fraud, violations of priority regulations, price fixing, violations of embargoes and neutrality, and the selling of defective material to the government. Decisions were made against 21 of the corporations for restraint of trade. Significantly, the widespread violations could not be attributed to too stringent regulations for "The regulations for World War II, as for World War I, were made chiefly by representatives of the large industries and in their favor. These regulations enabled many of the corporations to make enormous profits during the war period." Three of the 70 were accused of treason in the sense of revealing military secrets to other nations. No decision was made against any of these corporations in these cases. These treason charges involved, at least in the case of Standard Oil, continuing to fulfill patent agreements with German firms after the war had begun. Even though these patents were vital to the national security companies like Standard Oil (the second largest corporation in the United States) chose to honor business agreements instead.

Sutherland writes that "The general conclusion from the preceding description is that profits are more important to large corporations than patriotism, even in the midst of an international struggle which endangered Western civilization. . . The evidence for the proposition that profits takes precedence over patriotism consists, to a large extent, of the decisions of courts and commissions and, to a large extent, of the evidence published by Congressional committees. . . This documentary evidence indicates that many corporations have used the national emergency as an opportunity for extraordinary enrichment of themselves."

Another disturbing work on this subject is The Black Market by Marshall Clinard which discusses the violations of government regulations during World War II. The number of complaints and investigations were in the hundreds of thousands and it appears possible that most concerns that were bound by

regulations violated them at one time. For example, Fortune magazine reported that "In the U.S. in 1946, the historians will write, it was possible to get anything you could imagine -- for a price." One man who was called to testify reported: "Everyone is crooked including myself. They're all crooked in one way or another."

One third of the corporations have been convicted of violating laws concerning health and safety. Businesses are the most vocal opponents of any consumer protection laws and the activities of their powerful lobbies are notorious. The gun lobby, largely financed by the gun importing lobby, is the most notable example at present. Many exposes, a number written by Congressmen, have revealed the shocking conditions in the drug industry, airlines, and the medical profession plus the activities of industry are such areas as conservation and pollution. Yet it appears these lobbies have such a stranglehold over Congress that effective laws are almost never passed. Because of this, these big corporations often act as if this were a nation without laws -- at least laws applying to them. Ralph Nader, who wrote a book exposing the state of auto safety which cost then of thousands of lives each year found himself intimidated and threatened by agents of the auto companies and General Motors even sent prostitutes chasing after Nader in the hope of blackmailing him.

Sutherland also examines the record of fifteen power and light public utility companies in a discussion which is interesting for it shows that government regulations are not the answer to corruption. The 15 were among the 200 largest non-financial corporations in the United States and were only selected as to size. Thirty-eight decisions have been made against these companies, ten of which are violators. The convictions include the milking of subsidies, the defrauding of customers and investors, and adding fictitious costs. Eleven of the 15 have engaged in unfair competition in 29 instances and the National Labor Relations Board has made 21 decisions against subsidiaries of these companies concerning unfair labor practices. Franklin Roosevelt, referring to the findings of the Federal Trade Commission concerning public utilities, stated: "Nothing more atrocious in the way of thievery inside the law has ever been successfully attempted against the American public." The author writes that "The fifteen power and light corporations have violated many laws with great frequency" but that few court decisions have been made against them because of their great power to influence the laws and governmental decisions, which has even included the outright bribery of public officials.

This point raises the question of how this system of systematic corruption has been allowed to continue to exist. Sutherland notes the close connection between business and government: "Businessmen are shielded against harsh criticism by persons in governmental positions. . . the administrators select the less critical procedures for businessmen accused of restraint of trade and criminal procedures for businessmen accused of the same crime." Despite this the average corporation has over two convictions in a criminal court and 60% of the corporations have been convicted in criminal court. In the case of public utility companies there is a close connection between officials in government and business, but in general Sutherland realizes that the similar backgrounds of government and business officials accounts for "The less critical attitude of government toward businessmen than toward persons of lower socioeconomic status. . ." Sutherland points out the ties on the level of personal friendship, similar class backgrounds, the former business background of many government officials, other members in the family who are in business, and the hope of government officials to get positions in business when they leave government. In the case of government officials on boards regulating public



utilities a frequent practice is to get a position in the company they were supposed to have been regulating. Sutherland also points out that the much corruption in government is brought about by the activities of business: "According to the studies of municipal, state, and federal governments made by Lincoln Steffens in the early part of this century and by many other investigators later, political corruption and graft grow primarily from the efforts of businessmen to secure special privileges."

The author points to the attempt of business to manipulate public opinion: "Businessmen are resorting to an increasing extent to 'policies of social manipulation' in contrast with the earlier concentration on efficiency in production. With emphasis on advertising and salesmanship as policies of social manipulation, has gone increased attention to lobbying and litigation." One reason businessmen find it important to maintain close ties with government and to influence public opinion is that even by using the tenets of liberalism there is no justification for the present organization of the American economy. Liberalism justifies the earning of profits through the investment of capital by the claim that by investing one "goes without" for a time and for this the investor deserves a remuneration in the form of a profit. But this study demonstrates that the present organization of industry has been shaped by illegal means and that the corporations which use their capital to earn more capital or to influence government are using money made to a large extent illegally. Gustavus Myers demonstrates this for the last century in his History of the Great American Fortunes which revealed that every great American fortune had been made through illegal means. Because American industry is fundamentally based on corruption businessmen have to resort to paid propagandists through the mass media (privately owned by business, of course) and the universities (run by the regent almost all of whom are drawn from business).

Perhaps the most telling observation on the quality of American life is the observation that businessmen who are normally considered as much a part of the "Establishment" as any group could be and are the biggest benefactors of the organization of American society are in a sense alienated from American society. That is, they are so motivated by self-interest that they have lost respect for American institutions and have abandoned values for the sole goal of pursuit of self interest. The author describes how businessmen actually dislike the very institution which justifies their existence: "The primary loyalty of the businessman is to protect profits, and he has sacrificed the principles of free competition and free enterprise in circumstances where he believed he could secure a pecuniary advantage by doing so. Moreover, businessmen have been in a position of power and have been able to secure these advantages, both legally and illegally. . . The preceding analysis gives support to the general conclusion that large corporations, in spite of their protestations regarding the value of free enterprise and the competitive system, dislike free enterprise and competition." Sutherland makes four general conclusions about his study: "First, the criminality of the corporations, like that of professional thieves, is persistent. . . Second, the illegal behavior is much more extensive than prosecutions and complaints indicate. . . Third, the businessman who violates the laws which are designed to regulate business does not customarily lose status among his business associates. . . Fourth, businessmen customarily feel and express contempt for law, for government, and for government personnel."

Does this contempt for institutions, values, other people and everything which might stand in the way of self interest merely characterize business in the form of an isolated phenomenon or is it reflected in American society as a whole, it being organized along the same principles of liberalism as is business? Does, for example, the theory of "enlightened self-interest" in

foreign policy lead to the benefit of both the United States and other countries as is supposed to be the case between different parties in a liberal economy, or does it in fact lead to exploitation by the United States of weaker countries? Sutherland writes: "This evidence raises the question whether these corporations are not driven by self interest to such an extent that they are constitutionally unable to participate in the cooperative life of society." Could this analysis be extended to an individual conditioned by American society in his relationship to the society as a whole or to the United States in its relationship to the world as a whole? These are questions Sutherland is, of course, not prepared to answer, but the implications of White Collar Crime range far beyond office building walls.

(White Collar Crime can be purchased at the literature table of the Radical Forum on the Student Union terrace.)

Flash: The Los Angeles Times just reported (August 12, p. 7) the most recent swindle of the free enterprise racket. The House Government Operations Committee reported that "Supermarket chain-store outlets... have engaged in the sale to low-income consumers of food items of lower quality than are available in outlets located in middle and upper-income areas."

#### GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE: A CASE STUDY

"A group of over 200 businessmen are undertaking what might be called a 'quiet revolution' in Sacramento. Working on invitation by Governor Reagan, the men, all volunteers, are participating in an efficiency study unprecedented in its size and goals. Officially, the study group is known as The Governor's Survey on Efficiency and Cost Control. Its leader is O. Kenneth Pryor of Hillsborough, who has retired as the managing partner of Price Waterhouse & Co....The Governor looks at government philosophically as a partnership between the state and the private sector. He pledged consistently during the campaign to 'bring more private industry thinking into state affairs.'...It is clear that Reagan likes the type of job Pryor and his associates are doing and the personal sacrifices they are making to work in Sacramento. He told an interviewer recently that the participation was the most 'gratifying' part of his administration to date. The members are on loan to the state for an indefinite period and their employers plus other business entities have contributed upwards of \$200,000 to assist in financing the study." —Alameda County Republican, August, 1967, p. 2

"There is not enough money to hire these unselfish, public spirited citizens to do what they are doing at their own expense, and yet a few believers in bureaucracy and big government have challenged them with charges of conflict of interest, implying that they must have some ulterior motive....We have a Task Force of businessmen, financial experts and professionals at work right now on a study of our whole state system of taxation. By late fall or winter I expect them to present for our consideration—yours and mine—a program for tax reform that will lay the emphasis on growth taxes." —Ronald Reagan

Governor Reagan proposes new tax policy (Los Angeles Times, April 17, 1968): "Veneman's (Assemblyman who introduced bill to carry out Reagan's proposals) staff said cursory calculations indicated the proposal would increase tax payments for families with incomes of less than \$10,000 a year and proved tax cuts for those with higher incomes....It (new tax plan) was suggested, he (Reagan) said, by his task force on tax reform."

## Race and Jobs

# Uncle Sam's Betrayal

by Representative WILLIAM F. RYAN

For those who believed that the civil rights laws proved the U.S. Government was committed to ending discrimination, the following findings of an American Congressman - who has completed a special study on the subject - will be an eye-opener. This study documents that the American Government's loyalty to special interest groups, such as business, overshadows its commitment to the welfare of the disadvantaged and to any moral principles it may claim to hold. It should be kept in mind that this article covers the period of all recent American presidents, including President Kennedy. -editors

**T**HROUGHOUT America today public officials are sounding the call for law and order. But for all the talk about riots in the cities and crime in the streets, seldom is there mention of a fundamental hypocrisy in law enforcement. Despite broad legal prohibitions against racial discrimination, discrimination persists without effective legal redress. America remains a white man's society, where Negroes, Indians, and Spanish-speaking Americans in particular are short-changed. Until civil rights laws are vigorously enforced, American minorities can hardly be expected to have faith in white America.

In no area is this hypocrisy more apparent than in job discrimination. In no area is the right to equal treatment more clearly written into law and public policy. And in no area is the law less enforced. Despite statutes and Executive orders, which purport to guarantee equal opportunity in employment, we are witnessing the administrative nullification of civil rights laws through the failure of the Government to enforce them.

Today a Negro worker seeking employment may be protected by as many as six Executive orders and

other laws, none of which is effectively enforced:

**One**—Many cities have ordinances prohibiting discrimination; but few have effective enforcement mechanisms.

**Two**—Thirty-eight States have fair employment practice commissions—FEPC's. But most are badly understaffed, and all but New York's state commission against discrimination lack the power to initiate proceedings.

**Three**—Discrimination by a trade union is an unfair labor practice under the National Labor Relations Act. But enforcement by the NLRB depends on the case method, and out of the thousands of NLRB decisions, only about ten have involved unfair labor practices based on racial discrimination.

**Four**—A Department of Labor regulation issued in June, 1963, provides that trade union apprenticeship programs in which there is discrimination are to be decertified by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor. In the five years since that order was issued, no apprenticeship program has ever been decertified for discrimination.

**Five**—Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination in most employment. But enforcement of Title VII is hampered by the cumbersome conciliation mechanism established by the act and the lack of statutory power to issue cease-and-desist orders. Since July, 1965, out of more than 8,000 complaints, only fourteen have resulted in litigation by the Department of Justice.

**Six**—Finally, Executive Order 11246, issued in 1965, prohibits most companies which hold contracts with the U.S. Government from discriminating. This protection is the most far-reaching, and the least utilized.

Unlike previous orders, Order 11246 covers not only employment directly related to the particular contract involved, but all employment in companies that hold U.S. Government contracts valued in excess of \$10,000. The order is estimated to cover as many as one job in three in the national economy, or between twenty and twenty-five million jobs out of 74.1 million jobs.

If the Administration took this order seriously, it could open new, formerly denied job opportunities to millions of minority Americans. Yet, the history of Executive Order 11246 is an inexcusable story of bureaucratic betrayal. Since that order was issued in September, 1965, not one contract has been canceled for non-compliance. Nor was a contract ever canceled under any of the earlier orders, dating back to 1941.

Under a system established in 1965, the principal enforcement body is the Office of Federal Contract Compliance—OFCC—in the Department of Labor. However, in practice, OFCC is merely a loose supervisory body, with a staff of only twelve. Actual compliance enforcement is delegated to an equal opportunity program in each major Federal agency which contracts with the private sector.

This system subordinates an agency's compliance staff to officials who place the smooth flow of contracts above the promotion of job equality. If a company can demonstrate any-

thing remotely resembling "progress," it is usually "let off the hook." In the absence of firm support from higher officials, compliance officers are discouraged from energetic action, for their efforts will only be undermined. Where individual compliance officers here and there do make vigorous efforts to monitor contractors, they often do so at the peril of their own careers. What has emerged instead of effective enforcement is a totally ineffective pattern of tokenism and voluntary compliance.

The so-called Plans for Progress program emerged in 1961. It was designed to enlist voluntary support of major companies which would declare themselves "equal opportunity employers" and pledge to recruit minority workers. More than one equal opportunity official has said that it is common knowledge that joining Plans for Progress enables a contractor to avoid close supervision under Executive Order 11246. In fact, Plans for Progress was sold to many contractors on precisely these grounds.

Recent Equal Employment Opportunity Commission hearings in New York City established that out of 100 major companies voluntarily submitting information, the forty-six which were signatories of Plans for Progress had minority employment records much worse than the fifty-four which were not. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission report dated January 18, 1968, declared:

"While non-members had 1.2 per cent Negroes in positions as officials and managers, Plans for Progress members had only .3 per cent in these jobs."

Voluntary compliance is no substitute for enforcement. It is an easy way out, which tells minority job seekers and employers alike that the Government is not serious about enforcing non-discrimination in employment.

Let me describe the undermining and eventual dismemberment of what was once the most effective Federal compliance program—that of the Department of Defense.

Approximately eighty per cent of the dollar volume of Government contracts comes through the Department of Defense. About twenty million jobs are with companies which in one form or another do business with the

Department of Defense. All of these jobs could be available on an equal opportunity basis.

For a little more than a year the Department of Defense had a contract compliance program which took seriously Executive Order 11246. Beginning in October, 1965, following the issuance of the order, separate Army, Navy, and Air Force compliance programs were centralized under the direction of a dedicated official, Girard Cla, with ninety-four men under him. The Department of Defense compliance program began reviews of all Defense contractors, industry by industry. Corporations in a particular industry were reviewed at random. Where there seemed to be a pattern of job bias, employment patterns of the entire company were reviewed in depth. The company's senior officials were then told what steps were necessary if the company were to continue receiving defense contracts. In this way, unprecedented strides were made and employment barriers broken. In case after case, when corporations were confronted with a credible risk of loss of contract, they proved cooperative.

A few companies refused to open employment opportunities to Negroes, and they were barred from receiving further contracts. During the year in which the program was operating effectively, there were forty top-level confrontations involving thirty-five

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**"... the Government has the power to open up jobs to Negroes, if it only has the will to use it."**

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companies. All but seven agreed to make the necessary changes in opening employment opportunities to Negroes.

The most spectacular and effective confrontation involved the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company.

The Newport News Company, although a private firm, depends al-

most exclusively on Government contracts. In 1965, the NAACP filed complaints with EEOC charging that Negro workers were barred from good jobs, paid lower wages for performing the same work, impeded from entering the company apprentice program, and made to use segregated toilet and locker facilities. The company initially refused conciliation. It was only after the Department of Defense and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance threatened to refuse the Newport News Company bids on four submarines that the company agreed to integrate its facilities and open job opportunities to Negroes on a basis equal with whites. According to Alfred Blumrosen, then chief of the Department of Labor Conciliation Service, the Newport News case was "the only time during my stay in Government when Justice, Defense, OFCC, and EEOC worked together."

The Newport News success clearly proves that the Government has the power to open up jobs to Negroes—if it only has the will to use it.

By August, 1966, when the Newport News conciliation agreement was signed, the Department of Defense compliance program was already on the way out. [The program had incurred the wrath of both industry and many senior procurement officials. For example, a panic was created at the Department of Defense when sanctions were recommended against U.S. Steel for overt discrimination at the Fairfield works at Birmingham, Alabama. Although the compliance program director found that the charges were accurate, and that in no case was U.S. Steel the sole source of supply, top officials in the Department overruled the director of the compliance program and declined to take action.]

In February, 1967, the Defense compliance program was reorganized out of existence. Gone was the centralized compliance office; compliance was put under the Defense Contract Administration Service, where it could no longer be an embarrassment. Actual contract supervision is now accomplished through regional procurement offices. There no longer exists an independent office within Defense which sees its task as the promotion

of job equality. Compliance officers are now subordinate to procurement officers, who are much more inclined to put a premium on the maintenance of cordial relations with contractors.

Since the undermining of the Department of Defense program more than a year ago, a Government mandate to open up millions of jobs has gone unused. A random examination of OFCC employment data on defense contractors reveals hundreds of companies with large payrolls located in areas of Negro population concentrations, but which employ no Negroes whatever. It should be stressed that a great many of these jobs involve skills which can be learned in apprenticeship training or on the job.

The Social Security Administration is another agency which has failed to enforce its compliance program and to open up the vast job potential for Negroes in the insurance industry.

Most major insurance companies are covered by Executive Order 11246 because they are Medicare intermediaries, or participate in other Government insurance programs. Many which continue to get Government contracts are in clear violation of the order.

Three Southern insurance companies have no Negroes above the clerical levels in their company headquarters, despite the fact that the cities in which they are located have large Negro populations.

One major Northern company in a city with a Negro population of nineteen per cent has 1,800 employes above clerical levels in its home office, and precisely thirteen are Negroes. Another Northern company in a city with a Negro population of eleven per cent had more than 2,200 employes above clerical levels, of whom only twenty-eight were Negroes. Another Northern company had nearly 1,000 employes—one was a Negro.

The Social Security Administration has never imposed sanctions upon an insurance company. The insurance industry has a notoriously poor record on equal opportunity in employment, but some companies are sincerely making efforts. This is a deplorable abdication of Federal agency responsibility.

The compliance program of the

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY :

LESSON ONE

"...every nation determines its policies in terms of its own interests. No nation, George Washington wrote, is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its own interest, and no prudent statesman or politician will depart from it. National interest is more powerful than ideology... Friendship, as Palmers-ton said, may rise or wane, but interests endure." John Kennedy, Department of State Bulletin, Oct. 21, 1963

Federal Highway Administration is another which has consistently failed to carry out the intent of Executive Order 11246. Billions of dollars of highway trust fund contracts are supervised by this agency, which is supposed to insure job equality on Federally financed highway projects.

One notable failure of the highway program is its refusal to utilize "pre-award" compliance reviews. As long ago as January 10, 1966, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz sent a memorandum to the heads of all Government contracting agencies urging the use of pre-award reviews. The Secretary wrote:

"This is an appropriate occasion to urge that the contracting agencies re-examine their contract award procedures to ensure that contracts are not awarded to those who have not met past obligations or are not in compliance.

"The pre-award process must be strengthened to meet this need."

Nevertheless, the Federal Highway Administration has flatly refused to follow the recommended pre-award procedure. Instead, compliance reviews are conducted on a pre-construction basis. This procedure takes all the teeth out of enforcement. Without a pre-award review, a construction company can sign a contract whether or not it is in compliance, and it is

expected to take the necessary steps after the Government's strongest sanction power—to withhold contracts—has been removed. It is a well-known bureaucratic fact of life that contracts, once placed, are seldom withdrawn. And the fact that no contract has ever been cancelled for non-compliance with Executive Order 11246 is the proof.

No discussion of the Federal Government's abdication of equal opportunity enforcement would be complete without considering the building trades. Here is one of the clearest instances of denied job opportunities for Negroes, which the Federal Government has the power to prevent.

The eighteen building trades internationals have more than 3.5 million members. In 1968 the total national construction expenditure will exceed \$80 billion, of which approximately fifty per cent will be for wages. For more than a decade, a variety of Federal and state agencies have documented a general pattern of exclusion of Negroes from the building trades, with the exception of the so-called trowel trades, which traditionally have been open.



A Department of Labor report of August, 1967, contains the significant sentence:

"The 1960 census showed only 2,196 Negroes in all the trades throughout the country. That figure was one more than had been recorded in the 1950 census ten years before."

In Cleveland, in 1966, after a decade of complaints, demonstrations, and negotiations with unions, the five major craft locals in the building trades had exactly four Negro apprentices.

In Cincinnati, in 1966, the scene of civil disorder last summer, nine building trades locals had no Negro apprentices.

In Atlanta, in 1966, five building trades locals had no Negroes.

In Houston, Negroes are able to get construction jobs only as brick masons.

In Philadelphia, building trades locals have been held to be discrimina-



natory by the Philadelphia Human Rights Commission.

Arthur M. Ross, former Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in a study of Negro underemployment, concluded that, if the percentage of the Negro work force in the building trades were proportional to white employment, Negroes would hold, nation-wide, 37,000 more jobs as carpenters, 45,000 more as construction workers, 97,000 more as mechanics, and 112,000 more as construction foremen.

If Executive Order 11246 were implemented, unions that discriminate would have to choose between admitting minorities as members and apprentices or losing work on Government contracts.

Because of entrenched discrimination in the Cleveland building trades locals, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance selected Cleveland as a target area for concentrated enforcement in early 1967. The OFCC insisted upon proof—not pledges—of non-discrimination in the form of Negro apprentices and journeymen on the job. By the summer of 1967, few Negroes had been hired, and in a rare display of determination the OFCC held up a total of \$80 million dollars of Federal funds for construction contracts. This resulted in 112 jobs for Negro and Puerto Rican workmen by the end of 1967.

However, instead of using the Cleveland experience to break down other barriers, the Department of Labor has retreated. At the building trades con-

vention on November 29, 1967, the Secretary of Labor in a speech promised that the Department would not hold up contracts again to open employment to minority groups. "It isn't right as a general policy," said Secretary Wirtz, "and it won't work."

In addition to Executive Order 11246, the Government has the power to open up jobs in the building trades under the law that provides for the de-certification of apprenticeship programs in which there is discrimination.

But enforcement has been reduced to voluntary compliance, and even here, the building trades have handed down responsibility to local affiliates, rendering the non-discrimination program virtually ineffective.

I have pointed out how the failure of Government to enforce existing laws and Executive orders impedes progress in the private sector. There is also a failure to promote equal employment opportunity within the Federal Government itself.

In the Federal civil service Negroes comprise 9.7 per cent of employees, but only 1.6 per cent of these hold supervisory or management posts, which are rated grade eleven or higher.

In the Selective Service System, of fifty-one employees above grade eleven, none is Negro.

In the Government Printing Office, with ninety-two employees above grade eleven, none is Negro.

The Interstate Commerce Commis-

sion has 880 employees above grade eleven; one is a Negro.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation has 726 employees above grade eight, none of whom is a Negro.

The record for other minorities is nearly as bleak. For instance, in New York City, Puerto Ricans comprised 5.2 per cent of postal field employes, but only 0.9 per cent of those above level eleven.

In San Antonio, Spanish Americans comprised 34.5 per cent of postal field employes, and there were no Spanish Americans above grade twelve.

If the Federal Government does not more internally, can it expect private enterprise to do better? Is it surprising that the Government is failing to enforce equal employment opportunity in industry when many Government agencies have records comparable to the contractors they ought to be sanctioning?

The greatest single power to end job discrimination lies in the hands of the Federal Government. Although upgrading educational systems is important, millions of Americans continue to be denied entry into jobs and apprenticeship training programs for which they have the skills—simply because of discrimination.

The time is long overdue to fulfill the pledge to black Americans and other minority groups that their Government will uphold not only the laws that protect middle class white Americans, but also the laws designed to protect those disadvantaged and discriminated against because of color.

#### AMERICAN PLURALISM : A CASE STUDY

"Lyndon Baines Johnson is putting enormous trust in the American businessman today. This dependence could well influence Administration\* proposals for new laws affecting business and industry in years to come. The extent to which the President leans on the business community for support is so wide ranging it surpasses that of the great many past chief executives. This all can be said with the highest degree of authority... He gives business and industry credit for building our system and feels that business leaders must protect it. Mr. Johnson's praise for businessmen seems unfeigned and boundless. No segment of society has been more patriotic, more socially conscious, more willing to do its part, he appears convinced... Ladybird, rather than business, the President apparently believes Labor, rather than business, the President apparently believes, has been trying to get the extras... He is known to describe the industrial-military complex as amazing... the President is apprehensive that maybe we go too far and too fast (in consumer protection laws), such as in the area of auto-safety." -- Nation's Business, Dec. 1967

## A New Civilization Rises in China

Human societies have always been organized along the lines of individual competition and private gain. It has been claimed that not only is this the best way to organize society, but the only way because of the exigencies of "human nature." That the European Communist countries are becoming more and more like the Western nations is often cited as proof for these claims. However, in one-fourth of the world -- in China -- a radically different philosophy is being put into practice.

The first in a two-part and continuing series of articles on China -- "Capitalists and Managers in Communist China" -- is one of the most detailed first-hand accounts of Chinese workers and factory organization ever written by a Westerner. The article tells how authoritarianism, bureaucracy, self-interest, privilege, elites, and the other normal characteristics of human institutions are being replaced by an inter-personal system in which each citizen is motivated by concern for the interests of the community, rather than his own self-interest.

The second article by a Western psychiatrist who also visited China tells of the impact of Communist education on what would be the future elite of any underdeveloped country -- its students. This article is also unique and reveals even more dramatically that "human nature" can indeed be drastically altered.

### CAPITALISTS AND MANAGERS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

by Barry Richman (condensed  
from the Harvard Business Review, January-February, 1967)

Barry N. Richman is one of the Western World's leading authorities on industry in Communist countries. In 1966 he visited 11 major cities in Communist China and studied a wide variety of companies. Random House will publish a book-length version of his study. The author of Soviet Management (Prentice-Hall, 1965) and various other books and articles on comparative management, he is Chairman of the International Business Program and of the Management Theory and Industrial Relations Divisions at the Graduate School of Business Administration, UCLA.—editors, Harvard Business Review

It was indeed disconcerting for me in Shanghai in May 1966 to be picked up by a native Chinese capitalist in a new Jaguar, taken to his large factory for a day of discussions, and later to his sumptuous home where he still lives as a wealthy industrialist does in a capitalist nation. (There are 300,000 capitalists in China who either remained in China after the revolution or were urged to return by the government and promised good treatment, their old incomes, and interest on their invested capital. Many are still running their old factories.) Wu, who went to college in England, admits that he has not yet been completely remolded into a good Maoist Socialist man. However, he does not talk like a capitalist. In fact, he is verbally enthusiastic about the joys of communism and has much to say about the evils of capitalism.

It is through an odd combination of rational pragmatism and the implementation of the purest Communist ideology in the world that Red China has been making impressive—but erratic—economic progress since 1949. The nation has done better with regard to industrial development than the Soviet Union did during its first 18 years under communism. It has done substantially better than India.

With my Canadian citizenship the Chinese were quite willing to issue me a visa, and this enabled me to undertake my first-hand study of industry and management. I surveyed 38 factories in a wide range of industries as well as 3 of the country's largest retail department stores. In addition to interviewing and observing managers, workers, Communist Party cadres, and trade union officials at work, I also met many key personnel at various central, provincial, and municipal-level planning, industrial, and commercial organizations. Some leading officials at educational institutions also talked with me.

Even though Wu has been studying the works of Chairman Mao and undergoing ideological education and remolding since 1951, he still admits that he at times regresses and behaves as he used to when his company was privately owned. For example, he sometimes thinks in terms of maximizing profits at the expense of human welfare. None of his four lovely children—two in college, two in high school—wants his wealth when he dies, since they say that they want to be good Socialists and perhaps get into the party someday. Two of Lui's children do already belong to the Communist Party. However, Wu and the other Chinese capitalists cannot become members of the party. Many of them are members of the Democratic Party, a party especially for capitalists. Wu is an elected member of the National Peoples Congress—the highest level government body.

Noneconomic Objectives: The Chinese do not seem nearly as concerned as the Soviets about economic inefficiency at the factory level resulting from state planning and resource allocation problems. For the Chinese enterprise is not viewed as a purely economic unit where economic performance clearly takes priority. In fact, Chinese factories seem to pursue objectives pertaining to politics, education, and welfare as well as economic results.

The Chinese factory is a place where much political indoctrination occurs both at the individual and at the group level, with the aim of developing the pure Communist man as conceived by Mao. It is a place where illiterate workers learn how to read and write, and where employees can and do improve their work skills and develop new ones through education and training. It is a place where housing, schools, recreational facilities, roads, shops, and offices are often constructed or remodeled by factory employees. It is also a place where employees go out into the fields and help the peasants with their harvesting.

Decentralized Authority: The reason that flexibility in planning does not get completely out of hand in China is that this country has a higher degree of decentralization of authority than does Russia. Territorial decentralization has never worked very well in the Soviet Union because of tendencies toward economically irrational self-sufficiency—referred to as "localism" or "autarky"—and deep-rooted vested interests on the part of industrial administrators. Perhaps the main reason that decentralization works in China is effective party control. There are party committees at all levels of the economy that typically have the upper hand over industrial administrators—more so than in the Soviet Union. These party cadres tend to identify with national rather than local interest, and this does much to fight localistic tendencies and "undesirable" vested interests.

Bureaucracy & Control: The Red Chinese leaders have always been anti-bureaucracy in attitude, since they feel that bureaucracy impedes the right interpretation of national and party policy because of vested interests, localism, and routinization. By giving the party cadres the upper hand, the regime feels, the proper interpretation of important policies is more likely to evolve. Since local party cadres have been viewed as generally dependable, the regime has not established a cumbersome system of checks, controls, and super-controls similar to that in the Soviet Union. In fact, the trend has been away from government controls over industrial enterprises and their managers.

A prominent official of the Chinese State Planning Commission whom I interviewed declared that in the 1950's Peking went too far in imitating the Soviet system of bureaucracy and control. He said that this proved highly ineffective and that China no longer has a cumbersome overstaffed bureaucracy and control system comprised of officials who tend to place vested- and self-interests above the interests of the country. He also pointed out that in China more stress is placed on education and on controlling individuals in key positions than on controlling the performance of the organization.

Role of 'Experts': In the Soviet Union the professional administrators and technicians who can be referred to as "experts", not the party cadres or "Reds," have long played the major role in industrial management. In Red China the pattern has been different. During Red China's First Five-Year Plan (1952-1957), the Soviet system of industrial management was implemented with the experts in charge, and great stress was placed on one-man authority. At the time of my visit to China in 1966, enterprise management was officially under the collective leadership of the party committee.

Money Incentives Deflated: While the Soviet regime has accepted monetary incentives and self-interest as key motivating forces for both managers and workers for decades, the Chinese regime takes a less sanguine view toward such rewards. During the 1952-1957 period, great stress was placed on monetary incentives for spurring productivity. Many workers were put on piece-rate schemes, and enterprise managers as well as party officials were paid bonuses primarily in relation to gross output results. This led to some complaints in the press and journals about undesirable managerial practices similar to those found in Russia (various forms of cheating in order to achieve a higher output).

During the Great Leap Forward of 1958-1961, the regime tried to wipe out self-interest—and hence monetary incentives—as a key motivating force. I found during my visits to 38 Chinese factories that piece-rate incentives for workers had been completely abolished. However, at about 80% of the factories workers could still earn monthly or quarterly bonuses. And, interestingly enough, such bonuses were not based solely upon productivity; politics and helping co-workers were also key criteria. The director of a factory is likely to be more Red than expert. During the past few years, directors, vice directors, and party secretaries have not been eligible to receive bonuses at any enterprises. Can top-level enterprise

managers be adequately motivated over time to perform efficiently without bonuses? At present there seems to be considerable dedication, zeal, patriotism, and other nonmaterial stimuli motivating many of them to do the best job they can.

Who's Who in Business?: In a Soviet or an American industrial enterprise there are generally clues which enable an outsider to distinguish the top managers from the workers. During my visits to Russian enterprises a few years ago, observable differences in the salary and wage scales, working and living conditions, dress, appearance, education, work patterns, and even inter-personal contacts typically gave me adequate clues to guess who was who. But in Chinese enterprises there are fewer clues than in probably any other country in the world.

In order for a Western mind to make sense out of some of the more surprising and strange things going on in Chinese factories, one must be aware of two pure Communist ideological tents which the regime takes seriously and has gone a long way in implementing: (1) the abolition of classes, class distinctions, and elites; and (2) the abolition of distinctions between mental and physical labor.

Income & Living Standards: In the Soviet Union upper-level industrial enterprise managers have long been paid substantially better than workers, generally live significantly better with favored housing and an allocated car, and have become a type of elite. Not so in Red China. The Chinese regime realizes that one sure way to breed class distinctions or elites is to pay managers substantially more than workers and provide them with substantially better living conditions. Hence when great strength is placed on pure ideology in practice, one can expect a narrowing of such gaps between managers and workers. There are indications that this is happening today.

At some of the enterprises I was told that recently the directors and other key managerial and technical personnel had "voluntarily" asked for and received cuts in salary to put them more in line with the workers. The director of the Nanking Chemical Fertilizer factory claimed that he had refused a salary increase. At most factories the ratio between directors' incomes and the average factory pay was less than 2 to 1.

At Chinese enterprises there also seem to be no really very substantial differences in the housing conditions of managers, technicians, Reds, or workers. The managers, lower-level managers, engineers, technicians, party cadres, and workers are all integrated in the apartment houses, for which a nominal monthly rent related to income is paid. All personnel eat together in the same canteen during working hours. Even though the larger factories have cars top managers, key experts, and party officials claim that they walk, ride bikes, or take the bus to work. I was told that cars are only for official use or emergencies, and are used by all personnel. One can tell usually very little from dress or personal appearances in Chinese enterprises. Most personnel in all levels generally wear the conventional blue suits with caps.

What Makes Wong Run?: In the absence of income and living standard differences, what does motivate the directors, party officials, and experts to perform well and to improve their performance at Chinese enterprises? Dedication, loyalty, identification with the country's goals and progress, a deep sense of commitment and purpose—all these must play significant roles, particularly for the Reds and possibly for many of the experts.



Workers in Management: Worker participation in management in Chinese factories takes the form of committees, meetings, suggestions, and elections. Some Chinese managers interviewed admitted that in the past—apparently during the Great Leap Forward—workers spent too much on-the-job time in meetings. The major formal on-the-job meeting of workers is generally held monthly or quarterly to discuss the enterprise plan and performance. The worker representative committees can and apparently do exert considerable influence at times, even to the point of reversing managerial decisions.

Much time is spent in after-work meetings (and I did unexpectedly drop in on some when I stayed late at various factories). The workers discuss how to improve performance and their own skills, and of course they talk much about politics and ideology. They also vote on who should get what size bonus, as well as on which members of their group should be elected to lead during the period. Even though management and the party committee formally approve the election results, the workers' recommendations are generally accepted.

Elections and worker participation in general give the workers a sense of identification, loyalty, belonging, and commitment to their enterprises. They also keep managers on their toes, since they must at least listen to the workers; also, the latter can and do evaluate the managers and point out what they view as deficiencies in administrative performance. Perhaps more important to the regime is that worker participation results in a form of bottom-up control not only over economic performance, but also over the proper interpretation of state policy and ideological correct behavior. (editor's note: It should be pointed out that there is no relationship between "worker-management" in Yugoslavia and worker participation in China. In Yugoslavia there are wide and rapidly increasing differentiations of wages between managers and workers, for though workers can even formally elect their managers, there are no effective attempts to replace self-interest with thought for the group's interests as in China. Therefore, the result of factory democracy in Yugoslavia is similar to the results of democracy in the West—it allows the more skilled and better placed to gain power and then institute programs for their own benefit since the technical decisions of leadership are too complicated for anyone but specialists to fully understand. A similar situation developing in China is prevented by ultimate control being in the hands of ideologically motivated Communist Party cadres.)

Managers in Manual Labor: During my first visit to a Chinese factory, I thought it was a joke or strange aberration when, during the lunch in the cafeteria, I was introduced to the director who was cooking dumplings in the kitchen. He was doing one of his two days a week of physical labor. I soon learned that all enterprise directors, vice directors, party secretaries, and trade union leaders spend from one to two days each week in physical labor. So when I later saw the director of the Tientsin Watch factory cleaning up a shop, and a vice director of Shanghai Steel No. 3. In fact, managers, experts, and key Reds of organizations above the enterprise also come to plants each week to engage in physical labor. For example, when I was at the Shanghai Truck factory, there were three managers from the Shanghai Bureau of Transportation and Communication working in the shops.

Management participation in labor at Chinese factories appears to have some favorable effects. It seems to create a type of cohesive team spirit, and to enable managers to observe and keep in close touch with concrete operating conditions and problems in their enterprises..

Informal Organization: In its pure form the formal organization is a technical system with clear-cut hierarchical relationships, a clearly defined division of labor based on technology and specialization, and many routinized activities. An informal organization is built around personalities, natural human behavior patterns, and interpersonal relations independent of formal hierarchical positions.

In probably no other country does informal organization play such a pervasive and significant role in the functioning of enterprises as in Red China. In Chinese factories one commonly observes workers violating the formal chain of command and going directly to middle or top-level managers for advice or instructions; also managers are often seen going directly to workers. Reds play the role of experts, experts play the role of Reds, workers train each other, and so forth. In numerous cases "leading workers" float around doing all types of jobs, from working on different machines and technical problems to innovating and giving advice and even orders. (In fact, on several occasions workers popped uninvited into my discussions with managers and made themselves at home.) In any random group of factory employees, it is indeed often difficult to tell who's who.

When relatively few employees are highly skilled, the pooling of know-how, the sharing of information, mutual aid, and cooperation may frequently lead to net gains in productivity and efficiency over time. In addition, such activities often seem to promote trust, cohesiveness, harmony, unity purpose, and perhaps, better information for decision making at all levels. In appointing key enterprise personnel, the regime seems to be more concerned about how the key people will perform together as a team than about their individual capabilities.

How Wong Learns: Thus far Red China has achieved substantial industrial progress, more because of managerial motivation and attitudes than because of managerial or technical know-how. In many respects the Chinese manager is like our commonly held view of an American manager. Both have a high need for achievement. One difference between the Chinese and American managers is their attitudes toward individual responsibility, with the former being more concerned about group or collective responsibility and achievement.

Many Indian managers I have met seem to know more about managerial techniques than most of the Chinese managers do. However, perhaps because of a relatively low achievement drive, the Indian manager frequently does not apply much of his potential know-how effectively in practice. The Chinese manager is typically more pragmatic, inventive, flexible, action-oriented, and interested in improving performance and results. He learns much through trial and error and persistence.

Chinese industry has also made significant progress because of the motivation, dedication, resourcefulness, hard work, and other attitudes of its labor force. Here greater credit must be given to the Reds than to the experts or managers. The Communist Party has organized and motivated workers on a national scale to identify with and strive for national economic progress and power.

Gaps and Inefficiencies: Control systems found at many enterprises are far from efficient. Managerial control seems to be weak, and much inefficiency and waste results. Perhaps the Chinese factory is not bureaucratic enough, since formal reports, procedures, and policies would probably improve efficiency in most cases.

Conclusion: The Chinese are apparently following a more balanced and flexible approach to industrial development than the Soviets (considerable investment in agriculture and consumer industries as well as heavy industry). It is also true that various aspects of Maoist-Marxist ideology have had a favorable impact on productivity and industrial development to date. Yet at the same time the Chinese regime stubbornly tries to implement certain aspects of pure ideology which the Soviets long ago abandoned because the ideas were found to be unworkable from a managerial, technical, and economic point of view. Take, for instance, the basic question of self-interest and monetary incentives as opposed to pure altruism and nonmaterial incentives. Centuries of world history and experience strongly indicate that the Chinese regime will not be able to eliminate self-interest and material gain as key motivating forces—for managers, technicians, or workers—and at the same time achieve sustained and impressive industrial development in the long run. If by some miracle the Reds do succeed, this would have a very great philosophical and cultural impact on the functioning of the world.

END

Visit to China during the Cultural Revolution: "The friendliness, the very sunniness, of the people is remarkable. In the street you only had to accost Chinese men or women with 'nie how'—good day'—and they beamed with delight and exuded friendliness....One reason for their general air of confidence was their physical well-being. I have traveled a good deal in various countries of the world, including Asia, in the past few years, and I believe the Chinese I saw were the healthiest and happiest of them all. It is not only that they are well dressed and well fed, but that their physique is so good—no deformities, and no beggars in the streets. Those of them who realized we were British were nevertheless extremely kind towards us....This was the second reason for their picture of health and strength and happiness—the conviction that a new day dawned for them, and was about to dawn for the world. The millennium was at hand—for all.... With the impression of friendliness and happiness is associated my second impression of their industrial progress....I have visited some of the biggest and most up-to-date plants in the West (and) I know a highly advanced capital plant when I see one. The nine factories I saw were most impressive. The plant was efficient, the tools of the best and great skill was being deployed. Those of our party who were there four years ago were amazed by what seemed to them the evidence of industrial development....One cannot be in China today without being impressed by this happy, heaving, healthy mass of millions of Chinese who, as no other people in the world today, I would guess, believe they know where they are going and are ecstatic about the prospect." —The Reverend Ian Thomson, Director of Research for the Conference of British Missionary Societies from the London Observer

THE FAMILY AND YOUTH IN NEW CHINA: PSYCHIATRIC OBSERVATIONS

by Denis Lazure (condensed from The Canadian Medical Association Journal, January, 1962)

During my recent trip of five weeks in China, I made a special point, in my capacity as a child psychiatrist, of observing the family structure and the relationships between parents and children. I was also interested in exploring the attitudes of young people, their problems and aspirations, and in gaining some insight into the type of character which the new Chinese leaders have been trying to form in their youth over the last 12 years and hopefully into the type of adult character which will emerge from this system.

The numerous visits which I made to such places as schools, nursery schools, "creches," hospitals, public parks, "Pioneer Palaces," private homes, and institutions for delinquent children, enabled me to see Chinese youth from many angles and to gather much valuable information in the course of many conversations with the children, their parents, and their educators.

In order to obtain material of greater "depth" as well as to objectify to some extent my impressions, I obtained permission in Shanghai and Canton to examine 15 school children of both sexes, aged 10 to 16 years, by means of a psychiatric interview and the thematic apperception test (T.A.T.).

Each adolescent was examined individually by the author, with an interpreter serving as intermediary. The psychiatric interviews were on the classical model; they generally began on a rather superficial level, but I had the impression that these boys and girls were able to deal with serious material more readily than young people of North America. Almost all co-operated with genuine enthusiasm in the interview and on the test.

The following questions were asked systematically of each subject, though not always in the same order:

1. What is the most favorable thing that someone could say about you?
2. What is the best act you could perform?
3. The worst act?
4. Of which sex is your best friend?
5. What is your earliest memory?
6. Tell me one of your recent dreams.
7. What are your major worries, anxieties?
8. What makes you angry most often?
9. What makes you sad?
10. What occupation do you plan to choose?

The most frequent answers to these questions were as follows:

1. As to the most favorable comment someone could make, typical replies were: "She does her best for the mother-country"; "he is a good student and a good worker"; "he is selflessly devoted to the cause"; "he appreciates criticism in order that he may improve himself." Thus, these adolescents seem to place particular value on patriotism, diligence in their studies and in their work in general, altruism, and accepting constructive criticism.

2. As to the best act one could perform, the following answers were typical: "Help an old person carry his packages"; "help

reconcile children who are fighting"; "return a lost article to the police"; "contribute to the success of the Agricultural plan by growing a garden." Respect and care for the aged, maintenance of interpersonal harmony, honesty and collaboration with the plans of the Party are the dominant themes.

3. The third question, dealing with the worst act possible, brought a unanimous response from the subjects. With apparent sincerity and conviction, they all replied: "It is impossible for a Pioneer or for a good student to commit a bad act." This more or less unconscious denial of all unacceptable behavior is a good illustration of the wave of moralism which so astonishes most Western visitors to China.

4. In the choice of their best friend, the subjects did not feel that the sex made any difference, with the exception of two subjects whose best friends were of the same sex. The following answer given by a boy of 16 years is typical: "My best friends are both boys and girls; we study and work together in harmony like brothers and sisters."

6. (Most) dreams reflect a strong concern and anxiety about success in one's studies and vocation. They point out the moral that one cannot hope to succeed without hard work. A good example is this dream by a 15-year-old boy: "I performed so well my work as a locomotive driver that my commune chose me as delegate to the Model Workers' Congress in Peking and at that meeting I was introduced to Chairman Mao, who shook my hand." "After I had this dream," the adolescent added, "I redoubled my efforts in my studies." Aside from the type of dream dealing with realistic concerns, the subjects unanimously denied having any nightmares.

7. To the question "What are your main worries?" all subjects replied that they had none. A typical answer is this one given by a girl of 13: "I have no fear or worry. I know that Chairman Mao and the Party are concerned with my welfare and can protect me against any danger even against an attack by the American imperialists."

8. The most frequent source of anger for these adolescents (66% of them) is the disapproved conduct of a younger sibling (such behavior, for example, as teasing, laziness, lying, or disobedience).

9. Of the whole group of subjects, only was able to admit to having feelings of sadness. It was a girl of 13 who stated: "I feel sad when one of the leaders of our country or another socialist country dies." A more typical answer was the one given by a boy of 14: "In New China everybody treats me well. I have no reason to be unhappy. Maybe I was before the Liberation..." With minor variations, this response was repeated by the entire group.

10. The question concerning future occupations, elicited a remarkable diversity of choices. The vocations of scientist and specialized worker were of equal popularity at the head of the list. They were followed by teaching, military service, professional athletics, dancing, and agriculture, all more or less equally preferred.

#### Analysis of the T.A.T. Responses

The following characteristics were noted:

1. The subjects were overly preoccupied with sociopolitical themes in contrast to their denial of intrapsychic conflicts.



2. Hostility is not expressed directly towards the immediate environment. By the mechanism of displacement and projection, it is directed toward the "capitalists" or American "imperialists" who are always seen by the subjects as symbols of aggression and cruelty.

3. The fear of failure is associated with high ambition.

4. There is marked blocking in the area of sexuality.

5. Attitudes of dependence and submission are expressed toward authority figures and rationalized as moral acts.

6. Parental figures are consistently perceived as affectionate and supportive, in marked contrast to the T.A.T.'s of North American adolescents.

#### Clinical Observations

All of the psychiatrists, psychologists, and educators questioned maintained that there were practically no mental defectives and it seems that the Chinese do not feel a need for special classes or institutions for these cases. My informants stated that the rare cases of intellectual retardation were able to catch up with their classmates because of the special attention given by the teachers and sometimes by the brighter students.

At the modern psychiatric hospital at Shanghai, the director informed me that the 20-bed section originally set apart for children was now used for adults because there were not sufficient children to fill it.

All the psychiatrists I talked to denied having ever seen a case of infantile psychosis in China, although they had read in the literature that such a syndrome is not unusual in Europe and America.

The Chinese adolescent, unlike his Occidental counterpart, does not seem to go through a phase of more or less open revolt against his parents or parental figures in general. The notion, prevalent at least in North America, that adolescence is the period "par excellence" of confusion and intrapsychic disturbance, is strongly rejected by teachers, psychologists and doctors in China, who attribute this lack of conflict to the unlimited security and opportunity for youth to fulfil its aspirations in that country.

#### Comments and Conclusion

The most significant conclusion from the necessarily somewhat superficial study of present-day Chinese youth seems to be that their leaders have very effectively accomplished the revolution of transferring the emotional investment formerly reserved for the family to society as a whole and to the role which the individual will play in building his society. The sense of family and their relationships with their parents seem to occupy but little space in the psychic life of these young people.

As for the adolescent, when compared to his Western counterpart, he lives a life of great austerity. Dating, cigarettes and alcohol have been eliminated from his life, not by law but by persuasion. During his few hours of leisure he generally takes part in sports, but even here he is more concerned with improving himself, with beating a record, than with simply enjoying himself.

The Chinese adolescent looks toward adult life with great confidence. Success in his mind is not associated with a few stereotyped occupations as is often the case in Western societies. The State has succeeded in giving prestige to the most humble occupations by means of propaganda and such concrete measures as salary; thus the truck driver has an income comparable to that of

the medical school graduate.

As in any society where the emancipation of women is still a recent phenomenon, one sees in China an aggressive determination on the part of the women to prove their equality, if not their superiority, to men. Even more than the young man, the modern Chinese woman rejects disdainfully the idea of "romantic love" (which, it must be admitted, she knew little of in traditional China). One's mate is chosen, according to the new ideal, for his qualifications as a model worker and for the degree of his political consciousness.

The Chinese have an unlimited faith in the power of education, of persuasion—patiently served up in various forms (radio, TV, movies, periodicals, and slogans) to obtain "correct thought." For the local criminal as well as for the foreign prisoner or the unruly child, it is "explanation" which has replaced physical punishment, and it would be dangerous to underestimate the extraordinary talent which the Chinese possess for this task.

The State does not place itself between the child and his parents, but rather above the latter. Understandably, such a society has assigned to each individual a definite role: and the structure, at least at this phase, appears to be a favorable factor in the mental health of the Chinese. *END*

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"Some time ago my students left a light on all night in their classroom. The next morning I heard them discussing who should take the responsibility and criticize themselves before the dean and the class. Though it seemed strange to me it was a touching scene. They all felt this was a terrible thing to have done, wasting China's resources, adding to the peasants' terrible burden, and showing that they themselves, though lucky and privileged to be getting higher education, had a careless attitude towards what they were given. But they were not trying to excuse themselves and shift the blame onto others. The boy who had left the room last said it was clearly his fault. The English monitor said no, it was hers, because they had been studying English last thing before they went to bed. The classroom monitor said it was his responsibility, as he should have inspected the room; and the general monitor said it was hers, because she was the oldest and a party member, so she ought to look after the rest. Even the others did not absolve themselves from guilt since the general feeling is that they are all responsible for each other and it is their collective character (or happiness or health or level of English) which is important, not that of the individual."

—Letters From Peking, Delia Jenner (English girl who taught English in China for two years)

...it is rare to hear a Chinese child cry. Indeed it is a sound I have not yet heard. You begin to understand why when you watch a boy of 6 or 7 play patiently with his younger brother, pick him up when he falls down, carry him when he is too tired to walk..

—Colin McCullough, Toronto Globe & Mail

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