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The daily cardinal. Vol. LXXXII, No. 63

November 29, 1971

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Apoliticos intelectuales

One day
the apolitical
intellectuals
of my country
will be interrogated
by the simplest
of our people.

They will be asked
what they did
when their nation died out
slowly,
like a sweet fire,
small and alone.

No one will ask them
about their dress,
their long siestas
after lunch,
no one will want to know
about their sterile combats
with "the idea
of the nothing"
no one will care about
their higher financial learning.
They won't be questioned
on Greek mythology,
or regarding their self-disgust
when someone within them
begins to die
the coward's death.

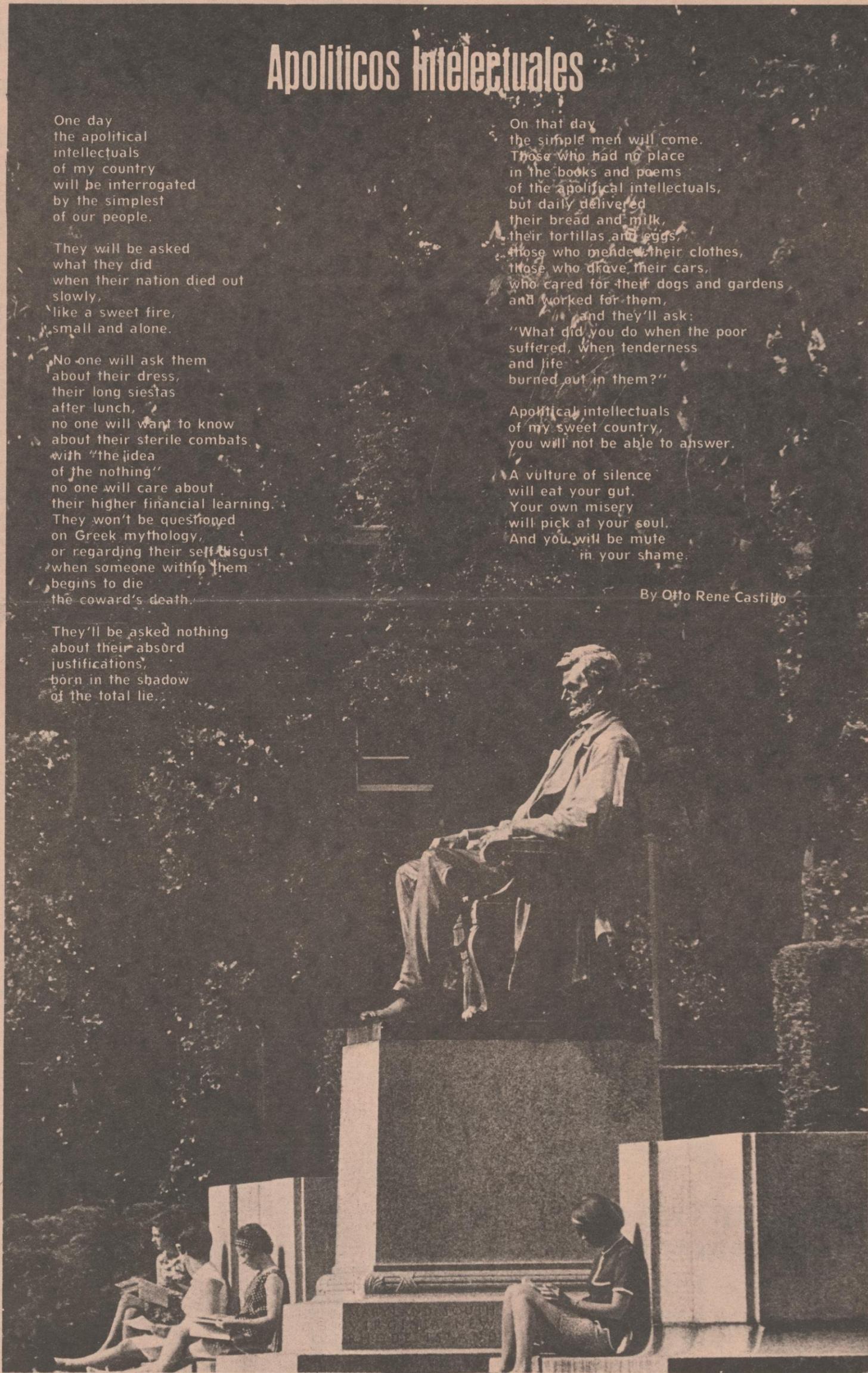
They'll be asked nothing
about their absurd
justifications,
born in the shadow
of the total lie.

On that day
the simple men will come.
Those who had no place
in the books and poems
of the apolitical intellectuals,
but daily delivered
their bread and milk,
their tortillas and eggs,
those who mended their clothes,
those who drove their cars,
who cared for their dogs and gardens
and worked for them,
and they'll ask:
"What did you do when the poor
suffered, when tenderness
and life
burned out in them?"

Apolitical intellectuals
of my sweet country,
you will not be able to answer.

A vulture of silence
will eat your gut.
Your own misery
will pick at your soul.
And you will be mute
in your shame.

By Otto Rene Castillo



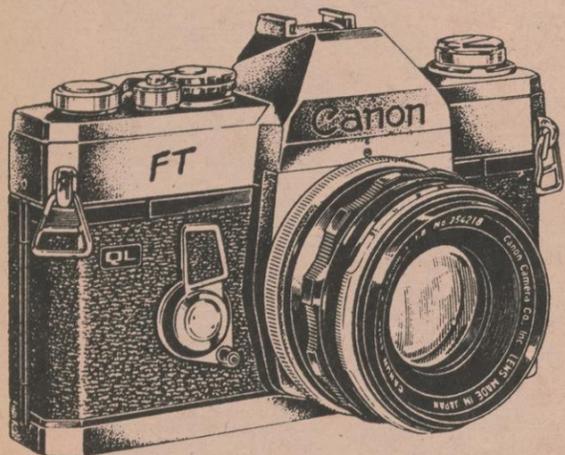
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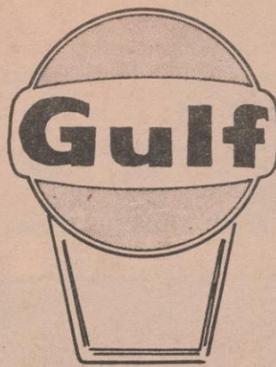
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Go Gulf



Go Gulf



The following article is the first part of a series taken from the pamphlet "Gulf Oil Corporation: a study in exploitation" put out by the Africa group, Committee of Returned Volunteers/N.Y. It is reprinted in the Cardinal with the permission of its authors.

Gulf Oil is the 10th largest U.S. corporation and the 4th largest oil company in the world. Gulf's total revenue in 1970 came to \$6.59 billion, which yielded a profit of \$550 million. Two thirds of Gulf's profits are derived from outside the United States, which illustrates the central importance of foreign investment to U.S. capitalism.

The largest importer of foreign oil in the United States, Gulf produces crude oil from vast reserves in Kuwait, Venezuela, Canada, Iran, Nigeria, Angola, Colombia, and Ecuador. Until 1969, when its properties were nationalized, Gulf was extracting crude oil from Bolivia (see case study below). Gulf is drilling for oil all over the world. Most of the subsidiary drilling companies coordinate oil explorations with production, refining, and marketing once commercial quantities of oil are found. The immense resources of a corporation the size of Gulf enable it to control all stages of oil production, thereby lessening its dependence on the host country.

Gulf's oil and natural gas marketing system is also world wide, including North America, South America, Europe, the Caribbean, and Asia. Gulf owns or has part interest in refineries in Canada, Venezuela, Kuwait, Denmark, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Formosa, France, Korea, Iran, Puerto Rico, Ecuador, Spain, Switzerland, and Wales. Current projects include refineries in Italy, and the Ryukyus, near Okinawa, where a huge shipment terminal is being built and where the opposition to corporate exploitation has been growing rapidly.

In 1970, Gulf's marine fleet comprised 48 wholly-owned and 29 chartered tankers. It has since received five giant 326,000 ton super-tankers, four of which were constructed in Spain to supply Gulf's refineries there.

Through its General Atomic Division, Gulf engages in uranium mining and the production of reactors, nuclear fuels, and nuclear power systems, which recently have been sold to Japan and Great Britain. Other Gulf subsidiary operations include commercial pipelines, coal mining, tire manufacturing, fertilizer plants, and the new town of Reston, Virginia.

Listing Gulf's worldwide activities gives some idea of the scope of the multinational corporation. Its size enables it to extract profits at all levels of operation, and to minimize its dependence on any one country—thus the basis of the corporation's ability to control the resources and development of much of the Third World.

THE POLITICS OF BIG OIL

To understand its operation, Gulf must be seen in the larger context of the international petroleum cartel. Taken together, the seven companies that make up the cartel—Standard Oil of New Jersey, Royal Dutch/Shell, Texaco, Socony Mobil, Standard Oil of California, British Petroleum, and Gulf—form the most powerful monopoly in the world. Like all monopolies, the cartel dictates prices independently of costs. The result is fantastic profits.

Big Oil has long controlled the economies and politics of many third world countries, and when it can not get what it wants by manipulations, it relies on sheer force. One powerful weapon of the cartel is the oil boycott, threatened or employed several times in this century, most recently in Cuba and Bolivia. Since the cartel controls most of the production, refining, and all but 12% of the world's tanker fleet, it can virtually cut off the energy supply of an oil-dependent country. It can prevent a small, producing country from selling its oil.

When the boycott is not sufficiently effective, direct intervention becomes the method. The workings of U.S. imperialism—internal subversion, puppet governments, and direct invasion—can largely be understood from the interests of U.S. corporate business. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the case of oil.

And as columnist Jack Anderson notes, The State Department has often taken its politics right out of the executive suites of the oil companies. When big oil can't get what it wants in foreign countries, the State Department tries to get it for them. In many countries the

American Embassies function as branch offices for the American oil companies.

The case studies which follow are examples of what corporate imperialism actually means to Third World people. A study of Bolivia shows how Gulf exploited the resources of this country and prevented meaningful development and independence.

BIG STICK IN BOLIVIA

In the fall of 1969, the Bolivian government attempted to take control of the Bolivian Gulf Oil Corporation. This classic case of a third world country wanted to control its economic growth and primary beneficiary of the nationalization.

BACKGROUND TO NATIONALIZATION

The Bolivian Government had received 33.5 per cent of the oil profits for favorable terms for Bolivia even though oil contracts in other countries, such as Colombia and Venezuela, gave 70 per cent of the profits to the host country. Also, decreases in foreign aid had led officials increasingly aware of the need for foreign economic assistance. It is clear that the nature of the aid is more beneficial to the U.S. corporation than to the Bolivian people. There had been strong evidence of penetration into the Bolivian economy reaching its height with the success of the guerrilla struggle and the capture of Che Guevara in 1967.

In short, the Bolivian people were an assertion of national sovereignty against Yankee imperialist forces. The U.S. firm in the country and its earner of foreign currency, was the target. But in this case, unfortunately, was not yet a match for Goliath.

BOLIVIAN TAKEOVER OF GULF'S RESPONSE

Following Bolivian nationalization of oil holdings, E.D. Brockett, Chairman of Gulf Oil, immediately called for implementation of the Hickenlooper Amendment, resulting in suspension of U.S. aid within six months. "just compensation" for the loss determined by the U.S., not by Bolivia, was then receiving about \$15 million in U.S. aid.

When General Ovando offered the oil in the form of oil, Brockett responded in the form of world-wide producers. We don't sell," and added, "To pay ourselves from our own crude does not seem reasonable." To Bolivians, Mr. Brockett's possessive adjectives would have been very reasonable either.

Brockett also said that any attempt to sell its nationalized oil would be an "embargo." To ensure the effect of the threatened embargo, Gulf discontinued operations for Bolivian oil. Because it controlled not only the production, transport and marketing as well, it was able to thwart the efforts of Bolivia to receive economic benefits from its oil.

Because her oil is "sweet," i.e. easy for refining into gasoline, Bolivia sold to its immediate neighbor, Argentina, who needed it better refined into fuel oil.

In addition, Gulf forced construction work on Bolivia's new gas pipeline running from Bolivia to Gulf was able to do this quickly because of its financial links with the Brothers, the U.S. firm building the pipeline. Moreover, the World Bank, which had been releasing the project after Gulf relinquished its \$23.5 million loan.

Bolivian Minister of Mines and Energy, Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, called the policy of "subotaging our hydrocarbons in the belief that we are a colony." General Alfredo Ovando, leader of a military junta which had received power, described the controversy between the United States and Bolivia as a "war of attrition."

RESULTS OF NATIONALIZATION

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Gulf Oil: A study in exploitation

full, Bolivia was soon forced to curtail production. This meant a serious loss in foreign exchange. It also increased unemployment and unrest. Workers in all phases of the oil industry, from extraction to pipeline construction to shipping, were faced with no source of subsistence. Naturally, Gulf encouraged this attitude and increased its efforts to build allies in opposition to the Ovando regime. Talk of how foolish nationalization had been increased within right-wing circles.

In fact, over the past few years, Gulf had been maneuvering to secure advantageous conditions for her operations in Bolivia. Quiroga announced that through investigation of Gulf's records in Bolivia, he had found confidential tapes and documents showing that the corporation had tapped Ministers' telephones. "(This) showed how Gulf Oil had been controlling Bolivia's internal politics...and constituted a scandalous case of interference in the country's internal affairs," he said. Subsequently, President Ovando accused Gulf of forming "a superstate within Bolivia."

It seemed that Gulf wasn't primarily concerned with the money per se. "We don't buy crude—we sell" comes to the heart of the conflict; it is a simple matter of the control of crude production. The fulcrum of corporate power in the oil industry is control of all crude production from which all else flows. Bolivia would have been a slight loss, but it would have set a precedent which, if followed, could undermine the power that corporations like Gulf exercise over the world market.

POST NATIONALIZATION AGREEMENTS: BOLIVIA CAPITULATES

With the market closed to its oil, and Gulf unwilling to accept the oil itself as compensation, Bolivia had few choices. Six months after nationalization the Bolivian government capitulated. A Spanish Government-owned, holding company, the Instituto Nacional de Industrias (INI), and a group of private interests, including Gulf, having large investments in Spain, engineered a deal through Hispanoil, a Spanish concern, to buy Bolivian crude oil in exchange for a Spanish-made pipeline, transportation, equipment, and Spanish technical assistance. The oil was given the same purchase value as under Gulf. Probably it would be exported through the port of Arica in Chile to Gulf's refinery near Los Angeles just as it had been under Gulf's previous control.

A Spanish state enterprise, Camba, was set up to market the oil internationally and to manage the fields in Bolivia. A commission composed of two Bolivians, two representatives from Camba-INT, and a Bolivian chairman was established to run the operation. A four-fifths vote was needed for any decision, giving the Spanish concern veto power over oil activities in Bolivia. This negated the Bolivian people's and their government's demand for total control over their own resources.

By September 1970, Ovando had gone full circle. Where a year ago the Bolivian people had wanted to make no compensation, the Ovando government now agreed to pay Gulf \$78.6 million over 20 years out of the oil profits. Although Gulf had originally wanted its full investment of \$150 million (much of it for exploration activities carried out over a number of years), plus an allowance for anticipated future profits, the corporation accepted \$78 million as "fair and equitable under the circumstances."

One of the first acts taken by President Jose Torres after the coup of October 1970, was to guarantee to Gulf that his government would honor the compensation agreement made by the previous regime. (Ed. note: General Torres was overthrown in a right-wing coup last August.)

The case of Bolivia vs. the Gulf Oil Corporation demonstrated the incredible difficulties which face a third world government in challenging the world oil cartel. The power of multinational oil corporations is formidable indeed; they can close off world markets, prevent the use of tankers, cut off credit from financial institutions and instigate, through the American government and/or CIA agents, forces of discontent which arise in the resultant economic distress. Invariably the host country finds itself, as Bolivia did, with little alternative but to capitulate before this array of economic and political power.

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TICK IN BOLIVIA

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...IAN TAKEOVER:

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By JEFF GROSSMAN
of the Cardinal Staff

"The Iron man of Billiards", Joe Balsis, was twelve years old when he competed in his first world championship. He won it—the World Junior title—and went on to what has been described as "one hell of a career" by Fast Eddie Linkencamp, a Detroit hustler.

This afternoon and then again this evening Balsis makes his second appearance in recent years at Action Billiards on Gorham near State Street. The two time World champion will demonstrate trick shooting, as well as play three exhibitions against top local performers.

Balsis won the adult world titles in 1965 and '66, and went on the capture the game's largest purse with back-to-back victories in the Stardust Open in 1968 and '69.

The Minersville, Pa. native received his nickname due to his husky frame and his nerveless composure at the pool table. The last time Balsis visited Action Billiards he split two matches with its proprietor Jerry Briesath, a top notch pool player himself, and ran up 172 straight balls in the works.

The first exhibition will be at 3 p.m., and Don Porter, a University student, and Freddy Topp will test Balsis, and be tested in short matches. The evening match, scheduled for 8 p.m., matches Balsis and Andy Tennant, who Briesath calls "the best college

Otto Rene Castillo, whose poetry appears on page one, was born in Guatemala in 1936. He became a student organizer beginning in 1954, and was exiled from his country numerous times.

Castillo returned from exile for the last time in 1966, to join the Guatemalan F.A.R. (the Armed Revolutionary Front). In March 1967 an F.A.R. guerrilla cadre was ambushed and taken captive. On March 19, 1967, Otto Rene Castillo was burned alive.

Let's Go, a bi-lingual edition of Castillo's poetry is published by Grossman Publishing and available in paperback.

player in the state." The single evening match will be a long competition.

The 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. exhibitions promise to be a highlight of the billiard year in Madison, and the "Iron man of Billiards" brings proven professionalism to the table of Action Billiards.

Miffland digging delayed

By HENRY ROHLICH
of the Cardinal Staff

Daniel H. Nevaiser, a Miffland landlord and developer of the controversial Howard Johnson Motel to be built in that area, granted some 50 tenants a one month reprieve on their lease terminations. The tenants now live in the Dayton and Marion Street area, the future site of the giant hotel-restaurant complex.

In a letter sent to tenants last week, Nevaiser said that construction of the motel will be delayed one month in order that occupants of the foredoomed residences be able to remain there through the first semester exams in January.

Nevaiser told residents last month that they would have to move out of the houses by December 31. In a meeting with angry residents on halloween, Nevaiser was soundly condemned for the untimely eviction notices, with tenants citing the tight rental situation in the city that they would inevitably face during the mid-semester.

The developer told the Cardinal that his one month reprieve was "not out of fear or intimidation," but for what Nevaiser claimed as "concern for some of those kids down there" who would really be "put out" if they were forced to leave before the semester break.

The one month extension again raised speculation that the hotel project may be

stopped, but the obstinate Nevaiser said flatly, "I am going to build the motel."

It is believed that there is competition between potential Miffland developers for the loan capital needed to finance an immense project such as the Howard Johnson complex. It is further believed that Nevaiser may have trouble obtaining the necessary insurance for the complex in consideration of the past history of rioting and trashing that has marked the Miffland area. Any difficulty Nevaiser may have in purchasing insurance would be reflected in a difficulty to attain the proper financing.

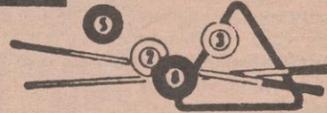
Nevaiser is usually an easy-going and likeable gentleman, but now appears to have come to the end of his fuse in his relations with his tenants in Miffland. It appears that if Daniel Nevaiser had to do it all over again, he wouldn't—at least not in the same site—due to the strong pressure he has had to face.

Nevaiser sees no other alternative than to build his Howard Johnson's. He claims he cannot secure the financing for low-income housing, and realizes that profits from just such a project would not go to the developer.

A definite construction date has yet to be determined according to Nevaiser, but the days are numbered for the residential nature of Nevaiser's property, as he vows digging will begin before spring.

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In the early nineteen sixties when the folk era was just beginning to emerge around the voices of Dylan, Peter Seeger, Peter, Paul and Mary and Joan Baez, one of the most interesting new sounds came from Mimi Baez Farina and her husband, noted author-poet Richard Farina. The Village Voice described them as being "among the finest songwriters of their time." Their career was unfortunately cut short, however, due to Richard's tragic death immediately after the publication of his book "Been Down So Long..."

It was not until four years later, shortly after the first Big Sur Festival, that Mimi's sister Joan introduced Tom Jans to the Baez family. **Mimi and Tom** spent the next year in San Francisco creating an individualistic style of delicate two part harmonies; their efforts did not go unrewarded. Critical acclaim has followed their appearances at the second Big Sur Festival, Philharmonic Hall, the Boston Tea Party, the Gaslight, and current national tour with Cat Stevens.

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