

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

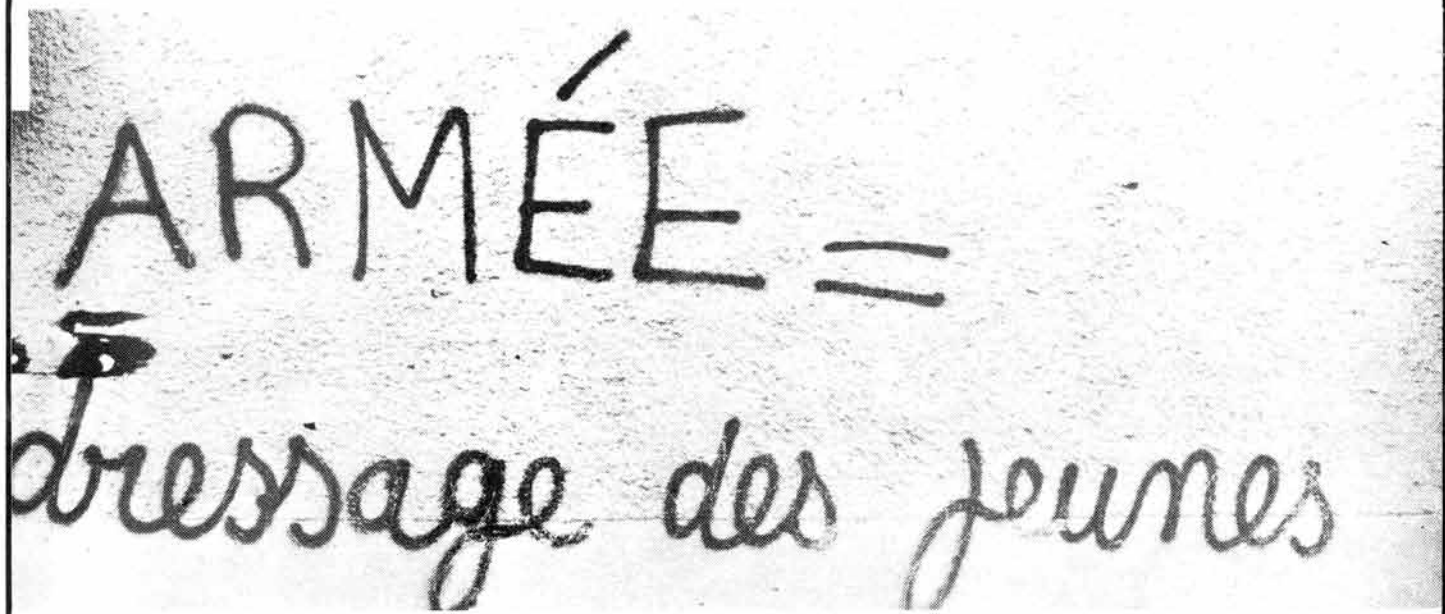
Vol. 11, No. 14

© 1973 Intercontinental Press

April 16, 1973

50c

300,000 in France Protest Bourgeois Army, Education



French wall graffiti: "The Army is for breaking in the young."

Sadat's 'Total Confrontation' With Dissent

U.S. Meat Boycott Fights High Prices



Poisoned Fish Found in Vietnam Waters

Dangerous concentrations of a very toxic chemical have been found in fish and shrimp caught in South Vietnamese rivers and coastal waters. The chemical, dioxin, is contained as a contaminant in 2,4,5-T, a herbicide that is one of the components of agent orange.

Thousands of tons of agent orange were sprayed over wide areas of South Vietnam by U.S. forces to destroy forests and jungle. After reports of birth defects caused by the chemical, Nixon in 1969 restricted the use of agent orange to regions supposedly remote from population centers.

In a report April 2 to a meeting at the National Institute of Environmental Health, Dr. Matthew Meselson and Robert Baughman, both biochemists at Harvard University, said they had detected the existence of dioxin in a variety of fish and shrimp. The contaminated fish were found in rivers draining an area in which 45,000 tons of agent orange were sprayed between 1962 and 1970. The fish were taken from the Dong Nai and Saigon rivers and from coastal waters fifty miles from Saigon.

In an interview reported by Richard D. Lyons in the April 6 *New York Times*, Meselson described dioxin as "a nasty poison that is 100 times more toxic than the deadliest nerve gas." The chemical apparently is extremely stable and tends to concentrate in animal tissues.

Meselson told the reporter that dioxin's effect on human beings is unknown, but it has produced birth defects in laboratory animals.

The highest concentration found by the researchers was 814 parts per trillion [million million] in a catfish. This, they said, would be sufficient to kill some animals, such as guinea pigs.

All the fish studied were collected in 1970, so it is possible that even higher concentrations have accumulated in the three years since. "No massive problem has been seen there in public health," Meselson said, "but it either might have occurred on a very small scale or is yet to build up." □

In This Issue

INDOCHINA WAR	418	Poisoned Fish Found in Vietnam Waters
	421	Nixon Escalates Bombing, Threatens Wider Raids—by Allen Myers
FRANCE	419	French Youth Challenge Bourgeois Military, Education—by Jon Rothschild
ARGENTINA	422	Peronists Assail Fate of Political Prisoners
	427	Lanusse Weighing Response to Guerrillas
NEW ZEALAND	422	Marches Oppose Racist Tour
DENMARK	423	Compromise Proposed in Strike
CYPRUS	424	Regime Reports Anti-Makarios Plot—by Gerry Foley
U.S.A.	425	Antiwar Protests Greet Thieu's Visit
	431	Meat Boycott Protests Inflation—by Fred Feldman
CHILE	426	Why the Generals "Resigned" from the Cabinet—by Hugo Blanco
EGYPT	428	Why the "Stage of Total Confrontation" Was Launched—by Jon Rothschild
SWITZERLAND	433	Trotskyists on Question of Abortion
PHILIPPINES	436	Growing Anger at Marcos Dictatorship—by Antero Nanhaya
AUSTRALIA	437	Regime Raids Its Own Spies—by Sol Salby
	439	Raids Carried Out on Ustasha Suspects
REVIEWS	440	Havemann's Stand Against Stalinism—by George Novack
	442	Leon Trotsky's Views on Women's Liberation
DOCUMENTS	443	Trotskyist Prisoners in Greece in Appeal to Student Movement
	444	Argentine PST's Declaration After March 11 Elections
	445	Argentine PST Calls for Casting Blank Ballots in Second-Round Elections
	446	Hanoi's Statement to Vietnamese People on Signing of Cease-Fire Agreement
	448	Officials Denounce Derry Repression
DRAWINGS	421	Nguyen Van Thieu; 443, George Papadopoulos; 444, Hector Campora; 447, Ho Chi Minh—by Copain

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

COPY EDITOR: Lawrence Rand.
EDITORIAL STAFF: Candida Barberena, Fred Feldman, Gerry Foley, Jon Rothschild, George Saunders, David Thorstad.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.
ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.
TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guemenee, Paris 4, France.

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Copyright ©1973 by Intercontinental Press.

French Youth Challenge Bourgeois Military, Education

By Jon Rothschild

The newly elected French National Assembly convened on April 2. The capitalist press dutifully gave front-page coverage to the event, complete with detailed descriptions of the intricate parliamentary maneuvering going on. The Assembly, after all, was busy forming a new government that is supposed to determine what will happen in France for the next four years.

But outside, on the same day, were some people who have other ideas on that score. Responding to the call put out at the March 24 national coordinating meeting of the Committees of Struggle Against the Debré law, more than 100,000 were marching—university students, high-schoolers, vocational-school students, and many young workers too.

Throughout France, participation in the April 2 "day of national action" exceeded even the massive turnout for the March 22 demonstrations (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 9, p. 387).

Even the Ministry of the Interior was forced to concede the immense geographical breadth and the size of the demonstrations. It released the following statistics: There were a total of 216 demonstrations throughout France on April 2; the total number of marchers was 320,000! This is almost certainly a serious underestimation of the size. The Ministry claimed the Paris demonstration was only 40,000-strong. But it had rated the March 22 action at 25,000-30,000, and that one was clearly at least 80,000, and more likely well more than 100,000.

In any case, the April 2 actions definitely represented a broadening of the movement. The wave of demonstrations began when high-schoolers initiated struggle against the Debré law (Michel Debré was the minister of national defense in the outgoing cabinet; he was not reappointed to the new cabinet), a "reform" of the military service system that abolished deferments that had allowed students to postpone their obligatory military service until completion of their studies

(see *Intercontinental Press*, April 2, p. 360).

As the elections ended, a university movement against another Gaullist reform began to take hold. Students at dozens of universities went on strike against the Fontanet decrees, which established a new degree, the DEUG (Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales—General University Studies Diplomas), a means of reducing the number of university students by increasing the number of students leaving after two years to take their place as semitrained white-collar workers.

The struggles against the Debré law and the DEUG have now merged into a general battle against the bourgeois army and against the regime's plans to intensify social selection and stratification.

April 2 was a turning point in that struggle. For the first time since the anti-Debré-law movement broke out in early February significant components of the marches were workers—employed apprentices and other young workers, plus students from the CET (Collèges d'Enseignement Technique, technical schools). The March 30 issue of *Rouge*—weekly organ of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, which has played a leading role in the organization of the movement—noted the beginning of motion in the CET: "The main thing is the CET's entry into the struggle. On March 26 a Paris coordinating meeting was held: 400 attended. A collective leadership was elected. In an atmosphere marked by militant work, five demonstrations were planned out for the following day. And on March 27, about 12,000 youth came out!"

The entry of the technical students greatly increased the movement's sense of power and organization. This was reflected in the Paris demonstration April 2.

The slogans were many and varied, all along the route of march. There were what the Paris daily *Le Monde*

called the "now classic" ones: "Down with the DEUG, down with the Debré law!" and "Reestablish and extend the deferments!" New ones were added: "To hell with deferments, no army at all!" "CET-barracks, we're fed up with both!" "Down with the strike-breaking army!" "The hell with the Assembly, power is in the streets!" "Open your eyes, turn off the television!"

And one of the main chants, a carry-over from the March 22 actions: "Hot, hot, hot! Springtime will be hot!"

In the provinces, a total of more than 200,000 people marched in nearly 200 actions ranging in size from about 1,000 to at least 20,000. The April 4 *Le Monde* gave a roundup of some of the provincial actions:

Bordeaux 10,000; Brest 1,500; Caen 5,000; Chambéry 6,000; Clermont-Ferrand nearly 6,000; Dijon 3,000; Grenoble 15,000; Le Havre 2,000; Lille and vicinity 7,000; Lyon 20,000; Montpellier 10,000; Nantes 6,000; Orléans nearly 3,000; Quimper about 10,000; Strasbourg more than 4,000; Toulouse 15,000; Tours about 10,000.

The demonstrations were generally combined with student strikes, which according to *Le Monde* were nearly 100 percent effective. And in many areas the demonstrators tried to get to army barracks to express their support for soldiers organizing struggles inside the armed forces.

The Organization of the Struggle

The new student upsurge has been notable not only for its size and breadth. One of its most important contributions to the French political scene as a whole has been its democratic organizational forms. The March 30 *Rouge* described the operations of the "high-school soviets" that have set the tone for the whole movement:

"In the high schools general assemblies meet on a daily basis and, after discussion, conduct hand-votes on whether to strike, continue a strike,

or initiate some other action. After that a strike committee charged with carrying out the assembly's decisions is elected; the members of the strike committee are recallable at any time. The general assembly or the strike committee delegates two representatives to the local or regional coordination committee, which meets every two days or so. . . .

"After each meeting of the coordination or central strike committees, the delegates report back to their high-school general assemblies on the discussions held, the positions they took, and the decisions made."

The same sort of structure, *Rouge* reported, took hold in the universities and the technical schools. All the decisions of the movement—when and where to demonstrate, at what point strikes should be called, and so on—were made in these general assemblies or local and regional coordinating meetings.

"The political groups," *Rouge* went on, "continue to defend and explain their own positions in their own press and leaflets, even though these may not coincide exactly with those of the movement as a whole. This is only natural. In this way, nothing is frozen; both the greatest possible democratic confrontation and discipline in action are assured. Retaining their own modes of expression, distinct from the movement as a whole, the political organizations can defend the totality of their ideas without seeking to force them on the entire movement through various manipulative means.

"They respect the unity and discipline of the movement, for which their separate existence is a guarantee of democracy: Having other ways of expressing themselves, the political organizations have no need to impose the totality of their positions. The distinct existence of the unified movement and the political tendencies working within it strengthens the confrontation of ideas, as well as unity and democracy."

The movement's success in drawing a majority of high-schoolers into some form of activity is in large part attributable to this democratic form of organization, which can allow for the greatest controversy in discussion, but is also able to forge a unity in action.

The democratic organizational forms have also enabled the movement to make quick but authoritative



A coordinating meeting of the high-school strike committees. Democratic organizational forms have been central factor in success of struggle.

decisions on what to do next, thus preventing the movement from falling into a slump after one large action. The April 2 demonstrations are themselves a case in point. They were called at a national coordination meeting held only two days after the March 22 actions.

And after the April 2 actions, the general assemblies were quick to prepare for the next round of struggle. They called upon high-schoolers to participate in demonstrations April 4 that had been called by the CET students. The April 4 *Le Monde* reported that the Paris coordination committee announced that it would meet within days to decide "the forms of action for coming days."

Spring Has Only Just Begun

In an editorial published in the March 30 *Rouge* Daniel Bensaïd summed up the import of the new student struggles:

"It is not like 1968, when the student movement was only giving examples of courage and daring.

"After the elections, the workers have been asking themselves questions about what chances they have to win and conserve victories, about the political responses they could give to oppose the present regime.

"They have learned three things from the struggles of the youth.

"First, that struggle is possible and that the regime can be made to re-

treat. When the student movement broke out, Fontanet lost no time pouring a little oil on Debré's troubled waters.

"Then, that united and democratic organization of the struggle is essential for its effectiveness: The central strike committee, the high-school 'soviet,' provides an illustration of a confrontation of ideas that does not prejudice disciplined action, of an elected and recallable organ to which the components of the movement are responsible.

"Finally, that the regime came out of the elections weakened, not victorious, more in reprieve than in command.

"By extending itself to the CET apprentices, by addressing the whole population on March 28 [a national "day of explanation"], by calling on the workers to demonstrate on Monday April 2, the youth mobilization is pointing to the only way forward: extending the struggle to the workers movement as a whole.

"Spring has only just begun, and it will be hot.

"The high-schoolers, the students, and the CET apprentices have struck the first three blows." □

Spelling Error

After meeting Saigon dictator Nguyen Van Thieu, a U.S. congressman described him as "soft-spoken, but obviously with a lot of steel in him."

Nixon Escalates Bombing, Threatens Wider Raids

By Allen Myers

"By receiving Mr. Thieu," the *Washington Post* pointed out in an April 3 editorial, "Mr. Nixon demonstrates to all that he regards the Vietnam agreement as much more than a fig-leaf contrived only to cover American combat disengagement. He also demonstrates—to Hanoi and to Mr. Thieu's Southern political rivals in particular—that Mr. Thieu still has the American seal of approval, to be defined not only in terms of what political advantage it may confer but in terms of continuing economic aid, arms replacement and diplomatic support."

After observing that Nixon is in the habit of keeping his promises—at least when they involve military support for U. S. imperialism's client dictators—the editors went on to wonder aloud about a crucial question: "... whether he [Thieu] is being told by Mr. Nixon that if he gets in serious trouble, the United States will again bail him out. That this may be precisely what Mr. Thieu is being told is surely implied by the calculated way in which Mr. Nixon has issued his scarcely veiled threats to resume bombing Hanoi if the North Vietnamese do not behave."

In reality, of course, Thieu did not need to fly to the United States in order to be personally reassured about Nixon's willingness to back him to the hilt in his efforts to make South Vietnam safe for imperialism. Rather, his visit was intended to prepare U. S. public opinion for whatever military measures may be deemed necessary in the coming period.

As part of the buildup, Thieu was received at San Clemente, California, April 2 with all the pomp normally granted the head of an independent government: a twenty-one-gun salute, Marine honor guard, and the United States Marine band flown in from Washington specially for the occasion. After a full ninety minutes of discussion the next day, Nixon and Thieu reached a "full consensus in their views" and issued a lengthy communi-



THIEU: Gets honor guard, twenty-one-gun salute, and promise of aid.

qué to mark this memorable achievement.

Nixon used the communiqué to renew once again his threat to bomb the liberation forces in Vietnam:

"Both Presidents, while acknowledging that progress was being made toward military and political settlements in South Vietnam, nevertheless viewed with great concern infiltrations of men and weapons in sizable numbers from North Vietnam into South Vietnam in violation of the agreement on ending the war, and considered that actions which would threaten the basis of the agreement would call for appropriate vigorous reactions."

Two days earlier, U. S. Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson had hinted that such "vigorous reactions" might even go beyond a renewal of the bombing. Asked on a nationally televised program for an assurance that U. S. troops would "never, under any circumstances" be sent to Indochina again, Richardson replied:

"No. I cannot give any categorical assurance. Obviously, the future holds possible developments that are unforeseeable now. But certainly we very much hope that this will not be necessary."

If there were any doubts about how far Nixon is willing to go to prop up his puppet regimes in Indochina, they should have been dispelled by the continued escalation in the bombing of Cambodia. On April 2 and 3, air raids reached a new level. Dennis Neeld of the Associated Press reported in an April 3 dispatch that U. S. officials in Phnompenh "compared the massive raids in Cambodia to the bombardment of Hanoi and Haiphong last December."

The raids, which involved both F-111 fighter-bombers and giant B-52s, "suggested a new turn in the three-year war," according to Neeld. Because of the Nixon administration's attempts to keep the level of escalation secret, there were conflicting reports on the number of planes involved, but by all accounts the firepower involved was of the same magnitude as in the earlier efforts to devastate North Vietnam.

Neeld gave the number of B-52s in the raids as sixty. Dana Adams Schmidt of the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote that "all 120 B-52's now available in Thailand were used April 2 and 3, dropping up to 3,600 tons of bombs each day. . . ." In the April 5 *New York Times*, John W. Finney quoted unnamed U. S. officials to the effect that *daily raids over a period of several weeks* had involved about 60 B-52s and 150 fighter-bombers.

"At the outset, according to the officials," Finney continued, "the B-52's were used primarily to attack North Vietnamese supply routes and bases in northeastern Cambodia and along the border of South Vietnam. Increasingly, they added, the bombers have been hitting base camps and troop concentrations of the insurgents. . . ."

"The fighter-bombers, based in Thailand, are being used almost ex-

clusively to support the Cambodian forces, according to the officials."

Despite the massive air raids, the military position of Lon Nol continued to grow more desperate, to the point that Richardson, in his television appearance, was forced to acknowledge that the puppet regime could not survive without the bombing.

By the beginning of April, the rebel forces had completely cut off Pnompenh, and the U.S. bombing raids were moving closer and closer to the capital itself. Reuters reported evidence April 3 indicating that the ranks of the puppet army were showing very

little interest in defending Lon Nol: ". . . the Government warned its troops that they would face military trial if they tried to desert from the battlefield.

"The warning, carried by the official press agency, said that all troops who quit the front without a written order would be arrested."

By April 4, the Nixon administration was floating trial balloons to test public reaction to even deeper U.S. involvement in the war. On that date, Richardson publicly suggested that an airlift of supplies would be necessary to relieve the city. □

the prison system, guarantees that the lives of the prisoners would be protected, and no repetition of the Trelew massacre. They also described in some detail the medical needs of the prisoners at Rawson prison.

Two days later, the FREJULI took two additional steps to call attention to the prisoner issue: It delivered a message to Lanusse and sent a delegation to meet with judges of the Supreme Criminal Court.

The statement to Lanusse, delivered by Senator-elect Alberto Fonrouge, expressed "concern for the extremely harsh and inhuman treatment" of the prisoners. It noted that after taking office, the Peronist government intended to declare a "broad and generous amnesty," which would make the plans to transfer prisoners superfluous. It also called on the government to bring the country's political prisoners to Villa Devoto prison in the capital as an "urgent precautionary measure."

The meeting with the judges dealt with the same questions. The delegation was headed by the FREJULI's vice-president-elect, Vicente Solano Lima. □

Charge New Repressive Measures Being Prepared

Peronists Assail Fate of Political Prisoners

Since the March 11 elections in Argentina, in which the Peronists emerged victorious, the situation of the country's political prisoners has worsened, members of their families charged at a news conference in Buenos Aires March 28. The news conference was held in the headquarters of the Peronist coalition, the FREJULI (Frente de Liberación Justicialista — Justicialist Liberation Front).

The various prisons in which they are being kept "have been converted into virtual concentration camps," the relatives charged, according to the March 29 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*.

They also expressed their fear that President Alejandro Lanusse's military junta planned massive transfers of political prisoners from Villa Devoto prison in the capital to the notorious Rawson military prison in Trelew. "The director of Villa Devoto prison notified the delegates of the political prisoners in all the cells and blocks that they will be transferred," they said. The delegates reportedly replied that "they were not in agreement with this plan given the fact that they could find themselves in the hands of the Armed Forces, which meant that they would have no guarantee of the safety of their lives." The prisoners based their objection on the brutal massacre of the sixteen prisoners in Trelew in August 1972.

Mario Hernández, a lawyer, charged that "since the Peronist movement won the elections, repressive measures are being prepared against the prisoners."

The relatives demanded an end to any injection of the armed forces into

Demonstrations on Anniversary of Sharpsville

New Zealand Marches Oppose Racist Tour

Demonstrations demanding that New Zealand's Labour government act to prevent the scheduled tour by South Africa's Springbok rugby team took place in New Zealand's major cities on March 21, the thirteenth anniversary of the murder of scores of Black protesters by police in Sharpsville, South Africa.

The largest protest occurred in Dunedin, where 250 persons marched to Burns Hall to hear John Gaetsewe, an exiled Black South African trade unionist.

About 150 persons in Auckland marched in a heavy rain, carrying banners reading, "Stop the Tour" and "Don't Join the Apartheid Club." The Seamen's Union voted to hold a twenty-four-hour work stoppage as a protest against South Africa's racist regime, and a number of union members joined the antitour demonstration. Marches of 150 and 65 persons took place in Christchurch and Wel-

lington, respectively.

The demonstrations were initiated by the Young Socialists and their supporters after it became clear that the best-known antitour organizations, HART (Halt All Racist Tours) and CARE (Citizens Association for Racial Equality), were determined to organize civil disobedience and "disruption," rather than street demonstrations capable of appealing to the majority of New Zealanders.

HART, which is now beginning to de-emphasize the Springbok tour as an issue, went on a vicious campaign to cut down the impact of the Sharpsville Day Actions. HART's activities included physically assaulting organizers of the marches, disrupting planning meetings, pulling down posters, waging a red-baiting campaign aimed at persuading sponsors to withdraw their support, and appealing to protesters at the assembly points to withdraw from the march. □

Compromise Proposed in Danish Strike

Copenhagen

After a week of conflict on the Danish labor scene, involving a strike and lockout of 258,000 workers, the resumed negotiations between Landsorganisationen [LO—Trade Union Confederation] and the employers resulted in a compromise agreement.

The compromise proposal that was made public on March 28 by official mediator Sigurd Wechsleman is nothing less than a betrayal by the LO leadership of the thousands of workers who have been striking for a week and will have to go on doing so for a couple of more weeks before they will get a chance to vote for or against the proposal.

Thousands of workers had been insisting that if negotiations were to be renewed it should be on the basis of the original demands raised in the workplaces and taken to the union locals and to the LO's negotiating committee. These demands were: a minimum hourly wage of 18 kroner [approximately 16 kroner equals US\$1]; a forty-hour workweek, with a thirty-six-hour workweek for late shifts; a 12.5 percent vacation allowance; a cost-of-living installment of 60 ore [100 ore equals 1 krone]; and a weekly wage of 375 kroner for apprentices throughout the entire length of their apprenticeship. The LO leadership disregarded these demands in agreeing to a compromise that in no way meets them.

By eliminating the mediator's originally suggested 1 percent increase in the vacation allowance (from 9.5 percent to 10.5 percent), the current compromise offers even less than the mediator's original proposal [see *Intercontinental Press*, April 9, p. 400], which the employers rejected, thereby triggering the conflict, and which the workers decided to improve by going on strike.

The immediate economic effect of the compromise will be a wage increase of 72.40 kroner per month, which comes nowhere near offsetting the enormous price rises that have occurred in the wake of Denmark's entry into the Common Market, just as the semiannually paid cost-of-living installments that the compromise pro-

posal provides for will amount to small compensation for the soaring of prices that is going on.

The compromise proposal is even worse than this might indicate, however, for with it the employers have succeeded in getting the Danish LO to agree to make a political pledge. A protocol on cooperation to eliminate the cost-of-living adjustment after 1975 also contains a section to the effect that agreement shall be reached prior to the adoption of any political resolutions in the Folketing [parliament] that would affect conditions in the labor market. The protocol states:

"It has been agreed that it is valuable, and even necessary, for all questions relating to the labor market to be thoroughly discussed between the organizations involved and that each side will work to see to it that questions of interest to the labor market are subjected to careful consideration by the involved parties before any political resolutions are put into effect."

With this protocol, the employers have succeeded in politically shackling the Danish trade-union movement and have obtained a real possibility of preventing the Social Democratic government and its sidekick, the Socialistisk Folkeparti [People's Socialist party], from implementing any laws affecting the condition of the workers without first getting the employers' fed-

eration and the bosses to agree to the proposals.

Another key section deals with the daily travel allowance the workers have won, which is scheduled to take effect on April 1. What the employers have gotten the LO heads to agree to imposes the interpretation that the LO is now assuming the role of an extension of the employers and is becoming a kind of cop to its members. On this question, the compromise proposal says the following:

"In order to reduce the number of absentee days, the parties will continue to extend their cooperation in implementing the daily travel allowance reform, which goes into effect on April 1, 1973. In this connection, the main organizations recommend that on the basis of cooperation in the individual workplace, the greatest effort be made to improve growth, health, and safety, and to the extent that it is necessary, they will aid in the solution of these tasks."

Translated, this means that in cases where the bosses are unable to exercise control over workers' sickdays, the leaders of the union movement will place themselves at the service of the employers.

The source of such a traitorous document is the fact that the leaders of the Social Democracy and the LO had gotten together beforehand. In the wake of Denmark's entry into the Common Market, the policy of the Social Democracy obviously aims at adjusting all Danish legislation to conditions existing in the Common Market countries. □



Demonstration of 20,000 striking Danish workers outside Copenhagen offices of employers' federation. Workers demanded that union negotiators stick to their original demands.

Cyprus Regime Reports Anti-Makarios Plot

By Gerry Foley

Cypriot officials announced March 25 that a plot to overthrow the Makarios regime had been uncovered. The uprising had allegedly been scheduled for April 2, the day set for celebrating the anniversary of the Cypriot struggle against British rule. Makarios was to have been arrested and immediate union with Greece proclaimed.

Since the start of the year there has been an escalation of commando actions by small Greek groups allegedly under the command of the 74-year-old rightist guerrilla commander George Grivas. On the same day the government announced the plot attempt, two armed actions took place.

"At one police station near Larnaca, 40 raiders were involved," Juan de Onis reported from Nicosia in the March 26 *New York Times*. "They got away with some automatic weapons and money after beating up the five policemen on duty. At another station at Lefkera, the police opened fire and drove off a small group of attackers after a police jeep was dynamited. One of the attackers was wounded."

Last February 7, on the eve of the Cypriot presidential elections in which Makarios was unopposed, commando groups totaling about 200 men had raided twenty police stations across the island. "The major casualty of the raid was the dignity of Makarios' security forces who evidently offered little resistance," Jim Hoagland reported in the February 8 *Washington Post*.

The international press had speculated that the wily archbishop was waiting until after the elections to crack down on Grivas. Informed observers wondered on March 25 whether Makarios had decided that the time was ripe.

"The disclosure of the alleged plot to overthrow Archbishop Makarios was seen as an indication that the Government may be getting ready to strike at the Grivas organization," de Onis noted.

In the last two months, the government's hand has been strengthened

not only by the overwhelming political support Makarios got in the elections and the rally that followed his proclamation as president, but by an apparent shift of at least the dominant forces in the Athens junta toward supporting his regime.

The colonels' policy was indicated by the events around an aborted move against Makarios by elements of the Greek Orthodox church. At the end of February, three Metropolitans—Gennadios of Paphos, Anthimos of Kitium, and Kyprianos of Kyrenia—called on the archbishop to resign the presidency, on the basis of a church rule that bars clergymen from holding "worldly" offices. On March 7 the three prelates met as "The Holy Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus" and declared that they had decided to defrock Makarios (whose church name means "blessed one") within thirty days unless he gave up the presidency.

Shortly afterward, the Cypriot Students Organization in Athens issued a statement praising the bishops and asking Makarios to "leave the presidential office in order to prevent a civil war."

Although it was the junta that initiated the idea for the clerical coup d'etat a year ago, according to Mario S. Modiano, writing in the March 11 *New York Times*, the Athens government now publicly opposed the attempt to depose Makarios.

"A spokesman for the military-backed Athens Government said today that Greece's Ambassador to Cyprus had called on the three churchmen 'to stress the repercussions that Makarios's dethronement as Archbishop may have,'" a dispatch from Athens reported in the March 4 *New York Times*.

According to Modiano the junta had suspected that Makarios might not accept its compromise with Ankara, which was aimed at solving the conflict between Greece and Turkey by making the island independent. The archbishop, however, turned out not to be such a staunch advocate of



MAKARIOS: The "blessed one" doesn't want to step aside.

enosis (unity with Greece) as he was supposed to be, and the junta found him the best guarantee of stability.

As the head of an independent state, the churchman and ex-"nationalist martyr" has succeeded in cementing together an extremely diverse bloc.

Our Cypriot correspondent writes: "The people of Cyprus have known long periods of slavery under several conquerors. . . . They see that the Greek government is hitched to the cart of imperialism, and it is only natural that they should not want to be united to a country that is clearly under the imperialist thumb. Nor is the bourgeoisie anxious for unity. Under the present regime it feels free to develop its own economy through developing industry on a freer basis than before. It does not want to see Cyprus become a province of Greece. In such a case, the Cypriot capitalists would have no defense against their stronger Greek and foreign rivals.

"Furthermore the clergy as a whole is not interested in union. It holds enormous property, including several enterprises that are guaranteed tax exemption by the constitution. Not only would it lose some of its wealth,

it would lose a considerable part of its political power."

Furthermore, the trade-union movement, including the Communist party, is under the thumb of Makarios, and it subordinates the interests of the workers to the "national bloc." The "leaders don't fight because they say the main struggle is against imperialism and the only proper leader is Makarios. . . . If there is any disagreement with the point of view of the leadership, a witch-hunt is launched against the dissenters, who are called Trotskyists, fascists, and reactionaries."

If it was the junta that had encouraged the Metropolitans, it seemed unable to call them off. There was some speculation that the Athens regime was divided over what attitude to take toward Makarios.

In an interview with the Nicosia paper *Elepheria*, Metropolitan Anthimos ("Flowery One") of Kitium replied to a question about the accusation that the attempt to remove Makarios was "teledirected" from Greece:

"Makarios tries to justify remaining in the post of president in violation of the 'Holy Canons of the Orthodox Church,' which expressly forbid clerical interference in worldly power, by constantly repeating that the action of the metropolitans to remove him is a result of foreign intervention, meaning the government of our mother country."

Anthimos also accused Makarios of having said: "I am Cyprus." The prelate said: "Cyprus does not belong to him or, of course, to us. Cyprus belongs to Greece, and in order to become an organic part of the Greek state there must be a will and a struggle. Unfortunately we cannot say that we can see this will in the actions of the archbishop. He could say nothing about such a struggle a few days ago when he was speaking to a rally. He reduced our fight to a struggle for simple survival."

"I would stress in this connection that Cyprus, which has been Greek from the dawn of its history and which teems with the monuments of its national past, has a right to make claims on the Nation. And Greece has every right to take an interest in Cyprus."

At the same time, however, an observer writing for a censored Greek paper was prepared to take an understanding attitude toward the Cypriot

strong man. In an article reprinted from *To Vema* of Athens in the February 17 issue of *Elepheria*, Manousos Ploumidis wrote the following on the charge that Makarios had absolutist delusions:

"Makarios has an enormous majority, really unprecedented in a democratic country. This majority, moreover, is not homogeneous. It is made up of the most diverse political currents whose only common bond is their confidence in Makarios."

In his next article, Ploumidis took up the accusation that Makarios was trying to undermine the Greek patriotism of the majority of the island: "Anyone who saw the crowd that assembled in the great rally in Nicosia to listen to Makarios with such eloquent silence

and to sing the National Hymn could not fail to see that Greece and the Greek spirit is as alive in Cyprus as in Athens." That is, Makarios is as good at chauvinist intoxication as the colonels.

As for the charge that Makarios was encouraging communism by dealing with the Cypriot CP, Ploumidis wrote: "The Cypriot communists are a strange bunch. It is not only as they say in Cyprus: 'Our Communists are different from those in Greece and other countries. Ours go to church.' . . .

"The opposition claims that Makarios is influenced by the CP, but he says, on the other hand, that he is influencing and leading the CP in a policy that is contributing to the solution of the Cypriot problem." □

Demand U.S. End Support for Dictator

Antiwar Protests Greet Thieu's U.S. Visit

A picket line of more than 1,000 persons paraded in front of the Beverly Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles on March 31, while President Nixon was presenting an award to motion-picture director John Ford. The demonstration, held on the day before South Vietnamese dictator Thieu arrived in the United States, was the first of many antiwar protests in cities across the country that greeted Thieu's seven-day tour as Nixon's invited guest.

The Los Angeles protest was initiated by the Indochina Peace Campaign, Los Angeles Peace Action Council, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War—groups that call on Nixon and Thieu to "abide by the agreement."

About 300 persons rallied in downtown San Francisco on April 2 in opposition to Thieu's visit. The demonstration, organized by the Northern California Peace Action Coalition, called for an end to all U.S. support to Thieu and an immediate halt to the bombing of Cambodia. In addition, a group of 100 persons held a separate demonstration, marching to the South Vietnamese consulate. They urged the Nixon administration to "honor the agreement."

When Thieu visited the San Diego naval hospital on April 3, he was

met by 200 demonstrators, organized on twenty-four-hours notice by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) and the Indochina Peace Campaign.

About 120 people picketed the White House in Washington, D.C., on April 5. While the picket line was going on, a heavily escorted motorcade brought Thieu to the White House for discussions with his boss. The picket line was followed by a rally chaired by Father McSorley of the Catholic Peace Fellowship. The group was addressed by speakers from Women's Strike for Peace, the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition, and the SMC.

About 300 persons marched in New York on April 5 under banners calling for immediate and unconditional U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Other antiwar protests during Thieu's visit took place in Portland, Seattle, Austin, Boston, Minneapolis, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Salt Lake City. □

Entrepreneur

Kenneth Carlson will be the first Connecticut businessman licensed to sell horse-meat for human consumption, the April 8 *New York Times* reported. Carlson, who owns Carlson's Meat Mart in Westbrook, said his new enterprise had been approved by the Department of Consumer Protection.

Why the Generals 'Resigned' From the Cabinet

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

The major political event in the last week of March has been the change in the cabinet. It marked a milestone in the sharpening of class contradictions in the country and the reflection of these within the Unidad Popular ruling coalition. However, the new ministerial team shows that the shifts in the government's policy will not be as deepgoing as some had hoped.

The outgoing cabinet was the product of the October crisis caused by the bosses' strike, which provoked a strong response from the working class. As will be recalled, on that occasion, although the government could have based itself on the mass mobilization of the workers that was defeating the strike, it preferred to come to an understanding with the right, making concessions limiting the independent dynamic of the workers and people.

One of these concessions was incorporating the heads of the three armed services (the army, navy, and air force) into the cabinet. Among these, General Carlos Prats, the chief of staff of the armed forces, came in as minister of the interior, thereby assuming the chairmanship of the cabinet and the post of vice-president (he served in fact as president during Allende's trip abroad). Two representatives of the workers (the general secretary of CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores — Workers Central Union] and a peasant leader) were also brought into the cabinet at that time, but this could not cover up the government's capitulation.

The right understood that while the military officers' remaining in the government offered them guarantees, it also caused them problems. If they attacked the government, they would also be attacking, like it or not, the military men, who were losing their image as "impartial arbitrators." Since the working class has not been crushed, it was impossible for the minister of the interior to restrain, as

effectively as he would have liked, the push of the masses toward direct distribution of scarce items. Nor could the minister close his eyes to the excesses of the rightist groups. Moreover, the right could not claim that the March 4 elections were fraudulent.

These examples show why the right needed the military men out of the government and why they themselves wanted out.

La Prensa, the Christian Democratic daily, noted: "In a prolonged meeting in the middle of last week, the Council of Generals decided to call on President Allende to meet four demands. Failure to do so would mean that the men in uniform would leave the offices they held. The demands included the right to maintain effective surveillance of the armed groups; the end of the executive's use of legal loopholes to institute social reforms; and taking a technical and nonpolitical approach to the questions related to food supply.

"Because of the pressure to which Dr. Allende is being subjected by extremist groups, it was not possible immediately to accept the demand about armed groups and to establish a new foreign policy orientation. A 'deal' was made on the question of food supply that involved maintaining General Alberto Bachelet in the post of general secretary of supply. As regards the executive's use of loopholes, it was agreed not to resort to this at least in the early period of the new cabinet."

It is clear from this "secret report" given by the Christian Democrats, with the agreement of the military, that the officers could not dream that Allende would be able to grant such fantastic demands, given the present conditions of the class struggle in the country. They realized that at this time the best course was to leave the cabinet.

The "official" reasons given, of course, were more diplomatic. In his speech, Allende noted the tasks the

former cabinet had been appointed to accomplish. "The first was to enforce respect for legal norms and authority. To maintain order in the economy, which meant putting an end to the strike. To maintain public order, which was threatened by subversion. To guarantee democratic process in national affairs and, most fundamentally, to make certain that the elections would be held—as they were this March, with the strictest neutrality on the part of the government. Furthermore, we assigned this cabinet the task of assuring the continuity of the process of revolutionary transformation, in accordance with the political program of the government and in the context of democracy, pluralism, and freedom.

"I can say with profound satisfaction that the cabinet has accomplished all the difficult tasks that were demanded of it. . . .

"The cycle that began in October culminated politically on March 4."

Then Allende read the following letter of resignation by the cabinet: "The recent parliamentary elections, whose result showed a strong vote for the sectors that support the government's program, at the same time constitute an excellent occasion for Your Excellency's closest collaborators, the ministers of the cabinet, to leave you freedom of action so that if you see fit you can, in accordance with your constitutional function, form a cabinet representative of the political reality expressed in this significant civic act."

While it is true that the right wing of the Unidad Popular was not able to afford the luxury of getting in some Christian Democrat or "independent" intermediary as a minister, the new cabinet reveals a clear consolidation of this wing in the government. The sharpening conflicts between the left and right inside the UP make this fact all the more evident, which in turn is increasing tensions.

The present composition of the cabinet is as follows:

Four right-wing Socialists: Clodomiro Almeida (Foreign Relations) and José Toha (National Defense) were in the previous cabinet. Gerardo Espinoza (Department of the Interior) and Pedro Hidalgo (Agriculture) have been added. Espinoza is said to be to the right of Allende.

Three Communists, all of whom were in the previous cabinet: Luis Figueroa (Labor and Social Security), Jorge Insunza (Justice) and Orlando Millas (Economics). The latter was the author of the notorious "Millas Bill" that provided for returning some intervened plants to their owners. It was energetically rejected by the working class.

Three Radicals: Jorge Tapia (who remains as minister of education), Humberto Martones (shifted from Land and Homesteading to Public Works), and Anibal Palma (who takes the post of general secretary of the government).

Two "left independents": Arturo Girón (Public Health) and Luis Matte (Housing and Urban Affairs). Both were in the previous cabinet.

One member of the Izquierda Cristiana [Christian Left], Sergio Bitar, has been included as minister of mines. He is the least representative figure in this small party in the left wing of the Unidad Popular.

One member of the API [Acción Popular Independiente — Independent People's Action], which is in the right wing of the UP, has also been brought in: Roberto Cuéllar (Land and Homesteading).

The one MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria — Movement for United People's Action] member remains: Fernando Flores (Treasury).

The reason for this kind of cabinet was to give the appearance of "pluralism" in the Unidad Popular. However, as was noted, the Izquierda Cristiana minister does not reflect the views of his group. Moreover, keeping Flores in his post was very significant. This represents Allende giving his blessing to the right wing of MAPU which, under CP prompting, recently staged a coup d'état against the party leadership elected at a congress not long ago (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 2, p. 368). Thus, the UP right has quietly solved the difficult problem of recognizing the usurpers in MAPU.

The formation of this cabinet clari-

fies and sharpens the conflicts between the masses and their leaderships, heightening the crisis of the UP. The next important chapter in this process

will probably be the congress of the Socialist party, on which the dynamic of the workers and popular mobilizations will have a decisive impact. □

ERP Kidnaps Retired Admiral

Lanusse Weighing Response to Guerrillas

"The ruling military junta yesterday held its second emergency session in less than 24 hours to discuss the way to contain an intensified terrorist campaign," reported United Press International from Buenos Aires in a dispatch published in the April 4 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*. The emergency sessions were called after the April 2 kidnappings in Buenos Aires of retired Rear Admiral Francisco Agustín Alemán, former under secretary of the merchant marine until his retirement last December, and, in a separate incident, of Anthony R. Da Cruz, a Portuguese-born United States citizen.

The *New York Times* reported in a dispatch from Buenos Aires April 3 that Da Cruz was kidnapped while on his way to work at the Kodak Argentina Laboratories just outside the capital. It identified his abductors merely as "left-wingers hoping to raise money."

Alemán was allegedly seized by nine guerrillas of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People). "The police said that the abductors of Admiral Alemán tied and gagged his wife and 11-year-old son and painted slogans on the wall identifying themselves as members of the People's Revolutionary Army," the *Times* said. One of the slogans left in the apartment was reportedly "Popular justice for Trelew," a reference to the August 22, 1972, massacre of sixteen guerrillas at the Trelew naval base.

"The abductions," the *Times* continued, "added to fears here that continuing terrorism could interfere with the military's plan to hand over power on May 25 to Dr. Héctor J. Cámpora, who is scheduled to take over as President as a result of the victory of his Peronist coalition in the elections of March 11."

Prior to calling the special govern-

mental sessions, President Alejandro Lanusse paid a personal visit to the wife and son of Alemán.

On April 3, another incident occurred in the provincial capital La Plata, fifty-seven kilometers south of Buenos Aires. According to a UPI report in the April 4 *El Diario*, "a group of three men and a woman machine-gunned down a policeman. "A police spokesman at first attributed the attack to a subversive commando, but later it was officially learned that what was involved was an unsuccessful robbery attempt."

The following day, Colonel Héctor Alberto Iribarren, chief of intelligence of Argentina's Third Army, headquartered in Córdoba, was killed near his home in a suburb of Córdoba, reported the Associated Press April 4. The police version of the incident, AP said, was that two "terrorists crashed a pick-up truck head-on" into the colonel's car. When he emerged a bit dazed, they both "fired point-blank at Iribarren, then jumped into their truck and raced away."

On March 30, the Peronist coalition, the Frente Justicialista de Liberación (FREJULI—Justicialist Liberation Front) denounced what it called "a campaign of provocation aimed at impeding the start of the process of national reconstruction."

On April 3, reported AP, the Peronist vice-president-elect, Vicente Solano Lima, told newsmen in Buenos Aires that "four Peronist-oriented urban guerrilla organizations had ceased their terrorist activities after the election." □

An Old and Dear Friend

Soviet leaders are backing Yugoslavia's President Tito for the Nobel Peace Prize. In a letter to the Nobel Committee reprinted in *Pravda*, Nikolai Tikhonov, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, praised Tito for "constantly coming out on the side of peace-loving forces."

Why the 'Stage of Total Confrontation' Was Launched

By Jon Rothschild

In the fall of 1971, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat announced that 1971 would be the "year of decision," during which the Arab-Israeli conflict would be settled, either through war or through diplomacy. When 1972 began, no decision having been made, the new year was dubbed the "year of inevitable confrontation," meaning that the failure of diplomacy in 1971 would have to give way in 1972 to armed action to liberate Egyptian territory occupied by Israel since the 1967 war.

For 1973 Sadat has a new slogan. The confrontation has moved from inevitability to totality. Starting in the last week of March, the Egyptian press began to pick up the new Sadat slogan. Typical was the March 30 issue of the mass-circulation weekly *el-Musawwar*, whose cover headline blared, "The beginning of the stage of total confrontation."

The new stage was officially inaugurated by Sadat on March 26, when he delivered a two-and-a-half-hour speech to a joint session of the People's Assembly (parliament) and the Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), the country's sole legal political party. The press had begun to prepare the population for some innovation several days earlier. On March 24 news stories appeared saying that a "turning point" was about to be reached. "Informed sources" reported that Aziz Sidky, the premier, had resigned at a special cabinet meeting on March 24.

The attention of the country thus attracted, Sadat delivered his March 26 speech. That evening it was broadcast over the radio. The "turning point," as it developed, was a shake-up in the cabinet. Sidky had in fact resigned. The premiership was taken over by Sadat himself. Sadat announced that an entirely new government would be created to prepare the country for war, for the "total confrontation" that stood on the order of the day. The new cabinet, Sadat said, would be announced within days.

Sadat tried to portray the government shake-up as primarily dictated by the requirements of the struggle against Israel. He noted the persistently pro-Israeli role of Washington and claimed that he had finally decided that the perspective of seeking to convince Nixon to pressure Meir into making territorial concessions in exchange for a peace treaty was futile. All the changes he was about to propose in domestic Egyptian policy, Sadat claimed, flowed from the necessity of creating a society ready for armed confrontation with the Zionist state.

"The stage of total confrontation has become inevitable," Sadat said, "and we are entering it whether we like it or not. The military situation must be made to move, with all the sacrifices that this entails. The military build-up must be completed so that the armed forces can carry out their mission with everything we possess."

In fact, as usual Sadat was being less than honest. The "foreign policy" aspects of his speech took up less than half his time. The real reason he decided to take over the premiership (which will place him formally in charge of the council of ministers) was the deteriorating domestic situation.

"Certain elements," Sadat claimed, had sought to take advantage of the "rectification movement" launched in May 1971 along with the purge of the left-Nasserite wing of the ASU. These elements, he said, had actually hatched plots against the state. And he made it clear who the "elements" were by immediately launching into an attack on the student movement, which had taken to the streets in strikes and demonstrations earlier this year.

The students, Sadat charged, had tried to make contact with trade unions, a serious offense in Egypt. "And all this was done in order to blow up our society in the name of a Marxist neo-Nasserism, even though Nasser was not a Marxist."

Then Sadat went after the journalists, who, he claimed, had adopted a "strange" attitude "systematically favorable" to the students, instead of defending the institutions of the country. He further claimed that the left-Nasserite tendency purged in 1971 had been struggling to make a comeback, and that this had to be prevented. "Nobody will be allowed to undermine the supremacy of the law or to plot against the country" during the "total confrontation," Sadat said.

The New Cabinet

On March 27, the new government was announced. An examination of the changes made proves that in reality Sadat has made yet another shift to the right. The "total confrontation" will be not with the Israeli regime, but with the Egyptian students, writers, and those workers audacious enough to respond to the students' efforts to establish contact.

The new cabinet is composed of four "sectors," each one headed by a minister who will hold the post of vice-president of the council of ministers. The sectors are culture and information (that is, censorship and propaganda), internal security and resistance, finances and the economy, and religion. Of the four sector heads, only one is new to the cabinet—the minister of religious affairs, Abdel Aziz Kamel.

The "Number two" man in the regime is now Abdel Kader Hatem, who retains his posts as minister of culture and information and vice-president of the council of ministers. He will preside over the cabinet in Sadat's absence and will present the government program to the People's Assembly. He will reportedly also play a key role in formulating foreign policy. Hatem came into his own after the May 1971 purge; Nasser had considered him to be too far right.

Mamdouh Salem, already minister of the interior, was placed in charge of "internal security and resistance."

Salem will not have any trouble figuring out whom to resist. A career police officer whose major qualification for political office is his unbridled admiration for Sadat, he served as governor of Alexandria until May 1971. After the purge begun in that month, he replaced Sharwy Gomaa as minister of the interior. Gomaa, one of the central targets of the purge, was convicted of plotting against the state and has been jailed.

The new vice-president for economy and finance is Abdel Aziz Hegazi, who was formerly in charge of the treasury. He advocates "liberalizing" the Egyptian economy, that is, denationalizing state-run industries. He is also known to be among the most pro-European of Egyptian economic administrators.

In the lower-ranking ministerial posts, there were two notable changes. Former Minister of Supply Furad Morsi, who in Egypt is considered a Marxist, was fired. He was replaced by Ahmed Sabet, an army general. General Abdel Fatah Abdullah, who had been secretary of the "commission for preparing for a state of war," was named minister of state for council-of-minister affairs. That obscure-sounding title would appear to be a euphemism for Sadat's House Spy. The semiofficial daily *el-Ahram* explained that in his former position the general had been able "to make contact with the various ministries and to get to know the internal situation as a whole."

The last personnel shift was a change in the post of First Secretary of the ASU. Sayed Marei was fired; Muhammed Hafez Ghanem took over. That shift was especially interesting. Marei was a notorious right-winger and landlord (one of the few large landed proprietors to survive Nasser's demolition of the political power of that class), and had been a special target of student demonstrators as long ago as January 1972. But he did have a reputation for a minimal degree of personal independence. Not so Ghanem: He is an expert in international law who, even though he has held various government positions since 1955, has never betrayed any specific political ideas of any kind. He is known, however, as an "unconditional" supporter of Sadat and has been his confidant since the death of Nasser.



Hafez Ismail (Sadat's Kissinger), General Ahmed Ismail (chief of staff), and Mamdouh Salem (vice-president for internal security and resistance).

Thus the government of total confrontation. In a March 28 editorial, the influential Paris daily *Le Monde* noted that the only evolution discernible in the new regime was toward the right. "It is significant in this regard," the editors wrote, "that this time, contrary to his usual practice, Sadat [in his March 26 speech] attacked only the left, which he especially accused of 'plotting' to destroy even the basic pillars of Nasserism."

On March 28, the day after the new government was announced, Sadat made one more change—one that removed any possible doubt that his real intent was to tighten up on the domestic situation. He named himself military governor general of Egypt. The mechanics of this operation were pure Sadat. According to the terms of a law passed in 1958, the president has the power to appoint a military governor general during times of national emergency. Nasser declared a national emergency during the 1967 war; it has never been rescinded. So, in a three-paragraph decree, the president (Sadat) named the premier (Sadat, appointed by Sadat in his capacity as president) to be military governor general. This post, according to the 1958 statute, gives its incumbent the power to declare martial law and places him in overall charge of internal security. The same decree named Mamdouh Salem, already minister of the interior and

vice-president of the council of ministers in charge of "internal security and resistance," as deputy military governor general.

In case all this was not enough, at the first meeting of the new cabinet, Sadat requested passage of a new law that would give the public prosecutor broader powers to deal harshly with crimes against "national unity."

Personality Cult—Sadat's Last Ploy?

The April 2 issue of the West German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* headed its story on the Egyptian government shake-up "The Last Ploy." This is the fifth time since 1970 that Sadat has shuffled his government, *Spiegel* noted. Each time in the past, outgoing members were assigned responsibility for whatever difficulties were paralyzing Egypt at the time. "But now," wrote *Spiegel*, "unlike before, the President, Premier, and Military Governor has no more scapegoats to blame for the various failures that may occur—Sadat himself sits in all responsible positions."

It must be said that Sadat is making no effort to conceal that fact. In the last week of March the Egyptian press initiated a frenetic campaign to erect a cult of personality around the new strong man, as unlikely a candidate as Sadat may appear for such treatment. Various national organizations began taking out paid advertisements

in *el-Ahram* singing the praises of Sadat and his "new stage."

The weekly press joined in. *El-Musawwar* of March 30 is an example. Its cover is three-fourths filled by a full-color photograph of Sadat. Its lead page is three-fourths filled by a photograph of Sadat surrounded by applauding officials. Pages three and four contain yet another large photograph of Sadat, plus the news story about the "stage of total confrontation." Pages five and six are taken up by photographs. Spread across the two pages at the top is another photograph of Sadat, this time in a meeting with some of his new cabinet ministers. In addition, there are eight separate photographs of Sadat, each one an identical pose of the President-Premier-Military Governor shaking hands with various dignitaries.

On pages seven through nine we find an article entitled "Phases in President Sadat's Patriotic Struggle."

Sadat does appear to have cut himself off from further governmental shuffles. His cabinet and unofficial inner circle (especially Hafez Ismail, "Sadat's Kissinger") no longer include any figures of independent stature. Whatever positions of authority he does not hold himself are held by his personal cohorts, policemen and second-rate political hacks who cannot be credibly accused of plotting against the state unless Sadat wants to implicate himself.

Total Confrontation With Whom?

So it does appear that a "stage of total confrontation" has arrived. But the clash will be mostly domestic. The student movement, which took to the streets in massive numbers in January, has not faded away. The March 12 issue of the radical Beirut weekly *el-Hurriya* reported that the students are now publishing a daily newspaper, called *el-Intifaada* (The Tremor). *El-Hurriya* reprinted some excerpts from the student paper.

The students arrested during the January upsurge reportedly went on a hunger strike beginning February 1. Many have been taken to hospitals, but refuse to break the strike. On the campuses, students are still campaigning for the release of the arrested students.

On February 21—anniversary of

the 1946 upsurge against British occupation—the students tried to hold commemorative meetings. Although the government tried to prevent them from taking place, some 1,500 students at Cairo University participated. Classes were boycotted. There were also meetings at Ain Shems University.

El-Intifaada also reported that trials of arrested students began on February 19. At the first session, members of the defendants' families who came to observe were dispersed by police and were told that the trials were secret. *El-Intifaada* has called for a national student convention to be held "because the situation in the country is becoming decisive. . . . The regime is continuing its daily police attacks and methods of repression and terrorization, and spares no one from its blows, not even the militants' mothers or the very young students. It does not even rule out the use of weapons—from clubs to bullets, as the events around the Asyoot University demonstrations show." Six students were reported murdered by police at Asyoot.

In the economic sphere, Sadat's new turn is likely to lead to confrontation with the trade-union movement. The past month and a half has seen a sharp rise in prices of consumer goods, as well as a meat shortage. The March 26 *Washington Post* reported that Egypt's cash reserves have fallen to about \$10 million, an all-time low. The *Post* quoted one "well-informed Western source" as saying, "That isn't even peanuts for a country of 36 million people." Rectifying that situation will require further reduction in the workers' standard of living.

For Sadat, this creates a potentially explosive situation—one in which the students' attempts to link up with the workers, to merge the economic and political struggles, may have much greater possibilities of success.

The domestic crackdown being prepared by Sadat's assumption of unprecedented power will doubtless be accompanied by the usual demagoguery about "strengthening the home front" for the battle with Zionism. The ideological exigency—and not any serious attempt to initiate armed conflict with the Zionist state—accounts for Sadat's belligerent words about Israel.

The reality is that Sadat is continuing to pursue his diplomatic efforts

to convince Nixon to put a little pressure on Israel to be conciliatory. "Despite Egypt's new hardline stance on the Middle East issue," the April 3 *Washington Post* reported, "the government will continue its dialogue with the United States on the possibility for a peace settlement, according to an official Cairo source quoted later by UPI. 'The dialogue with the United States has not stopped, and we have no intention to stop it,' the source said."

It should also be noted that Egyptian military capability is apparently at its lowest level in years. "A recent report in a British paper," *Newsweek* reported April 9, "claims that a Soviet rocket team, which recently returned to Egypt to inspect the missile-defense system, was 'appalled' by the state of disrepair and neglect it discovered. The Israelis, the Russians concluded, could sweep the length and breadth of Egypt practically unopposed and wipe out the country's air defenses just as quickly as they did on the morning of June 5, 1967."

It is possible that Sadat may try some very small-scale military action against the Israeli occupation—for the dual purpose of trying to sell his "total confrontation" policies to the Egyptian population and of trying to alarm Washington about the explosiveness of the Arab East if Tel Aviv is not compelled to give ground. This tactic is dangerous. It was used by Nasser in the days immediately preceding the 1967 war. Washington failed to bring any "peace" pressure on Tel Aviv, and the Israeli regime used Nasser's sabre-rattling as an opportunity to launch an expansionist war that could be palmed off as a struggle for survival. It is far from out of the question that Meir would use some minor military action on Sadat's part as an excuse to renew massive bombing raids on the Nile valley.

It is doubtful that the Sadat regime could survive a development like this. Presumably Sadat is aware of his vulnerable position and will act accordingly. But whether he can survive his total confrontation with the Egyptian workers and students is another question. What kind of government will succeed him if he cannot is yet another. The answers depend largely on the workers and students—or more precisely, on the quality of their leadership. □

U.S. Meat Boycott Protests Inflation

By Fred Feldman

In the two months since Nixon ended price controls as part of "Phase 3" of his economic program, U.S. food prices have risen at an annual rate of 28 percent. Meat prices jumped 5.4 percent in February alone. At the same time Nixon, supported by the union bureaucrats, is pressuring workers to limit annual wage increases to 5.5 percent.

The sharp increases in meat prices threaten to push meat out of the diets of lower-income Americans. As an alternative, at least one Los Angeles supermarket has begun to sell "pet food" in its frozen food section at the bargain rate of \$.39 a pound.

Under these circumstances, American workers are beginning to grope for effective means to oppose inflation. The week-long boycott of meat that took place from April 1 to April 7 was the first expression of this desire for organized resistance to Nixon's economic policies.

The boycott was organized by a host of women's, consumers', and community organizations that go by names such as JETSTOP (Joint Effort to Stop These Outrageous Prices), HELP (Housewives Expect Lower Prices), and BAM (Boycott All Meat).

Just before the boycott started, hundreds of women picketed the White House in protest against soaring meat prices. Anti-inflation protesters demonstrated at the Chicago Board of Trade. The National Association of Puerto Rican Civil Rights brought out 100 persons to protest high prices in the Bronx section of New York City. On April 7, as the boycott drew to a close, rallies took place in cities throughout the country.

The action cut meat sales nationally by about 50%. Some supermarkets in New York City reported that sales plummeted by as much as 95%.

On March 29, as the date for the boycott approached, Nixon tried to defuse the movement by imposing "price ceilings" on meat. The ceilings limited meat prices to the record-high levels they had reached in the preceding month.

In a news conference on March 15, Nixon had firmly opposed even such a minimal measure. Explaining the reversal of position, one of Nixon's aides told the *New York Times* on March 30, "That was two weeks ago, before the level of public disenchantment reached the level it did."

Nixon's move failed to dissuade the boycotters. A New York boycott organizer, Yvonne Mosca, told the *New York Times*, "A ceiling on veal at \$4 a pound does not help me a bit in the marketplace."

Nixon and his cronies took a dim view of the boycott. These politicians view such actions as a highly undesirable precedent for mass interference in capitalist economic decision-making. Nixon gave a graphic demonstration of his contemptuous attitude on April 2 by serving roast prime tenderloin of beef as the main course at a White House dinner in honor of Thieu. For those less well-heeled than himself, Nixon has recommended "buying the cheaper cuts" as the solution to high meat prices.

Senator Roman Hruska, a Nebraska Republican, said of the boycott, "Americans must face up to the fact that food bargain days are over. Raisers of food should partake of the prosperity in America, not subsidize it."

California's Governor Ronald Reagan raised the opposition to the boycott to a considerably higher ideological plane. Meat "shortages" are part of "God's will," he explained, "and I'm not in favor of boycotting Him."

Although masses of people participated in the boycott, it had little or no impact on meat prices. The big meat corporations chose to ride out the protest on the assumption that a boycott could not sustain itself indefinitely.

Nixon and the capitalist class have tried to pin the blame for inflation on the supposedly soaring wages of American workers. Statistics issued each month by the U.S. Department of Labor tell a different story. From 1965 to 1970, the weekly purchasing

power, measured in 1967 dollars, of a manufacturing worker with three dependents declined from \$102.41 to \$99.66. From 1970 to 1972, as the economy began to recover from the previous recession, weekly purchasing power rose to \$108.02. This represented a gain of less than 6 percent in seven years. Today, accelerating inflation is again producing a decline in real wages.

In a special feature on inflation in the April 6 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*, Dick Roberts described how Nixon's wage controls have prevented workers from taking advantage of the upturn in the economic cycle: During Phase 1, the first 90 days after Nixon's August 15, 1971, announcement of "wage-price controls," American workers "lost more than \$4 billion [million] in wages, either through being denied settlements that had already been won or through prevention of the negotiation of new settlements comparable to the wage increases won in the 90 days preceding the decree. The employers were the beneficiaries.

"Under Phase 2, from Nov. 14, 1971, to Jan. 11, 1973, the rate of wage raises fell below the pre-freeze period. From an average increase of 8 percent in 1971, workers' wages went up only 6 percent on the average in 1972.

"On Feb. 26, 1973, the Labor Department announced that first-year wage increases in major labor contracts (which are generally higher than those in succeeding years) averaged 7 percent in 1972 as compared with 11.6 percent in 1971.

"These figures, representing substantial losses for American workers, apply only to those workers protected by union contracts. Those who had no unions—more than three-fourths of the work force—fared even worse."

A successful struggle against high prices will require a frontal assault on Nixon's entire economic policy, including his wage-control and unemployment policies. But the organized labor movement, which can play the decisive role in such a struggle, is saddled by a bureaucracy that not only has no program to oppose inflation, but is actively assisting Nixon in imposing wage controls.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, Teamsters union head Frank Fitzsimmons, United Auto Workers President

Leonard Woodcock, President Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union, and I.W. Abel of the United Steel Workers are acting as "representatives" of labor on Nixon's Labor-Management Advisory Committee. Their presence is intended to give an aura of even-handed impartiality to the enforcement of wage controls.

The class-collaborationist policy of the bureaucrats has left both unionized and nonunionized workers to fend for themselves. The boycott represented a first effort by masses of people to fill the vacuum left by the refusal of traditional labor leaders to combat Nixon's attack on their standard of living.

Although millions of workers participated as individuals, or through community and women's groups, the bureaucrats maintained a resounding silence about the meat boycott. One of the exceptions was District 37 (New York City) of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which has printed and distributed one million leaflets in support of the boycott.

Elizabeth Feinstein, who heads District 37's Operation Pricewatch, stated: "Our membership represents 120,000 people with an average income of \$8,000. But we have plenty of hospital and clerical workers who make below that, and our members can't afford the prices of food."

The United Auto Workers also voted to support the boycott.

George Meany's response was typical of the attitude of the labor bureaucrats. Meany's office issued a statement in his name on March 30 criticizing Nixon for imposing price ceilings on meat instead of the modest rollback in prices that Meany had proposed. Meany was not able to make the statement in person, however, since he was in Augusta, Georgia, playing golf with Secretary of the Treasury George Schultz, Nixon's chief economic adviser.

A revolutionary-socialist strategy for the working-class fight against inflation was presented in a front-page editorial in the April 13 issue of *The Militant*:

"Most consumers are workers, and many of them belong to unions. They are the ones who are suffering as a result of the support their leaders have given to Nixon's wage controls. The fight against the deteriorating stan-

dard of living must be taken into the unions, and the unions must take the lead in organizing the fight against inflation. The refusal of the current leaders of the labor unions to throw the strength of the unions into this fight stands as an obstacle in the way of the whole struggle.

"Decisive action by the unions in the fight against inflation would be welcomed enthusiastically by the thousands of activists in the meat boycott, and by union members and nonmembers alike. Such action would put the unions in the front ranks of the defense of the real wages of all working people. By taking action in support of the meat boycotters, the unions could provide the leadership that would make possible an effective and continuing struggle against inflation.

"By stepping into the fight, the unions would gain allies among unorganized workers and among middle-class people. This would undercut the attempts by the ruling class to shift the blame for inflation onto the union members themselves. By standing on the sidelines, the unions are losing a chance to win support and sympathy that they need, especially in the coming round of contract negotiations involving nearly five million workers in auto, rubber, trucking, electrical, and other industries.

"To carry the fight against high prices forward, decisive action by the union movement is needed. The massive opposition to the current inflationary price hikes must be translated

into backing for escalator clauses in all union contracts, which would boost wages whenever the cost of living rises. The fight to defend workers' standard of living must also include the fight against unemployment, including a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, to spread the available work.

"The union movement, in alliance with the consumer groups and ad hoc committees that organized the meat boycott, could set up price-watch committees with the power to police prices, and boycott and expose companies that continue to raise prices.

"Such committees, backed by the power of the unions, including the unions of food workers themselves, could demand to inspect the financial statements of the food monopolies to expose their profiteering to the public.

"Unions in this country could take a lesson from the labor movement in Britain, which has set a one-day general strike to protest the government's attempt to control their wages and shift the burden of inflation onto their backs. This kind of action would back up the demand for lower food prices with a mighty force.

"But this kind of independent struggle will never come about as long as the unions remain the abject supporters of the parties of the ruling class. No solution can come about through continuing to rely on the Democratic and Republican parties, as Meany and the other union bureaucrats are doing today." □

European Groups in Vietnam Campaign

A number of European organizations in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution have agreed to launch a campaign demanding the release of the estimated 200,000-300,000 political prisoners in South Vietnamese jails. The first major action of the campaign, according to a report in the March 30 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly organ of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, will be an international demonstration in Milan, Italy, on May 12.

The decision to launch the campaign was taken at two gatherings in Paris of various European groups. The first took place on March 3-4, and the second on March 24-25.

The groups in attendance, reported

Rouge, were "among the most active and radical" in Europe. "Two Danish organizations (DDV), two French (FSI and MSPI), and one organization from Austria (committee from Innsbruck), Germany (ISK), Italy (Comitato Vietnam), Belgium (FUNI), Sweden (SLI), Luxembourg (Comité d'Indochine), and Switzerland (CIV) have already signed the joint statement that emerged from these working sessions. . . .

"Organizations from England (ISE), Norway (Sol Kom), Finland, Holland, Austria (SKI), Sweden (FNL Groups), and Germany (Heidelberg committee) have also been contacted and have indicated they are interested. Their response should be known soon." □

Swiss Trotskyists on Question of Abortion

[The following article appeared in the March 8 issue of *La Brèche*, semi-monthly of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League), the Swiss Trotskyist organization. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Today, in all the capitalist countries, the problems of abortion and sexuality are on the order of the day. Scandals and trials are piling up to the point that the bourgeoisie finds itself obliged to break the stony silence with which it has until now surrounded these "taboo" subjects (except, of course, when it was a question of a young worker, salesgirl, or white-collar worker who had the audacity to flout sacrosanct morals by having an abortion).

Almost everywhere women and physicians have begun to speak out, denouncing the repressive character of these morals and showing the extent to which women's lack of independence is tied to anything that directly or indirectly relates to problems of sexuality. What has been challenged by the declarations from all quarters that have been published in the bourgeois press (a page headed "Abortion—Sexuality" has become an almost daily feature in *Le Monde* over the past few months) is not merely the scandal of clandestine abortion and the complete lack of any sex education, but much more the place "reserved" for women in society.

From the Bobigny Trial to the MLF

The trial in Bobigny, France—the "soap-opera" story of seventeen-year-old Marie-Claire, who interrupted a pregnancy with the "complicity" of her mother and two other women—not only revealed the sordid aspects of a clandestine abortion carried out in violation of France's 1920 law (one of the most reactionary on this question). Above all, it allowed a series of witnesses to drive home the direct lines between this question of abortion and the problems of socialization of

women, of their professional work, and of their economic, psychological, and sexual dependency.

This is also what came up in the controversy that followed the indictment handed down against Nicole



NICOLE MERCIER: "No grounds" for prosecuting her were found.

Mercier, the Belfort philosophy teacher who had agreed to hold a class discussion on Dr. Carpentier's famous pamphlet "Let's Learn to Make Love."

In both these cases, the controversy went way beyond discussing the events that had provoked it. In both these cases, what the controversy allowed for was an immediate mobilization, carried out either along the lines of the MLF [Mouvement pour la Libération de la Femme] or of some "progressive" organization for women's rights (like Choisir) or of a spontaneous movement of students and teachers. Meetings and demonstrations assembling several thousand persons, letters, and petitions—these were the ways of publicizing the controversy.

And finally, in both these cases, the bourgeois courts had to retreat because of this mobilization, refusing to convict Marie-Claire, imposing "only" suspended sentences against her

mother and the woman who performed the abortion, and finding themselves forced to declare that there were no grounds for prosecuting Nicole Mercier. The movement is now continuing in France with the publication of the "Manifesto of the 331," in which physicians proclaim that they have performed abortions and demand the abolition of the 1920 law as well as the complete recognition of women's rights on this matter. (The manifesto has since been signed by many other physicians.) [See *Intercontinental Press*, February 26, p. 215.]

The ANEA [Association Nationale pour l'Etude de l'Avortement—National Association for the Study of Abortion] "Charter on Abortion" is more moderate. Signed by 206 personalities, it also comes out against the 1920 law, but it maintains the principle of a commission empowered to decide in each case whether an abortion is opportune, and it thereby refuses to recognize that women are the only ones responsible for their bodies.

Finally, after a series of televised debates in which many participants insisted on the necessity of separating pleasure from procreation and on the consequent necessity of widely distributing contraceptives; and in which masturbation and homosexuality were "freely" spoken of, an MLF meeting held in Paris "for free and legal contraception and abortion" drew more than 2,000 people, thus demonstrating the topicality of these demands today.

Faced with all this, the French bourgeoisie panics, takes a position, splits, drags out of the file some old projects calling for modification of a few words, commas, or paragraphs in the law; or else, like Giscard the demagogue, claims it wants to change the whole thing. But France is not the only place to go through this situation. Belgium also has its scandals and trials.

The Masses Are With the 'Good Doctor'

After "F-day," the first feminist day, organized in Belgium last November, an explosive situation was touched

off by the arrest of Dr. [Willy] Peers, professor at the Free University in Brussels, chief of maternity at Namur, and member of the Belgian Communist party. Imprisoned for having terminated the pregnancy of a mentally retarded young girl who had been raped by her father(!), Peers was then accused of having performed 320 abortions in his maternity department during an eight-month period (a violation of the Belgian law, which is nearly as reactionary as the French one).

Here again, despite the upright thinkers who declared themselves indignant, this case was the point of departure for a mass mobilization. A petition with 200,000 signatures, hundreds of telegrams, and demonstrations demanding freedom for Peers (6,000 persons marched on January 28, and even more on February 4) expressed the opposition of broader and broader layers of the population to repressive laws denying women any independence.

In other countries, the bourgeoisie found itself forced to give some ground, at least concerning the *terms of the law*.

In the United States, the Supreme Court ruled abortion allowable and legally authorized (but not free!) up to the sixth month of pregnancy, with the stipulation that after the third month, the operation must be performed in a hospital. Any repressive abortion law is illegal in the United States from now on, and this initial victory is owed primarily to the systematic propaganda work carried out for more than two years by WONAAC [Women's National Abortion Action Coalition].

In Austria, abortion has just been made legal up to the third month, and the Danish government, for its part, has proposed a law providing for free abortion during the first twelve weeks of pregnancy.

Even in Italy, as usual the most backward country on these questions, where at the moment abortion for any reason whatsoever is forbidden (not everyone is so lucky as to live in the same country as the pope), people are debating whether abortion should be authorized in certain cases (physical danger to the mother or risk of an abnormal baby; how the meaning of the word "progress" differs from place to place!).



Demonstrations in defense of Mercier created big stir in France.

And Switzerland?

As to Switzerland, if it has not so far experienced "scandals" and movements like those described above, this no doubt results from the relative political and social stability Switzerland is still experiencing, compared to the open crisis of the French and Belgian governments and compared to the very hard struggles being waged by the working class in these two countries.

But it is no less true that the question of abortion exists here as elsewhere and that it has again been placed on the front pages of the press, with the founding meeting of the Union for Decriminalization that was held in Berne last February 3. The Union aims at supporting a reform bearing the same name that was proposed at the end of 1971.

We have already stated our position on this reform (*La Brèche*, October 1971, No. 33). This law, as its name indicates, would eliminate criminal penalties—that is, there would be no more sentences meted out for abortion—and it seeks to end the different procedures that now exist in the various *cantons*; but it in no way demands *real freedom of abortion* for

women, since it, following the ANEA, allows for a commission of experts.

Still worse, ANEA at least defines the jurisdiction of such commissions, as well as their composition (only people who have signed the Charter, that is, people who, while not revolutionists, are at least conscious of the problem posed by abortion). But the Swiss reform bill is silent on this point; this would have the effect of confirming in their positions certain reactionary physicians functioning as experts (!) on the present commissions.

Nevertheless, this does not prevent us from according (very) critical support to the proposal, since for some Catholic *cantons*, where abortion witch-hunts are still regularly carried out, it represents real progress. And especially, such a proposal can and must allow us, by going beyond its initial framework, to carry on a big propaganda campaign for *free and legal abortion and for equal rights for women and men at all levels*.

It is all the more important that we not only batter at the reactionary positions of the "Yes to life, No to abortion" petition (which got 180,000 signatures) or of a Van Moos, who demands recognition of the "fetus's right to life," but also that we show clearly how such positions are directly tied to bourgeois morals and to *class positions*.

State, Church, Family, Justice

In France over the past few months there has been a brilliant demonstration of this, through a series of "viewpoints" and "counterviewpoints" from the guardians of law and order, generously distributed by a press in need of sensationalist articles. It all revolved around the Bobigny trial.

In response to the articles by professors Milliez and Palmer, who had come out against the ossified 1920 law, Mr. Jean Foyer, minister of public health, began by conjuring the devil, claiming that France is underpopulated. (Translation: The employers are short of cheap labor.)

Cardinal Renard, archbishop of Lyon, supported by the Confédération des Familles Chrétiennes [Confederation of Christian Families], which calls for struggle against all those who want "to transform our hospitals into crime clinics," fell into step with Foyer

by declaring that "the fact of not being wanted, accepted, or loved does not stop the baby from still being a human being." (Workers, if your employer doesn't love you, don't cry, you're still good enough to work the assembly line!)

And then there is professor Lortat-Jacob, president of the National Council of the Order of Physicians, well known for the grand sweep of his ideas, who came to reassure everyone by affirming that "the guardians of medical ethics are concerned with morals," and to make it known that they "distinguish between really social motives . . . and authentic cases of abortion for personal convenience." (If you *really* intend to throw your baby into a trash can because you don't have anything to feed it, that would stir up a scandal bigger than the bourgeoisie would like to deal with; then we may think about it . . . If not, ladies, to your baby carriages!)¹

As to Madam Rassat, professor of criminal law at Rouen, she came to the aid of these gentlemen by agreeing with all their assertions from a "woman's" point of view. In fact, while she does not "dream of denying that sexual relations may be necessary for a balanced life," nevertheless, she finds that a woman must "know how to resist certain impulses." She says this, naturally, above all for poor women because she admits, along with Professor Milliez, that these women risk their health and their lives by aborting much more often than do rich women. But just the same, one cannot grant the principle of abortion on the basis of financial criteria! For how do you know at what point a

1. This same Lortat-Jacob had already demonstrated his "morals and objectivity" in 1971, when the manifesto in which 343 women said they had had abortions was published. He declared: "By observing the quality of the names of the 343 delinquents in question, the spelling and sound of their surnames, I am compelled to note some evidence that they would not appear to be very Catholic." To which Mr. Villette, president of the National Confederation of Christian Families, responded (demonstrating his "charity"): "That a number of these 343 'unfortunate women' may be Jews changes nothing in the essence of the problem, although it does add to the sadness of the situation, for the sufferings of their race should have prevented them from falling into such erring ways."

woman can be considered rich or poor?

And Madam Rassat reveals very clearly what class interests she defends when she asserts: "Everyone will agree with us that sexual satisfaction is in no way more vital than the need to eat or to be protected from the cold. Now nobody has ever held that all citizens should have the given right to be fed, housed, and clothed free by the collectivity, except in special circumstances that justify the application of social solidarity!"

Finally, the literati, in the person of the "professor and writer" Mr. Morteilhet, come forth with their own contribution to the unsavory brew with arguments that smack of open racism (even if lacking the crass anti-Semitism of a Lortat-Jacob): "It will be seen that if 3 million abortions are performed, a state is deprived of 3,000 geniuses, 7,000 people of superior intelligence, and 40,000 people of an intelligence worthy of the name (sic) Mass abortion under some humanist pretext or other is thus a waste of sure values, a eugenic absurdity." (Or in other words: "Let them live," and we'll sort them out later; some little task will be found for those who are among the "not intelligent.")²

An Unbridled Liberty?

We would bet that if the Swiss press decided to publish the positions of the right-thinking Swiss bourgeoisie, the arguments would not be very different from those above.

Moreover, we have already gotten a foretaste of this in the gynecologists' reactions to the American Supreme Court decision establishing legal abortion during the first six months of pregnancy: "Switzerland's legislation being among the most tolerant in the world," they declared, "total and unconditional legalization of abortion, whatever the stage of the pregnancy, is unacceptable."³

Moreover, the gynecologists are opposed "to discriminating among the various stages of pregnancy" and especially reject legalized abortion for

2. See *Le Monde*, November 22 and December 12, 1972, and January 3, February 6, February 17, and February 18, 1973.

3. *Tribune de Geneve* and *Journal de Geneve*, January 24, 1973.

the first three months of pregnancy. And they state, just as the Federation of Protestant Churches does, that "a pregnancy should not be considered the province solely of the one concerned, that is, the woman."

If this view of things is rounded out with the position of the Swiss Catholic Synod (it has just absolutely rejected sexual relations outside marriage, which would "inscribe an unbridled liberty, egoism, and free unions in contemporary mentality"⁴), then it is easily seen that the sacrosanct principles of the family and of male dominance are safe.

There is therefore no great reason for hope that Articles 118-120 of the criminal code will be revised, which was recommended by thirty "experts" in 1972. Much more likely will be a reduction in the sweep of certain repressive laws in some *cantons*, in order to lessen the "trauma" caused both by clandestine abortions performed under deplorable conditions and by legal prosecution.

And as our French comrades said in *Rouge*: "For the 'traumas' everyone is so facily speaking about to be totally eliminated, it would be necessary for sexuality to cease being a punishable offense restricted to procreation alone and for the image of women no longer to be indissolubly bound to motherhood. And in regard to these things, we can expect nothing from capitalism."⁵

In the coming *La Brèche* we will return to the ties between the problems of abortion and sexuality, to the so-called progressive laws that countries like France, Belgium (and Switzerland?) are claiming to introduce today, as well as to the caution that must be exercised in evaluating the concrete effects of the "complete liberalization" of abortion laws in Great Britain or the United States. □

4. *Le Monde*, November 30, 1972.

5. *Rouge*, No. 183.

Telling Argument

Hoping to persuade his colleagues to ratify the international convention against genocide, U. S. Senator William Proxmire explained April 2 that "lynchings, police actions with respect to the Black Panthers, and the incidents at My Lai do not constitute genocide under the terms of the convention, contrary to what opponents of the convention would have us believe."

Growing Anger at Marcos Dictatorship

By Antero Nanhaya

Manila

Six months after the announcement of martial law last September 23, the Marcos dictatorship has begun its inevitable decline. The deterioration is so evident that even a hack journalist such as Kerima Polotan admits that "already there are disturbing symptoms of backsliding" (*Focus Philippines*, March 24).

If the regime is "backsliding," what were its previous successes? These can only be the crushing of all mass organizations—worker, peasant, and student—regardless of how reformist their leaderships may have been, the elimination of all rights of expression and assembly, a wage freeze, large-scale arrests and searches, and similar apparently not "disturbing" measures.

U. S. 'Advisers' Fight Guerrillas

The Muslims of the southern Philippines are extending their rebellion against the government. The old leadership has long since capitulated to Marcos, and the rebellion represents a repudiation of the traditional feudal structures that have until recently strangled any mass struggle. Unity of the several distinct Muslim cultural groups was also impossible under the old hereditary nobility.

In an attempt to discredit the movement of the more than 3,000,000 Muslims, the government has alternately accused them of being Maoist and being directed by Libya. Marcos spokesman Primitivo Mijares blusters: "Khadaffi's so-called 'secessionist movement' in Mindanao is doomed" (*Daily Express*, March 28). The Muslims form the most heavily oppressed sector of Philippine society and in addition are now being dispossessed because they inhabit regions in which oil deposits abound.

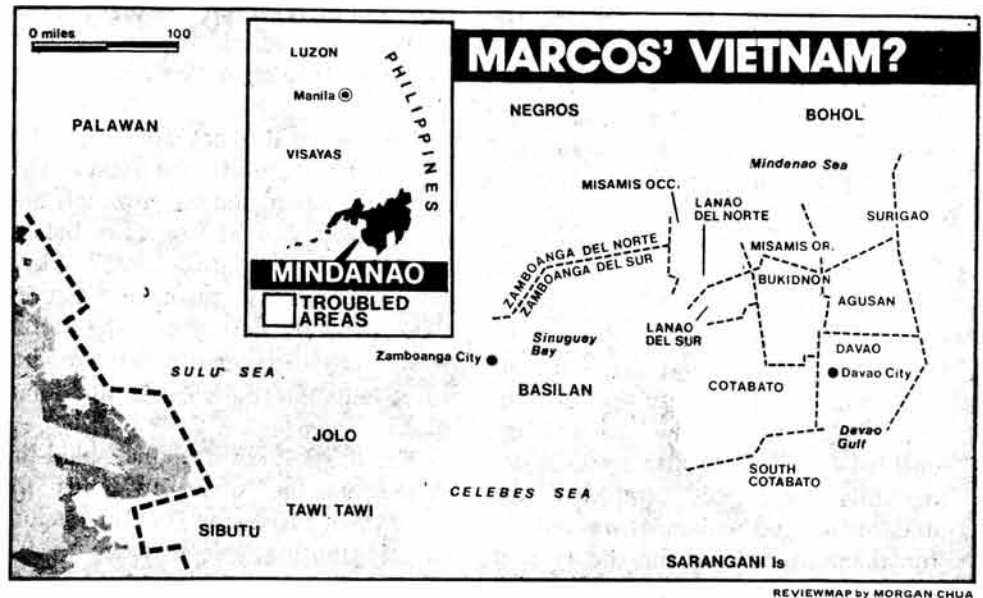
Muslim rebels fighting well-coordinated guerrilla actions control large portions of the islands of Basilan, Jolo, and Sulu, and the provinces of Cotabato, Lanao del Sur, and Zamboanga del Sur in Mindanao. U.S. Peace Corps volunteers were

evacuated and replaced by "advisers" fresh from Vietnam.

The Philippine air force is bombing heavily and indiscriminately and has lost at least one plane to ground fire. Several government strongholds have been decimated and casualties, especially among young government of-

visers, supplied with U.S. military hardware, financed by U.S.-Japan-controlled international banks, and administered by U.S.-trained technocrats, the Marcos regime, like those of Indonesia and Brazil, is nothing but an imperialist front organization.

Imperialism's plundering of Philippine human and natural resources is made easier by the abstention or concurrence of the workers-state bureaucracies. Kremlin apologist William Pomeroy parroted the official position of the Soviet Union in the *Daily World* [newspaper of the U.S. Communist party] last October 3 when he at-



icers, have been considerable, although unannounced. The army has issued weapons to 23,000 civilian "volunteers" in strategic hamlets.

In Luzon, the Maoist New People's Army has been most active in Isabela and Sorsogon provinces, and the regime has resorted to the use of paramilitary assassination squads and helicopter gunships to supplement ground forces. U.S. "advisers" in fatigues without name patches have been operating in at least one province, Nueva Ecija. Peasants have been forcibly herded into strategic hamlets in all three of these provinces.

The army is spread very thin by the need to patrol the cities, towns, and highways. Marcos has launched a crash program to increase manpower by calling up reserves, drafting all 20-year-olds, using civilianguards, and raising army salaries so as to induce enlistment.

Backed up by U.S. bases and ad-

tributed martial law in the Philippines to "capitalist rivalry" rather than the class struggle. Pomeroy noted approvingly that Marcos has taken "the first serious Philippine steps toward trade and diplomatic relations with socialist countries" and asserted that the dictator is now "freer . . . to resist U.S. pressures."

Constitutional Dictatorship

One of the by-products of martial law was the opportunity to model the new constitution to fit Marcos's needs for a legalistic facade. The Constitutional Convention, which in May had voted to ban Marcos from staying in power, on November 30 approved a charter that gave him dictatorial prerogatives. The construction was to be subject to a plebiscite on January 15 — one week before the automatic re-

convening of Congress under the old constitution.

On December 1, Marcos magnanimously decreed that the people would be free to discuss the proposed constitution. But it soon became apparent that the regime could not defend itself from even the rudiments of free discussion and that the plebiscite would result in such an overwhelming rejection of the new constitution that not even massive cheating would be able to conceal it.

Accordingly, on December 23 the plebiscite was indefinitely postponed and "citizens' assemblies" substituted for it.

The assemblies were wholly fictitious, except for a few held in Greater Manila for the benefit of foreign reporters. These were scheduled during working hours on weekdays to exclude workers. Troops rounded up housewives and idlers to attend and then stood brandishing their arms during the proceedings. There was no freedom of speech and voting was by a show of hands.

On January 17, Marcos announced that 95 percent of 16,000,000 voters had approved all his wishes and thereby declared the constitution ratified, the national assembly suspended for at least seven years, and martial law to continue indefinitely.

News censorship is so strict that even conservative foreign publications like *Time* and *Newsweek* are often confiscated. Mimeograph and other copying machines not registered with the government are subject to seizure.

The mood on the campuses was shown by the thousands of students and faculty who braved harassment to attend the funeral of radical lawyer Enrique Voltaire Garcia, who died of leukemia March 2. As a student leader in 1966, Voltaire organized the first mammoth anti-imperialist demonstrations at the time of the Manila summit conference. Elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, he was detained after martial law was declared.

Destitution and Prostitution

Because of inflation, the wage freeze is a wage decrease. Also, since the peso is tied to the dollar, the recent 10% devaluation meant about that much loss in the buying power of wages. Postal rates were increased by

50% on March 1, and food prices creep upwards daily. A second 10% increase in the price of oil is awaiting the pleasure of the dictator's fountain pen.

Almost without exception, each day's headline of the Marcos-owned *Daily Express* boasts of new concessions to foreign investors. But relatively little new capital is entering the country because of the political instability and weakness of the regime, the morass of red tape and corrupt bureaucrats, and the fact that the most lucrative investment fields—mining, oil, and light manufacture for export—have long ago been monopolized by U.S. imperialism. Production for export is carefully limited to perpetuate the present monopolies.

The Philippine bourgeoisie has hastened to develop its own sector of the economy, the prostitution industry. "Massage clinics" and "sauna baths" have proliferated throughout the Manila area since martial law, as is evident from the advertisements in the

Daily Express. Night clubs, cabarets, and saunas entice customers to stay over during the nightly 12:00 to 4:00 curfew. Hotels and motels receive loans for expansion only if they cater to foreign tourists, and government programs for encouraging tourism are given high priority.

Want ads for women are limited to such "vocations" as sauna attendants, receptionists, promo girls, hostesses, and waitresses. Necessary qualifications are always "attractiveness" and a "pleasing personality." No experience is ever required.

While the entrepreneurs of tourism are stuffing their safe-deposit boxes with foreign dollars, the workers are forced to pay for the requisite tourist and travel facilities with their taxes. These well-chosen development priorities no doubt will be greeted with approval by the homeless urban squatters, the landless peasants, the destitute flood victims, the war refugees, and the forced evacuees. □

Agency Protected Right-Wing Terrorists

Australian Regime Raids Its Own Spies

By Sol Salby

[The following article is reprinted from the March 29 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

* * *

One of the most unusual placards in a recent demonstration in Canberra simply said "Long live Senator Greenwood, God and Croats." Behind the paradoxical order of priorities lies the background for what appears to be one of the strangest events in recent politics in Australia. In direct terms it was the visit of the Yugoslav prime minister, Mr. Bijedic, which sparked off the ASIO [Australian Security Intelligence Organisation] row, but in reality the background to the events goes back to the twenty-three years of Liberal rule and to the Launceston Federal Conference of the ALP [Australian Labor party] in 1971.

Since 1949, the Liberal government

has openly participated and aided Croatian migrants in their attempts to overthrow the workers state of Yugoslavia. Ample evidence has been provided of the existence in Australia of the Ustasha.* Two incidents last year, the bombing of two Yugoslav business premises in Sydney involving serious injuries and the demise in Yugoslavia of a Ustasha terrorist group which was trained in Australia, failed to persuade Greenwood otherwise. [Senator Ivor Greenwood was attorney general in the Liberal government.] Former Prime Minister McMahon, current opposition leader Snedden, and many other Liberal leaders have been involved in supporting functions organized by various opponents of Yugoslavia. It is

*The Ustasha is a fascist organization that ruled the Yugoslavian province of Croatia for the Germans during the second world war. — IP

no accident that Senator Greenwood managed to rate a position ahead of God. The help he provided was apparently considered to be more valuable than the deity's.

When the ALP government took office, it was aware of the general existence in Australia of the main base of the Ustasha. Labor is of course hostile to Croatian reactionaries. This hostility is based on more than a lack of support among them for labor. It is based on the deep revulsion amongst Labor's rank and file over the Ustasha terrorists' activities as well as the good relations Labor wants to establish with Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia happens to be high on Whitlam's list of priorities. It ranks as one of the top nations outside our immediate region of Southeast Asia. One of the important reasons for this is immigration. Under Labor's scheme the immigration target becomes far more flexible and the Yugoslav workers state is going to become an important source of migrants—far more significant than in any stage in the past.

It was therefore no accident that as soon as Labor took office the *National Times* could speculate that the traditional priority for Australian prime ministers in Europe, London, could be replaced by Belgrade and that Whitlam might visit Yugoslavia before he even goes to Britain. That did not eventuate, but the Yugoslav prime minister became the first foreign leader to visit Australia under the Labor government.

The Labor leaders were of course fully aware that there is an extreme hostility to the Yugoslav regime in sections of the Croatia community in Australia. Knowing of the existence in Australia of the Ustasha, the new government considered that strict security measures were necessary.

The agency the Australian government usually relies upon for security purposes is the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation. ASIO has developed quite a notorious reputation over its twenty-seven-year history. On many occasions it has been exposed as being used to spy on trade-union members and officials, student activists, and just about everyone left of centre. The conservative publisher Maxwell Newton, a man whose knowledge of the operation of government in Australia has made him a rich

person, and whose anti-union views are well known, has alleged on "This Day Tonight" [a television news program] that ASIO agents have been used to infiltrate unions and smash the left wing. After twenty-three years of Liberal rule ASIO agents established themselves as strict opponents of the left who turn a blind eye to the real crimes committed by the right.

When Labor's attorney general, Senator Lionel Murphy, requested information on the Ustasha in order to organize the security arrangements for the Bijedic visit, he was apparently met with a blank refusal to produce the files despite the fact that he is the ministerial head of ASIO.

What followed then was best assessed by the *Sydney Morning Herald* on Monday, March 19, in an editorial entitled "ASIO on trial": "Not even connoisseurs of spy thrillers would readily accept a scenario involving a raid by Scotland Yard on MI-6 or one by the FBI on the CIA. . ." but this is exactly what happened.

The facts are well known: At 8 a.m. on Friday, March 16, Murphy flew from Canberra to Melbourne accompanied by six Commonwealth policemen. As soon as he arrived at ASIO headquarters in St Kilda Road (suitably disguised as a branch of the Victorian Gas and Fuel Corporation), he conferred with ASIO officials. ASIO staff were assembled in the auditorium while the files were being searched. It was reported that while no files were taken Senator Murphy and the Commonwealth police took extensive notes on the activities of the Ustasha.

Members of the capitalist Liberal party opposition raised many objections to the legality of the raid. None of them were worried about ASIO Director General Barbour's refusal to cooperate with the Labor government. To them it seems perfectly reasonable that Murphy is a "security risk" and that ASIO does not have to provide information against right-wing terrorists which they protected.

The main results of the raid in terms of public action against the Ustasha are expected in Senator Murphy's statement to Parliament on March 27. There are, however, other aspects. The most obvious will concern the future of ASIO.

The ASIO raid probably has the most bitter lessons for Murphy himself. Two years ago at the ALP Fed-

eral Conference in Launceston, Bob Gould, the Socialist Left delegate from New South Wales, moved for the abolition of ASIO. One of the main opponents of the resolution was Murphy, a so-called left-winger. In the event the vote was tied at 22 all, the resolution therefore lapsing. Instead, a compromise motion was adopted: "The Australian Security Intelligence Organisation to be placed under ministerial control." One of the by-products of the ASIO raid was an allegation by Michael Willesee in the *Australian* that one of the people on whom files were kept was no one else than . . . Lionel K. Murphy, senator from New South Wales.

There have been several other allegations of exceeding of its charter by ASIO. Robert Mayne in the *National Times* March 19-24 listed several of these from his personal knowledge, including:

- ASIO was involved with a leading businessman, a right-wing member of the NSW Legislative Assembly, and a Country party member of the NSW Legislative Council in a bid to produce a magazine aimed at discrediting left-wingers, communists, and others.

- ASIO keeps files on a number of Sydney journalists because they expressed views in print opposed to the Liberal government's policies on the Vietnam war.

- ASIO feeds out selected material to members of parliament, journalists, and others in attempts to damage trade unionists seen by it as "leftists."

Some of the files given to Mayne by ASIO agents and which confirm his allegations are now in the possession of the *National Times*.

The *National Times* allegations provide additional material if ever it was needed about the security organization's abuse of its power. What is needed is not ministerial control but total abolition. The ALP must learn from the mistakes of the past. □

Which Half?

The March issue of *Northern Neighbors*, a pro-Stalinist monthly published in Canada, commented on the alleged equal treatment of women in the Soviet Union: ". . . one unusual feature of the USSR is that wherever and whenever the nation holds an important gathering, there you'll find outstanding women. Isn't it only sensible? Women are half of mankind. . . ."

Raids Carried Out on Ustasha Suspects

As a follow-up to the Australian attorney general's March 16 raid on the headquarters of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), Commonwealth and state police raided the homes of Yugoslav immigrants in Sydney and Wollongong on April 1. The raids were related to investigations into the activities of right-wing Croatian nationalist organizations.

The April 2 *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that 260 officers, half from the Commonwealth police and half from the New South Wales State Police, took part in the predawn raids on about eighty homes, seizing a quantity of documents, arms, and explosives, and taking many people into custody for questioning. At least one person was arrested in Wollongong for possessing an unlicensed pistol.

It was reported that the raid was carried out under the direction of the Commonwealth police commissioner and the federal attorney general, Senator Lionel Murphy.

Members of the opposition Liberal party as well as the Australian capitalist press have been demanding that Murphy make a full report to Federal Parliament on his reasons for raiding the ASIO headquarters. Murphy has so far declined to make such a report, and the April 1 raids indicate that he is bent on following through on his campaign against the Ustasha (a Croatian rightist organization) operations in Australia, with or without explanation.

Both Sydney and Wollongong have been centers of right-wing Croatian activity in recent years. On September 16, 1972, two Yugoslav travel agencies in Sydney were bombed; dozens of people were injured. The findings of the police investigation of the incidents were never made known, but there were very strong indications that Croatian groups had been involved.

Similar bombings have been carried out in Melbourne against Yugoslav opponents of the Ustasha, and many incidents of intimidation of Yugoslavs living in the big industrial city of Wollongong, especially in relation to

trade-union elections, have come to light.

While the Australian Labor party appears to be seriously moving against the right-wing Croatian groups, it is getting little help from the state apparatus. In fact, most of the agencies concerned, especially the ASIO and the state police, have consciously lined up with the Ustasha, doing everything from withholding information on Croatian nationalist groups to actually covering up for their crimes.

The April 2 *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Sir Robert Askin, Liberal party premier of New South Wales, said that his state police took part in the April 1 raids only "with great reluctance." He claimed the methods employed by Murphy resembled those of a "police state," and added that the New South Wales Force would not assist Commonwealth police in such actions again.

Sir Robert went on to say that he could assure "all law-abiding citizens of New South Wales that there will be no knocking on doors at 5 am, or any other time, as far as New South Wales is concerned."

The promise of course does not apply to leftist organizations, women's liberation or antiwar groups, or to

members of Sydney's Black community, who for some years have been the victims of unwarranted raids and other harassment at the hands of the New South Wales Police Department. It simply reflects the bourgeoisie's reluctance to restrict the activities of right-wing groups.

The entire ASIO escapade would be amusing were it not for the fact that the Ustasha and organizations like it are a serious threat to the working-class movement. While the Ustasha is not large or powerful enough to terrorize the entire Australian working class in a fascist manner, it does operate with a considerable degree of effectiveness in the Yugoslav community. (And this is apart from its attacks on the Yugoslav workers state.)

So far, in his attempts to crack down on the Ustasha, Murphy has relied on the Commonwealth Police Force, which is only too glad to be relieved of guarding Parliament House and handing out Post Office summonses in order to do some "real police work." But it may not be long before even that outfit loses interest in tracking down the Ustasha. The Australian bourgeois press has already started to whip up hysteria by claiming that Murphy's actions are aimed at depriving all immigrants of their rights.

The capitalist state will not organize the suppression of the right-wing organizations, and the Labor party must not rely on the "independence" of the state apparatus, including its police forces. The Ustasha threat must be opposed by the independent organization of the working class itself. □

British Women Win Low-Cost Contraception

Contraceptives will be supplied under the normal procedures of Great Britain's National Health Service after April 1, 1974, the government announced March 26. They will be provided at the usual prescription price of 20 pence. There will be no doctor's consultation fees for prescribing contraceptive methods.

As originally passed by the House of Commons, the NHS Reorganisation Bill clause on contraception would have provided low-cost contraceptives only to women in low income groups, who would have been required to undergo a humiliating means test. The House of Lords, however, amended this provision to make cheap contraceptives available to all women.

The Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign (WACC) and other women lobbied for acceptance of this amendment, conducted a national petition, and raised the issue in the International Women's Day demonstration in London March 10.

In response to this campaign, the government has now accepted the House of Lords amendment. □

Precision-Guided Asses

"The Air Force now uses the term 'precision-guided munitions' in place of 'smart bombs' for fear the public will infer that other Air Force weapons are stupid."—*Aviation Week & Space Technology*, February 19.

Havemann's Stand Against Stalinism

By George Novack

In all the countries of Eastern Europe courageous intellectuals and scientists have stepped forward to defy the Stalinist regimes, condemn their antidemocratic practices, and uphold the ideals of socialism and freedom. Professor Robert Havemann is the most celebrated such dissident in East Germany—and one of the few Marxist thinkers of the older generation to command the respect of radical youth.

Havemann has an international reputation as a theoretician

Questions Answers Questions, by Robert Havemann.
Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.,
1972. 255 pp. \$7.95.

cal chemist. As he describes himself, he was "professor at Humboldt University, director of the Physical Chemical Institute, member of the Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Scientific Council for Chemistry of the State Secretariat for Secondary Schools, head of the department of Photochemistry for the Research Association of the Academy of Sciences, assistant dean of the University's faculty of mathematics and natural science, the holder of high awards, the recipient of a high salary, member of the Party. . ."

Yet in 1964 he risked all this when he told students in a lecture series on freedom and morality that under Stalinism man is "educated to hypocrisy and dishonesty" by a police state that kills thought. "All this must change completely," he said. When dogma blocks the free exchange of ideas, it "creates the conditions for a disastrous development" by blocking social progress. But then, "reactionary regimes have always striven to keep their people stupid."

He scoffed at the "pitiful distortion" by the SED [the East German CP] of Hegel's dictum that freedom is the recognition of necessity. "One cannot attain freedom by doing 'voluntarily' what one must do in order to stay out of jail." He called for freedom to encourage "dissatisfaction with things as they are."

Havemann was assailed in the East German press as "a degenerate thinker," and the party's Central Committee condemned him as one of "those intellectuals who lay rotten eggs in the party's nest." On March 12, 1964, the distinguished scholar-scientist was removed from his post, even though the CP cell at Humboldt University voted to back their colleague. The outspoken chemist was subsequently expelled from the East German CP for thus defying Ulbricht's regime and telling a West German reporter that "most Communist officials think as I do."

In December 1965 he was dismissed from the East German Academy of Sciences for an article published in the West German news weekly *Der Spiegel* that advocated the "establishment of opposition parties in East Germany" as well as the legalization of the West German CP.

In October 1968, following the Kremlin's occupation of Czechoslovakia, his two teen-age sons, who were ad-

mirers of Lenin, Castro, and Guevara, were put on trial, along with others. They were accused of "hostile agitation against the State" for having painted the name Dubcek on an East Berlin apartment house wall. It was also charged that they had been "systematically inspired in their opposition" by their father and the popular satirical singer Wolfgang Biermann, his father's friend. Frank, 19, and Florian, 16, received prison terms of up to twenty-seven months for their act of solidarity with the Czechoslovak fighters for freedom.

Questions Answers Questions is Havemann's account of his collisions with the East German authorities and the struggle for free expression that he has waged by word and act. The book begins in May 1966 with hearings by State Security police, who tried to frame him through interrogations purportedly in regard to a foreign friend whom they falsely portrayed as an agent for an imperialist power. Havemann dramatically relates how he outwitted his interrogators.

His earlier experiences with the fascists were helpful. In a series of flashbacks he recalls similar sessions with the Gestapo, which sentenced him to death for his underground activities in an illegal CP cell. He belonged to an anti-Nazi resistance group called European Union, one member of which informed the Soviet Embassy, two weeks in advance, of the precise date of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, a warning Stalin refused to credit.

Havemann narrowly escaped execution and was liberated from an SS prison by Red Army troops. In 1945 he got into trouble with the U. S. occupation forces in Berlin over his stand on nuclear disarmament. They believed him to be a Russian spy.

Havemann was wholeheartedly behind the abolition of capitalism in East Germany and became a staunch backer of the GDR (German Democratic Republic). As a tested party member, during the June 1953 uprising in East Berlin, he addressed the building workers in front of the House of the Ministries, seeking to pacify them with promises. His retrospective evaluation of this movement is extremely perspicacious.

"Actually, the June 17 uprising did not collapse because tanks are mightier than unarmed masses. Masses are mightier than tanks, but only when they have a clear political aim that is achievable under given circumstances, and when they have a determined, organized working leadership in which they have absolute trust. Both prerequisites were lacking. Leadership was the crucial missing element. It could have guided the spontaneous pressure of the movement toward achievable aims."

After the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, this convinced Communist, who considers himself a "true Marxist," turned resolutely anti-Stalinist. "Stalinism contradicts all the basic requirements and principles of Marxism," he writes. Like millions of others, he expected that the revelations in Khrushchev's report signaled the determination of the Kremlin and its servitors to do away with all the abomi-

nations of the preceding period. He was grievously disappointed.

He could not keep his mouth shut in the face of continued Stalinist practices. He told a West German interviewer: "I am anxious to see all aspects of the degeneration of the Stalin period be suppressed by open criticism and calling them by their right name. No social order should permit such abuses to prevail for any length of time without recognizing them as such. In order to achieve this goal, it is essential to encourage the citizens of the GDR to take part in this discussion."

Havemann conducted his oppositional campaign both in the field of theory and, so far as possible, in the public domain. He tried to deliver dialectical materialism from the distortions it had suffered under Stalin. He gave university lectures on "Scientific Aspects of Philosophical Problems" that got him crosswise with the State Security Police when they were published in the West German press. He wrote *Dialectics Without Dogma*.

He developed his criticisms of the Stalinist perversions of Marxist method together with such first-rank Soviet thinkers as Bonifati Kedrov, now director of the Institute of the History of Science and Technique of the Academy of Science of the USSR. In June 1948, during the Zhdanov cultural terrorism, Kedrov had been dismissed as editor of *Problems of Philosophy*, the leading Soviet organ, for his positive evaluation of Bohr's contributions to quantum mechanics.

In 1964 Sindermann, a member of the SED Politburo, claimed that Havemann wanted to throw dialectical materialism overboard. "There is no truth in that," he answered. "I am not disenchanted with the socialist idea but, as a convinced advocate, I demand the elimination of Stalinism and dogmatism in all its manifestations. The goal I advocate is a social order in which free socialism has been realized. As to dialectical materialism, I consider it the most advanced expression of philosophy."

His credentials as a staunch Communist, an underground fighter against the Nazis, and a renowned scholar-scientist were of no account when he kept demanding an end to Stalinism and the granting of elementary democratic rights. He discovered that his home was wiretapped. Two months after his sons were arrested, the state attorney and his assistants ransacked his home and confiscated his books and papers, including Deutscher's three-volume biography of Trotsky.

What ironic parallels mark the successive phases of his career! In 1933 the Nazis expelled him from the Max Planck Institute as a Communist; in 1969 the Ulbricht regime expelled him from his last academic post for refusing to renounce his Marxist beliefs in socialist democracy and for acting upon them. Today he lives in isolation in East Germany on a small state pension and with the help of friends.

When Havemann was refused permission to be present at the sentencing of his sons, he told the attendant guarding the door: "In the Nazi period, when I was sentenced to death by the People's Court, my parents were allowed to be present in the courtroom. They even received permission to talk with me for a half hour."

The guard came up with a most disarming reply, he writes: "Well, you see, we don't live in the Nazi period any more."

After his dismissal from Humboldt University and his

expulsion from the CP, party officials had cried: "Comrade Havemann, give us a single example of Stalinism in the GDR." He offers this one, among many. "In a truly democratic State there can be no criminal prosecution for criticism, agitation against the State, or slander of the State. The abolition of such grounds was one of the most important accomplishments of the brief attempt at socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia during 1968."

What is the substance of Havemann's oppositional views?

"As a Communist I am most decisively against the restoration of capitalism in the GDR, but I am also most decisively in favor of the right of a citizen of a socialist State ruthlessly to criticize the policy of his government and Party. Such ruthless public criticism constitutes no harm to socialism and is not an incitement to rebellion against socialism. On the contrary, it is the most effective form of recruiting for socialism, of actualizing it. This right is also expressly guaranteed to the citizens of the GDR in Article 27 of the Constitution."

He wants the following rights: freedom of speech; freedom of information; freedom of choice of place of residence, work site, and work; freedom to form associations, organizations, and parties. He says that the first three of these four freedoms were practically realized in Czechoslovakia after January 1968.

He believes that Prague 1968 was the Paris Commune of the necessary political revolution in the Soviet bloc. The tragic crushing of socialist democracy there was a warning to the whole world revolutionary movement. "The Revolution cannot remain suspended halfway," he writes. "If it does not succeed in making the decisive step to democratic socialism, it will eventually be swept away by the counterrevolution. By robbing the theory of revolution of all credibility, Stalinism begets the ideological prerequisites for the counterrevolution. In its blindness it cannot distinguish between the establishment of socialist democracy, such as was achieved in Czechoslovakia in the Prague Spring of 1968, and the counterrevolution. For Stalinism, everything that threatens its power is counterrevolution."

By degrading theory "to an adaptable auxiliary that can justify any political practice," Marxism is wasting away under the bureaucratic regimes. "Under Stalin," he caustically comments, "Marxist criticism was got rid of by getting rid of Marxist critics. Neo-Stalinism is more radical; it gets rid of Marxism."

Nonetheless, "There can be no doubt about the unbroken vitality of Marxism as a science despite all dogmatic occlusion." "Democratic freedoms within the socialist countries are the essential prerequisite for the renewal and revival of Marxist theory."

"But Marxism is not a religion; it's a scientific theory. Scientific theories can develop and preserve themselves only when they are constantly called into question, tested, disputed, broadened, and renewed. Stalinism degrades Marxism to the level of dogmatic clericalism. In Stalin's time our Church had a Vatican and a Pope. Now every party has its own Pope. How long must we still wait until all the 'Holy Sees' are abolished?"

He maintains that "Marxism can only assert itself as a science and develop further when scientific discussion among Marxists and between Marxists and non-Marxists can proceed all over the world free and unhindered, in the full light of publicity. Where free discussion is suppressed,

Marxism is suppressed. Accordingly, at the present time, Marxism is suppressed in precisely those countries that are based on it—the socialist countries!"

How can this paradoxical situation be overcome? Here is his perspective. "The semirevolution cannot be made into a total revolution in the mind. . . .

"The semirevolution can be made total only if the workers themselves take possession of the expropriated property of the capitalists. This means that they must fight for full control over the means of production and the products produced. The workers must be masters of the house in place of the capitalists. They must have all the rights of owners. They must determine how the profits of the enterprise are to be used, how much is to be spent on renovation, extension, and the introduction of new technologies. They must decide what amounts are to be disbursed for social institutions and cultural services and how much distributed to workers for their personal use. Obviously, such far-reaching changes, such a definitive transformation of the capitalistic base into a socialist base, requires corresponding changes in the superstructure. These changes, however, will not be effected by sticking to a preconceived plan, but only as a permanent revolutionary process. Socialism is a way, not a goal; socialism is liberation, not freedom. Liberation is the step-by-step bursting of fetters. Many of the fetters that bind us only become visible when we have rid ourselves of the crudest fetters. In the course of the process, much of what before seemed a social necessity will become a fetter. For the deeper essence of developing socialism is the withering away of the State, even of the socialist State whose formation is the beginning of the development and whose dissolution is its consummation. And this socialist State is first realized when it allows the structures of self-liquidation to unfold freely. The free development of self-liquidation is the essence of socialist democracy. It can be created in the socialist countries only by overthrowing the Stalinist superstructure. Hence the completion of the socialist revolution requires a second revolutionary upheaval, whereby changes in the base make possible changes in the superstructure, transforming hitherto uto-

pian projections into reality. Conversely, the changes in the superstructure open perspectives for the new formation of the base. Only where a socialist democracy has reached this stage, which is tantamount to a natural revolution, does the new society perceive its new goals clearly."

Havemann does not believe that peaceful coexistence between contending classes or between the workers states and the imperialists is a sound revolutionary line. He condemns Khrushchev for his "surrender of international revolutionary aims."

Although he praises Trotsky as "a great revolutionary" and opposes the theory of "socialism in one country," he holds that both Lenin and Trotsky were "in a certain way forerunners of Stalinism." He apparently bases this view upon Rosa Luxemburg's (unpublished) criticisms of the Bolshevik leaders and certain tendentious interpretations of them.

Unlike Wolfgang Harich, a fellow professor of philosophy who was given a ten-year jail sentence in 1957, he disdains resorting to conspiratorial methods in his battle against the bureaucrats. He insists on combating them out in the open, face to face. His public confrontations with the authorities have certainly lent hope and courage to other anti-Stalinist oppositionists. But it is not so easy for them to imitate his outspokenness.

Despite the harsh reprisals taken against him, Havemann has up to now been somewhat protected by his international reputation, as Sartre has been in his challenges to the Gaullist regime in France. The authorities hesitate to imprison such figures as readily as they would ordinary militants.

But this does not detract one iota from his bracing moral example. Professor Havemann stands out like a beacon in the stifling intellectual-political atmosphere of East Germany. He expresses sentiments, hopes, ideas that are today locked in the breasts of less articulate millions and can be whispered only to the most trusted friends in the institutions of learning, neighborhoods, workplaces, and even government offices from Prague and East Berlin to Warsaw and Moscow.

March 25, 1973

Leon Trotsky's Views on Women's Liberation

Women and the Family by Leon Trotsky. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973. 78 pp. \$1.25, £0.55.

This book brings together six articles and speeches by Leon Trotsky on several subjects that are being debated today by the new feminist movement. These include the role of women in capitalist and socialist society, the role of the family, the alternatives to family life, and the relationship between feminism and socialism. This second edition has been expanded by the inclusion of "Family Relations Under the Soviets," Trotsky's reply to questions on Soviet morality asked by a U. S. magazine.

The selections in this book cover the period 1923 to 1937—from the progressive legislation and the attempts to create the material basis of women's liberation during the early years of the revolution to the reactionary enshrinement of the nuclear family carried out by Stalin, which is still maintained by his successors.

Throughout, Trotsky emphasizes that a socialist revolution does not in and of itself guarantee the liberation of women, particularly in a country like the Soviet Union, struggling to overcome the heritage of czarism. Women's liberation requires not only passing new legislation, but above all

a concentrated effort to create its necessary material base.

"We must reach the roots. . . ." Trotsky wrote in 1925. "Housing construction, the construction of child-care facilities, kindergartens, communal dining rooms and laundries must be put in the center of attention, and that attention must be vigilant and well organized. . . . Child-care, eating and laundry facilities must be set up so that by the advantages they provide they can deal a deathblow to the old closed-in, isolated family unit, completely supported on the bent shoulders of the housewife and mother." □

Trotskyist Prisoners in Greece in Appeal to Student Movement

[The following statement was issued in February by the Trotskyist prisoners of Aigina and Korydallos. The translation from the Greek is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

We send our warmest militant greetings to the student youth for their heroic resistance and struggle against the crude interference of the dictatorship in the educational institutions.

We express our full sympathy for the just struggle of the students for academic liberties.

We call on the workers and all exploited strata to condemn the inhuman methods the junta is using to hold the student movement and the workers movement in general in subjection and chains. Its inhuman objective is to make all workers obedient tools of its policies and faithful servants of the capitalist system. The repressive decrees the junta is trying to enforce with the help of its hangmen and thugs represent the essence of its antipopular policy and reveal the impasse and the organic crisis of the rotten system that engendered and maintains it.

At the same time, we condemn the machinations of the specters of bourgeois democracy who are shedding crocodile tears over the persecution of the students, trying thereby, on the one hand, to expiate the crimes against the students and workers that they committed when they were in power and, on the other, to exploit the movement for their own interests.

Just as the terroristic methods of the junta — arrests, sentences, beatings, drafting students into the army, discipline boards — will prove incapable of diverting the students' struggle, which is widening day by day, so too the belated and self-interested attention of the bourgeois democrats and the class-collaborationist popular-front politics of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which is subordinated to them, will also fail.

Against the savage violence of the dictatorship, the students are imposing their own legality, their own represen-

tative bodies for demanding their rights — the student committees. The extension of these committees to all educational institutions and the creation of a central, permanent organ that could unite them, genuinely represent the students, and cement a united front of struggle with the teaching personnel is the only way to abolish the repressive university laws, to



PAPADOPOULOS: Greek dictator challenged by student rebels.

abolish the repressive state machine, and to transform the universities from factories turning out narrow specialists into centers of scholarship and free inquiry.

But the student struggle for democratic liberties and the right to organize is a struggle to demolish the dictatorial state that abolished these freedoms. And it cannot succeed unless it links up with the problems, the demands, and the struggle of the working class and the exploited and

oppressed masses in general. This means that the student vanguard and the militants of the illegal organizations have a common obligation to form struggle committees in places of work, in the neighborhoods, everywhere — committees that will not only be organs of struggle for the demands of the working people but the basic underpinning of solidarity with the struggle of the students.

This is the only way not only to help give the movement a mass character and overthrow the junta but to create the conditions for rapidly building the essential organ for overthrowing the bourgeois state — a Marxist leadership of the working class.

Once again expressing our complete support for the students' struggle, we join with them in demanding:

- Immediate and unconditional release of the jailed students and an end to all persecution.

- Expulsion of the secret police bodies and their agents from the campus.

- Withdrawal of the decree ending draft deferments.

- Confirmation by law of university autonomy and the inviolability of the university grounds.

- Abolition of all special measures and laws directed against the universities.

- Reinstatement of all students expelled and all professors fired for their political activity.

- Confirmation by law of the right of veto by independent student bodies over any action of the administration or teaching staff.

Signed: Triantaphyllos Metaphides (student, life sentence); Stergios Katsaros (student, life); Theodosios Thomadakes (worker, life); Pantagiotes Doumas (worker, life); Giorgos Tzortzorian (worker, twenty years); Elene Douma (worker, eighteen years); Elias Koroveses (student, eight years); Demetres Phrangoulakes (worker, eight years); Giannes Phelekes (worker, eight years). □

And Never Join a Strike . . .

The Victoria minister of education has announced that schoolchildren will continue to be required to recite the following oath each morning: "I love God and my country. I honour the flag. I will serve the queen and will cheerfully obey my parents, teachers, and the law."

Argentine PST's Declaration After the March 11 Elections

[We have translated the following article from the March 28 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly organ of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party).]

* * *

Dr. Cámpora has just given a speech in which he drew a sharp dividing line—up till May 25 the regime will govern; after that the people.

May 25 will undoubtedly bring a change in the orientation of the government and in its personnel. What we doubt is that it will mark such a hard and fast dividing line as Dr. Cámpora says.

Is the oligarchy going to be wiped off the map, or the military men who have been installed in power since 1966? Will they withdraw totally?

The same day Dr. Cámpora gave his speech, the daily *La Opinión* published a report about a group of Peronist architects. Asked what they intended to do in the way of building housing under the new government, they took a much more cautious line than did Dr. Cámpora. This they answered, would depend on the "conditions" they were subjected to.

The cautious response of these Peronist architects was based on one clear fact. Every *compañero* knows that the reactionaries are not ready to abandon the field. They seem just now to have decided to turn over the government but not to disappear from the scene.

What are the conditions?

From the very moment that General Lanusse took over the government and launched his plan of "institutionalization" [return to constitutional forms of rule], a web of conditions began to be built up that will surround the new regime. Laws were passed regulating political parties. It was decreed how many members and what statutes they must have; what requirements they must meet to continue; and what candidates they should run (as a result of this Perón was disqualified for all practical purposes). The constitution was changed, altering the life of the government and the system of election. All the antipopular repressive

legislation was broadened, widening the powers of the armed forces in all areas. And finally five conditions were set for handing over the government, establishing who the judges were to be, what role the military was to play in the next cabinet, and what political prisoners could or could not be released.

And this web of conditions was prepared well in advance. In some cases, the precaution was taken of putting them into the constitution. In others, they were simply announced to the country. And these restrictions were



CAMPORA: What constitution will he swear allegiance to?

complemented with another that didn't have to be put in writing—the military power will remain in the hands of the same leadership that has been ruling since Illia was ousted.

The military must not rule after May 25!

We have pointed out many times that we do not consider that Cámpora's coming to power means a real workers government, and so this is not our government. But we insist just as strongly that the will of the masses must be respected, and in this case power must be turned over to Cámpora without any conditions. *Dr. Cámpora, What constitution are you going to swear allegiance to?*

The question of whether or not the new government is going to submit to these conditions or rebel against them will be posed from the very moment Cámpora takes his oath of office. The act is symbolic. Cámpora will have to swear allegiance to a constitution into which many of the conditions noted have just been incorporated.

What will Cámpora do in this situation?

This same question was put on a television program to the Peronista Youth leader Furman. And the *compañero* made a first step toward giving an effective answer when he said that we would have to look for some way by which the people could establish a new constitution, a constitution where no article or clause would be imposed by some small special group.

For a free and sovereign constituent assembly!

In order to achieve this, in order to sweep away the reactionary web entangling the new government and totally reorganize the country, a constituent assembly must be called, whose members are chosen in completely free elections in which the parties and candidates run under conditions that are equal for everybody.

This constituent assembly will determine what kind of courts, as well as what kind of social, political, and economic organization the majority of people want. In it, the Peronists, Socialists, Radicals [populist liberals], Communists, and other groups will all put forward their views. This way the only ones imposing conditions on the government will be the workers, who make up a majority of the population, and not the oligarchic minority and imperialism.

The workers must throw out the conditions!

The working class has given its verdict in electing Cámpora. Today we must see that it is respected, by getting the workers to throw out the conditions imposed by the Junta Militar [Military Council]. Cámpora must explicitly reject the military government's "five points" and declare that he will call a free and sovereign constituent assembly.

By mobilizing and fighting, the workers must force respect for their decisions and their rights. Right now,

this means making sure that Cámpora comes to power without any conditions. Later on it will mean pushing him to carry out his election promises and the economic and political measures needed to achieve national and

social liberation.

Let us prepare ourselves for great battles! Only the mobilization of the workers and popular masses can throw out the conditions demanded by the oligarchy and impose liberation! □

Argentine PST Calls for Casting Blank Ballots in Second-Round Elections

[Although the Radicals, who came in second in the March 11 general elections in Argentina, agreed to accept the election as president of Héctor Cámpora, Perón's representative, without a runoff election, second-round votes are slated for other offices in local areas where no candidate received a majority. One of the most important areas where such elections will take place is Córdoba, the site of two workers' uprisings in the last four years. The PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party), which built a united ticket of revolutionary socialists and class-struggle activists in the first round, presented its position on the second-round elections in the March 28 issue of its weekly paper *Avanzada Socialista*. Our translation of this article follows.]

* * *

Since there is no working-class option in the second-round elections, the PST has decided to call on the workers to cast blank ballots. In this issue, we give grounds for this developed by the socialist compañeros in Córdoba.

On Saturday, March 17, a provincial plenum of the PST decided in favor of casting blank ballots, since the only choice was between the Radicals [populist liberals] and FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist electoral formation]. And the Peronists were putting up Obregón Cano, who comes from a conservative background; and Atilio López, a leader of the UTA union, who despite his militant talk, made a deal to sign the 30 percent contract without putting up a fight.

Last Sunday the Córdoba Workers Front met to adopt its position. There was a great deal of interest in press

circles about what it would be. As we went to press, word had still not reached us. But before the meeting we talked with José F. Paéz [an independent militant trade-unionist], who told us: "My personal position and the one I will uphold in the meeting is that in the first round we offered a revolutionary class-struggle alternative. But in the second round, the cards are on the table and we no longer have an alternative. Since there is no choice that reflects the interests of the working class, we must cast blank ballots, and continue raising our slogan of no vote for the military, no vote for the bosses, and no vote for the betrayers of our struggles."

In supporting a blank vote, our compañeros in Córdoba prepared an open letter to the left currents. Various tendencies and groupings have sprung up under the stimulus of the Córdoba uprising and in the absence of a revolutionary party that could be a strong unifying force. They have achieved a certain weight in the worker and student vanguard.

On the first round, these groups were divided among five different positions: casting blank ballots, casting a ballot outlining a socialist program, voting "red," abstaining, and a counter vote. There were, in turn, three or four variants of the first two positions. One of the class-struggle leaders who supported casting blank ballots was René Salamanca, the secretary of SMATA [Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor del Automóvil—Automobile Mechanics and Related Transport Workers in the Automobile Industry] in Córdoba, who is now under attack from the central leadership of his union.

The several variants of casting a blank ballot or dropping slogans in the ballot box were surpassed in all the working-class neighborhoods by

the vote for the candidates put up by the PST.

For the second round, these tendencies hint that they will support FREJULI. It was in answer to this that the PST in Córdoba addressed the following open letter to these tendencies.

* * *

Compañeros of the left, let us unite behind a class-struggle position.

Thousands of worker and student activists are looking to the revolutionary left for a clear and correct position. This heroic vanguard that has come toward the left, fighting in hundreds of battles, needs to unite politically against the bosses, the government, the bureaucracy, and the reformists. It needs a revolutionary party. This is the prerequisite for winning the confidence and respect of the masses. Likewise, it is a precondition for leading to victory the mobilizations that are inevitably coming under the future bourgeois populist government.

Unfortunately, the elections have shown that on the whole the revolutionary left in Córdoba was not up to these demands. In the name of socialism and revolution, it committed opportunist and sectarian errors, proving incapable of putting up a united alternative or distinguishing what should have been a political action against the bourgeoisie from a mire of pedantic debate among small circles.

In the first round, this failure was due to the fact that the different groups fell into sectarianism and did not support the only class-struggle alternative in the elections—the Workers Front.

Now in the second round, these groups are in danger of making the same mistake, only this time falling into opportunism and supporting FREJULI.

Where does this leave a worker activist who follows their changes in course?

To understand the gravity of this error, let's put ourselves in the uncomfortable position of a class-struggle shop steward at IKA, who has followed your advice in the elections. On the first round, you told him to cast a blank ballot based on a reformist program of minimum economic

and political demands, or to drop a paper in the ballot box describing the theoretical way of building communist society. If the *compañero* worked up the courage to argue for his position in the shop, the way he planned to vote would cut him off from political dialogue with the rest of the workers. But when the second round came, this *compañero* would have to advise voting for FREJULI. His friends would listen to him sardonically and say: "So, now you've finally come down out of the clouds." But the more political ones could not help asking: "What kind of political principles have you got?"

The pathetic role this comrade played would not have helped to expose the electoralist trap, to orient the workers to confront the bourgeoisie, or to strengthen a party. Nor would it have put him in a better position with respect to the masses or done anything to promote propaganda for socialism.

The methodological and social explanation for these changes in course.

Behind these shifts that have cut off so many revolutionary militants from reality lies the impressionist method common to intellectual and student sects.

In the first round the phenomenon that "made an impression" was the trade-union mobilizations of recent years. For many the revolution was already here, or at least the masses had become revolutionary-minded and lost their electoralist illusions. This confusion led to the activity of all these groups being colored with naive workerism.

In the second round, what managed to "make an impression" was the avalanche of Peronist votes. And if this confusion continues, many of these groups can go over lock, stock, and barrel to supporting the bourgeois and Peronist bureaucratic apparatuses. Along the way, "the antiparlamentarist consciousness of the masses," the "revolution," and "building a workers party," will be buried, until they are dug up again for a new change in course.

Marxists have defined impressionism as the result of a false social outlook foreign to Marxism. It is the method of intellectuals and students put in political leadership but lack-

ing the tradition and training of working-class revolutionary Marxism. This is the case of so many groups in Córdoba that have grown up in the last two or three years as fan clubs around an agitator or aspiring theoretician who claimed to be pointing the way for "building the party." All of these groups are blocking the process of uniting the vanguard into a solid revolutionary Marxist party that can seek to take the leadership of all the trade-union mobilizations and the en-

tire political process the masses are experiencing.

But the present rise of the masses is opening an extremely rich perspective for the revolutionary left. It is everyone's obligation to put aside their individual interests for the sake of serving the masses.

We call for taking the opportunity offered by the second-round elections to cement united action around a class-struggle, revolutionary position. □

Hanoi's Statement to Vietnamese People on Signing of Cease-Fire Agreement

[The following document, entitled "Appeal of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the DRVN Government," was received from North Vietnam. Presumably the text, which we reproduce in full below, is the official English translation. It is dated January 28.]

* * *

Dear countrymen and combatants,

The Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are greatly joyful to inform our countrymen and combatants throughout the country that:

On the 27th of January 1973, in Paris, capital of the French Republic, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Secretary of State of the Government of the United States of America and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the Republic of Viet Nam, formally signed the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam".

Today, the 28th of January, war completely ends in both zones of our country.

As provided for in the Agreement, the United States, and the other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. The United States ends its war of aggression, its military involvement and its intervention in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam.

The right to self-determination and the democratic liberties of the South Vietnamese people shall be respected. The people of South Viet Nam shall decide themselves their political future through genuinely free and democratic general elections.

The reunification of Viet Nam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means.

With the signed agreement, the resistance of our people against US aggression, for national salvation, has won a very glorious victory. This is a very great victory of the most glorious war of resistance in the history of our people's struggle against foreign aggression.

Our entire people, in the South and the North alike, take immense pride in and are greatly inspired by this great victory of the Fatherland.

This is also a victory of the peoples of the Indochinese countries in their united fight against the common enemy.

This victory of the Vietnamese people is also a victory of epochal significance for the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, of the freedom and justice-loving people all over the world.

This brilliant victory is the fruit of more than eighteen years of persistent fight of the forty million people and combatants throughout our country, after surmounting innumerable sacrifices and hardships.

This is a victory of the spirit "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", of the strength of solidarity of the entire people of revolutionary heroism, of the tradition of patriotism, dauntlessness and staunchness forged in four thousand years of existence of the Vietnamese nation.

We warmly welcome the people and combatants of the heroic South, who united under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the only authentic representative of the people in the Southern part of our country, have gone through innumerable trials and dangers and fought with matchless courage.

We warmly welcome the people and combatants of the heroic North who have

fought very valiantly while eagerly building socialism and wholeheartedly assisting the great front in the South in the fight against US aggression, for national salvation.

With boundless loyalty to the Fatherland and the people, our invincible armed forces in both the South and the North have fought and made sacrifices with tremendous valour, recorded marvelous exploits and proved themselves very worthy of being "the heroic army of a heroic people".

In these joyful days of victory, our entire people feel all the more indebted to the great services of our venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, the teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, who devoted all his life to the independence and freedom of the Fatherland and the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

We will remember with the most profound feeling of gratitude the immortal services of the heroes, heroines, martyrs and all our comrades and compatriots in both zones who have laid down their lives for the Country.

The great victory of the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation is the victory of all-conquering Marxism-Leninism, of the judicious and creative political and military line of our Party which has upheld the spirit of independence and freedom, united the entire Party, army and people in a firm resolve to fight and to win, closely combining genuine patriotism with pure internationalism.

This victory is the victory of the socialist regime full of vitality which has turned the North into the steady base of the revolution throughout the country.

This victory of our nation is also the result of the wholehearted support and great assistance accorded us by the other socialist countries and the progressive people all over the world. On this occasion, our people express heartfelt thanks to the fraternal countries, the international working class and all the peace- and justice-loving nations and peoples throughout the world, including the progressive people in the United States.

Dear countrymen and combatants,

The victorious conclusion of the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, has ushered in a new turning point in the Vietnamese revolution. The signed Agreement is the political and legal basis ensuring the fundamental national rights of our people, and the sacred right to self-determination of our compatriots in the South. This victory is the basis for our people to march forward and win new victories and achieve the national democratic revolution throughout the country.

The struggle of our people in South Viet Nam still has to overcome many difficulties and obstacles. The militarist

and fascist forces, instrument of neocolonialism, running counter to the aspirations of our nation, have not yet renounced their scheme to sabotage peace and block the road to independence and freedom of our people. That is why, the immediate task of our countrymen in both zones of the country is to strengthen solidarity, maintain high vigilance at all times, and strive our best to consolidate the successes already won, firmly preserve lasting peace, achieve independence and democracy in the South and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam solemnly declares that it will seriously and scrupulously imple-



HO CHI MINH

ment all the provisions of the Paris Agreement, and demands that all parties signatory respect this agreement and fully implement it. This is a very important, and at the same time very difficult and complicated struggle to which our people of all strata, and all patriots in South Viet Nam, must take an active contribution.

The war of aggression which the various imperialist countries have, one after another, conducted on our land for more than thirty long years has left very serious aftermaths. It is a certainty that our compatriots in the South will unite and love one another as children of the same family, dispel all animosity and suspicion, and will, without distinction of the poor and the rich, political affiliation, religious belief and nationality, pool efforts in the struggle to preserve peace,

achieve genuine independence, exercise democratic liberties, materialize national concord, heal the wounds of war, rebuild the country, and bring a life of plenty and happiness to the entire people.

Viet Nam is one. The Vietnamese nation is one. The reunification of the Fatherland is the sacred desire of our people in both zones. Let us, on the road toward the reunion of all Vietnamese in the lap of our beloved Fatherland, soon join efforts in re-establishing normal relations between the two zones to meet the earnest desire for family reunion and endeavouring for the bright future of the nation.

The victory of the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, has created unprecedented favourable conditions for the North of our country to forge ahead with the building of socialism. For the prosperity and strength of the country, for the achievement of independence and democracy in the South and of a beautiful and happy life for themselves, let our compatriots in the North uphold their traditional heroism and their sense of collective ownership to work with enthusiasm and creativeness so as to restore and develop the economy, increase defense potential, broaden our cultural activities and do away with poverty and backwardness, thus turning our country into a solid, strong and prosperous socialist country and further enhancing the international role of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the impregnable outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia.

Let everybody, after decades of war enter the stage of peaceful construction with high revolutionary zeal and in a stirring emulation movement. Let us translate the revolutionary heroism we have displayed in combat into our determination to overcome all difficulties in order to accelerate, at a greater tempo than ever before, the socialist construction and the building of a new life and the new man.

The destinies of the three Indochinese peoples are always closely related to one another. The mutual love and friendship between Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia have been forged by the blood they have shed in the protracted struggle against the common enemies for their respective independence and freedom. We firmly believe that the resistance put up by the heroic Lao people under the glorious banner of the Lao Patriotic Front, as well as the resistance waged by the valorous people of Cambodia under the banner of the National United Front of Kampuchea and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia will end in very glorious victory.

It is the firm conviction of our people that in our struggle for the firm maintenance of peace and the achievement of

independence and democracy as well as in the national reconstruction in both parts of the country, we will continue to have the warm sympathy and precious assistance of the other socialist countries and the progressive people all over the world.

It is the sincere desire of our Government and people to entertain friendly relations with all countries, including the United States of America, on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit.

Dear countrymen and combatants,

The Vietnamese revolution has won very great victories. Yet, our nation's struggle must be continued to consolidate the gains we have made and march toward new successes in order to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam and to do our share in the common struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

This glorious victory will be followed by a period of most resplendent development of our nation. To be worthy of the compatriots and comrades who have laid down their lives for the country's independence and freedom and for the happiness of the people and all the future generations:

Let all of us devote all our mind, energy and talent to defending and building the country, thus writing new pages in the glorious history of the nation.

Let our compatriots in the whole country strengthen unity, develop our victory and march forward enthusiastically!

Long live our Vietnamese Fatherland!

Long live the Viet Nam Workers' Party!

The Great President Ho Chi Minh will live forever with our cause! □

Tax-Free Income

At least 276 persons in the U.S. with incomes over \$100,000 in 1971 paid no federal income tax that year, according to a study by the Treasury Department released April 1. Seventy-two of the 276 had incomes over \$200,000.

Senator Walter Mondale, who released the study to the press, pointed out that "the 276 who paid no taxes at all are the barest tip of the iceberg. Thousands more pay only a pittance on their huge incomes."

In 1969, Congress passed a so-called "minimum tax" that was supposed to eliminate the possibility of the wealthy legally evading all taxes. It seems, however, that exemptions included in the law reduced the "minimum tax" to the truly minimum level of zero.

A similar study for 1970 showed that 394 nontaxpayers had incomes greater than \$100,000.

Officials Denounce Derry Repression

[Since "Operation Motorman" in August 1972, when the British Army occupied the barricaded nationalist ghettos of Derry city in Northern Ireland, these areas have been subjected to an overwhelming military presence. It is almost impossible to walk for any time without suddenly finding yourself in the middle of a patrol. Cars and pedestrians are stopped constantly. The following article from the February issue of *The Starry Plough*, the Derry Official republican paper, indicates that the repression is continuing despite a decline in armed incidents.]

* * *

For most workers the routine of going to work is fairly simple. For the Commission workers at the new sports complex, travelling to and from the site is becoming a dangerous business. They are being subjected to continual harassment from the British army.

A typical Tuesday morning was described to us by one worker as "nerve-racking." "We had been stopped so often by the soldiers that we just decided that we would keep our mouths shut and not talk to them at all. We didn't want to be stopped again.

"The checkpoint at Academy Road is the worst," he said. "First they would take eight of us from the lorry and search every piece of our clothing. They would go through our pockets. Read our private letters. Make sarcastic comments about pictures. I even remember one soldier actually going through a man's lunch box. I swear that the soldier even opened the sandwiches."

"They kept us there for over over half an hour and we lost the money for it. On another occasion we were allowed through the post but were stopped about fifty yards up the road. A soldier directed us into an entry. The lorry stopped and we were confronted with over thirty soldiers in riot dress and truncheons. They had grins over their faces and clearly they were raring to have a go at us.

"One soldier claimed to recognise one of the boys on the lorry and pulled him off the back. Without waiting, he arrested him under Section 11 of the Special Powers Act. We couldn't believe our ears.

"We were being stopped every morning almost without exception, but other lorries carrying men from Coleraine [a Protestant town] were being allowed through without even being asked for their licence. I saw this on a number of occasions.

"There was this day that they searched the lorry and arrested a man for carrying an offensive weapon . . . a bottle full of Guinness! As far as I'm aware, the case is still going on and you can guarantee that the court will take the soldier's word against his.

"All we want to do is to work and make a few bob—but with being stopped day and night by the bloody soldiers it makes us wonder if it is all worth it. Sometimes I swear the soldiers have been drinking wine, you could smell their breath half-way down the Lecky Road."

This young worker for obvious reasons must remain anonymous; not only his job is in jeopardy, but possibly also his liberty. If the bosses don't sack him for talking to the *Starry Plough*, then the uniformed thugs of the imperialists will charge him under Section 11 and intern him in Long Kesh.

One way or the other, this young worker, like thousands of others, faces repression. Whether it be the blatant brutality of the Crown forces or the subtle but equally brutal actions of the employer.

These workers at least are not going to sit down and accept the harassment of the Army without defending themselves. The latest news is that they have already approached a Trade Union and are preparing to organise themselves against future repressive measures.

Their first move must be to force the local Trade Union leadership to take up their case immediately and if necessary call for support from other union members to achieve this. Industrial action and a withdrawal of labour will indeed give the Army's bosses something to think about.

The working class must be free to organise and have freedom to move at will. Any attempt to harass them must be met with strong, determined and resolute action from the trade unions. □