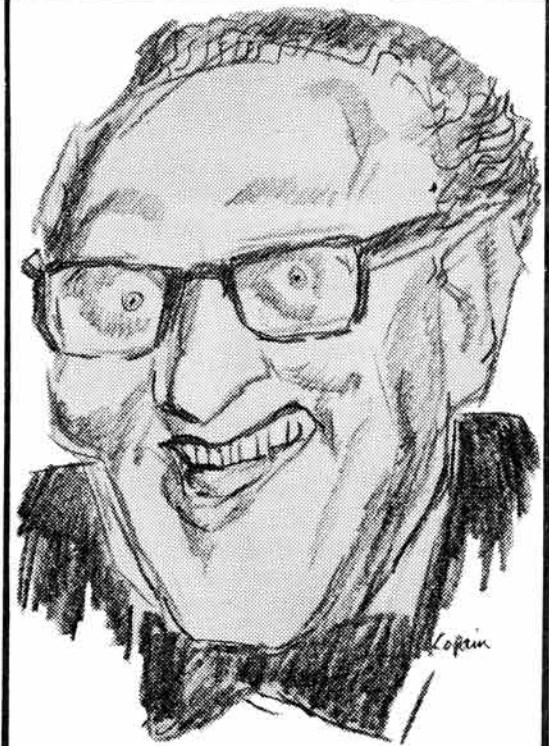


Considering 'Alternatives' to Nixon



Kissinger's 'Disgust' With NATO Allies



Maoists on Sex

The Marxist-Leninist party, an Italian group of Maoist origin, has recently made some theoretical contributions that extend the scope of democratic centralism to activities Lenin overlooked, to judge from a report in the October 31 *New York Post*.

This advance is the work of Aldo Brandirali, the party secretary general, who has outlined the "proletarian" approach to sexual relationships among party cadres. It calls for greater "sexual harmony."

Angelo Arvati, editor of the party's newspaper, writes that "for a Marxist-Leninist, sex must be talked about in public and conducted along political lines."

But sexual harmony has proved easier to talk about than to achieve, especially when someone's political line is wrong. Arvati admits that only 30 percent of the members are able to live up to Brandirali's directives. "One reason they fail," he said, "is because of political differences between husbands and wives."

Brandirali warns against too much sex: "All that about virility and making love more than once in one night is a bourgeois myth and reflects the theory that women are sex objects. . . . Sex without class consciousness cannot give satisfaction even if it is repeated until infinity."

Only by following his directives, Brandirali warns, "can one be serene the day after and begin a new day of struggle for the ultimate victory—the building of socialism."

But if the Marxist-Leninist party is pursuing the laudable goal of not regarding women as sex objects, some of its other positions are not so advanced. "The first commandment of the party," the *Post* reported, "calls for marriage among comrades. Divorce is accepted so long as couples confess their difficulties to the party and a decision is reached collectively by comrades."

As for the feminist movement, Arvati complained: "It's a serpent beginning to creep into our organization. Gripped by false myths, many women were not working at home and were ignoring their children." □

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Israeli Regime Threatens to Reopen Fighting on Suez Front

By Jon Rothschild

If Anwar el-Sadat wanted the October War to get international diplomacy off "dead center," he has fully attained his purpose. Whether he has succeeded in setting off diplomatic activity that will benefit Egypt is quite another question. But activity there was. One anonymous U. S. State Department official described the ongoing multisided negotiations as a "three-ring circus." If anything, that was an understatement. Here are just the main highlights:

On October 29 Ismail Fahmy, Egyptian deputy foreign minister (promoted to foreign minister on October 31), arrived in Washington to talk to Nixon and Kissinger. Golda Meir arrived in Washington on October 31. On November 2 Muhammed Z. Ismail, Syrian vice-foreign minister, flew into Washington. Kissinger, in addition to talking to Fahmy, Meir, and Ismail, was reportedly in constant contact with Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador to Washington.

On November 3 Vasily Kuznetsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, arrived in Damascus. He had spent the previous five days in Cairo meeting with Sadat. On November 4, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban flew to Rumania, where he was rumored to be passing on messages to the Kremlin via the Rumanian bureaucracy.

On November 2 it was revealed in Cairo that Sadat had flown a secret one-day mission to Kuwait, where he met with Syrian President Hafez el-Assad and Kuwaiti Sheikh Sabah el-Salim el-Sabah. He then flew to Riyadh, where he met with Saudi Arabian King Faisal. Sadat returned to Cairo on November 2. Several hours after his arrival, Algerian President Houari Boumedienne landed at Cairo airport. He stayed one day and then moved on to Damascus to meet with el-Assad.

Meir and Fahmy left Washington November 4. The next day Kissinger took off for a scheduled ten-day trip.

His itinerary called for visits to Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Pakistan. On November 10 he was scheduled to arrive in Peking, from which he was due to leave for Tokyo.

Sorting out what was happening in all the buzzing around is difficult because of the absolute secrecy of the diplomatic exchanges. But if the motion seemed frenzied, there was good reason. The diplomats were running what one accurate if unoriginal journalist called a race against time. On October 26, just before the tours began, *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr cabled from Tel Aviv that in the view of most Israeli officials "the only question is whether diplomacy or renewed hostilities will correct the distorted postures left [on the Suez front] by an unfinished war." There was little doubt that that was the question. And even less that the answer would come in a matter of a few weeks at most.

The Suez Confrontation

At the center of the October 29-November 4 diplomatic free-for-all was the unstable cease-fire on the Suez front. The situation there had not substantially changed since the night of October 25, when the third cease-fire of the October War took effect. The Israeli army, which had broken the first cease-fire on October 22 in order to complete the encirclement of the Egyptian III Corps, was occupying nearly 750 square miles of Egyptian territory on the west bank of the Suez Canal. Road and rail lines between Cairo and the city of Suez were in Israeli hands. The city of Suez itself was surrounded, and Israeli officers claimed to have penetrated the outer limits of the city. The road linking Cairo to the city of Ismailia, about half way along the length of the canal, was cut.

The total effect was that the Egyptian III Corps, which numbers between 20,

000 and 30,000 troops, was isolated on the east bank of the canal, its ammunition low and its supplies cut off.

The Israeli command has made no secret of the fact that it planned to annihilate the III Corps—or at least to force it into a humiliating surrender—and that these plans were interrupted only because of pressure from Washington. Moshe Dayan answered right-wing domestic criticism of his army's failure to liquidate the III Corps by observing that it was difficult to resist the requests of a country that "gives you ammunition in the morning that you are going to use the same afternoon."

The first cease-fire had been arranged by Kissinger and Brezhnev during the former's sojourn in Moscow on the weekend of October 20-21. When the Israeli leaders broke it, they continued to get unlimited material support from Washington. It was only the gravity of the October 25 confrontation between Washington and Moscow that finally made the cease-fire a reality—at least temporarily.

The question of the fate of the Egyptian III Corps then became a diplomatic one. The Israeli rulers decided that if international pressure made it impossible to annihilate the III Corps, the option of starving it out was still a real one. If the III Corps could be forced to leave their equipment behind and march back to the west bank of the canal weak from thirst, with their hands raised in surrender, a good part of the psychological victory won by the Arab masses in their valiant fight during the war would be erased.

The Israeli command initially insisted that it was under no obligation to allow the delivery of food and water to the III Corps. In fact, it refused to do so. By October 27 it appeared that the III Corps had no alternative but to try to fight its way out of the trap. That would have given the Israeli command the awaited excuse to relaunch a massive offensive.

On October 28 an interim solution was arrived at. Again it was one that Washington found it had to impose on the Israeli regime. The substance of the agreement was that 125 trucks carrying relief supplies would be allowed to pass through Israeli lines to the III Corps. "The food supply was not a humanitarian gesture," Dayan explained to the Israeli parliament on October 30. "We had no choice. Or to be more precise the alternatives to allowing food convoys were much worse." And he elucidated: "Anyone advocating we run the war in a state of rupture with the United States is advocating we can't possibly win."

The Interim Deal

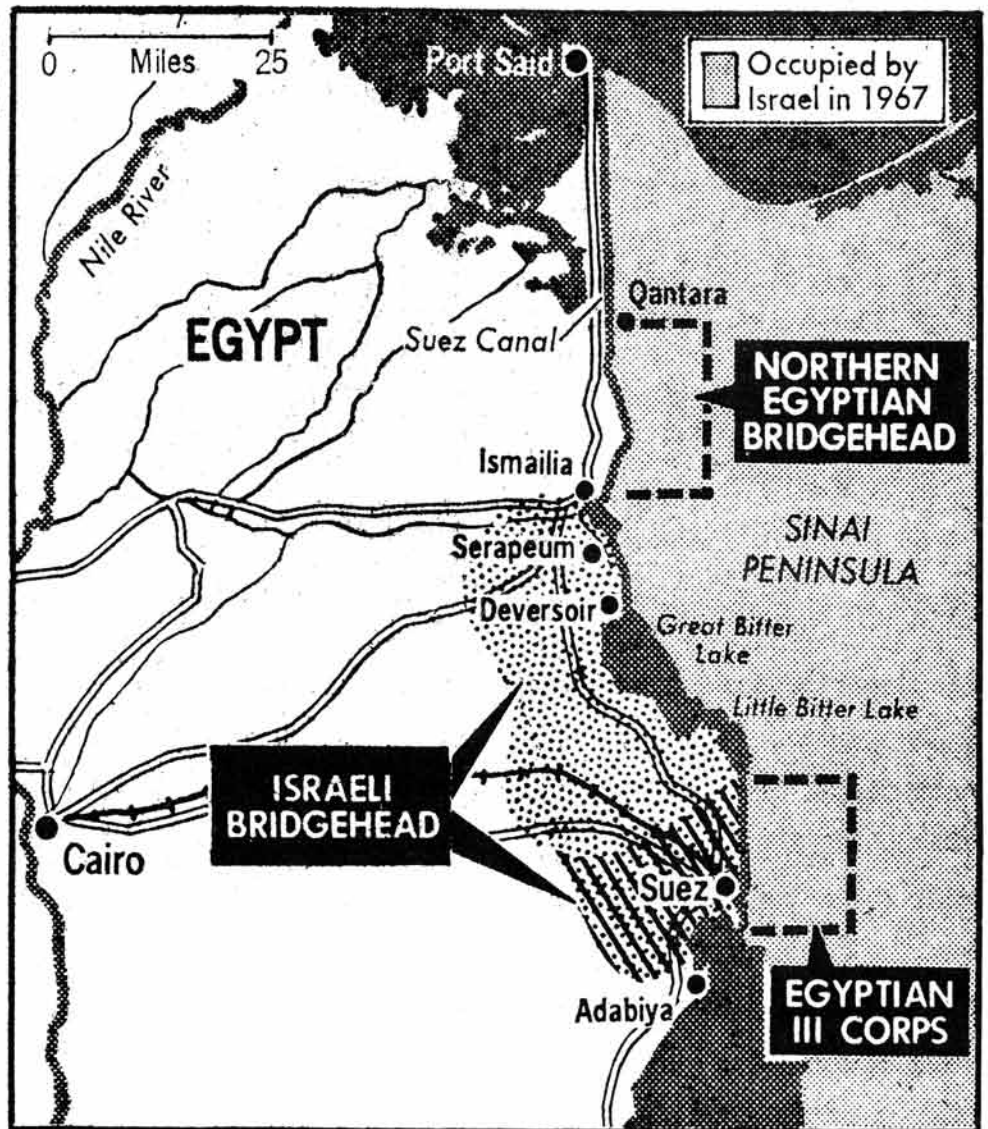
The October 28 agreement was only a stopgap measure aimed at preserving the uneasy truce long enough for the ensuing intensive diplomatic activity to get under way. Almost immediately, the Israeli regime began undermining the interim arrangement, seeking to thwart the delivery of food and water to the III Corps.

On October 31 Charles Mohr cabled the *New York Times* that the truck convoy was moving at a "snail's pace." The plan had called for 125 trucks to pass through the Israeli lines. After forty-eight hours, only twenty-five trucks had made it through. It was "questionable," Mohr wrote, "how much good the convoy would do in relieving pressure on the troops to surrender their enclave on the east bank."

He described the complicated procedure the resupply effort involved: "The trucks, in fairly small groups, are first driven 63 miles from Cairo on the highway to Suez, where Israeli and Egyptian officers are in contact at the 101 kilometer marker.

"The trucks are inspected by Israeli military policemen to be sure they do not contain arms or ammunition. Then soldiers of the United Nations Emergency Force—Finns, Austrians, Swedes, and others—take over and drive the trucks through the Israeli bridgehead west of the canal to a point where Egyptian boats can cross.

"When trucks are being unloaded Egyptian soldiers cross the canal to load the material onto the amphibious vehicles and boats and then ferry it to the east bank. A given part of the



New York Times map shows unstable situation of Suez front. Southern portion of Israeli bridgehead (shown by oblique lines) was seized after first cease-fire.

convoy may thus be 'going through' but still be far from reaching the III Corps."

As if the complicated delivery procedure were not enough, Israeli soldiers were periodically halting the trucks on grounds of "Egyptian cease-fire violations."

On October 31, three days after the agreement to resupply the III Corps, Israeli Major General Avraham Adan said that if the III Corps did not get fresh supplies it would run out of water in about one week.

On November 2 Mohr cabled another report on the Suez situation. The Israelis, he wrote, "have shown a certain talent for delay. At 3 P.M. yesterday, four days after the convoy plan was agreed upon, only 65 trucks

had been unloaded and the supplies ferried across the blue waters of the canal to the III Corps. A reporter who inspected 16 of the trucks found that only four were loaded with water.

"It seems possible that the Egyptians are using supplies of water and food faster than they are reaching them and that the convoy is no real solution to their problem."

And on November 3, *New York Times* correspondent Raymond H. Anderson reported from Cairo that a total of only seventy-five trucks had reached the III Corps.

On October 31 Anwar el-Sadat held his first press conference for foreign reporters. In it he warned that his officer corps would not allow him to stand by and watch the starvation of

the III Corps. "I'm restraining my military men because I'm waiting for the outcome of what is happening in Washington and for Kissinger's visit here on November 6 and 7," he said.

"If anything happens to my children on the east bank," he said at one point, "I will take the necessary action."

While threatening to resort to military action to save the III Corps, Sadat was conciliatory toward Washington: "I can say that the United States has been taking a constructive position and I am awaiting the visit of Mr. Kissinger."

The combination of threat of military action and soft words for Nixon can be interpreted only as a warning on Sadat's part that he was eager for a diplomatic solution to be arranged but that he was not in position to accept destruction of the III Corps. It is quite possible that sections of the Egyptian military are pressing for action. It is a certainty that a mass mobilization against the government would occur if Sadat passively allowed the III Corps to be starved out. It is doubtful whether the regime could survive it.

The Diplomatic Jockeying

Such is the context in which the diplomatic circus of October 29 to November 4 took place. There was a good deal of speculation in the capitalist press that Kissinger, who has somehow acquired the reputation of a man of great depth, was talking to Israeli, Egyptian, and Syrian officials about the long-term problems of establishing peace in the Arab East.

Questions of Israeli withdrawal from at least some of the territories seized in 1967 in exchange for Arab recognition of the Zionist state, of possible locales for an international peace conference on the Arab East, and even of a possible Palestinian role in such a conference were being freely bandied about. It is not excluded that questions like these were touched on in all the hours of negotiations. It is especially likely that the Kremlin was trying to convince the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization to give its approval to a peace conference.

But it can be safely asserted that these questions, if they were dealt with at all, were barely mentioned. It is

simply not true that the October War has been settled and that the broader issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict are now on the international diplomatic agenda.

The problem is far more immediate. When Golda Meir arrived in the United States on her visit, she explained that she had come to discuss the cease-fire arrangements. Specifically, the Israeli regime has taken the position that the present cease-fire lines are untenable. Tel Aviv has steadfastly refused to accept any compromise proposal that would allow a supply corridor to be opened to the III Corps. Meir insisted that all Israeli prisoners of war be returned before the question of resupplying the III Corps is even debated. She rejected out of hand the notion that the Israeli army should return to the positions it held at the time of the first UN cease-fire, claiming that "no one alive" could determine what those positions were. Instead, she proposed that the cease-fire lines be made "more coherent," by which she apparently meant that if the Egyptian army withdrew to the west bank of the canal, abandoning the gains it made during the fighting, the Israeli regime would consider taking most of its troops off the west bank.

And, in fact, it is difficult to see how the Israeli government could accept anything less than a return to the cease-fire lines as they existed before the October War began. The Meir regime was already under heavy pressure from the right-wing opposition and from the chauvinist wave that the government itself has fostered among the Israeli population.

The Sadat regime was holding equally as firm to its position. Again and again Sadat insisted that before any Israeli prisoners of war could be released, the Israeli army had to withdraw to its October 22 positions, the ones it held at the time of the first cease-fire. That would free the III Corps from the Israeli encirclement.

Sadat can hardly adopt any other stance. The original cease-fire was not a popular one among the Egyptian population, which knows from long and bitter experience that cease-fires have always worked to Zionist advantage. When the Israeli army broke the first cease-fire and surrounded the III Corps, popular distrust of Sadat's

move was confirmed. Sadat will therefore have to continue to insist on Israeli withdrawal to the October 22 positions unless he can get an agreement that will open a corridor to the III Corps and preserve the Egyptian positions on the east bank of the canal.

The deadlock that Washington's furious diplomacy was trying to resolve centered on this basic confrontation: Tel Aviv's insistence on the release of Israeli prisoners and the introduction of "coherence" into the cease-fire lines versus Cairo's demand that the survival of the III Corps on the east bank be guaranteed before any Israelis are released and before any "peace" talks get under way.

'Not Yet Over'

While the deadlock persisted, Israeli officials were busy preparing public opinion for a resumption of the fighting. "The Egyptians are very displeased with our presence west of the Suez Canal," Dayan said November 4. "They are not ready for any arrangement that seems to us as the minimum stable cease-fire line."

"They are massing troops; I strongly recommend that we should not be surprised if they resume the war. The war is not yet over."

The military and political situation as of November 5, when Kissinger left on his tour of Arab capitals, bore a certain resemblance to the situation prevailing immediately before the June 1967 war. At that time Israeli provocations placed the Egyptian government in a position in which it had no choice but to take defensive measures. Those measures were then used by the Israeli government as evidence that the Egyptians were pressing for war. At the opportune moment Tel Aviv seized the initiative and struck first. Dayan's hypocritical bluster about the Egyptians massing troops sounds like a repackaged version of the 1967 rhetoric.

Inherently, such situations cannot last for a very long time. Either a deal will be arranged whereby the Israeli army really allows the III Corps to be resupplied—possibly through a corridor manned by United Nations troops—or the Israeli command will find some way of forcing the Egyptian soldiers to resume the fighting.

The time remaining for the deadlock to be resolved in one direction or the other is not great. It is likely to be measured in days, not in weeks.

The dangers in the situation are enormous. If the fighting does resume, another Washington-Moscow confrontation, even more serious than the one of October 25 is quite possible. The Nixon administration will continue to play quartermaster for the Zionist war machine, as it has even after the cease-fire took effect. A second round of fighting would be more intensive than the previous one, and the Israeli air force, given a SAM-free corridor,

would be certain to try to inflict maximum damage on Egyptian troops and civilians.

But even if the Nixon administration is able to work out an agreement on reorganizing the cease-fire lines, the Arab East will be far away from peace. The most that will be gained out of the present deadlock will be a more enduring cease-fire line and the initiation of the process of preparing for negotiations between the Arab states and the Israeli state. Even the simple mechanics of beginning that process will be equally as complicated as the initial Vietnam negotiations.

And after all that, there remains the fundamental problem that is at the root of the whole conflict: the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs. While the Zionist state exists, that oppression will not be ended.

On November 3, while the diplomatic wrangling was at its peak, a young student in Cairo told *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner, "The Israelis have never given up anything voluntarily. They will not withdraw from their present positions and they will not make peace. So we will have to fight again." That student's understanding of the problem is far more profound than Kissinger's. □

The 'Disgust' Is Mutual

October War Puts Strains on 'Atlantic Alliance'

By Jon Rothschild

"People who had watched the NATO alliance over the past quarter of a century could not remember anything like it," *New York Times* correspondent David Binder wrote November 4. "Reproach following reproach by the highest United States officials publicly questioning the loyalty of the European allies and the basis of the alliance itself. Most of the West Europeans in the 15-member alliance had their backs up, too."

The rift between Washington and the West European capitals had been widening for several weeks. It escalated to the stage of "reproach following reproach" after October 31. On that day the *New York Times* published a story that seemed almost designed to contribute to exacerbating the interimperialist divisions. In a report on U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's testimony October 30 before a session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, David Binder quoted a "Congressional aide" as saying that at the conclusion of the hearing Kissinger remarked under his breath: "I don't care what happens to NATO, I'm so disgusted."

Kissinger's disgust, Binder explained, was aroused by the alleged failure of the West European powers to follow Washington during the initial



KISSINGER: Disgusted.

weeks of the October War. Kissinger was reported to have "reminded" the House committee of his statement of last April 23 that "our European allies have regional interests" but that "we cannot hold together if each country or region asserts its autonomy whenever it is to its benefit."

Then Kissinger added: "It is sad to relate that the last three weeks bore out that description."

The addition of Kissinger's voice to the chorus of official criticism of the West European governments seemed a deliberate move by Washington to add greater weight to the charges that the Europeans had been guilty of asserting "regional autonomy." On October 26 Robert J. McCloskey, a State Department hack who often draws the assignment of selling U.S. policy to the public, and Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger had condemned London for refusing to back up Washington's demands for a UN cease-fire resolution in the early days of the war. On October 30, McCloskey and Schlesinger reiterated their criticism. It had not been issued "lightly," McCloskey said.

At a regular State Department news conference on October 31, McCloskey denied that Kissinger had really said he was disgusted. "I want to assure you that was erroneous," McCloskey said. "The Secretary has assured me it was not said." But McCloskey pointedly refrained from retracting the already declared criticism of the policy of the NATO governments.

The wrangling about Kissinger's "disgust" brought the Washington-Europe rift to public attention in a sharp way. But on the secret diplomatic level, the division had apparently been serious enough before the Kis-

singer leak. "European officials are expressing surprise and irritation over Washington's criticism of their lack of support in the Middle East war, but they remain uncertain about just how to respond," Alvin Shuster cabled the *New York Times* from London on October 29.

"The official inclination in several capitals today," he continued, "was to try to play down the possibility of repercussions from the harsh words from Washington. . . ."

"For their part, some European officials said privately today that membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization did not mean blind support for every American policy."

What the Rift Was About

Spokesmen for the Nixon gang avoided being specific in their public reproaches to the West European governments, preferring to limit their remarks to generalities about the "Atlantic alliance." But there appear to be three main U.S. demands that the NATO regimes balked at fulfilling, thus giving rise to Nixon's displeasure.

First, only Portugal and the Netherlands participated actively in the massive Pentagon airlift to resupply the Israeli war machine during the second and third weeks of the October War. Some governments even interfered partially with the airlift, denying U.S. and Israeli planes the right of overflight and ships the right to use port facilities.

Second, the European governments declined to cosponsor cease-fire resolutions with Washington during the initial days of the war, when Nixon was pressing for a withdrawal of Arab armies to the 1967 cease-fire lines and the Arab states were intent on penetrating further into Israeli-occupied territory. The main target of that charge was the British government.

Third, when the Kremlin refused to cut off its assistance to the Arab states, the West European governments rejected Washington's demand that they jointly "chill" their trade and political relations with the workers states in order to pressure the Kremlin into accepting U.S. proposals for a cease-fire that would leave the Israeli army posted on the west bank of the Suez Canal. It was reported in the October

31 *New York Times* that the U.S. request for a "chill" was conveyed to Europe by Donald Rumsfeld, the U.S. ambassador to NATO.

The more general complaint was summed up by an unnamed "top Administration official" quoted in the November 3 *New York Times*: "During the Middle East war we saw the allies running for cover, running away from



FAISAL: Puts Holland on the embargo list.

us, and this reinforced the concept that it [the Atlantic alliance] is not a partnership. We tried to persuade them that if Israel went down the drain it would change the power balance against NATO and give the Russians a strategic advantage. This was the confrontation part of it."

Most of the European capitals did not see it that way. While all of them share U.S. imperialism's commitment to stability in the Arab East and agree that the Israeli state is the major guarantor of the status quo, few have a compelling immediate interest in backing up absolute Israeli hegemony, which is the present concern of the American ruling class. Since everyone knew that there was no question of Israel going "down the drain" in the October War, there was no reason for the European capitalist class not to take advantage of the opportunity to appear more "neutral" and pick up some diplomatic gains in the Arab world at Washington's expense.

Thus, Paris continued its previous policy of embargoing all arms to the belligerent states. Bonn at first allowed the Pentagon to utilize German facilities during the airlift of equipment to Israel, but called a halt when it was publicly revealed that Israeli ships were loading at the port of Bremerhaven. London declined to supply the Israeli army with any equipment, and even, the Franco regime denied Washington the use of transit facilities for U.S. weapons on the way to Tel Aviv.

Europe and the 'Oil Weapon'

One factor that undoubtedly contributed to the reluctance of the European capitalists to follow obediently behind U.S. imperialism during the October War was the pressure brought to bear on the European economies by the Arab states' reduction of oil deliveries. The oil-rich states—primarily Saudi Arabia and Kuwait—had been under heavy pressure in the Arab world to curtail supplies to states supporting the Israeli aggression. The rulers of these countries acceded partially to these pressures and reduced their oil production, in most cases by about 5 percent. In addition, embargoes were declared against some countries.

On November 2 British Industry Minister Thomas Boardman told the House of Commons that the flow of Arab oil into the world market had declined from 19.5 million barrels a day to 16 million barrels a day, a decrease of about 18 percent.

The Saudi government has set up three categories of countries relative to oil deliveries: embargoed, exempt, and not exempt but not embargoed. The United States has been placed on the embargoed list, along with South Africa, the Netherlands, and several other supporters of the Israeli state. France, Britain, Spain, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Pakistan, Tunisia, and Egypt are "exempt."

King Faisal's move offering several European states "most favored" status seemed to be aimed at achieving two goals: preventing these states from openly assisting the U.S. effort to resupply the Israeli army and convincing those same states to pressure Washington to shift its diplomatic position. Particularly in the case of

Britain, a threat to move London to the "not exempt, not embargoed" category could be expected to have some effect on British policy.

The "oil weapon" is rather more useful against West European capitalism than it is against U.S. capitalism. While the United States depends on Arab oil for less than 10 percent of its imports, the European countries find themselves in a more vulnerable position. According to official Common Market figures, nine Arab countries provide Britain with 70% of its imports. For West Germany the figure is 71%; for France 75%; for Italy 80%; and for the Netherlands 70%.

In addition, a boycott of one country can easily become an effective boycott of another. When deliveries of crude oil to the Netherlands were suspended, for example, oil shipments through the port of Rotterdam were cut off. Belgium and West Germany, not officially on the boycott list, were heavily affected anyway, since a good part of their oil imports are shipped through Rotterdam. And there are secondary losses to the embargoed economies as well. City authorities in Rotterdam estimated that the boycott could endanger as many as 20,000 jobs and would cost some \$30 million a year in port income if it continued for that long.

As vulnerable as European capitalism is to the Arab oil weapon, the actual extent of the pressure from the Arab states should not be overestimated. Most European countries have enough oil on hand to last sixty-five days, and emergency shipments can always be speeded up if the boycott should end or be eased. The immediate effects, therefore, will not be too severe. The Dutch government has prohibited nonessential driving on Sunday and anticipates using some sort of rationing system for oil during the winter. So far, that is the extent of the effect of the boycott.

More important, however, are the real intentions of the Arab regimes. When oil deliveries are cut off or drastically restricted for any great length of time, the governments of the oil-rich countries lose money. Even if some of the loss is absorbed by price increases, and even if the regimes are willing to take a temporary loss in foreign exchange earnings (which they have trouble investing anyway), the

fundamental motivations determined by the "free world" market finally prevail.

The capitalist states in the Arab East will not sacrifice their own interests to support the Arab cause. Real utilization of the oil weapon would require seizure of all imperialist holdings in the Arab East and mobilization of the workers and peasants to defend the seizures. No capitalist state will take such measures.

The oil pressure on Europe is therefore limited, despite European capital-



POMPIDOU: Wants European unity against Washington.

ism's heavy dependency on Arab oil. King Faisal did not turn the screws enough to cause real pain. He turned them enough to give the European capitalists a good excuse to voice some accumulated resentment at Washington.

European Response to Washington Verbal Offensive

The European regimes answered Washington's charges that they had let big brother down by complaining that Nixon had not bothered to consult them about his plans. The October 30 *New York Times* quoted a "NATO diplomat in Brussels" as saying: "The United States is firing off salvos in all directions which are ill-timed and ill-conceived. Americans don't even consult us and then complain we don't share their views."

The no-consultation gripe apparently stems from the fact that Nixon waited until after issuing his order before telling his NATO partners that U.S. troops had been placed on worldwide "precautionary alert." On October 28 West German Chancellor Willy Brandt sent a letter to Nixon explaining that he had not been informed of the "nature and degree" of the crisis in the Arab East.

While the diplomats kept their protests polite and mild, some of the European press voiced greater exasperation.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* for example was a bit sarcastic in an October 28 editorial entitled "Atlantic Dissensions." The editors noted that McCloskey and Schlessinger were annoyed at Europe's "lack of solidarity" with Washington. "It was not only France that got failing grades for behavior," the editors wrote. "Mr. Schlessinger suggested that he was preparing some punishment even for such exemplary pupils in the Atlantic classroom as West Germany, Turkey, and Greece."

"But the bad feelings exist not just on one side of the Atlantic," *Le Monde* wrote. "The Europeans are unhappy about the breezy offhandedness of Washington in deciding to resolve the Near East crisis with the acquiescence of the Kremlin alone." The editors suggested that Washington's public attacks on NATO governments had "apparently delivered a fatal blow to the Year of Europe and to the 'revitalization of the alliance.'"

French President Georges Pompidou took Washington's complaints as an opportunity to press for strengthening the Common Market. On October 31 he called for a meeting of the nine member-states to "compare and harmonize" their policies on the Arab East and other questions. Pompidou also recommended that regular meetings be held to coordinate the political positions of the member states. The cease-fire in the Arab East, he told his cabinet, had been "planned and put into effect without the participation of Europe in any form." He added that this was a "dangerous" thing.

Pompidou's recommendation was an extension of a proposal that had been made by the Italian government when the October War first started. But despite their words with Washington,

there is little sign that the European capitalists will be able to move measurably closer to unity. The reasons are indicated by the actions of the various states during the current oil restrictions.

An appeal by the Dutch government that its partners in the Common Market supply it with oil during the shortage has not been enthusiastically received. In the November 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, John Allan May described the British regime's response to calls for European solidarity:

"Opposition leader Harold Wilson urged Mr. Heath to tell President Pompidou of France when they meet in mid-November that on the matter of oil 'now and in the future what we have, we hold.'

"This was a reference not only to the 109 days' supply of oil that Britain holds in its reserves tanks but to the North Sea oil field now beginning to be exploited in British areas under the North Sea.

"Mr. Heath did not respond to this. But neither did he say anything to

reassure Europe that oil supplies will be shared on a European basis.

"Indeed the evidence from 'the Queen's speech,' which set out the government's intended policy measures for the next 12 months, indicated a more nationalistic British policy in regard to North Sea oil."

The amount of European capitalist solidarity the Common Market will be able to command is likely to be small. The same inter-imperialist competition that lies at the root of the transatlantic dispute will assert itself in Western Europe also. In fact, it already has asserted itself in the reactions of the Common Market members to the current oil shortage in the Netherlands. Each regime will try to maneuver for the benefit of its own ruling class, and that will no doubt limit the European capitalists' ability to form a bloc to stand up to pressure from Washington. Already there are signs of that. "The United States and three of its principal West European allies have exchanged conciliatory messages in the last week, all designed

to patch up differences that had arisen over American policies and actions in the Middle East crisis," David Binder wrote in the November 3 *New York Times*.

In reply to Brandt's complaint about lack of consultation, Nixon was "understood to have promised fuller consultation in the future.

"It was believed that similar pledges had been made to other allies." Other messages of "conciliation" were exchanged between Washington and London and between Washington and Rome. Nixon was reported to have decided that his differences with the NATO governments were "settled." But that may well be premature.

The transatlantic differences over what policy to adopt during the October War were only reflections of more general differences between the American and European ruling classes. Pompidou's plans for a united European bloc may be utopian, but the days when the European capitalist powers jumped when Washington cracked the whip have passed. □

The Two Sides Are Not the Same

Why Revolutionists Are Not Neutral in October War

By Joseph Krasny

[The following article appeared in the October 26 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*. As the author explains, it was written to clear up some confusion about the revolutionary position on the October War that has been apparent within the French and Arab far left. In large part the article takes the form of a polemic against the position taken by *Lutte Ouvrière*, a French far-left group. Already the debate has borne fruit. The box on the next page also appeared in the October 26 *Rouge*. It indicates that *Lutte Ouvrière* has rectified its position.

[But the line originally taken by *Lutte Ouvrière* remains an unfortunately common one in many leftist circles throughout the world. *Rouge's* answer thus retains its relevance. The translation of it is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In its past two issues *Rouge* has explained its position on the fourth Arab-Israeli war, both through its own articles and through publishing articles by revolutionary Marxists in the Middle East. That position can be summed up in three points:

1. No consistent Marxist can be neutral in this conflict; against Israel, the national oppressor of the Arab peoples, we are on the side of the Arab states, even though they are bourgeois states.

2. The Arab bourgeoisies launched this war in order to reach a compromise with imperialism that would satisfy each side, involving on the one hand recognition of Israel "within secure borders," and on the other hand repossession of the occupied territories by the Arabs.

3. Therefore, our solidarity with the Arab armies goes along with a call to

struggle against the existing regimes, to organize the workers independently, outside the pale of nationalist pressures, and to put forward transitional slogans that can be summed up in the formula: Transform the war into a revolutionary offensive!

This position contrasts with two opinions that have cropped up within the far left, both French and Arab.

First, an opportunist position: a simple tail-endism that liquidates any critique of the Arab bourgeoisies, disregarding their responsibility in militarily crushing the Palestinian resistance. The dominant tone that comes through in the pages of *Politique-Hebdo* [a far-left weekly], certain of whose articles go so far as to speak of "a new dynamic between peoples and leaders," reflects this position.

Then there is a dogmatic position:

setting the belligerent states on the same level; giving Israel, Egypt, and Syria equal treatment. In short, the position revolutionary Marxists took during the India-Pakistan war [of 1965]. The editorial that appeared in the October 9-15 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière* expressed this position: This war "serves neither the interests of the Arab peoples nor those of the Israeli people. . . . For all peoples, nationalism is a bloody trap that they are being pushed into by their own ruling classes."

Because of these differences within the far left, it appears necessary for us to develop our position in more detail. Furthermore, some letters sent to *Rouge* indicate an uncertainty that can be summed up in the following question: Is *Rouge* capitulating before the revival of Arab nationalism that the offensive of the Egyptian and Syrian regular armies is inevitably provoking?

The judgment of revolutionary Marxists on the events in the Middle East is based on two levels: a principled position on the colonial question, and a particular position in regard to the concrete development of the class struggle in the region.

In 1920, in its theses on the national and colonial question, the Second Congress of the Communist International (when Lenin was alive) expressed the guidelines of the revolutionary Marxist analysis of the movements for national liberation this way: "Foreign domination impedes the free development of economic forces. That is why the destruction of foreign domination is the first step of the revolution in the colonies, and that is why the aid accorded to the destruction of foreign domination in the colonies is not in reality aid accorded the nationalist movement of the indigenous bourgeoisie, but is the opening of the road for the oppressed proletariat itself."

It is an identical *reasoning* that guides us today, just as in 1967, when in face of the Israeli aggression the Fourth International placed itself on the side of the Arab states. In this war, you have to take sides. The "states" that *Lutte Ouvrière's* editorial talks about cannot be put on the same plane, even though in the final analysis Egypt and Syria are dependent on, subjected to, and tied to world imperialism.

Lutte Ouvrière Makes a Rectification

The article that we are publishing in this issue of *Rouge* on the Middle East conflict criticizes an editorial that appeared in the October 9-15 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*. That editorial basically developed a "neutral" position that treated the two opposing sides as equivalent and put the Arab and Israeli bourgeoisies on the same level.

This polemic need go no further. For *Lutte Ouvrière* has rectified its position. First in a communiqué of "support to the Arab peoples," and later, in more detail, in the columns of *Lutte Ouvrière* itself. We can only agree with the article by Georges Kaldy published in the October 23-29 issue, entitled "Take Sides."

He wrote:

"Neither of the two camps fighting in the Middle East represents the interests of the workers. Both are

led by reactionary regimes. The two are waging the war in the name of a fanatical and aggravated nationalism.

"Nevertheless, no revolutionary socialist can remain neutral in the conflict.

"Our position in this conflict must therefore be clear. The two existing camps are not the same.

" . . . Our support goes to the oppressed peoples, even when these oppressed peoples are fighting under the leadership of their worst class enemies."

"And this support to the battle of the oppressed peoples as it is being fought and not as we would like it to be fought implies absolutely no abandoning of the concomitant struggle, to be waged in the clearest and sharpest manner, against the existing Arab leaderships and regimes."

We entirely agree!

Israel is a *colonial phenomenon*, a state set up by force, by expelling the Palestinian people from their land; it is an imperialist policeman created out of whole cloth; it is a fundamentally racist and expansionist bastion. The Israeli army is the most docile, the best organized, and the most solid ideologically of all imperialist armies. An Israeli victory in the current war comparable to that of 1967 would be a very violent blow to the development of class struggle in the whole Middle East.

The recent evolution of American strategy in the region (establishing closer political ties with the existing Arab regimes, considering post-Nasserite Egypt as the other pillar of U. S. policy after Israel in the framework of an imperialist peace, the growing role of Saudi Arabia as a guarantor of the whole package) changes nothing in this respect.

Our conclusions are comparable to those of Lenin in 1916 in "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination"; namely, that the fact that the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power may, under certain conditions, be utilized by another "great" power for its own equally im-

perialist aims, in no way obliges us to reject the right of nations to self-determination.

The bourgeois character of the Egyptian and Syrian states and the fact that they are tied to imperialism cannot make us abandon the affirmation of their right to recover the territories occupied by Israel.

This is not a capitulation to these regimes. The fact is that every development of Arab nationalism, even under the initiative of these bourgeois leaders, favors the cause of the workers in the region. In fact, this revival of Arab nationalism is the expression—led astray by the ruling classes—of the development of national consciousness of the oppressed of the Middle East. That is the essential thing. Revolutionary Marxists must seek the full flowering of this national consciousness, all the while working toward the independent organization of the workers and peasants against the capitulationist leaderships, the leaders of the 1967 rout, the leaders of the defeat of the Palestinian resistance.

The war has already had very important consequences for the future of class struggle in the region. Assad and Sadat have opened the door to a movement that can go beyond them.

This war of pressure on imperialism, which seeks to force the imperialists to impose a "peaceful solution," is not a matter of a handful of generals pushing buttons. It is real live men who are fighting, workers from Alexandria, students from Cairo who for several years have been aching for war and have pressed for war.

Sadat and Assad are confronted with the essential contradiction of Arab nationalism, particularly in the form lent to it by Nasserism: In order to oppose imperialism even a little, to sweep away a few pieces of the old exploitation, to develop the economic foundation of the bourgeois state, the masses must be mobilized, but their revolutionary awakening must be limited. The Egyptian and Syrian leaders are playing with fire.

The fact is that this war has wiped out the temporary retreat of the revolution in the region that followed the defeat of the Palestinian resistance under the blows of Arab reaction. September 1970—"Black September"—the crushing of the cause that had focused the aspirations of all the Arab peoples, the elimination of thousands of fighters of the objective vanguard of the Arab revolution, had allowed for a series of counterrevolutionary offensives in the Middle East: military dictatorship in Turkey, growing repression in Morocco, liquidation of the living forces of the Sudanese CP, increasingly right-wing turns by Nasser's successors, increasing American influence, strengthening of imperialist pressure in the Arab Gulf through the intermediaries of Saudi Arabia and Iran. The blood was flowing in waves.

The war is giving a new vitality to the battles of the masses. It has ended the myth of Israeli invincibility. It is changing the immediate facts of the political period.

And the fact is that the Arab bourgeoisies took the path of "armed diplomacy" and of "peace through war" because they could not do otherwise without greatly aggravating the crisis that is undermining their regimes. They chose to take that step only after their backs were to the wall, after having tried everything else.

As early as 1970 they had opted for seeking a general peace with Israel, recognizing its right to exist as a guarantor of capitalist interests. This solution has had the support of Wash-

ington and Moscow, which want to break the popular struggles in the region once and for all and bury the source of permanent agitation that the Palestinian question represents. The only obstacle that Sadat's tricks and charades has run up against has been Israeli intransigence, which conforms to the inherent expansionist character of Zionism.

The situation of "no war, no peace" had profoundly shaken the structure of the Egyptian regime. The current resurgence of Sadat's popularity will in no way eliminate the regime's crisis. The compromises heralded by the cease-fire represent the end result of the *failure* of Nasserism and petty-bourgeois nationalism in the struggle against imperialism, a failure that the defeat of June 1967 had already demonstrated. From the six-day war to the just announced imperialist "peace" there is an unbroken line of decay. The position of strength that this war might lend to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships in the Arab world is only relative.

When the cannon cease firing, Arab reaction will have to move very soon to make the masses who have been mobilized accept compromise and capitulation. In short, the masses will have to be disarmed. And who are these masses? The more than 70,000 students in uniform, who twice (1972 and 1973) confronted the police in the streets of Cairo and Alexandria. The communist, or even just leftist, intellectuals, victims of the witch-hunt Sadat has been carrying on for the past two years, intellectuals who have just been released. The workers of the Helwan steel works, who have been mobilized on the home front and are full of enthusiasm, who in August 1971 broke by means of a strike the contract that had been imposed on them by the regime during the period of Nasser's triumphant Bonapartism.

And also, the workers of Damascus, organized into armed militias to respond to the Israeli bombing and to prevent any invasion by the Zionist army. It will not be so easy to get all these people to accept recognition of Israel, even if recognition is embellished by recovery of the occupied territories; for the basic question, the question of Palestine, will remain unresolved.

Hussein, the butcher of Amman, un-

derstands all this very well. That is the reason for his purely symbolic and artificial participation in the conflict. He in no way wants to contribute to giving the Palestinian resistance a second wind, all the less so in that about half the Jordanian population is of Palestinian origin. Hussein has denied the fedayeen use of any facilities. In the October 20 *Le Monde* Eric Rouleau reported that Hussein had even arrested a "former Palestinian terrorist" for "routine interrogation."

A new mass mobilization (within a nationalist framework), increased difficulties for the existing Arab regimes (despite a rise in their popularity), and arming of the youth (for the most part within the regular armies)—these are elements that all revolutionists must take into account in analyzing the concrete situation. That must be done in order to advance transitional slogans corresponding to the revolutionists' task of outflanking the existing bourgeois leaderships.

These slogans, as they were expressed in last week's issue of *Rouge* by a comrade of the Lebanese Revolutionary Communist Group [see *Intercontinental Press*, October 29, p. 1213], are totally unambiguous:

NO to the impending compromise!
NO to recognition of the Zionist state!

Total and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli army from the occupied territories, with no embellishing clauses liquidating the Palestinian cause!

NO to a cease-fire!

For the independent organization of the masses: prolonged war, arming and training, democratic rights, freedom of action for the Palestinian resistance in all Arab countries!

After the 1967 debacle of the Arab armies, an unprecedented mass movement arose in the Arab East: the Palestinian resistance, which objectively broke, even if unconsciously, with the petty-bourgeois nationalist framework, the stranglehold of holy interclass unity against the "common enemy," Israel.

After the crushing of the Palestinian resistance, the present war threatens to produce a similar phenomenon. A new revolutionary generation, extracting itself little by little from the nationalist framework, can develop on the basis of the mass mobilization engendered by the clashes with the Zionist troops.

French Trotskyist Released From Jail

Another partial victory has been won in the fight against the ban on the Ligue Communiste, former French section of the Fourth International. On October 27, the Paris appeals court upheld a lower court ruling granting release on bail to Michel Recanati, a leading member of the ex-Ligue who had been held in La Santé prison since September 17.

Recanati's release was obtained through the same legal procedure that won the release of Alain Krivine, another central leader of the ex-Ligue who had been arrested by the Pompidou regime. Yves Jouffa, Recanati's attorney, filed a motion for provisional release before Judge Alain Bernard, the examining magistrate in the case. Judge Bernard granted the motion.

As in the Krivine case, the government appealed Bernard's ruling to the appeals court. While the government's appeal was pending, the National Committee for the Abrogation of the Decree of Dissolution of the Ligue Communiste, the group that has been leading the fight against the regime's ban, organized a broad solidarity campaign.

On October 26, the day before the appeals court was due to rule on the government's case, a delegation of representatives of workers organizations visited the Ministry of Justice to express their support for Recanati. The delegation included members of the CFDT and CGT (the country's two largest trade-union federations), the FEN (the national teachers federation), the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party), and the Communist party.

The October 28-29 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that it was the first time that a representative of the Communist party had agreed to participate in such a delegation along with the Committee for the Abrogation of the Decree of Dissolution of the Ligue.

The next day Recanati was ordered released on bail for 20,000 francs.

Both Recanati and Krivine were arrested for violation of the "antiwrecker law," which enables the government to charge any leader of any organiza-

tion that sponsors a demonstration at which violence occurs with responsibility for the violence. The demonstration in question is the one held last June 21 by antifascist militants in Paris. They were marching against a meeting to launch a campaign against immigrant workers in France

that had been organized by the fascist group *Ordre Nouveau*.

The antifascists clashed with police who were acting as a defense guard for the fascists.

The government banned the Ligue after the demonstration and arrested about a dozen of its leaders. Krivine and Recanati are the only ones against whom major charges are still pending. Both are scheduled to be tried under the antiwrecker law sometime this autumn, but no trial date has yet been set. □

Preparing Second Assembly of Catalonia

Franco's Police Arrest Opposition Leaders

Spanish police raided a meeting in the parish house of a Roman Catholic church in Barcelona on October 28, arresting 113 leading opponents of the Franco regime.

According to the October 30 issue of *Le Monde*, those arrested "are suspected of belonging to the permanent commission of the Assembly of Catalonia." The *New York Times* of November 4 reported that "the participants were to prepare the Second Assembly of Catalonia, two years after the first such assembly succeeded in gathering 300 Government opponents in a Barcelona church to the surprise of the police."

The October 31 *Le Monde* reported that those arrested included "eight lawyers, several university professors, some presidents of professional colleges, and members of the liberal professions."

The *New York Times* said that all but two of the 113 arrested are in prison. "Thirty persons have already been punished with fines ranging from \$3,500 to \$6,200. Defense lawyers pointed out that these persons face two penalties for the same crime, the fines imposed by administrative decision and whatever sentence is handed out by a tribunal.

"The two persons released provisionally are Roman Catholic priests, who under the terms of the concordat between Spain and the Vatican cannot

be imprisoned and cannot be prosecuted without the approval of their bishop."

The *Times* also reported that "there has been no big upsurge of protest against the arrests up to now. The Government has also played down the affair, even forbidding the Barcelona press to report the arrests on the first night."

The "first assembly of the democratic forces of Catalonia," which took place in or around Barcelona in the early part of November 1971, was attended by about 300 persons, including representatives of more than twenty clandestine political parties, trade unions, student and professional groups, and Catholic rank-and-file organizations. The participants, ranging in political views from monarchist to far left, agreed on an action program of democratic demands, including amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles, freedom to exercise democratic liberties, reinstatement of a 1932 statute providing for Catalanian autonomy, and the establishment of commissions to develop ways of fighting to implement the program.

The first assembly described its aims as "the overthrow of the regime of General Franco and the thwarting of the maneuvers to maintain the present regime through the reign of Prince Juan Carlos, and finally, the opening of democratic options for the country."

With the current arrests, the *Times* reported from Barcelona, opposition militants "acknowledged that the movement had been partially 'decapitated.' They appeared to be perplexed as to the next move."

Barcelona, the capital city of Catalonia, is a center of what the *Times*

termed the "democratic opposition" to the Franco dictatorship, which, it stated, "groups such as ordinarily inimical elements as Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, dissident monarchists, regionalists and extreme leftist Maoist and Trotskyite groups." □

Agency (KCIA) had organized and carried out the kidnapping. The KCIA also came under attack when hundreds of students in Seoul demonstrated against the repressive measures of the Park regime. The compromise agreement between Tokyo and Seoul fails to mention the KCIA's role in the affair.

The Japanese imperialists have a considerable amount of capital invested in South Korea and the Japanese government is generally on good terms with Park. The dropping of any mention of the KCIA will make it easier for Park to bury the incident in endless "investigations" or to blame a few individuals.

But the Kim affair contains an implicit warning to all those who would speak out against Park's repressive rule. The September 10 *Far Eastern Economic Review* pointed this out: ". . . as long as some Koreans, at home or abroad, have the courage to protest against the Park régime, the KCIA will continue to be busy, and if the abduction of Kim Dae Jung is an example, their efforts are hardly becoming more discreet. What could possibly intimidate Korean activists more than the threat of kidnapping, such as that undergone by Kim? And in the case of someone less prominent and less immediately supported by foreign governments, it is not impossible that he could even disappear. Koreans can hardly disregard the threat left by the Kim case, nor should they take it lightly." □

Omits Promise Not to Do It Again

Park Regime Apologizes for Kim Kidnapping

The Japanese and South Korean governments reached a face-saving compromise November 1 on the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping affair. South Korean Foreign Minister Kim Yong Shik said that the agreement included pledges by Seoul to "investigate" the incident, to bring charges against First Secretary Kim Dong Woon, who was dismissed after his part in the kidnapping became public, "depending on the results of the investigation," and to allow Kim Dae Jung to leave Korea. In addition, the South Korean prime minister delivered a public apology in Tokyo.

Kim Dae Jung, a leader of the New Democratic party, had run for president in 1971 against Park Chung Hee, losing by a small margin. When Park declared martial law in October 1972, Kim left Korea for Japan, speaking out publicly against the dictatorial

rule of Park and attempting to rally Koreans in Japan (there are 600,000 Koreans there) against the South Korean president.

On August 8 of this year, Kim was abducted from a hotel in Tokyo and taken to Seoul, where he was immediately put under house arrest. The Japanese government felt compelled to protest this infringement on its sovereignty and attempted to win Kim's release. The Park government at first denied that it had anything to do with the kidnapping, then later, under pressure, started to lay the blame on a few individuals who took part in it.

Immediately after the abduction took place, Japanese government officials, as well as leaders of the New Democratic party, charged that the South Korean Central Intelligence

Impeachment Becomes 'Thoroughly Respectable'

But Can They Find an 'Alternative' to Nixon?

By Allen Myers

In an editorial entitled "A Pitiful, Helpless Giant," the *Wall Street Journal* on October 29 summed up the rapidly deteriorating political position of Richard Nixon:

"President Nixon's critics now hold him at their mercy; there is very little he can do to avoid the total destruction of his administration if they fully exploit the advantages he has already handed them. We only hope that his

opponents recognize that the awesome power to destroy a President carries with it grave responsibility to the nation and to the future of the political process.

"It's hard to imagine anything the President can do in his own defense. He cannot offer to compromise, for no compromise short of total capitulation will end the present suspicion and distrust. He cannot 'tough it out';

his opponents have too many options. He cannot even effectively offer arguments that ought to be heard."

The storm of public outrage that greeted the October 20 firing of special prosecutor Archibald Cox, the resignation of Attorney General Elliot Richardson, and the firing of Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus—events that have become known in Washington as the "Saturday Night

Massacre"—has made the Nixon administration a positive embarrassment to influential sectors of the U. S. ruling class. The simmering Watergate scandal finally boiled over with such force that Nixon no longer has any chance of convincing any significant part of the public that he is innocent. While the demand for his impeachment may rise or fall, it would take a cover-up far greater than anything the Nixon gang is now capable of to overcome the prevailing conviction that the president is a crook.

All the signs point to the fact that increasingly larger sectors of the U. S. ruling class are coming to the reluctant conclusion that the crisis can be overcome only by getting rid of Nixon.

This is not to suggest that there is yet anything like unanimity on the question. The *Wall Street Journal*, for example, in the editorial quoted above, went on to suggest that it might be safer to allow the crippled Nixon administration to hobble through its three remaining years:

"By now . . . most of the initiative lies in the hands of the President's critics. They can destroy him, and probably even force him from office. Even so stubborn a man as Mr. Nixon has a breaking point beyond which he will feel impelled to resign, as he felt impelled to give up the tapes to Judge Sirica. If his critics press the battle without self-restraint he will be forced into ever more-desperate defenses, which may give rise to impeachment. . . .

"We are not predicting these dire events, but merely noting that the President himself does not have much power to avoid them. If they do not occur, tribute must be paid to the self-restraint and responsibility of his critics in Congress and elsewhere. We hope and trust they will rise to this occasion, for large things lie in the balance."

But a growing sector of the ruling class has become convinced that "self-restraint" on the part of Nixon's congressional critics will not be sufficient to restore even a modicum of credibility to the gangster in the White House. On the contrary, every day that Nixon remains in office now seems destined to bring with it a new scandal. In this situation, there is increasing support for the view that Nixon should be the one to show "self-



restraint" by resigning.

Perhaps the most damaging scandal of the week was the public disclosure October 31 before Judge John Sirica that two of the nine secret White House tape recordings "don't exist." Nixon's lawyer J. Fred Buzhardt told

the judge that a June 20, 1972, telephone conversation between Nixon and CREEP director John Mitchell and an April 15, 1973, conversation between Nixon and special counsel John Dean had not been recorded. The telephone call, Buzhardt said, had been made from a phone not hooked into the recording system, and the other conversation had been missed because the machine malfunctioned or because the tape ran out—the Nixon gang seemed to be having trouble deciding on its story.

By an interesting coincidence, the two "nonexistent" tapes happened to be precisely those most likely to incriminate Nixon. The June 20, 1972, conversation occurred three days after the arrest of the Watergate burglars and less than twenty-four hours after Mitchell met with CREEP aides to discuss destruction of documents that would link the burglars to the Nixon gang's undercover operations. At the April 15, 1973, meeting with Nixon, Dean later told the Senate Watergate committee, Nixon mentioned having discussed executive clemency for the Watergate burglars and also referred to an earlier conversation in which he had said there would be "no problem" in raising \$1 million to buy their silence.

The reaction to this new twist in the tapes would not have been diffi-

Kremlin Discovers Watergate

After months of pretending that the Watergate scandal was insignificant, or even that it was created by right-wingers opposed to the détente, the Soviet bureaucrats have suddenly realized that soon they may not have Dick Nixon to kick them around any more. In a November 2 dispatch from Moscow to the *New York Times*, Hedrick Smith reported:

"The Soviet Union gave evidence today of serious concern over the position of President Nixon by disclosing in its own press for the first time the Congressional resolutions on his impeachment and removal from office."

The Soviet press, Smith wrote, gave no significant coverage to

Watergate until after the resignation of Agnew and the firing of Archibald Cox.

"Today, *New Times*, the Communist party's international affairs weekly, went considerably further by reporting the preliminary proceedings on impeachment . . . and the fact that such proceedings could lead to Mr. Nixon's removal from office."

Nixon's difficulties, Smith added, are seen as an "embarrassment" to Brezhnev, who "has made personal relations with Mr. Nixon, along with Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany and President Pompidou of France, a cornerstone of his policy of improved relations with the West."

cult to predict. Democratic Congressman Donald Riegle of Michigan summed up a widespread response, using language a bit less diplomatic than that of most politicians:

"Only the most hardened Nixon partisans still believe the incredible deceptions, self-justifications, diversions, and excuses coming from the White House.

"Who can believe the latest tale of the disappearing tapes? Well, I do not believe it. I think the White House is lying and that the tapes have been hidden or destroyed to protect the president."

Riegle called on Nixon to resign as soon as Gerald Ford is confirmed as vice-president.

Ominously for Nixon, some of the harshest remarks about the missing tapes came from Republican members of Congress. Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon released a statement saying: "The startling revelation that certain key tapes of the President's conversations do not exist—the very tapes that have been fought over to the brink of a constitutional crisis—dramatically escalates the problems of the Administration's credibility."

Barry Goldwater, who had backed Nixon in the days following October 20, said that Nixon's credibility "has reached an all-time low from which he may not be able to recover."

Another conservative Republican, Senator James Buckley of New York, said: "As of this moment, President Nixon has the clear burden of satisfying the American people that he has been speaking the truth. If he fails in this we are faced with a political crisis of the most profoundly disturbing proportions."

The revival of still another scandal both illustrated and contributed to the increasing shakiness of Nixon's position. On October 30, the *New York Times* carried an article by Nicholas Gage reporting that Nixon had personally ordered then Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst to drop an antitrust prosecution against ITT in April 1971. Kleindienst later confirmed that he had told Archibald Cox of this incident shortly before Cox was fired.

The White House gang had previously denied any involvement by Nixon in the settlement of the case against ITT, which found the Justice Department amenable to "compro-

mise" after the corporation promised to contribute \$400,000 to the Republican party. During hearings by the Senate Judiciary Committee in March 1972, Kleindienst testified:

"In the discharge of my responsibilities as the Acting Attorney General in these cases, I was not interfered with by anybody at the White House. I was not importuned; I was not pressured; I was not directed. I did not have conferences with respect



KLEINDIENST: Another Nixon gangster blames the boss.

to what I should or should not do."

In response to Gage's article, the White House issued a statement that became inoperative almost immediately.

"The President's statement to Mr. Kleindienst," the White House explanation said, "was based on his belief that the . . . case represented a policy of the Justice Department with which he strongly disagreed. . . . When the specific facts of the appeal were subsequently explained in greater detail, the President withdrew his objection and the appeal was prosecuted in exactly the form originally proposed."

The next day, October 31, Kleindienst revealed a not unimportant detail omitted from the White House version: Nixon had reversed his decision not because of an explanation "in greater detail," but because Kleindienst had threatened to resign.

On November 1, the *New York Times* quoted "sources familiar with

the circumstances" as saying that Kleindienst had taken his story to Cox because he feared that he was about to be indicted for perjury. This would indicate, as Kleindienst's October 31 statement also does, that one of Nixon's worst nightmares is coming true: A high-level member of the gang has become convinced that Nixon is no longer able to protect him and is therefore spilling the goods on the boss in order to protect himself. This will of course increase the pressure on other gang members to do the same.

The manner in which the story reached the *New York Times* is also worthy of note. It seems that Archibald Cox mentioned Kleindienst's confession to two Democratic members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Philip Hart of Michigan and Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. One or both of these senators obviously lost no time in seeing that the story was leaked where it would be well publicized. In normal circumstances, both would have kept the story to themselves; the leak indicates their belief that the "self-restraint" called for by the *Wall Street Journal* no longer serves any useful function.

The present disarray in the Nixon gang means that no one can be sure of being able to keep *anything* secret. The view that Nixon must be replaced is based only in part on the public distrust aroused by the crimes that have already been revealed: Perhaps of even more concern to the ruling class are the additional revelations that seem certain to continue for as long as Nixon holds office.

There appears to be a growing conviction that the easiest way out of the whole mess would be for Nixon to resign. John Herbers reported in the November 4 *New York Times*: ". . . Congressional Republicans of varying political views acknowledged, for the first time, that there was serious and widespread discussion of the possibility of his resignation.

"Representative Robert H. Michel, Republican of Illinois, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, was quoted as saying that there was 'a lot of discussion' of resignation in the cloakrooms of Congress."

Contributing to the discussion was a Gallup poll showing the public disapproving of Nixon's performance by

a 60 percent to 27 percent margin. The poll was conducted between October 19 and 22, and was three-quarters finished before the firing of Cox was announced.

Herbers noted an increasing editorial demand for Nixon's resignation:

"A number of Western and Middle Western newspapers that had supported Mr. Nixon have called on him to resign. For example, the Detroit News in its Sunday [November 4] editions called for Mr. Nixon's resignation to avoid three more years 'of doubts, charges and recriminations which have destroyed the President's ability to lead.'

"Editorials critical of the President have appeared in newspapers in Chicago, Omaha, Salt Lake City and Denver. The Denver Post, noting that it was one year to the day since it had editorially supported Mr. Nixon for the Presidency, urged the President to step down 'not as an admission of guilt, but as a recognition that the needed trust essential to the conduct of his office has been lost.'"

In an October 29 editorial, the *Boston Globe* called a second time for Nixon's resignation:

"A week ago today in this space The Globe was compelled, because of the grave constitutional crisis in this nation, to call for the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon.

"The events of the intervening week have served only to confirm that the national interest would be best served by such a course of action."

On November 4, the *New York Times* joined the chorus demanding that Nixon step down:

"The visible disintegration of President Nixon's moral and political authority, of his capacity to act as Chief Executive, of his claim to leadership and to credibility leads us to the reluctant conclusion that Mr. Nixon would be performing his ultimate service to the American people—and to himself—by resigning his office before this nation is forced to go through the traumatic and divisive process of impeachment."

As it appears more and more possible that impeachment may become necessary, however, some ruling-class spokesmen are discovering that the process is not necessarily "traumatic and divisive."

The *Times* itself, in an October 31 editorial, seemed to regard impeachment as anything but "traumatic."

"In a way," the editors wrote, "it is a sign of constitutional health that the overlay of awe and fear covering the process of impeachment has been swept aside. Impeachment stands in the Constitution as a thoroughly respectable and orderly method of judgment. For all the mystery and argument that has grown up about the process, the early writings of the Republic treat impeachment in a perfectly matter-of-fact fashion. . . ."

In a November 1 editorial, the *Wall Street Journal* likewise assured its read-



FORD: It takes Nixon to make him look good to U.S. ruling class.

ers that the "founding fathers" had foreseen nearly everything that would happen in 1973 and had provided the necessary remedies:

"The best hope for a clarifying position from Congress theoretically could come from a clearcut impeachment investigation. At least this would focus on the heart of public concern, the issue of presidential culpability. The issue of executive privilege would be minimized. The status of a prosecutor working for an impeachment committee would be entirely clear. Mr. Nixon's critics would be on the spot to put up or shut up. This is the method the Founding Fathers provided to solve the problem of who polices the police; this is the constitutional high road."

The *Journal's* editors saw a num-

ber of advantages in an impeachment proceeding, including one that might even appeal to Nixon:

"The President must be given a bill of particulars against which he can defend himself, his critics must be given a feeling that at least the most serious of their fears was fully explored, and the public must be given a feeling that they are governed by serious and responsible men."

The paper was making the best of a bad situation, since impeachment proceedings of some sort are all but inevitable unless Nixon resigns. But the editors were suggesting the fact that an impeachment "investigation" might not necessarily lead to a majority vote in favor of impeachment by the House of Representatives, or to a two-thirds vote for conviction by the Senate. Perhaps the crisis could be overcome by one or the other houses of Congress voting Nixon "not guilty."

It is highly improbable, however, that in the present atmosphere Congress could successfully carry out such an operation. The *Wall Street Journal* editors have not really forgotten their own editorial of May 9, when they wrote that the "worst outcome" of the scandal would be an unsuccessful impeachment effort that left "half of the nation feeling the President can get away with crime and the other half feeling he was the victim of an overreaching and politically motivated assault." What has changed since May 9 is that those who would believe Nixon a victim are no longer "half of the nation."

The paper's hint was more a sign of indecision and the desire to keep options open than it was a serious suggestion.

Most of the ruling-class indecision at present is due to the lack of a generally acceptable replacement for Nixon. Nixon's nominee for vice-president, Gerald Ford, looks qualified only by comparison with Speaker of the House Carl Albert, who would now become president if Nixon were to resign or be impeached. A few liberals, including New York Congresswoman Bella Abzug and Mayor Kevin White of Boston, have proposed that a special election be held when the presidency and vice-presidency are both vacant, but the suggestion has aroused no significant ruling-class support so far.

Prolonging the indecision means prolonging the Watergate scandal. It can therefore be expected that the pressure on Nixon to resign will continue to mount, particularly once a new vice-president is confirmed. The new scandals that are certain to come will likely make even Gerald Ford look good in comparison to Nixon.

Writing in the November 5 issue of *Newsweek*, conservative columnist

Stewart Alsop described the attitude of Congress, which we can be sure reflects the view of a growing sector of the ruling class:

"On Capitol Hill, the President has hardly any real defenders left. There is hardly a member of either house who would not now agree, at least in private, that the country would be better off with another President, almost any other President." □

unsavory characters—almost as unsavory as the gang itself—and in the process further tarnish its "law and order" image.

Fitzsimmons's two immediate predecessors as IBT president were both sentenced to prison for enriching themselves in an illegal manner. Dave Beck, who was president from 1952 to 1957, went to jail for tax fraud but managed to retain most of his ill-gotten gains and is still a millionaire. His successor, James Hoffa, was convicted in 1964 of misusing the IBT's pension fund and of bribing a juror during an earlier trial. After exhausting various legal maneuvers, he went to prison in March 1967, but remained president of the IBT until his replacement by Fitzsimmons in 1971.

Behind the Watergate Scandal—VI

The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakery

By Allen Myers

[This is the second part of an article on the relations between Nixon and the labor bureaucracy. The first installment appeared in last week's *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

A Deal With Teamster Chiefs

The Teamsters are considered the in-house union here.

—A government lawyer, as quoted by Jack Anderson.

George Jackson rotted in jail for nearly a decade for heisting \$70. Jimmy Hoffa cops a million, bribes juries, runs with the most dangerous gangsters in America, and thanks to the intervention of his good friend Dick Nixon, does an easy five.

—Budd Schulberg in the introduction to Walter Sheridan's *The Fall and Rise of Jimmy Hoffa*.

* * *

On June 21, 1971, Nixon walked into a meeting of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters executive board in Miami Beach, Florida, and sat down next to Frank Fitzsimmons, who had just been elected IBT president by the vote of his fellow bureaucrats. What Nixon and the executive board talked about during the forty-five-minute meeting that followed has never been revealed, but after the discussion Nixon and Fitzsimmons posed

for pictures, and Nixon's press secretary Ronald Ziegler quoted the boss as saying:

"My door is always open to President Fitzsimmons and that is the way it should be."

Two weeks later, Secretary of Labor Hodgson was a guest speaker at the IBT convention. Hodgson told the delegates:

"I know you may have felt a little isolated from some of the mainstream in the past, but I think this is changing. Doors are opening in the Labor Department and other agencies and the White House, and we in the Labor Department mean to do our best to keep them open."

These events were the first public declarations of the close relationship with the IBT bureaucracy that has been carefully cultivated by the Nixon gang.

The largest single union in the United States, the IBT has more than two million members—10 percent of the total organized workers in the country. It is not affiliated with the AFL-CIO, having been expelled in 1957 after congressional hearings on corruption in the IBT forced the AFL-CIO bigwigs to try to prove their own purity.

Both its size and its independence of the AFL-CIO make the IBT an important ally for the Nixon gang and allow Nixon to play the two bureaucracies against each other. In order to win this alliance, the Nixon gang has had to associate with some

The U.S. government did not prosecute Beck and Hoffa from any desire to protect the union ranks, but that does not mean that the cases were frame-ups. Rather, the corruption of the Teamsters leadership has provided the government with a pretext for intervening in the union and a means of exerting control over it.

Hoffa had handpicked Fitzsimmons to manage the union for him while he served his sentence. The Teamsters bureaucrats would appear to have a fairly well-developed sense of solidarity with one another, and even though Hoffa and Fitzsimmons were later to quarrel over the presidency, Fitzsimmons performed substantial favors for both Beck and Hoffa.

As a result of his tax-fraud conviction, Beck still owed the government in 1971 some \$1.3 million in back taxes. The amount could have been collected, since Beck owns real estate and other assets that could have been confiscated under a court judgment then in effect.

But John Connally, at that time Nixon's secretary of the treasury, approved a plan giving Beck a "moratorium" on payment. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* later charged that the moratorium was part of a deal in which Fitzsimmons promised the IBT's support for the Nixon administration's economic policy.

"Beck's tax break," the paper said, "was negotiated by John B. Connally, who resigned suddenly (May 16, 1972) as Secretary of the Treasury after the Post-Intelligencer began delving

into Administration links with the Teamsters."

The paper added that the deal included Hoffa's release from prison.

The negotiations and maneuvers surrounding Hoffa's release are complicated by conflicting charges and denials from the various principals. It appears, however, that Fitzsimmons may have double-crossed his mentor and that the Nixon gang skillfully and profitably exploited the differences between them.

In any event, someone made it clear to Hoffa that he would not be released while he persisted in holding the IBT presidency. Hoffa resigned and was replaced by Fitzsimmons in June 1971. It was at this point that Nixon made his well-publicized call on the Teamsters executive board.

Despite Hoffa's resignation, the parole board in August refused his appeal—the third time it had done so. But on December 23, 1971, Nixon commuted Hoffa's sentence and he was released on parole after serving four years and nine months of his thirteen-year sentence. The commutation order, however, barred Hoffa from "direct or indirect management of any labor organization" until March 1980.

In his May 3, 1973, column, Jack Anderson charged that H.R. Halde- man, then chief of the White House staff, "personally pulled the strings that opened the prison doors" for Hoffa. According to Anderson, Fitzsimmons "made several approaches" in mid-1969 to then Attorney General John Mitchell to win a parole for Hoffa. Mitchell eventually promised a parole no later than November 1970, but the deal "fell through."

After this, Anderson continued, Hoffa's son made a new approach in early 1971 to Nixon's friend and political crony Murray Chotiner. Chotiner, Anderson said, was referred to in letters by the code name "Mr. Pajamas."

"On April 11 [1971], a Hoffa family friend, Charles O'Brien, spoke to Hoffa by telephone. A Teamsters associate, who also got on the phone, reported in a confidential memo:

"I told [Hoffa] that I passed on all information concerning himself to Mr. Pajamas, who was putting same in the proper place so that the decision makers could make evaluations. . . . [Hoffa] then told me that if he were out, not only could he deliver the

Teamsters Union for the Republican Party in 1972 but that he could also deliver many construction trade unions as well. He told me that Mr. Fitzsimmons could not deliver anything without him."

Hoffa's friends were thereafter in contact with Will Wilson, chief of the Justice Department's criminal division, Anderson reported. Wilson reportedly promised that "everything" would be done by August 20 to secure Hoffa's release.

"Still nothing happened," Anderson continued. "On Oct. 7, young Hoffa appealed in a letter to Mitchell. The letter quoted Wilson as saying that Mitchell had personally approved an 'understanding that the Justice Department would make a recommendation for immediate release on parole. I specifically asked him whether my understanding was with him alone or whether it was with you and the administration. He assured me that it was with you.'

"Chotiner subsequently sent Halde- man a chronological account of the efforts to free Hoffa, along with a note suggesting 'it should not take this long to perform if there is going to be any performance.'"

Anderson's informants indicated that Hoffa had done more than promise votes in 1972. A "source close to the Teamsters" said that the IBT had contributed more than \$750,000 to Nixon's 1968 and 1972 campaigns. (There is some question, however, as to whether all of this money was intended to win Hoffa's release.)

"Another source close to the Pres- ident," Anderson reported, "told us the amount was smaller. But all sources agreed that a huge cash collection was turned over to . . . John Mitchell, in behalf of the Teamsters, by crime- connected Allen Dorfman. Mitchell flatly denied receiving any Teamsters con- tribution."

(Dorfman, a "consultant" to the IBT's Central States, Southeast and Southwest Areas Pension Fund, began serving a prison term March 28, 1973, after being convicted of fraud and conspiring to receive a \$55,000 kickback in connection with a loan made by the pension fund.)

Another person who had been con- victed with Hoffa in the mail fraud trial bought his way out of prison at a considerably lower price. Calvin

Kovens, the head of a Miami con- struction firm, was released in January 1972 and subsequently made a secret cash contribution of \$30,000 to CREEP. Political as well as financial considerations seem to have been in- volved in his case: He was released shortly after Senator George Smathers of Florida told Charles Colson and Nixon's old friend C.G. Rebozo that Kovens was "the most popular Jew" in southern Florida and that his re- lease would be likely to win votes.

It will be noticed that the memo quoted by Anderson indicates that by April 1971 Hoffa suspected Fitzsim- mons of wanting to keep him in pris- on. While it is clear that by this time Fitzsimmons felt that he was power- ful enough to control the IBT in his own behalf rather than as Hoffa's deputy, the full truth is probably not quite that simple. It seems likely that Fitzsimmons did continue working for Hoffa's release as a concession to the latter's supporters, but that at the same time he was protecting his own po- sition by negotiating with the Nixon gang for the restriction barring Hof- fa from holding union office. Fitzsim- mons obviously hoped that, under these conditions, Hoffa would be con- tent to retire on his pension of \$1.7 million.

Both factions have been accused of spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to win the support of the Nixon gang. The Manchester, New Hamp- shire, *Union-Leader* reported last Ap- ril that the IBT had given \$175,000 to a secret cash fund maintained for the Nixon gang by Chotiner. Later the same paper charged that the union had delivered \$650,000 to the White House: \$300,000 to prevent Hoffa's release and, when that failed, an ad- ditional \$350,000 for the bar on hold- ing union office.

The *Union-Leader's* stories need to be regarded with caution, however. Several years ago, when the paper was on the point of bankruptcy, Hof- fa rescued it with a loan from the Teamsters' pension fund, some \$2 mil- lion of which is still outstanding. Since the loan was granted, the paper seems to have regarded itself as a part of the union bureaucracy, and in the current fight it has lined up with the Hoffa faction.

Time magazine reported in its July

9 issue that Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox "is investigating reports that Teamsters Union officials used their influence in 1972 to collect contributions to the President's re-election campaign from individuals in the Las Vegas area who had received loans from the union's welfare plan." *Time* indicated, however, that the fund raisers were supporters of Hoffa rather than of Fitzsimmons.

The magazine said that several of the Teamster officials were now cooperating with Cox, apparently because they felt they had been double-crossed by the Nixon gang:

"During the campaign, Hoffa's friends aggressively solicited contributions for Nixon's re-election. According to some of these officials, Charles W. Colson, the former special presidential counsel, hinted that, in return for their support, the bars on Hoffa's union activities might be lifted. But after the election the restrictions remained in effect. Instead of Hoffa the White House seems to favor the Teamsters' current boss, Frank Fitzsimmons, who on occasion has flown from San Clemente to Washington on the presidential jet."

(The article also suggested a possible reason for Hoffa's failure to win Nixon's favor: It said Cox's investigators had been told that only half of the \$600,000 raised from the Las Vegas gambling interests ever reached the coffers of CREEP.)

Hoffa also has said that Colson was involved in the deal, although Hoffa's version is that Colson was taking payoffs from Fitzsimmons. In a July 30, 1973, interview with Cathie Wolhowe of the *Washington Post*, Hoffa said he had conducted his own investigation into the Manchester *Union Leader's* charges of a \$650,000 payoff by Fitzsimmons.

"Although Hoffa said he had not learned who paid the money," Wolhowe wrote, "he noted Colson had been retained as the Teamsters' attorney which 'leads you to think he used his position in the White House to ingratiate himself with Frank Fitzsimmons.' . . ."

"Hoffa said his investigation indicated orders restricting his release 'were steered directly from Colson to Dean to Traylor.'"

Lawrence Traylor was the U. S. par-

don attorney at the time. Wolhowe quoted Traylor as saying of Hoffa's remarks: "I don't know who decided on the restrictions. It certainly was not added in my office. The restriction is not normal procedure, but it has been done in a few cases."

Wolhowe did not indicate whether Traylor cited any example of such restrictions in previous cases. The Ju-



CONNALLY: Arranged "moratorium" for millionaire Teamster bureaucrat.

ly 28 issue of *Business Week* magazine reported that there were none:

"Legal experts in and out of the Teamsters believe that the restriction could be successfully challenged in court. They say there is no precedent. Of the relatively few Presidential commutations issued, most have involved imprisoned spies released on the condition that they leave the country."

What these charges and countercharges suggest quite strongly is that the Nixon gang took payoffs from both sides and then, on the basis of its own interests, decided in Fitzsimmons's favor. This decision, according to one participant who should know—John Mitchell—was made at the very top of the gang.

Hoffa has so far avoided accusing Nixon of personal involvement in the double-cross. Before blaming Colson, he charged that Mitchell was the cul-

prit, presumably on the theory that blaming the discredited former attorney general would make it easier for Nixon to cancel the restriction. In an interview with Peter Milius published in the June 10 *Washington Post*, Hoffa said:

"I have my own suspicion that the President signed in blank my commutation orders . . . and I think that Mitchell filled in and without the President's knowledge put in the 1980 restriction. . . ."

But Mitchell, in a statement released by one of his lawyers, quickly shot down Hoffa's rather naive suggestion. The statement said that "the allegation that it was he [Mitchell] who put the restrictions in the commutation without prior consultation with the White House is not correct." According to the statement, Mitchell had "long and lengthy conversations" with Dean, "the subject of which was whether the President had the power to put these restrictions on." Therefore, Mitchell "has to assume the President did know in advance."

From the standpoint of the Nixon gang, the decision to stick with Fitzsimmons rather than Hoffa was perfectly logical. While the release of Hoffa from prison brought in hard cash and won the gang some easy popularity with Hoffa's backers, Nixon had nothing to gain from allowing Hoffa to challenge Fitzsimmons for the IBT presidency.

Hoffa could hardly be more subservient to the Nixon gang than Fitzsimmons has proved himself. It is only necessary to recall, for example, Fitzsimmons's continuation on the wage-control board as a "labor representative" even after the ossified bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO had felt it necessary to resign in protest.

Moreover, an all-out contest for the presidency between two factions of the IBT bureaucracy would carry the threat of opening possibilities for the union rank and file to intervene in their own interest—a danger that the Nixon gang would be extremely anxious to avoid.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Nixon knows he has the means to guarantee Fitzsimmons's continued pliability: The White House gang has a threat hanging over Fitzsimmons's head that is even more persuasive

than the means used to convert Paul Hall from an enemy to a friend.

Nixon, Fitzsimmons, and the Mafia

This whole thing of the Teamsters and the mob and the White House is one of the scariest things I've ever seen. It has demoralized the bureau. We don't know what to expect out of the Justice Department.

—An FBI agent quoted in the May 31, 1973, *Los Angeles Times*.

* * *

It is not difficult to guess the source of much of the money that is thrown around with such abandon by the IBT bureaucrats. It is the same fountain of wealth that provides loans to New Hampshire newspapers and Las Vegas gambling casinos: the mammoth Teamsters pension and welfare funds.

In many industries, pension and welfare funds remain under the control of the employers and are used in much the same way as any other capital. This is the reason—along with the fact that most workers are never able to collect "their" pensions—that the bosses prefer to provide "fringe benefits" instead of higher wages.

In the case of the Teamsters, however, the IBT has complete control over the pension fund. While this is obviously preferable to leaving the funds in the hands of the bosses, it can provide corrupt bureaucrats uncontrolled by the ranks with a means of personal enrichment and a source of great power. Moreover, the large sums involved have attracted the attention of organized crime.

The amount of money involved is truly staggering. The Central States, Southeast and Southwest Areas Pension Fund mentioned earlier, for example, is estimated to total \$1,400 million. Employers are required to donate to this fund \$14 a week for each employee covered by a union contract.

On January 26, 1973, the FBI began a court-approved wiretapping of the telephones of a Los Angeles firm called People's Industrial Consultants. According to "government sources" quoted by Denny Walsh in the April 29 *New York Times*, People's Industrial Consultants "is a Mafia front set

up to channel teamster welfare money to underworld figures."

On February 14, the court authorized an extension of the taps until March 6. The FBI later requested a further extension of twenty days, but the request was turned down by the Justice Department and the taps were discontinued.

Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen, head of the Justice Department's criminal division and for a time the chief government "investigator" of the Watergate burglary, issued a statement April 30 explaining why he had ordered an end to the taps on the Mafia front:

"In my judgment, there was insufficient probable cause for the interception of the other premises because the prior electronic interceptions were basically unproductive in obtaining evidence in this case."

Petersen also denied a *Times* report that Attorney General Richard Kleindienst had made the decision to discontinue the taps.

Walsh's sources presented a radically different picture of what had been learned from the taps. He described an affidavit that had been prepared by FBI agents as part of their request for extension of the taps:

"The affidavit said that investigation up to then, including the use of electronic listening devices, had indicated 'a pattern of racketeering activity—that is, a series of payments of commissions or kickbacks' flowing from corporations controlled by a doctor in league with the mob through People's Industrial Consultants 'to the officers and agents of the employe welfare benefit plan,' in violation of Federal statutes."

The affidavit cited information from an informant that an associate of Allen Dorfman, the pension fund "consultant" who was shortly to enter prison, introduced Fitzsimmons to Peter Milano, Sam Sciortino, and Joe Lamandri, whom the FBI identifies as members of the southern California branch of the Mafia. The meeting was said to have taken place February 8 at a golf course in Palm Springs.

"Justice Department sources," Walsh wrote, "reported that, according to the informant, the three men presented to Mr. Fitzsimmons a proposal for a prepaid health plan, under which

members of the union covered by its welfare program would be provided with medical care by Dr. Bruce Frome, a Los Angeles physician. Monthly medical fees for each union member would be paid by the Central States Welfare Fund from the millions of dollars contributed to it by employers under teamster contracts."

Fitzsimmons was said to have agreed to the proposal and sent the three to discuss details with Dorfman.

The next day, according to the FBI, Fitzsimmons met with Lou Rosanova, "identified by Justice Department sources as an envoy for the Chicago crime syndicate."

While Dorfman was "consultant" to the pension fund, the Chicago branch of the Mafia reportedly came to regard the fund as its private preserve. Rosanova's presence was seen as an attempt to gain a share of the money that the southern California branch was preparing to siphon off from the health plan. This view was confirmed by conversations overheard on the wiretaps of PIC's phones. Walsh's article continued:

"Rosanova and Mr. Fitzsimmons talked again on Feb. 12, at La Costa, a plush resort and health spa in San Diego County, according to the Orange County and San Diego County authorities. The same authorities reported that a few hours after that meeting, Mr. Fitzsimmons boarded President Nixon's plane and flew to Washington with the President.

"Both Rosanova-Fitzsimmons meetings were reportedly observed by informants of the Orange County district attorney's office. On Feb. 27, at La Costa, the same informants say they heard Rosanova boast of a future payoff split between him and Mr. Fitzsimmons."

The FBI's affidavit said that on February 9, the day after Fitzsimmons met with Milano, Sciortino, and Lamandri, one of its taps picked up a conversation between Dr. Frome and Raymond DeRosa, "identified by the California authorities as a muscleman for Milano, who operates out of the consulting company's offices."

According to the affidavit, DeRosa told Frome that "the deal with the teamsters is all set" and that the business might amount to \$1,000 million a year, from which PIC expected to

take a "commission" of 7 percent. Subsequent conversations of DeRosa indicated that PIC would take 10 percent and in turn give the Chicago Mafia 3 percent. DeRosa also confirmed that Fitzsimmons and Milano had "made a deal."

After Walsh's report appeared, two reporters for the *Los Angeles Times* uncovered additional information about the ties between the Mafia and Fitzsimmons, and Fitzsimmons and Nixon. Jack Nelson and Bill Hazlett wrote in the May 31 issue of the paper that federal and local investigators were looking into at least four different Mafia operations thought to be funded by Teamster money. In addition to the medical plan described by Walsh, there is a similar dental program, a prepaid legal service, and "a series of real estate transactions involving more than \$40 million in commercial property in Orange and San Diego counties."

"Millions of pension fund dollars," the reporters wrote, "have been lent to build Las Vegas casinos and developments like the Teamster-financed La Costa Country Club . . . described by a Justice Department attorney as 'the West Coast R&R [rest and recuperation] center for all sorts of hoods from throughout the country.'"

(The Nixon gang also likes to stop at La Costa, which is only a few miles from Nixon's palace at San Clemente. John Dean, in his testimony to the Senate Watergate committee, said that meetings to plan obstruction of the Senate investigation were held at the La Costa Resort Hotel.)

Another "high-ranking federal official" told Nelson and Hazlett: "My observation is that the Teamster [pension] fund is sort of an open bank to people well connected in Las Vegas and well connected in organized crime."

The two confirmed Walsh's report of Fitzsimmons going straight from his meeting with Rosanova to Nixon's jet, and they quoted the comment of a state investigator who watched the plane take off: "I can stand crooks, but it bothers hell out of me when a guy meets with mobsters and then with the President."

Nelson and Hazlett also found a report by the Illinois Legislative Investigation Commission in which a

federal investigator charges that the Nixon gang dropped a fraud case against Fitzsimmons's son Richard "due to the 'love affair' between Fitzsimmons and the White House."

Fitzsimmons and the IBT bureaucracy have reached the point that they appear incapable of doing anything except in conjunction with racketeers. A recent case in point was the decision to hire a public relations firm to polish the union's tarnished image.



MITCHELL: Poked a hole in Hoffa's trial balloon.

The firm, Hoover-Gorin & Associates, could use some image-polishing of its own. According to a report in the June 8 *Wall Street Journal*, Hoover-Gorin has twelve employees in its Las Vegas headquarters and one consultant each in Los Angeles and Cleveland. The Los Angeles consultant, who has a criminal record of conviction for fraud, is currently free on bail on charges of using stolen Treasury bonds as collateral for a loan. The Cleveland consultant was paroled from prison in 1958 after serving twenty years for the murder of two detectives.

Hoover-Gorin — whose stationery does not even carry a "union bug" indicating that it was printed in a union shop — was not even incorporated until eight days after landing its IBT contract. Its principal customer, other than the Teamsters, is a

Las Vegas gambling casino that happens to be heavily in debt to the Teamsters Central States, Southeast and Southwest Areas Pension Fund. Despite the firm's questionable qualifications, its contract provides it with a \$348,000-a-year retainer, plus an estimated \$120,000 for "expenses." Hoover-Gorin is not exactly breaking its back to earn this retainer. A "media information" package prepared by the firm, for example, consisted of two pages written by Hoover-Gorin and nine pages reproduced from the Teamster magazine.

The Nixon-Teamster-Mafia connection occasionally is put on public display, as it was at a testimonial dinner for Fitzsimmons early in May 1973. The occasion for the dinner, in Washington, was the presentation to Fitzsimmons of the Israel Silver Anniversary Award. Borah Schneider, an executive of Bonds for Israel, explained to Nelson and Hazlett how Zionism had become involved in the affair:

"It [the dinner] was Teamster business. It was all their baby. Fitzsimmons was picked because of the tremendous amount of money the Teamsters have spent on [Israeli] bonds. But we had nothing to do with the dinner."

Three members of Nixon's cabinet were present, along with numerous lesser officials, and the principal speech was delivered by Herbert Stein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Also present in addition to administration and Teamster officials, Nelson and Hazlett reported, were "a large number of persons with criminal records, including some identified by investigators as 'muscle men.'"

"There was a vacant seat at one table, however. It had been reserved for Allen M. Dorfman. . . ."

That vacant seat may well have been deliberate rather than a tactless oversight. Certainly it would have been a reminder to the Teamster boss of what happens to "labor leaders" who step out of line. Fitzsimmons knows that the FBI can be ordered to reopen his case at any time. This ensures his continued loyalty to the Nixon gang and is the principal reason that Nixon considers the bureaucrat's ties to the Mafia a virtue.

(To be continued.)

Nationalist Vote Increases in Quebec Election

By Dick Fidler

Québec Premier Robert Bourassa's ruling Liberal party was reelected October 29 in a vote that reflected sharp polarization between supporters of Québec independence and those who favor continued adherence to the Canadian federation.

With 54 percent of the vote, the staunchly profederalist Liberals took 102 of the Assembly's 110 seats. The proindependence Parti Québécois won the support of 31 percent of the voters — up from 23 percent in 1970 — but, owing to a gerrymandered electoral system, took only six seats, one less than in the previous Assembly.

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was quick to greet the results as "a great triumph for federalism over separatism." The Toronto *Globe and Mail*, the country's leading English-language daily, echoed this view: "The threat of separatism . . . has been removed for the foreseeable future."

The Liberal majority is deceptive, however. A large part of its margin came from the 18 percent English and other non-Francophone elements of the Québec population. PQ leader René Lévesque, himself defeated in his bid for a seat in the Assembly, claimed his party had won a plurality of the French vote. In fact, the PQ's vote increased in Montréal's heavily working-class and French-speaking East End, while declining somewhat in more middle-class sections of the city. The PQ also achieved one of its major goals in the campaign: It became the "official opposition" in the National Assembly, as the other major opposition parties suffered stunning setbacks.

The lopsided electoral results reflect a certain evolution in Québec society. The Union Nationale, the nationalist formation based on the rural petty bourgeoisie that dominated Québec's political life from the mid-1930s to 1960, saw its vote fall to 5 percent and its representation wiped out. In 1970 it had won fifteen seats. Its virtual demise reflected not only the decline of its social base in Québec's postwar industrialization, but also the

inevitable fate, once it goes out of office, of a party whose popular appeal has stemmed largely from its control of patronage.

Most of the Union Nationale's former support apparently passed to the Liberals, giving them a small majority over the PQ in most constituencies.

Another significant result was the defeat of the Social Credit party, a rural-based, right-wing populist formation that presented itself as a profederalist bourgeois alternative to the Liberals. Headed by a new leader, Yvon Dupuis, a former minister in Lester Pearson's federal Liberal government during the 1960s, the Crédi-tistes campaigned on a law-and-order theme, charging that the Bourassa government was soft on youth, the trade unions, and the "separatists." But they elected only two members, failing to gain much support in the cities and losing votes in their rural constituencies.

Unopposed by any mass formation with a socialist, class-struggle program in the elections, the Parti Québécois was able to maintain its virtual monopoly on the votes of left-inclined workers and students.

The PQ is a liberal-capitalist party whose program reflects the aspirations of Québec's urban petty-bourgeois strata to be "masters in their own house" in a French Québec state enjoying a greatly enlarged measure of political autonomy. Among the PQ candidates were some of the top economists and constitutional advisers of previous Liberal and Union Nationale regimes, and former leaders of all three of the other major parties.

The PQ's campaign strategy was aimed at convincing relatively conservative layers of Québec society that greater national autonomy could be achieved without lowering living standards or incurring the wrath of the big imperialist corporations that dominate the Québec economy.

The "cost of independence" was a major theme in the election. The PQ

responded to Bourassa's repeated claims that independence would bankrupt the economy, by presenting its "budget for an independent Québec," a series of fiscal measures and modest social reforms that promised to leave imperialist investments untouched and even to increase their profitability.

The PQ's desire to demonstrate its "responsibility" even led it to tone down the plank that constitutes its main appeal to Québec's nationally oppressed population. Party leaders stated that they would not declare Québec's independence immediately upon taking office, but only after negotiations with Ottawa that could take up to a year and a half.

A full-page PQ advertisement in the French-language daily newspapers on the eve of the election read:

"Today I vote for the only team ready to form a real government. In 1975, in a referendum, I will decide the future of Québec. One thing at a time, each thing in its own time."

The PQ campaign strategy, far from thrusting forward the nationalist movement, tended to demobilize it. The party held only one mass rally during the campaign. In contrast to the enthusiastic response to the PQ on college campuses during the 1970 campaign, this year the party had difficulty rallying enthusiastic support among students. One PQ leader, confronted by an almost empty hall at the Université du Québec in Montréal, castigated students for "preoccupying yourselves with Cuba and Chile. It's easier than moving your ass to look after our own affairs here."

While the election results register the rising nationalist sentiment in Québec only indirectly and indistinctly, the social ferment that merges with the nationalism of Québécois workers was scarcely expressed at all. The hostility toward Québécois nationalism displayed by the English-Canadian labor party, the New Democratic party, has prevented it from sinking roots in Québec. With no mass independent working-class alternative in the cam-

paign, the labor leaders followed their traditional policy of supporting the "lesser evil," in this case the PQ, by calling on workers to vote against the Liberals. The PQ, its left flank covered, refrained from attacking the antilabor record and projects of the Bourassa government.

The only candidate to oppose both the national oppression of the Québécois and the procapitalist schemes of the Parti Québécois and its supporters in the labor bureaucracy was Manon Léger, a leader of the Québec Trotskyist organization, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO—Socialist Workers League), Québec wing of the Canadian section of the Fourth International. She ran in Montréal Mercier, Bourassa's constituency.

The LSO platform called for immediate independence for Québec and the use of French as the language of work, education, and official business. The LSO pointed out that Québec's national oppression could only be overcome through a socialist revolution that would put power into the hands of the Québec workers. It called on the working class to break from its support to bourgeois parties, including the PQ, and to form a mass party based on the trade unions.

Léger used her campaign to build and publicize workers struggles across Québec. She and her supporters walked the picket lines and built support actions for strikes by rubber workers, hospital workers, and university employees, among others. Another feature of the campaign was support of Dr.

Henry Morgentaler, a Montréal physician who faces life imprisonment on charges of performing abortions in violation of Canada's Criminal Code.

The LSO campaign also called for international working-class solidarity. Several campaign meetings concentrated on drawing the lessons of the coup in Chile and building defense for victims of repression in that country.

The last public meeting of Léger's campaign was in support of the Arab revolution against Israeli and imperialist aggression.

Léger was forced to withdraw from the ballot in the last week before the election, after officials claimed she had not turned in her financial statement following the campaign the LSO ran in 1970. The LSO denounced this as a frame-up; the receipt for this statement had been seized during the 1970 military occupation of Québec under the War Measures Act. The LSO's campaign manager was arrested during the occupation and his files seized; they were never returned to him. The LSO called on workers in Mercier to write Léger's name on the ballot.

Commenting on the provincewide results the morning after the election, *La Presse*, Montréal's biggest daily, warned, "Despite the size of [Bourassa's] victory—or perhaps because of it—no one, including the Liberal leader, showed any exuberance last night.

"That's because politicians and political commentators have a question, an uncertainty in their minds: Will the opposition take the risk of going

into the streets?"

This election, far from resolving the bourgeoisie's long-range problems, may have created some new ones.

Art Young, a leader of the Canadian Trotskyist movement, observed in the November 5 issue of *Labor Challenge*: "Contrary to Trudeau's confident boast, the election results present capitalists with a dilemma: with only two major parties in Québec, a wave of revulsion against Liberal rule could carry the PQ into office. But the ruling class is not prepared to accept a PQ government. They could work out some kind of deal with the PQ leaders, no doubt. But they are not confident that the PQ could tame the mass movement, which would anticipate far more of a PQ government than it could possibly deliver. Can the ruling class find some way to rebuild a right-wing profederalist alternative to the Liberals? It will not be easy after the fiasco of the Union Nationale and the Créditistes.

"Nor will things be easy for the PQ leaders themselves. They will have increased difficulty maintaining the unity of their coalition of diverse and conflicting forces until the next elections four years from now. The current election results will show many PQers that the course of slow, gradual accession to power through steady progress at the polls, advanced by party leaders, is in no way assured of success. This could in turn open up the conflicts latent within the PQ and plunge the party into a succession of internal crises." □

The 'Last of Free Chile' in the National Stadium

'Dagens Nyheter' Reporter Tells of His Imprisonment

[Bobi Sourander, the Chilean correspondent of the prestigious Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, was jailed October 11 by the military dictatorship. For almost two weeks, he was held in the National Stadium in Santiago, the largest of the junta's improvised concentration camps, before being expelled from the country. On October 24, he arrived in Stockholm

and filed a story describing his experiences, which was published in the October 25 *Dagens Nyheter*. The full text follows. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The National Stadium in Santiago is notorious throughout the world. It

is here that the Chilean military junta has concentrated the murder and torture by which it has raised itself to power and control over its country. It is here that the Chilean workers and left have been humiliated as few before.

Now this football arena is to be cleared and the prisoners taken elsewhere. So, something momentous and

sad is happening. The last little bit of free Chile is dying. The last small spot in the country where people still dare to think freely and talk openly, dare to oppose the rule of force and laugh at their own fear of the future is disappearing.

That is what it is—the Estadio Nacional, this concentration camp with its torture chambers—the last that remains of free Chile.

When we arrived, we were driven into Escotilla 3. An escotilla [gate] is simply a ramp to the spectators section.

We got one blanket, if we were lucky, and an almost dry place on the concrete to sleep if we were still more lucky.

We all had one thing in common. None of us had been questioned. And we all knew interrogation could mean a savage beating, at the very least.

I came at night and lay next to "Cabeza Rota," without a blanket for warmth. That was what they called him—"Broken Head"—because he had a five-inch gash in his scalp. His hair was a bloody mass.

He had already been "questioned" by air force officers in Colina. He sighed and suffered with pain on the hard floor that irritated his raw shoulders and back.

He had some advice:

"When they take you for questioning, wear everything you have and protect your head."

For a long time, we newcomers lay there in the night, shivering with cold and dread of the unknown, waiting for morning.

It was a relief.

Out of the ramps and dressing rooms streamed the veterans, those who had already spent a month in the Estadio Nacional, bearded and dirty. Joking and shouting, they hung up their laundry and switched around what had been a protection against the cold in the night into a shield against the sun over the grandstands, where they would sit all day long.

Suddenly we heard a man standing on a row of seats in the south section shout to the whole stadium.

"You from the north-side dressing rooms, how are you making out?"

And a thousand voices from the north-side dressing rooms shouted back:

"Fine! Fine!"

They were beaten raw, stiff with cold, starved, dirty, and robbed of every human right. But they were doing fine, the brave bastards, even though they were looking into the barrels of .30 caliber machine guns.

So the man on the row of seats turned toward us greenhorns.

"Escotilla 3!" his voice resounded. We turned, already chuckling. "Hola! Qué tal!" [Hey there, how are you?]

So we shouted back, as we had already learned to do:

"Bien! Bien!" [Fine, fine.]



PINOCHET: Chilean dictator.

And in those few seconds most of our fear was gone.

We learned there, those of us who had come from freedom to a Chile of dread and terror, we who had just been imprisoned, how to live on as if we were free.

Escotilla 3 was the reception area. Waiting there for questioning, we quickly learned the routine of the place.

The first thing we learned, in whispers through the section barrier, was that we were "safe."

We risked being beaten. If we were unlucky, we might even be subjected to electrical torture. But they could not kill us.

The Red Cross, the United Nations, the Refugee Committee, the whole world, was watching the Estadio Nacional. Every day the situation im-

proved. Every day the prisoners were able to put up stiffer resistance against the soldiers and police guarding them.

Silence was one way. I never knew that silence was a weapon.

Ernesto Turrieta was brought into the stadium on Monday. He came with the group that had been sent in the morning to the velodrome for questioning. He was a boy, barely 20, from the slums. He had worked in the "people's food store" in his neighborhood.

The thirty who had been questioned came jogging in on the track, with their blankets around their shoulders. Some of them were a little stiff, and Ernesto had to be carried.

He had been beaten, and given the electrical shock treatment, and beaten again until he could no longer stand. He lay there on his blanket with his head dangling, and groaned as he was carried around the track.

The second that he appeared in the entrance way, silence descended.

The prisoners who had gone to sit in the spectators' seats stood up. The prisoners who had been airing blankets got up. Murmurs came from all sides. The stadium was as silent as if it were empty, as if the military guarding the place were alone. The orders they yelled out sounded ridiculous in the stadium's great gravel field; and the click as they flicked off the safety catch on their automatic weapons, startling.

They were the ones who were afraid, not we.

Then the son of the Communist party leader Luis Corvalán came around the track from interrogation. His name was whispered around the stadium as he passed, wrapped in his blanket.

"That's Luis Alberto, Corvalán's boy."

This buzzing was the only thing that broke the silence, and it sounded more menacing than the clicks of safety catches being taken off automatic weapons. Thus, every day, a victory was won in free Chile, in the Estadio Nacional.

Sunday's "shows" were one example. They were led by the stadium's No. 1 operator, a boy with artificially frayed jeans and a jacket embroidered in hippie style, the one who always had cigarettes. If we meet again, he'll ask the "Swede" to loan him a hundred

escudo note and that's the last I'll ever see of him.

But he stood there, with three machine guns pointed at his stomach, singing Chile's latest protest song in a mocking tone, and three thousand voices joined in the chorus.

And he sang until his voice broke about exactly what was going on, about the arbitrary arrests, about the stealing from the prisoners' packages, about the torture.

*In the marketplace in San Andrés
the coppers grabbed me.*

Hands behind your head, march!

Hands behind your head, march!

*Then the court threw me in with
the hooligans in the escotillos.*

My nose just drips, ish

My nose just drips, ish.

My mother sent me a package.

*But the cigarettes were held for a
search!*

Ay, ay, the cigarettes,

Ay, ay, held for a search.

*Then they took me out of the es-
cotillo*

*To the bicycle track for cross-exam-
ining.*

Ay, ay, for cross-examining.

Ay, ay, how the fleas bite.

Ay, ay, how the fleas bite.

And down on the football field, behind their machine guns, the "biting fleas" grimaced uneasily as the chorus swelled and broke over them.

It seemed like a constant succession of victories, and it was. But there are victories and victories. Some give hope. But these offered none. They gave only the proud self-satisfaction of winning.

And they were interspersed with crises.

There were nights when we were rousted out with gun barrels at our backs, for all sorts of incomprehensible reasons.

There were days when everything broke down and desperation surfaced. All the prisoners had already been condemned to unemployment, to losing their homes, and to a future in which they would not be able to support their families because of being marked as "left-wing extremists."

I went into a dressing room in the north section.

Sourander, Number 11.

I had been questioned and I had

sweated, without being hit once by the police captain. He just threatened to arrest my wife.

I had gotten used to the daily ration of lentil soup, and I had washed my underwear and taken a shower, an ice-cold shower.

Then one of my new-found friends came up, and said:

"This afternoon thirteen prisoners are planning to jump the guard and try to escape. If they go ahead with their plan, the military will lose their heads and shoot us all."

How did he know that? Well, one of the thirteen had confessed to an imprisoned priest. The frightened cleric had broken his vow of silence. Then we went, five or six men, and tried to find the thirteen among 600 prisoners.

What could we do? What could we do when we knew that this idyllic imprisonment could at any moment turn into a slaughter in a blaze of machine-gun fire.

I ran around looking for the thirteen, asking clumsily contrived questions. I also marked out a place to jump into if shooting started. Then I suddenly heard loud voices.

"Clear out all the sections. The prisoners are going to be transferred!"

That was one of the happiest pieces of news I have ever gotten in my life. That made the kamikaze plan impossible.

On the way to the track where we were lined up, I saw my new-found friend. I never saw such a bright smile in such an ashen face.

We were all split up in the transfer, including the thirteen. The story of their plan went around and remained only as a legend that the military also eventually heard about.

Legends are almost harmless.

I went to a dressing room where there were only foreigners, to face a new crisis. Among us there were thirty-two Brazilians, exiled from their country. Six of them had been taken for questioning that day.

They came back shocked.

There were men from the Brazilian secret police, the DOPS [Divisao de Ordem Politica e Social—Political and Social Order Division] among the Chilean interrogators.

Two of the Brazilians had been given the electric shock treatment. One

of them had brown burn marks around his fingers.

The dressing room was called together for an emergency meeting. What should we do if the Brazilians were called tomorrow for questioning?

Stage a hunger strike? Lie down on the floor in the corridors? Elect a delegation to go to the camp commander with a "denunciation"?

Only one motion got a majority. The vote was to "wait and see." We should let the Brazilians go to interrogation first and then make our protest.

The decision was pure Russian roulette. People could be tortured. We went to "bed" silent and with bad consciences.

But the next day the Red Cross doctors were on the job. All the Brazilians questioned came back without having gotten so much as a slap. We relaxed.

It was the "right" decision anyway.

And the day after we won a new victory. The Brazilians managed to sing the "Internationale."

The stratagem was a simple one. They sang it in a samba rhythm.

There were so many such small, fruitless, victories. The Bolivians broke pieces of wood off the arms of the spectators' seats and carved out likenesses of the sun god Inti. As always he was sitting cross-legged. He is also supposed to have his arms crossed across his chest. But in the Estadio Nacional in free Chile he always had his left hand raised in the communist salute. And, laughing, the Bolivians sold their statuettes to ignorant noncoms for several packs of cigarettes.

But the real victories came when we found brothers, fellow human beings, among the guards. There was one of them in our section, a noncom. He was a big man with a grim look, and he listened to our problem as impassive as granite.

A Brazilian had died of an obstruction of the bowel because of lack of medical attention. Morally, his death was outright murder. An imprisoned Brazilian doctor had correctly diagnosed the case and called for an operation. The Chilean prison camp doctor had thrown out the diagnosis:

"You are an extremist and a prisoner, not a doctor."

The noncom listened, and gave three abrupt orders allowing three imprisoned doctors to tend the sick. When he was asked about treatment for the victims of torture, he said:

"Here in my section, not one son of a bitch is going to be tortured."

And that's the way it was for a whole week. He was on watch every day and every day the prisoners who were interrogated came back without a scratch.

We didn't know how he did it. He was a master when it came to military bureaucracy. On the days when he had watch, prisoners were never sent to questioning without an escort. They never came back without soup and bread being saved for them.

He was the only victor who gave us hope. But he won his own victory and we only got the fruits of it.

The Estadio Nacional is going to be cleared out and the prisoners sent to concentration camps near Antofagasta and Pizarra.

The last of free Chile is dying, and a free Chile in the future cannot depend on tough noncoms. It has to be one that includes "Broken Head."

"They can beat the shit out of me and then they can make me eat it, but they can never kill the ideas in my head. I am a leftist and I will stay a leftist."

That was an argument often heard in the Estadio Nacional. You can kill men but not ideas.

The night we froze huddling together, "Broken Head" made another point.

"You can't kill facts either. They can't ever kill the fact that they beat the shit out of me."

I was a foreigner in the midst of all this proud misery. I was under the watchful eye of a certain man. Every prisoner in the Estadio Nacional knew the Swedish ambassador, Harald Edelstam. I had a government behind me that had responded in the right way. I was never beaten, and I could talk back in interrogation with impunity.

But I know that if I ever see the face of someone in a crowd that I knew in the last piece of free Chile, the Estadio Nacional, I can shout: "Hola, qué tal!" and get a shining proud and hopeful answer: "Bien, Bien!"

I hope the one I meet is "Broken Head."

'Chilean People Will Never Surrender'

Valdivia Political Prisoners' Declaration

[A member of the Swedish technical aid corps, Kristian Lund, who was working with a forestry project in the south of Chile, was imprisoned by the military in the mass roundups that followed the coup. He was held in the Valdivia municipal prison, along with 500 political prisoners. Except for three Brazilians and one Ecuadorian, he was the only foreigner. The ages of the prisoners ranged from 15 to 80.

[When Lund was released, the other prisoners asked him to take out a statement to the world press. The text was circulated in English by Lund and follows in full, edited to conform to standard English style. It was dated September 29. Lund can be contacted through the Chilean Committee, UBV, Gamla Brogata No. 29 v, S-III 20 Stockholm, Sweden.]

* * *

In the first week after the coup, the military arrested people indiscriminately, not even knowing what questions to ask them. In this period, torture was not used, but because of the sheer frenzy of the putschists, ill-treatment was general, resulting in many deaths. Many officers got their men drunk so they could beat the prisoners without stopping to think. Later on, the military began to concoct false evidence against the victims in an attempt to preserve its good name. The junta has said that there are not going to be any political prisoners, and so sentences are being handed down for robbery, assault, and other such alleged offenses.

In the second week, the junta started to get a better idea of the kind of people they should look for. Then they changed from ill-treatment to systematic torture, sometimes even under the supervision of doctors. Besides mental torture, such as make-believe executions and total isolation, the following types of physical torture were employed: electric shocks in the ears, the back of the neck, nipples, and sexual organs; beatings on the ears

until the eardrums burst; pumping water into the mouth through a rubber hose; repeatedly jabbing the eyelids with fingers; tearing off fingernails; putting burning cigarettes into the ears; beating with rubber truncheons; pricking with needles. Prisoners have also been forced to run with crushed glass in their shoes.

In none of the trials has any of the accused had a chance to defend himself. The situation is worst for the poor, who have no money, do not understand the kind of language that is used, and have no contacts. The junta has abolished all human rights. Everything that was legal is now illegal, and people are being sentenced for what was legal before.

In every workers strike, there is a seed of revolution; in every right-wing and capitalist organization, the seed of fascism. In order to defend their interests against the demands of the workers the capitalists are compelled to act like fascists.

In prison there is total solidarity among the members of the different left parties.

What happened in Chile is the result of a reformist betrayal of the working class. The reformist element in the Allende government was determined to avoid civil war at any cost. In reality this meant letting the fascists prepare and leaving the workers unready. The workers were told to sit down and wait while the reformists looked after the cause of socialism. These reformists did not understand that it is the workers themselves who must make the revolution, not the leaders. Socialism can only be won through crushing the bourgeois state.

What happened in Chile did not happen because of the will of the Chilean people but of the fascists, the military junta, and the U. S. imperialists.

Finally, we want to declare that the Chilean people will never surrender. We will fight until the fascists have been overthrown. There is resistance, and it will continue as long as the junta is in power. □

Peron Outlines Thinking on Various Topics

In a recent interview granted to R. C. O. Sorteni of the Milan *Domenica del Corriere*, Juan D. Perón expounded his views on a number of topics. First of all, he took up the problems he faced in assuming the presidency of Argentina at the age of seventy-eight:

"Dear friend, to assume office at my age, to assume these responsibilities, to have to confront so many difficulties is certainly something that does not inspire enthusiasm. At seventy-eight you prefer to rest. I accepted the mandate, although with resignation, because the people imposed it on me and I can't say No to the people."

Asked what he thought about the opinion that Argentina is the "granary" of the United States, Perón said:

"They say that South America is a piano played by the Yankees. It's not agreeable to be a piano key, and we don't want Yankee advisers like other countries. We don't want any part of it. We are in charge here. The 'granary of the United States,' you say? Well, that's why we want to establish relations with Europe, which needs this farm."

Sorteni observed that there appeared to be "lack of enthusiasm" in Europe about investing in Argentina.

"Very well," Perón responded, "then we'll turn to China. We shouldn't forget that China has 800 million consumers. Argentina has escaped pollution of the environment. This is our resource. There are today's rich countries. We are one of tomorrow's rich countries."

Asked if he wanted to visit China, Perón said, "I think so."

Concerning the new secretary of state in Washington, Perón had the following opinion:

"Kissinger said that the policy of the United States here had to be changed soon. These are words, but at least they are positive words. We are against U. S. imperialism and against Marxist imperialism."

On Argentina's now being surrounded by military regimes, the general said:

"I feel optimistic about this. Military

dictatorships have a short life. Sooner or later, the people rebel. I believe that we have to reach agreement in Latin America on creating something like the European Common Market. In the past, under the encouragement of the Yankees, Great Britain opposed the Common Market, and things went



PERON: Flagging enthusiasm?

so bad that they had to present themselves to Europe hat in hand."

Would Brazil accept Argentina's playing a preponderant role in Latin America?

"I believe that sooner or later Brazil will come to us hat in hand."

What about the situation in Chile?

"The Chilean military say that everybody is armed and that the arms came from Russia. That is ridiculous. But you have to take into account that Yankee imperialism and Marxist imperialism are two equal and opposite things that occasionally clash and occasionally reach agreement on a joint action. Nevertheless what happened in Chile is horrible. I don't believe in violence, but I do believe that the military dictatorships are

about finished. Everything can be accomplished with moderation."

"Will Argentina grant political asylum to the Chilean refugees?"

"Naturally, in accordance with international law. But it is also certain that they will be confined to [the province of] Misiones, in the North, in the middle of the jungle."

"What will be done with the non-Chilean refugees who arrive from Chile?"

"I respect international law. If individuals with Bolivian, Uruguayan, or Brazilian passports enter Argentina without visas, their status is that of travelers in transit. Our government will permit them to leave for their country. This is obvious, isn't it? However, we won't prevent them from going to European countries that may accept them."

As for the domestic political scene, where he is now conducting a purge of the left wing of his movement, Perón said:

"If there's a right and a left, this implies the existence of a possibility of equilibrium. Everything in moderation and harmoniously, as I said before. I am a socialist but not a screwball socialist."

Violence in Argentina? Perón dismissed the question:

"There are no political uprisings in Argentina. There is delinquency—whether Trotskyist, Guevarist, or Communist, or who knows what kinds of delinquency. This is not a political problem; it's a police problem."

Asked about the possibility of the Argentine armed forces intervening in politics, Perón affirmed that the military in his country "have sufficient experience not to let themselves be tempted to take power."

The old caudillo ended up with praise for the job his wife is doing as vice-president of Argentina:

"I educated her for a number of years and taught her exactly what has to be done. I believe that she is perfectly capable of acting on her own."

"You are free to talk with my wife about her particular projects if you are able to meet with her."

The old politician, put back into offices as the last hope of Argentine capitalism, concluded the interview by saying:

"Excuse me now, but I have to go to bed." □

New Regime Maneuvers for Stability

By Ernest Harsch

Two weeks after the overthrow of Thanom Kittikachorn and Praphas Charusathien, the new Thai government headed by Premier Sanya Thamasak announced the confiscation of all the property and holdings of the two ousted military leaders. The confiscation was a response to demands by students, who feared that Thanom and Praphas might try to make a comeback. A few conspicuous supporters of Thanom and Praphas were also purged from their offices. The Board of Inspection and the Follow-up of Government Operations (formerly called the Directorate for the Suppression of the Undesirable Elements of Society), the power base of Narong Kittikachorn, Thanom's son, is scheduled to be dissolved.

After the mobilizations of up to half a million students and, as Malcolm W. Browne reported in the October 21 *New York Times*, "perhaps a million more jobless workers, bus drivers, city employees, unemployed politicians, bar waitresses, taxi drivers and countless others," the Thai ruling class will have to move very cautiously to keep the reins on the student movement. It will have to make at least a pretense of trying to solve the problems that touched off the antigovernment mobilization.

Many of the leaders of the National Student Center, which organized the demonstrations, favor a more neutralist foreign policy, which would include closer ties with China and North Vietnam and the withdrawal of the vast U.S. military presence. The issue of the U.S. air bases and the 38,000 U.S. troops stationed in Thailand figured prominently in the student mobilizations last summer.

Even before the overthrow of the military regime, Deputy Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhaven, who remains at his post in the new government, moved to establish closer relations with Peking. In September he met in New York with Chiao Kuanhua, the Chinese deputy foreign minister, and discussed details of the new

Bangkok-Peking relations. When the Sanya government came to power, it announced that it would accelerate these efforts. The October *New York Times* reported some sources indicating that "Bangkok expects to increase exports of sugar, jute, teak, maize and rubber to China in exchange for increased imports of Chinese manufactured goods, particularly textiles."

A former foreign minister, Thanat Khoman, also favored rapprochement with Peking, while sharing some of the sentiments of the students toward the U.S. air bases. He felt that a strong U.S. military presence in Thailand and closer relations with Peking were contradictory. Most of the government officials, however, see no contradiction. They would prefer to keep a sizable American military presence in Thailand, while at the same time continuing the overtures to Peking. The Chinese bureaucracy, for their part, may not object to the presence of the U.S. bases in light of their détente with the United States.

Thanat's retirement as foreign minister a few months before the overthrow of the military regime had effectively removed the highest-placed opponent of the U.S. air bases from the government. While he later emerged as a supporter of the student struggles, few of the officials in the new government share his views on the U.S. bases.

The October 17 *Wall Street Journal* reported: "Thailand is believed likely to continue its basic foreign policy of close relations with the United States, despite an abrupt change in government over the weekend that ended decades of military rule. There is little immediate worry, in the opinion of informed sources here [Bangkok], about the future of the substantial U.S. military forces in this country. . . . The U.S. regards its forces in Thailand as necessary in case of a complete breakdown in the Vietnam truce."

The October 29 *Newsweek* added:

"As if to emphasize that the American alliance was not even a subject of debate, Sanya named as Defense Minister Dawee Chullasapya, an air officer who owes his life to medical treatment in Washington, D. C."

"Defense Minister Dawee Chullasapya," said an October 24 UPI dispatch from Bangkok, "indicated today that there would be no speed-up in the withdrawal of American military aircraft based in Thailand. . . ."

"Marshal Dawee said at a news conference that withdrawals of United States forces would continue. But he mentioned no specific schedule and said that they would go only 'when the need of operations by United States troops in Thailand is over.'"

The Thai military leaders, who still wield considerable influence behind the scenes, rely on U.S. military aid to help maintain their own power bases. But their determination to keep the U.S. air bases in Thailand flies in the face of the demands raised by the students and other sectors of the Thai population.

Thaweechai L. Prasert wrote in the Bangkok English-language newspaper *The Nation*: "The students and the public have shown time and again the wish to reduce the American influence in the country and the American military presence here."

"The move toward reducing the American troop presence here has already started but with the greatest reluctance. It must be speeded up."

While the students have taken a wait-and-see attitude toward the new government, if the U.S. bases remain, as they most likely will, further student mobilizations can be expected. Already, a determination to continue the struggles has been expressed. The October 21 *New York Times* reported: "Student leaders say they intend to campaign to eliminate American bases from Thailand and to make the country economically and militarily independent of the United States. Carried to an extreme, this could lead to the virtual elimination of the American presence on the Asian mainland."

Another of the issues that brought the students out against the military government was the rampant corruption of the officer corps. The various military cliques, particularly those supporting Thanom and Praphas, had based themselves on the lucrative prof-

its of Thailand's vast opium trade.

Malcolm W. Browne, reporting from Bangkok for the *New York Times*, noted: "Official corruption, notably extortion, had reached such a state that the Government itself felt an administrative crisis was at hand."

The embarrassment of some sectors of the ruling class over the extent of the corruption may very well have helped in partially isolating it, accounting for the ease with which it was overthrown.

But if corruption was a trademark of the Thanom government, Sanya's new cabinet is simply an old product in a new package. Kris Sivara, who remains commander in chief of the army and is the most powerful military figure in Thailand today, received his training under Sarit Thanarat, the late military dictator who helped Thanom and Praphas break into the opium trade.

Even more revealing is the Cobra Swamp scandal that is beginning to surface in Bangkok. The October 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review* featured an article by Michael Morrow describing the deals involved in the plans to construct an international airport on a swampy area just outside of Bangkok. It was entitled "Bangkok's Watergate."

The Northrop Corporation of California, whose officials recently admitted making \$70,000 in unrecorded contributions to the Nixon campaign, set up the Northrop Thailand Airport Company to carry through the financing and building of the airport. Henry Kearns, former president of the U. S. Export-Import Bank, backed the \$150-million project.

Morrow described Kearns's career: "His first major political position was directing the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign in southern California in 1956, following which he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs. A Nixon stalwart in 1968, he was awarded his position at Exim [U. S. Export-Import] Bank as soon as the Administration came to power.

"In 1966, out-of-office Richard Nixon arrived in Bangkok carrying briefs for Pepsi Cola and other American companies. Kearns, who was in Bangkok setting up Siam Kraft Paper Company, is remembered for arranging the

future president's itinerary. These ties plus Kearns' Thai business links with Maurice Stans, former secretary of commerce and more recently chairman of the Committee to Re-elect the President (the ill-fated CREEP which began the Watergate affair), justifiably or not left Kearns vulnerable to rumors. . . ."

Because of the increased interest of Thai journalists in the possible connections between Watergate and the airport project, Kearns resigned as president of the Export-Import Bank and muted his exuberance for the Northrop project.

The Thai daily *Siam Rath* published confidential government memoranda indicating that none other than Dawee Chullasapya, the present defense minister, had suppressed objections of Thai technicians and government officials to the project.

The difficulties the Thai ruling class faces in pulling off its planned election maneuver are many. Premier Sanya has promised that a new constitution will be drawn up within six months, to be followed three months later by general elections. The form of the new constitution, the role of the military in the future government, and the right of all political parties to run in the elections are questions that many of the students will have opinions on.

In addition, labor unrest has been on the rise. The October 21 *New York Times* observed that "at a steel factory last summer, management refused to provide transportation for a badly injured machinist to be taken to the hospital. When the foreman complained, he was arrested and jailed for two weeks.

"In the past, such things would have gone unnoticed. But by last summer the whole nation was simmering with anger. The first strike in Thai history took place. In most cases, police refused to move in on demonstrating strikers. University students joined the marches, bringing food to the workers."

The 12 percent annual rate of inflation and rice shortages have also angered large sections of the population. The October 29 *Newsweek* noted the international implications that the successful student uprising might have. "While maintenance of Thai links with the U. S. boded well for stability, the example of the Thai coup itself may have an unsettling effect on Asia as a whole. For like the ousted Thanom, the leaders of South Korea, the Philippines and Cambodia have also been charged with ignoring demands for democratic reforms—and their opponents may now draw inspiration from the Thai students' surprising success."

DOCUMENTS

Israeli Trotskyists on October War

[The following statement was issued October 7 by the Political Bureau of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), the Israeli Trotskyist group. The text appeared in the October 19 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*. A typographical error in the *Rouge* version accidentally omitted one paragraph. The October 26 *Rouge* corrected the error. The following is therefore the most complete available text of the position of the Israeli Trotskyists, who are continuing their anti-Zionist struggle despite the difficult conditions in which they find themselves. The trans-

lation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Once again war has broken out between Israel and the Arab countries. It matters little to us who fired the first shot or which army first crossed the cease-fire lines. Because for us the responsibility for this war, like all the wars that have gone before, falls above all on Israel.

● Because it has conquered territories and has no intention of giving them back.

● Because it plunders, expels, and oppresses the Palestinian Arab people,

and it has to expect that the Arab masses will do all they can to restore the Palestinians' rights.

● Because it has taken on itself the role of imperialism's policeman in the region, and its arrogant policy results in provoking even the ruling classes of the Arab East.

Those who have plundered the Palestinians and expelled them from their land, those who bombed Abu Zabel, Hatzabie, and dozens of other places with napalm, those who committed massacres at Deir Yassin and Kfar Qassim, those who make daily incursions into Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt, those whose criminal provocations extend even overseas, those who murdered Ghassan Kanafani, Abu Youssef, Hamshari, and dozens of Palestinian leaders in cold blood, those who more recently murdered more than 100 persons in the Libyan airliner — those people have no right to speak of aggression, for they are the aggressors.

As long as the Palestinians are not granted their rights, as long as the Zionist state exists, it had better understand that the Arab masses will not give up and that they will fight. As long as Israel serves imperialism's interests in the region and does all it can to hold back the Arab revolutionary movement, it had better recognize that war is inevitable and that Israel is responsible. . . .

Our forces are very limited and we cannot influence the course of the war. But it is in our power at least to say clearly to the working class in Israel and the Arab East that this war is not our war, that we consider Zionism responsible for every drop of blood, whether Jewish or Arab, that is shed in this region, and that our enemies are not the Arab masses who want to recover the territories that Israel has conquered and restore the rights of the Palestinians; our enemy is our own ruling class and the Zionist state.

For us the political struggle does not stop when the cannon rumble. On the contrary, our comrades must exploit this war, both inside and outside the army, to show what Zionism means and what price the workers of Israel must pay for the criminal policy of the Zionist state.

Already we have seen what this war will cost the Israeli workers:

Above all in human life: There is no doubt that hundreds have fallen

in this war, and hundreds more will fall. This will prove once again that the security Zionism affords the Jews is only an illusion. Instead of providing security, Zionism prepares for the Jews the trap of permanent war, of 1,000-year war, as General Dayan put it.

And then in terms of standard of living: Today we are already hearing appeals for greater production and for the special efforts needed for the war. The Histadrut pompously announces that this is not the time for workers to struggle to defend their own living standards. Through this the Israeli workers will learn what their real interests are; their class interest is contradictory to and opposed to the so-called national interest, which is in reality the interest of the Israeli bourgeoisie and imperialism.

And finally in democratic rights: "In a time of crisis, the people must be united," say all the Zionists, whether left or right. Such unity allows the authorities to strike new blows against the democratic rights that the Jewish population in Israel still possesses. There will be new antistrike laws, new limitations on freedom of the press, on freedom of organization, etc. In this way the Jewish workers will learn in their bones that "a people that oppresses another people cannot be free."

SWP Says 'No' to Healyites

[The following letters, which are self-explanatory, have been made public by the Socialist Workers party.]

* * *

New York, N.Y.
October 5, 1973

Jack Barnes
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party
15 Charles Lane
New York, New York

Dear Comrade Barnes,

As you know, I have been seeking to meet with a representative of the Socialist Workers Party. I have made several phone calls to this effect making it clear that I was taking this initiative on behalf of the International Committee, with which the Workers League is in political solidarity, as

That is what our comrades are explaining and will continue to explain to the Israeli workers, even during the war, especially during the war.

We leave to our comrades in the Arab countries the task of settling accounts with their own ruling classes and of exposing before the Arab masses their incapacity in the struggle against Zionism. We have no doubt that they will do this.

And to our revolutionary comrades throughout the world we say: Do not fall victim to the propaganda of the allies of Zionism in your countries! Do not allow support for the Israeli war effort! Not one cent, not one man, not one weapon for Israel!

This war is not our war. . . . But we pledge ourselves before the working class of the whole world to use this war to expose to the Jewish masses the fatal trap that Zionism represents for them, the permanent war that it represents; that is how we will be able to break the Jewish workers from Zionism and join them to the revolutionary war of the Arab masses against imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.

Down with Zionism, imperialism, and Arab reaction!

Long live the socialist revolution in the Arab East!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

well as on behalf of the Workers League.

The purpose of this initiative is to seek the support of the Socialist Workers Party in urging upon the United Secretariat, with which it is in political solidarity, a discussion as outlined in the International Committee statement "For A Discussion on The Problems of the Fourth International." This statement appeared in the Wednesday, August 29 issue of the Workers Press and the September 24 issue of the Bulletin.

We continue to be interested in holding a discussion with you or any other representative of the Socialist Workers Party to see if a way can be found to bring about such a genuine discussion as outlined in the above mentioned statement.

We are hoping to hear from you

Intercontinental Press

in the near future.

Yours fraternally,
Tim Wohlforth
National Secretary
Workers League

cc: G. Healy

New York, N.Y.
October 20, 1973

Dear Comrade Wohlforth,

I have attached the September 19, 1970, United Secretariat statement on the "unity" discussions then being sought by Gerry Healy in behalf of the "International Committee." It closed as follows:

"To summarize: The International Committee has characterized the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers party as 'servants of the class enemy,' who 'decided to sell out to the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialists,' whose actions have placed them 'outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class,' and who must be dealt with as 'political scabs of the worst sort.'

"No other conclusion is possible: Either (1) in making advances towards us, the leaders of the International Committee have decided to sell out to the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialists, and are following a course that will place them outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class; or, (2) the leaders of the International Committee have begun to recognize how wrong they

have been in their characterization of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and its cothinkers in other countries but do not want to acknowledge their grievous errors, still less engage in public self-criticism.

"If the leaders of the International Committee have changed their opinion, then it is their duty to make public their political reasons for changing. On what specific political issues have they altered their views? We await their explanations with interest.

"Of course another possibility exists — that Comrade Healy's 'approach' to the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, and along with it Comrade Wohlforth's 'approach' to the Socialist Workers party, are only part of a 'unity' maneuver in the 'war' being conducted by the leaders of the Socialist Labour League against the Fourth International and the organizations sympathetic to its views.

"This would seem to be the most likely possibility were it not for the fact that Comrade Healy has expressly issued a public assurance that he has 'no intention' of engaging in 'factional manoeuvring' over unity 'as such.'

"Comrade Healy's public avowal that no unity maneuver is involved makes it all the more imperative that the International Committee publicly clarify its stand on the alternatives indicated above."

Since that time neither in their actions nor their press have the Socialist Labour League or the Workers League indicated any reconsideration

of their characterizations of the United Secretariat and the Socialist Workers Party. In fact, the very public statement by the "International Committee," which you now advance as a basis for "discussion," characterizes the United Secretariat and the Socialist Workers Party as "revisionists" totally unable "to return to the basic principles of Trotskyism." The Socialist Workers Party is slandered as having "opportunistically degenerated even further in the last ten years"; that is, further than being "servants of the class enemy," deciding "to sell out to the Stalinist bureaucracy and the imperialists," and engaging in actions placing the party "outside the camp of Trotskyism and of the working class."

In view of your failure to respond to the United Secretariat statement of September 19, 1970, your failure to indicate by any other means that you have modified your views of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party, and your persistence in continuing up to this moment to publicly misrepresent and lie about our political positions, we see no reason for altering our previous refusal to engage in private parleys with representatives of the "International Committee."

Fraternally,

Jack Barnes
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

cc: United Secretariat
Gerry Healy

PST Position on Self-Determination in Palestine

[The following statement was published in the October 24 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores — Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing section of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In the October 10 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, we made the following statement on the Middle East: "We call on the Jewish compañeros not to be caught up in the racist and reactionary

demagogy of the Israeli state and imperialism, and to support the just war of the Arabs against one of the most reactionary states in history — Israel.

"We appeal to the Arab compañeros to support the Jewish workers in the struggle against their bosses and imperialism, to support the right of the Jewish people to self-determination, and to have their own state in the framework of a Federation of Middle Eastern Socialist States." This position, in general terms, is the one we maintained in *La Verdad* at the time of the "Six-Day War" in 1967.

The leadership of our party has again discussed this question and revised our position regarding the right of the Jews to self-determination and to a state of their own in Palestine.

We realize that the most correct formula is to support the creation — in the territory today occupied by the Zionist state — of a single, nonracist, secular Palestinian state offering extensive democratic guarantees to all its inhabitants.

A secular state means that it would not be based on any religion or support any "official" religion, including Islam and Christianity. A secular Pal-

estinian state would not be based on the "Old Testament and the prophets of Israel," as the present Zionist state is, nor on the Koran (the scriptures of the Islamic religion supposedly written by Mohammed under divine inspiration, which govern the constitutions and laws of several Arab states). At the same time, it would guarantee every one of its inhabitants full freedom to practice any kind of worship they may choose or to have no religion if they prefer.

Such a secular Palestinian state would abolish the racial privileges, discrimination, and persecution that exist today in the Zionist state and would guarantee all its citizens—whether of Arab, Jewish, or Druze origin—equal democratic rights. That is, the right to speak and teach their native language and to publish periodicals and books in it, equality in public and private employment as well as in wages, and equality in elections to public or trade-union positions.

Some readers might raise the following objections: "We agree that Dayan, Golda Meir, and their gang have to be gotten rid of, but why do we put forward the slogan of a *single* Palestinian state? Obviously, this would guarantee the Arabs' right to self-determination, since they would be the majority in such a Palestinian state. But isn't this going to impinge on the right to self-determination of the Jews, who must not be thrown into the same bag as Dayan and his gang?"

The answer is very simple: *Revolutionary Marxists defend the right to self-determination of the oppressed and not the oppressors.*

The right to self-determination is a concrete problem, not an arithmetical question of majorities and minorities. We defend the right to self-determination of the "Catholic" nationalist minority against the pro-British "Protestant" majority because the first are oppressed by the second. For the same reason, we support the Black majority in Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies against the white minority that enslaves them in the most savage way. What should we propose, for example, in the case of South Africa? Self-determination for the Blacks . . . and also for the whites who even deny that the Blacks are human?

The case of Israel is similar to those of Rhodesia, South Africa, or Algeria before the revolution. As in these cases, the imperialists "imported" a colonializing minority, and it robbed millions of Palestinians of their land as well as their national and human rights. Just as in South Africa, where the Blacks are shut up like cattle in "native reserves," millions of Palestinians live in the poverty of the "refugee camps" in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Furthermore, the Palestinians have been the victims of massacres perpetrated by the Zionists or their Arab accomplices, the reactionary governments of Lebanon and Jordan. The Palestinians who remained in Israel have been subjected to a system of Nazi-like terror. The so-called "Administrative Regulations" law—patterned on the racist Apartheid laws in South Africa—confines them to certain places that they cannot leave without passes; it establishes zones that they cannot enter or reside in, these being reserved for the Zionist "master race." It puts them at the mercy of "commissioners"

with full powers to arrest, transfer, and deport the inhabitants of the Arab areas, to take possession of any article or object belonging to an Arab, to carry out raids at any moment, impose restrictions on employment or businesses, confiscate any land or house, and so on. Violations of this "law" (of the jungle) come under the jurisdiction of military tribunals. And this is only one of many racist laws applied to the Palestinians.

Who, then, are the oppressors, and who are the oppressed? Who have the right to self-determination? Here the matter is simple and concrete. The first and immediate need is to restore to the oppressed people their land and their national and democratic rights. And at the same time, all Jews who want to live in peace and brotherhood with the Arabs, without exploiting them, and who do not want to be cannon fodder for Dayan and the Yankee imperialists, must be guaranteed equal democratic rights as citizens of a nonracist, secular Palestinian state. □

Fourth International Salutes Greek Trotskyists Released From Prison

[The following statement was issued October 24 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Internationalist Communist party, Greek section of the Fourth International, warmly salute all the recently amnestied Trotskyist militants. With exemplary courage in the struggle against the military dictatorship and capitalism these comrades have defended the program of proletarian struggle and socialist revolution in Greece, the strategy of the Socialist United States of Europe, the policy of the antibureaucratic revolution in the deformed or degenerated workers states, and the anti-imperialist struggles in the colonial countries. In short, they have defended the banner of the Fourth International, the banner of world socialist revolution.

Their conduct in the jails of the security services, before the courts, and

in the prisons writes a glorious page in the history of revolutionary proletarian struggles for socialism.

In a situation characterized by the sharpening of the class struggle, both in Europe and on a world scale, by the first shakings of the dictatorial regime of the Greek military by the past and recent student demonstrations and the ferment among the people and the workers that is heralding broader social struggles, in a situation favorable to the revolutionary Marxist movement in many countries of the world, a movement that is already causing uneasiness to the ruling classes and has faced repressive measures (as in France), the Fourth International and the Greek ICP call upon all those in Greece who consider themselves to be Trotskyists to rally to the ranks of the World Party of Socialist Revolution in order to build the mass revolutionary Marxist party in Greece. That is the indispensable condition for the victorious outcome of future mass struggles for the proletarian socialist revolution. □