

Nixon 'Twisting Slowly in the Wind'



Suez Pact Sets Stage for New Conflicts

Argentine CP: Will It Follow Chilean 'Model'?

Kissinger Wingding

In October, a few weeks after being confirmed as Nixon's secretary of state, Henry Kissinger "threw a wingding, which has State Dept. officials whistling at the extravagance," according to Jack Anderson, the Washington columnist.

Anderson claims to have come into possession of internal documents listing the invoices. "The bash," he says, "was held at New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the black-tied diplomats were seated around the Fountain of the Muses."

The pool was adorned as required by the spirit of the occasion. "The flower bill alone cost the taxpayers an eyebrow-raising \$7983."

The menu was designed to whet jaded appetites. It included "smoked trout, roast filet of veal, bouquet of vegetables, mixed green and avocado salad, Brie cheese and lemon mousse with three California wines." For the catering alone, the taxpayers shelled out \$24,385.50.

It was a convivial get-together. "Wines and Spirits" cost \$3,422.11.

The printing bill ran \$587.35. Anderson did not indicate how the printing trades became involved. Photographs cost a modest \$222.60.

In response to an inquiry from Anderson, a State Department spokesman said the dinner was an annual tradition. Before the wingding, however, the State Department told the communications media that it was "totally without precedent."

Anderson evidently thought the contradictory positions were just another case of credibility gap that had only to be mentioned to stand as self-evident. Caught by the apparent polar opposition between "routine" and "totally without precedent," Anderson missed a more dialectical appreciation of the event.

Kissinger's objective was to sweep out the cobwebs and bring the State Department up to the level of the rest of Nixon's court. With the diplomatic finesse characteristic of the man, he did exactly what the situation called for—establish an unprecedented routine. Who will pay attention to the next set of invoices? □

In This Issue

U. S. A.	1314	Kissinger Wingding
	1317	Debate Continues: What Should Be Done With Nixon?—by Allen Myers
	1321	Unions Launch Campaign to Impeach Nixon
	1322	Behind the Watergate Scandal—The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers —by Allen Myers
ARAB EAST	1315	Cease-Fire Pact Sets Stage for More Conflict—by Jon Rothschild
CHILE	1326	Interview With Chilean Trotskyist—Left Militants Debate Lessons of Coup
	1327	Hugo Blanco Arrives in Sweden From Chile
	1328	British Demonstrators Score Coup —by Geoff Holms
	1329	Letter From Chilean Refugee
	1329	The Stand of Argentine Stalinism—"Chile Is Our Model"—by Gerry Foley
	1336	Luis Vitale Reported Held by Junta
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	1335	Police Sent Against Strikers
SOUTH KOREA	1336	Students Protest Repression
SPAIN	1337	Political Prisoners Face Death Penalty
JAPAN	1337	Trotskyist Leader Dead at 30
COLOMBIA	1338	Teachers Strike Against Cutbacks
GREECE	1338	Students Stage Demonstrations in Athens
THAILAND	1339	The Students and the New Regime —by Ernest Harsch
INDOCHINA WAR	1340	Thieu Escalates "Land Grabbing" Operations
BRITAIN	1341	First Firemen's Strike—by Donald Waterson
CUBA	1343	Hanoi, Havana Deplore Sino-Soviet Rift —by Dick Fidler
DRAWINGS	1318	Leon Jaworski; 1319, William Saxbe; 1322, Cesar Chavez; 1324, George Meany; 1331, Hector Campora; 1333, Luis Corvalan; 1334, Carlos Prats Gonzalez; 1344, Fidel Castro —by Copain

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Cease-Fire Pact Sets Stage for More Conflict

By Jon Rothschild

New York Times reporter Leslie Gelb had this to say about the Kissinger-designed "peace" agreement signed by Egyptian and Israeli generals on November 11:

"When nations with disputes as bitter as the one between Egypt and Israel come to agreement so quickly, it probably means that they do not understand the agreement in the same manner. What some call Mr. Kissinger's genius for negotiations is precisely this—to frame diplomatic documents in such a way that each party can interpret the accords to suit its own interests. Sometimes this approach can work to cool off the belligerents and create a favorable climate. Other times, it is likely only to postpone real settlement by creating new misunderstandings."

The November 11 peace agreement—which in reality is only a cease-fire agreement—is of such a character. It carefully avoids clear formulations on nearly every question and is designed not to settle the October War, but to initiate a series of negotiations from which U.S. imperialism seeks to draw maximum advantage.

The agreement at least has the merit of brevity. It states:

"A. Egypt and Israel agree to observe scrupulously the cease-fire called for by the United Nations Security Council.

"B. Both sides agree that discussions between them will begin immediately to settle the question of the return to the Oct. 22 positions in the framework of agreement on the disengagement and separation of forces under the auspices of the United Nations.

"C. The town of Suez will receive daily supplies of food, water and medicine. All wounded civilians in the town of Suez will be evacuated.

"D. There shall be no impediment to the movement of nonmilitary supplies to the east bank.

"E. The Israeli checkpoints on the Cairo-Suez road will be replaced by United Nations checkpoints. At the Suez end of the road, Israeli officers can participate with the United Nations to supervise the nonmilitary na-

ture of the cargo at the bank of the canal.

"F. As soon as the United Nations checkpoints are established on the Cairo-Suez road, there will be an exchange of all prisoners of war, including wounded."

The "immediate threat of renewed fighting . . . has been lifted," Gelb commented, "but the situation as a whole remains in a twilight zone." How much of a twilight zone it is can be seen by looking at the real content of the six points of the agreement. The Israeli and Egyptian governments had already agreed to observe a cease-fire, so the first point merely reaffirms what had already been stated. It adds nothing.

The last four points of the agreement establish two things: that Egypt is allowed to prevent the starvation of the III Corps, trapped on the east bank of the canal and deprived of supplies, and that prisoners of war will be exchanged. By specifying that the Israeli checkpoints on the Cairo-Suez road are to be replaced by UN checkpoints, the agreement provides Sadat with an excuse to tell the Egyptian population that the siege of the III Corps has been lifted. By stating that Israeli officers will "participate" in inspecting the cargo headed for the III Corps, it in fact allows the Israeli command to maintain the siege by holding veto power over what supplies go through.

The second point of the agreement represents the only major concession granted: a concession by Sadat. The Egyptian regime had previously insisted that the Israeli army would have to return to the October 22 cease-fire lines, which it had violated in order to close the noose around the III Corps. In fact, Sadat had insisted that he would resume the fighting if Israeli troops were not pulled back. The agreement implicitly recognizes the validity of the October 22 lines, but instead of demanding Israeli withdrawal to them, it calls merely for negotiations on the question of withdrawal.

In sum, then, the November 11 deal amounts to this: The current positions are maintained, including the siege of the III Corps; the resupply of the III Corps, although still under Israeli control, is recognized in principle; an exchange of prisoners of war will take place. The accord recognizes expanded occupation of Egyptian territory by the Zionist state and recommends initiation of a negotiation process to determine exactly how much Arab land will remain under permanent occupation.

Major General Aharon Yariv signed the agreement for Tel Aviv. Immediately thereafter, he read a prepared statement that was a revealing, if hypocritically worded, description of his government's attitude toward the deal. "By signing this agreement with Egypt," he said, "we have taken the first step along the long and difficult road that leads to a settlement of the conflict between us and our neighbors, and to peace with them.

"Let us not falter, let us not shy away. Let us see things as they are, let us believe in our strength and put our trust in the Israeli Defense Forces and the Jewish people in Israel and the diaspora.

"If there are any doubts, if there is worry about our first step, let us say clearly that the Israeli Defense Forces are standing fast and ready to protect our interests on this front, as on all other fronts. They are our gilt-edged insurance that we can proceed safely along the difficult path ahead of us."

After delivering his little speech, Yariv held his first negotiating meeting with Major General Muhammed Abdel Ghany el-Gamasy, who signed the agreement for Egypt. After more than an hour of talks, the two separated without having reached agreement on what to do next.

"Authoritative sources said that the Israeli delegation had refused to lift the Israeli roadblock on the road to Suez and have it replaced by a United Nations checkpoint," wrote Henry Tanner in the November 12 *New York Times*. "The Egyptians had ex-

pected this step to be taken today.

"Egypt is anxious to get more supplies to her III Corps on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal and to evacuate the 1,400 wounded civilians who are blocked in Suez City in appalling conditions, according to Red Cross officials."

On November 12 the Israeli command dismantled a United Nations checkpoint on the Cairo-Suez road on the grounds that the UN had not sought Israeli permission before setting it up. Interference with the UN roadblocks called for in the accord was not the only Israeli sign that a return to the October 22 cease-fire line will not be a subject of serious discussion. While the signing ceremony was under way on November 11, Israeli bulldozers were busy digging positions along a ridge overlooking the Suez-Cairo road. An Egyptian officer pointed out to reporters that it appeared that the Israeli troops "intended to stay for some time."

It can be predicted with certainty that the Israeli army will not withdraw to the October 22 lines. But it is unlikely that Tel Aviv will seek to maintain its huge chunk of Egyptian territory on the west bank indefinitely. The November 11 accord appears to have prevented the destruction of the Egyptian III Corps, which had been the central Zionist goal. If it decides it cannot afford to break the cease-fire, the Israeli regime will attempt to adjust the cease-fire lines in order to minimize its own supply problems. The initial Zionist ploy will be to offer to withdraw its troops from the west bank of the canal in exchange for an Egyptian withdrawal from the east bank. That would involve Sadat's relinquishing the small territorial gains the Egyptian army made during the war and would in effect mean a return to the status quo ante. Golda Meir has already made a public appeal for such a land swap during her visit to Washington in late October.

The Zionist regime would conceive of an exchange as a prelude to a broader deal that would formalize Israeli control over most of the Sinai Peninsula. In the November 9 *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith described Tel Aviv's scenario:

"Senior [Israeli] Government officials said today [November 8] that they envisioned two stages of negotiations with the Egyptians: The first would

deal with the consolidation of the cease-fire, the second would involve talks, under superpower auspices, aimed at achieving a disengagement of the two armies and at least an interim peace agreement.

"In the second stage, Israel is reported prepared to consider an agreement under which Israeli troops would withdraw to the eastern side while Egyptian troops would withdraw to the western side of the Suez Canal. The forces of both sides would be stationed some distance from the waterway.

"Under this scenario, units of the United Nations Emergency Force might be inserted as a buffer between the two lines. The canal could be reopened under Egyptian operation and Egyptian civilians would be permitted to resettle the shattered cities along the waterway."

The Cairo regime, on the other hand, is seeking to move quickly from the current agreement to an international conference aimed at reaching a comprehensive rather than interim settlement. Sadat will have difficulty convincing the Egyptian population to support any arrangement that cedes a large portion of Sinai to Israeli control, or even one that accepts Israeli occupation temporarily. The October War has proven to the Arab masses that the Israeli military machine can be fought, and they are not likely to accept another three years of "no war, no peace" with Israeli troops camped on Egyptian territory. A protracted standoff of that nature would simply again set in motion the same dynamic that led Sadat to cross the canal in October. It is therefore a priority for the Egyptian regime to win an Israeli withdrawal from most of Sinai.

The method Sadat has adopted to accomplish that is to make overtures to U.S. imperialism in the hope that Washington will pressure Tel Aviv into withdrawing in exchange for a peace treaty recognizing the Zionist state's right to exist and denying the rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

On November 7 Sadat announced the latest step in this policy of courting the U.S. ruling class. Egypt, he said, had agreed to reestablish diplomatic relations with Washington. Sadat designated Ashraf Ghorbal, his adviser on press and foreign affairs, as the new ambassador to Washington. U.S.-Egyptian diplomatic relations

had been broken on June 6, 1967, by Nasser because of American support to the Israeli aggression. The restoration of diplomatic relations is a further move by Sadat in the direction he set in the summer of 1972 when he expelled Soviet military advisers from Egypt. It is a confirmation of the fact that he has firmly opted for orienting his regime toward Washington instead of toward Moscow.

But despite the proimperialist overture, there is no sign that the U.S. ruling class intends to moderate its unconditional support for the Zionist state. When Sadat and Kissinger appeared together in Cairo November 7 after the announcement of the restoration of diplomatic relations, the Egyptian president was asked whether he expected Washington to reduce the level of its support to Tel Aviv. "You should ask this question of Dr. Kissinger," he replied.

Washington Post correspondent Murray Marder recorded Kissinger's response: "Kissinger parried with a laugh, 'Luckily I didn't hear it.'"

There was good reason for Kissinger to be lucky enough not to hear it. On November 5—just two days earlier—the Nixon administration reported to Congress that the \$2,200 million worth of "emergency" military aid to Tel Aviv would be used to replace Israeli combat losses and to increase the strength of the Zionist army. Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush told one reporter that the aid would "give Israel greater strength than before the war."

The U.S. ruling class will maintain its policy of preserving Israeli military hegemony until some other regime in the region demonstrates sufficient strength and stability to police the eastern Arab world for imperialism. The Sadat government does not fill the bill, and so long as it does not, the Israeli rulers will not be forced by U.S. imperialism to make any major concessions to Egypt.

So Sadat's plan to recover occupied Egyptian territory through relying on goodwill from Washington and Wall Street is not likely to succeed. And as the "peace" negotiations drag on without producing a liquidation of the results of the 1967 Israeli aggression, the Egyptian masses, mobilized and inspired by the October War, will start posing some penetrating questions for their supposed leader. □

Debate Continues: What Should Be Done With Nixon?

By Allen Myers

At the conclusion of his national television speech on the "energy crisis" November 7, Richard Nixon turned to a more serious crisis. In a few paragraphs reminiscent of Spiro Agnew's "I will not resign if indicted," Nixon proclaimed his determination to hang on to his office:

"As a result of the deplorable Watergate matter, great numbers of Americans have had doubts raised [!] as to the integrity of the president of the United States. I've even noted that some publications have called on me to resign the office of president of the United States.

"Tonight I would like to give my answer to those who have suggested that I resign.

"I have no intention whatever of walking away from the job I was elected to do.

"As long as I am physically able, I am going to continue to work sixteen to eighteen hours a day for the cause of a real peace abroad, and for the cause of prosperity, without inflation and without war, at home.

"And in the months ahead, I shall do everything that I can to see that any doubts as to the integrity of the man who occupies the highest office in this land—to remove those doubts where they exist."

Nixon's problem is that there are very few doubts about his "integrity." On the contrary, the knowledge that he is a crook is almost universal. As the U.S. ruling class looks around for a way to "restore confidence" in its government, Nixon's resignation strikes significant sectors as a good way to begin. "Some publications" that have expressed this view include not only liberal newspapers like the *Boston Globe* and *New York Times*, but conservative journals that had previously backed Nixon in Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Omaha, Denver, and Salt Lake City, as well as *Time* magazine, which published the first editorial in its history, demanding Nixon's resignation.

In its November 12 issue, *Time* held Nixon up to what it considers the

standards of a governmental or corporate executive and decided that he had been found wanting:

"Despite ample instances of past Government corruption, nothing can be found in U.S. history even remotely approaching the skein of events that the word Watergate no longer defines or contains. A Vice President, twice personally chosen by Nixon, forced to resign to escape jail. A former Attorney General and intimate adviser to Nixon under indictment. Another former Cabinet member under indictment. One of the two most powerful presidential aides under indictment. Six other White House aides or Administration officials indicted, convicted or having pleaded guilty; seven more fired or resigned. Most of them shown to have been either in charge of, or aware of, illegal operations. . . .

"The question that once seemed so important—Did the President know about the cover-up?—was always somewhat beside the point. Whatever he knew or did not know, he must be held accountable for the actions of his top aides and the standards he established. . . . One cannot think of any organization, public or private—including some dictatorships—where a Chief Executive could survive in office after such a performance."

In the view of *Time's* editors, Nixon's crimes go too far beyond the "normal" boundaries of governmental corruption:

"A President's Gallup rating can fluctuate as much as the Dow Jones [stock market average]. He may push unpopular programs or oppose popular ones. Being a political as well as a national leader, he may dissemble within more or less accepted political limits. His Administration may be touched by corruption, provided that he does not condone it. He may make mistakes, many of them. He may fight the other branches of Government, for this is sometimes necessary to get things done. None of these matters—especially since they are always subject to partisan interpretation—are

sufficient in themselves to justify the removal of a President.

"Yet there is a limit beyond which even such 'permissible' offenses, even such instances of 'mere' misgovernment, become intolerable."

Time made it clear that a major consideration in its call for resignation was the fear of further scandals as long as Nixon remains in office. Impeachment, the editors argued, would probably increase this danger:

"Whether two-thirds of the Senate would vote to convict him cannot be certain. But even if he were to be acquitted, the process would leave him and the country devastated. Events have achieved an alarming momentum; additional facts that would be brought out under subpoena power at an impeachment trial could strike in many unforeseen and dangerous directions."

Many members of Congress are likewise reported as appreciating the advantages of Nixon's resignation, including Republican members. On November 4, Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts became the first Republican senator to ask Nixon to resign.

"It has been like a nightmare," Brooke said during a television interview, "and I know that he [Nixon] doesn't want to hurt the country, and I certainly don't want to prejudice the case. He might not be guilty of any impeachable offense.

"On the other hand, there is no question that President Nixon has lost his effectiveness as the leader of this country, primarily because he has lost the confidence of the people of the country, and I think, therefore, that in the interests of this nation that he loves that he should step down, should tender his resignation."

Many other congressional Republicans are said to be waiting until Gerald Ford is confirmed as vice-president before adding to the pressure on Nixon. If Nixon were to resign before Ford is approved, Speaker of the House Carl Albert would become

president. Albert, a Democrat, is generally considered even less competent than Ford to manage the worldwide interests of U.S. imperialism.

The conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, in a November 8 article describing the maneuvers in Congress, reported that "Republican senators who still have not uttered a single word critical of Mr. Nixon say privately he must resign once Rep. Gerald Ford is confirmed as Vice President."

In its November 12 issue *Newsweek* described the reaction of congressional Republicans to the announcement of the "nonexistence" of two secret White House tape recordings:

"The word spread quickly over the party grapevine that Mr. Nixon may in the past fortnight have crossed that last line beyond which he can no longer be defended—a message hauntingly like the caveats that went out in the last days of Spiro Agnew. 'They're holding back now,' said one Senate Republican topsider, 'because the only thing that scares them more than Richard Nixon in the White House is Carl Albert in the White House.' But once Ford is sworn, this source told *Newsweek's* Samuel Shaffer, party members in and out of Congress will break their silence and start openly demanding Mr. Nixon's resignation."

In the November 6 *New York Times*, John Herbers reported that even some White House staff members "have said privately that they believe the President should resign."

Is Impeachment More 'Responsible'?

Other influential sectors of the ruling class, however, appear to be flirting with the view that Nixon's resignation is not a satisfactory way of dealing with the crisis. For them, impeachment proceedings appear to be preferable as either a way of removing Nixon or allowing him to remain in office with a congressionally approved stamp of "not guilty."

The November 7 *Wall Street Journal*, for example, took the *New York Times* and *Time* magazine to task for their demands that Nixon resign. A forced resignation, the *Journal* editors warned, might create even more turmoil—and establish more dangerous precedents—than the "constitutional" procedure of impeachment:

"Is a public fervor culminating in his resignation a less grave and serious step [than impeachment]? The resignation demands arise because impeachment would be a long and wearing process. A major reason it would be a long and wearing process is that it requires evidence and due process. The appeal of resignation is precisely that it requires no charge, no evidence, no investigation, no due process, no specific grounds. Is that the kind of constitutional precedent we want to set?"

The editors went on to make clear that they were concerned less about



JAWORSKI: Special prosecutor had special relationship with CIA.

Nixon's civil liberties than about the effects of a forced resignation on future presidents. Might not this introduce a dangerous tendency to replace presidents "merely" because the majority of citizens wanted them replaced? In the *Journal's* view, U.S. capitalism requires a president who can afford to take actions opposed by most of the citizenry:

"... we are mostly suspicious of the demand that the President resign because he has lost the confidence of the people. The very words smell of the French Fourth Republic rather than the American Constitution. Especially since we are moving ever deeper into a world where rapid change and instant communication are likely to afflict any national leader with crisis

after crisis, we doubt that our institutions ought to evolve toward changing Presidents with every change in the public mood."

Taking the long view of U.S. capitalism's interests, the *Journal* concluded:

"The House of Representatives ought to proceed with its impeachment investigation, and indeed make it a more serious investigation than it currently promises to be. If grounds for impeachment are found, so be it. But we are suspicious indeed of having a President forced from office in some extra-legal, extra-constitutional manner. The important thing is not whether Mr. Nixon stays in office or leaves. The important thing is that whatever is done is done in a grave and responsible way."

In a November 6 editorial, the *Washington Post* discerned some other possible problems in forcing a resignation. The question, the *Post* stressed, is not whether to remove Nixon, but how:

"It seems to us that an overwhelming case can be made, and has been, that Mr. Nixon's presidency is now freighted with more than enough liabilities of his own making to recommend his removal and replacement. But when you have stipulated that, you are still left with the fundamental question of how this is to be done in consonance with our established political traditions and juridical procedures and in a manner which promises to achieve the principal objective of so painful an exercise—namely, the restoration of sustained public confidence in the office of the presidency."

This "public confidence" is required from Nixon's supporters as well as those who want him dumped, the *Post* continued. It even saw the possibility that in "the absence of any clear, conclusive and congressionally endorsed finding" of Nixon's guilt there might be a "backlash" against a forced resignation. Nixon himself, the paper pointed out, was just the sort of person to encourage such a response. "Therefore, it is all the more important that respected members of his own constituency take the lead, as some to their credit already have done, in publicly expressing at some potential risk to themselves their convictions concerning the all but bankrupt condition of the Nixon presidency."

In addition, the *Post* added, "political sense and simple fairness" require that Ford be confirmed before

Nixon is dumped. Even then ". . . it seems to us that the case for resignation is not necessarily overwhelmingly stronger than the case for impeachment. For those who cry 'resign' are asking Mr. Nixon to leave office without a formal, final resolution one way or another of allegations that have been, or might be, made against him. While no formal charges of wrong-doing have been leveled against him, and none may ever be, one must be straightforward and acknowledge the possibility of the President's being pursued into private life through the courts, on criminal charges, and one must squarely face up to the convulsive public impact this could have at a time when the first order of national business would be the restoration, not only of confidence, but of pride and dignity in our public affairs."

While the *Post's* argument may have descended somewhat from the more lofty tone of the *Wall Street Journal*, its point was well taken: Nixon, like Agnew, has good reason to cling to his office as long as necessary to avoid criminal prosecution.

In a November 7 speech to the Senate, George D. Aiken of Vermont, whom the *New York Times* describes as "the influential dean of Congressional Republicans," came down strongly on the side of those favoring impeachment proceedings. Aiken, in opposing Nixon's resignation, made it clear that he was not exactly pleased with Nixon's performance, observing that "the White House has handled its domestic troubles with . . . relentless incompetence." But he agreed with the *Wall Street Journal* that there is great danger in allowing too much democracy in the selection or removal of a president:

"Those who call for the president's resignation on the ground that he has lost their confidence risk poisoning the wells of politics for years to come.

"Within less than ten years we have seen one presidency destroyed by an assassin's bullet, another by a bitter and divisive war.

"To destroy the third in a row through the politics of righteous indignation cannot possibly restore confidence either at home or abroad. . . .

"The men who wrote our Constitution were fully aware of how waves of emotionalism, if given an easy electoral outlet, could reduce any political system to anarchy.

"That is why in a nation governed by its laws they provided that presidents should rule for four years."

Aiken called for the House of Representatives to set a deadline by which it would either vote an impeachment or declare that no grounds for impeachment exist.

Senator Henry Bellmon, Republican from Oklahoma, added his approval to Aiken's fear of majority rule:

". . . our officials are chosen through popular elections. Ours is not a parliamentary system. The Constitution provides a workable and lawful means for removal of officials in case two-



SAXBE: White House tapes "should be destroyed."

thirds of the members of Congress vote for impeachment. Should we allow a vocal minority or even a vocal majority to overturn the outcome of our elections by preempting the responsibility of Congress, we will have set the stage for a long series of governmental disorders."

In a November 9 editorial, the *New York Times* seemed to have accepted the idea that impeachment would be necessary to force Nixon out:

"No provision of the Constitution and no statute can compel the President to step down. This newspaper and many other voices that have urged him to resign, including especially members of his own party, have done so primarily in the hope of sparing the nation the traumatic and di-

visive process of impeachment.

"Mr. Nixon's refusal to consider a step that would avoid such agony leaves the Congress with no honorable alternative to the impeachment process."

In a November 5 speech in Denver, Senator Peter Dominick of Colorado, a longtime conservative backer of Nixon, added his support for impeachment proceedings:

"I am reluctant to talk about impeachment, as anyone who loves this country should be. But the genie is already out of the bottle, and it cannot be put back in. The confidence of the American people cannot be restored until the impeachment question is disposed of, and this must be done as quickly as possible."

'Twist Slowly, Slowly in the Wind'

A measure of the loss of "public confidence" that so disturbs all these ruling-class representatives was provided by a November 4 poll conducted for ABC television. Only 30 percent of those polled said that they tended to believe Nixon's public statements on subjects other than Watergate; 59 percent tended to assume that he is lying no matter what he says. On the question of the famous "non-existent" White House tapes, 17 percent believed Nixon's story; 67 percent did not.

The testimony being taken by Judge John Sirica, in his effort to find out what happened to the tapes, should be sufficient to destroy even the last shred of Nixon's credibility.

Last July 23, Nixon wrote to the Senate Watergate committee that "the tapes, which have been under my sole personal control, will remain so. None has been transcribed or made public and none will be." Testimony from former and present White House aides reveals quite a different picture. William Chapman summarized some of this testimony in the November 9 *Washington Post*:

"Tapes were checked out and never checked back in. Some have been played in such disparate places as a Camp David cottage and the private home of a White House assistant. Records and memories differ as much as a week on when one big batch of tapes was returned to the Secret Service. The White House has insisted the tapes were kept in the residential part of the

White House, while court testimony repeatedly has placed them in the basement of the Executive Office Building. . . .

"On one occasion last April, [White House aide Stephen] Bull came to get some tapes for H. R. Haldeman, then White House chief of staff and soon to resign under fire. Bull testified last week he has no way of being sure Haldeman gave him back, later, the same tapes he had fetched for him. Nor could he say that Haldeman even gave him back the same number he had received."

The system for handling the tapes appears deliberately designed to facilitate their "loss." The only record of tapes checked out or in consists of scraps of paper on which brief notes have been scribbled.

The testimony makes it clear that Nixon himself could have kept or destroyed the "nonexistent" tapes: The "records" show that he took a large number of tapes June 4. They do not show that he ever returned them.

Rose Mary Woods, Nixon's personal secretary, told the court November 8 that she had attempted to transcribe a number of the tapes and that they were of such "bad quality" that it was impossible to make a complete transcript. That raised the likelihood that the tapes had been altered: Both Haldeman and the Secret Service agent in charge of the recording equipment had earlier told the Senate Watergate committee that the equipment functioned

quite adequately.

Woods also gave testimony that seemed to contradict Nixon's claim that his April 15 conversation with John Dean had not been recorded because the tape had run out and the alternate recorder had not been set to begin until the morning of the next day. Woods said that a tape for April 16 began in the late afternoon; a conversation from earlier in the day was found at the end of another tape. This would indicate that the recorders were set to switch over whenever a tape was exhausted, rather than at a particular time of day.

After a meeting with congressional Republican leaders November 9, Nixon allowed one of them to announce that he would make at least a part of the tapes public once Sirica had decided what should be heard by the grand jury. Presumably what Nixon has in mind is not a full disclosure but some sort of edited version that he hopes will be mistaken for the real thing. Any verbatim recordings released, it is certain, will be entirely innocent or carefully altered, and their release now is not likely to convince anyone.

Even Nixon's new nominee for attorney general is on record as believing that Nixon should and did destroy anything incriminating on the tapes. The Washington Post News Service discovered that Senator William Saxbe had spoken on the subject in Hong Kong in August. He was quoted at

the time by the *Hong Kong Standard* as saying:

"I think the President is right on standing on his rights not to disclose the tapes. I personally wish I had never heard of the tapes. If they're incriminating, they should be destroyed, and I'm sure they will; but I think he's right in saying that a President cannot be horsed around in the courts."

On November 5, in an explanation of the speech Saxbe insisted on his own purity but did not indicate any great confidence in Nixon:

"If the question is, Was I advocating any illegal activity in the Hong Kong speech, the answer obviously [sic] is No. In response to a question after the Hong Kong speech, I indicated that if there was illegal activity recorded on the tapes, I questioned whether such tapes would ever be forthcoming."

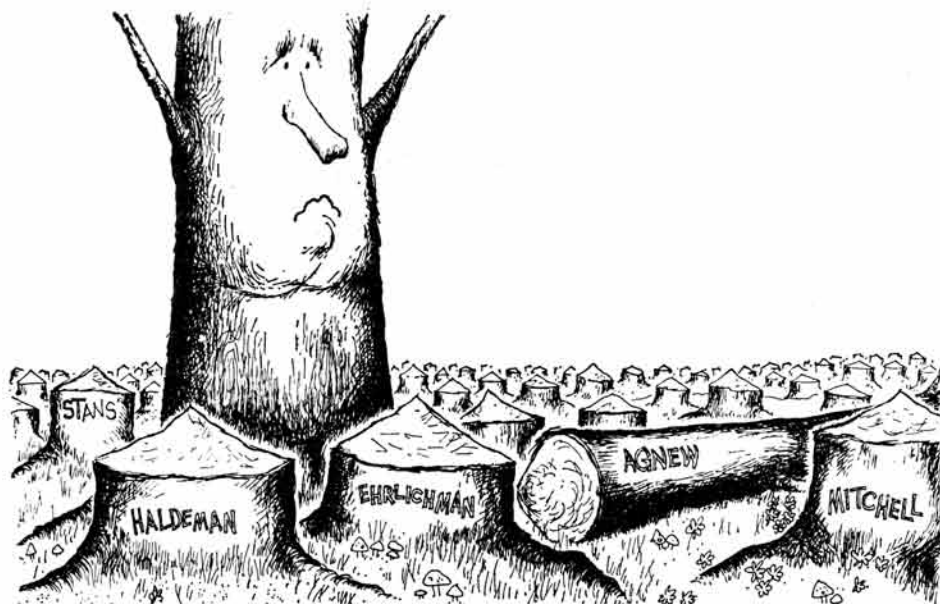
Nixon is doing no better with his new special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski. The Associated Press reported November 5 that Jaworski had been involved in "laundering" money for the CIA:

"John Freeman, president of the M.D. Anderson Foundation of Houston, said in a telephone interview that the group had channeled more than \$600,000 to an international lawyers group in the late nineteen-fifties and early nineteen-sixties after being requested to do so by a CIA representative. . . .

"Mr. Freeman, a former law partner of Mr. Jaworski, said [that] he, Mr. Jaworski and the other two directors of the foundation unanimously approved the C.I.A. request, and that Mr. Jaworski was aware of details of the arrangement over the years. 'I'm quite sure that he did know as it went along,' Mr. Freeman said."

The Nixon gang appears to have a virtually inexhaustible supply of scandals stored away in various hiding places, and new ones continue to be uncovered almost daily.

John M. Crewdson reported in the November 6 *New York Times* that William D. Ruckelshaus—who served last spring as acting FBI director, then as deputy attorney general until fired in the October 20 Saturday-night massacre—had testified in a pretrial deposition that there were records of additional illegal wiretaps of reporters and administration officials, in addition to those that had already been reported in connection with the Daniel Ellsberg affair.



By Auth in the Philadelphia Inquirer

On November 6, the *Washington Star-News* reported that the Senate Watergate committee has evidence that the trucking industry had contributed more than \$600,000 to Nixon's reelection campaign at a time when the industry "was fighting a Government proposal that would have caused more competition in highway shipping."

In addition, still another member of the Nixon gang appears to be wavering in his loyalty to the boss. Egil Krogh, who directed the secret White House "plumbers" unit, has so far refused to provide prosecutors with information about Nixon's role. But Krogh is now facing trial on indictments charging burglary, conspiracy, and perjury in connection with the forced entry of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, and Krogh has begun to show signs of dissatisfaction with the lack of assistance from the White House.

On November 5, Krogh's attorney complained to reporters that Krogh had not been allowed to see White House documents that he wants to examine in order to prepare his defense. It is not difficult to figure out the reasons for Nixon's reluctance to help: The best defense available to Krogh would be to claim that he thought the burglary a "national security" operation and that Nixon had ordered him to carry it out.

On November 7, Krogh's attorney asked a judge in Los Angeles to issue a subpoena to Nixon "requiring him to appear for oral examination and to bring with him all tape recordings and documents in his possession" relating to the plumbers.

"The President's supporters," Seymour M. Hersh wrote in the November 6 *New York Times*, "are known to be concerned about the potential impact of Mr. Krogh's testimony concerning the President's instructions regarding the Ellsberg break-in. 'He's the last guy in the world I'd want to see angry at the President,' said one person with close White House ties."

Among those politicians who have not yet completely abandoned Nixon, the favorite litany has become the demand that he make a "complete disclosure" on all Watergate-related matters.

"Nothing short of complete disclosure," Senator Dominick said in his November 5 speech, "will be adequate to restore the confidence of the American people. There can be no more deals and no more technical arguments about evidence."

Even Ford, during Senate committee hearings on his nomination, said that while he regarded Nixon as being "completely innocent," nevertheless the "public wants the president to prove that, through documents and so forth."

Maneuvers are now under way to

see whether a deal cannot be worked out that would allow a gentle questioning of Nixon by the Senate Watergate committee. The problem at this point is that such a charade, which conceivably could have worked in June or July, would be too transparent.

The last thing that Nixon could stand, of course, is the "complete disclosure" that his supporters pretend they want him to make. The "documents and so forth"—if they have not already been destroyed—would unquestionably prove Nixon guilty of virtually everything he is suspected of, and probably other crimes as well.

Last March, when L. Patrick Gray's nomination to be FBI director had run into opposition and Gray was undergoing questioning about his role in the Watergate affair, John Ehrlichman recorded a telephone conversation with John Dean in which the two decided that it was wiser to let Gray take the fire for a while rather than have the nomination withdrawn. "I think we ought to let him hang there," Ehrlichman told Dean. "Let him twist slowly, slowly in the wind."

A few months later, it was Agnew's turn to "hang there" and serve as the target of attacks on the Nixon gang.

Now Nixon has run out of substitutes. While the U.S. ruling class debates ways to "restore confidence" in its government, Nixon is left to "twist slowly, slowly in the wind." □

Unions Launch Campaign to Impeach Nixon

Charging that Nixon has "brought dishonor" on his office, the AFL-CIO launched a nationwide campaign for impeachment November 8. At the labor federation's convention October 22, some 900 cheering delegates had voted unanimously to demand Nixon's immediate removal by resignation or impeachment.

The federation announced that it was printing and sending out across the country 500,000 copies of a statement headed "Why Richard M. Nixon Must Be Impeached—Now." It lists nineteen grounds for impeachment, including the following charges:

"He instituted in the name of national security a plan which violated civil liberties through domestic political surveillance, espionage, wire-tapping, bur-

glary, eavesdropping, opening of mail, and military spying on civilians.

"He created a special and personal secret police, answerable only to the White House, to operate totally outside the constraints of law.

"He and his subordinates interfered with freedom of the press . . . by means of wiretaps, FBI investigations, and threats of punitive action. . . .

"He has used the office of the Presidency to attempt to put himself above the law.

"He has consistently lied to the American people. . . .

"He has repeatedly promised the American people full revelation of the facts in the Watergate affair—and he has repeatedly sought to keep those facts from the public, from the courts,

from the Congress, and from the special prosecutor.

"He has used the office of the Presidency for personal enrichment. . . .

"Officials of his campaign committee and his personal attorney extorted illegal campaign contributions from corporations which were dependent on maintaining the good will of the government."

Other grounds listed include the ITT case, the contribution from dairy cooperatives in exchange for an increase in milk-price supports, and Nixon's intervention in the trial of Daniel Ellsberg. The statement concludes by urging that "each union member should now write his Congressman" and Peter Rodino, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, which is to hold hearings on the various impeachment

resolutions.

The federation, which has 13.5 million members, is sending packets of the statement to each of its 113 member unions. It is designed "as a leaflet for mass distribution at plant gates, union meetings and . . . mailings" to union members. Copies are also being sent to every member of the House of Representatives.

The statement was printed over a full page in the November 10 issue of

the federation's weekly *AFL-CIO News*, and is expected to be reproduced in as many as 550 labor newspapers around the country.

At the same time, however, an AFL-CIO spokesman said that the federation was withdrawing its original opposition to the confirmation of Gerald Ford as vice-president. Apparently the labor bureaucrats feel that Ford must be approved before Nixon can be impeached. □

Nixon allowed himself to be photographed eating grapes and publicly stated that he opposed the boycott because the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) provided the UFW with a chance to win contracts in union representation elections. In reality, farm workers are specifically excluded from coverage by the NLRA.

Nixon also provided the growers with more tangible help against the boycott. In fiscal year 1969, the Defense Department abruptly doubled its purchases of grapes, buying more than 16 million pounds. The Pentagon sent an average of eight pounds of grapes to every U. S. soldier in Vietnam.

Behind the Watergate Scandal—VII

The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers

By Allen Myers

[This is the conclusion of an article on the relations between Nixon and the labor bureaucracy. The first two installments appeared in the November 5 and 12 issues of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

War Against the Farm Workers

... it is not fair for a farmer to work all year to produce a crop that can be wiped out in a two-week strike.

—Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz.

There will be increased incidents of violence on the part of the United Farm Workers. These violent acts, plus the confrontation between the UFW and the Teamsters, are the two things most likely to bring about federal legislation to restore peace and to protect the food supply of the public.

—Daryl Arnold, executive vice-president of the Western Growers Association.

* * *

One of the facets of the IBT's image that the Hoover-Gorin public relations firm was supposed to clean up was the unfavorable publicity the Teamster bureaucracy has received as a result of its attempts to smash the United

Farm Workers Union (UFW). The UFW, which represents some of the most exploited workers in the United States, is confronted by a conspiracy that unites the Teamsters, the Nixon gang, and California agribusiness interests.

The UFW has only about 70,000 members, compared with the more than 2 million in the IBT. It has been able to survive against the triple alliance arrayed against it by combining the economic demands of the field workers, most of whom are Chicanos, with their nationalist aspirations, and because persons across the country have been inspired by its militant and democratic unionism to support UFW-called boycotts.

The combination of militancy, democracy, and nationalist sentiment in a struggling union would in itself be sufficient to cause the IBT bureaucrats and the Nixon gang to regard the UFW as a terrible example for other workers, even if their special friends in agribusiness did not have their profits threatened by the organization of the farm workers.

Nixon's ties to corporate agriculture go back at least to 1949, when as a congressman he supported the DiGorgio Fruit Corporation in a strike by members of the National Farm Labor Union. In 1968, when the UFW was conducting a national grape boycott to force growers to sign union contracts, presidential candidate



CESAR CHAVEZ

In the summer of 1970, the UFW succeeded in winning union contracts with grape growers and began organizing field workers involved in the lettuce harvest. At the same time, the IBT, representing shed workers and truck drivers, was also negotiating with the growers. But within a few days of signing IBT contracts covering these workers, between 170 and 200 growers suddenly signed contracts with the Teamsters covering the field workers. The latter, of course,

Intercontinental Press

had not been consulted about the matter.

The president of the UFW, Cesar Chavez, charged that the Teamsters and growers had signed sweetheart contracts in order to block the UFW. Even the California Supreme Court eventually upheld Chavez's accusation. As the result of a UFW appeal of a lower court injunction against the lettuce boycott, the supreme court issued a 6 to 1 decision in December 1972 that said in part: "Although there is some dispute as to the precise number or percentages of field workers favoring either the Teamsters or the UFWU it appears that by mid-August [1970] at least a substantial number and probably the majority of the applicable field workers desired to be represented by the UFWU rather than the Teamsters."

Once again, the Nixon gang joined in efforts to break the UFW boycott of lettuce. Immediately after one large company, Interharvest, signed a UFW contract on August 30, 1970, the Defense Department drastically curtailed purchases from that company. In July, August, and September, the Pentagon bought 30 percent of its lettuce from Bud Antle Incorporated, a major target of the boycott. This was nearly double the share of purchases from Antle in 1969.

The Antle company and the Teamster bureaucrats have had a cozy relationship for more than a decade. J. B. Lieber reported in the September 3, 1973, issue of the *Nation*:

"In the winter of 1960-61, the now defunct Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, was waging a successful strike in Southern California's Imperial Valley. . . . Before the strike could start on his land, Antle signed with the Teamsters. The arrangement insured that a walkout would be enjoined under the California Jurisdictional Strike Act, which prohibits strikes against management that arise from interunion rivalries.

"In several respects, the Antle contract was the precursor of future grower-Teamster arrangements. For one thing, it was a sweetheart contract—the workers weren't consulted prior to its enactment. Also, most of the workers received no representation whatsoever. Only permanent employees, a tenth of the work force, were covered. The remainder, mi-

grants and Mexicans, were of course the ones who most needed coverage. Finally, there arose an increasingly chummy relationship between the company and the Teamsters. In 1963, the Teamsters loaned Antle \$1 million. The vice president for transportation at Antle . . . told me that by the end of the decade, the corporation had switched all of its freight from rail cars to 240 trailers."

Despite the best efforts of the Nixon gang and the Teamsters, the 1970 lettuce boycott organized by the UFW was quite effective, and Fitzsimmons apparently decided that a tactical retreat was in order. In March 1971 he signed an agreement with George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO (to which the UFW belongs). The agreement provided that the UFW would have jurisdiction over field workers and the IBT over packing-shed and cannery workers, drivers, etc.

Late in 1972, however, Fitzsimmons and the Nixon gang decided it was time to renew the attack. Ronald B. Taylor reported in the March 19, 1973, *Nation* that "an Under Secretary of Labor" suggested to growers that Fitzsimmons might like to speak to the December 1972 convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation (AFBF) in Los Angeles. (There is only one under secretary of labor; at the time it was Laurence Silberman, whose tactical disagreements with Charles Colson on relations with construction unions were discussed earlier.)

Fitzsimmons, Taylor wrote, "billed his talk as an 'opening of communications' between his union and the AFBF. In much of his text the Teamsters president sounded like a tough labor leader scolding the collected agribusinessmen for their biases. But at the end Fitzsimmons made clear the reason for his visit: he attacked Chavez, the UFWU and its supporters; he called their boycott a fraud; he proposed an alliance between organized labor and agribusiness, and then he urged the Farm Bureau to support legislation that would subject agriculture to regulation under the National Labor Relations Act.

"The farmers got the message. Convention delegates voted to reverse the long-standing AFBF opposition to the inclusion of farm labor within the NLR. While this looked like a ma-

nor turnaround, some strong strings were attached in pet phrases like 'No strikes at harvest.' And the NLR bans the secondary boycott, which has proved to be Chavez's strongest economic weapon."

Two days after this diplomatic success, Einar Mohn, director of the Teamsters Western Conference, announced that he would renegotiate IBT contracts with vegetable growers, even though these contracts had not expired. After the new contracts were signed, the Teamsters sent out organizers to try to enroll the workers whom they claimed to have represented during the contract "negotiations."

In March, the Teamster bureaucrats signed an agreement with the National Association of Farm Labor Contractors. What the bureaucrats got from the agreement is not known, but the labor contractors were given the right to operate in fields covered by Teamster contracts. The labor contractors are among the most hated exploiters of farm workers, recruiting and delivering workers to the farms and then taking a percentage of each worker's pay. They are noted for recruiting workers to break strikes. The UFW has attempted to replace the contractors with union hiring halls.

Throughout 1973, as their contracts with the UFW expired, the grapegrowers have rushed to sign up with the IBT. The UFW has responded with strikes and boycotts and the growers and Teamsters have replied in turn with organized violence. Two UFW pickets have been killed, one by sniper fire and one after being beaten by a deputy sheriff. Picket lines have been attacked by thugs hired by the Teamsters at \$50 a day plus "expenses."

Although George Meany, who boasts that he has never participated in a strike, is known to be less than enthusiastic about the militancy and democracy of the UFW, the union is part of the AFL-CIO, and the leaders of the federation have felt constrained to provide minimal financial support against a raid on what they see as part of their turf.

The AFL-CIO assistance to the UFW is offset by the bureaucrats' class-collaborationist attitude and willingness to "work together" with the Nixon gang. The contradiction is summarized in the person of the labor figure who serves as Meany's liaison

to the UFW and chief negotiator with the Teamsters: none other than Nixon's enemy-turned-friend, Paul Hall.

Harnessing the AFL-CIO

It is outrageous that briefcases filled with \$100 bills should be passing between political fat cats and peeping-toms while the average housewife struggles to stretch her food dollars at the grocery store, and the President piously calls for fiscal restraint and economic sacrifice.

—May 8, 1973, statement of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

* * *

In September 1971, White House special counsel Charles Colson sent John Dean a memorandum listing twenty names to be given "priority on the enemies list." Number two on this list was Alexander E. Barkan, who was described as follows:

"National Director of AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, Washington, D. C.

"Without a doubt the most powerful political force programmed against us in 1968. (\$10 million, 4.6 million votes, 115 million pamphlets, 176,000 workers—all programmed by Barkan's C. O. P. E.—So says Teddy White in *The Making of the President '68.*) We can expect the same effort this time."

Although Colson's concluding prediction was to prove inaccurate, there was good reason for making it at the time. Since the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations had been formed by the merger of the two separate federations in 1955, it had never failed to endorse and support the Democratic party's presidential nominee.

The AFL-CIO's "neutrality" in the 1972 elections was not, unfortunately, a repudiation of this class-collaborationist record. Rather it stemmed from Meany's hostility to the McGovern wing of the Democratic party and a deliberate wooing of the old mossback by the Nixon gang. Meany was swindled by a skilled con artist, which accounts in part for some of the recent howls of outrage from the AFL-CIO leaders.

It would not, of course, have been in any way preferable for the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to endorse McGovern instead of being "neutral" for Nixon. Meany and company ended up covering Nixon's attacks on the working class on the basis of the same rationale that they use to justify their support for liberal capitalist politicians: the idea that the capitalist state is an impartial body that can be manipulated to the advantage of the working class either by electing "pro-labor" candidates or by making shrewd deals with capitalist politicians like Nixon.

If the working class is always ill served by such deals, it is not necessarily true for the union bureaucrats themselves. In Meany's case, no one has yet produced any evidence indicating that he is being paid off by the same persons who bankroll the Nixon gang, or that he had to be clubbed into line with the threat of prosecution. George Meany's services to Nixon and preceding governments appear to have been provided from conviction, with no more reward than a tickling of his vanity.

Meany of course has reason to believe that a system in which the AFL-CIO president draws an annual salary of \$72,960 plus expenses and is treated almost as a social equal by the president of the United States is, if not quite perfect, certainly the best of all possible worlds. It is therefore not surprising that he wants to spread the system's blessings to such a benighted place as Vietnam. Equally logical, from the same standpoint, is the AFL-CIO leadership's long record of collaboration with the trade-union fronts for U.S. foreign policy. Over the years, Washington has channeled millions of dollars through the AFL-CIO to "democratic" union groups like the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the American Institute of Free Labor Development. Meany does not require any payoffs from the corporations to do his dirty work; the only scandal connected with his salary is the fact that workers are required to pay it.

When Nixon announced his Phase One freeze on wages on August 15, 1971, Meany let it be known that he was displeased, calling the plan "Robin Hood in reverse because it

robs from the poor and gives to the rich." The Nixon gang, however, knew enough to weigh the objection at its true value: as a pack of empty words for the consumption of the rank and file and an expression of annoyance that he had not been "consulted."

By the time that Phase Two went into effect in November, Meany had had his pride soothed by "consultation" and appointment to one of the government boards set up to hold



MEANY: Golf with the president.

down wages. Meany was appointed to the Pay Board along with two other AFL-CIO bureaucrats, I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, and Floyd Smith, president of the International Association of Machinists; Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Automobile Workers; and Frank Fitzsimmons.

These five "labor representatives" were balanced by five businessmen. And, last but not least, the board was filled out with five "public" members: "former" businessmen, corporation lawyers, and similarly "impartial" figures.

Meany was even willing to make a personal sacrifice to help maintain the fiction that wages rather than Indochina war spending were responsible for exacerbating inflation. When the November 1971 AFL-CIO convention voted him a salary increase to \$90,000, Meany turned it down, a patriotic gesture that must have moved Nixon to tears — of laughter.

Despite his cooperation, the Nixon gang used the same convention for some undercover tricks designed to give Meany a bad press and pressure him into being still more accommodating. Nixon had been invited to the convention, and the gang decided that an "incident" would be appropriate. It took Meany, who appears rather slow to figure out what is happening around him, until May of this year to tell the press what occurred. Meany said that Charles Colson had sent undercover "operatives" into the convention "to try to contrive a confrontation between the president and the AFL-CIO in which we would insult the president, and when we did not insult the president he just put his gang on the phone to call all the radio stations and newspaper offices around the country to tell them that we did."

It was not until March 22, 1972, after the board had substantially reduced a West Coast longshoremen's contract won in a 134-day strike, that Meany, Abel, and Smith got up the nerve to resign their positions as Pay Board "statesmen." Woodcock resigned the next day. Nixon's favorite "labor leader," Fitzsimmons, announced that he would continue to represent "labor" by "working within the system"—a phrase presumably meant to imply that Meany had become a dangerous radical.

A statement released by the AFL-CIO Executive Council explained that Meany, Abel, and Smith had resigned because of a surprising discovery: The "public" members of the Pay Board were not "impartial" after all!

"The so-called public members," the statement said, "are neither neutral nor independent. They are tools of the Administration and imbued with its viewpoint that all of the nation's economic ills are caused by high wages."

Although the statement did not say so, the five labor bureaucrats would seem to have been influenced by the

same viewpoint: They had voted with the board's majority thirty-six times and against it on only thirteen occasions.

One of the motives for the resignations was pressure from the Democratic party, which was preparing to capitalize on the failure of Phase Two in the fall elections. But the Nixon gang was already at work on winning over Meany to his eventual "neutrality" for Nixon.

In his October 5, 1973, column Jack Anderson described a series of memos written by Seymour Freidin, a spy apparently assigned to keep tabs on Meany's moods and report back to the White House. Freidin's reports indicated that there were political opportunities opening for the Nixon gang. In September 1971, Freidin wrote that Meany was dissatisfied with most of the prospective Democratic presidential candidates.

In January, Freidin reported that Meany had been touched by Nixon's gesture in sending him a box of cigars as a Christmas present. He quoted Meany as saying, "It was very thoughtful. I wish that he'd also had the time to call and say hello."

"In other words," Freidin added, "it seems Meany would dearly love to have a call from the President inquiring into his health." The call, Anderson reported, was duly made.

On another occasion, Meany complained to Freidin because he had to deal with subordinates instead of talking directly to Nixon. According to Freidin, Meany expressed a truly touching eagerness to cooperate with "his" president: "How the hell do you cooperate if you can't talk to the team manager, only to his assistant coaches?"

The thought of Fitzsimmons jetting across the country with Nixon must have added salt to Meany's wounded feelings.

The troubled courtship had its balmiest period in July 1972. After the AFL-CIO Executive Council voted it "neutrality" in the campaign, Meany attained the pinnacle of his career. In a true triumph of the American Dream, a poor working stiff named George Meany, earning only \$72,960 a year, was invited to play golf with the president of the United States. Horatio Alger could have imagined no better tribute to the status quo.

Moreover, in the succeeding months Meany was frequently "consulted" on such questions as which labor bureaucrat would be appointed to the cabinet or the best means of holding down wages. As recently as April 4, 1973, Meany was proud to be appointed to the National Commission for Industrial Peace.

In fact, Meany would probably still be golfing with Nixon had it not been for the Watergate scandal and the fact that members of the AFL-CIO making less than \$72,960 plus expenses annually have found inflation outstripping their wages.

On May 8, the AFL-CIO Executive Council did an abrupt about-face, discovering, some months later than the rest of the country, "evidence of . . . scandals that reach into the upper echelons of the White House."

Since then the AFL-CIO bureaucrats, with Meany in the lead, have been tripping over their own feet in their haste to put distance between themselves and Nixon. One suspects that at this point Meany would even return a box of Nixon's cigars, so anxious is he to have his collaboration with the Nixon gang forgotten.

This does not mean, unfortunately, that the bureaucrats have learned anything from their experience, such as the need for a labor party independent of the ruling class. On the contrary, we can be sure that they are already looking ahead to the elections of 1974 and 1976, planning to use the spiraling inflation and the Watergate scandal as a vehicle for electing "good Democrats."

In its May 8 statement on Watergate, the Executive Council said:

"Anything that twists and distorts the democratic process is a threat to organized labor.

"Anything that subordinates voters to dollars, or the rights of the many to the manipulations of the few, is against our interests."

That is, in fact, one of the real lessons of the Watergate affair. The labor skates pretend not to recognize that manipulation by money is an inseparable part of the "democratic process" in the United States. But the opinion polls showing widespread disillusionment with all levels of government offer hope that the lesson is being learned by millions, including the ranks of the union movement. □

Left Militants Debate Lessons of Coup

[The following is the text of an interview with a Chilean Trotskyist, taken in Santiago October 16. It was published in the October 26 issue of the Belgian Trotskyist weekly *La Gauche*. Translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What is the importance of the MIR [Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] in the present situation in Chile?

Answer. To my knowledge, no other organization in the world among the new vanguard holds a place comparable to that which the MIR does in Chilean political life. It is with this in mind that we must consider the problem of the MIR, both as Chilean revolutionary Marxists and as militants of the Fourth International.

The MIR originated from two currents—first Castroism; and second Trotskyism, through the intermediary of some of our comrades who were among its founders. And obviously what shaped the MIR that we are acquainted with today was three years of an exceptionally rich experience of class struggle.

The present MIR has not broken with its Castroist origin. But, unlike organizations of similar origin, it has been confronted through its daily experience in the mass struggle with the central problems posed by the construction of a revolutionary party rooted in the worker and peasant masses. The answers posed by the MIR and by the leaders of its mass fronts never went beyond the empirical framework: They lacked a clear understanding of Stalinism as a historical phenomenon, with all the implications that has had in the Chilean context (the particular characteristics of the reformist program of the CP [and of the UP] and, going beyond the UP, the nature of the workers bureaucracies and their relations with the working class). This empiricism was, and remains, especially blatant with respect to the internationalist practice

of the MIR, whose incomprehension of the role and nature of the bureaucracies in power in the different workers states has led to a miseducating and paralyzing eclecticism. For all that, in its work of mobilizing and implanting itself in the worker and peasant masses of this country, the MIR has, in the course of the last three years, taken a series of initiatives going beyond the reformist framework imposed by the UP. These initiatives have often been correct. They must be analyzed in detail, not in this interview but in the course of further debate with the MIR.

That is why the MIR's practice and experience represent an essential achievement for the Chilean vanguard, despite the enormous limitations that the absence of any real democratic centralism and the absence of a real debate on strategy meant for its militants.

Q. What conclusions do you draw with respect to the activity of the revolutionary Marxists in Chile, today?

A. First, this achievement of the MIR is especially important because up to now it has successfully resisted the repression, and that is a first decisive test. The MIR and its leadership are thus confronted with considerable responsibilities. As everywhere else, building a revolutionary party with hegemony in the working class will be a long process, marked by crises and regroupments, directly linked with the development of the class struggle. The MIR will perhaps play a determining role in the tempos and forms of this process—whether as a motor force or a brake it is impossible to foresee exactly in advance.

But, as a result of the MIR's position, not only in the far left but in Chilean political life as a whole, the positions and activities of this organization have extensive repercussions for the immediate future. This fact is a decisive element in defining the revolutionary Marxist position.

The other element is our own political and organizational reality. There are few Chilean Trotskyist mili-

tants; we are a "Trotskyist nucleus" rather than an organization. We have made significant political and organizational gains in the last two years, but our forces are still very modest in comparison with the weight of the Chilean far left. Moreover, we have been hard hit by the repression: More than twenty of our members—22 to be precise—have been jailed; we have no news whatsoever of several of them.

Up to now the MIR has had an attitude not of hostility but indifference toward the many revolutionary groups. For it, political debate, both internally and with other groups, is essentially practical and is based on comparison of experiences. This is the positive side of its empiricism. It is therefore on the basis of our own experiences that we will be able to establish the conditions for a serious debate, for a necessary confrontation with the MIR.

Q. Going beyond your relations with the MIR, there is the question of your attitude and your perspectives in the present situation.

A. Of course. And there we start off with a considerable handicap. But at the risk of appearing too optimistic, I would say that the objective situation, for all its tragedy, creates a new situation: There are entire sectors of worker, student, and peasant militants who are searching amidst the present confusion for an overall, coherent explanation of what has happened. At Santiago and Valparaiso, where some of our members have sunk real roots, especially in the working class, some members of the left wing of the SP, the MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action], and sometimes even the CP, are asking questions and having discussions with us. The traumatic experience they have gone through in recent weeks has made them skeptical and distrustful; and this skepticism and distrust comes out especially in connection with their former leaders. It is up to us in the next period to win them over through our analyses, our proposals, and above all our responsible and audacious activities.

In relation to these central issues, I would like to add one thing in con-

clusion. The Chilean vanguard, whose most important component is the MIR, is characterized in part by a limited and superficial view of proletarian internationalism. In the situation we are in, its members can be sharply affected by that. There appears to be an important movement of solidarity with the Chilean people throughout the world, but this solidarity loses much of its effectiveness and value if material solidarity is not bolstered by a common orientation and political perspectives. All the more so, in that the bourgeoisie's international solidarity is a reality that is unfortunately all too powerful. All the more so, too, in that the solidarity of the CPs and the sectors linked to them is also sub-

stantial, and will weigh heavy in the balance. The Fourth International must be in the forefront of revolutionary solidarity actions, avoiding opportunism and sectarianism. It cannot be repeated too often: We will be judged and listened to on the basis of our concrete activity, in Chile as elsewhere. The organization of solidarity with the Chilean workers is a concrete activity, on which we will also be judged. Over and above the immediate results, this can add immeasurably to the clarification within the Chilean vanguard, which will be decisive in the outcome, and to the Chilean socialist revolution towards which we are marching without fail, despite the harsh defeat. □

Blanco. The prosecution sought the death penalty.

"But before the second trial could be held, the regime changed. [Actually the government retreated under the pressure of international public opinion and the demand for the death penalty was dropped in 1966.] Hugo Blanco was released, largely because of the pressure of the Swedish branch of Amnesty International.

"Hugo Blanco was ordered not to leave Lima. This was the way the new government assured that the peasant movement would fade away.

"But when Blanco could not work with the peasant movement, he got involved with politics in the city. The regime got tired of him and deported him to Mexico.

A New Exile for Peruvian Revolutionist

Hugo Blanco Arrives in Sweden From Chile

"Hugo Blanco's life is safe at last. He has spent his first night in the only country that offered him asylum — Sweden."

Inger Wahlöö, who wrote these words in the November 6 issue of the Stockholm daily *Expressen*, probably did not know that the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco was described by the junta's press two weeks after the coup as one of the most wanted men in the country.

The September 30 issue of the rightist Santiago daily *La Tercera de la Hora* ran Blanco's picture with the following caption:

"Hugo Blanco Galdós, the Peruvian activist who entered our country last October after escaping from a prison in his country, was chosen in 1970 by the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] as a leader and technical adviser.

"The political police report that there was a conspiracy last year to kidnap a Chilean diplomat in Lima to exchange for this guerrilla, who later escaped from the impregnable El Frontón prison. The activist is said to still be in Chile traveling with the fugitive Carlos Altamirano [the leader of the left wing of the Socialist party]."

The accompanying story said:

"Blanco Galdós became one of Al-

tamirano's advisers, telling him how he should act toward the deposed president, Salvador Allende . . . Blanco Galdós also advised various armed groups.

"When the military declaration [the coup] came on the eleventh of this month, Blanco was in the company of Altamirano. Both were fleeing to an unknown destination with a considerable quantity of weapons. The Peruvian guerrilla, who is wanted in his country, is reportedly still in Chile along with the Chilean extremist leader."

All of the Stockholm papers carried prominent stories on Blanco's arrival in Sweden, but of quite a different kind. The evening paper *Aftonbladet*, for example, gave a fairly accurate account of the Peruvian revolutionist's career:

"He was arrested in 1963. He had organized the poor and exploited peasants into 140 unions.

"In the valley of La Convención, Blanco's home territory, the police attacked the peasants. In the fighting, two police were killed. The manhunt for Blanco began.

"After a half a year, he was taken prisoner. He was sentenced for inciting to rebellion. The penalty was twenty-five years in prison. At the same time a new trial was being prepared against

"From there he was also deported as an undesirable. He went to Argentina, where he got involved in an argument in the press with the Peruvian ambassador.

"This led to his being jailed again. When the Argentine government decided to deport Blanco, it turned out that no other government in Latin America would accept him. But even Allende showed no great enthusiasm about having to offer him asylum."

Another Stockholm paper, *Svenska Dagbladet*, noted in its November 6 issue that Blanco also had some criticisms of the Allende government:

"Hugo Blanco doesn't think much of President Allende's attempt at a peaceful transition to socialism. With different, effective leadership, Blanco thinks, the workers could have defended socialism. The land reforms and nationalizations were not thorough. The big landowners and industrialists were able with their remaining economic power to fight the people's government.

"Among other things, the compensation they got from the Allende regime was used for speculation, and not the least on the black market. That was the cause of the scarcities in Chile. And as a result the middle class, which initially supported Allende, went over to the capitalist side. . . . Allende was powerless after he agreed to sign a pledge to abide by the constitution.

"For example, there was nothing he could do when the courts obstructed the people's demands. He could do nothing with the army, which prevented the development of self-defense groups."

Svenska Dagbladet reporter Johan Tunberger quoted Blanco as saying: "Many individual policemen and soldiers were ready to fight for the people, but they had no organization or leadership.

"The workers and peasants vanguard has been crushed. The best thing the workers and peasants can do now is lie low and regroup, since they have no leadership."

The exiled Peruvian revolutionist developed this point further in his interview with Inger Wahlöö:

"If the working class had had a revolutionary party, the coup would not have succeeded. But since there was no leadership, we could not expect miracles. The best thing the workers can do now in Chile is to scatter and reorganize, build a new vanguard party. I hope that the Trotskyist comrades will build the organization that was lacking."

One of the reporters at Blanco's news conference at the Arlanda airport asked what Swedes could do to show their solidarity with the Latin American peoples.

"He sat enveloped in his pullover," the *Dagens Nyheter* reporter wrote in the November 6 issue of his paper, "and answered energetically and methodically:

"The journalists can keep it in mind and remind others that what is happening in Chile is not normal. It must not disappear from the headlines again." □

Anti-Zionist March in London

London

Some 10,000 Arab students and other opponents of Zionism marched to the U. S. and Israeli embassies in London on October 14. The demonstration was sponsored by the General Union of Arab Students (GUAS).

Slogans like "Free Palestine!" and "U. S. A. Keep Out!" were shouted as the marchers made their way past the U. S. Embassy in Grosvenor Square, carrying hundreds of Palestinian flags. The march, though predominantly Arab, was joined by some anti-Zionist Jewish groups.

In a statement distributed at the demonstration, the GUAS said that "the logic of Dayan's doctrine of acquiring territorial gains by means of force is the same logic as that of the American aggressors in Vietnam and the colonialists in Africa." □

Demand Release of Political Prisoners

British Demonstrators Score Chilean Coup

By Geoff Holms

London

More than 15,000 demonstrators marched through London November 4 to a mass rally held by the Chile Solidarity Campaign Committee (CSCC) in Trafalgar Square. The march followed escalating protests of the Tory government's continued backing for the junta.

The British government was one of the first to recognize the military dictatorship immediately after the coup. Even Labour party leader Harold Wilson was provoked to say that this was accomplished with "indecent haste." The Labour party conference in Blackpool strongly condemned the government for its recognition of the junta and called for the immediate release of all Chilean political prisoners.

British big business has assured the generals of its support. British Leyland Motor Corporation has just presented the junta with a gift of four MG automobiles. The company's showrooms in Piccadilly, London, were picketed by demonstrators November 3.

Britain is also supplying Chile with arms. On September 26, a submarine was launched on Clydeside and handed over to the new regime. The shipyard workers boycotted the ceremony. On Tyneside two Chilean warships are being refitted. Trade unionists, including the local Labour party and South Shields trades council, have launched a campaign to stop work on the ships. There are also plans to prevent the passage through Liverpool docks of Centurion tanks destined for Chile. Widespread protests have also been made of the government's plans to sell Hunter jet-fighters to Chile.

Particularly encouraging has been the call of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) for an international boycott of all Chilean trade. The Hull dockers refused to handle any Chilean goods immediately after the coup.

One concession has been reluctantly wrung from the government. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the foreign secretary, told the Parliamentary Labour party's Anglo-Chilean Group that he would arrange the right of admission to Britain "for those who could show they were political refugees." Nevertheless, he refused to allow the British Embassy in Santiago to be used as a refuge for those trying to escape the terror in Chile.

Meetings protesting the coup have been held all over Britain. Large rallies and marches have been sponsored in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Liverpool as well as in London. The International Marxist Group (IMG) has organized a speaking tour of Britain by Roberto Suarez, a member of

the Chilean Socialist party. About 200 persons attended a meeting addressed by Suarez and IMG leader Tariq Ali in London's Conway Hall, November 2.

The following day more than 600 persons packed a teach-in held at the London School of Economics by the Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People. Speakers included Robin Blackburn of the IMG and Monty Johnstone of the Communist party.

These rallies and forums helped build support for the national demonstration in London on November 4. A broad coalition was constructed around the CSCC. It was founded right after the coup at a meeting attended by representatives of the TGWU, the London Trades Council, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the National Union of Students, the Communist party, and the IMG.

Many trade unions marched in the November 4 demonstration. Dockers, printers, teachers, building workers, railwaymen, car workers, postal workers, and many others were there with their union banners. There were dozens of local trades councils, Labour party branches, and student unions. Both the Communist party and the IMG had large contingents.

Among the slogans were the following: "Release all political prisoners!" "Democratic rights for the Chilean people!" "Break off all diplomatic relations with the junta!" "Boycott all trade!" "End all credits from Britain!" "Solidarity with the Popular Unity and all those struggling against the fascist junta!"

Speaking at the rally in Trafalgar Square were Hortensia de Bussi Allende; Jack Jones, general secretary of the TGWU; Tariq Ali of the IMG; John Gollan, general secretary of the Communist party; and Judith Hart, speaking for the National Executive Committee of the Labour party.

All the speakers condemned the Tory government's collaboration with the junta and demanded that a future Labour government break off all trade and diplomatic relations with Chile.

Judith Hart condemned the role of the major imperialist powers and the multinational companies in preparing the coup. She noted the refusal of the Tories to grant credits to the Popular Unity government. She demanded that the British Embassy in Santiago be made a place of refuge from the junta's repression. Jack Jones won wide applause for his announcement that dockers had already begun to black [refuse to handle] Chilean goods.

All the speeches raised the need to build

an ongoing solidarity movement. Tariq Ali appealed for the broadest possible unity in continuing the campaign despite the differences in analysis of the tragic

defeat suffered by the Chilean people. These, he said, should not stand in the way of joint efforts to build an even larger demonstration in the future. □

From the Argentine Embassy in Santiago

Letter From Chilean Refugee

[The November 1 issue of the Buenos Aires biweekly *Nuevo Hombre* published a letter from one of the hundreds of political refugees trapped in the Argentine Embassy in Santiago since the coup. The text follows; translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I am in the embassy and I do not know where I will finally end up. I have the impression that they are going to send us to the end of the world. My situation is precarious. I have no money or clothing. The children are sick and have no clothes.

I send this letter to ask your help. The need is urgent. The children and I are hungry and our clothes are falling to pieces from having been washed so many times. If you could send us a little clothing for the kids. Please don't forget us in these difficult hours.

If you could send some vitamins

and eyewash, we could certainly use it. The children's health has suffered very much. The adults' nerves are shot because of the constant pressure we are subjected to. Try to send some tranquilizers. The food is very poor. Those who were in prison say that the food was better there than here.

We are being humiliated by some functionaries in the embassy. The goods that we know were sent to us here have not reached our hands. The result is that no one is eating.

Most of the children are faint from weakness. We do not know when we are going to get out of here. Many of us do not have exit permits. I hope we will get some help.

If you have any old shoes, I would be glad to get them because mine were damaged and I have been going barefoot since I sent them to be repaired. We need help.

Regards,
Luisa

The interest of the young left in the reasons for the defeat in Chile is, after all, a natural one. For three years the methods of the Chilean CP and the Allende government were held up everywhere by the Stalinist parties as a "realistic" alternative for those who wanted to fight for socialism.

To see precisely how intrinsic the errors of the Chilean CP were to the fundamental approach of the Stalinist parties, and how little likely they are to be corrected, we need only look at the attitude of the other CP in Latin America with the greatest stake in the outcome of the "Chilean Process."

'Chile Is Our Model'

The Argentine CP is the party most directly affected by the collapse of the Chilean experiment. As a result of the failure of the CP-dominated left in Uruguay as well as Chile, it faces a situation in which the labor movement has been dangerously isolated by the recent military coups.

The Argentine CP patterned its political course very closely on that of its Chilean sister party. For example, in the July 4 issue of their paper *Nuestra Palabra*, the Argentine Stalinists wrote: "The messages of solidarity, the statements of members of parliament, and the demonstrations of the youth reflect the desire of the Argentine people to stand by Chile, our concern for her success, our joy at the outcome [the defeat of the June 29 trial-run military coup]."

"No other Chilean government has ever won this kind of popular support in Argentina, and the reason for this sympathy is that in the eyes of the average Argentine, the Tucumán cane-cutter, the southern oil-field worker, the railwayman in Buenos Aires, Chile is the model. It is the example of victory over imperialism and backwardness, progress toward a decent and happy life, adequate wages, and housing. . . ."

"Chile is our model because it is the revolution advancing toward socialism, and here in our country the revolution is ripening in the heat of the struggles, in the unity in action of the masses, in the great advance of the youth, in the ever more powerful brotherhood developing in the factories and the neighborhoods between Peronists and Communists."

Not only did the Argentine people stand side by side with the Chileans,

The Stand of Argentine Stalinism

'Chile Is Our Model'

By Gerry Foley

The crushing defeat of the Chilean working class in September, a grave setback for the entire movement of national and social liberation in Latin America, dealt a particularly severe blow to the Communist party policy of peaceful progress toward socialism along the road of "irreversible reforms."

In the face of a more and more obvious disaster, the Communist parties have argued that the defeat has to be attributed, on the one hand, to the omnipresent and apparently all-powerful machinations of imperialism,

and on the other, to the specific tactical errors of the Chilean CP and Allende's popular-front government. These errors, the CP spokesmen admit, will of course have to be examined sooner or later, but now is not the time for criticism.

These protestations unfortunately obscure and distort a reality that was understood clearly in the revolutionary movement before the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. The only way to assure that errors will not be repeated is to criticize them in time.

the CP paper assured, but so did their "maximum leader."

"It is very good, we Communists applaud the fact, that President Campora called President Allende to tell him that 'our people, our government, and General Peron stand shoulder to shoulder with Chile.' This is the Argentine national position at its most profound, and it must be developed and enriched."

The Argentine CP, like the Chilean, had put its hopes in a broad front based on an alliance with the "progressive" and "patriotic" bourgeoisie represented by Peron. This was why they supported the old caudillo in the September 23 special presidential elections, to unite an overwhelming majority behind a program of gradual social change. Thus, they could only applaud Allende's attempts to stave off a coup by courting the "patriotic military" and the "progressive" sectors of the bourgeois opposition parties.

All Hail to Chile's 'Patriotic' Generals

In another article in its July 4 issue, *Nuestra Palabra* said:

"It was possible to defeat the criminal coup because of the conjunction of three factors: The coherence of the Allende government's progressive domestic and foreign policy; the cohesion of the working class and the people around the Unidad Popular and its government, and their readiness to mobilize en masse in energetic actions to defend their revolutionary gains; and the patriotic attitude of the majority of the armed forces in Chile, which are not cut off from the people. What an example General Prats and the Chilean armed forces have given for the patriotic and anti-imperialist sectors of the Argentine armed forces."

Nuestra Palabra seemed to have no doubts about the firm support of the "patriotic military" for the Allende regime. One article in its July 4 issue concluded by quoting Allende's words to the Chilean people after the aborted coup: "Have confidence in this government, which has shown its capacity today to defeat the enemies of Chile."

In the July 11 issue of *Nuestra Palabra*, Jorge Raul Vila wrote from Santiago:

"It cannot have pleased the rightists that on the afternoon of Bloody Friday [June 29], the people cheered for

the commanders of the three armed services and the national police in the Plaza de la Constitucion facing the presidential palace of La Moneda."

Vila's confidence was complete. For one thing, he was certain that the UP government, in which the Communist party was the strongest organized force, could keep the workers firmly disciplined behind the reformist line. In this way the UP could both intimidate the right and reassure the "progressive" bourgeoisie.

"The left, which has been gaining strength through these confrontations, has shown itself more cohesive than ever. This cohesion, which has been expressed in uniform slogans and chants during the ever larger mass demonstrations, was summed up in the accords of the First Congress of the Unidad Popular federated party. This congress put its emphasis on a united leadership of the revolutionary process."

Vila's confidence reflected that of the Chilean Communist party leader Luis Corvalan, he noted in the July 18 issue of *Nuestra Palabra*:

"Perhaps the most pithy thing in the speech of 'Lucho' [I Struggle] Corvalan were his views, which are certainly those of the CP leadership, as to the outcome of the present situation. Corvalan expressed his confidence that the process would continue without civil war."

Didn't Mean What They Said

But by mid-July, it was apparent that the putschists in the military had not been defeated. Every day brought increasing rightist terrorism, clearer and clearer support for a coup from the bourgeois opposition parties, and provocative attacks against the workers and poor peasants under the guise of "searching for illegal arms." So the Chilean CP leaders sharpened their tone, and this was echoed by the Argentine CP press. In the July 18 *Nuestra Palabra*, Vila quoted a speech by Corvalan at some length:

"If the reactionary sedition should rise to a new level, specifically to the level of armed struggle, let no one have any doubts that the people will rise up as a single man to crush it in the egg. In such a situation, which we do not want, do not seek, and are anxious to avoid, but which might occur, not a single stone would re-

main that we would not use as a weapon in the struggle. . . .

"Every factory, every ranch, every public office, every neighborhood, every union, every mass organization, would become a bulwark of the people's movement."

Vila commented: "We can assume that Corvalan did not mean 'bulwark' in a purely metaphysical sense. Since June 29, the factories have been guarded by the workers, by the comisiones de vigilancia y defensa [Guard and Defense Committees]."

But at the same time, the CP journalist stressed, there was nothing for the military or the right to fear:

"The reactionary press has been yelling that the UP has violated the arms control law by distributing arms to the workers. A formal accusation was presented to the military authorities who carried out a search on Sunday July 8 of the Metropolitan Cemetery near the shantytown of Santa Olga, where ultraleftists were supposed to have stored arms under the grave-stones.

"They didn't even find a humble squirrel gun [although they did succeed in terrorizing the whole neighborhood—G.F.]. But the press campaign is not aimed at uncovering hidden arsenals but in creating unrest in the army. Winning a large section of the armed forces seems to be the immediate objective of the reactionaries today, to keep a future coup from being a futile adventure. In a certain sense, with the raid on the cemetery, they did succeed in getting the military involved again. But the right hopes that its denunciations will serve as a pretext for a different kind of intervention."

The Stalinist commentator seemed strangely blind to the key aspect of the arms raids, that is, the campaign of the military to intimidate the left and prepare the way for crushing the workers movement.

Hugo Blanco's Warning

The Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco, who was in Chile at the time of the coup, described the raids as follows:

"These escalating raids enabled the right to test the strength of the workers movement, its capacity to resist. They also started the process of selective repression aimed at decapitating the workers movement and the left

parties. The strongholds of the left in the factory belts, shantytowns, and schools like the Universidad Técnica were hit, and vanguard militants were seized and imprisoned. Throughout this first phase of the repression, the military and the police had the acquiescence of Allende and the UP leadership."

But Vila could not see these raids as a test of strength between the workers movement and the military. His mind was entirely occupied with diplomatic maneuvers. For him, these raids were only a stratagem to frighten the "progressive" officers. Thus, precisely what was needed was the meekest possible acquiescence so that the "patriotic military" would realize that the alarming rumors about the workers arming were groundless. As for the right, the CP would counter it with pressure from the left.

"The country is producing and on the alert. Whatever may come, the future of Chile is not in doubt."

The CP did not blame the military for these raids, Vila stressed:

"The armed forces, which have the duty and the right to enforce the arms control law, are getting more or less demented reports every day from the right."

But he did feel compelled to make one point: "The opposition has not clarified who the people were who used arms illegally in the escalating violence that culminated in the outbreak on June 29." That is, it did not seem fair that after a rightist military rebellion and in the midst of a wave of rightist terrorism, all of the army's raids were directed against the workers and the left.

But Vila was not worried. In the July 25 *Nuestra Palabra*, he predicted that all these fruitless arms raids would make the right ridiculous and reassure the "patriotic officers."

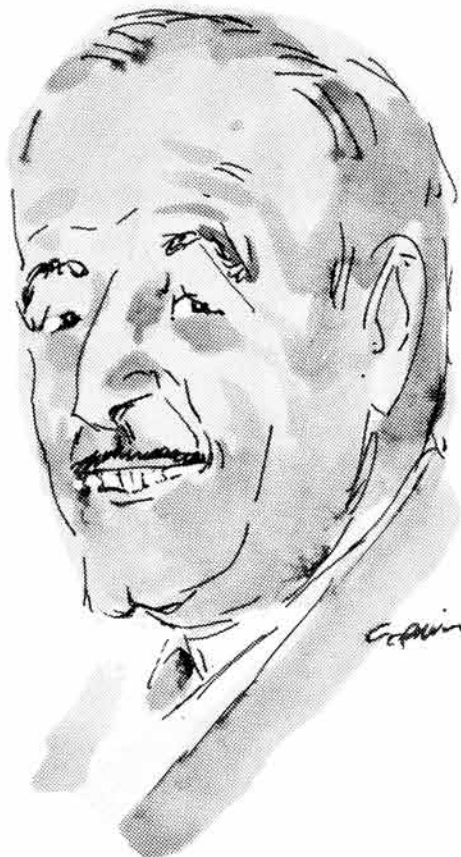
"The Chilean Opposition's organs are whipping up a propaganda campaign designed to make the armed forces think that they are faced with the alternative of choosing between their own institution and a 'Marxist army.' The denunciations of arms caches supposedly held by the people's organizations or in official buildings are becoming as frequent as they are unfounded. In this campaign, the Opposition has not balked at the greatest absurdities."

Thus, the CP's policy, which was followed essentially by the Allende

government, assumed a more and more clearly contradictory character, as was evident from Vila's description in the July 25 *Nuestra Palabra*:

"The UP's central slogan is to maintain the state of popular alert. On behalf of the Communist party leadership, Luis Corvalán recommended in a rally held July 8: 'Sleep with one eye open' and make every factory or peasant center a 'bastion.'

"For his part, in an assembly of



CAMPORA: Verbal support for Allende won applause from Argentine CP.

the leaders of the cordones industriales [organs of workers management in local industrial concentrations], Carlos Altamirano [the leader of the left wing of the Socialist party] . . . said that it is the 'inalienable right' of the people to defend themselves. Both Altamirano and Corvalán maintained that the unity of the workers, peasants, and soldiers was indestructible and that the left parties had no intention of creating a people's army opposed to the armed forces, because they had confidence in the patriotic spirit of the soldiers and officers. Both leaders remarked that it was this unity that would defeat reaction in the event of

a confrontation, and that the main task continued to be to avert through vigilance a civil war."

Policy of Throwing Bones to the Generals

The "indestructible unity" that the Communist and Socialist party leaders had in mind, as their behavior showed, was a deal with the high command, which was incompatible with trying to win over the ranks and lower officers.

When the naval command began a purge of pro-UP noncoms and sailors a few weeks before the coup, the Allende government not only refused to defend its supporters but backed their persecutors. The government even allowed the rightist naval officers to use this case to try to jail left-wing political leaders falsely accused of "inciting to insubordination."

"So we come to a paradox where, for encouraging the loyalty of sailors refusing to rebel against the regime, political leaders advocating respect for the constitution are being persecuted by the president of the republic on behalf of the putschist officers," Pierre Kalfon wrote in the September 10 *Le Monde*.

One of the last concessions the Allende government made to the military was to offer to lift the parliamentary immunity of these left-wing leaders, including Altamirano. A few days before the coup, the UP did make a statement in support of the jailed and tortured sailors, but at the same time, Kalfon noted, it was explained to the military that the statement was a purely formal one and did not mean a change of policy by the government.

But hand in hand with concessions, there were always threats. In his July 25 *Nuestra Palabra* article, Vila gave prominence to Corvalán's statement: "If it proves necessary, the other alternative is to inflict as quickly as possible a defeat on the ones who start a civil war and end it before it really gets started, so as to spare Chile the losses of a prolonged conflict."

Two weeks later, in the August 8 *Nuestra Palabra*, Vila again stressed the "toughness" of the Unidad Popular government. "The government is ready to exhaust every possibility to continue with what is called 'the Chilean experiment' — the legal road to social-

ism. This does not mean yielding or letting down their guard. The people are keeping their arms at the ready; they are on the alert. Their rapid response to the bosses' strike shows this."

This combination of threats of revolution with subordination of the interests of the workers to an alliance with the "progressive bourgeoisie" and the military was particularly clear in the August 15 *Nuestra Palabra*:

"On Thursday August 9, tens of thousands of workers and students flowed out of the industrial centers and shantytowns and marched with their fists raised to the rally called by the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers] in defense of the people's government and in opposition to fascism. The real Chilean people repudiated the putschist designs. The working masses are ready to defend their gains, the factories that now belong to them, the rights that they have under a government that belongs to them for the first time. The people's counteroffensive directed by the powerful trade-union organization is aimed at strengthening the authority of the government and liquidating the political and economic bases of reactionary subversion, by developing all forms of popular power, control, and participation.

"At the very moment when the great workers rally was culminating in the Plaza Bulnes, in the Palacio de la Moneda the new cabinet, including the three commanders of the armed forces, was taking the oath of office.

"President Allende said that 'this cabinet has an exceptional historic significance.' He added: 'It is a cabinet of national unity and its task is to keep the people from becoming separated from the government and from the armed forces.'"

A Question of Military 'Courtesy'

On August 18, Air Force General César Ruiz Danyau resigned as minister of transport, alleging that the Allende government had not given him the power to settle the truckers strike. Ruiz wanted to grant the reactionary truckers association's demands. But in the face of the mobilized masses who had taken over transport themselves in the previous strike in October 1972, Allende could not capitulate

completely without losing control of the workers. On the other hand, he was unwilling to rely on the workers to deal with the bosses' strike.

"The president of the Chilean trade-union federation, Figueroa (CP), and the general secretary, Calderón (SP), have offered Allende the support of the workers both in organizing surveillance of key points in cooperation with the army and in taking over and putting back into operation the trucks that have been stopped and sabotaged by their owners," *Le Monde* reported August 18. "So far Allende has preferred to rely exclusively on the military apparatus."

And the "military apparatus," the same article noted, "has taken a very placid, almost courteous attitude toward the truckers."

But even when General Prats resigned on August 25 to "preserve the unity of the armed forces," *Nuestra Palabra's* correspondents did not lose faith in the "patriotic military."

"General Carlos Prats González, former commander in chief of the army and minister of state, warned of the danger of a coup in his letter of resignation to President Allende. He pointed out that some sections of the army had been agitated by people seeking the breakdown of the constitutional order. For this reason, he did not want to become a divisive factor in the armed forces, in particular the army, and offered his resignation. Thus ended one of the most disgraceful chapters in the rightist campaign against the armed forces. The right, skillfully using groups of women, including the wives of high officers, developed a violent campaign against Prats. And they managed to force his resignation when he realized there might be another mutiny if he remained in command of the army.

"The entire country understood the noble and patriotic attitude of General Prats, and immediately following his resignation, thousands upon thousands of messages commending his work came from the widest range of working-class and other organizations. On August 28, the CUT held a mass meeting to support 'our fatherland's general, Prats.' Prats has thus become one of the few soldiers, to say the least, who has retired from active service surrounded by immense human warmth and the solidarity of the working people."

Machinations of the Generals

The role of the "patriotic general" in the intense maneuvers that preceded the coup was described rather differently by some of the chief plotters after the military take-over. Jonathan Kandell summarized their story in an article in the September 27 *New York Times*:

"On Aug. 18, President Allende and, allegedly, General Prats, forced the resignation of Gen. Cesar Ruiz Danyou, the air force commander in chief. Jets streaked out of Santiago to the southern city of Concepción to prepare for an immediate coup. But leaders of all three branches urged their officers to wait until General Prats could be removed; General Ruiz also pleaded with his men to abandon the idea of immediate action.

"The leaders of the three branches then confronted General Prats and demanded his immediate resignation.

"As soon as General Prats resigned, on Aug. 23, along with two other generals considered to be pro-Allende, the high command of all three service branches began mapping out the details of their take-over.

"The stage had already been set by the strike of 40,000 truck owners, joined by hundreds of thousands of professional employes, shopkeepers and small businessmen.

"The military had also embarked on an intense campaign of arms searches in leftist strongholds, and used these searches as an excuse virtually to control road transit in and out of major cities.

"The military leaders had told President Allende two weeks before the coup that they would not act if he could settle the strikes and reach a political compromise with the Christian Democrats—the largest political Opposition party.

"In fact, the military informants asserted, nothing could have stopped the coup, once General Prats resigned. 'We were only putting the final touches on the plan,' one officer said."

The military had made its final decision five months before the coup, when the bourgeois opposition parties failed to defeat the UP in the March elections. The hope of the constitutionalist bourgeois leaders, for example Renán Fuentealba, the chief of the moderate Christian Democrats, was that the economic sabotage would erode the popularity of the govern-

ment and make it possible to slowly liquidate the working-class rise that had brought Allende to power.

"The plotting subsided somewhat," noted Kandell in his September 27 *Times* article, "in the weeks of political campaigning leading to the March legislative elections. The civilian opposition to Dr. Allende thought it could emerge with two-thirds of the legislative seats and thus impeach the President.

"It was supposed to be the last chance for a political solution,' one officer admitted. 'But frankly, many of us gave a sigh of relief when the Marxists received such a high vote because we felt that no politician could run the country and that eventually the Marxists might be even stronger.'"

The military and the right never intended to accept any compromise with the Allende regime. There was simply a tactical difference over how best to defend the interests of capitalism in Chile.

"After Allende came in, we believed that he deliberately set about to destroy this country's institutions,' one officer said. 'In the first two years, he had succeeded in destroying the economic power of the middle class, which is the base of our national institutions. At the same time, all political parties suffered a tremendous decline in prestige because of their ineffectiveness' in halting Dr. Allende's socialization programs."

The UP government's attempt to play a chess game with the generals, as Allende described it a few days before he "ran out of pawns," only strengthened the military's determination to take political power into its own hands.

"Other officers asserted that they were motivated by what they interpreted as an attempt by the Government to play on natural rivalries between military branches and prevent the formation of a common front."

These were the realities of the class struggle in Chile and the military instrument created to defend the interests of capitalism. Trying to sidestep these realities by political maneuvering only infuriated the right, while at the same time disarming the workers.

Prats Puts 'Unity' First

When the coup came on September 11, UP leaders who happened to be

in Argentina were so sure of the constitutionalist principles of General Prats that they announced to the world that he was at the head of an army marching on Santiago to save the government. But once again General Prats went on television to say that he would do nothing to endanger the "unity of the armed forces."

As a result, the Chilean workers were left defenseless in the face of a military establishment convinced that "order" could be restored only through massive terror, including, if necessary,



CORVALAN: "No intention" of disturbing "unity" with the generals.

slaughtering tens of thousands of Chileans. "If we have to kill 20,000 Chileans to save Chile, we will do it," one rightist spokesman said before the coup.

The net result of the CP's policy of wooing Prats was to deliver the workers, bound hand and foot, to the military butchers. In the September 5 *Nuestra Palabra*, writing no more than a week and a half before the coup, Jaime Chamorro Díaz said:

"The right, which after the resignation of Prats and Montero speculated that the armed forces would withdraw definitively from the cabinet, has seen its designs frustrated."

The Communist party's final attempt to halt the coup was to call for a "dialogue" with the liberal bourgeois party:

"Facing this political situation," Díaz wrote, "the Communist party has

called for uniting the majority against the coup, because the majority of Chileans do not want to see the country go off the constitutional road. Deputy Jorge Insunza, a member of the Central Committee, pointed out in his address to Communist party activists the need for taking every initiative to win the majority of the country against the coup, to win the majority to defending the constitutional government and revolutionary change: 'Only a policy oriented in a practical way to winning the majority is truly revolutionary.'"

What the CP had in mind specifically was a deal with the Christian Democratic moderates that would widen the ruling coalition. In the August 8 *Nuestra Palabra*, Vila quoted the CP Senator Volodia Teitelboim as saying: "'There is a broad and completely untapped field of programmatic convergences' between the DC and the UP. In the presidential program that the Christian Democrats put forward in 1970 there were not a few similarities to the UP program."

What the Bourgeoisie Feared

It was not, of course, the UP's program of reforms—which were not incompatible with the interests of national capital—that worried the bourgeois opposition. It was the working-class rise that led to the victory of the UP and the militancy encouraged by the idea that finally the government would be on their side.

The nationalizations that most upset the bourgeoisie were those carried out by the workers in defense against the bosses' strike in October 1972, which were not authorized by the government. When the Communist party minister Millas introduced a bill that seemed to imply returning these enterprises to their owners, even the CP workers revolted against the measure.

"The workers of Santiago will paralyze the capital if the government does not drop its line of returning the plants to their capitalist owners," Faride Zeran wrote in the February 2, 1973, issue of the pro-UP weekly *Hoy*. He quoted a prominent CP union leader, Eduardo Bustamante, who said:

"I am a member of the CP, and I don't feel that there is anything wrong about my being here [on the barricades built by the workers to press their opposition to the Millas bill]. I

look at the thing from a trade-unionist's point of view, and I find that my mates are completely right. So, I do not agree with the people in my party who want to return the industries to the bosses, because I join in with the workers, I work with them, and I have a feeling for the thing."

Thus, what the opposition needed was a clear defeat, or capitulation, of the Allende government that could break the spirit of the workers. The real terms of the "dialogue" were explained in the October 21 issue of the Italian Catholic daily *L'Avvenire* by Raúl Silva Henríquez, the cardinal of Santiago and one of the intermediaries in the negotiations between the government and the Christian Democrats:

"On July 16 we made a solemn appeal for a dialogue with the political and social forces that were favorable to the 'change' [of regime] because it was necessary to win a great national consensus to achieve peace and social change. We thought that this was the only way to obtain a reconciliation of all Chileans and put the organized consciousness of the people at the service of justice and not violence. But that is not what happened. Those who held power at that time could not abandon their pretension that their social reality was the only one."

Apparently the cardinal and his political "flock" presented Allende with essentially the same ultimatum as had General Ruíz: Reverse the reformist course of the regime, or resign.

But the "compañero presidente" could not convince the workers to "moderate" their struggles against the bosses and for their own aspirations. That had been shown by the whole course of events since October 1972. The cardinal explained it this way: "We knew that the country was divided, that the unity of the working class was breaking down, that ideological sectarianism was taking hold. And we did not believe that Marxism was the solution for liberating Man."

As for the slaughter of thousands of Chilean workers by the junta, the corpses appearing every morning in the poor neighborhoods after the military's "searches," the hundreds of bodies of persons "shot while escaping" that were washed up by the Mapocho River, the brutal exploitation of the working people under the guns of the military, the football stadiums turned

into concentration camps, these were "venial sins":

"Things have happened that we also deplore but they are understandable in view of the situation that provoked them."

Stunning Force and Speed

Thus, on September 11, the CP's sought-after allies in the Christian Democracy and the military failed them. But what about the working class that Corvalán warned would rise up "as a single man," make every factory a "bastion," and turn every "stone into a weapon"; that was "on the alert" if worse came to worse to "defeat the ones who start a civil war before it can really get going"?

"Half of Chile and half of the world are asking themselves today why, aside from the suicidal resistance of a handful of snipers, no one came to the defense of the government," the pro-CP "moderate" Ramiro de Casabellas wrote in the October 4 issue of the Buenos Aires liberal daily *La Opinión*.

"Hated by the bourgeoisie and the middle class, struck down by the armed forces, the government had no one else but the workers. But nothing happened. The civil war feared by the armed forces and threatened by the left—with light-minded arrogance—did not break out.

"There were no revolutionary cadres; the workers were not armed," they told me. It is true, there are no trained militias or military equipment. . . .

"They are ingrates. When the armed forces called on them to cover the country with flags, even in the shantytowns they put up the national colors,' one supporter of the UP said bitterly.

"They were not ingrates. . . .

"If they had fought, they would have had to do so without leaders, without arms, and without a strategy."

Reports from refugees from the massacres in Chile have made clear what the "vigilance" the UP and the CP-controlled unions called for really amounted to and what its results were:

"The UP government had called on the workers to maintain a constant guard on the factories. They did not call for seizing the factories but only guarding them. They meant that the workers should continue working for bosses and even imperialists and that

after doing back-breaking labor all day, carrying out the UP's order to produce more and win 'the battle of production,' they should stay on at night doing guard duty. Obviously this meant that those who did stay were mainly the vanguard. Most of the workers tired of this. So that it was essentially the vanguard that was trapped in the factories when the military launched its attack." (Hugo Blanco, in "Eyewitness Account of Repression in Chile," *Intercontinental Press*, October 8, 1973, p. 1107.)

Another revolutionist now in exile described the situation in the factories



PRATS: Declined invitation to be savior of Allende government.

on the day of the coup in this way: "Then I went into the city. I wanted to find someone with military experience because none of the workers had any and we had no way to fight. I hoped to find somebody to teach us, to tell us what to do, because we were getting no leadership either from the cordones or from any party. We were lost. . . .

"[Later] I went back to the factory and stayed there. None of the comrades could contact any of the leaders of the cordones. So we were really without any direction, without any help. The only communication was with nearby factories." ("Workers Resisted Coup, But Leadership Was Lacking," *Intercontinental Press*, October 22, p. 1193.)

As for Corvalán's "bastions," the

same witness said: "Before [the coup] they [the CP-controlled unions] called on the workers to resist in the factories. And I would say that they share the responsibility for the extermination of the vanguard that was concentrated in the plants. Everybody knew a coup was coming, and we didn't think it was a good idea to try to put up a fight there because we knew that if the military came in they would kill everybody. The workers would be trapped like rats because they had nowhere to run. But the CUT said to resist in the factories and so the vanguard is now dead."

The threats of the Communist party proved empty, and ultimately only played into the hands of the military. In reality, the UP government and the CP, committed to a "gradual transition" to socialism and an alliance with the "progressive" bourgeois forces, declined to take any decisive steps to solve the economic problems that infuriated the petty bourgeoisie. To have done otherwise would have required a sharp break with the capitalist system as such. But the maneuvers designed to deter the right and strengthen the bargaining position of the UP simply helped the reactionaries to portray vacillating and impotent reformists as a menace to the liberties and livelihood of the masses of the petty-bourgeois poor.

Fundamentally, the Communist party did not have a strategy for organizing the masses to take power. Its mobilizing of the workers was designed solely as a pressure tactic within the context of capitalism. It did not organize the workers into a force capable of defeating the bourgeoisie in a head-on confrontation, starting by uniting them in the defense of their rights. Instead it held the workers to purely defensive positions that could be expected not to threaten the bourgeoisie in any fundamental way. In class warfare, as in military tactics, a purely defensive line proves inevitably fatal.

"I would say the crunch had to come," said the eyewitness interviewed in the October 22 *Intercontinental Press*. "It was something nobody could avoid. The class struggle had reached such a pitch that I would say that from their point of view the military had no choice but to act as they did. The people and the workers also realized that a decisive confrontation was inevitable. In the last few mass meet-

ings, such as the one on September 4, they asked Allende to arm them because they saw a coup coming.

"But the reformist parties refused to see this. They blinded themselves to it. They called everybody ultraleft who warned that a crunch was coming.

"The only way the coup could have been prevented was if the proletariat had developed its own power. If it had moved toward this, it would at least have been able to fight the military on something like more equal terms. They could have taken the initiative from the military and not let them pick the time and the place for the fight. At the end, there was no middle ground. Even the military commanders who were against a coup had to withdraw. The class struggle was too sharp. There was no room for negotiating. It was the bourgeoisie or

the workers. The one who struck first would be the victor."

Ultimately the Communist party's negotiating game enabled the most determined section of the Chilean ruling class to weld the entire bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie into a solid bloc. The only real pressure came from the right. There was no organized political pressure from the left that could have split the bourgeoisie by deterring those sectors reluctant to risk civil war.

Thus, it is not possible to separate the tactical questions from the CP's strategic line in assigning responsibility for the defeat of the Chilean workers. Furthermore, the erroneous line of the Chilean CP was supported every step of the way by the Communist party in the neighboring country of Argentina and by its "elder sister" party in the Soviet Union. □

Balaguer Discovers Another 'Conspiracy'

Police Sent Against Dominican Strikers

Heavily armed military and police forces were sent to the northern towns of Moca and Esperanza in the Dominican Republic on October 31 to quell strikes by workers in commercial establishments.

"An undetermined number of persons have been arrested in both towns as a result of disturbances that occurred during the strike," reported the November 1 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario*. "The secretary of labor declared the strikes by commercial establishments illegal by virtue of a law that prohibits paralyzing essential public services, and yesterday the government suggested the possibility that the strikes, which have also affected at least three other towns in the interior, have a conspiratorial aim."

This is not the first time in recent weeks that Balaguer's regime has arbitrarily concocted a "plot," to account for repeated bosses' strike threats by wholesalers and retailers, a general strike that began in the northeastern town of Nagua on October 17, and strike activity in San Francisco de Macoris and other surrounding towns in solidarity with the striking Nagua workers.

On September 27 the military warned that it would crush any attempt to overthrow Balaguer. The notification coincided with progovernment reports that economically powerful ultrarightist sectors dissatisfied with the regime's agrarian reform plans were creating an auspicious climate for Balaguer's overthrow. Then on October 26, in a charge that was subsequently denied, the Association of Commodity Retailers of Santo Domingo was accused in an official communiqué of preparing a coup d'etat.

The strikers' demands include a reduction in the cost of staple goods, a halt to power cuts, and immediate repairs of streets and public buildings. The increasingly popular demand for the release of leftist political prisoners and the repatriation of political exiles has been raised in all the Dominican strikes and is also being promulgated by an opposition electoral bloc.

Within two months of the official opening of the presidential election campaign, the dictatorship is already faced with a potentially menacing opposition whose platform poses the challenge of nationalizing U.S.-owned interests in the inflation-ridden country. □

Luis Vitale Reported Held by Chilean Junta

Among the prominent intellectuals being held incommunicado by the Chilean junta, it has been learned, is the Marxist author Luis Vitale. Vitale was originally reported to be confined in the infamous National Stadium, but it is not known whether he is still there or has been transferred to some other prison.

Vitale, a member of the Fourth International, is the author of a well-known history of Chile, *Interpretación Marxista de la Historia de Chile*. Three of the book's six volumes had been published prior to the September coup.

Vitale holds dual Argentine and Chilean citizenship. He was born in Argentina in 1927 but has lived in Chile for two decades. His wife and daughter are both Chilean citizens.

He has long been active in the Chilean labor movement. In the years 1959-62, Vitale was one of the national leaders of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT—United Federation of Workers). He helped to draft the resolutions presented to the first and

second national congresses of the CUT, particularly those sections dealing with agrarian reform, the problem of imperialism, and industrial development in Chile.

At the time of his arrest, Vitale was professor of history and geography at the University of Concepción.

It is feared that the junta, which has indicated its intention to exterminate all independent thought by mass arrests, censorship, book-burning, and executions, will attempt to punish Vitale because of the wide influence of his published work. It is not known what charges, if any, have been brought against him, nor whether he will have even a token opportunity to defend himself with the aid of a lawyer.

Vitale's friends and supporters in Chile have asked for international support to their demands that organizations such as the Red Cross or Amnesty International be permitted to interview him, to determine the state of his health, and to inform the world of his situation. □

October 24 *People's Korea* reported that more than 100 students of the law and politics college of Konguk University in Seoul staged a rally on October 17 demanding the release of the students arrested by the regime. It also reported a strike by more than 700 women students at Paesong Girls' Commercial Special School demanding more democracy at the school.

"In Taegu, the country's third largest city . . . about 200 students of Kyongbuk National University staged an anti-Government demonstration [on November 5] demanding an end of 'police-state rule' and calling for freedom of speech and of the press," reported the November 6 *New York Times*. The students also demanded that the government reveal the truth about the Kim Dae Jung affair.

After the rally, the students began to march to the provincial government office, but were attacked by riot police, who drove them back to the campus.

The same day in downtown Seoul, a group of fifteen South Korean intellectuals and religious leaders released a statement calling for an end to the Park Chung Hee dictatorship. Eleven of the signers of the statement held an impromptu press conference in the basement of a building. About a dozen Korean reporters attended.

The statement read in part: "The Republic of Korea is now faced with the worst conditions, both internally and externally, because of the present regime's dictatorship and rule by terror, which have brought about the withering of the conscience and daily life of the people and the loss of trust and friendship of foreign countries toward this nation."

Referring to the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping affair, the signers of the statement accused Park of taking "a series of actions which have invited international isolation and greatly damaged the prestige of the nation."

The statement concluded with a call to action: "No one in this nation will idly sit and watch such a catastrophic movement [the suppression of democratic rights and the establishment of a dictatorship]."

"Everyone in the nation must resolve firmly to rise up and struggle for the complete restoration of democracy."

About ten minutes after the press conference began, police broke up the meeting and arrested nine of the signers of the statement. Among those ar-

Dissident Dies After 'Interrogation'

South Korean Students Protest Repression

During the student demonstrations that rocked Seoul National University in October, Chae Yong Kil, a professor at the law school, spoke out in defense of the students and criticized the repressive tactics of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. On October 16, he was arrested by the KCIA on charges of being a leader of "a vast international spy ring under Communist sponsorship." On October 20, the KCIA told reporters, he confessed under "interrogation" and then committed suicide by leaping from a men's room on the seventh floor. The KCIA gave no further details.

Don Oberolof, reporting from Seoul in the November 9 *Washington Post*, explained: "The common theory in Seoul is that Chae died or was

killed while undergoing one of the CIA's sometimes brutal interrogations."

Another professor, from Korea University, was sentenced November 1 to seven years in prison on charges of having been part of the "spy ring" and of "plotting to overthrow" the regime of Park Chung Hee. Sentenced with him were ten of the students who had taken part in the October demonstrations. They were handed prison terms of one to five years for publishing an underground newspaper, organizing a "secret campus club," and taking part in the antigovernment demonstrations.

The response of the students and other dissidents to the continued repression has steadily increased. The

rested were Kim Chi Ha, a well-known poet who had been arrested twice before for his satirical works about the military regime; Chi Hak Soon, the Roman Catholic bishop of Wonju; and Dr. Kim Jae Joon, honorary dean of Hankuk Theological Seminary. Most of those arrested were members of an antigovernment group known as the National Council for the Defense

of Democracy.

On November 8, some 5,000 students at Seoul National University began a boycott of classes. They demanded the release of the student leaders arrested for their participation in the previous demonstrations, the restoration of democracy, and the end to repression of the press and the students. □

dramatic in recent times concerning the application of a concordat that links the church and Spain in an increasingly uncomfortable union." Article 14 of the concordat stipulates that convicted priests who receive prison sentences are to be sequestered in a church building such as a monastery "or, at least, in places different from those intended for lay people," wrote the *Times*.

The Reverend Yon Etxabe Garitacelaya is serving a fifty-year sentence for belonging to a nationalist group that calls for an independent Basque region. The other five Basques were imprisoned in 1968 for staging a hunger strike in the offices of the Bishop of Bilbao in Catalonia. Their prison terms range from ten to nineteen years.

Before the priests set fire to whatever flammable materials they could find in their dormitory—primarily bedding and books—they managed to smuggle a statement out of Zamora, which they described as "a shameful prison, established by the church and the state in favor of their interests and against our deepest convictions," reported the *New York Times* on November 7. They rejected their unique classification, stating that they considered themselves political prisoners "like all the others" and expected to be treated equally. □

Spain

Political Prisoners Face Death Penalty

Three of the 113 Spanish oppositionists arrested October 28 are facing the death penalty, according to reports leaked from Barcelona. The arrests stem from a police raid on a meeting of members of the permanent commission of the Assembly of Catalonia in the parish house of a Roman Catholic church in Barcelona. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 12, p. 1292.) Some of those imprisoned are also reported to have been the victims of harsh brutality.

"It seems that the Spanish authorities are trying to create a blackout of these two affairs for fear of international reactions," wrote the Paris daily *Le Monde* in its November 6 issue. "But the arrest of more than one hundred people, including several well-known intellectuals, has given rise to a big outcry in Barcelona. The Abbey of Montserrat was reported to have expressed his disapproval to the governor of the province."

The three oppositionists who could receive the death penalty are José Luis Llobet, Oriol Sugranyes, and Salvador Antich. Officially they are regarded as common criminals, although there has been no report of their alleged offenses. A committee called Truth for Spanish Revolutionists has stated that the three are actually members of the Iberian Liberation Movement, which has claimed responsibility for several bank robberies.

Of those apprehended at the October 28 meeting only two are known to have been released. They are Roman Catholic priests, who under provisions of the concordat between Spain and the Vatican cannot be imprisoned or prosecuted without the approval of

their bishop.

Their release was thus the result of an interpretation of a concordat that gives the church special privileges in exchange for veto power by the regime over the appointment of bishops.

On November 6 seven Roman Catholic priests, all but one of whom is a Basque nationalist, attempted to burn down Zamora prison in protest against their isolation from other political prisoners in Spain.

The November 7 *New York Times* called the incident "one of the most

Yoshio Seki—a Dedicated Revolutionist

Japanese Trotskyist Leader Dead at 30

Yoshio Seki, a leader of the Japanese Trotskyist movement, died suddenly in Tokyo on July 21. His untimely death is a tragic blow to both the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Japanese section of the Fourth International) and the Fourth International as a whole. Although he was only thirty years old at the time of his death, Seki had already been a member of the Political Bureau of the League for five years.

Seki first joined the Trotskyist movement in 1963, when he was a student at Yamagata University. He quickly developed into a leader of the League and was elected to the political bureau

in 1968, at a time when the Japanese section was beginning to strengthen itself after two years of confusion and decentralization following a split in 1966. Seki played a key role in the rebuilding of the League and took part in the radical student explosions that broke out in 1968 and 1969.

In addition to helping to reorganize the Trotskyist movement in Japan, he also made an important contribution toward internationalizing the section and strengthening its ties with the Fourth International.

In 1970 Seki went to Okinawa and in a space of three years recruited and organized a group of Okinawan

Trotskyists into the Okinawa committee of the Japanese section. His contributions toward the understanding of the Okinawan people's struggle against Japanese and American imperialism will not be forgotten.

In February 1973 Seki returned to Tokyo to become secretary of the Kanto (Tokyo-area) committee. It

was at a meeting of the Kanto committee that he collapsed of a sudden attack of apoplexy.

Yoshio Seki gave ten years of his short life to the building of revolutionary socialism in Japan and will be remembered by all revolutionists as a dedicated fighter. □

teachers union; raise wages and reinstitute payments to the social security fund (to which the government owes money); and end the repression.

"We are supported by the parents, the students, and the entire population, because they feel that our just demands have been ignored by the government. Our movement will continue with demonstrations and other activities. We ask for solidarity from all those unions and professional associations that support our demands."

Colombia

Teachers Strike Against Cutbacks

Since the beginning of the year, teachers in Bogotá, Colombia, have been struggling against government cutbacks in education. Besides firing more than 1,000 teachers and closing many secondary schools, the regime reduced expenditures for education by 800 million pesos (\$33.6 million).

The teachers reacted by holding demonstrations, and on September 5 they began a strike. The government responded by jailing many of the strikers. In Medellín a teacher was killed in one of the confrontations between strikers and the police.

Active in the teachers union are members of the PCC (Partido Comunista de Colombia—Communist party of Colombia) and the MOIR (Movimiento Obrero Independiente y Revolucionario—Independent Revolutionary Workers Movement). Both of these organizations are part of the "National Front of Opposition," which will field a slate of candidates in the coming presidential elections.

As part of an agreement with the government allowing them to participate in the elections the two organizations pledged to maintain "social tranquility." Their efforts to pressure rank-and-file teachers to enter negotiations with the government on its terms are in consonance with that agreement.

In spite of the pressure, rank-and-file teachers have stood firm on their demands. Ismael Beltrán, one of the leaders of the teachers union in Bogotá, made a declaration describing the aims of the teachers.

"The movement that started on September 5," he said, "is still continuing because we have gotten no response from the secretary of education to our demands. The negotiating committee of the teachers union has

raised the following demands:

"Lift Decree 1805 (which creates instability in teaching positions); reinstate the fired teachers with full pay for the past two years; recognize the

Some of the support activities included a one-week hunger strike by the teachers' wives and a demonstration by some 500 of the strikers' children.

Thanks to the tremendous amount of support received from the rest of the population, the teachers union won some of its demands. □

Turn Memorial Services into Political Rally

Students Stage Demonstrations in Athens

Commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the death of the liberal politician George Papandreu was turned into a massive demonstration November 4 that reminded observers of the hectic days of July 1965 when the fate of the monarchy and Greek capitalism hung in the balance.

The action began in Athens at the "first cemetery." The traditional speeches were drowned out by cries from the crowd of several thousand persons that had assembled.

"Very quickly the memorial service became a political demonstration," Marc Marceau reported in the November 6 issue of *Le Monde*. "Thousands of youth and those not so youthful . . . chanted various slogans, shouted angrily at government leaders, and struck up popular songs evoking 'a bright sky after dark clouds' or calling on those in power to 'leave the country, since the country doesn't want you.'"

Especially noticeable were such cries as "Down with Papadopoulos!" "Hang the junta!" and "Stop fascism!"

The appointment of Spyros Markezinis as premier October 1 was not overlooked by the demonstrators. Re-

ferring to Papadopoulos's efforts to construct a democratic facade for his dictatorship, they shouted: "Markezinis, masquerade!" and "Markezinis, clown!"

When the demonstrators marched into the streets they were met by strong police forces. Seventeen were arrested.

On November 8, about 2,000 students marched in the streets, calling for ouster of the government. They shouted, "Down with Papadopoulos!" "We've had enough dictatorship!" and "Free the seventeen!"

The police charged the students, clubs in hand.

When students attempted to enter the heavily guarded courtroom in downtown Athens where the seventeen were on trial, they were dispersed by the police.

Solidarity actions continued at the Athens Polytechnic University. A rally was broken up by the police and more arrests were made.

Le Monde reported that of the original seventeen students, ten had been freed pending a court ruling on the charges placed against them. The others were held under "preventive detention." □

The Students and the New Regime

By Ernest Harsch

"The government of Sanya Dharma-sakdi [Thammasak], promising a permanent constitution in six months, is now racing against time in order to appease the people and put Thailand on the road to peaceful prosperity," reported the November 5 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

Among the concessions made so far are the limited purges of supporters of the old government, the confiscation of property and land holdings left behind by Thanom Kittikachorn and Praphas Charusathien, and the formation of a drafting committee to draw up Thailand's new constitution, which will then be debated in a constitutional convention and put up for a nationwide referendum.

An October 6 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Bangkok also reported that a general amnesty for all political prisoners jailed by the former Thanom regime is being considered. Such an amnesty would include three former members of the Thai parliament who had been arrested after the 1971 military coup for being communists.

The tightrope that the Sanya "caretaker" government is walking is a very shaky one. The military is far from having been rendered powerless, the economic problems afflicting the masses of Thais persist, and the rampant corruption that so angered the students has hardly been dealt with. The new government must make a pretense of tackling these problems to forestall further student mobilizations.

Daniel Southerland, reporting from Bangkok in the November 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, wrote: "The problems which the government faces defy quick and easy solutions. The ouster of the country's military rulers has left much unchanged. Inevitably, some experts say, the students who are now riding high will be in for a letdown and a period of disillusionment.

"As a diplomat here put it, 'How are the kids going to feel when they suddenly realize that the prices are not going to go down just because they got rid of Thanom, Praphas, and Narong?'"

Just three days after being appointed premier, Sanya Thammasak was attacked by one of Bangkok's most prominent editors, M. R. Kukrit Pramoj, in a front-page commentary in *Siam Rath*. Kukrit charged Sanya with showing signs of weakness toward the students when the premier permitted the National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT) to organize routine police functions after the police abandoned the capital in the few days following the upsurge.

Sombat Thamrongthangawong, the general secretary of the NSCT, and Kanok Wongtrangan, his deputy, quickly countered Kukrit's argument by stating that the Thai students had no intention of doing away with the police or of replacing them. The only role they saw for the students was one of liaison between the government and the rest of the population.

Most of the American press coverage of the student upsurge has tended to identify the entire student movement with the comments made by Sombat and the other leaders of the NSCT. Thus the reporters characterized the students as being "tradition oriented," "moderate," and even "conservative."

The Thai student movement, however, is not at all homogeneous. A report in the Japanese English-language *Mainichi Daily News* on October 16 indicated that the NSCT actually lost control of the events that led up to the overthrow of Thanom: "The internal rift between the moderates and the radicals of the student forces is reportedly growing. . . . Because of the growing internal rift, leaders of the National Student Center—a powerful student organization which led the boycott of Japanese merchandise in Thailand in Nov. 1972—can no longer control the student forces."

An analysis of the current situation published in the November 5 *Far Eastern Economic Review* also commented on the differences within the student movement: "In talking with the NSCT leadership today a Westerner is struck not with how radical their approach to authority is but rather how traditional—how conservative.

"There is an imminent possibility—indeed, signs have appeared already—that those anonymous students from the less prestigious institutions (particularly the technical and engineering colleges) who took heavy casualties but were also largely responsible for bringing down the old Government will use their new-found powers to effect other changes."

This more radical sector of the student movement, which is probably quite large (40,000 participated in the burnings of government buildings and the siege of the police headquarters), will be more inclined to hit the streets again if it feels that the new government does not represent its interests. The leadership of the NSCT thus faces problems similar to those challenging the Sanya government in trying to keep the reins on the students. That is not to say that the NSCT will not take initiatives against the new government if it feels that further actions are required. It does, after all, feel the pressures of the masses of students in a much more direct way than does the government.

The increased political activity among the rest of the population can only spur the students on to further action. Signs of political ferment and the reorganization of political groups and parties has already begun, with the general elections scheduled for June 1974.

The October 28 Japanese English-language *Daily Yomiuri* reported: ". . . a new labour party is expected to be set up to contest the next general elections. The advent of a new labour party is apparently the logical consequence of the more than 70 labour disputes between January and August.

"Although a labour party (raeng-ngan) led by Vira Thamon-Liang ran for the general elections in February 1969, none of its candidates won a seat in parliament. However, in view of the recent industrial unrest political observers here predict that leaders of the increasingly political group are sure to be successful in the next elections and be the spokesmen for their colleagues in the forthcoming parliament."

In addition, some of the bourgeois parties, such as the Prachathipat (Democrat) party, have reemerged and are undergoing faction struggles in preparation for the elections.

The renewed activity by the rebels

in the north, the northeast, and the south is another factor that can lead to increased tension between the Sanya government and the more radical students. The November 6 *Mainichi Daily News* reported that "Communist insurgents in the southern provinces have renewed attacks on government authorities.

"They are urging the public to revolt, claiming the present government does not represent the people. . . .

"The insurgents are expected to begin an offensive at the end of the year."

A November 6 United Press International dispatch from Bangkok reported that thirty government soldiers were killed in a clash with rebel forces in the northeast—the highest casualty toll the Thai military has taken so

far in the twelve years of its counter-insurgency activities.

The Pentagon has sent an average of \$70 million in military aid to the Thai military every year, much of it going toward counterinsurgency operations against guerrillas. The extent of this aid, plus the presence of the U.S. air bases in Thailand, is a question that the student movement has attacked in the past and can be expected to attack again.

One American official told the *Daily Yomiuri*: "Right now the students and the new government are too busy getting themselves organized to think about foreign policy. But I'd say that in a month or so, as the government gears up for the promised elections, the students are going to turn their attention to the troop issue." □

January.

Fox Butterfield, in a dispatch from Saigon to the October 1 *New York Times*, noted: "Mr. Thieu has ignored the unattractive provisions of the accord. He has kept the Communist delegates to the Joint Military Commission, who are supposed to have diplomatic privileges, under close guard inside Tan Son Nhut air base. He has continued to hold most political prisoners, who were to be freed, and he has blocked all calls to establish the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, envisioned by the agreement as leading to a coalition government."

In an October 4 letter to the *New York Times*, the well-known historian Gabriel Kolko described the Pentagon's backing of Thieu's attacks on the liberated areas. He pointed out that Washington's military aid to Saigon "is sufficient for the Saigon forces to procure and use about 8,000 tons of munitions monthly—as all reports suggest they have done. . . .

"The Administration is not only financing the Thieu regime's flagrant violations of the January accords with its lavish supply of munitions, but it has also literally choked Saigon with advanced materiel it cannot maintain or even use, axiomatically requiring the indefinite perpetuation of American 'civilian advisers' who today greatly exceed the 7,200 men the Pentagon last March admitted were already in South Vietnam."

Newsweek reported on November 12: "*Newsweek's* Saigon correspondent Ron Moreau and Pentagon correspondent Lloyd Norman were both turned down cold last week in efforts to determine through official channels what the U.S. has given the Thieu government since the cease-fire, but Moreau reported that the South Vietnamese arsenal is chock-full. The Viet Cong recently charged that the United States has shipped 500 additional planes, 600 tanks, 200 gunships and other naval vessels, 150,000 tons of bombs and 200,000 tons of artillery shells to Saigon since January."

In a press conference on October 27, Colonel Vo Dong Giang, a PRG spokesman, charged that Washington had left nearly 20,000 military personnel in Vietnam in civilian guise to oversee combat operations by Saigon troops, thus violating the cease-fire agreement. He produced documentation outlining exact figures and spe-

Washington Supplying Saigon's Arsenal

Thieu Escalates 'Land Grabbing' Operations

According to the Saigon clique, nearly 50,000 people have been killed in southern Vietnam since the Paris accords were signed last January. During the last week of October, armed clashes have taken on a broader scope than any since the signing of the cease-fire, raising again the possibility of a major outbreak of the war.

Saigon President Thieu has claimed in a television speech October 31 that North Vietnam is preparing a major new offensive, having brought some 300,000 troops into South Vietnam. Pentagon sources reported last month that about 70,000 North Vietnamese troops have been infiltrated into the south in the past nine months in an operation that has continued unabated since the cease-fire. Even this latter charge may contain enough distortion to suggest that the allegations are in fact aimed at preparing the political basis for a Saigon-Washington military escalation. "According to informants in Saigon," wrote David Binder in the October 25 *New York Times*, "the bulk of the 70,000 troops was infiltrated in the period immediately after January, when there were said to be about 200,000 North Vietnamese troops in place in South Vietnam."

The November 12 *Newsweek*, com-

paring reports of both Hanoi's and Saigon's military buildup, said, "Some observers feel the Nixon Administration is using the specter of an imminent Communist offensive in South Vietnam as part of its effort to pry out of a reluctant Congress an additional \$200 million in military aid for Cambodia."

The Saigon regime, for its part, is using the prospect of a possible offensive as a cover for its own "pre-emptive" attacks on the liberation forces. Speaking before the graduation ceremonies of the Thu Duc Infantry School on October 20, Thieu said, "We must have timely actions to prevent the enemy from carrying out a new offensive like the offensive of March last year."

Most of the fighting in the Saigon area, reported the October 21 *New York Times*, has been initiated by Thieu's commanders. The Provisional Revolutionary Government announced on November 6 that the shelling of Bien Hoa air base that day was in retaliation for the frequent bombing sorties by Saigon against territory held by the liberation forces from the time of the cease-fire. The PRG has also accused the Saigon regime of committing 240,000 violations of the cease-fire accords since

cific instances.

The PRG has also revealed that Saigon has launched major "land-grabbing operations" in the Central Highlands and in the Mekong Delta.

Facing severe economic problems at home—prices have risen in South Vietnam by 55 percent since the beginning of the year—and sensing that Nixon, his major supporter, might not be around much longer, Thieu has moved to make the greatest gains possible while the Pentagon is still in position to resupply his forces on a grand scale.

The land-grabbing operations at Ban Me Thuot are illustrative of the process going on. James M. Markham reported in the October 13 *New York Times* on the situation there: "In Ban Me Thuot—the overgrown 'village of Thuot's Father'—land is a principal concern, for the montagnards of the Central Highlands are afraid they are losing theirs, slowly, ineluctably, to the thrusting lowland Vietnamese. In the name of economic development, decrees enacted in Saigon have given outsiders, who somehow tend to be big businessmen, high-ranking civil servants and officers like Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, rights to 'virgin' land.

"In fact, the newcomers frequently encroach on choicer parcels owned by the simple hill people, who leave vast stretches temptingly fallow as they practice their ancient system or rotating cultivation.

"Already there have been clashes—with grenades and boobytraps planted on fence posts and banana trees—and some officials fear widespread bloodshed if the poaching continues." □

Animal Census

The Taipei *Free China Weekly*, which several months ago reported that life in Peking is "dull and bleak" because of a lack of dogs and cats, has now discovered that the Maoist regime has made things even worse than first suspected. Chiang's propaganda sheet reported in its October 21 issue:

"In an article on the Chinese mainland, the September 17 issue of the Philadelphia *Inquirer* said cats and dogs had vanished from Peiping [sic], birds could not be seen flying and no twitter was heard.

"This dead silence, we must add, is characteristic of the whole mainland. It should be noted furthermore that also largely absent from life under the Chinese Communists are voices and laughters."

When Chiang ruled, on the other hand, people were allowed to twitter whenever they pleased.

Plan 'Withdraw British Troops' Campaign

[The following article is reprinted from the November 2 *Red Weekly*, paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

"It has been British policies, from the days of Strongbow to the present day, which have been the cause of so much bloodshed in Ireland." So spoke Pat Arrowsmith, well-known British pacifist who has been arrested twice in the recent period for campaigning against the British army's presence in Ireland.

Speaking at a meeting in the Fulham Town Hall organised by the West London Troops Out Committee, she said it was shameful that, despite the intense repression carried out by the army in the north of Ireland, neither the TUC [Trades Union Congress], the Labour party nor the Communist party had taken a clear stand in the interests of the working class in Ireland by demanding the withdrawal of British troops.

Jim Kemp, TGWU [Transport and General Workers Union] convenor and member of the International Marxist Group, spoke of the links between the repression in Ireland and the increased denial of civil liberties. Northern Ireland, he said, was a workshop of repressive techniques which would one day be used against the working class movement in this country.

The Stoke Newington 8, the Belfast 10, the Shrewsbury 24, the use of the Special Patrol Group against pickets, and dawn police raids on innocent victims were all warnings of what is to come. Trial by

jury was done away with in Ireland, he said, because Irishmen couldn't be relied upon to convict fellow Irishmen. In the future the argument will be that trade unionists cannot be relied on to convict fellow trade unionists.

The meeting was also addressed by James Wellbeloved of the Labour party. The greatest stumbling block, he said, on the road to peace and unity in Ireland was the belief that Britain had some right to be there. The Constitution Act, he said, was a fraud and didn't have a chance in hell of solving the problems of Ireland.

Speakers from the floor were very critical of the Labour party, which sent troops into Ireland in 1969 and now works in complete harmony with the Tory government.

All the speakers agreed on the need to fight inside the British working class movement to raise the demand for an immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

At a meeting in London on Tuesday [October 30] an adhoc committee of delegates from British socialist and working class organisations was set up to prepare a demonstration and rally for the first weekend in December. The demands of the demonstration will be for the immediate withdrawal of British troops and the recognition of the right of self-determination for Ireland. In the coming weeks support must be mobilised throughout the labour and student movement for the December demonstration. This will be the first step towards a big campaign inside the working class movement for a British withdrawal from Ireland. □

Government Calls Out Troops

Britain's First Firemen's Strike

By Donald Waterson

Glasgow

By an overwhelming majority the Glasgow firemen decided October 24 to strike after being refused an extra-duty payment of £5 per week. This was the first time in British history that firemen have gone on strike.

In answer to the plea "What about the lives of the people in Glasgow?" the reply was "Take a trip to the necropolis and see for yourself how many firemen have been killed recently. What are the Tories prepared to do about the undermanning of the brigade, which leads to the fireman's

job being even more dangerous than before? Have the Tories a conscience for the lives of the firemen? No!"

The firemen said: "Enough is enough! We are sorry to endanger the lives of our own class, but the responsibility lies at the government's feet. In order to attain the standard of living that other workers are struggling for we are forced to take this action. Please understand us and put the blame where it is deserved: on the Tories!"

The vast majority of working people understood this reasoning and backed

the firemen to the hilt.

Nationally, firemen's wages are low. Overtime is compulsory, so that they work a 56-hour week, far more than the average in British industry. On top of this they have to work a two-shift system and extra overtime to compensate for understaffing. The Glasgow firemen have been offered a rise of £2.48, but they have adamantly refused this pittance.

After a series of disastrous fires in which eight Glasgow firemen were killed, the firemen decided to take a stand. The October 27 *Glasgow Herald* recorded that "last year Glasgow firemen answered an average 42 calls every day. Eight of their members died on duty in a total fire-death toll of 46."

The firemen have made it plain that the responsibility for these deaths rests squarely on the shoulders of the government, who have refused to provide adequate wages and conditions, so that recruitment has fallen below its required level. It is a fact that there are only 660 firemen in the Glasgow Fire Service, when there should be 900.

After being offered the miserly £2.48, the maximum allowed under Phase II of the Tories' incomes policy, the firemen refused to work overtime and began a work-to-rule action. But the Glasgow Corporation refused to make any concessions. The Labour party, which has control of the corporation and is responsible for the negotiations with the firemen, is on record as opposing the Tories' statutory wage controls. But it has refused to meet the demands of the firemen.

Both the Labour party leaders in Glasgow and the national executive of the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) have condemned the firemen for taking action. At all times, these bureaucrats have played the role of mediators between the Tories and the strikers, in the last analysis coming down on the side of the Tories. According to the October 17 *Financial Times*, Terry Parry, general secretary of the FBU, said: "Our last words to them [the local union representatives in Glasgow] were 'Whoever runs a strike in Glasgow fire brigade, it won't be the Fire Brigades Union.'" He added: "There will be no funds or support by word, deed or action by the union for a strike in Glasgow."

On October 24, without any further offers being given to the firemen, they

held a mass meeting. The vote went in favor of a strike by 485 to 10. The *Scottish Daily Express* reflected the views of conservative opinion in an October 27 editorial: "Glasgow firemen continue their unofficial strike and saddle themselves with a fearful gamble. Their claim for more money is a sound one and everyone knows that they now mean business."

"Local knowledge of terrain is vital. So is a decision by the firemen. You have made your gesture; now go back to work."

The FBU responded to the strike decision by firing all of its Glasgow officials. "Late last night," the October 25 *Scottish Daily Express* reported, "all the local union officials were sacked by the Fire Brigades Union for going against union policy. And as the stoppage is unofficial, the firemen will not get strike pay."

"The union general secretary, Mr. Terry Parry, said in Glasgow there was no question of supporting the strike. He added: 'We oppose it.'"

But the firemen's determination was not shaken. The October 27 issue of the *Glasgow Herald* described a mass meeting held by the strikers the previous day: "At 11 a.m. only two of the 549 firemen who attended a strike meeting at Patrick Burgh Hall wore their uniforms. Somehow that seemed ominous."

"Picketing banners decorated the platform. One man paraded the hall with a placard that depicted Enoch Humphries, the union president, hanging limp from a noose. He won applause of operatic enthusiasm. The arrival of the strike committee received a standing ovation."

On October 25 a press conference was held in Glasgow by the under-secretary of state, Alick Buchanan-Smith. The conference had been preceded by discussions between the Tory minister and the FBU leaders, including FBU President Enoch Humphries. Flanked by the Labour Lord Provost of Glasgow the Reverend Geoffrey Shaw, Buchanan-Smith announced that troops would be brought into Glasgow against the firemen.

The October 27 *Glasgow Herald* reported: "During the night more than 500 men of the three armed forces had driven into the city to form an emergency force of fire fighters."

As the troops were moved into Glasgow's 16 firestations, pickets were

posted by the strikers. Enthusiastic firemen came from their homes all over the city to stand in the cold, dark autumn morning outside the fire stations. It has been said that, to make sure the troops would not enjoy any of their comforts while they were strikebreaking, the firemen removed all the recreational facilities.

The *Glasgow Herald* described the picketing outside the fire stations. "The 8 a.m. scenes outside fire-brigades headquarters took place in darkness as the city made its way to work. Pickets at the station carried placards. One had a sketch of a fireman with the message: 'How much is this man worth to Glasgow?' Another: 'Public sympathy, oh so good, but it does not buy our children's food.'"

Firemen from all over the country have sent telegrams of support to the Glasgow firemen. While the trade-union bureaucracy was piling on the pressure against their struggle, the Glasgow firemen were receiving financial and moral support from an ever increasing number of firemen and other trade unionists.

The bureaucrats tried to prevent the strike from reaching bigger proportions by holding a recall delegate conference of the FBU in London. The bureaucrats' aim was to win support from the more backward sections of the FBU by holding out the hope of an improved pay offer for all firemen next year after negotiations with the government.

But a large and militant contingent of firemen from union branches throughout the country were not fooled by this gesture, though the vote went 20,000 to 12,000 in favor of the Glasgow firemen returning to work and accepting the Glasgow Corporation's pay offer.

The October 30 *Manchester Guardian* described the scene at the conference: "The 660 Glasgow firemen were told yesterday by their union to call off their strike, accept the settlement which had been offered by Glasgow Corporation and return to work."

"The decision, which was reached after a bitter five-hour discussion by 250 delegates from the Fire Brigades Union, was greeted with jeers and boos by a strong contingent of firemen, mainly from London and Glasgow. Mr. Terry Parry, the union's general secretary, surrounded by a cluster of police, was jostled and heckled by a crowd of firemen who

pursued him through several London backstreets before he managed to get into a taxi.

"Mr. James Flockhurt, chairman of the Glasgow firemen's strike committee, reacted to the decision by saying that the executive had 'kicked the Glasgow firemen in the teeth.' The strike would go on, there would be no recommendation to go back to

work, and the Glasgow men might even break away from the union."

However, at a mass meeting November 5, the Glasgow firemen voted to return to work after being offered more than £5 per week. The firemen have indicated that if the government refuses to allow the increase under Phase III regulations, they will strike again. □

Imply That Peking Is More at Fault

Hanoi, Havana Deplore Sino-Soviet Rift

By Dick Fidler

In three editorials published October 23-25, the Hanoi daily *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* criticized Peking's and Moscow's inability to close ranks against American imperialism. As reported by Agence France Presse, the official newspaper of the North Vietnamese armed forces deplored the blindness of those who tend to forget that "American imperialism remains the Number One enemy of all peoples."

"The objective of the world counter-revolutionary strategy remains the division of the socialist countries," the first in the series of editorials said. And Nixon, through his doctrine of the "multipolarization" of the world, has sought to "exploit to the maximum the contradictions between the Soviet Union and China."

The "socialist camp," said the editorial, is the bastion of world revolution and support for the national liberation and workers movements. That is why imperialism seeks to destroy the socialist camp.

Nixon's theory of "multipolarization," according to *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, is based on the view that the only powers that count are the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and Western Europe. The Nixon doctrine of good relations between countries with different ideological and economic systems is "a rehash of the theory of class collaboration, a rusty weapon used by capitalism for a century and so often refuted by Marxism-Leninism."

The October 23 editorial imagined a conversation between Nixon and Kissinger running along the follow-

ing lines:

"The clique reasons this way: Multipolarization is a strategic means of weakening the adversary and barring the road to revolutionaries, and it thus permits us to establish a new balance and strengthen ourselves.

"The more this venom is spread, the more it creates confusion because it tends to eliminate the demarcation line between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp."

In what Agence France Presse considered a kind of warning to both Moscow and Peking, *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* said that by using this strategy U.S. imperialism might succeed in breaking "the offensive axis of the revolution."

The newspaper stressed that the activities of Nixon and Kissinger were aimed at "pitting the Soviet Union and China against each other while uniting, as much as possible, the other imperialisms under the new Atlantic charter which already groups the United States, Britain, France and West Germany under Washington's leadership."

It added that while it had suffered a setback in Indochina, Washington had not abandoned its strategic position in the region. U.S. B-52 bombers remain in Thailand, and a "neocolonialist regime" has been installed in Saigon.

The editorial in the October 25 issue of the Hanoi newspaper stated that by calling on Japan to join the new Atlantic charter, Washington has a double aim: to get Japan to plunge Europe into an economic crisis, and

to get Western Europe to plunge Japan into a similar crisis, while linking Japan to NATO in a military alliance.

"Thus, the encirclement of the entire socialist camp is taking shape," the paper said.

This is the first time that the North Vietnamese press has referred openly to the "contradictions" between Peking and Moscow, according to Agence France Presse.

Earlier, however, in a joint declaration issued at the conclusion of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's five-day visit to Vietnam in September, representatives of the Cuban Communist party and the Workers party of Vietnam, speaking also for their respective governments, referred indirectly to the Sino-Soviet dispute.

"Both parties feel that regaining and strengthening solidarity among socialist countries and in the international communist and workers' movement—based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism—consolidating the alliance between the socialist system and the forces that struggle for national independence, and strengthening and enlarging the people's front against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism is especially important in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Workers Party of Vietnam and the Communist Party of Cuba will increase their contribution to that international solidarity."

The joint statement also warned that imperialism had not lost its aggressive character. "... the imperialists headed by Yankee imperialism are not yet resigned to their defeat; they are trying to oppose the socialist camp and the non-aligned nations, to contain and crush the national liberation movements and the movement of the working class and to oppose the struggle for peace by the peoples of the world. Thus, it is indispensable for the peoples to increase their solidarity, remain alert and redouble their efforts in the struggle against them."

In their call for a "people's front against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism" the North Vietnamese and Cuban leaderships reflect the pressures on their two countries, which have been major targets in the counter-revolutionary offensive mounted by U.S. imperialism. Washington's détente with Moscow and Peking has not been extended to include Havana,

even in the form of diplomatic recognition. And the recurring attacks by Thieu's puppet forces in South Vietnam against the areas held by the Provisional Revolutionary Government pose the constant threat that Washington will resume its murderous terror-bombing of North Vietnam.

The rift between China and the Soviet Union provides a big opening for imperialism, which Nixon has utilized to step up these pressures.

In recent months the Soviet and Chinese leaderships have intensified their attacks on each other. During August the Soviet party newspaper *Pravda* published two commentaries by I. Aleksandrov, a pseudonym used for articles expressing the views of the Politburo, accusing Peking of a "complete breakaway from Marxism-Leninism and departure from the common policy of the socialist countries." The articles repeated an offer by Soviet party chairman Leonid Brezhnev to normalize relations with China on the basis of "peaceful coexistence"—the language normally reserved for relations with countries outside the "Socialist bloc."

The first of the two commentaries, published August 7, stated that "the Peking leadership acts literally in every respect as a force that is hostile to the policy and interests of the socialist world and ever more frequently turns into a direct ally of the most reactionary imperialist circles." The second commentary, on August 26, accused China of pursuing a policy that favored the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Common Market, and opposed improved relations between Western Europe and the Warsaw Pact countries.

"Expanding ties with bourgeois parties, the Chinese leaders let it be understood overtly or covertly that they are ready to cooperate in the fight against Communists," it warned.

Peking, for its part, has continued its attacks on Brezhnev and his team as "fascists." In his report to the Tenth Congress of the Chinese CP on August 24, Premier Chou En-lai hailed the improvement of relations between Peking and Washington, but poured scorn on the Soviet "revisionist ruling clique," who, he said, had "made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country."

In this context, the statements by Cuba and North Vietnam have been

interpreted as evidence of a third or "middle" position in the dispute. Commenting on the October 23-25 editorials in *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, Agence France Presse stated that "the moral of this analysis . . . is that both the USSR and China are adopting opportunistic policies and neglecting principles of proletarian internation-



FIDEL CASTRO

alism at a moment when the capitalist world is dividing into three parts [the U.S., Western Europe and Japan]."

But while Moscow's attacks on Peking are frequently couched in appeals for "unity of the socialist camp," China's rulers have not pressed, even verbally, for a united front of the workers states against U.S. and world imperialism.

Thus, in emphasizing the aggressive nature of imperialism and the need for unity to fight it, the Cuban and North Vietnamese statements are not inconsistent with Moscow's stance.

The impression that the "neutrality" of North Vietnam and Cuba leans toward Moscow was strengthened by Fidel Castro's speech on September 7 at the Algiers conference of non-aligned nations, just prior to his visit to Vietnam. The speech would seem to indicate that however critical the

Cuban leaders are of the division in the "socialist camp," they have no intention of risking a public disagreement with Moscow.

Without naming Peking, Castro forcefully denounced "the theory of 'two imperialisms,' one headed by the United States and the other allegedly by the Soviet Union." Such a theory, he said, is "encouraged by the theoreticians of capitalism," and is "fostered . . . by those who regrettably betray the cause of internationalism from supposedly revolutionary positions."

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba will always oppose that current in all circumstances," he said.

The Cuban leader stated that "to our way of thinking, the world is divided into capitalist and socialist countries, imperialist and neocolonialized countries, colonialist and colonialized countries, reactionary and progressive countries—governments, in a word, that back imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism, and governments that oppose imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism."

Castro then paid the highest and most uncritical praise to Moscow's policies toward liberation struggles around the world.

"Not for a moment can we forget that the guns with which Cuba crushed the Playa Girón mercenaries and defended itself from the United States; the arms in the hands of the Arab peoples, with which they withstand imperialist aggression; those used by the African patriots against Portuguese colonialism; and those taken up by the Vietnamese in their heroic, extraordinary and victorious struggle came from the socialist countries, especially from the Soviet Union."

"Any attempt to pit the nonaligned countries against the socialist camp," Castro declared, "is profoundly counterrevolutionary and benefits only imperialist interests. Inventing a false enemy can have only one aim, to evade the real enemy."

The Cuban leader's speech was praised by the Kremlin in the November issue of the semiofficial foreign affairs review *International Life*. In an article analyzing the Algiers conference, the magazine hailed the "fiery speech" by Castro, saying it had successfully shattered the false theories planted by the Chinese. □