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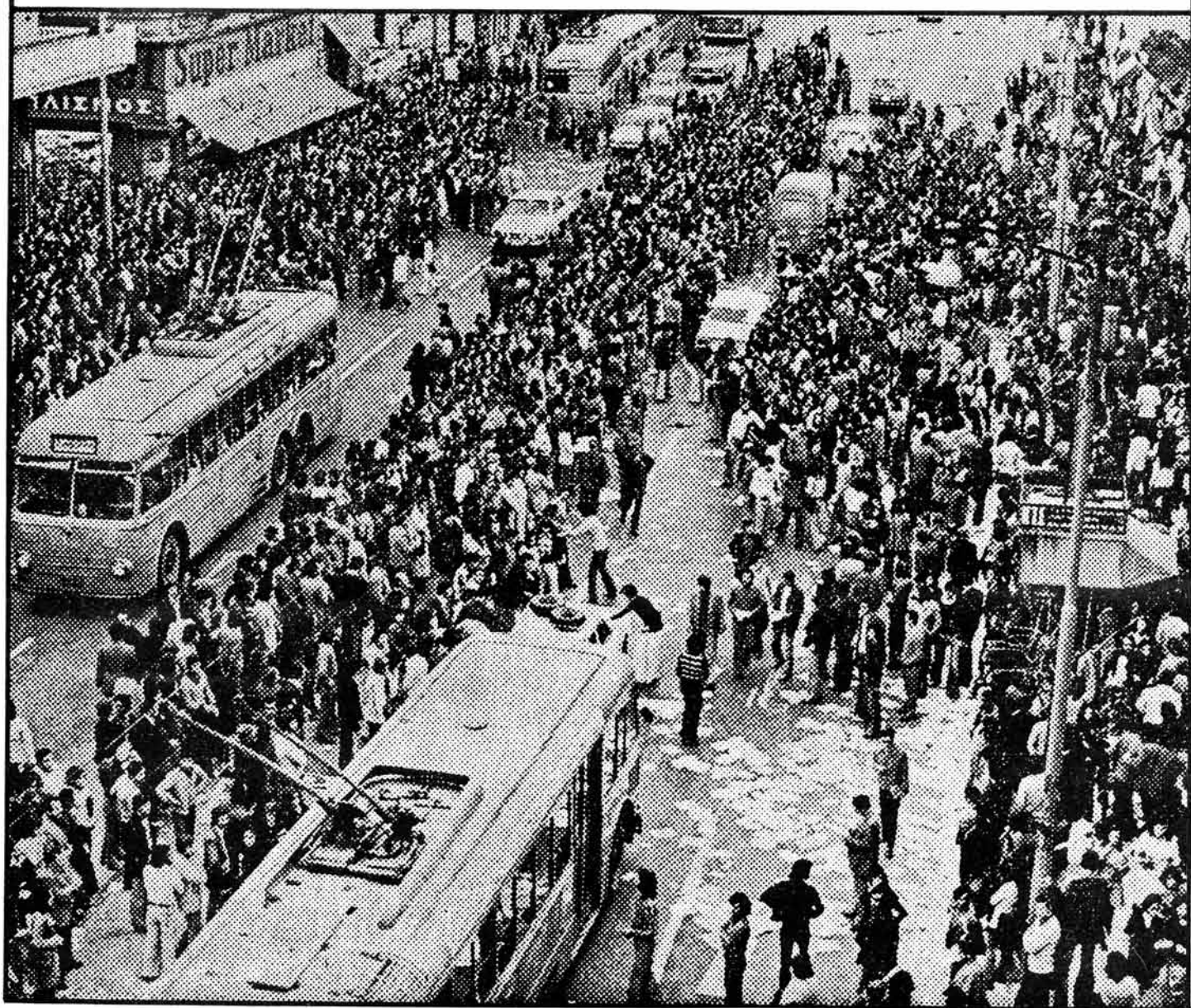
Vol. 11, No. 42

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November 26, 1973

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Mass Demonstrations Shake Greek Dictatorship



Witch-Hunt in Mexico

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has reported a new wave of repression in Mexico. Twenty-five members of the Revolutionary Action Movement (MAR—Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria) stated to the press that they had been tortured. They are being held in the notorious Lecumberri Prison, where many of the prisoners of the 1968 student movement were held. A bail of 100,000 pesos (about US\$8,000) each was set for nine of them; none has yet been able to raise it.

The twenty-five were arrested on October 5. They were charged with conspiracy, bearing illegal arms, and hoarding arms and explosives. They gave their initial statements on October 29 before the reactionary Judge Ferrer McGreger. They are being defended by the civil libertarians Carlos Fernández del Real and José Rojo Coronado.

Among the prisoners are José Antonio Castillo Vilorio, who was a leader of the student movement in Oaxaca in 1970, and his wife. He is accused of being the "contact" between the MAR and other direct-action groups.

The government also claimed that members of MAR had been trained in North Korea and that they have been carrying out operations in seven states.

A number of other new cases of political repression—in addition to the several hundred political prisoners already scattered throughout the states of Mexico—have come to USLA's attention. Five men were arrested in the state of San Luis Potosí and accused of kidnapping an American cattleman, Albert Dolpher. Four others were arrested in Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon. A hunt is going on in Guadalupe for seventeen activists allegedly involved in another kidnapping.

This campaign against the left is partially a result of the pressure being put on President Echeverría by the Mexican right. Another result of this intense pressure is Echeverría's refusal to grant asylum to any of the non-Chilean refugees from the coup in Chile. □

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

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

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

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

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Mass Demonstrations Shake Greek Dictatorship

By Gerry Foley

After several months of trying to defuse popular opposition by concessions, the slightly renovated Greek military dictatorship reimposed martial law and full press censorship November 17 in an attempt to halt spreading mass demonstrations headed by students and workers calling for the overthrow of the regime.

In violent clashes with the police November 16, five persons were reported killed and 203 hospitalized with serious injuries, including thirty-five police.

"After midnight, army tanks and armored personnel carriers were called in to dislodge students and workers barricaded in the Athens Polytechnic University," Mario Modiano cabled to the *New York Times* November 17 from Athens. "They succeeded and returned to their bases outside the city. However, the police were unable to deal with fresh demonstrations later in the day and at least 40 tanks and personnel carriers were ordered back into Athens.

"The tanks fired volleys of machine-gun blanks as crowds of demonstrators dispersed and regrouped in different areas of the city."

The junta claimed that in the course of the fighting, 2,000 demonstrators tried to storm the government telecommunications center.

"Hit-and-run demonstrations spread through the city and bursts of fire from tank cannons and machine guns, together with repeated pistol shots, created an atmosphere of civil war," Modiano reported. "The number of ambulances on the streets suggested that today's casualties could run into the hundreds."

Tension mounted as the head of the junta, George Papadopoulos, announced the reimposition of martial law from the state telecommunications center. Machine-gun fire was audible in the background.

"Not until 1 P.M. today, when martial law and a curfew were announced, did the tenor of life perceptibly change," *New York Times* correspondent

Nicholas Gage reported November 17. "Quickly the few stores remaining open were sold out of such staples as bread, eggs and milk. Customers lined up outside stores and pleaded to get in to buy food before the curfew went into effect at 4 P.M."

The upsurge of opposition to the dictatorship began November 4 with



PAPADOPOULOS: Reinstates martial law after mass demonstrations.

demonstrations at a memorial for the last constitutional premier, George Papandreou. The demonstrations escalated sharply when the students occupied the Athens Polytechnic Institute November 13 to press demands for democracy in education. Very quickly the area around the institute, in the heart of the Greek capital, became the focus of swelling antigovernment demonstrations.

"Until late last night, the area around the Athens Polytechnic rang with political slogans shouted by about 4,000 students in the first militant student rally in seven years that has not been broken up by the police," Kostas Chardavellis wrote in the November 15 issue of the Athens daily *Apogevmatini*.

"New slogans were heard in the rally last night, aimed directly at the president of the republic and the premier.

Among them were 'The people don't want you'; 'The people are hungry and they will soon eat you up . . .'; 'Bread, education, freedom'; 'Peasants, workers, students'; 'The people starve while the capitalists feast'; 'Americans out'; 'Allende lives.'"

At about 1:00 p.m., according to the November 15 *Apogevmatini*, units of police began moving in. By 5:00 p.m. the students were surrounded and began throwing razor-blade-studded oranges at the cops. But instead of attacking, as they once were quick to do even before the dictatorship was established, the police negotiated.

State Prosecutor Christoulakas appealed to the demonstrators:

"I give you my word that no one will be arrested if you disperse. Do not throw away the goodwill you have won. Yesterday the courts released your comrades [the students arrested in the November 4 clashes]. It is only five years since I left the lecture room. I feel a great sympathy with you as I watch you. I hear that there are some law students among you. They must set the example by dispersing. I beg you; I do not want to order the police to go in."

The students told Christoulakas that they would only agree to disperse if the police were pulled out of the area entirely. He complied and, according to *Apogevmatini*, "not a policeman remained." Once the cops were withdrawn, the students filled the avenue and streets. "They came from other schools as well and finally filled all of the Patisi Road from Sturnara to Musiu, leaving only a thin strip for automobiles.

"Around 9:00 in the evening, the number of demonstrators had reached about 8,000. They stopped a lot of trolleys and wrote on their sides in black paint slogans like 'Down with the junta,' and 'The tyrant will die.'"

"At about 2:00 a.m. the students occupied the entire Polytechnic Institute. They blocked all entrances to the institution, and reinforced the iron

gates of the campus with steel bars and wood.

"They hung out a placard with various slogans and posted guards at all the entrances.

"Reports from the Polytechnic say the students who have barricaded themselves intend to continue the occupation today, and they have organized the supply of food and have armed themselves with iron bars and clubs made from broken-up furniture.

"The students have also set up a radio station and all night long they broadcast slogans and played music by [the banned composer] Theodorakis."

A favorite slogan of the students, *Apogevmatini* said, was "Thailand."

The example of the Thai students who overthrew their right-wing pro-American military dictatorship was evidently well noted by the students in Greece.

The students' demands seemed modest, involving only democratic rights. The list given in the November 15 *To Vima* included the establishment of a climate of freedom on the campuses, the right to elect representatives to the student councils, abolition of the law on drafting students into the army, abolition of the secret-police unit assigned to the universities, more spending on education and less on the military. But they were clearly tied to a perspective of democratizing the society.

On November 15, students occupied the university in Patras, in support of their Athenian comrades. Their statement was quoted at length in the November 16 *To Vima*:

"We have declared our school a free university to press our demand for 'a free educational system in a free society.' At the same time we are demonstrating our solidarity with the students struggling throughout Greece and all the fighters in the schools of our country. An inseparable part of the popular movement, the student movement extends its hand to the Greek people for a common struggle for freedom, progress, and social justice."

On November 14, the day before, the students at the Polytechnic School at the University of Salonika held a rally to protest the three-month suspension of four of their comrades and elected a committee of four to arrange

coordination with the other student protests.

In an interview in the November 15 *To Vima*, an Athens student leader stressed the breadth of the movement:

"Everybody is included, rightists, centrists, leftists, Maoists, Trotskyists, and anarchists."

Another student leader explained to a German radio reporter how much the movement has developed since its first demonstrations last February and how it is prepared for anything the dictatorship might do:

"We don't intend to stay here more than two or three nights. Our aim is to publicize our demands, which are political. We want the ouster of the government, which took power arbitrarily. If the police break in, we will defend ourselves with everything we have, and we have a good bit of experience now. A committee of two or three students from each school makes all the decisions. . . . We have the help of the people, who are supplying us with food and cigarettes. The police have already tried to cut us off from the outside world, but we will not bow to methods like that; we will continue our struggle."

The protests against the dictatorship mounted rapidly after the November 4 demonstrations, when the Greek press was shocked by the first open defiance of the military rulers.

"The crowd began to sing the Cretan Resistance song 'When Gray Skies Are Clear Again' and also Mikos Theodorakis's song 'Raise the Sign of Victory and Clenched Fists.'"

"The crowd began to shout: 'Freedom', 'Down with the [junta's reactionary] constitution,' 'Death to the tyrants,' 'Six years is enough, there will not be a seventh,' and the anti-monarchical slogan of the 1965 demonstrations:

'The People don't want you, push the nabob out of the way and let us go forward.'

"Most impressive was hearing the crowd shout for the first time, 'Down with Papadopoulos!' (November 15 *Apogevmatini*.)

Less than two weeks after the November 4 demonstrations, the students were broadcasting appeals to the population of the Greek capital to rise up against the dictatorship.

A little before midnight on November 15, reported *To Vima* the next

day, the committee chosen by the students in the Polytechnic Institute issued the following appeal:

"We call for a general strike throughout the country, for the people to fill the streets, determined to bring down the junta."

Since the junta had lifted its censorship, these appeals were extensively publicized in the papers. Thus, their reimposing strict controls could prove to be a desperate move to head off a rebellion that could quickly become irresistible, since the government has little popular support and still rests essentially on the repressive apparatus.

The effect of the latest crackdown is still unknown, but in the whole period leading up to the student rebellion, the junta appeared incapable of restoring the iron-fisted rule of its early years.

After infuriating the students by the brutal reprisals against the November 4 demonstrators, the government boosted their confidence by retreating and releasing seventeen persons arrested in those clashes. In fact, in its clumsy attempts to combine brutality and concessions, the regime seemed to be losing its balance. The dictatorship's isolation is underscored by the statements of the rightist former premier Panayotis Canellopoulos, who supported the students not only after November 4 but even after the November 15 appeals for overthrowing the government.

After the Papandreou memorial demonstrations, Canellopoulos said: "A breath of democracy in Syntagma Square will not hurt Greece but only the enemies of democracy."

Thus, it seems, virtually no political force in Greece places any confidence in a "liberalization" under the present regime, and the vast majority, including the bourgeoisie, are determined to dump "those Mickey Mouse colonels," as Melina Mercouri once called them. An important section of the U.S. ruling class also seems to see the need for this.

In a November 17 editorial, the *New York Times* called for a political solution that implied ousting the colonels:

"Colonel Papadopoulos is on his tightest spot since he vaulted to power. If he orders the revolt crushed at whatever cost, he will further undermine

Mr. Markezinis [the new civilian chief of state], who was confident he could pacify the campuses. Even if the revolt should simmer down, it is difficult to see how Mr. Markezinis can proceed in the present circumstances to organize free elections and restore a limited parliamentary life.

"When asked, before he took office, what he would do if obstructed by Colonel Papadopoulos, Mr. Markezinis declared: 'I have only one weapon, but it is big: my resignation.' The

time for using that big weapon may be at hand."

Judging from reports of militant workers joining in the demonstrations, the time may be short. Once the masses of the workers and the poor, who have been terrorized and plundered for six years by an obscurantist jackboot regime of piratical capitalists and U.S.-trained military goons, go into motion, it will be hard for the bourgeoisie to find a political solution that could stabilize the country. □

Israeli Regime Consolidates Aggression

Why Kissinger's 'Rogers Plan' Won't Work

By Jon Rothschild

"Evidence of diplomatic movement is vital to the Egyptians at this stage," Raymond Anderson wrote in the November 17 *New York Times*. "Some are already expressing apprehension that Secretary of State Kissinger's initiatives for a Middle East peace may 'degenerate' in the manner of the 1970 initiative of former Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

"Egyptians agreed to Mr. Rogers's proposal for a 90-day cease-fire in the 'war of attrition' to open the way to a resumption of the peace mission of Dr. Gunnar V. Jarring, the United Nations intermediary. The cease-fire led to nothing but diplomatic rancor, charges of violations, disillusionment and a new war.

"'This is a lesson the Egyptian people can never forget,' the Cairo daily *Al Goumhouria* declared today [November 16] in an editorial."

It is not likely that Kissinger's "peace" offensive will fare much better than Rogers's did. This is especially true in that the substance of the various deals being floated by Kissinger during the middle of November closely parallels the main terms of the Rogers plan. Basically, that plan called for Arab recognition of the existence of the Zionist state in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from an unspecified portion of the territories it had conquered in June 1967. An implied aspect of the Rogers plan was liquidation of the Palestinian resistance movement, the only organized force in the Arab East committed to oppos-

ing capitulation to the Israeli state.

The Rogers plan ran aground fundamentally because of Israeli intransigence. The Kissinger plan will almost certainly be wrecked on the same reef. When Rogers first made his proposal public (in June 1970), the Palestinian resistance movement was at the height of its power. It had at least 10,000 persons permanently under arms in Jordan and a widespread semiorganized militia based among the Palestinians in the refugee camps. Its political power was growing fast, and it had begun to seriously challenge Hashemite rule in Jordan. In fact, weeks before the Rogers plan was revealed, Palestinian fedayeen had fought pitched battles with Hussein's army. The survival of the Jordanian kingdom was in question.

It was exactly that strength of the Palestinian movement that inclined sections of the Israeli ruling class to consider the Rogers proposal seriously. The continued growth of the fedayeen, while not a military threat to the Zionist state, did place the Hussein regime in question and therefore represented a grave threat to the status quo in the Arab East. Any alteration of the status quo in a revolutionary direction is a mortal danger to Zionism, as has been continuously proclaimed by the Israeli ruling class.

Those sections of the Israeli ruling class more concerned with maintaining an exclusively Jewish population than with acquiring more territory

filled with troublesome Arabs—they are mistakenly referred to as "doves" in the Western press—believed that the Rogers plan offered the possibility of buying off the Palestinian movement by granting the Palestinians a Bantustan-type state on the West Bank of the Jordan. These sectors of the Israeli rulers were therefore willing to discuss a plan that would involve (1) withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Sinai and parts of the Golan Heights in exchange for a permanent peace treaty with Egypt and Syria; and (2) withdrawal from much of the West Bank, in exchange for a peace treaty with Jordan and the establishment of a Palestinian minstate under the joint tutelage of Tel Aviv and Amman. The Palestinian movement would be derailed, and militant sectors of the Palestinian movement opposing the sellout could be liquidated, physically if necessary, by the Israeli army, the Jordanian army, and the more accommodating section of the Palestinian leadership. Such, anyway, was the plan.

It did not happen. The Palestinian leadership rejected the plan, and the confrontation between the fedayeen and the Hussein regime reached a showdown at the same time. In September 1970 Hussein attacked the Palestinian camps in Jordan. The result was "Black September," a bloody slaughter that broke the power of the resistance in Jordan.

U.S. imperialism and the sections of the Israeli ruling class supporting the Rogers plan expected that the elimination of the fedayeen would open the way to implementation of the Rogers plan in some form. But, paradoxically, the liquidation of the armed power of the fedayeen in Jordan—the only real obstacle to the Rogers plan—cut the political ground from under the sections of the Israeli ruling class that had favored the plan in the first place. While the Palestinian movement represented an imminent revolutionary threat to the region, some Israeli leaders were inclined to appear conciliatory in order to eliminate the threat. But once the threat was ended, fewer and fewer of the Israeli rulers saw any reason even to make a pretense at being interested in "peace."

By the end of 1971, after the last Palestinian positions in Jordan were destroyed, the Rogers plan was dead—this time because the Israeli regime was no longer interested in it. Con-

currently, the "territorialist" wing of the Israeli ruling class pressed ahead with its plans for annexation of the conquered territory. There are now so many Jewish settlements in the West Bank that it is difficult to conceive of a voluntary Israeli withdrawal from any but insignificant areas of the territory. The "dove" wing of the Israeli ruling class has disappeared. There are now only varieties of annexationists.

The West Bank is not the only part of the occupied territories that has been virtually annexed. The Syrian Golan Heights are dotted with paramilitary Israeli agricultural settlements. The Gaza area and the northeast portion of the Sinai peninsula are in the process of being "urbanized" by Israeli investment. The fort of Sharm el-Sheikh at the southern tip of the Sinai is being developed into a small Israeli city. For the Israeli regime, only a few territories are negotiable: the section of Syria beyond the Golan Heights taken during the October War; insignificant districts in the West Bank; parts of the western edge of the Sinai.

Israeli government officials have been straightforward in explaining these points to the Israeli public and to the world at large. On November 13, for example, Golda Meir spoke to the Israeli parliament about the state of the negotiations with Cairo. "It would be wrong to believe," she said, "that we have learned from this war that there is no value in depth and defensible borders.

"We have not learned that we must return to the lines of 4 June 1967, which tempt our neighbors to aggression. Anyone who thinks that Israel will be weak and afraid after this war will be mistaken."

That the Israeli regime is dead serious about its annexationism and its resistance to a "peace" agreement with the Arab states—even one determined on the basis of sweeping capitulation by Sadat—is demonstrated by the attitude the Israeli military command has taken toward implementation of the November 11 cease-fire pact.

On November 12, the date on which Israeli checkpoints on the Cairo-Suez road were supposed to be replaced by UN checkpoints, the Israeli command moved to prevent the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) from establishing checkpoints. And it refused

to turn over its own checkpoints to the UNEF. Israeli Major General Aharon Yariv also announced that his forces would not let medical and food supplies pass directly into Suez city. They would have to be unloaded, he said, on the outskirts of the town and under Israeli supervision. He also stated that the Israeli command would set limits on the relief convoys al-



KISSINGER: Regurgitates a new version of the old Rogers plan.

lowed to pass to the trapped Egyptian III Corps on the east side of the canal and to Suez city itself.

The intent of the Israeli action is clear enough when the state of affairs in Suez is recalled. "Since Suez city was cut off by Israeli forces more than three weeks ago," Henry Tanner wrote in the November 16 *New York Times*, "the only outside visitors have been Red Cross officials. They have said that 1,400 civilian wounded in the city have been in appalling medical hygienic conditions, virtually without medical and other supplies, in a hospital that could accommodate some 500 patients at the most. More than a week ago Red Cross sources said they feared the outbreak of an epidemic in the city."

The Israeli plan obviously was to threaten the lives of the wounded civilians in order to force Sadat to accept Israeli control of the Cairo-Suez road, despite the cease-fire stipulations about UN control.

On November 13 Israeli soldiers armed with submachine guns pre-

vented 120 reporters from passing beyond the 101 kilometer marker, the site where the cease-fire pact was signed, claiming that only Israeli troops—not the UNEF—had final authority over who passed and who did not. On the same day, Israeli troops searched seven Egyptian trucks carrying supplies to Suez. Only six were let through; that was the "quota" for the day, the Israeli officers explained. It is difficult to see how one additional truckful of medical supplies could have been seen as a threat to Israeli security. The only reasonable explanation for holding one truck back is that the Israeli command was seeking to establish the principle that it and it alone has the power to let supplies traverse the road.

By November 14 it appeared that the tenuous cease-fire deal was in danger of breaking down. On that day a negotiating session was held at kilometer 101 by Yariv and Egyptian Lieutenant General Muhammed Abdel Ghany el-Gamasy. They agreed on a "compromise" that in fact left Israeli forces in control of the road. The UNEF would take over the existing Israeli checkpoints, but Israeli troops would dig in along the edge of the road and Israeli officers would be allowed to inspect all supplies going to the III Corps and all convoys heading for Suez city. In effect, the Egyptian command agreed to leave the Israeli forces firmly entrenched along the road—and in position to close it at any time—in exchange for the formality of UNEF operation of the checkpoints.

Finnish Major General Ensio Siilasvuo, UNEF commander, agreed that nothing and nobody could pass the 101 kilometer marker unless both the UNEF and the Israeli command agreed. On November 15 the Israelis exercised their veto right by stopping a group of thirty-five reporters coming from Cairo who had been cleared for passage by the UNEF.

On November 15, the "deadlock" on the Cairo-Suez road broken, Egypt and Israel began exchanging prisoners of war, a process that was expected to last for about a week.

The next meeting of el-Gamasy and Yariv was scheduled to take place at about the time that the prisoner exchange is completed. Its subject is "disengagement" of forces, which Cairo interprets to mean Israeli withdraw-

al to the October 22 cease-fire lines. But the behavior of the Israeli forces along the Cairo-Suez road is conclusive enough proof that the Zionist command has no intention of withdrawing. It is likely, therefore, that another "deadlock" will be reached.

The deadlock on the specific question of the October 22 cease-fire lines

will be compounded by the more profound deadlock created by the Israeli regime's refusal to accept the "Kissinger plan." If Israeli intransigence prevents both a resolution of the problem of "disengagement" and the convening of a broad "peace conference," Sadat will be hard pressed to maintain his diplomatic motion. The most militant

sectors of the Egyptian population—the workers and peasants especially—will not lightly accept the "degeneration" of the drive to recover occupied Sinai. And inside Israel, the most expansionist wing of the ruling class will doubtlessly seek to convert the new "no war, no peace" situation into new aggression. □

'Full Disclosure' in Secret

Nixon's 'Phase 8' Cover-Up Off to Wobbly Start

"The counterattack President Nixon is now vigorously conducting," John Herbers wrote in the November 16 *New York Times*, "is at least the eighth major effort he has made this year to put the Watergate scandals behind him."

Herbers's use of the word "vigorously" was an act of generosity. Phase Eight of Nixon's cover-up effort, although it contains a few new wrinkles, is probably the least effective yet. And if it fails, Nixon is not likely to be given the opportunity to try a Phase Nine. Even White House officials, Herbers wrote, are describing the "counterattack" as "one last, sustained effort."

The effort so far has consisted primarily of a series of secret meetings with Republican members of Congress, during which Nixon apparently promised a "full disclosure" on Watergate—without committing himself to anything specific or providing his listeners with any new information.

According to reports that trickled out of the meetings, Nixon provided his colleagues with liberal supplies of liquor and innuendo against some of his accusers, and hoped that they would do the rest.

"A pattern emerged," James M. Naughton wrote in the November 18 *New York Times*, "that, indirectly, at least, provided the outlines of the President's strategy. He was taking the offensive without carrying the ball; all the reports about what he had said and how he had behaved came second-hand through the Congressmen with whom he met. And the reports included attacks on the truthfulness of both Archibald Cox and Elliot L. Richardson, two men he himself had brought into the Watergate

case precisely because of their reputations for integrity. Both Mr. Cox and Mr. Richardson would be almost certain witnesses in an impeachment proceeding. And while Mr. Nixon turned no questions aside, according to the reports, neither did he produce hard evidence of the claims he made in explanation and defense."

The impression left by the meetings, as Democratic leaders Thomas P. O'Neill complained in the House of Representatives November 15, was that Nixon invited "members of Congress to White House luncheons in order to curry favor with his prospective grand jurors."

The other half of Phase Eight has been several speeches to carefully selected audiences. The National Asso-

ciation of Realtors, for example, was treated to a one-minute "explanation" of Watergate during the course of a half-hour speech.

On the night of November 17, Nixon submitted to gentle questioning on national television by members of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association. The questioners managed to refrain from laughing while Nixon explained that he had paid only \$792 and \$878 in income tax in 1970 and 1971 because of some shrewd advice from Lyndon Johnson and while Nixon argued that he had ordered his brother Donald's phone tapped only for "security reasons."

Although Nixon was nervous enough to say that he would consider Watergate defendants "guilty until I have evidence that they are not guilty," he did not forget to put "national security" limitations on his promises of "full disclosure." "I'm simply saying," he told a questioner, "that where the national security would be diserved by having an investigation, the president has the responsibility to protect it and I'm going to do so."

In the November 16 *Washington Post*, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein described a typical example of Nixon's defense of "national security." They reported that White House special counsel Fred Buzhardt had spent the summer pressuring Archibald Cox and Elliot Richardson against permitting indictments of former Nixon aides John Ehrlichman, Egil Krogh, and Charles Colson on the grounds that their trials would endanger "national security." According to the *Post* reporters, the areas Buzhardt was concerned about were "matters such as—though not necessarily including—the wire-

"Now, This Time, To Clear Up Everything —"



taps on the telephones of syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft and the President's brother F. Donald Nixon."

"Full disclosure" of the White House tapes also ran into some obstacles. A third tape—a memo dictated by Nixon on his April 15 meeting with John Dean—was suddenly discovered to be "nonexistent" even though Nixon and his aides had several times publicly described its contents. As for other tapes that are not—yet—nonexistent, Naughton reported:

"Early in the week, Mr. Nixon told congressional visitors he could not make his Watergate tapes public yet because they were the subject of legal proceedings. But Judge John J. Sirica issued a memo of Wednesday stipulating that 'if the President thinks it advisable to waive any privilege and make tapes or other material public, he of course is free to do so at any time.' Thereafter, Mr. Nixon was said to have raised other bars to total tape disclosure: some may be irrelevant, others contain national security secrets or statements whose publication could injure 'third parties.'"

In fact, third parties—meaning high-ranking members of the Nixon gang—have little to fear from the tapes. The recordings have been handled with such deliberate carelessness that most lawyers doubt that they can be used as prosecution evidence in a trial. The



DONALD NIXON: "Security risk"?

mishandling of the tapes protects the "national security" by making it less likely that Nixon gangsters will protect themselves at the boss's expense.

Phase Eight amounts to little more than an effort to stall for time—but time is fast running out for Nixon.

"A House Judiciary [committee] insider," *Newsweek* reported in its November 19 issue, "guessed that the com-

mittee would in fact report articles of impeachment to the floor by the end of winter, and resident powers like Majority Leader Thomas O'Neill and Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills were predicting openly that Mr. Nixon would quit before it came to that."

Republican leaders, the magazine continued, are waiting only for Gerald Ford's confirmation as vice-president before publicly abandoning Nixon.

"Even his own people," *Newsweek* concluded, "conceded privately that one more disaster might be his last, and the Establishment on Capitol Hill has come to doubt that it will take even that final shove. The scenario commonly discussed there is that, even assuming Mr. Nixon can survive the winter, all his troubles will come irresistibly together with the spring—the impeachment proceedings, the decisive stages of the criminal investigation, the anxieties of a worried party moving into a Congressional election year. At that stage, according to these speculations, it would be made diplomatically plain to Mr. Nixon that there were votes enough to impeach him in the House, if not to convict him in the Senate—whereupon a President who won a landslide as wide as America only a year ago would give up what remains of his four more years, and resign." □

Behind the Watergate Scandal—VIII

Plumbers and Presidents: The Roots of the Crisis

By Allen Myers

The Watergate scandal is an event unprecedented in U. S. history. Never before has there been a comparable exposure of the crimes of high-level government officials nor a comparable opportunity for millions of citizens to obtain such an unvarnished view of the operations of "their" government.

Previous articles in this series have outlined and given examples of the activities of the Nixon gang—activities that in most cases are crimes not only in a moral or political sense, but even according to the definitions of U. S. bourgeois law. Overlooking

such personal offenses as tax evasion, pocketing of public funds, etc., the "crimes of state" laid at the door of Nixon and his henchmen include secret aggression against neutral countries, murder, burglary, forgery, illegal wiretapping and surveillance, kidnapping, assault, bombing, giving and receiving bribes, extortion, obstruction of justice, perjury, and the organization of frame-ups.

Nixon, of course, did not invent any of these crimes, nor is he the first inhabitant of the White House to have practiced them. On the contrary, the Watergate scandal can be properly

understood only in the context of the pervious history of secrecy and "dirty tricks" on the part of the U. S. government, and their function within larger historical trends.

In what follows it is not intended to provide a comprehensive survey of previous "Watergates," but only to indicate Watergate's historical roots and their meaning for the present political crisis of the U. S. ruling class.

The Era of Permanent 'Emergency'

What we have undertaken to assert and support is the proposition

Intercontinental Press

that the office of the Presidency is treated differently under the law, that the Presidency has certain unique attributes, few in number but indispensable to its character and effective operations, and among these, perhaps more important than any other, is Presidential privacy—the right, indeed the absolute need, to be able to speak freely, to encourage others to speak freely, and thereby encourage confidence that the President and he alone has the absolute power to decide what may be disclosed to others. . . .

[Nixon] has solemnly represented, both to this court and to the country, that the confidentiality of his conversations in connection with his official duties is absolutely essential to the effective performance of his duties.

— From a court brief filed by Nixon's attorneys.

* * *

Nixon's tooth-and-nail defense of "the principle of confidentiality" in regard to the secret White House tapes represents more than merely an attempt to conceal evidence that would incriminate him—although that factor is involved.

The capitalist press and the protagonists on both sides of the dispute have unanimously agreed on the right of the government to plan its policy in secret, arguing only over the degree to which Nixon can use this "right" to conceal crimes. This has tended to obscure a more important issue: the reasons for which the capitalist government of the United States requires secrecy.

The U. S. capitalist class, like every capitalist class, prefers secrecy. As Barry Sheppard wrote in the June 8, 1973, issue of the New York revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*: "Secrecy about their activities is standard operating procedure for the capitalist class in all areas. In addition to the cover-up of the operations of the political police and other activities of the government, each individual capitalist concern jealously guards its 'business secrets' from the eyes of the workers. Their aim is to keep the workers in the dark about such information as the capitalists' real profits, their plans for squeezing more from the workers, and the secret

agreements between different companies and with the government against the workers."

The Pentagon Papers provided perhaps the best illustration of why the capitalists require secrecy in their government even more than in their business operations. Over a period of years, Washington was able to plan and launch a war in Southeast Asia without the knowledge, much less the approval, of the vast majority of the people that the government claimed to represent. Disclosure of such realities is obviously incompatible with the needs of U. S. imperialism.

The need for secrecy has grown in proportion with the growth of the role of U. S. imperialism around the world. This growth of secrecy has been only one aspect of a larger process: the centralization and strengthening of the government, particularly the executive branch, in order to render it better able to respond to the increasing demands placed on it by the domestic and international needs of U. S. imperialism.

This trend is inherent in capitalism everywhere, not solely in the United States. It is the response to inter-imperialist rivalries, to the challenge posed by the existence of the workers states, to the national liberation movements in the colonies and semicolonies, and to the threat of revolution at home. In Europe, the process has been described as a trend toward the "strong state."

Historically, the U. S. ruling class began with an advantage over its European rivals in having a strong, centralized executive, simultaneously head of state and head of government, even before the United States became a major imperialist power. It is worth noting that the French bourgeoisie, in establishing a strong state under de Gaulle, chose a presidential system investing powers in the executive that the U. S. president had possessed for decades.

In recent years, Congressional liberals have complained of an "imbalance" between Congress and the president, often blaming it on "usurpation" of additional powers by the executive branch. The truth of the matter, however, is that through the course of this century there has been remarkably little disagreement in the U. S. ruling class about the need to

centralize power in the executive. Consequently, the Congress has not only approved such centralization but in many cases has taken the lead in providing legal authorization of additional powers.

During the course of the testimony of former Nixon adviser John Ehrlichman before the Senate Watergate committee, there occurred a much publicized debate between Sam Ervin, the committee chairman, and Ehrlichman's lawyer, John J. Wilson.

The debate was touched off by Ehrlichman's contention that Nixon had the legal right, in order to protect "national security," to order the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

Wilson based his defense of this contention partly upon the "Crime Control and Safe Streets Act" of 1968, a bill that Ervin had helped to draft. Wilson quoted from the Senate Judiciary Committee's report on the bill:

"It is obvious that whatever means are necessary should and must be taken to protect the national security interest. Wiretapping and electronic surveillance techniques are proper means for the acquisition of counter-intelligence against the hostile action of foreign powers. Nothing in the proposed legislation seeks to disturb the power of the President to act in this area. . . ."

Ervin responded that "they put that in there because there was a controversy between some members of the committee having an opinion that the president almost has powers that would make an Eastern potentate turn green with envy, and some people, like myself, on the committee felt that the Constitution limits and defines the powers of the president." He did not explain, however, how this "controversy" happened to have been settled on terms upholding the powers of the Western potentate.

In terms of U. S. bourgeois legality, which is what Ervin and Wilson were discussing, the president has powers going far beyond anything mentioned by either of the debaters.

A Senate committee headed by Democrat Frank Church of Ohio and Republican Charles Mathias of Maryland recently reported on its study on "emergency" laws presently in effect in the United States. The committee discovered that the country has legally been in a continuous state of

emergency since 1917.

In the fifty-six intervening years, Congress passed a total of nearly 600 additional laws—a rate of nearly a dozen per year—conferring various increased emergency powers on the president. As Church and Mathias noted in a joint statement summing up the committee report:

"The President has the power in hand to seize property, organize and control the means of production, seize commodities, assign military forces abroad, call reserve forces amounting to 2.5 million men to duty, institute martial law, seize and control all means of transportation, regulate all private enterprise, restrict travel, and in a plethora of particular ways, control the lives of all Americans."

According to the committee report, Congress approved most of these 600 laws "with only the most perfunctory committee review and virtually no consideration of their effect on civil liberties or the delicate structure of the U.S. Government of divided powers."

There is, of course, some overlapping of the provisions of different emergency laws, as the liberal weekly *Nation* observed in an October 8, 1973, commentary on the Senate committee's report:

"Two years ago, Congress repealed the World War II Emergency Detention Act, and civil libertarians sighed in relief. But remaining on the federal law books is a provision designed as a World War II power and headed 'Restrictions in Military Areas and Zones.' In essence, it gives any military commander the right to put a citizen in jail after a President legally declares a new national emergency. Another 'emergency' statute gives the President power 'upon application of the country concerned [to] detail members of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps to assist in military matters (1) any republic in North America, Central America or South America; (2) the Republic of Cuba, Haiti or Santo Domingo; and (3) during a war or declared national emergency any other country that he considers it advisable to assist in the interest of national defense.' The President, if he wished, could today find it legally simple to send the boys back into Vietnam."

Lyndon Johnson may have had a political necessity for the 1964 Ton-

kin Gulf Resolution, but it was not a legal requirement for open aggression against the Vietnamese—as Nixon was to demonstrate by continuing the war after the resolution was repealed.

Liberal hindsight to the contrary, the Congressional objections to the war were caused by the unexpected extent of the Vietnamese resistance and its effect in the United States, not by the discovery that Congressional powers had been "usurped."

The use of the armed forces abroad on the authority of the president, without specific Congressional sanction, is in fact one of the oldest traditions



ERVIN: "Powers that would make an Eastern potentate turn green."

of U.S. government. In 1962, then Secretary of State Dean Rusk submitted to a Senate committee a State Department paper entitled "Instances of the Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-1945." According to the State Department paper, U.S. troops have intervened in one or more countries in every year since 1898, in almost all cases without Congress being asked its opinion. (Had it been asked, it would have approved, which is one of the reasons it was not thought necessary to ask.)

Some of these interventions approached or surpassed the number of troops involved in the early years of the Vietnam war. In 1927, for example, Washington had 5,670 troops ashore in China and forty-four naval

vessels in Chinese waters. The U.S. expeditionary forces in the Soviet Union had 7,000 troops in Vladivostok from August 1918 to January 1920 and another 5,000 in Archangel from September 1918 to June 1919. The latter force suffered 500 casualties.

The liberals have no intention of reducing the power of the president to defend U.S. capitalism at home and abroad. What is involved is primarily a matter of appearances. In the liberal view, it would look better if these powers were based on laws rather than "emergency" regulations, as the *Nation* explained:

"The Church-Mathias committee has found that some of the emergency statutes have become part of everyday activities of the federal government; some deal with export control, international investments, tariffs and certain contract bidding practices. Thus it will not do simply to revoke the basic emergency laws tied to the Great Depression and the World Wars, since that would wipe out some statutes which should be recast in the form of permanent law."

An example of such a face-lifting operation was provided by the War Powers Bill, which was passed over Nixon's veto as the Watergate scandal undermined his ability to keep Republican members of Congress in line. While being widely proclaimed as a measure to reassert Congressional prerogatives, the bill in fact provided the president with broad new legal authority for military adventures anywhere in the world. Even the *New York Times*, which supported the bill, admitted as much:

"It would have astonished the framers of the Constitution to hear the War Powers Bill. . . . In an attempt to meet contingencies of modern warfare, the bill actually concedes to the President more power than the Founding Fathers ever contemplated."

From Palmer to Nixon

Some [radicals] . . . are making mischief, or trying to make it, in certain American labor organizations. One of their principles and hopes is agitation among the Negroes, regarded as victims of "economic bondage" and material for proletarian propaganda. These communists are a pernicious gang. In

many languages they are denouncing the blockade of Russia. . . .

— Editorial in the *New York Times*, January 5, 1920.

A central element of public concern in the Watergate scandal has been the disclosure of the Nixon gang's wide-ranging attacks on democratic rights. But earlier periods of U.S. history are rich in precedents that equal or surpass many of the Watergate-related revelations. A look at a notorious example from the past may help to explain the context for the operations of the Nixon gang.

The attempt to curtail capitalist democracy in the United States is, like the growth of governmental secrecy and the trend toward a stronger executive, the product of the imperial ambitions of U.S. capitalism. There is an appropriate symbolism involved in the fact that the continual "state of emergency" began in 1917, with Washington's formal entry into the first imperialist world war.

The efforts to police the world in defense of U.S. capitalism's interests necessarily presupposes limiting to the greatest extent possible the right to debate political issues and to oppose official policy. In particular, it presupposes attacks on the democratic rights and the organizations of the working class, the class that stands to lose the most in imperialist wars and possesses the power to end them.

The United States's entry into the "war to make the world safe for democracy" was smoothed by the Espionage Act of 1917. Under this law, which was amended in 1918 by the Sedition Act, persons who spoke against the war (the best-known being Eugene Debs) were jailed, socialists elected to Congress and to state legislatures were denied their seats, and publications that failed to toe the official line were prohibited from the mails. This "legal" repression was accompanied by vigilante assaults on labor and socialist organizations or anyone suspected of "disloyalty."

In October 1918 Congress passed the Deportation Act, which ordered the deportation of aliens who were "anarchists" or who advocated, or belonged to organizations that advocated, the overthrow of the government by force. The Congress betrayed the intention of this law by somewhat disingenuously entrusting its

enforcement to the Labor Department. It was quickly put to use: In February 1919 fifty-four persons were ordered deported, all of them members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

The Deportation Act provided a legal fig leaf for one of the most naked campaigns of political oppression that had occurred up to that time in U.S. history: the Palmer raids of January 1920.

During 1919 and 1920, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer directed a government campaign against radical and working-class organizations. The object of the campaign was twofold: to prevent the growth of the union movement and to ensure sufficient "class peace" domestically for U.S. capitalism to be able to reap the fruits of its victory in the war. The latter objective included the possibility of escalating the military intervention against the Russian Revolution.

A look at the techniques employed by Palmer and his agents shows that the Nixon gang, in addition to its other failings, is not remarkably original.

Palmer took as his pretext a series of mail bombs sent to various government officials beginning in late April 1919. The bourgeois press dutifully headlined Palmer's claims that the bombings were part of an attempt, directed from Moscow, to overthrow the U.S. government.

Palmer of course never attempted to document this absurd charge. In fact, massive police investigations never produced a particle of evidence linking the bombs to any radical group or individual—or to anyone else for that matter.

Moreover, although the bombing attempts were remarkably well coordinated—in one instance explosions occurred in eight different cities on the same day—none of the officials for whom they were supposedly intended were seriously injured. Many of the bombs were "discovered" in the post office or failed to be delivered for reasons never adequately explained.

In short, the bombings had a very strong odor of government-organized provocation, although this is impossible to prove. It is indisputable, however, that Palmer's "investigation" was intended as a campaign of strike-breaking and assaults on civil liberties. Palmer himself was quite frank

about these activities. For example, he gave a Congressional committee the following description of strikebreaking in Connecticut:

"For some time prior to June, 1919, agitation and propaganda had been active in New Haven, Ansonia, Waterbury, and Bridgeport. On June 8 a strike was started in the Ansonia mill of the American Brass Co., being instigated entirely through the organization of Russians [a fraternal society called the Union of Russian Workers, portrayed by Palmer as the center of the "conspiracy"], although several radical Americans participated. . . . It was necessary to adopt drastic methods by the state and city authorities, the [Justice] department working in close cooperation. A number of the most active leaders at Ansonia were arrested on deportation warrants. . . . A black anarchist flag, among other things, was recovered. The meetings in Ansonia and Waterbury were held in the clubrooms of the Russian organization.

"However, a number of prominent agitators who were citizens continued their efforts. The strike failed after the federal and state prosecutions."

Palmer also set up a Radical Division in the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation and placed at its head a young bureaucrat named J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover was assigned a task that was to become a lifetime occupation. Palmer described it:

"In order that the information obtained upon the ultra-radical movements might be readily accessible for use by the persons charged with the supervision of the investigations and prosecutions, there has been established as part of this division [the Radical Division] a card index system, numbering over 200,000 cards, giving detailed data not only upon individual agitators connected with the ultra-radical movement, but also upon organizations, associations, societies, publications and special conditions existing in certain localities.

"Biographies are prepared of all authors, publishers, editors, etc., showing any connection with an ultra-radical body or movement. Stenographic reports of speeches made by individuals prominent in the various movements are properly filed and, together with articles in any one of the newspapers or publications referred to

above, are digested or briefed and made available for immediate reference."

The January 1920 raids were preceded by a smaller-scale trial run on November 7, 1919. The date, the second anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, was chosen, according to the *New York Times*, as "the psychological moment to strike."

The psychology of the *Times* editors was powerfully affected. The paper gave the following enthusiastic account of the raids:

"Armed with warrants for dangerous agitators whom Federal agents have trailed for months, the raiders swarmed into the Russian People's Hall in New York and into similar gathering places of alleged 'Reds' in Philadelphia, Newark, Detroit, Jackson, Mich., Ansonia, Conn., and other cities, broke up meetings, seized tons of literature, and herded the group of foreign men and women into various offices for examination, whence many of those who proved to be the most sought after of the radicals found their way into cells."

The *Times* reporter who observed the raid on the Union of Russian Workers in New York noted with journalistic detachment that "a number in the building were badly beaten by the police during the raid, their heads wrapped in bandages testifying to the rough manner in which they had been handled."

Even in this witch-hunt atmosphere, the police could come up with no pretext for holding most of their victims. The *New York Times* reported that thirty-three men, "most of them with bandaged heads, black eyes or other marks of rough handling," were taken to immigration offices for deportation. But another 150 were released; of these, the reporter observed:

"Most of them also had blackened eyes and lacerated scalps as souvenirs of the new attitude of aggressiveness which has been assumed by the Federal agents against Reds and suspected Reds."

For the January raids, Palmer switched his attention to the Communist party and the Communist Labour party, both of which had been openly organized at public meetings early in September 1919. Rounding up members of these organizations was made easier by the fact that neither had ever been declared illegal by any

executive, legislative, or judicial decree.

The raids began on the night of January 2 and continued in some areas until January 20. In many cases, government agents were able to arrange for the organizations to hold meetings the night of January 2, as Palmer instructed them to do:

"If possible, you should arrange with your under-cover informants to have meetings of the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party held on the night set. I have been informed by some of the bureau officers that such arrangements will be made. This, of course, would facilitate the making of the arrests."

Palmer's directive went on to display an attitude toward legal niceties that would be appreciated by Nixon and his "plumbers":

"I leave it entirely to your discretion as to the method by which you should gain access to such [meeting] places. If, due to the local conditions in your territory, you find that it is absolutely necessary to obtain a search warrant for the premises, you should communicate with the local authorities a few hours before the time for the arrests is set and request a warrant to search the premises."

The January raids were conducted with even greater brutality than those in November. In Boston, 400 "reds" were handcuffed in a chain gang and paraded through the streets. In Detroit, 800 men were held in a windowless corridor without toilet facilities for six days. They received no food except for occasional parcels brought in by friends and relatives.

Louis F. Post, the assistant secretary of labor, later wrote of the raids:

"Meetings wide open to the general public were roughly broken up. All persons present—citizens and aliens alike without discrimination—were arbitrarily taken into custody and searched as if they had been burglars caught in the criminal act. Without warrants of arrest men were carried off to police stations and other temporary prisons, subjected there to secret police-office inquisitions commonly known as the 'third degree,' their statements written categorically into mimeographed question blanks, and they were required to swear to them regardless of their accuracy."

Palmer's ability to have meetings

of the Communist party and Communist Labor party scheduled to suit the convenience of the police indicates that provocateurs had achieved influence in both organizations. In its January 3, 1920 report on the previous day's raids, the *New York Times* gave a description of these agents that could be applied with few changes to such modern provocateurs as Larry Grathwohl or Tommy Tongyai:

"The action, though it came with dramatic suddenness, had been carefully mapped out, studied, and systematized. Every agency was ready, and every operative at his post. For months Department of Justice men, dropping all their work, had concentrated on the Reds. Agents quietly infiltrated into the radical ranks, slipped casually into centers of agitation, and went to work, sometimes as cooks in remote mining colonies, again as steel workers, and when the opportunity presented itself, as agitators of the wildest type. Although careful not to inspire, suggest or aid the advancement of overt acts or propaganda, several of the agents, 'under-cover' men, managed to rise in the radical movement, and become, in at least one instance, the recognized leader of the district."

The reporter was so impressed with these forerunners of James Bond that he forgot to ask how they became leaders in organizations composed of dangerous "agitators of the wildest type" without ever inspiring, suggesting, or aiding either "overt acts or propaganda." Instead, he went on to quote William J. Flynn, head of the Bureau of Investigation, as saying:

"During the steel strike, coal strike, and threatened railway strikes, secret agents moved constantly among the more radical of the agitators and collected a mass of evidence. For months an elaborate card index of the utterances, habits, and whereabouts of these men had been made."

There is another striking parallel between the Palmer raids and the activities of the Nixon gang: the excuse used to justify them. Palmer used the phrase "general good to the country" rather than the more succinct "national security," but otherwise the excuses are interchangeable. In his testimony to a Senate committee that later issued a report whitewashing the whole affair, Palmer said:

"I apologize for nothing that the Department of Justice has done in this matter. I glory in it. I point with pride and enthusiasm to the results of that work; and if, as I said before, some of my agents out in the field, or some of the agents of the Department of Labor, were a little rough and unkind, or short and curt, with these alien agitators whom they observed seeking to destroy their homes, their religion and their country, I think it might well be overlooked in the general good to the country which has come from it. That is all I have to say."

Cop of the World

I believe no one can understand how Watergate happened in America who fails to consider the domestic impact of the misguided foreign course we have taken since World War II. Our own society has been the major casualty of an excessive and loosely disciplined effort to achieve security through arms and intervention in every part of the planet.

— Senator George McGovern in the November 1973 *Progressive* magazine.

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The abilities and sophistication of Washington's political-repression apparatus have increased considerably since the days of the Palmer raids. Palmer's 200,000 index cards grew into more than 100 million computerized files in the offices of the FBI. The development of technology has made it possible to supplement the work of provocateurs and informers with electronic spying. The helicopter has replaced the mounted cop as a weapon for attacking demonstrators. These technical advances have barely kept pace with the constantly expanding requirements of the U. S. ruling class.

It is not necessary to go into a detailed history of the United States over the last fifty years to outline the well-known processes that have contributed to the centralization of power in Washington.

The depression of the 1930s and the second world war both resulted in an enormous strengthening of the president's powers, both absolutely and relatively to the two other "coequal

branches." The collapse of the economy, the radicalization of the working class, interimperialist competition for contracting markets, and preparations for the war over those markets all required, from the standpoint of the capitalist class, a strongly centralized government with greatly expanded "emergency" powers.

The dilemma of U. S. imperialism is that even its victories increase its insecurity. Already the strongest capitalist power before the second world war, the United States emerged from



WILSON: Quotes Ervin against Ervin.

the slaughter totally dominant, without a serious imperialist rival.

But the war also gave a tremendous impetus to the national liberation movements in the colonial countries. The victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany, while it gave the Stalinist Communist parties in the underdeveloped countries an undeserved authority, also meant that the masses tended to look to a socialist revolution as the model for achieving liberation from their oppressors. The decimation of its imperialist rivals meant that Washington had to attempt to halt the tide of revolution virtually alone.

Moreover, in the years immediately following the war, the U. S. army proved thoroughly unreliable. U. S. workers had been recruited for the war with pleas to defend "democracy" and to "fight fascism." Attempts to use them

as part of an anticommunist crusade or to restore the old colonial masters in Asia touched off giant protest demonstrations. China was "lost" to the capitalist market in part because U. S. imperialism temporarily lacked sufficient forces with which to intervene decisively.

The role of world cop for capitalism required a further centralizing of authority, a greater capacity for secrecy, a further chipping away of democratic liberties within the United States—all to be done in the name of defending "American democracy."

"Spies" were manufactured on demand in order to convince the public that the Soviet ally of a few years before was in reality a dangerous enemy. Richard Nixon himself got his first big boost in capitalist politics by framing Alger Hiss. The Rosenbergs were executed for allegedly giving the Soviet Union a "secret" that didn't exist, about which they could not have understood enough to be able to steal it if it had existed.

This campaign against civil liberties reached its culmination in the massive witch-hunt hysteria directed by Senator Joseph McCarthy.

A major goal of the witch-hunt was to bring the union movement into line behind the policies of U. S. imperialism. Using a tactic that we have seen Nixon exploit with some skill, the government was able to set the union bureaucrats against each other in order to increase its control over the movement.

In June 1947, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, which provided the government with far-reaching new powers to interfere in and regulate unions. The act outlawed the closed shop and severely restricted union-shop contracts, required a sixty-day notice on ending or modifying contracts, allowed the president to enjoin strikes for eighty days, allowed the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to seek injunctions against "unfair labor practices," and outlawed secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes while prohibiting strikes by federal government employees. The act also required unions to file annual financial statements with the government, permitted dues checkoffs only where each employee gave written permission, and required that all local, national, and international union officers file affidavits that they did not belong to the Communist party or

any organization advocating the violent overthrow of the government.

Rather than defend their unions against the government attacks, right-wing bureaucrats joined in the witch-hunt, seeing an opportunity to rid themselves of rival bureaucrats from the Communist party.

The CP had done a great deal to cut itself off from potential support in the unions by its enthusiastic support of the "no-strike pledge" during the war and by its abysmal record on civil liberties when others were under attack. In 1948, twelve leaders of the CP were indicted under the Smith Act for allegedly "teaching and advocating" the "overthrow of the government by force and violence." This was the same law under which eighteen Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers party had been jailed in 1941 to the loud applause of the Stalinists. One CIO official wrote to the CP in response to the party's efforts to organize a defense campaign that it could not be maintained that "the Smith Act is unconstitutional against the Communist Party but is a model piece of sound legislation when used to jail its enemies. Incredible as it may sound, this is, nevertheless, the recorded position of the Communist Party." He continued:

"You were 'vindictive.' You hated the Trotskyites more than you loved civil liberties. Yes, you were not even decent enough to be 'silent.' You saw the opportunity to get rid of hated political enemies . . . to help the hangman do his work on the '18' even if your scaffold was the Smith Act."

During 1949 and early 1950, CIO President Philip Murray and the conservative bureaucrats around him carried out a successful drive to depose Stalinist officials or, where that proved impossible, to expel unions led by CP members and sympathizers. The final phase of the campaign was launched at the CIO's May 1949 National Executive Board meeting. Murray demanded that board members either resign or agree to support the Marshall Plan—Washington's scheme for propping up the tottering capitalist regimes in Europe and expanding its own domination of their economies.

At the November 1949 convention of the CIO, Murray's machine had no difficulty pushing through a constitutional amendment that read:

"No individual shall be eligible to

serve either as an officer or as a member of the Executive Board who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the constitution of the CIO."

At the same time, Washington was strengthening its capacity for undercover "dirty tricks" around the world. In 1947, the wartime Office of Strategic Services was reorganized as the Central Intelligence Agency. The activities of the CIA are intended to be kept secret not only from the U.S. working class and intended victims in other countries, but even from Congress. The National Security Act, which established the CIA, provided:

" . . . that the Director of Central Intelligence shall be responsible for protecting intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure;

"To perform, for the benefit of the existing intelligence agencies, such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more efficiently accomplished centrally;

"To perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

In a June 4, 1973, speech to the Senate, William Proxmire complained:

"It is not possible to state with authority what interpretation the executive department has placed on these particular sections of the National Security Act of 1947 because subsequent interpretations have been done in secret. In fact, *the CIA charter is not fully contained in the National Security Act of 1947 but is extrapolated from the act by a series of National Security Council intelligence directives after the passage of the act. These were, and remain, classified.* Thus we are faced with a highly unusual situation. Congress has enacted a law with a set of prescribed relationships and duties for the CIA. And the executive department through the National Security Council has interpreted this law in secret. Whether this subsequent secret interpretation is allowed by the original act is in doubt." (Emphasis added.)

In other words, Congress in 1947 gave the president a blank check to do as he pleased in the field of "intelligence," and promised not to ask even how the check was spent. This fact was not discovered in 1973. Proxmire's complaint about this long-standing situation resulted from the setbacks to Washington's efforts to police the world and more particularly from the crisis known as Watergate.

It is worth repeating that the centralization of power in the presidency has proceeded under both liberal and conservative presidents. The process is dictated by the needs of U.S. imperialism, not by political philosophy. The liberal Kennedy carried out the Bay of Pigs invasion planned by Eisenhower and Nixon.

It was after the failure at the Bay of Pigs, and especially after the near approach to nuclear war in October 1962, that Washington's strategists of counterrevolution shifted toward "counterinsurgency" as the weapon of the future. This was seen not only as a weapon against guerrilla movements or mass uprisings in the underdeveloped countries. Kennedy showed that it could also be useful against embarrassing "allies" when he organized the overthrow of the South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem.

Similarly, it was not Nixon but Johnson who began the massive use of the military as spies on civilian political activity, including the compiling of 25,000,000 computerized files on individuals.

Even this brief glance at the historical context makes it clear that the operations of the Nixon gang were only the latest steps in a decades-long process in which the U.S. ruling class has steadily centralized authority in order to enforce more efficiently its international and domestic aims. With perhaps one major exception—the scope of his efforts to regiment the mass media—Nixon is no innovator. On the contrary, he could claim with considerable justification: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill."

This being the case, why is it that the Watergate revelations have come about? How did the long-standing practices of the U.S. government suddenly produce a scandal that has escalated into the most serious governmental crisis in a century?

(To be continued.)

Lip Workers Refuse to Give Up Their Struggle

[The French government has moved definitively to crush the struggle of the workers at the Lip watch factory in Besançon in eastern France. The Pompidou regime has been aided in its fight against the Lip strikers by deliberate sabotage by the leadership of the Communist party-controlled Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) and the passive attitude of the national leaders of the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT—French Democratic Confederation of Labor).

[But the strikers, as of the second week of November, were still holding firm. The battle for Lip had become a war of attrition, the regime counting on tiring the workers out, the workers attempting to deepen the solidarity movement, which has been the main strength of their struggle.

[The Lip factory was occupied by the workers during the summer, after they found out that the company's new owner, the Swiss trust Ebauches SA, planned to "rationalize" the plant by firing several hundred workers. From June to the middle of August the workers operated the plant themselves and sold the watches they produced to pay themselves and to finance the struggle. When the regime evicted the workers from the factory by force on August 14, the strikers transferred some equipment to a local gymnasium and continued producing and selling watches. The struggle moved to a phase of "negotiations" as the regime dispatched Henry Giraud to work out a plan for "reopening" the factory.

[The latest turn in the Lip battle came during October. The regime's move to the offensive closely followed a massive march of more than 80,000 persons in Besançon on September 29. The demonstration had been built almost completely by the workers themselves and by the far-left groups, especially the ex-Ligue Communiste, the now formally banned French section of the Fourth International. The September 29 march was a big boost to the workers' morale, and the government quickly moved against the Lip

workers to counteract its effects.

[In the first week of October, Giraud presented the workers a "take-it-or-leave-it" plan for "reopening" the factory. It called for laying off 159 workers and provided no guarantees that the rest of the workers would maintain their jobs. Giraud said he would break off negotiations by October 9 if the workers rejected his plan. After that, events moved quickly.

[On October 8 the workers held a General Assembly to consider Giraud's proposal. The Giraud plan, which in substance was supported by the CGT leaders, was put to a vote: it lost, 749 to 15.

[The next day Giraud broke off negotiations. Georges Ségué, head of the CGT, held a press conference in which he denounced "irresponsible elements" who refused to act "reasonably." The reference was to the Lip workers, not to Giraud. After several days of behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing, another General Assembly was held to consider some new proposals. Three plans were presented to the October 11 meeting for discussion: a CGT-sponsored proposal that differed little in substance from the Giraud plan, a compromise CGT-CFDT proposal that eventually came to be repudiated by both organizations, and a motion from the Lip action committee to reject the Giraud plan firmly and continue the fight around the two major slogans: No Layoffs and No Dismantlement.

[A full and democratic discussion was held. The following day a vote was held by secret ballot. The choices had since been narrowed. One proposal, sponsored by the CGT, read: "End the struggle by returning to work and accepting the Giraud plan." The other: "Continue the struggle. Relaunch negotiations on the basis of the initial demands: no layoffs, maintenance of gains won so far."

[The second proposal received 626 votes; the first, 174. The October 12 vote could have been a turning point in the fight. But the CGT leaders immediately moved to discredit the vote instead of accepting the verdict of the

workers and moving to enforce their decision. The CGT bureaucrats publicly denounced the October 12 vote, refused to participate further in the sale of watches, and began signing workers up to go on unemployment—a step that would formally repudiate the "unofficial" production of watches.

[The CFDT leaders, under pressure from their CGT allies, announced their acceptance "in principle" of the lay-off of the 159 workers, provided they were guaranteed comparable employment elsewhere.

[The temporizing was just what the government needed. On October 23 the police raided the Maison pour Tous, the workers strike headquarters. A total of 35,770 francs in cash and 8,110 francs in checks was stolen from the workers' storehouse. Thirty-nine watches were also seized.

[But the October 23 police raid did not break the struggle. The Lip workers put out a call for solidarity demonstrations. None of the trade-union leaders responded. But a spontaneous wave of telegrams and phone calls poured into Besançon. In Paris, several thousand revolutionary militants demonstrated in solidarity with the Lip strikers on October 25.

[As of early November, the Lip workers were holding on against the government and the reformist bureaucrats. The solidarity movement—key to continuing the struggle—was more important than ever, and was being organized largely by the far left.

[The following article, which appeared in the November 2 issue of *Rouge*, formerly the organ of the Ligue Communiste, explains the state of the Lip struggle and the revolutionary attitude toward what must be done next. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Lip workers came en masse to the General Assembly on Monday, October 29. Contrary to the nonsense being peddled by the bourgeois press, they were not demoralized.

To be sure, the government had been

able to chip away at the movement. There had been a break in trade-union unity because of the unspeakable attitude of the CGT leaders, and this definitely weakened the movement. Also, a trend toward signing up for unemployment seemed to be under way; that same day the number of persons joining up would reach the 300 mark.

But the situation in the factory was not that of a rout (in spite of what the press would like to make people believe).

The week before, a certain laxity had appeared. But the mass of workers present on October 29 refused to sit on their hands. The recent workers payday had boosted morale. But more than the question of money, it was the workers solidarity forged during the past six months of struggle that welded the Lip workers together at a time when their fight was going on under difficult conditions.

There was real solidarity in response to their desire to hold the line. Since the news had come out that the cops had moved on the Maison pour Tous, telegrams and phone calls had been pouring into Besançon. Moreover, the Saturday before, "six hours for Lip" had had a success: in Marseille more than 3,000 persons had participated from 6:00 in the evening to midnight. There was a film, discussion, another film, more discussion, songs, skits, and so on.

It was also a big success in Saint-Etienne. There was an exhibit of forty photographs showing the whole development of the conflict; two rooms were set aside for film showings, two discussion rooms for meeting visitors, and there was an exhibit of *Lip-Unité*. A central meeting was held at 5:00 p.m.

Obviously, none of this solidarity activity, and none of the other meetings that have taken place all over France and abroad (London, Luxembourg, Vienna) has filtered into the bourgeois press. The "mass media" have been alternating between a conspiracy of silence and printing lies. The "objective" newscasts over the radio at prime time have been claiming that "dismantlement of the factory has begun" and that only a small band of diehards are still living in their dream world and are showing up for General Assemblies.

The Jackals Reappear

Nevertheless, from behind this backdrop are emerging some of the jackals who have been lying low for the past several months. In fact the government has directed an unabashed appeal to them. For the armaments and machine-tool sections, the game of "employee evaluation" will soon begin; it is already known who will be kept on the books.

For the watchmaking section, the Ebauches Corporation, so silent these past months, is now trying to come discretely into the open. Some supervisors have been sounded out by a Japanese firm that wants to get something going in Europe. As for the sales department, and their honorable director, they are not going on unemployment. The ASSUAG has taken them under its wing. The distribution network for the Lip brand is thus assured. So it cannot be said that no one is interested in Lip any more.

But don't be fooled. All these jackals are fighting only about who will control the Lip brand name, not about the factory itself and the workers. In the October 20 issue of the magazine *La Suisse* Paul Tschudin, deputy director of the Ebauches trust, straightforwardly declared:

"The most serious thing is that we will have to wait eight months to get production going again at Lip. Because of the situation that has come about there, many suppliers have not acted on orders placed by Lip. Even if these orders were confirmed today, there would necessarily be long delays in delivery, and we would thus have to pay the personnel for seven or eight months of doing nothing. To start up again it would take 250 persons; later, we would expect a work force of 580 to 600 persons. But now, we cannot be sure whether to withdraw from Lip or buy further in. We need time to let things settle down a bit. Imagine the situation we would have in Besançon if tomorrow we announced that Ebauches was reopening Lip with only 250 employees. . . . But we are open to any proposal."

It is understandable that Tschudin, who is used to a calmer social atmosphere, should be torn between his "industrial appetite" and his fear at the idea of becoming the employer of workers who have been taking on the

bourgeoisie head on for so many months. Charbonnel [the minister of scientific and economic development] has declared over and over again that the government is prepared to finance any industrialist who will take Lip over. But experience shows what his words are worth; nothing is settled yet. Only the mobilization of the workers can guarantee that everyone will be employed. And it must be recognized that the trade-union leaders are not doing their best to effect that mobilization; in fact, that's putting it mildly.

CGT Leaders: Continuing Sabotage

For months it was unity that gave the Lip workers their strength. But today, division between the unions has been systematically provoked and carried out by the leaders of the CGT. First they refused to submit to the vote of the General Assembly. Then they distributed leaflets, circulars, and corridor rumors carefully designed to heap the worst slanders on the strike and its leadership in order to make the whole working class suspicious of the Lip strikers. Now, they have just taken a new step: Today they are organizing people to sign up for unemployment. Mercet himself, the head CGT delegate at Lip, stated at the October 29 General Assembly:

"After discussions with the labor exchange, it has been agreed that Lip workers who decide to protect their social-security rights by signing up for unemployment benefits will not be offered jobs until the conflict is over, unless they ask for them. Thus, they can remain in struggle while still protecting their rights."

A curious way to strengthen the struggle.

The demonstration in Paris on October 30 also showed how the CGT was trying to sow division. The CGT section at Lip refused to carry a common banner with the CFDT. Local CGT sections along with the national federation insisted on carrying signs and banners "for democratic rights" in order to prevent the march from "becoming just a Lip demonstration" (sic), as the PSU and the CFDT wanted.

It is clear what the CGT leaders are aiming at in this type of maneu-

ver: They want to end as quickly as possible a struggle that they do not control, whose forms of organization have bothered them from the beginning. That is why they are trying to prevent the Lip workers from establishing ties with the workers at Larousse, who are struggling against the same attacks on employment and the same police measures. In fact, the CGT leaders are trying to divide the Lip workers and the Larousse workers and even to set them against each other. Georges Séguy shamelessly told reporters: "The Lip experience cannot be compared to the conflict at Larousse. Here [at Larousse] we have an organization that knows what it wants and knows where it is going."

Instead of coordinating these two struggles for the same objectives, as it advocated doing not so long ago, the CGT leadership is trying to manipulate the Larousse workers into making their strike a sort of "anti-Lip" demonstration.

The CFDT: Not Much to Offer

The CFDT, torn between its local section and its national leadership, which is ever more obviously eyeing the Union of the Left, has not been noted for its audacity. It is quite clear that the CFDT has not measured up to the Lip workers' hopes.

After some soaring rhetoric during the month of August, the CFDT leadership has not outlined any perspective for struggle. Its role has instead been to pressure its local section to be "reasonable" and to take account of the "relationship of forces." And what has it done to improve or consolidate the relationship of forces? Not much.

Its educational materials have certainly been important, but its solidarity actions have been limited and sometimes marked by incredible sectarianism.

What Next?

The employers have been striking hard at Lip, trying to make an example of it. After Giraud pulled out, the workers' response should have been massive and centralized. The movement should have set goals and adopted forms of struggle corresponding to the bourgeoisie's attack: demanding nationalization of Lip under workers control and holding a twenty-

four-hour general strike with a central demonstration in Paris.

But no serious response was organized by the trade-union leaderships. Not even after the scandalous police attack on the Maison pour Tous in which they stole the workers money. Only a few thousand revolutionary militants responded with a demon-



SEGUY: CGT head considers government representative more "reasonable" than Lip workers.

stration in Paris on October 25. And in the October 30 demonstration of the traditional workers parties and unions, Lip was "relativized," lost in the shuffle.

So today the situation has become more difficult. And the union leaders bear a heavy responsibility for this. But it would be a mistake to believe that all is lost.

Lip solidarity is not dead. The success of the "six hours for Lip" programs in the provinces prove that. Almost every place they have been organized they have been successful.

The Lip workers themselves have a decisive role to play. During the preparations for the [September 29] march on Besançon they took the initiative and in fact forced the reluctant union leaders to act. Now they know that support and ideas will not come from above. They must go forward themselves:

Lip-Unité must continue to come out.

They must have an active presence at the colloquium on employment that has been scheduled for Besançon, and must give it a militant character so that the balance can be drawn on all the recent struggles for employment and so that discussion can begin on general objectives in the struggle for employment and against high prices.

They must make a systematic effort to ensure strong ties with other strikes, especially Larousse.

And revolutionists must not sit around inactive:

They must fight hard inside the unions against all the anti-Lip slanders, carry out local solidarity actions, and press for the idea of a national response.

They must intervene by taking up their responsibilities against any new attack by the bourgeoisie, even if they have to act alone. That was the meaning of the October 25 demonstration. They must participate actively, in an independent way, in demonstrations for democratic rights in order to prevent Lip from being swept under the rug. That is what *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière* did on October 30.

They must wage a united campaign for the expropriation of Lip, its nationalization under workers control.

The forces of the far left are limited. But through its battles, through the solidarity, through the discussion on the forms of struggle, the slogans, and the meaning of Lip, thousands of worker militants can learn from the experience of the reformists' tactics and come closer to revolutionary Marxism.

That, too, is what is at stake at Lip. □

Civil Libertarian

"The Nixon Administration is considering proposing early next year legislation designed to protect citizens from wiretapping, bugging and other forms of invasion of privacy.

"The proposal is one of a number under consideration for President Nixon's 1974 State of the Union message, which will be designed to show a President in control of the Government and making innovations."

— *New York Times*, November 18.

Well, whatever else you may think of the idea, there's no denying that it is an innovation.

Chile Stadium—the Junta's Charnel House

[The following article by Bobi Sourander, the Swedish correspondent jailed and later deported by the military junta in Chile, is from the October 26 issue of the Stockholm morning paper *Dagens Nyheter*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The National Stadium in Chile really did not deserve to become such a world scandal. It was another place, Santiago's old football stadium, where the most gruesome things happened.

"I saw five men murdered right in front of us 5,000 prisoners. Men were lying in the urinals with crushed skulls. I cannot describe it. Have you read Dante's *Inferno*? I lived through it in the Chile Stadium, the old stadium."

Pablo, a Bolivian, was one of the few emotionally disturbed persons in the big National Stadium. We sat together in the nights when he could not sleep. We rolled cigarettes out of butts and toilet paper and laughed together when one of the prisoners sleeping in the dressing room gave a loud comic snore.

"It's pure freedom here," Pablo said. "It's hardly anything."

People were sleeping around us in blankets on the floor. There was the rustle of weapons in the corridor as soldiers went by. There was the sound of farting from the eternal bean soup and the wheezing of the toilet in the shower room nearby.

"It's pure freedom here," Pablo said again.

We slept mostly during the day, in the sun on the rows of spectator's seats.

"In the other stadium I didn't sleep a wink for five days. Something happened when I saw the first open murder. A boy was thrown down the stairs to the landing, tied against the railing, and shot."

Pablo was taken to the Chile Stadium on September 12, thirty-six hours after the military coup in Chile. He was held there until the stadium was cleared out a week later.

"I was carried in. The Black Berets,

an elite military unit, had tortured me until I couldn't walk. The prisoners helped me to a place in the back of one of the grandstands, the safest place there was. I sat there from then on, day after day, and watched the drama, the inferno, as if it were a play."

The benches were filled with prisoners crammed into the small old stadium. In the corridors and entrance ramps, the police and soldiers beat everyone they felt like giving a going over.

"They told me that at first the 'public,' the prisoners, had whistled and protested. But when the police went into the grandstands kicking and clubbing those who sat there, the protests fell silent."

A young boy staggered in from a bank of seats in another gallery, another "apartment house." He had been beaten and the soldiers pushed him down the steep stairs. He stumbled, fell, and lay there with his head down.

"They dragged him down the steps and pulled him to his feet out on the football field. There they clubbed him to death with their rifle butts. He must have been dead. No one could survive the kind of beating he got. Another soldier finally shot him. They left him lying there."

Some hours later, as twilight was approaching, the commandant of the Chile Stadium came out to take the microphone. A prisoner stood up in a row of seats and screamed, "You fascist murderer."

Then the commandant took the microphone and asked over the loudspeaker.

"Who said that?"

The prisoner got up and yelled, "I said that."

The commandant said, "Come here!"

The prisoner got up—he was a middle-aged man—and started to go up the stairs to the platform where the microphone was. The commandant took out his revolver and shot him.

"All 5,000 of us saw it! We saw another three men murdered, as if it was part of a grotesque theatrical production. One prisoner jumped from the

top gallery in a suicide attempt. He survived. He was dragged out onto the field and clubbed to death."

Victor Jara, Chile's foremost protest singer, was in the Chile Stadium.

"I know what happened. I didn't see but it was told about all over the stadium. Victor was badly tortured. He was sitting wrapped in a poncho when the prisoners asked him to sing. He sang an old Chilean dance tune, a *cueca*. Then the guards came and hit him in the mouth and crushed his hands. They saw to it that he would never sing again. Then they took him away."

Pablo took me around the prisoners in the National Stadium looking for the man who had seen Victor Jara's dead body lying in the trash removal area. The man had said that the guitarist's fingers were smashed. We did not find the man. He had been released.

But we did find the boy who had helped Pablo down to the toilets when he was too sore to make it alone. We had a long talk, as he and Pablo began to relate what they saw.

"I was stiff from being beaten. The boy helped me out of the seats. I couldn't do it myself. He went down with me to the men's toilets."

The corridor was dark when Pablo opened the door to the men's room.

"There were three or four men lying on the floor with their heads in the urinals. Their skulls had been crushed. There were police standing around them."

Pablo stood in the doorway, thunderstruck.

"I didn't believe what I saw."

The boy jumped away when an officer approached. Pablo was dragged along the corridor and thrown down the stairs.

"I was sure they were going to kill me for what I had seen. So, after an hour, or maybe a half hour, I staggered back."

Then a group of soldiers came to clean the urinals. They flushed them and joked, and asked Pablo for a cigarette. They cleaned out the bloodstains and the pieces of brain tissue that hadn't been flushed away.

"I realized that I wasn't in a closed-off area. So I went up the stairs again with a vague idea of running away. Then I heard the boy who helped me whistle."

They both went along a tunnel toward what they thought was an exit. Instead they ran into the interrogation room.

"And there in a corner of the tunnel, we saw bodies. I think they were all men. They were naked and stacked in piles of four and five." They heard steps and jumped away. They went out the same opening and up into the stands, but into the wrong section.

"We didn't dare say a word. We were afraid of informers."

Pablo sat down in the seats again.

"Something strange happened. I don't know how long I sat there. I am not aware of having slept any time. I thought mostly about my wife and worried about my books. They had been dumped off the shelves during the search when I was arrested. I worried about my books, and people were being tortured in front of me all the time."

He had gotten a blanket, but an officer took it away from him. A group of foreign young women took pity on him and found him another blanket. When a noncom shouted for "the Bolivian," he huddled down and covered himself with the blanket.

"There were a lot of foreigners there. I think—and it is only a guess—that the soldiers and police ran amok in the Chile Stadium because the commandant himself did so. He was edgy. He cursed all the time, shot prisoners with his pistol. The young women said that he had kicked a Chilean woman in the face as she was being taken away for questioning."

What about executions?

"We saw five executions. But there were probably many more. The first two days there was almost continual shooting in the Chile Stadium, in the corridors, in the banks of seats, in the passageways of the galleries. From our row of seats, we looked directly into a passageway. Prisoners were often carried past on stretchers."

Around us in our dressing room, other prisoners were snoring. When our matches ran out, we knocked on the door and got a light from a soldier on guard. He asked us what we were talking about and listened with interest to Pablo.

"Yes," the soldier said later, "It was really bad in the Chile Stadium."

Then the soldier sold us his pack

of cigarettes. For 300 escudos we got three-quarters of a pack that had cost thirty. He said a polite "with your permission" before he closed the door.

"It's pure freedom here," Pablo said.

He continued to sit up and smoke

while I dozed.

What he said is true.

The Chile Stadium should be a world scandal.

All the facts about the bloody week there must be exposed. □

Embryonic Forms of Workers Power in Chile

The Role of the Cordones Industriales

By Hugo Blanco

[Shortly after arriving in Sweden on November 5, the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, who had been in exile in Chile until the September 11 coup, wrote an analysis of the cordones industriales (organizations of workers management in local industrial concentrations) for the Swedish Trotskyist press. This article follows. The translation from the Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

With a rise in its struggle, the working class changes its method of organization. The classical unions and federations organized by industry are replaced by more supple organizational forms more suited to a powerful dynamic of struggle.

In Chile, this process went only half way.

What developed were the cordones industriales, organs that tended to embrace all the workers in an industrial district, that is, 200 or 300 plants along an avenue.

I said that this was a half-completed process both because these committees only managed to take root in the vanguard plants and because they were based on the unions in the individual factories. In general, the workers were represented through the chairmen of their union locals. Only to a lesser degree was there representation through delegates directly elected to the cordones.

It was the ineffectiveness of the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers] that gave rise to the cordones. This ineffectiveness was due both to the reformist leadership of the union federation, which was dominated by the CP, and

to the new requirements of the struggle, which demanded a geographical kind of organization rather than one based on trade or occupation.

An example will show this more clearly. If the workers in a canning factory seized their plant, they needed an immediate mobilization of the neighboring factories to help them defend it. In these conditions, an organization including all the workers in a district could function more easily than a federation of workers in canning plants scattered in the various areas of the country.

The main cordones arose during the bosses' strike in October 1972 (except for the Cordón Cerrillos, which had developed shortly before).

The cordones distinguished themselves in organizing transportation (during the bosses' strikes), in defending the seized factories, in their radical statements, and in giving an initial impetus toward direct distribution and armed defense. Their most outstanding contribution to the struggle was in carrying out seizures in the districts where they were established, which sometimes involved cutting off the access routes to the city, as in the case of the Cordón Cerrillos.

The cordones did not succeed in overcoming the bureaucracy; at important moments the Socialist party put on a brake. The cordones did not manage to cut the umbilical cord linking them to the reformist leaderships. They were badly organized, and in general their ongoing life was very weak, although they firmed up during conjunctural high points.

They were not able to organize the struggle on a centralized basis.

All this prevented them from grow-

ing and becoming a powerful center.

The attitudes of the left parties toward the cordones can be summarized as follows:

The CP: It fought the cordones, regarding them as competing bodies with the CUT, which it dominated. Later, in view of the ineffectiveness of its attacks, it tried to destroy them from inside or through flanking maneuvers. But before this campaign was well under way, the coup occurred.

The SP: The Socialist party was the dominant force in the cordones, and its internal struggles were reflected in them. The left-wing sections of the SP had a good field of activity, but when they knuckled under in the last instance to their leaderships, it harmed the cordones.

The MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]: The MIR in its theory discounted the importance of the cordones, stressing instead the comandos comunales [municipal commands]. Besides the unions, these latter bodies included shantytown neighborhood associations and student and peasant organizations.

This meant diffusing the workers among the petty bourgeoisie.

The cordones did not oppose the formation of comandos comunales, but they argued that they should be the backbone of these organizations.

In practice, the comandos comunales were never able to develop beyond the embryonic stage, and the MIR was active in the cordones, although less than in the countryside and the shantytowns.

The PSR [Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist party, the Chilean section of the Fourth International]: The PSR proposed strengthening the cordones, organizing them in a solid way, getting them to function on a regular basis, and democratizing them.

It recognized them as the most advanced organizations of the working class, which should serve as the axes of the comandos comunales.

And above all, the PSR stressed the need for class independence from the reformist leaderships.

The program the cordones were developing, which was in general correct, could not be put into practice until these preconditions were achieved. □

Chile Solidarity in Belgium

United-Front Meeting in Ghent

[The following articles appeared in the November 2 issue of *La Gauche*, the weekly paper of the LRT (Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs—Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The Ghent section of the LRT organized a meeting on Chile on October 25. Until then it had seemed impossible to get all the workers organizations together for a joint meeting of solidarity with the Chilean people, and consequently different organizations have preferred to work separately. So our comrades decided to call on militants from various workers organizations to address the meeting. In fact, they believed that resistance to the Chilean junta is the business of the whole workers movement and that everything had to be done to unite the various groups on this issue.

Thus, the featured speakers included Ernest Mandel, member of the Political Bureau of the LRT; Jef Turf, vice-president of the PCB [Parti Communiste Belge—Belgian Communist party]; and Piet Van Eeckhout, municipal councilor of the PSB [Parti Socialiste Belge—Belgian Socialist party]. Despite prior agreement, a speaker from the FGTVB [Fédération Générale des Travailleurs de Belgique—Belgian General Federation of Workers] was unable to participate.

The public decidedly appreciated such an initiative, as was proven by the large attendance. With an audience of some 400 persons, this event was by far the most important of all the Chile meetings that have been held in Ghent during the past few weeks. This was also the only meeting that was able to attract several dozen trade-union militants from factories in the Ghent region.

In his introduction, the chairman, E. Corijn, pointed out the twofold importance of such meetings. First, it could be the beginning of collabora-

tion on a regional scale of various organizations in the framework of a Chile front. Secondly, the Chilean experience is of such crucial importance for the world working class that, after three years of the Allende regime, it is imperative that we draw the lessons for our own struggle against capitalism.

Each of the three speakers got half an hour to present his point of view. Ernest Mandel pointed out that the Chilean defeat proved once again that it is impossible to maintain a so-called mixed economy. Either the economy is capitalist, is centered on maximizing profit, and the workers wages are held as low as possible, or else the economy is planned, based on the collectivization of the means of production.

Mandel spoke of the role of the state as the second important lesson.

The state apparatus is an instrument controlled by the bourgeoisie to protect its economic system. When the class struggle comes to challenge bourgeois profit, the bourgeoisie will opt for a massacre, and in so doing will trample under foot all its laws.

In no way can the conclusion be drawn from this that the workers' only alternative is class collaboration or defeat. Victory is possible if the masses build their own independent organs of power, workers councils and peasants councils.

Jef Turf recalled the achievements of the Allende regime and spoke of the constant intervention of the multinational trusts and the CIA. They are the cause of the overthrow of Allende, who adhered to legality. However, it is impossible, Turf said, for us to draw lessons from something that happened so far away from us. The Chileans themselves must do that. We can only state that the rightist danger is also present here and that the only answer is a front of all progressive forces with the goal of broadening democracy.

Piet Van Eeckhout (PSB) quoted excerpts from Allende's address to the United Nations at the end of 1972,

in which he described the way he would be overthrown. He vehemently attacked the attitude of the Belgian government, which despite everything had maintained diplomatic relations with Chile. Van Eeckhout also said he could not give an analysis of the recent events in Chile because not enough information was available. But what was clear, he said, was that people on the left must stop arguing and form a single front.

The floor was then opened up. A comrade from AMADA [Alle Macht aan de Arbeiders—All Power to the Workers] gave a forceful speech detailing the contrast between the PCB's attitude and Leninist conceptions, citing quotations from Turf, Lenin, and Dimitrov. Several of those speaking from the audience dealt with the problem of armed struggle, and reference was also made to the unprincipled stand of the Kremlin, which was still willing to play a soccer game for the World Cup championship in Santiago, right in the stadium of terror.

In some of their replies the speakers especially took up the question of unity. Mandel stressed the fact that we are concerned with uniting party leaderships at the top. A specific program is indispensable for unity.

In contrast to the other Chile meetings at Ghent, this one did not end with a moment of silence for the Chilean victims, but with the singing of the "Internationale" as a symbol of the desire for active solidarity with the resistance.

This meeting was an important step toward building a front in Ghent. Each speaker called for unity and indicated agreement with the main slogans for Chile; so it does not seem that there should be any difficulty in moving on to actually setting up a front.

Of course, differences persist, and they are being discussed in a lively but comradely way. It has become clear that the formation of an anti-capitalist front must involve more discussion on objectives and means of action. Nevertheless, the possibility exists, and it was demonstrated that evening, too.

The next day, at the employment office in the port of Ghent, the discussion did not seem to have ended. Small groups discussed unity among the workers parties.

November 26, 1973

If a Chile front is formed in Ghent, and if the various workers parties keep on discussing problems that are

basic to the workers struggle, this meeting will have achieved a long-lasting result.

Maoists Try to Block Louvain Meeting

Two weeks ago, the Latin American Solidarity Committee organized a meeting on Chile featuring Ernest Mandel, member of the Political Bureau of the LRT, as the speaker.

These comrades had organized an initial meeting at the end of September with F. Debuyst, professor at the Catholic University of Louvain, to discuss the Unidad Popular and explain the reasons that had impelled the Chilean bourgeoisie to overthrow the Allende regime. This was an initial success: 300 persons attended, many of them first-year students.

Afterwards the same committee organized various activities focusing on the problems of Latin America and called for militant solidarity and participation in demonstrations. Following this line, the committee wanted to organize a meeting to draw the political lessons of the defeat of the Allende experiment: the meaning of reformism, why the peaceful road to socialism is undoubtedly even more impossible in Latin America than elsewhere, what strategy must be followed on a Latin American scale.

This meeting, like its the earlier one, was successful both in attendance (300 persons) and in the political level of the speeches. This testifies to the progress made by revolutionary ideas in Louvain during the past few years, and by the position of our political tendency, which was presented by

Ernest Mandel.

But AMADA (a Flemish Stalinist organization of the Mao variety) was unhappy about what was happening—which is certainly its right—and tried an especially unsavory maneuver. After the propaganda for the Chile meeting was in full swing, AMADA decided to organize a meeting on the Middle East on the same day, at the same time, in the same building. More than that, when shortly before the meeting Latin Americans went into the room nearest the building's entrance to decorate it, members of AMADA came to throw them out, claiming that the room had been reserved for them by the university, since it was the "Flemish" room.

These various maneuvers were frowned upon by all revolutionists, and there were no more than fifty people at the AMADA meeting. Many Arab militants who have broken with the sectarian and nationalist notion of internationalism that AMADA sometimes advocates attended the meeting on Chile.

Moreover, a comrade from the LRT attended the AMADA meeting, took the floor to denounce the sectarian maneuver before the audience, and recalled that it was a certain Stalin, regarded by AMADA as a "great revolutionary leader," who was the first to recognize Israel, even before the UN's decision. □

'The Most Horrible Days of My Life'

Report From a Victim of the Chile Junta

[The following eyewitness account of torture in Chile is by a prisoner who was held from September 11-20 on the island prison of Quiriquina in southern Chile. It was published in the November 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

I lived the most horrible days of my life on the island of Quiriquina, one of the concentration camps opened up by the junta. From the time we arrived the jailers made us stand erect with our hands behind our neck from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. We had only a few minutes to eat meals. Aching severely, our hands and arms would drop. They would force us to raise them

again by jabbing with their bayonettes. To intimidate all those who could no longer bear it, they picked out fifteen prisoners, lined them against a wall, and beat them black and blue with their rifle butts; then an officer ordered the soldiers to load their rifles and shoot. This is how they murdered fifteen of our comrades. But they did not stop there.

As part of the variety of bullying, we were not allowed to urinate; then they let us take only fifteen seconds, which did not even give us time to get undressed. Our food ration consisted of one piece of bread, a glass of water, and a small dish of food whose contents we never knew.

As a matter of fact, this was only the beginning, for the interrogations were far worse, followed by tortures

so inhuman that they are difficult to fathom, given of course, that no journalist would ever be able to bear witness to them: electric currents applied to the genital organs, beatings with wet sackcloth, submersion into tanks filled with feces, tearing out finger nails, and burning hair.

Those who had taken part in acts of resistance had their fingers, arms, hands, ears, or genital organs severed, or else their eyes were torn out. As their blood was already spilling they were run through with a bayonette until they were dead. It was all done in front of us to make an impression on us. I swear that this is the entire truth: I saw it with my own eyes. The scars on my body are there as proof. □

forward by the Peronists in March]. But—and this is fundamental—we must unite all patriots in a front against the common enemy at home and abroad. One party alone cannot decide anything. We urgently need a big *Patriotic and Anti-Imperialist Front that will embrace this 80 percent, this immense majority.*

"Experience has once again shown the same truth. The anti-imperialist front must rely in the first place on the working class and, together with it, on the peasants, on the sections of the armed forces with an interest in the revolution—on the students, professionals, small and middle bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie not linked to imperialism, the Catholic masses, and the patriotic military who carry on the tradition of San Martín [the Argentine leader of the war of independence against Spain; in Chile the CP called the "patriotic military" in its country the "continuers of the tradition of O'Higgins," the Chilean leader in the war of independence]. Whatever their political beliefs—Peronists, Communists, Radicals, Socialists, etc.—all together will be an insurmountable wall against the saboteurs and putschists in the service of the Yankees and the landlords. *This is the bloody lesson of Chile. This is our first and most urgent task in Argentina.*"

That is, the lesson the Argentine CP learned from the collapse of the Unidad Popular and the ignominious defeat of its sister party in Chile was the need to follow exactly the same policy that paved the way for the bloody coup across the Andes.

'Sitting on an Erupting Volcano'

Perón promptly provided the Argentine CP a foretaste of the fruits to be expected from its policy. Within a week after he took office, Perón ordered his vast bureaucracy to launch a "war against Marxism."

Despite its record of opposing Perón's mildly anti-imperialist bourgeois nationalist movement as "Nazi-fascist" during the period when the Soviet Union was allied with the "democratic" imperialisms, the Argentine Communist party displayed the same faith in the old caudillo's "progressive" intentions as the Chilean CP had in the constitutionalism of General Pinochet.

(According to Jean-Noel Darde and

Conjures Specter of Guerrilla War

Moscow's New Line on Struggle in Chile

By Gerry Foley

Since the "peaceful road to socialism" came to its disastrous ending in Chile, Communist party propagandists around the world have adopted a new militant tone.

This has been most noticeable in the press of the Argentine Communist party, the Stalinist organization most directly affected by the collapse of Allende's popular-front government and the fate of its Chilean sister party.

In its September 19 issue, *Nuestra Palabra*, the organ of the Argentine CP, said:

"In the midst of the smoke and the blood, we must undertake some initial evaluations that our Chilean comrades can help us out with later on. The first is that the landowners, the imperialists, and the military and the civilians who serve them never sleep. The denunciations of the machinations of the monopolies and the CIA, of their national lackeys, and of the threat of a coup d'état—in both Chile and Argentina—were not wolf-crying, were not a horror story but a concrete reality, an imminent reality, which threatens all peoples and governments that struggle for the freedom and independence of their fatherlands."

Did this mean that the Argentine Communist party was abandoning the policy of collaboration with the "progressive" bourgeoisie that had led its sister party to defeat across the Andes? Had it decided to show in a dramatic and effective way in the coming election in Argentina that it had learned the lesson of the Chilean events?

The issue of *Nuestra Palabra* dated September 19 was the last before the special presidential elections of September 23. The Communist party had been supporting the candidacy of the resurrected representative of the "progressive bourgeoisie" in its country, the demagogic General Juan D. Perón.

But the lesson to be drawn from the Chilean defeat, as *Nuestra Palabra* saw it, was the following:

"The essential, the richest experience is this: With the support of the people we can carry out patriotic and revolutionary transformations such as had already been initiated [in Chile]. This is still more possible in Argentina, where we have the support of 80 percent of the population [that is, the combined vote of the parties that supported the "Programmatic Guidelines" put

Isabel Santi, writing in the November *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Pinochet boasted to a circle of officers after the coup: "That stupid prick Allende believed me right up to the end.")

Not even Perón's attitude toward the coup in Chile alerted the Argentine CP, although it had previously lauded him as a great defender of the anti-imperialist experiment in the neighboring country. The "continuer of San Martín" sealed off the border, blocking all aid to the resistance and closing the main escape route for refugees from the mass slaughter and political persecution launched by the junta. The Argentine "patriotic general" would not even grant full right of asylum to the political exiles legally entering his country, but insisted on confining them to the tropical jungle province of Misiones.

Ironically, the Argentine CP interpreted the victory of the rightists in Chile in exactly the same way that the Argentine Trotskyist weekly *Avanzada Socialista* predicted that they would eventually explain Perón's right turn: The military "betrayed."

"Basically what made the coup possible was the betrayal of the military. Without the rockets, without the tanks, without the airplanes, without the helicopters and their machine guns, without the warships and their cannon, the coup would not have succeeded."

One might add that without these things no military coup could succeed anywhere at any time. Thus, the statement did not explain anything, unless, that is, the Argentine CP had adopted a purely military view of the struggle against imperialism and thought that political questions really did not matter very much. The September 19 *Nuestra Palabra* was not clear on this. But it did take a martial tone that contrasted with its previous praise for the "peaceful road to socialism" and for the Chilean CP's policy of avoiding civil war at any cost:

"The putschists are sitting on an erupting volcano, and the mobilizations of the worker, peasant, and popular masses in our sister country will ultimately expel the monopolies forever from the Araucanian¹

land.

"The responsibility of our people in this heroic struggle of the Chilean masses is great, unshirkable, urgent, and must be accepted up and down the line. Chile and its fighting people need the enthusiastic and revolutionary support of the Argentine workers and our marvelous youth. Our people will show themselves fit to take a place in the front line with our Chilean brothers, and the encirclement that the imperialists boast of today will soon be transformed into a heavy immovable mortuary slab for them."

In the same issue, an official declaration by the Argentine CP sounded an even more stirring call:

"The working class of Chile is already in arms, defending its bread, its work, its gains, and the national independence of the country. Therefore, our party calls on the Argentine working class, faithful to its honorable tradition of solidarity with the Chilean workers, to mobilize, firmly united in determined support to the cause of the workers and of our sister nation of Chile.

"It calls on the workers in general, on the peasants, on the students, professionals, artists, and intellectuals, on all political parties of the people, on Peronists, Communists, Radicals, Socialists, and other political forces united in the common struggle to defend the cause of Chile, which is our own cause, through declarations, actions, demonstrations, strikes, and, if need be, by combative and active participation in all the areas the struggle demands."

Thus, at this point the Argentine Stalinists seemed to be raising the perspective of even sending armed detachments to fight in Chile. Of course, they could have lost their "moderate" heads at the spectacle of the reactionary triumph in their neighboring country, especially coming as it did just after the Uruguayan military routed the other major Latin American CP. Furthermore, in the first week after the coup, they may not have realized that the workers had already been badly defeated.

Moscow Sounds the Bugle

The Soviet government and party organs exceeded *Nuestra Palabra* in their martial spirit and continued to blow the trumpets long after the es-

sential facts of the situation in Chile were clear.

In the October 13 *Pravda*, V. Chernyshev wrote: "Despite the bloody terror unleashed by the traitor generals and the mass arrests of the supporters of the Unidad Popular, the left forces have not been broken. From scattered clashes with the army search units, the resistance fighters are gradually going over to organized combat, establishing liaison among the underground organizations. From information getting out of Chile, a center is developing to lead the resistance movement on a large scale, and not only representatives of the Unidad Popular parties are joining it, but also several tendencies in parties that were in opposition to Allende.

"Beginning to join the resistance movement are many rank-and-file members of the Christian Democratic party who have now understood what the policy of the right-wing leadership of their party has led to. There are reports of more and more frequent armed clashes of a progressively more sustained character."

Chernyshev also quoted a statement by Chilean CP members published in the Colombian CP organ *Voz Proletaria*: "Greater than all the humiliations to which we have been subjected, greater than our sorrow for the fallen, is our determination to fight back against the putschists and to begin the counterattack. The people are preparing themselves!"

Ruslan Tulin had the same message in the September 29 *Izvestia*: "The Unidad Popular has gone underground. The struggle continues!"

A TASS dispatch in the September 25 *Izvestia* brought together all sorts of optimistic stories about guerrilla warfare getting under way. A Reuters report was quoted in which a member of the bourgeois Radical party allegedly said: "We must use various methods. Obviously we are not going to sit twiddling our thumbs. . . . The resistance will be organized in such a way that when the time comes for dealing the decisive blow, it will strike home."

A report from a London weekly was accepted uncritically and even reinforced:

"The *Observer* notes that the 'left forces are preparing guerrilla war.' Even the heads of the military junta have been forced to admit that in var-

1. The resistance of the Araucanian Indians of Chile to the Spanish conquerors was the subject of a celebrated epic poem, *La Araucana*, by Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga. Presumably the reference is intended to evoke this epic resistance.

ious places in Chile guerrilla units are being forged."

Chilean CP Switches Line

In Chile itself, the Communist party claimed to have adopted a new "military orientation."

"According to an unidentified leader of the Chilean Communist party interviewed this week in Santiago by the correspondent of the Turin daily *La Stampa*," the October Paris daily *Le Monde* reported, "the Chilean left organizations 'already possess important quantities of arms,' and 'a common struggle is being prepared for overthrowing the military regime. . . ."

"We have arms. What the junta found were only a small part. There were very few who knew how to use these weapons when needed, and we did not have the time to train the population en masse. We did not have the time for various reasons. There is no simple explanation!"

The CP leader said that his party "knew a military coup was possible." But they sought "a political solution."

"We thought of two tactics for gaining time, to remove the specter of a putsch and attract the left wing of the Christian Democracy. But we ran up against the maximalist position of Carlos Altamirano, the leader of the Socialist party, and Miguel Enriquez, the leader of the MIR. The putsch caught us by surprise."

Thus, if the "ultraleftists" had caused the defeat by provoking an attack before everyone was ready, the CP proposed to show that it was no less determined than the ultraleftists to wage "people's war" against the junta.

Even the notoriously hidebound American Communist party played up the calls for guerrilla war against the junta. The November 3 *Daily World* quoted Fernanda Navarro, a Chilean refugee who spoke in New York at a CP-organized public meeting on Chile, as saying:

"From the hundreds of thousands of Communist and Socialist militants to those of the MIR and the two non-Marxist parties that formed the Popular Unity, all are working together, organizing resistance and fighting. Even the junta has publicly acknowledged that Chile is not under control, that guerrillas have been formed, that a state of siege has begun to move to

a state of war. As President Salvador Allende said on September 11, moments before the fascists assassinated him: 'This is how we write the first page of this history. My people and America will write the rest.'"

Still for Class Collaboration

None of the CPs' threats of immediate and terrible war against the junta, however, meant that their political line had changed one iota. For example, the November 2 *Izvestia* quoted an Italian CP journalist released from the National Stadium as saying:

"Nonetheless, a process is starting



SALVADOR ALLENDE

and developing in Chile in which the left and democratic forces are coming together. They are preparing for a battle against the military junta to restore the country's freedom and democratic rights."

In Bolivia, after the Banzer coup, the Communist party actually entered a front founded on the perspective of armed struggle against the regime but retaining the reformist outlook of confidence in the "democratic" bourgeois forces that had disarmed the workers movement politically and physically in the face of the right-wing military take-over.

So far the Bolivian FRA (Frente Revolucionario Anti-Imperialista — Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front)

has not engaged in any military activity. But there is no reason to assume that the Chilean Communist party is incapable of supporting a guerrilla campaign on a certain level. In fact, at specific points in the Stalinist parties' long-range policy of class collaborationism, guerrilla warfare and terrorist actions are not excluded. In periods of extreme repression, for example, terrorist activity can seem to be the only remaining means of pressuring the bourgeoisie to make some kind of a deal and at the same time convincing the workers that the CP is still fighting for their interests. The CPs, for historical reasons, have no lack of heroic but misled militants whom they can sacrifice for this purpose.

Military activity in the name of a politically amorphous democratic front fits in very well, in fact, with the objectives of class-collaborationist policy. It obscures questions of political program and thus keeps the resistance of the workers and the poor on an elementary level, where it can be easily manipulated. It does not set in motion processes of mass organization and initiative that could get out of hand and threaten (1) to throw up leaderships genuinely representative of the people's interests; and (2) to frighten the bourgeoisie and make it unwilling to accept coexistence with the workers movement. In addition, if guerrilla warfare is not based on the mobilization and organization of masses of workers, the guerrilla units are as uncontrolled by the people as the bureaucratic party apparatuses.

Some Examples

The Communist parties in Guatemala, Colombia, and Venezuela have in fact utilized guerrilla movements as a means of pressure in the framework of a class-collaborationist policy. The most extensive experiment of this type, the one in Colombia, developed precisely in the context of a worldwide setback in the CPs' class-collaborationist plans, the onset of the Cold War.

During the second world war, the Latin American Communist parties had allied themselves with the "democratic" imperialist powers for the sake of the "war effort." In pursuance of this alliance, they played a key role

in overthrowing the nationalist government of Villaroel in Bolivia as well as a major part in the unsuccessful attempts to block the rise of the nationalist movement in Argentina led by Perón. The end of the U. S.-Soviet alliance—which the Communist parties had hoped would be permanent—caused particularly acute problems in Latin America, where Washington moved quickly to reestablish firm control and where liberal regimes toppled like dominos in a wave of resurgent right-wing militarism.

In July 1947, the Fifth Congress of the Colombian CP in Bucaramanga laid out a line that led to the development of a guerrilla movement that continues to this day, although it acts only sporadically. In 1952, during the Korean War, the Colombian Stalinists organized their guerrilla movement on a national scale: "Our party collaborated decisively in preparing and carrying out the National Conference of Guerrillas, later known as the Conference of Boyacá, which brought together delegates from the majority of the guerrillas. . . .

"The Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee recommended talking to the guerrillas with full frankness and loyalty, striving to educate them politically and pointing out to them that they were waging a prolonged struggle with great implications for the future when it combines with the revolutionary movement of the masses."²

The CP maintained units of its own during the prolonged civil conflict between the Conservative and Liberal factions of the Colombian bourgeoisie, but they did not distinguish themselves politically in an effective way from the numerous bands of irregulars operating in the back country. Whatever the results of this activity—and they seem to have been primarily negative—it now seems apparent that it was not designed to prepare the workers and the poor peasants to take power in the country but to serve as a card in a permanent game of negotiating with the bourgeoisie.

It is also apparent in view of the

long record of CP guerrillas in Latin America—Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela—that any "military" activity by the Communist party of Chile will remain strictly within the same limits.

The CPs resort to guerrilla warfare, of course, only in periods of extreme class conflict. In certain circumstances, where bourgeois or imperialist control has been greatly weakened by war or some other general disaster, this process has led to sustained, profound struggles. However, even in these exceptional cases, the CPs' defensive strategic outlook has resulted in enormous losses and political inconclusiveness. In the overwhelming majority of instances the CPs' policy has simply led to defeats similar to the one suffered by the Chilean CP on September 11-15.

The Stalinist Game

For the present the threats of guerrilla warfare and terrible revenge from the Chilean CP fit clearly into its reformist policy and continue the errors that led to the defeat of the UP. On the one hand, they serve to minimize the failure of the reformist leaderships by trying to create the false impression that the workers retreated in good order to prepare a counterattack. The absence of organized resistance, in fact, considering the level the mass movement had reached, is the most damning indictment of the Chilean CP's policy.

It is thus no accident that the Chilean CP adopted an "armed struggle" orientation *after* and *not before* the working class was defeated. This does not represent a rectification of the previous line but simply its continuation under different circumstances. The consequences of these calls for armed struggle at this point are likely to prove hardly less harmful to the interests of the workers than the CP's pre-September 11 pacifism. They directly contradict the main tasks for this period, that is, to minimize the losses of cadres, to begin to rebuild the confidence of the workers, and to begin to break away forces now supporting the junta by taking advantage of the inevitable rise in discontent of the poor petty bourgeoisie as they discover that the military regime cannot solve their problems.

These tasks require defensive slogans, the opposite of the CPs' irresponsible saber-rattling. Before the coup, the CP leaders argued that it was necessary to avoid a civil war at any cost. They achieved this by the one sure way. They made certain that one side, the working class, was incapable of resisting. By their new policy they seem determined to incite even worse reprisals.

"When they overthrew President Allende in September, the armed forces crushed organized resistance with an ease that astonished even themselves," the *New York Times* said in an editorial November 5. "That having been the case, the world simply could not accept the necessity for the subsequent campaign of indiscriminate killing and persecution. In portraying the worldwide condemnation of these excesses as Communist propaganda, General Pinochet and his colleagues deceive no one."

But in their attempt to achieve a new bargaining position and to cover up their failures, the CPs seemed willing to give Pinochet precisely the political assistance he needed to resist the pressure of world public opinion for an end to the slaughter. In short, their policy can be described neither as "moderate" nor "revolutionary" but simply as consistent class collaborationism, consistent left opportunism. The CPs have no revolutionary perspective, "realistic" or otherwise. In every case their line leads to a betrayal of the interests of the workers, and in the present world conditions the results are inevitably extremely costly.

There is no possibility that the Chilean, Argentine, or any other Stalinist CP will learn any positive political lessons from the disastrous defeat in Chile. The cycle of pacifism and adventurism repeated in this Latin American "island of parliamentarism" has been acted out in many countries in the past forty years, and it will be repeated over and over until a party with a real revolutionary perspective and strategy takes the leadership of the working class and its allies. □

That Will Teach Them

A North Dakota school board, objecting to "profanity" in works by Hemingway, Faulkner, Steinbeck, and other well-known writers, ordered that books containing them be burned.

2. Comité Central del Partido Comunista de Colombia, *Treinta Años de Lucha del Partido Comunista de Colombia*, Bogotá: 1960, p. 96.

Republicans Fight for Political Status

[The following two articles are reprinted from issue No. 4 of *An Eochair* (The Key), the paper of the Official republican prisoners in Long Kesh concentration camp in Northern Ireland. Copies can be obtained from Kitty O'Kane, 14 Ton Street, Belfast, Northern Ireland.]

* * *

On the 21st of May 1971, political prisoners in Crumlin Road Prison began a campaign for political status. Up to that time men sentenced under political offenses were treated as ordinary civil criminals and were expected to conform to prison regulations, which meant that they must wear prison clothes and do prison work.

To the men in A Wing, this meant that they, as long-term prisoners, would be asked to make uniforms for the prison staff or work in the prison laundry or bootshop. The short-term prisoners in B Wing would be expected to work in the wood yard sawing logs to fill in the time, or work at the sewing of mailbags.

Apart from the work there are a number of restrictions on such things as tobacco and visits. For a full weeks work, a prisoner was rewarded with the handsome sum of 30p [approximately U.S. 75 cents], which would just be about enough to cover the price of one ounce of tobacco.

This Victorian attitude has prevailed in British prisons for the past 100 years with absolutely no interest being shown by any of the governing bodies which have come and gone in that time.

It is natural for a man of high political ideals when finding himself in such an environment to wish to change this deplorable state of affairs.

Unlike the civil criminal, the political prisoner feels no guilt for the "crime" he has committed and can therefore look at the establishment logically and is in a position to make certain demands relating to condition, etc.

Before the campaign for "Status" began, there were only ten of our members in A Wing; each of these men

were dedicated to bringing about a complete change in the structure of classification for men convicted of political offences.

We began by adopting the first policy of our movement, namely "agitation." At this time there were Loyalist prisoners as well as Provisionals and ourselves all contained in one wing.

This agitation had to be very carefully planned, and a great degree of tact had to be exercised when dealing with men who were feeling the pain of sectarian war and who recognised one another as enemies.

We were successful, however, in gaining some semblance of a united front, and from there we made the initial moves which eventually led to our present position.

The first stages of plan were put into effect when the political prisoners refused to do prison work; at the same time representations were made to the Prison Governor, who in turn consulted the ministry about our demands. We were met with a wall of silence, which is usual from these faceless people.

It then became obvious that this fight would not be an easy one and it would require some drastic action in order to bring about what we were looking for.

On the 21st of May we began a hunger strike which was to last 30 days. During this time the authorities tried everything in their power to wreck the morale of the men. This

was done by putting out inaccurate statements about the men's condition. In the end we refused to be examined by the prison doctor, but still the statements went out.

Eventually the condition of some of the men was so bad that it became obvious that they were prepared to die for their rights, and an independent doctor was called in.

On the 21st of June we were granted "Special Category," which covered most of the demands we had made—which were the right to wear our own clothes; we would not be expected to do prison work; we would have one visit a week; we would have a parcel per week; we would be recognised as an organisation with a rank structure which would be able to make representation for other members of our movement.

Our idea of gaining this status is to leave the authorities with no doubt about the number of men who are in for political offences. It has always been a practice of the British government to play down the number of political prisoners; in fact, they deny that there is such a thing as a "political prisoner."

We believe that there must come a day when they will have to face the fact that they themselves are responsible for the disastrous state that this small province finds itself in.

They can never hope to bring Northern Ireland to "any semblance of normality" while there are 2,000 men in this concentration camp.

Whitelaw must now be aware that he cannot defeat an entire people, that they will rise, and rise again, until justice triumphs over the evil that has divided a nation and created this monster, Long Kesh. □

Young Prisoners Are Treated Like Dirt

There is one group of prisoners who have been overlooked by all the publicity which has been focused on Long Kesh. These are the young prisoners (convicted of civil crimes) aged between 17 and 20, and their plight deserves the concern of every right thinking person.

They do the general factotum work around the camp, like cooking, emptying the bins and any other dirty job that needs doing, and although the

regulations stipulate a 40 hour week, they work an average of sixty or seventy hours.

The first thing that happens to a youth on arrival is to be stripped of his dignity and self-respect by having his hair hacked off. He is then taken to cage 14, where his Character Training begins.

When Y.P.s [Young Prisoners] move around, they must march in Indian file and must not speak. The penalty

for breaking this rule is a few days in solitary confinement on starvation diet.

They are always accompanied by an officer who slouches along, usually smoking. This provides a clear lesson which is oft repeated—the lesson is "Might is right," and if they need reminding, the officer will oblige by assaulting them. One officer, a Mr. Megaghy, when questioned about this practise, replied: "An odd thump doesn't do them any harm."

In this unhealthy environment the young prisoner quickly learns the law of the jungle, where nothing is done to alter his status as a beast of burden or general skivvy.

Academic education does not exist for him, and no attempt is made to teach him a trade in spite of the fact that some of these lads are serving

seven or eight years.

Interest in their social welfare falls afoul of the great God Security and Bureaucracy, and since there is no political capital to be made from them, this Dickensian exploitation will continue.

We demand that they be removed from this concentration camp to more humane conditions where character training can be carried out by the understanding, guidance and example of trained staff with a genuine interest in them.

Every last one of the young civil prisoners in Long Kesh comes from a ghetto area and has succumbed to the environment of violence. It is our social and moral duty to see to it that something is done to make them want to become worthwhile citizens of our community again. □

Her husband was meantime released to look after their children. After a great public outcry Rita was released on bail and turned up in court to answer the charges against her. The court was held in camera. Not even her husband was allowed in with her. She smelled a rat. Several of them—and jumped bail, coming across border for sanctuary.

While she was here, her husband was given a six-month sentence in the North for riotous behaviour. When he had finished his sentence, he came South to join her. He was no sooner here than she was arrested on the strength of an extradition warrant. She was lifted outside a supermarket and held for eight hours before anyone was allowed to see her in Cointee Police Station. There was an open sewer in her prison cell.

She was brought before a District Court, and the case was hastily dropped when a naive judge asked where was the signature of the Minister for Justice on this political extradition warrant. The guards refused to continue, as they did not want to say publicly that this was a purely criminal warrant, an inter-police collaboration pact.

Before she appeared in the court again, her husband was arrested in the South and given a six-month jail sentence for being a member of the IRA. While he was in jail and on hunger strike, Rita appeared at Bray District Court and was there identified by the RUC man who had questioned her as she lay near death in hospital. The RUC man, who was personally escorted south by the guards, and treated to lunch, admitted in court that he identified her as Rita O'Hare in her hospital bed, even though her face and head were swathed in bandages and tubes were coming from her nose. His evidence was accepted. The case was adjourned again, to decide whether the same warrant could be legally enforced on two different occasions.

On Friday, October 26th, the case was again adjourned because the Justice had had a heart attack, and it is scheduled for rehearing on Nov. 23rd. The guard who arrested Rita said that he would never allow himself to be used for such a case again. "I'm only doing my job," he told her. Some job; North and South the O'Hares

The Case of Rita O'Hare

Dublin Regime Aids British Imperialism

[Repression against the anti-imperialist movement in the formally independent part of Ireland has been increasing steadily for the past year and a half. Recently the Dublin government, one of the most servile of all neocolonialist regimes, has been gingerly edging toward open cooperation with the imperialist and caste-state authorities in Northern Ireland in persecuting anti-imperialist militants. One such case involving a young mother married to a Provisional republican leader is described in the following article from the November issue of the Official republican organ *The United Irishman*.]

* * *

Fifty-one extradition orders have been accepted by the southern gardai [police] from the northern Royal Ulster Constabulary this year. The notoriety of the RUC is already widespread and documented and need not be further commented on here. That the southern gardai are co-operating with them comes as a surprise to no one. The offences with which people are sought in connection with the extradition orders are all political.

The offences are being treated as criminal, and the gardai and RUC say the extradition orders are being enforced as purely inter-police arrangements, which is the norm in the pursuit of "criminals" throughout the world.

Who are these "criminals," and what have they done? Why are the guards so anxious to protect this community from them? Let us look at one case, that of Rita O'Hare. She is married, with three children.

In August 1971, her husband, Gerry, then a member of the People's Democracy, was interned in Long Kesh. While he was in that hell hole, Rita was shot by a British soldier one night near her Andersons town home. She suffered bullet-wounds in the head, back, and stomach. She nearly died.

As she lay on her hospital bed unable to speak, she was questioned by the RUC. Then she was transferred to Musgrave Military Hospital and there charged with the attempted murder of a British soldier. From Musgrave she was sent to Armagh prison, where she lay paralysed and in a critical condition for some months.

have been hunted and jailed. Ironically, it was the Northern authorities who released Gerry O'Hare to look after the three children while their mother was in jail. When Rita was

arrested in the South, her husband was in jail and nobody gave a damn who looked after her children. But then they can jail children here at seven. □

Next Year Will Be Decisive

Provisional Sinn Fein Holds Conference

By Bob Purdie

[The following article is taken from the October 26 issue of *Red Weekly*, the organ of the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

There was a dramatic confrontation outside Dublin's Mansion House last Sunday when the 800 delegates and visitors to the Provisional Sinn Fein Ard Fheis (conference) poured into the street to cover the getaway of Daithi O Conaill.

In a spontaneous expression of resentment at Free State collaboration with British imperialism, they overturned a Special Branch [political police] car, and encircled a force of Gardai (police) who stood helpless as they chanted "Gardai-RUC" and sang "Take It Down from the Mast, Irish Traitors."

O Conaill, currently at the top of the British and Free State wanted list, was greeted with wild enthusiasm at the Conference as he read out a statement from the leadership of the Republican Movement. The statement warned: "We wish to state explicitly to the Dublin politicians that the Republican policy of non-military action in the South does not guarantee them immunity from the logical consequences of handing over any Irish Republicans to the forces of the British Crown."

The statement went on to reiterate the main demands of the Provisionals: for a British commitment to a phased withdrawal from Ireland, for the release of all internees, and for an amnesty for all those who have been imprisoned. It also slated the Free State and SDLP politicians for "prostrating their bodies across the path of inevi-

table (British) withdrawal," and told the Republicans that victory was within their grasp.

Similar enthusiasm greeted the address by the re-elected President of Sinn Fein, Ruairi O Bradaigh, who emphasised that the British government wanted to settle the Irish question before the next general election. This, he said, gave the possibility of a victory, if the Republicans carried on with the struggle, but it also faced Sinn Fein with some very urgent problems and tasks.

In particular, O Bradaigh attacked the Irish Labour Party for betraying the social and economic aspirations of its supporters. Despite the claims of the coalition government, he said, there was no evidence that they would alter a situation in which 5% of the population in the 26 Counties owned 71% of the wealth.

Both O Conaill and O Bradaigh blamed the British government for the Dublin bombings but neither made any reference to the bombings in Britain, although a statement read out by O Conaill repeated the warning given in September that: "Our forces will strike when and wherever it is deemed necessary, opportune and advantageous."

The Ard Fheis pledged support to the leadership of the Republican Movement, and to the struggle in the North. But the resolutions on education, organisation and finance brought out most clearly the deep problems facing Sinn Fein. An ambitious educational programme has recently been introduced, and the need for this was evident in the extremely low political level of most of the speeches. Moreover, in discussing the problem of the inactivity of many of the Cumainn

(branches) in the South, there was much moral exhortation for Republicans to "get on with the work," but no perspective offered which could actually help to solve the problem.

It is a principle of modern psychiatry that you do not tell a depressed person to "pull yourself together"; it is necessary to find out the *causes* of the condition. Similarly it is in the *political line* being pursued that a movement will find the roots of its organisational problems.

The Ard Fheis was not given a balance sheet of the three main projects launched by Sinn Fein in the last year: the committees set up to campaign for regional government in the four provinces of Ireland; the Irish Civil Rights Association; and the Political Hostages Release Committee in the North. Nor was there any discussion of the most burning problem in the South—the moves to extradite Republicans to the North. The implicit threats of military action are unlikely to blackmail the Government into retreat on this question, especially when there has been no development of mass opposition. *In this context military action could be disastrous*, and would open the door for confusion amongst the Southern population and for sweeping Governmental repression.

In order to meet the challenge of Free State repression the Provisionals will have to make a deepgoing political turn, involving a re-assessment of their entire programme and strategy. The 1973 Ard Fheis did not give an indication that the leadership at all understands this, but before the next one they will have either met the challenge or be on the road to defeat. □

Cleanliness Is Next to Capitalism

The Thai army has developed something new in brainwashing. The army's Communist Suppression Operations Command (CSOC) is supplying rural villagers with "anticommunist soap"—bars of soap imprinted with progovernment, antirevolutionary slogans. As the soap is used, new slogans are revealed on underlying layers.

Among the slogans, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, are the following: "To remain a Thai one must be anticommunist," "Thailand—a land of freedom," "The Government and the 3rd Army Zone wish to send their good wishes to the Thai people," "The 3rd Army Zone of His Majesty the King is prepared to provide protection to the people in both war and peacetime," "Soldiers are friends of the people."

South Korean Student Protests Spread

Student protest demonstrations in South Korea have reached such intensity and breadth that the Park Chung Hee regime may be in danger of going the way of the Thanom Kittikachorn regime in Thailand.

The student actions started at the beginning of October at Seoul National University, at first bringing out only a few hundred students. Since then, the protests have spread to virtually every college and university in Seoul and to some of the schools in the rest of the country. The students have been demanding the restoration of civil liberties, the dismantling of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA)—which has agents and informers on most campuses—the end of Japanese imperialist domination of South Korea, reunification with North Korea, and a full investigation into the regime's role in the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping affair.

Among those universities hit by the student protests was Ewha Women's University, the largest women's university in the world, where 4,000 students held rallies and actions in solidarity with the other student strikes and with the students who have been arrested by the regime.

On November 15, about 3,000 students at Korea University demonstrated for four hours and then clashed with the police when they tried to leave the campus and march through the city. The next day, the authorities announced the closing of the university for one week to prevent students from gathering on the campus.

But meanwhile, 1,000 students at Yonsei University staged a demonstration and 3,000 students at Sookmyung Women's University began a student strike.

The persistence of the student actions has also emboldened other sectors of the population to speak out against the dictatorship. Fifteen well-known intellectuals and religious leaders released a statement condemning the Park regime and calling for action against "police-state rule." Reporters at *Donga Ilbo*, one of Seoul's major daily newspapers, have already staged two protests against censor-

ship and KCIA surveillance. The opposition parties in the National Assembly demanded the resignation of the government over its handling of the Kim Dae Jung case.

The regime, for its part, has tried to suppress the rising discontent. The November 16 *Washington Post* reported: "Though some are small and quickly suppressed, the student demonstrations continue, and seem to be spreading. Despite a vast network of agents and informants, the authorities seem unable to stop the action. Several hundred students have been arrested. Most of them have been released after questioning and warnings. The Korean CIA has been trying urgently to find and hold the leaders, using all means at its command."

The "means" at the command of the KCIA include brutal interrogations, such as the one that led to the "sui-

cide" on October 20 of Chae Yong Kil, a professor at Seoul National University who, the KCIA claimed, jumped seven floors to his death after giving a confession. Even students studying abroad feel the long arm of the KCIA. The November 11 *Asahi Evening News*, an English-language Japanese daily, reported that six South Koreans connected with the embassy in Frankfurt, West Germany, tried to abduct Kim Sung Soo, a student at Frankfurt University described by the embassy as a "Communist involved in a North Korean spy ring."

An unknown factor in the development of the South Korean student actions is the reliability of the army as a repressive force at the regime's disposal. While the officers have continually backed President Park, the loyalties of the ranks are not so certain. As *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran remarked in a November 15 dispatch, "If . . . the situation degenerates to a confrontation between the army and the students, few here believe the soldiers will fire on the students." □

A Hotbed of Political Opposition

Military Occupies University of Montevideo

On October 28 military forces closed and occupied the University of Montevideo, a center of opposition to the government of Juan María Bordaberry. The rector, nine of the ten deans, and about 150 other persons, including the eleven-member board of directors, were arrested.

The institution, autonomous since 1848, was taken over after a 22-year-old student, Marcos Caridad Jordán, was killed when a bomb he was carrying exploded in the School of Engineering, where it was said to have been made.

A few hours after the incident, the National Security Council was convened. It issued a lengthy document on the military's investigation of Marcos's death.

Among the things discovered by the police, according to this report, were "explosives, material for manufacturing firecrackers and missiles, and flammable materials to cause fires in

public thoroughfares," along with "printing presses belonging to subversive organizations, and a plan to systematically disrupt public order on set dates."

In addition, subversive activities were supposedly being carried out in all the schools of the university. Crudely made materials and devices for "direct conspiratorial activity" were discovered.

The items seized by the police were placed on exhibition in a "bazaar of sedition." The "subversive" literature included *The Naked Society* by Vance Packard, *Tupac Amaru* (the rebel Inca figure) by Boleslaw Lewin, and works by Marx and Lenin.

The police claimed to have discovered a "secret passage" under the central hall of the School of Engineering. The Montevideo weekly *En Marcha* noted November 1 that the building had "numerous passageways for pipes that were occasionally inspected by

student and university authorities, so as to prevent unknown people from depositing materials that could jeopardize the university."

The university has been one of Bordaberry's targets for some time, es-



BORDABERRY: Surrounded by "sedition" and "secret passages."

pecially since last June, when he dissolved congress and the Communist party-led *Convención Nacional de Trabajadores* (Uruguay's trade-union federation), and imposed a severe press censorship.

The regime ordered new university elections for September 13, while at the same time modifying the election rules and engaging in witch-hunt propaganda. However, the leftist Federation of Uruguayan University Students swept to victory with over 60 percent of the votes cast in a 90 percent turnout.

Bordaberry answered by coming down with a mailed fist.

The November 2 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported that on Bordaberry's wanted list and still at large were the former rector, Oscar Maggiolo, and the dean of the law school, Alberto Pérez Pérez, who were out of the country when the military moved in.

The crackdown has extended beyond the campus. Interior Minister Colonel Néstor Bolentini moved to expel a leading leftist, Manuel Liberoff, an Argentine who has been active in left-wing politics for thirty years, on the grounds of "antinationa conduct." Liberoff has been under military detention since the June coup d'état for his radical political and trade-union activity.

The regime plans to "depoliticize" the University of Montevideo by 1974. Philippe Labreux commented on this in the October 31 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*: "The Montevideo government did not work as

fast as that of Santiago, but in the end it reached the same result, making *tabula rasa* of all the country's institutions."

Bordaberry's concern over focal centers of political opposition includes the field of religion. The traditional religious procession of Corpus Christi, scheduled to take place on October 31, was banned by the government. The reason given was circulation of a leaflet by the archbishopric of Montevideo, allegedly intended to give the religious celebration political content.

According to the November 2 *La Opinión*, "The document in question urged people to participate in the procession, and to speak on a series of political issues such as the Third World, Salvador Allende, and freedom for the leader of the leftist coalition Broad Front, General Liber Seregni, who has been under arrest since July 9 without the reasons having been revealed." □

REVIEWS

Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia

"When India, Pakistan, and Ceylon gained home rule more than two decades ago, their leaders set forth certain goals for their futures. These included control of their own political

Imperialism And Revolution In South Asia edited by Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1973. 470 pp. \$15.00 (£6.45).

and economic destinies, increased productivity and improvements in livelihood, education, and health, mixed private and state-planned economies, some cooperative institutions of production and distribution, and movement toward socioeconomic equality. Land reform and industrial development were central to these goals. All three nations were to be Western-style party democracies with progressively broadening franchise in elections at national, provincial, and local levels.

"By the late 1960s it was clear that these programs had failed or were failing. The three South Asian nations had more, not less, foreign investment and foreign control of their economies than in the 1940s. All were heavily indebted to the United States, the Soviet Union, and various Eastern and Western European powers."

This is the political and economic reality for the South Asian people after twenty-five years of capitalist underdevelopment. And the situation is not getting any better.

The above quote was taken from an article written by Kathleen Gough, a British anthropologist who did research in India for several years, that opens the recent Monthly Review Press publication *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*.

The book consists of a wide range of well-researched articles on the economies of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), and Bangladesh. The "green revolution" in agriculture, the peasant structures of India and

Pakistan, and the divergent ideas on what course should be followed by revolutionists are discussed.

The greatest strength of the book is the analysis of the economies of the Indian subcontinent. In particular, there is ample documentation to prove that the economic dependence of these countries on imperialism has not decreased over the last twenty-five years, but instead has increased.

Gough's article "Imperialism and Revolutionary Potential in South Asia," Amiya Kumar Bagchi's "Foreign Capital and Economic Development in India: A Schematic View," Hari P. Sharma's "The Green Revolution in India: Prelude to a Red One?" and Paresh Chattopadhyay's "Some Trends in India's Economic Development" all confirm that since India, Pakistan, and Ceylon gained formal political independence from British imperialism in the late 1940s, the grip of foreign investment—especially that of the United States—has tightened.

Chattopadhyay points out that the share of "foreign assistance [to India] in total public sector outlays has grown from 9.6 percent in 1951-56 (First Plan Period) to 44.99 percent in 1967-68."

In Pakistan the same has been true, and this trend has increased since the 1971 war for Bangladesh independence. Hassan N. Gardezi explains that "after 1958, and with the advent of Ayub Khan's regime, dependence on foreign aid increased to enormous proportions, with the process of economic planning completely dominated by foreigners—particularly a large contingent of Americans from Harvard University."

Thus, "Pakistan's heavy dependence on aid now makes it possible for the leading countries to regulate its basic policies governing taxation, prices, distribution of income, and national and international political commitments."

Gardezi also notes: "Almost 95 percent of the amount [of aid loans] spent to buy machinery and other capital goods must be spent in the donor country, which is usually the United States. This condition forecloses those sources of supply where the same goods could be bought and transported at much smaller cost. Having installed expensive American machinery, Pakistan becomes forever dependent on that country for the supply of spare parts."

Both Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are also dependent on foreign capital for their survival. The Sri Lanka regime is heavily in debt to the World Bank, for example. And the main contributor to the Bangladesh regime is the U. S. government. (See July-August *Pakistan Forum* article by Eqbal Ahmad, "Pakistan's Role in the New Strategy.")

Thus the struggle for the end of national oppression in India and the other countries of the subcontinent is far from over. This can only be brought about through the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism as part of the same revolutionary process.

Prescriptions put forth for leading the masses of workers and peasants to their national and social liberation are the greatest weakness of the book. Most of the writers who attempt an analysis of the strategy needed for the South Asian revolution support

the basic theories developed by Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist party leadership.

Though the supporters of Mao's theories have disagreements on how they should be applied to India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh, they all agree with Mao's analysis of the role of the peasantry in the Indian revolution and the need to construct a "people's army" in the countryside. These supporters include many revolutionary militants in Bangladesh, despite the fact that during the 1971 war of independence Peking gave unconditional support to the butcher Yahya Khan.

This adaptation to Mao's theory by large sections of the revolutionary left throughout the subcontinent primarily flows from their support to Mao's analysis of the role of the peasantry in overthrowing foreign and native capitalism. Most of the left in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh view the poor peasantry as the main revolutionary force for destroying capitalism in the underdeveloped countries.

The Marxist position clearly states—and history has proven—that the central revolutionary force capable of overthrowing capitalism is the urban working class, supported in the main by the peasantry and by sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie. This also holds true in countries that are predominantly peasant in composition, such as India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Despite its weak points, *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia* is an important source for anyone seriously studying revolutionary politics in the Indian subcontinent.—Malik Miah

DOCUMENTS

Venezuelan Trotskyists View Coming Elections

[The following article appeared in the November 6-19 issue of the Venezuelan Trotskyist paper, *Voz Socialista*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

November. The concluding clamor of the electoral campaigns has already become something deafening. All the media are pitching in to help the bourgeois parties create the illusion that the democratic process is in full swing and that without further delay it will

produce the solutions the workers and the people want. "Wait, vote, and wait some more" is the kind of "consciousness" they are trying to instill.

However, the reality of the crying contradictions between the exploiters and the exploited, between having a

vastly wealthy country and a youth with no future, and between a proclaimed program of peace and a repressive apparatus murdering people with impunity can no longer be covered over. But there is more to the situation in our country than pitiful wages, overcrowding and lack of housing in the slum belts surrounding Caracas, and illegal arrests. *At the end of 1973, and in the middle of the electoral campaign, a new reality is beginning to appear: Workers, students, and all the oppressed are going into motion en masse.* We may be witnessing the start of a period of general rise in workers and youth struggles, foreshadowed by still scattered, atomized, but continual struggles.

In the whole series of events from the continual mass protest demonstrations and the struggle of the hospital workers to the example given by a handful of compañeros that showed we can keep the factories running without the bosses, we believe we are seeing full confirmation of the fighting potential of our class, the working class. This capacity is so great that the labor bureaucrats who have paralyzed and divided our trade-union organizations to suit their own petty interests are already beginning to lose their stranglehold.

The irresistible rise of a process of youth radicalization has been shown by the students' massive support for socialism in the elections at the Central University, in outbreaks of struggle at Simón Bolívar University and the "aristocratic" Santa María University, and in the example of the Andrés Bello high-school students. In one week these teen-agers succeeded in building a democratic organization, based on delegates representing each class and on assemblies, that could effectively conduct a struggle.

Peasants are occupying lands, reorganizing themselves despite the repression, and exposing the lies about a "capitalist" solution to the problems of the countryside that are being mouthed by COPEI [Comité Organizado por Elecciones Independientes—Committee Organized for Independent Political Action, the Christian Democrats] and AD [Acción Democrática—Democratic Action].

All this is the Venezuelan reality.

Elections are a means by which the system can "cover up" problems and the response that the people are beginning to make to them. But as long as our class enemies hold power, as long as the majority of our compañeros who work in factories and offices still believe in the "virtues" of voting, and as long as we cannot concretely counterpose to bourgeois institutions a different kind of system based on mass workers and people's organizations, it is our duty to intervene in the electoral campaign. In this our purposes are to show that the power to solve the problems that exist rests with the workers and the oppressed in general and that nothing will be obtained without struggle; to show that the fight is against the bosses, their parties, and institutions, and that lasting gains can be achieved only by seizing state power; to organize ourselves politically independent of our class enemies; and to demonstrate in the electoral arena the irreconcilable conflict between the exploiters and the exploited.

We also realize that in the electoral field profound changes are taking shape in our country. For the first time a socialist campaign has been able to reach the masses, even though its main support still comes from the most conscious sectors of the youth. The campaigns of José Vicente [Rangel] and the MAS [Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism] are the embryonic expression of already large sectors who are breaking out of the channels provided by the old bourgeois parties, or even their reformist variants, such as Nueva Fuerza [New Force]. So we share the position of the recently formed Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers party] (previously Voz Marxista) in reiterating our support for Compañero Rangel and both MAS tickets. We support this position as a way of drawing a line between the revolutionists and the bosses at the polls and of promoting a united front, over and above the profoundly incorrect statements made by some socialist candidates who blur the class content of socialism.

We revolutionary Marxists call for working at the highest possible pitch to take advantage of the days remaining until December 9 to show that the

development indicated by the struggles of the workers and youth points toward socialism. We must use this time to explain that in order to accomplish the great tasks facing the masses (driving out imperialism, breaking up the repressive apparatuses, eliminating unemployment, placing production and planning under workers control, and guaranteeing full rights to women and youth) we must organize politically in a strong revolutionary workers party. This is essential in order to develop a leadership capable of fighting in all areas: winning back the trade unions for the workers, achieving an alliance between students and the proletariat, and finally, vying for power.

In 1974, the fragmented struggles of this year may swell into a torrent. As inflationary trends worsen, the chronic economic crisis that has been more or less covered up by subsidies and other governmental stop-gaps will come to the surface again. The regime still has room for maneuver, but if revolutionists are equal to the demands of the moment, no concessions will be sufficient to hold back the masses. By leading each partial struggle to victory and developing a consciousness through mass action of the need for general solutions, that is, for fighting for a workers and people's government and a socialist Venezuela, we can accomplish our tasks. □

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