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Greek Junta: No Way Forward



Why Suez Talks Broke Down

Thieu Steps Up Bombing Raids

Rifts Appear in Bolivian Regime

Iranian Intellectual Arrested, Tortured

The Iranian regime, in September, arrested Reza Baraheni, a prominent poet and literary critic. He had just returned to his position at the University of Tehran after spending a year in the United States teaching courses at the Universities of Texas and Utah.

According to Robert Mezey, a professor at the University of Utah, Baraheni had expressed criticisms of the Iranian government while in the United States, and some faculty members at the university, it was reported in the university paper, the *Daily Utah Chronical*, believed that he was arrested because of an article printed before his return. Mezey described a letter that had been received from Baraheni's wife: "She wrote that this article was not a political one, but a piece of literary criticism. She also told us that she has seen Baraheni only three times since his imprisonment and that she had reason to believe he has been tortured."

Mezey went on to describe Baraheni as "a very distinguished novelist, poet and playwright—one of the foremost in his country. He is a prolific and serious writer."

A petition circulated at the University of Utah read in part: "It is clear that he is being punished because he is an intellectual actively engaged in his people's struggle to free themselves from poverty, illiteracy and oppressive government. We demand his release." □

The Iconoclast

Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam created an uproar recently when he referred to an opposition Liberal party member of parliament as a "drunk." Whitlam complained of the member, who was lying on a table, groaning over the previous night's indulgence:

"I don't mind drunks as long as they don't disrupt proceedings. I would not mind if he would just lie torpid in his seat." But opposition members pointed out that Whitlam once greeted the Liberals' torpid Prime Minister John Gorton with the words: "You're not slurring so early today."

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New Greek Junta Flounders, Stalls for Time

By Gerry Foley

"It's really hard to say at this moment whether with Gizikis we are going deeper into military dictatorship or closer to the return of Karamanlis [i.e., a restoration of parliamentary rule]," Mino Monicelli wrote in the December 2 issue of the Rome weekly *Espresso*. "One thing is certain—the 'gorilla' regime is in an advanced state of decay. The internal feuds, the competition among the various uniformed proconsuls to see who can be most obtuse, are signs of a growing nervousness and instability in the armed forces. Generals, colonels, and majors have been left literally petrified by the discovery of the deepgoing radicalization of Greek youth in the six years of the dictatorship. And most of all they are terrified by the links between these youth and not inconsiderable sections of the proletariat, small merchants, and the popular strata.

"The only card the military had left was replacing Papadopoulos. Now the substitution has been carried out. But it probably involved a compromise with the opposition to the regime or part of it, which indicates that the dictatorship is beginning to crumble."

Writing from Athens in the November 29 *Le Monde*, Paul-Jean Franceschini confirmed Monicelli's view of the new regime as flabby and faltering, a shadow of the iron-fisted dictatorship installed on April 21, 1967:

"There is uneasiness over the weakness of the Androutsopoulos cabinet. Everyone has been astonished at how haphazardly it was put together, depending on such happenstance as friendships among officers' wives. No one who represented anything was consulted."

The former minister of the interior, George Rallis, commented, according to Franceschini: "This is a time when you need somebody who can control both the army and the people. I doubt if this team of nobodies can do it." One of the new ministers was so undistinguished that the official notice listed his background only as "landowner."

The new press minister, Constantine Rallis, was able to shed some light on the way the cabinet was assembled. He told Franceschini:

"It was Sunday morning [November 25]. I was taking a bath. Just then a detachment of military police arrived. Having been arrested twice before, once on April 17, 1967, and again on December 13, the day of the attempted royal countercoup, I have gotten used to such things. They took me to the Pentagon [presumably not the original], to an office full of generals. I didn't know anybody but they all seemed delighted to see me. A general told me: 'The army has rebelled, do you want to help us?'"

Rallis said that he posed two conditions for participating. One was that corrupt officials be punished. The other was that the leaders of the old parliamentary parties be released from house arrest.

When Franceschini asked the new minister if he had asked any questions about the government's political program, Rallis replied: "No, because I realized right away, from intuition, that they were not trying to use me and that they were honest men. I did not know General Gizikis. When I saw him, he impressed me as an honest soldier, devoid of any personal ambition. Besides I gave him a little test. I asked him if he wanted to be called 'his excellency, Phaidon Gizikis' when he gave his address on television. He said 'No, just call me general.' If he had said Yes, I would have left."

In his first address to the country on November 25, General Gizikis seemed to be aiming for the image of a stern, impartial father figure. He did not repeat the crude anti-Communist appeals of the April coup or promise to carry out a "revolution" as the previous junta did. Speaking in the stuffy "purified" language Greek designed to resemble classical Greek, he said:

"I have no personal ambitions. My whole life, I have been a soldier devoted to duty. My only political phi-

losophy is to contribute to the smooth administration of the state and the consolidation of the peace and the unity of the Greek people.

"I will carry out my responsibilities in the spirit of moderation, modesty, and impartiality, having always as the keystone and sole criterion of my acts and endeavors the service of the national interest."

Eleftheros Cosmos, the ultrarightist daily that was the junta's most enthusiastic supporter, hailed the new putschist leader as "a man of God, proverbial for his honesty and patriarchal attitude." Most of the Athenian press headlined the new government's declarations with the words "moderation, modesty, and impartiality."

In its November 26 issue, *Eleftheros Cosmos* ran pictures of a tank crew helping a feeble, elderly woman across the street, and soldiers being helpful and friendly to civilians in other ways.

The message was clear. The government had no clear idea what to do. It was biding its time, hoping that the people would be satisfied for a while at least with the removal of the hated dictator.

For example, when Franceschini asked Rallis what the government would do if the student demonstrations started again, the new minister said:

"I hope they don't. With the fall of Papadopoulos, the students won an immense point. We will try to anticipate their demands, but it is obvious that without order we won't get anywhere."

Most press reports did indicate that the population, enormously relieved by the fall of the corrupt military goon who ruled Greece for almost seven years, were not yet taking too close a look at what the new government might hold in store.

"The main thing is that Papadopoulos is out," Nicholas Gage quoted a Greek sailor as saying. "He was a scoundrel." (*New York Times*, November 27.) A shopkeeper said: "The

army has redeemed its honor by throwing Papadopoulos out." Relief was a natural reaction. The last days of Papadopoulos's rule may have been the grimmest of the dictatorship.

"Greece seemed plunged again into the darkness of police intimidation, of torture, of military repression," Monicelli wrote in the December 2 *Espresso*. "There was fear, regimentation, silence, although it seemed sometimes like a deceptive quiet, a silence haunted by the long echo of the slogans the students and workers chanted on Patissia Avenue: 'ESA [Elleniki Stratiotiki Astinomia—Greek Military Police], SS, Vasanistes [torturers].' It was a fear supercharged with repressed anger, with profound outrage, with a cold determination to get revenge. It is not likely that the Greeks will forgive a regime stained with the blood of young students, that it will forget the young girl's voice that came over the free radio of the Polytechnic for four nights in a beautiful unaffected *demotiki* [the spoken modern Greek language], calling on the country to revolt, shattering the lies of the government's broadcasts in *katherevousa* [the "purified," archaized language]."

The dozens who died in the demonstrations were victims of a maddened, panicked military—as indicated by a transcript of the last student broadcasts published in the November 26 *Der Spiegel*. And because of these broadcasts, all Athens must have known the truth.

"We appeal to the archbishop, to the church to help. . . . We appeal to all embassies to send observers," the student radio said.

"We have just learned that the police are breaking windows in order to put the blame on us and brand us as anarchists and extremists. We are not anarchists or extremists, we are Greeks and free men and women fighting for a free country where we can express ourselves in freedom. . . ."

"Whoever comes against us will meet our iron belief. We believe that our soldiers, our brothers, will not harm us. Brother will not shed brother's blood. We have no weapons, we are unarmed, we are unarmed. . . ."

"The tanks are coming again. The tanks are rolling to attack us. But we believe that the soldiers and the

students will embrace each other. Now let us sing the national anthem. I will begin first; I am the only one free at this moment."

Coming after the dramatic night of November 16-17, the vapidness and emptiness of the new government's first declarations were especially jarring.

"It was an interminable and vapid harangue, in which the most precise phrase was 'when the country is ready, there will be elections,'" Franceschini commented in a November 29 *Le Monde* article on the new premier's first "programmatic" statement to the nation. "He read from six typed pages for an hour in a monotone. . . ."

"Androutsopoulos admonished the students that they 'can protest vigorously so long as they don't disturb the peace' but that they 'don't have the right to occupy university buildings illegally.' It was a strange response to the youth that had just shed its blood to bring down the dictatorship. And finally—the height of oafishness—this man whom all Greece suspects of being a tool of the Americans, ended his homily by quoting, of all people, Lincoln."

According to the transcript in the November 29 *I Vradyni*, Androutsopoulos said:

"At a critical time, the great president Lincoln was asked if he believed God was on his side; he answered that he wasn't interested in whether God was on our side, but whether we were on God's side."

Franceschini could have added that the principles of the "true constitution" that Androutsopoulos promised Greece would have "some day" were exactly the same as those of the U.S. constitution, including separation of powers. The premier undoubtedly developed his respect for the U.S. constitution in his eight years of legal practice in Chicago, a well-known model of "government by law."

The new junta did offer up their fallen "comrade in arms" as a peace offering, inviting the press to criticize his misdeeds. But this threatened only to arouse the appetites of the suppressed liberals for going after the corrupt and arrogant ultraright that flourished under Papadopoulos. For example, *I Vradyni*, one of the few papers that resisted military intimidation to any extent, wrote in its November 28 issue:

"Obviously the dissolution of the government on November 25 was an initial justification of the struggles *Vradyni* has waged. As for the others, however, we cannot fail to note the approving comments made on the change by dailies and prophetic editorial writers who up until Sunday were still deifying Papadopoulos as a messiah. Those who benefited so much from the evils that existed in G. Papadopoulos's time . . . are now obliged to reveal and proclaim these evils. But no one has said anything about a feeling of shame."

On December 1, the new government moved against *Vradyni* in the style of the now disgraced former dictator:

"Last night . . . police raided the rightist Athens daily *Vradyni* and shut it down," Alvin Shuster reported from the Greek capital in the December 3 *New York Times*, "presumably because of an editorial criticizing the new leaders for not fixing a timetable for a return to parliamentary democracy. The newspaper had also printed an article by a former military officer who said that Greeks would not 'tolerate another deceit' and who urged a quick return to democracy."

About the only thing the new junta had to offer was a reputation for personal honesty. Either because of choice or the balance of forces, they held no lucrative political appointments under the old regime but remained in direct contact with the active-service officers. Now that they are in power, the pressures of political life will undoubtedly quickly shatter their reputation for "uncorruptibility."

Following the fall of Papadopoulos, some of the Athenian papers made some discreet suggestions, listing the "problems" that would face the new government. But in his "programmatic" address, Androutsopoulos had no concrete proposals.

"To a country foundering in an economic crisis," Franceschini wrote in the November 30 *Le Monde*, "Androutsopoulos explained that 'monetary and financial policy will be flexible.' At times, the commonplaces became almost grandiose: 'Our policy in the field of electric energy will be based on producing an adequate supply of current.'"

The junta does not have very long to come up with some political solu-

tions, Peter S. Mellas noted in the November 27 *Christian Science Monitor*: ". . . the people, observers argue, are demanding, even if tacitly at this stage, some clear-cut direction and specific program. They have, it is observed, started to show definite signs of fatigue from the inaccurate general-

ities of the past six years."

It is not likely, moreover, that the Greek people have forgotten the new government is still holding 200 of the students and young workers who destroyed the hated Papadopoulos government in the heroic demonstrations of November 16-17. □

Israeli Regime Refuses to Budge

Why Suez Talks Broke Down

By Jon Rothschild

"The differences," a senior Israeli official said, "are too many and too deep to be resolved in the military talks at Kilometer 101. In the meantime, the possibility of fighting grows every day." The official, who was quoted by *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith, was explaining why the "disengagement" talks between Israeli Major General Aharon Yariv and Egyptian Lieutenant General Muhammed Abdel Ghany el-Gamasy had broken down.

The last session was held on November 29. It had been the eleventh meeting since agreement had been reached on resupplying the trapped Egyptian III Corps and the city of Suez. No future meeting was scheduled, and within minutes of the breakdown of the talks, heavy machine-gun fire was exchanged by Israeli and Egyptian troops stationed less than two miles from the conference site at kilometer 101 on the Cairo-Suez road.

The diplomatic machinery that had set the kilometer 101 talks in motion soon began moving to get them going again. Finnish Major General Ensio Siilasvuo, commander of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), conferred November 30 with Egyptian Minister of War Ismail Fahmy and, later the same day, flew to Jerusalem to meet with Moshe Dayan. But after talking with both sides, Siilasvuo was unable to set a date for a new Yariv-Gamasy session. Small-arms fire continued on a daily basis on the Sinai front and on December 2, while Siilasvuo was still in Jerusalem, Israeli and Syrian forces near the Golan Heights engaged in a four-hour tank, missile, and mortar duel. The November 11

cease-fire agreement once again seemed threatened.

Nevertheless, Henry Kissinger, one of the main architects of the November 11 accord, seemed relatively unperturbed by the breakdown of the kilometer 101 talks and the threat of new fighting. "We expect ups and downs all the way," he told reporters November 29. "All I want to say is we are hopeful of getting peace talks started. The United States has made a major commitment to this goal."

The U.S. ruling class, however, has also made a major commitment to back up the fundamental position of the Israeli regime. And the Israeli regime never intended the kilometer 101 talks to lead to anything. This explains Kissinger's apparent unconcern at their breakdown. For the Israeli rulers and their U.S. guarantors, the Yariv-Gamasy talks were a nuisance. Their elimination will enable the international "peace conference" scheduled to begin in Geneva around December 18 to open up on a basis favorable to the Zionist state.

There is little doubt that this scenario was foreseen by Tel Aviv and Washington from the very beginning. The "ups and downs" are the usual operating procedure. In the December 3 *New York Times* Leslie Gelb, in discussing reports that Washington intended to pressure the Israeli regime into making territorial concessions to Egypt, noted the view of "an informed foreign diplomat" in Washington:

"Mr. Kissinger, he [the diplomat] continued, needs to convince the Arabs that Washington must take account of pro-Israeli pressures while conveying the idea that he is putting pressure

on Israel.

"The diplomat cited as an example the six-point cease-fire agreement that Mr. Kissinger negotiated three weeks ago. He said that the substance of the plan had been agreed upon by Premier Meir and President Nixon a week before the Kissinger visit to the Middle East. The source explained that once Mr. Kissinger got to Egypt, he had to make it appear that Israel's acceptance of the plan was in doubt. American officials would neither confirm nor deny this account."

What, then, was Tel Aviv's tactic in accepting the cease-fire pact? And what was its attitude toward the kilometer 101 talks? The talks grew out of the second point of the cease-fire accord, which states that "discussions" should "begin immediately to settle the question of the return to the Oct. 22 positions in the framework of agreement on the disengagement and separation of forces under the auspices of the United Nations."

The problem was, What was meant by the formula "disengagement and separation"? For Cairo, it simply meant withdrawal of the Israeli forces to the positions they held when the October 22 cease-fire resolution was voted by the UN Security Council. The Israeli violation of that resolution led to territorial gains in the southern part of the west bank of the canal and resulted in the encirclement of the Egyptian III Corps and the siege of Suez city. When Sadat accepted the second UN cease-fire resolution in spite of the Israeli command's violation of the first one, the Egyptian people went along only reluctantly. This put Sadat under heavy pressure to achieve through negotiations an Israeli withdrawal to the October 22 lines or to resume the fighting. By getting the Israelis to agree to that withdrawal, Sadat could have relieved the III Corps and demonstrated to the Egyptian masses that "momentum" for Israeli withdrawal from Sinai itself was building; he thus would have bought time to move into the peace conference, where the first order of business—the immediate threat of fighting having been removed—would have been to discuss Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territory.

The main priority for Sadat thus became achieving an Israeli withdrawal from the vicinity of Suez city in

the direction of the October 22 cease-fire lines. That became Sadat's interpretation of the meaning of Point 2 of the November 11 agreement, and that was what el-Gamasy proposed to Yariv when the kilometer 101 talks on disengagement first opened.

But the Israeli command, which had violated the October 22 cease-fire exactly in order to cut off the III Corps and surround Suez city, had no intention of yielding its territorial gains. Yariv thus decided to interpret the term disengagement rather more "broadly."

In the November 27 *New York Times* Henry Tanner described the deadlock in the kilometer 101 talks this way:

"Egypt insists that Israeli forces on the western bank of the canal must start an unconditional withdrawal toward the cease-fire lines of Oct. 22 without receiving anything from Egypt in return.

"Israel has been linking the first step of possible withdrawal with long-term issues such as a demilitarization of the Sinai Peninsula."

In the November 25 *New York Times* Tanner noted Sadat's concern about the tactics Yariv was using in the disengagement talks:

"The generals [Yariv and el-Gamasy] are not simply negotiating a tactical withdrawal on the ground but have been going into the much wider issue of disengagement which, in the last analysis, must be settled at the peace conference.

"This is a dangerous procedure from the Egyptian point of view, because it means that the Israelis will not budge from around Suez until there is progress on the larger issue. And as long as they don't budge, it is difficult for Mr. Sadat to defend his acceptance of the cease-fire and his reliance on the United States. This means he remains under growing pressure to renew the fighting."

The proposal that was finally presented to el-Gamasy by Yariv was that Israeli forces would "in due time" withdraw to the Mitla Pass about twenty miles east of the Suez Canal in exchange for Egypt's "thinning out" its forces on the eastern bank of the canal, removing most heavy military equipment, and leaving only a "policing force" on the east bank. That proposal—as Tel Aviv well knew—was

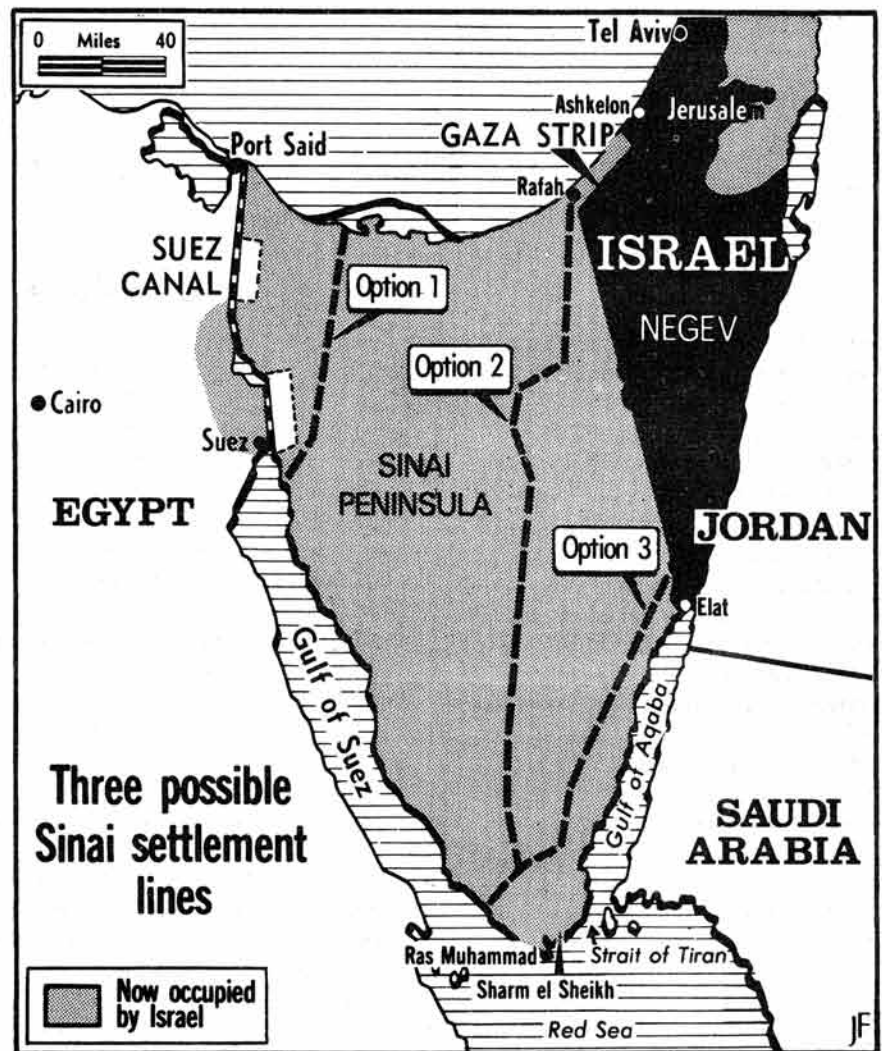
totally unacceptable to Cairo because it would have left Israeli troops in control of nine-tenths of the occupied Sinai and removed the possibility of Sadat initiating any military action to alter that situation.

The Israeli rulers refer to the Yariv proposal (and all variants of it) as an interim settlement, "interim" meaning that after the new cease-fire lines are set, endless negotiations can begin on all other points. But the substance of the proposal is not at all interim, but permanent. It has two essential aspects: maintenance of Israeli occupation of most of the territory seized from Egypt during the 1967 aggression, and creation of a military situation that would make it impossible for any Egyptian regime to resort to fighting to regain the oc-

cupied areas.

There was no chance of Sadat accepting such a proposal in the kilometer 101 talks. Popular opposition to the Israeli occupation of Egyptian territory is what forced him to cross the canal in the first place. That opposition has been intensified by the October War, and Sadat's domestic position is far too tenuous to permit acceptance of any variant of the Yariv proposal.

At the November 29 meeting at kilometer 101 Yariv repeated his proposal and stated that there was no question of Israeli forces withdrawing to the October 22 cease-fire lines. El-Gamasy had no choice but to call off the talks, hoping that Washington would become sufficiently concerned about the possibility of fighting break-



Christian Science Monitor map indicates several "options" for partial Israeli withdrawal from occupied Sinai. "Option 1" roughly corresponds to proposal presented by Israeli General Aharon Yariv at kilometer 101 talks. Options 2 and 3, neither of which have ever been endorsed by Israeli regime, still leave Zionist state in control of wide sections of Sinai, including populous Gaza strip area in northeast Sinai.

ing out again to intervene and force Tel Aviv to be more reasonable.

There is no sign that el-Gamasy's move will succeed. On December 3 Siilasvuo returned from Jerusalem to Cairo to report to Sadat on his meetings with Dayan. "General Siilasvuo is understood to have obtained from General Dayan an assurance that the Israelis are willing to discuss this point [withdrawal to the October 22 lines] if the military talks are resumed," Tanner wrote in the December 4 *New York Times*.

"The United Nations commander conveyed this assurance to the Egyptians but was not able to hold out any hope, after his talks with General Dayan, that the Israelis would contemplate even a partial withdrawal to the Oct. 22 cease-fire lines, authoritative sources said today."

Tel Aviv has thus, in effect, sabotaged the kilometer 101 talks and created a situation such that the first item on the agenda at the peace conference—if it in fact takes place—will be discussions on "disengagement" of the armies on the western bank of the Suez Canal. In this way the conference can become a negotiating session on rearranging the cease-fire lines in Egypt rather than a conference to deal with the question of Israeli occupation of Egyptian and Syrian territory. Sadat's diplomatic "advance," on which he has been counting to pacify the mobilized Egyptian population, has thus apparently been stalled. As of December 3 Cairo officials were saying that in view of Israeli obstructionism on the issue of withdrawal, Egyptian participation in the peace conference might have to be reconsidered.

It is likely, however, that the Sadat regime will not retract its acceptance of the conference. In the absence of any negotiations, Sadat would be under virtually irresistible pressure to resume the fighting. "Cairenes remain convinced that Egypt has won the war and that the fruits of victory must be obtained soon at the conference table in the form of a full Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula and other Arab territories," Tanner cabled the *New York Times* from Cairo November 30.

"The mood of Cairo, many foreigners here feel, could provide the spark for new fighting.

"Most Egyptians say yes if asked whether they think there will be new fighting before a peace settlement is reached; Israel, many say, has never given up anything voluntarily."

That feeling, which reflects reality, is likely to deepen as the peace conference bogs down in endless haggling about the cease-fire lines. Already there are signs that Sadat has been forced to resort to repression to keep his people in line. "Within the past 10 days," the November 23 *Washington Post* reported, "135 Egyptian students have been arrested as police have moved to prevent any agitation against the cease-fire and Sadat's policies, according to reliable foreign sources." The dispatch also said that there have been "reports of the expulsion of some Palestinian and Libyan residents of Egypt who were suspected of stirring opposition to Sadat."

If the Cairo regime began making

arrests as early as the middle of November—before the kilometer 101 talks broke off—then it is likely that Sadat's domestic position is eroding even faster than had been anticipated. His reliance on the good offices of U.S. imperialism, which has backed up its Israeli junior partners on every critical point, will not succeed in eliminating the fruits of the 1967 Israeli aggression. That will generate even deeper opposition.

If Sadat's position then becomes precarious enough, he may be forced to take some token military action to bolster his strength internally. And if he does that, the Israeli armed forces, which have been in a state of full alert ever since the "deadlock" of the kilometer 101 talks, will resume the fighting on a massive scale.

Despite the speculation about peace, a fresh outbreak of Israeli attacks thus remains a very real possibility. □

Journalists Strike Against Censorship

South Korean Students Continue Protests

During the last week of November not a day went by in South Korea without further student demonstrations and clashes with the riot police. At fifteen colleges and universities in Seoul and in several schools in other cities, the students continued to protest the dictatorship of President Park Chung Hee.

For the first time since the student actions began in October, church members staged a street march on November 27, after which twenty-two persons were arrested.

The next day, the largest action yet held took place at Ewha Women's University, where 4,000 students demonstrated for five and a half hours. In addition to the demands previously raised by other students, the women called for the cancellation of the Tokyo-Seoul economic conference scheduled for December. When they began to march off campus, 300 riot police attacked and drove them back with tear gas. The following day, November 29, some 500 students at Soodo Women's Normal College also joined the growing protests and began a boycott of classes.



PARK: Challenged by student demonstrators.

On November 30, about 200 journalists working at the *Joongang Ilbo*, one of the major Korean dailies, and at Tongyang radio station, staged a

twenty-four-hour strike to protest government censorship of the press. Immediately after the passing of a resolution by the 4,000-member Korean Reporters Association calling for an end to restrictions on freedom of the press, the president of the association, Park Ki Byung, was arrested. The same day, the Korean Bar Association called for the National Assembly to restore legislation protecting "human rights."

More than 240 students were arrested in the course of the week's protests, most of them being released by

the weekend. Two of the student leaders, however, were sentenced to prison terms, one for a year and another eighteen months.

A growing sympathy for the actions of the students was reflected in a remark made by a former government official: "The demonstrations you see here in Seoul and elsewhere are only the tip of the iceberg. The discontent goes much deeper than that. It embraces the middle class as well as the students. But it will be the students who lead the uprising if and when it comes." □

leaders be extradited to face charges for their part in the massacre of students on October 14. The Taiwanese Embassy also received a bomb threat. However, General Kris Sivara, the present army commander, has ruled out efforts to extradite his former colleagues.

The students' readiness to engage in action has also begun to spread to other parts of the population. Durdin reported in the November 18 *New York Times* that railway workers conducted a two-day strike against the government-run transport system and won pay increases and other benefits. Shortly thereafter, the river transport workers and the taxi drivers also raised demands for higher wages.

The ranks of the military, as well as some of the younger officers, have also been affected by the current mood. The November 18 *New York Times* gave a glimpse of the present attitudes of the soldiers when it reported that "some military cadets have threatened to burn their uniforms rather than wear them in public because of the antimilitarist mood."

As the political ferment touched off by the students spreads to broader layers of the population, the "caretaker" regime of Premier Sanya Thammajak is trying to channel all activity into the coming elections. The November 21 *Washington Post* reported that the Bangkok administration had called for an end to demonstrations and said that "petitions for changes should be submitted to the agencies concerned or to the prime minister's office."

The regime seems to have incorporated the powerful National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT), which called the first demonstrations against the military government, into its elections maneuvers. With full government backing, the NSCT has gone on a campaign in the countryside to "educate" and "motivate" the peasants, who constitute 80 percent of the Thai population, on democracy and the coming elections.

This limited perspective of the NSCT, however, is not the sole alternative for Thai students. The political differences within the student movement that were already apparent in October at the time of the upsurge (see *Intercontinental Press*, November

Thailand

Students, Workers Continue Mobilization

By Ernest Harsch

While the eighteen-member committee assigned to draft the new Thai constitution has been plodding along, student ferment has continued. "The student movement that forced out the military regime," Tillman Durdin reported in the November 18 *New York Times*, "was confined to Bangkok. Now student groups have sprung up throughout the country, worker and professional organizations are proliferating and sometimes striking, and newspapers and politicians are reveling in free commentary.

"Upcountry, as well as in Bangkok, there are almost daily student demonstrations over some issue or other."

Fresh from the victories of October, the students have pressed on in their attacks on the corrupt hangers-on of the old regime. A few "unprogressive" university and high-school authorities have been forced by their students to resign, and some of the government bureaucrats closely tied to the ousted military leaders have gone into early "retirement."

The November 12 issue of the Hongkong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported the arrest of Governor Pramool Sathatip for a murder he had been involved in while governor of Roi Et Province. (He was governor of Korat Province at the time of his arrest.) Pramool had arranged for a peasant who had criticized him to be

killed, but the deposed military leader Praphas Charusathien, who was then minister of the interior, covered for Pramool. With Praphas's protection removed, Pramool became another victim of the limited purge that has struck those too closely tied to the old regime.

The new governor of Roi Et Province, Chai Ubondepracharak, has fared no better; "student agitators" have forced him out of office for his close association with the ousted military chiefs and involvement in the rampant corruption. And, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the governor of Ang Thong Province, Vicharn Bansophit, was "so frightened by the recent demonstration staged against him by 4,000 students [that he] appealed to Bangkok to have him transferred within 24 hours." Vicharn is being investigated by the Ministry of the Interior on suspicion of corruption.

The November 11 issue of Tokyo's *Mainichi Daily News* reported that the American, Japanese, and Taiwanese embassies had been put under round-the-clock guard after they were targets of student demonstrations. The students were protesting the temporary sanctuary given to ex-Field Marshal Praphas and Colonel Narong Kittikachorn in Taipei and to ex-Premier Thanom Kittikachorn in the United States. They demanded that the ousted

19, 1973) have surfaced and produced a split in the leadership of the NSCT.

The public relations officer of the NSCT, Seksan Prasertkul, resigned at the beginning of November, followed shortly thereafter by Chiranand Pitpreecha, the secretary for general affairs. They formed the Free Thammasat group (Thammasat University was the main base for the October student actions). Seksan called for a "people's democracy" and, according to the November 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, he wrote in a recent article: "It is necessary to substitute the military, police and Civil Service with the people as a base of power." Sombat Thamrongthangawong, the general secretary of the NSCT, had explicitly stated shortly after the overthrow of Thanom and Praphas that the NSCT had no intention of questioning the authority of the police.

Another student leader criticized the NSCT for its lack of internal democracy, called Sombat a "dictator," and blasted the NSCT leadership for the role it had played during the upsurge.

The October actions had been initiated by the NSCT to obtain the release of thirteen arrested activists. As the demonstrations grew and attracted students from all over Bangkok, the NSCT executive committee members negotiated with the Thanom regime and won the release of the arrested students. According to the November 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Seksan had been left in charge of the demonstrations in front of King Phumiphol Aduldet's palace. "Several student leaders, including Seksan, were denounced as 'communists' for refusing to disperse the mob after the NSCT notified them that the then Government had guaranteed the release of the activists and that the fight was over." It was at that point, on October 14, that the military attacked and carried out the bloody massacre that left hundreds of students dead and wounded. The massive response to the massacre swept the military leaders out of Thailand.

Commenting on the differences within the student movement, the *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Bangkok correspondent said: "The NSCT's attitude towards dispersing the mob during the crucial moments in return for the activists' release has become a 'sore-

point' in the eyes of other student leaders. It was apparent then that some student leaders were not simply after the release, but wanted something more."

That "something more" is what has continued to bring Thai students into the streets and what accounts for the growing number of strikes and demonstrations.

The threat of that "something more" has prompted the Sanya regime to

play up the drafting of the new constitution and the preparations for elections, in the hopes of heading off the ongoing mobilizations.

One of the members of the committee working on the draft of the constitution remarked: "Previous constitutions were written out of fear. Fear that the people would take over, fear of the army."

The same can be said this time around. □

Washington to Supply New, Improved Planes

Thieu Bombs PRG Positions

"Only a handful of people know how tempted President Nixon was to order the resumption of limited, punitive bombing of North Vietnam in early September. This action was under consideration in Washington because Hanoi had not responded to Nixon's demand to dismantle Soviet-built SAM-2 missile sites at Khe Sanh. Before taking the bombing step, however, Nixon turned to Moscow. Under strong Soviet pressure, the North Vietnamese agreed to dismantle the sites in South Vietnam and move them back to a position just north of the 17th Parallel, where the Americans were prepared to accept Hanoi's argument that they serve as defensive weapons."

This small item, which appeared in the "Intelligence" column of the November 12 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, underlines the actual nature of the "peace" in Indochina—continued attacks and threats by Washington and Saigon against the liberation forces under the guise of enforcing the terms of the Paris accords. Thus, to give his recent escalation of "land-grabbing" operations the cover of "defensive actions," Thieu charged that the North Vietnamese and Provisional Revolutionary Government forces are planning an offensive against Saigon. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 19, 1973.) Such charges are intended to justify the continued military aid that the Pentagon has been pouring into Thieu's coffers.

For its part, the PRG has been responding to the attacks of the Sai-



THIEU: Will get new equipment from Washington for new aggression.

gon regime. On October 15, the PRG issued an order to its forces "to redouble vigilance and to respond with arms and appropriate forces anywhere as long as Saigon continues acts of war and sabotage" of the Paris accords. David Binder, reporting in the October 25 *New York Times*, noted that some U.S. national security officials considered the North Vietnamese "build-up" in the south as simply a move "to protect Communist enclaves and base areas in the South from incursions by the South Viet-

name [sic]."

Such incursions took on a broader dimension in the province of Tay Ninh, an area controlled by the liberation forces. James M. Markham, in a November 24 dispatch from Saigon to the *New York Times*, reported that the Saigon Air Force had staged more than 100 bombing raids against the airfields of Katum and Thien Ngon, in Tay Ninh. Saigon sources said this was the heaviest bombing since the signing of the Paris accords in January.

In addition, heavy fighting has also been waged in the Mekong Delta over control of the fall rice harvest. A battle on November 21 left more than 100 dead there.

Colonel Le Nguyen Vy of Saigon's Fifth Infantry Division, harping on the possibility of a Hanoi-PRG offensive, told *New York Times* correspondent James F. Clairity on November 21 that Saigon could use more American military support. "We do not think you will send troops," Clairity quoted him as saying, "but we need arms, fuel. And we would need air support, tactical and strategic. . . . We

need support like the support you give Israel."

Just eight days later, Clairity reported that "knowledgeable South Vietnamese Air Force officials say they are convinced that the United States will soon begin replacing Government fighter-bombers destroyed since the cease-fire with faster, more maneuverable models of the supersonic planes." The Saigon officials expected delivery of the first three or four planes before the end of the year and of 100 by the end of 1974. The new F-5Es are reputed to have greater "defensive" capabilities than the old F-5s for aerial dogfights—yet there have been virtually no dogfights since the beginning of the war. Perhaps Thieu wants the F-5Es because they carry larger bombloads than the old F-5s.

Just as the attacks of the Saigon regime began to pick up, Peking gave the knife of betrayal another twist. On November 23, Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, left China after a six-day visit there. Tillman Durdin, reporting in the November 24 *New York Times*, called the visit a "disappointment" to Tho.

"His visit failed, during three days he spent in Peking," wrote Durdin, "to elicit belligerent public declarations about the situation in South Vietnam that Mr. Tho very likely had hoped for from Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders.

"Speeches by Chinese during the visit, notably those by Mr. Chou, were moderate and seemed to reflect what is taken here as Peking's opposition to a large-scale renewal of the Vietnam war. . . .

"Premier Chou, in his speech at the dinner at which Mr. Tho spoke, agreed with the Vietcong leader that Saigon and its forces were regularly violating Geneva accords. He denounced the South Vietnamese Government, but refrained from any reference to the United States. His response to the visitor's speech was unspecific, relatively mild and pro forma."

In other developments in the Indochina war, insurgents in Cambodia captured the fourth government outpost of the Phnom Penh regime in a month, further isolating the puppet forces of Lon Nol. With the dry season approaching, more actions by the Khmer Rouge can be expected. □

Plan Meeting December 19 to Support Chilean Junta

French Fascists Step Up Action, Attack Student Militants

[The following article on the actions of the French far right appeared in the November 23 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On November 4 and November 9 the fascists came out again. On Sunday [November 4] they attacked newspaper sellers at two Paris markets. On Friday [November 9] they attacked student militants at two universities, sacking their offices. Since then, hardly a day has gone by without some fascist aggression taking place in front of Paris high schools.

At the same time, a series of mini-meetings have been organized by the far right all over the place, all in preparation for a big meeting in the Mu-

tualité "against wildcat immigration" and "in support of the Chilean junta" scheduled for December 19.

It is quite obvious that if the fascists are coming into the open this way it is because the regime is allowing it; or rather, wants it. Frequent and violent brawls between the "extremists of both sides" make an excellent diversion from the current heavily charged social situation. And also, friends are friends. The French government has been one of the most open supporters of the Chilean junta in the West, and at the same time it is well known that Alain Robert [the head of the supposedly dissolved fascist organization *Ordre Nouveau*] and his friends have very serious political, material, and financial ties with the Chilean organization *Patria y Libertad* [Fatherland and Freedom].

If they are given free reign, the fascists in France will utilize a "strategy of tension" that could prove very useful to the regime. The fascists are a card that can be played some day, and the gangster government is holding it in reserve, even though the far right is still too weak and too badly divided to be really useful.

Divided it is, and violently. In April 1973 a hardline wing walked out of *Ordre Nouveau*, which was then part of the *Front Nationale* [FN—National Front, a far-right bloc], in protest against *Ordre Nouveau's* "frontist" orientation, and it carried out a raiding operation in order to form the *GAJ* [Group Action Jeunesse—Youth Action Group]. It was the *GAJ* that was responsible for the November 9 attacks. At the end of September 1973 there was another split in the *Front*

'Rouge' Communique on December 19 Meeting

The newspaper *Rouge* vigorously protests against the holding of the meeting that the ex-Ordre Nouveau has scheduled for December 19 in the Mutualité. The themes planned for this meeting, opposition to wild-cat immigration and support for the Chilean junta, are new provocations indetical to those the same group carried out with the complicity of [Minister of the Interior Raymond] Marcellin on June 21, 1973, and March 9, 1971. Once again, the regime seems to be keeping silent, just as it let the authors of the racist words of June 21 go unpunished, just as it let those responsible for the attacks on the campuses at Censier and Tolbiac go scot-free. No doubt the proximity of this meeting to the Paris visit of the ministers of the Chilean junta who are coming to participate in some economic meetings on December 11 and 14 is not coincidental. This meeting must not take place. All antifascists must establish the broadest unity to see to it.

November 16

Nationale, this one between supporters of a permanent "frontist" strategy and those who supported frontism only as a conjunctural tactic.

The Front Nationale is still led by Le Pen, but Alain Robert's group also uses the FN's emblem and the name of its newspaper, *Faire Front*. The three organizations are in direct competition. The two "Fronts Nationales" are suing each other over use of the name. As for the GAJ and the Alain Robert FN (which is a direct continuation of Ordre Nouveau), they are now escalating their militancy (holding meetings and carrying out raids) in order to win hegemony on the far right.

Nevertheless, Ordre Nouveau was supposedly dissolved on June 28, 1973, along with the Ligue Communiste. But bourgeois justice recognizes its own. Trotskyist militants get the mailed fist:

—Alain Krivine and Michel Récanati, indicted for violation of the "anti-wrecker law," arrested, jailed, finally released on bail and under the court's

supervision.

—Pierre Rousset, indicted on charges of possessing arms because two old rifles were found in the Ligue's headquarters, imprisoned, sentenced to two months in jail.

But there has been a certain indulgence for the banned sectors of the far right:

—Alain Robert, leader of Ordre Nouveau, indicted for violation of the arms law, *freed*.

—Jacques Bethbèze, who had rented the van seized by the police in front of the Mutualité on June 21, 1973, in which were found 100 Molotov cocktails, sixty bottles, and sixty iron bars, indicted *but then freed*. (The drivers

of the van were flatly released without any legal action against them.)

—Guillaume d'Aram de Valada, arrested June 28 in possession of a disassembled hunting rifle shown to have come from the Ordre Nouveau headquarters, in which were also found two grenades and some practicemines, indicted *and then freed*.

The dissolution did not do much harm to Ordre Nouveau. It was not Ordre Nouveau they were aiming at on June 28. And so, counting on people's memories being short, the far right is moving out again. The meeting scheduled for December 19 is a provocation just as much as the June 21 meeting was, or the one held on

Marcellin Loses His Memory

French Government Stalls on Appeal Challenging Ban on Ligue Communiste

[The Ligue Communiste, formerly the French section of the Fourth International, was banned by the Pompidou government last June 28. The excuse for the ban was that the Ligue had supposedly been responsible for clashes with the police that took place in Paris on June 21, while the cops were protecting a fascist meeting from antifascist demonstrators.

[Although the members of the ex-Ligue arrested after the ban was issued have been released and the French Trotskyists have continued to carry out all their activities, they are still fighting the ban on the organization through legal argumentation. The following report on the status of the legal moves appeared in the November 23 issue of *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Ligue Communiste was dissolved on June 28, but its ex-leadership immediately appealed the dissolution to the Conseil d'Etat. The substance of the appeal was that the June 21 meeting [held by the fascists to oppose immigration], which was authorized by the regime and protected by the police, was a racist one and was therefore illegal. Thus, the dissolu-

tion of an organization that called for opposing the meeting is also illegal. A "dossier on June 21" was submitted to the Conseil d'Etat by Yves Jouffa [the lawyer who handled the cases of Alain Krivine, Pierre Rousset, and Michel Récanati, among others].

But in order for the Conseil d'Etat to make a decision (that is, to confirm or annul the dissolution decree) the minister of the interior also has to submit documentation supporting his side. Marcellin engaged a lawyer for that purpose, but he has yet to submit any evidence. And in fact, the law sets no deadline for submission of the government brief or for the decision of the Conseil d'Etat.

Even so, the minister of the interior's lack of eagerness is surprising. The day after June 21, didn't he claim to be in possession of dozens of pieces of evidence against the ex-Ligue Communiste? And didn't he even open them to public view in his interview with *France-Soir* and in his radio declarations? So why is he keeping silent now, when he has the opportunity to formally submit such an "explosive dossier"? Has his memory failed? Or maybe his "evidence" fell apart over vacation? Let's go, Raymond. Courage. We're hanging on your every word. □

March 9, 1971. It must not take place. The Communist party and the Socialist party have already stated that

Rouge has published an initial communiqué on the matter. [See box.] Beginning now, all antifascists must

assert their opposition to the holding in France of a meeting to support the murderers of the Chilean people. □

Inflation Provokes Mass Opposition in France

Unions Call for 24-Hour General Strike December 6

[Inflation has become a major problem for the Pompidou government in France, and the regime's first timorous attempts to do something about it have been ill received.

[On November 2 Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing announced a series of measures designed to give the impression that the government had the problem well in hand and to make scapegoats out of the small independent shopkeepers. Giscard d'Estaing said that taxes would be imposed on some food products whose reduced costs of production, he claimed, have not been reflected in retail prices (beef, fruits and vegetables, and some cheeses) and on other articles on which retailers have increased their profit margins (bread and shoes). The taxation measures were part of a new government plan directed mainly against small-scale retail establishments.

[The November 2 announcement met with strong opposition from grocers, who shut down their Paris shops in protest on November 8. By November 12 the "shopkeepers' strike" had spread to the provinces, and a general twenty-four-hour shutdown was called for November 15.

[The shopkeepers' action had significant economic effects. As of November 12 spoiled food products piling up at the Rungi wholesale market near Orly airport were valued at \$4.5 million. On November 15, the day of the general shutdown, some 2,000 shopkeepers marched through downtown Paris against the Giscard d'Estaing measures. The shutdown was reported nearly 100 percent effective.

[The question of the shopkeepers' strike divided opinion in the French workers movement. On the one hand, it was obvious that the regime's "profit control" measures against the small merchants were a sham, intended to

make it look as though an anti-inflation program were under way. On the other hand, the demands of the shopkeepers—widely interpreted as boiling down to a request for higher prices—were not extremely popular.

[The Ministry of Agriculture is currently discussing the taxation measures with the shopkeepers' organizations. In the meantime, the leaders of the bureaucratized trade-union federations and workers parties have been forced to call some independent action against inflation. December 6 has been set as the day of a twenty-four-hour strike against the high cost of living.

[The following articles, the first on the government's "anti-inflation" measures and the December 6 strike, the second on the revolutionary position on the shopkeepers' strike, appeared in the November 23 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Throughout Europe, prices are rising at a faster and faster rate. The prices of raw materials, which Giscard had expected would drop, are literally taking off. The price of copper has doubled in one year; the price of zinc is up 360 percent since the beginning of the year; the price of rubber has doubled. Leaving aside the immediate effects of the oil shortage, the 70 percent increase in the price of crude and the doubling of the price of gasoline that could result threaten to have heavy consequences for the chemical industry.

In France, the official price index for October showed a record increase of 1.2 percent, well more than 10 percent a year if the present rate continues. Giscard's demagogic and ineffective tax measures have fooled no one. It is enough to go shopping three

weeks in a row to see the price rises.

Until now the government has considered this inflation a "necessary evil," because it was counting on an economic slowdown in 1974 that would have put the brakes on prices, and above all because it feared the workers' reactions to any drastic counter-inflationary measures. "Today rising prices, tomorrow unemployment." That was the overt attitude of capital's representatives.

But the present brushfire is making the situation totally untenable. Throughout the bourgeois press many more voices are being raised calling on the regime to "take measures." And the regime plans to do so; it promises it will. But what measures?

The taxes on a few food products were only a simple camouflage operation aimed into the bargain at blaming the shopkeepers for inflation. These measures provoked the most significant merchants' strike that has been seen in quite some time. For d'Estaing, who was in point of fact disavowed by his colleagues for having opposed the Royer law, that was a monumental blow. [The Royer law, named for the minister of commerce, increased the representation of small shopkeepers on urban planning boards.]

Another way out for the capitalists would be to seek a solution on a European scale by trying to define a common policy on inflation for all the capitalist countries. Up to now, these attempts, like Chaban Delmas's calls for a "European" executive council, have had hardly any effect so far.

So, will there be a generalized wage freeze?

That solution is possible theoretically but inapplicable given the current militant mood among the working class.

An idea of the line the government



GISCARD D'ESTAING: Taxation measures not well received by shopkeepers.

will take in the economic field has already been sketched out by Ceyrac, president of the CNPF [Conseil National du Patronat Français—National Council of French Employers]: "The French people will have to agree that for a limited period that could last six or eight months their incomes will not rise faster than the cost of living."

Thus, while the government will think twice before jumping into the sort of dramatic wage-price freeze that has been ordered in some other countries, it will nevertheless seek to put pressure on wages by any means available, trying to peg wage increases to the fraudulent cost-of-living index published by the INSEE [Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques—National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies].

That says a lot about the spirit in which the employers and the government are going into the coming round of wage negotiations.

A national day of action against the high cost of living has been called for December 6 by the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor], the CFDT [Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor], the FEN [Fédération d'Education Nationale—National Education Federation], the Communist party, the Socialist party, the Left Radicals, and the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party]. The trade-union organizations are calling for a

twenty-four-hour general strike on that day and mass demonstrations are to take place in most cities.

Many of those who are calling for this strike have a somewhat miserable recent past:

— The FEN leadership boycotted the October 11 strike for a meager 3 percent wage increase.

— The CGT leadership dealt the Lip workers' struggle a stab in the back, and the CFDT leadership restrained its local section at Lip for the sake of unity at the top.

For these leaderships, then, the December 6 strike is also a means of polishing up their image. For the Communist party leaders it is a means of building support for the Union of the Left [the electoral bloc with the SP and Left Radicals] and in particular for its policy of unprincipled unity with all "antimonopoly" layers. The late date (like June 7 last year) allows the CP leaders to minimize the threat of having the action get out of control.

But whatever the intentions of the organizers, what is important for revolutionary militants is the massive united character such an action will

have and, above all, its antigovernment political significance. It has been several years since there has been a general strike—even one limited in aims and duration—in a political and social context such as now exists.

For the working class, December 6 can be an opportunity to show its power and to demonstrate its determination not to pay the cost of the capitalist ripoff.

That is why revolutionary militants are actively preparing for the strike. The text of the trade-union communiqué calling for the strike states that the workers may "assemble in the factories on the day of the strike to discuss the situation."

In fact, this will be a good opportunity to hold many general assemblies not only to discuss the high cost of living in the abstract, but also to work out some concrete demands on wages, employment, and working conditions.

Behind Ceyrac's sweet talk lurks the employers' hardline policy against the workers demands. Today the workers have the means to demonstrate that they do not intend to let the employers get away with anything. □

Trotskyists Discuss Shopkeepers' Strike

1. The strike of the small merchants did not get a very warm response from the workers. That in itself is not sufficient reason to condemn it. On the other hand, it is cryingly obvious that in developing their mobilization the small merchants were scarcely concerned with making the strike understandable to workers. They aimed no campaign of propaganda or education at the workers. Angrily reacting to the government's attack, they were content to make a "forceful" demonstration, a tactic of the Poujadist type. [Robert Poujade, once a leader of a merchants' organization, is now minister of protection of nature and the environment.]

In no way did they place their mobilization in the more general context of the anticapitalist struggles going on in France today. In that sense the mobilization remained largely mired in the narrowness of class viewpoint and the prejudices that characterize the shopkeeper. As a Lille representa-

tive of the CID-UNATI [the organization that led the strike] innocently declared at a *Rouge* meeting: "We are not becoming politicians. It's just that we are sweating blood while government officials are getting fat and the workers are making at least 2,000 francs a month."

2. But it is still true that Giscard's measures constitute a direct attack on a social layer that has been largely squeezed out by the development of capitalism. In this whole business the small merchants are scapegoats. To blame them for the worsening inflation is absurd. Taxation has much less effect on big companies than on small ones. The big ones can easily get by. Hence the exasperation of the "little guys" who see the taxation measures—and for good reason—as part of the consequences of the squeezing-out policy the Fifth Republic has had toward them.

3. Merchants do not constitute a homogeneous social layer. There is a wide gulf between the shopkeeper-capi-

talist who employs a dozen or more workers and the small shopkeeper who dodges around for years trying to avoid bankruptcy while being squeezed out by the growth of the various chain stores. Although the merchants' special position in the social system provides the adhesive for a common ideology and common reflexes, it is nevertheless true that to a certain extent the class struggle reflects itself in the commercial sector.

This is shown, for example, when a shopkeeper grants extended credit to workers who are on strike, or, from the opposite direction, when a prosperous retailer refuses to pay employees who are forced "on strike" by circumstances beyond their control, as happened last Thursday [November 15]. Even though a number of factors—their atomization, their narrow outlook, their low cultural level, their relationship to money—generally makes the merchants easy prey to reaction (as in France in 1958 and 1968), this heterogeneity must never be lost sight of.

Certainly, these layers ooze capitalism from every pore. But in the epoch of capitalism in decay, they live on a razor's edge. Some of them are able to raise their status, the ones, for example, who accumulate enough to get out of the shop; others are cast down into the ranks of the proletariat. Such are the factors that tend to divide the shopkeepers during times of great confrontations.

4. For the workers movement, merchants are neither privileged allies nor outright opponents. The workers must avoid two pitfalls:

—An ultraleft sectarian attitude that views the merchants as reactionary layers for all time, thus drawing hasty lessons from things like the experience of Chile. Generally, this sort of view is based on amalgamating the attitude of the merchants with the most questionable positions taken by the leaders of groups like the CID-UNATI.

What that mistaken view overlooks is that this type of attitude on the part of the merchants generally arises in a period in which neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat is capable of offering a perspective to the intermediary layers, which leaves them free to theorize their own rage, their own impotence, and their own prejudices.

In a period in which the proletariat demonstrates its own power and determination, things can be totally different; that is what happened at some points during 1936 and May-June 1968.

—A second attitude to avoid is that of reformist opportunism such as has been polished to a sparkle by the Communist party. In its obsession with effecting the broadest possible front of all "antimonopoly layers" the CP has utilized each and every demagogic appeal to the shopkeepers. It obliterates class distinctions between the shop and the factory and, because of its purely electoralist outlook, does not hesitate to cater to the most backward prejudices and illusions of those who want to turn back the wheels of history.

This electoral position, which led the CP to simply *abstain* on the Royer law (which makes the workers pay contributions toward the pharmacists' social security), weakens the cohesion of the working class and at the same time does nothing to win over the merchants, whose corporationist interests are more actively and consistently defended by people like Nicaud [head of the CID-UNATI] and other cockroach capitalists.

5. Revolutionists take a wholly different attitude. They have no illusion that they will win over all the shopkeepers. A majority of the merchants and retailers will never rise above the prejudices of this backward layer and will at best have an attitude of nervous passivity during showdowns. But, given struggles against the attacks of big capital, given responses to these attacks, a minority of the merchants can come to understand that their *interest* in the fight against big capital leads toward an alliance with the proletariat, as advanced sections of the peasantry have already realized.

The more combative and determined the proletariat is, the faster the divisions among the shopkeepers will be able to develop. This is a phenomenon that has been seen in all the big strikes since 1968.

Such developments occur through the experience of the most conscious of the shopkeepers with the inconsistent and basically erratic character of the loudmouth leaders of organizations like UNATI, who are always

ready to range themselves under the protective wing of big capital at the first sign of trouble. Poujade, for example, ended up as an ardent Gaullist and Nicaud did not hesitate to proclaim his unbounded admiration for Royer.

Revolutionists do not stoop to concealing their aims. They do not hide the fact that in the moneyless society they want, small shops, an outmoded social entity, will have no place. Right from the beginning, a socialist society will socialize the big means of production and exchange, the networks of distribution and consumption.

As for the small-commerce sector, its place in the economy will progressively diminish with the growing socialization of distribution. This does not mean that all of a sudden the small retailers will find themselves without resources, as often happens nowadays. The revolutionists explain to them that far from strangling them, such a society would free them from the fear of the future and all the other uncertainties of their current social position and make them, like all the workers, free and creative human beings. This means that the workers state will offer the middle layers all the guarantees and advantages that it will institute for the workers themselves (free health care, guaranteed employment, free education, rent, vacation, and so on).

6. Revolutionists put forward slogans and demands able to link the struggle of the merchants to that of the workers, without making any concessions to the individualism or corporatism that can blossom among small merchants:

- Elimination of the sales tax, today's stamp tax, which weighs most heavily on the lowest income levels, and is a Chinese water torture that transforms merchants into unpaid treasury agents.

- Control of all prices and public taxes (on sales and production) by workers organized into committees:

- Publication of all incomes, abolition of secret bookkeeping.

- Access to credit for all.

- Equal credit rates for all.

- Free health care for all.

- Right of free professional training for all merchants who wish to change their occupations. □

Ford's Stock Rises As 'Operation Candor' Flops

By Allen Myers

When the House Judiciary Committee voted November 29 to recommend approval of Gerald Ford's nomination as vice-president, Democrat Jack Brooks of Texas was reported to have drawn laughter from both Republicans and Democrats of the committee with the observation:

"If he [Ford] becomes president, I think he'll be a vast improvement over the one we've got. I kind of like Jerry Ford. I'd like to promote him. I don't think vice-president is high enough."

The congressional merriment at remarks that would have been regarded as approaching blasphemy only a few months ago indicated the virtually total failure of Nixon's "Operation Candor"—the attempt to hide his guilt behind a flurry of evasive speeches and promises of "full disclosure" at some unspecified date.

Writing in the November 29 *New York Times*, Congressman Donald W. Riegle, a Democrat from Michigan, flatly predicted that "the country in the weeks and months ahead will see the end of the nightmare of the Nixon Presidency and a transition of power into a Ford Presidency."

"This view," Riegle continued, "continues to gain weight here in Washington as political observers watch with grim satisfaction as the Nixon tragedy plays itself out. While it is impossible to foresee the ending—resignation, impeachment or physical disability—the President's portion of the chessboard has been swept clean of defenders, with the exposed king scrambling frantically, and vainly, to save himself. President Nixon cannot survive in office much longer, and Michigan's Gerald Ford will be America's next President."

Nixon, speaking to the convention of the Seafarers International Union November 26, repeated his intention of staying in office: "It is the captain's job to bring that ship into port, and I can assure you that you don't need to worry about my getting seasick or jumping ship. I am going to stay at that helm until we bring it into port."

But even captains have been known to disappear overboard in a storm, and some previously loyal members of the Nixon crew are showing signs of abandoning ship if not of outright mutiny:

- White House adviser Melvin Laird has announced that he will quit as soon as Ford is confirmed.

- Egil Krogh, former head of the secret White House "plumbers" unit,



FORD: Looking better and better to U.S. ruling class.

pleaded guilty November 30 to charges growing out of the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office. Krogh said that once he had been sentenced he would cooperate with the Watergate prosecutor. He is expected to testify against John Ehrlichman, formerly Nixon's top domestic adviser, and could implicate Nixon himself.

- Thomas Wakefield, vice-president of the Key Biscayne bank owned by Nixon's good friend Charles "Bebe" Rebozo, confirmed published reports

that Nixon had purchased a \$100,000 certificate of deposit in September 1969, shortly after an aide to billionaire Howard Hughes delivered half of a \$100,000 "campaign contribution" to Rebozo. Rebozo claims that he allowed the money to lie idle until early this year and then returned it to Hughes. The transaction, about which everyone involved tells a different story, appears more and more as a cover for a \$100,000 personal gift from Hughes to Nixon.

- In courtroom hearings on the eighteen-minute gap in one of the subpoenaed White House tapes, Nixon's personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, and his lawyer, J. Fred Buzhardt, both appeared to be squirming to avoid their assigned role as scapegoats for Nixon's latest cover-up.

The announcement that a portion of Nixon's June 20, 1972, conversation with White House chief of staff H.R. Haldeman had been destroyed and the subsequent hearings on the matter before Judge John Sirica more than offset whatever small gains Nixon may have made with his propaganda offensive. As a Republican senator quoted by *Newsweek* put it when the eighteen-minute gap was first disclosed: "Well, there goes Operation Candor. I don't think the American people would believe the President now if he was questioned under truth serum."

When the announcement that a portion of the tape was missing was made November 21, Buzhardt told the judge that "a large number of technical tests" had been unable to determine the reason for the gap, which he had learned of only a week before.

On November 26, Buzhardt submitted a statement saying that the hum that blots out conversation on the tape "was caused by the depression of a record button during the process of reviewing the tape."

Rose Mary Woods was brought in the same day to testify that while transcribing the tape for Nixon she had been interrupted by a telephone

call and had accidentally pressed the "record" button instead of the "stop" button on the tape recorder.

But Woods testified that this had occurred October 1 and that she had immediately notified Nixon. If this were true, it would seem that there would have been no need for the "technical tests" mentioned by Buzhardt.

Prosecution attorneys pointed out that in order to erase the tape in the manner she described, Woods would have had to press simultaneously the "record" button and a foot pedal. In attempting to reenact the incident for the judge, Woods automatically removed her foot from the pedal when she turned toward her telephone.

Moreover, Woods said that the alleged telephone call—she couldn't remember who had called—lasted at most five or six minutes, which would hardly account for an eighteen-minute erasure. After some clearly incredulous questioning, Woods herself seemed to deny that she thought she was responsible for the gap.

By the time he took the stand, Buz-

Buzhardt "explained" the failure to mention the missing portion earlier by claiming that an "ambiguity" in the subpoena made everyone in the White House think that the prosecutor wanted only the tape of an earlier conversation the same day between Nixon and John Ehrlichman. Buzhardt even found "ambiguity" in an August 13 memorandum from then special prosecutor Archibald Cox in which Cox said he wanted the tape of Nixon's conversations "with John D. Ehrlichman and H. R. Haldeman in his Old Executive Office Building office on June 20, 1972, from 10:30 A. M. until approximately 12:45 P. M."

What this testimony revealed, *Washington Post* columnist Joseph Kraft wrote November 29, is that "President Nixon is past worrying about credibility on Watergate. Now he seeks mainly to guard against criminal prosecution."

The advantage of the story, unbelievable as it was, is that there seems no way to disprove it short of a confession by Woods or Nixon:

"In short, a manifestly fishy story featuring blunders galore is set against an impenetrable alibi. . . . The only reasonable conclusion is that disclosure of the taped material would have incriminated the President and Haldeman. That the President has the brass to hide behind such an absurd story only reinforces the impression that there is no way to bring him to account short of impeachment."

The House Judiciary Committee, which is to hold hearings on the various impeachment resolutions, is now reported as likely to present its recommendation sometime next spring. But if the scandals continue at their present rate, that timetable could well be speeded up. □

'In Lota I Felt Only Hatred and Resistance'

Chile Junta Cautious in Mining Center

[The following article by correspondent Mats Holmberg appeared in the November 25 issue of the Copenhagen daily *Politiken*. The translation is by *Intercóntinental Press*.]

* * *

Santiago

At dawn the two warships dropped anchor and all morning long the workers watched the soldiers rowing to land.

They spit after the armed marines as they passed them going into town and pointed their fingers at them as if they were shooting them, but only when their backs were turned, because everybody remembered the military's last visit.

At that time the soldiers had also come at dawn. They occupied the marketplace, cordoned off the streets, and sent patrols searching house to house throughout the town.

And in the afternoon when they were on their way back from Concepción, ten kilometers to the north of Lota, they had taken five trade-union leaders and shot them.

Five men were not so many, the workers on the beach said. They had heard about the military's activity in other cities and were prepared to see a lot of people shot in Lota.

But, they said bitterly, they had discovered that the junta moved very carefully against Lota's coal miners.

"They are afraid of us," the workers said. "The junta knows that we have guns and dynamite in the mine and that we all supported Allende. And if they come into the mine, we will bury them with the coal. We have warned them."

Hundreds of meters under the ground, these workers' comrades toil in probably the only free city in the junta's Chile, the mine shafts under Lota.

I had left Concepción that morning. As in the other Chilean cities after the coup, the people were gripped by fear and suspicion. You didn't talk about the junta with your oldest friends. You never knew who might be an informer.

In Lota I felt only hatred and resistance. Over 90 percent of this city's 70,000 inhabitants voted for Allende in the last election.



NIXON: Scrambling frantically to save himself.

hardt was reduced to describing his own explanation of a few days earlier as "just a possibility." Asked if he had ever thought there was "no innocent explanation" of the erasure, Buzhardt replied, "I did not have any explanation of how this could have been done accidentally."

"Why should we be afraid of informers," one of the miners on the beach said. "We are not afraid of death—we face it every day in the mine. And with this regime there isn't so much to live for."

"With the Party for Allende," I read on one house wall. The "Party" meant the CP, and in the three years under Allende most of the workers in Lota placed great confidence in the party.

They supported Allende because the Communist party did so, and when the party told them in the aftermath of the coup that armed resistance would be pointless, they buried their weapons and dynamite in the mine and followed the party's directives to stay quiet.

"We have talked it over often and we realize now that we were completely unprepared for the coup. The Party put its confidence in the military. Every time somebody raised the possibility of a coup, the answer was that the Chilean armed forces would never do such a thing.

"None of us knows if we will ever need the weapons and dynamite. But it gives you a feeling of security to know where you can find them."

Several weeks went by after the coup before the military showed its face in Lota, and a still longer time before they shot the five trade-union leaders. The junta's weapon against the miners in Lota is economic. Although the junta's economic policy has dealt a blow to all low-income groups, it has hit harder in Lota than other places.

"We earn the same wage that we did before the coup but the government has doubled and tripled the prices. A kilo of fish, for example, costs twice as much as we earn in a day, and even couples without children can no longer afford meat."

Every day workers are fired from the mine. The management has gotten a free hand to cut the work force. Everywhere in Lota there are workers who were fired after the coup. The reason was always the same; they took a day's sick leave.

"As long as we help one another, we can make out. But we have heard that the military has plans for starting up a series of terrorist actions, blaming the Communists, and then carrying out a purge. If such things get started, and our comrades in the country don't keep their heads, there

will be a bloodbath."

In the evening the soldiers returned to the ships. They played football on the workers' football field and swam in their swimming pool. But they didn't arrest anybody.

Symbol of the Violation of Democratic Rights

Demand Chile Junta Release Luis Vitale

[The following editorial appeared in the November 29 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly paper of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party), an organization in sympathy with the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Among their "virtues" the brutal Chilean repressors include persecuting all advanced culture and scholarship in the country in a frenzied attempt to destroy them. One of the military junta's hostages is the well-known historian and professor Luis Vitale. In the first days after the coup, he, along with thousands of political suspects and trade-unionists, was imprisoned in the Santiago Stadium. As of now, his whereabouts and fate are unknown. The military has refused to grant even his family, his wife and daughter, any word of him.

Luis Vitale is originally from Argentina. Many years ago he settled in Chile, becoming an important trade-union leader. He was one of the most prominent signers of the reports and resolutions of the first and second congresses of the Central Unica de Trabajadores [CUT—United Federation of Workers] and a member of the CUT national leadership from 1959 to 1962.

As a trade-union leader and well-known Trotskyist militant, Vitale made major theoretical contributions to the Fourth International, as well as the Chilean workers movement, with his analysis of the problems of agrarian reform, Chile's industrial growth, and the struggle against imperialism.

Later he became professor of history and geography at the University of

The crowd of people on the beach stood watching them go. There was a dead silence until they were out of earshot. Then the workers raised their hands and pretended to shoot them down one by one, laughing scornfully.

Concepción. Vitale is especially known for his *Marxist Interpretation of the History of Chile*, into which he poured all his research on the development of Chile as a country dominated by imperialism.

The influence that Vitale's work has had among the Chilean people is undoubtedly one of the factors that goaded the murderous junta to vent its rage on him. In arresting him while he was lecturing at the University of Concepción, the military junta has transformed Vitale into a symbol of the power that learning and culture have when they are put at the service of the workers and the people.

For all these reasons, *Avanzada Socialista* joins in the campaign that is starting up throughout the world to call for the release of Luis Vitale and the many thousands of persons imprisoned for their political and trade-union activities, and to demand an immediate and unconditional halt to the repression in Chile.

Along with calling for the release of Manuel Cabieses Donoso [the editor of *Punto Final* reportedly blinded by the junta], Luis Corvalán [CP general secretary], and Guarany Pereda [an SP leader], the demand for the release of a representative of the country's persecuted culture and scholarship such as Luis Vitale should become one of the main rallying cries of the struggle in support of and in solidarity with Chile.

We demand also that the military junta disclose the place and conditions of Vitale's confinement and let representatives from the organizations around the world protesting the repression in Chile visit him in order to ensure his life and civil liberties.

In order to facilitate Vitale's release and safe-conduct out of the country, the officials in the Argentine Depart-

ment of Education should publicly offer him a professorship in the National University. The Argentine government should intercede with the Chilean military junta in order to obtain permission for him to leave the country, and it should assure that he will be able to establish himself freely in Ar-

gentina.

Luis Vitale has become a symbol of the violation of democratic rights in Chile. The popular forces in our country should try to distinguish themselves as his greatest defender and the guarantor of his asylum in Argentina. □

bureaucratic hacks in charge of trade-union reorganization.

During the last two months of 1972, Banzer had to confront demands for higher wages and legalization of the trade unions, which came in conjunction with a continuous chain of sit-in strikes that defied the martial law imposed by the military.

On May Day 1973, some 15,000 workers marched through La Paz demanding that the COB be legalized. Popular ferment rose to a new peak during October this year in protests against the miserable raise of 6,000 pesos a month [US\$60] decreed by the government, an increase that seemed like a mockery in the face of galloping inflation.

At the beginning of this year, the Bolivian authorities proclaimed that the military would remain in the government for another five to ten years.

However, early last June the PSDB [Partido Social Demócrata Boliviano — Bolivian Social Democratic party], one of the parties composing the ruling coalition, came out with a position that calling free elections was the "only solution to the problems confronting the country." That is, in the face of the popular mobilizations, this was the only answer the imperialists and the bosses could come up with.

Confronted with this and other pressures, Banzer chose to retreat from the position he held at the start of this year. He pledged to call elections for mid-1974. At the same time, he sought to fuse the two coalition parties making up the government—the Falange Socialista Boliviana [Bolivian Socialist Phalanx] and the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] into a single party to back his candidacy.

On the other hand, a group of young military officers came out with a document in which they declared that they were "ready to break with the decrepit structures of the country in order to avoid increasing Bolivia's dependence on foreign capital." (*Clarín*, July 15, 1973.) At the same time, they threatened to take action against any putchist sector of the armed forces that might attempt to prevent the elections from being held.

However, the date for the elections has yet to be set. In the first place, some sections of the MNR have called on their leaders to withdraw the party

Will Banzer Opt for a 'Great National Accord'?

Rifts Divide Bolivian Military, Capitalists

[The following article was published in the November 1 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores — Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

At the end of October 1972, Colonel Banzer's government devalued the Bolivian currency by 66.66 percent, which in effect was a disastrous blow to the workers' standard of living. That is, it was as if the imperialist and Bolivian capitalists had reached into the workers' pockets and taken 66 centavos out of every peso they had.

However, the workers movement, which had been waging some partial struggles since the August 1971 coup d'etat that overthrew Juan José Torres, was able to respond to the situation:

"Today thousands of workers from various sectors of the labor force launched a mobilization to resist the government's economic measures, calling indefinite stoppages in their respective workplaces. La Paz's main factories were at a standstill. . . . Workers from the SAID textile factory, employing approximately a thousand white- and blue-collar workers, jammed the main thoroughfare of this city, which leads to the International Airport and connects up Bolivia's most important highways. Hundreds of workers gathered in downtown La Paz to begin a protest march." (*Clarín*, October 31, 1972.)

The struggle spread. In Cochabamba, ". . . in the central part of the

country, factory workers declared their solidarity with their compañeros in La Paz. The strike could affect some 5,000 workers during a twenty-four-hour period. Unofficial reports indicated that in some areas prisoners were released [by the mobilized workers]." (*La Nación*, October 31, 1972.)

The most important immediate results of this uprising were a 20 percent raise won by the workers from the government and the return to the union membership of the headquarters of the La Paz Miners Federation—the strongest union in the Central Obrera Boliviana [COB—Bolivian Workers Federation]. The headquarters had been closed down after Torres fell.

The October explosion was preceded by a few limited struggles by the teachers and journalists unions, among others. Also, from his first days in office, there was friction between Banzer and various capitalist sectors.

Following the revolt in La Paz and in other cities, infighting among the various sectors of Bolivia's capitalists grew more and more intense. In one instance, Colonel Selich (Che Guevara's murderer), who was Banzer's right-hand man in the coup against Torres, was first recalled as ambassador to Paraguay and subsequently killed—accused of conspiring against the government.

Immediately following the La Paz actions, the Comité de Defensa de los Trabajadores [Workers Defense Committee] was formed, which was made up of rank-and-file factory delegates tested in the struggle. At the same time, the left forces began to win trade-union elections from the slates that the government backed in its attempt to get a brake on the struggles by putting



BANZER: Great National Accord?

from the discredited ruling coalition, leaving the Banzer candidacy balanced precariously on one leg. Moreover, when a minister said recently on his own authority that elections would be held on June 2, 1974, and promised a broad amnesty for all political prisoners, including left-wingers, Banzer was quick to deny his assertions.

So, while the bank workers have been spearheading popular struggles recently, showing their solidarity with an imprisoned trade-union leader by calling a massive strike, Banzer and the capitalist parties have been issuing long statements trying to cover up the infighting that prevents them from uniting to confront the militant Bolivian workers.

The situation in Bolivia leads us to draw some conclusions:

In October 1972, a year after the defeat represented by the August 1971 coup, the Bolivian workers showed that they were making a clear recovery.

Since 1972, workers combativity has continued to grow, while the crisis has been deepening and disunity reigns in the army, the government, and the capitalist parties.

The workers focused their struggle on restoring their traditional organiza-

tions, such as the Miners Federation and the COB, while at the same they took advantage of all legal and semi-legal openings, such as trade-union elections, that facilitated the work of activists in reunifying the ranks of the labor movement.

Contrary to the expectations of some, guerrilla warfare has played no role in the revival of the mass movement in Bolivia. What is more, there hasn't even been a sign of guerrilla activity since the 1971 coup d'etat, either in the countryside or the city.

Despite pronouncements that they would stay in power for a decade, Banzer and his cronies were unable to accomplish their planned installation of a solid Brazilian-style dictatorship.

Contrary to the expectations of others, under the pressure of growing workers struggles, friction has increased between different Bolivian capitalist groups, and also between them and imperialism, prompting some sec-

tors to demand elections.

A minister issued a statement, which was only half denied by Banzer, saying that all tendencies would be allowed to participate in the elections, "since this will also be a good way to find out just how many communists there are in Bolivia." (*Cronista Comercial*, October 19, 1973.) This led to general speculation that the Bolivian government was investigating the possibility of opening up talks with "all the leftist and ultraleft forces" — as the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* put it in its October 9 issue — with a view to negotiating the conditions of their participation in the elections.

The Banzer dictatorship seems to find itself in a situation similar to the first stage of the Ovando regime. We hope that the Bolivian worker and student activists have drawn the lessons of Torres's fall and that they will take up the task of building the instrument that they needed to win in 1971 — the revolutionary party. □

Tulio Roberto Quintillano Cardoso

Brazilian Trotskyist Murdered by Chile Junta

[The following article is from the November 14 issue of the Buenos Aires Trotskyist weekly *Avanzada Socialista*.]

* * *

Student leader in Brazil. President in 1968 of the Student Center of the Engineering School, Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro.

As a militant and a regional leader of the Partido Comunista Brasileiro Revolucionario [PCBR — Brazilian Revolutionary Communist Party] he participated in the mass mobilizations in Rio de Janeiro in 1968.

For his political activities he was arrested and savagely tortured.

In 1970, he sought asylum in the Chilean Embassy together with Trotskyist intellectual Mario Pedrosa. There he began to make a critique of the ultraleftism and reformist deviations of the Brazilian revolutionary organizations, including a self-criticism of his own positions.

Once in Chile, he continued to study Brazilian problems and together with other compañeros formed the Grupo Punto de Partida [Starting-point Group], which later joined the Fourth International as a sympathizing organization and published the documents *Concerning a Kidnapping and Toward Building the Revolutionary Party in Brazil*.

As a Trotskyist militant Comrade Cardoso integrated himself into the class struggle in Chile.

After the coup Comrade Cardoso was arrested on the street by a military unit and disappeared. Despite the efforts of the International Red Cross and the United Nations, and of his wife (who was freed after being arrested with our compañero), Cardoso could not be found in any of the concentration camps of the junta, nor in the military posts.

His death has been confirmed by unofficial sources.

Latin American revolutionists demand that the military junta *return his body immediately to his family*.

Spying Scandal Exposes Myth of Progressive Sweden

By Kenth-Ake Andersson

Göteborg

Sweden, a country that many regard as a peaceful neutral state with a progressive government, has now had its own Watergate, or perhaps we should say Waterloo? It has been shaken by the worst court scandal in its modern history, a case that is now leading to a serious crisis both for the state apparatus in general and for the ruling Social Democratic party, the SAP (Socialdemokratiska Arbetarparti—Social Democratic Workers party).

The affair began in May of this year when the magazine *Folket i Bild-Kulturfront* exposed a previously completely unknown Swedish espionage organization, the Informationsbyrå [Information Office].

This magazine is a semimonthly put out by a collective organized on a popular-front program. The nucleus is composed of Stalinists from the KFML [Kommunistiska Förbundet Marxist-Leninisterna—Marxist-Leninist Communist League, the largest of the Swedish far-left organizations, which has now changed its name to Sveriges Kommunistiska Parti, the Communist party of Sweden]. Around this nucleus are grouped populists, nationalists, and petty-bourgeois democrats on a diffuse program calling for "people's culture," and "freedom of expression," and so on.

The most prominent contributor is the writer Jan Myrdal, who gained a worldwide reputation for his *Report from a Chinese Village*. The magazine tries to be a popular alternative to the glossy weeklies. But it has very little circulation outside the nucleus of far-left activists. (Its total circulation is about 50,000; in the last elections the far-left organizations got about 30,000 votes, which represents 0.5 percent of the total.)

In No. 9 for 1973, *Folket i Bild* published an article by two journalists, Peter Bratt and Jan Guillou, under the title "Sweden's Espionage."

The article revealed that Sweden has a secret spy organization, the Informationsbyrå, which does the work that cannot be left to the "official" Swedish security police, the SAPO. The authors gave a detailed account of the IB's organization, its various offices, its personnel, and, among other things, lists of the telephone numbers used by the spies as well as the license numbers of the cars they had at their disposal.

But the most interesting thing in the article was the revelations about the IB's activity. The accusation was made that it worked in close collusion with the various espionage organizations in the Western countries, including the CIA and the West German BND [Bundes Nachrichtendienst—Federal Information Agency], with the aim of getting data about the East European countries. The IB was continually exchanging information with these countries and thus violating the official Swedish policy of neutrality. This part of the IB's activity involved profiles of the economic and political conditions in Eastern Europe, the interpretation of secret sources, recruiting East European refugees for espionage work, and so on.

The accusation that raised the most eyebrows was the one that the IB had gathered information about the private lives and sexual habits of leading Finnish politicians and that it was directly involved in a secret landing on the Finnish coast in 1970.

Another aspect of the IB's activity involved collaboration with the Israeli spy agency, Shin Bet. Swedish ship captains were said to have collected information in Arab harbors, which was later passed on to the Israelis. Furthermore, the IB was accused of handing over information to the Israelis about the activity of the Palestinians in Sweden and, among other things, it searched and burglarized the homes of leading Palestinians.

In this area too, the magazine made a spectacular revelation. In 1970, the

IB was supposed to have taken part in a burglary of the Egyptian Embassy in Stockholm. Some IB agents stood guard while Shin Bet operatives broke into the embassy and photographed important documents.

A third field of work for the IB was inside Sweden. It was reported to have compiled a list of all the radical left activists in the country (supposedly including 20,000 names). Besides this, it sent agents into various left-wing organizations and solidarity movements. It was also said to have had agents observing the miners strike in Kiruna in 1969-70 (which led an upswing in the workers struggles in Sweden), soldiers conferences, and the Social Democratic party congresses. Part of the IB's work finally was to spy directly on various left opposition tendencies in the Social Democratic party.

In the first article, the journalists only made a series of detailed statements and deliberately kept back the evidence. They were following a tactic that was to prove successful. "We will wait to see what the authorities deny before we put the proof on the table." For two weeks, the Swedish government was forced to make blind denials without any notion of what the journalists could prove or how conclusive their evidence was. The authorities were clearly caught in a trap. Their denials collapsed almost immediately. It turned out that various official spokesmen had issued conflicting statements. What one confirmed, the other denied, and so forth. The mass media began to go further into the affair, and new information, although less important, was brought out. Many former IB agents came forward and admitted that the reports were correct and that they could confirm this or that point.

In the following issue of *Folket i Bild*, No. 10, which was dated May 17, the first phase of the IB affair came to a conclusion. It was demonstrated that the journalists had very solid proof of their assertions.

The most sensational thing in this issue was that it presented a number of different agents from IB and illustrated the kind of work they did by pictures of documents and letters. A report from a Swedish ship captain showed, for example, that the IB had collected information on conditions in the port of Alexandria (how it was guarded, how to bribe policemen, what the possibilities were for taking photographs). Another agent, a woman of Hungarian origin, was accused of collecting information about defense installations in the Suez area by consorting intimately with Egyptian officers. Obviously none of this was of any interest to the Swedish armed forces but of considerable interest to the Israelis.

IB Plants Provocateurs in Swedish and Refugee Groups

The most interesting revelation was the exposure of Gunnar Ekberg, a student who went into the Swedish FNL movement (the solidarity movement with Vietnam, the largest of the far-left organizations, dominated by the Maoists) on the orders of the IB. After a period of activity in the FNL movement, he also joined a number of other left organizations, the KFML, the Swedish-Chinese Friendship Society, and SDS (Studenter för ett Demokratisk Samhälle—Students for a Democratic Society, the driving force in the student movement of that time, an explicitly socialist and revolutionary organization).

Ekberg's most important work, however, was in the Palestinian movement, which he helped *to start*, and in which he played a leading role. In many meetings with activists and leading Palestinians, he recorded conversations with hidden microphones. Internal documents were handed over to IB. In the spring of 1969 Ekberg and IB agents broke into the FNL movement's offices in Göteborg, where they photographed the membership list as well as the list of all the contributors to the fund for Vietnam. In the spring of 1970, Ekberg got into the SDS headquarters in the student union building in Göteborg, stole the membership list, and took it to a nearby hotel, where IB agents photographed it before he returned it. Shortly after

that there was a break-in into the KFML offices in Göteborg. All the documents were photographed and bugging devices were planted.

Besides this, Ekberg acted as an agent provocateur. One of the first things he did in the Palestine movement was to make a leaflet with a clearly anti-Semitic message. In a later incident, he threatened to bomb an El-Al airliner.

Six or seven times the trusted Ekberg was able to visit Palestinian guerilla camps in Lebanon and Jordan. Pictures appeared later in the press that showed Ekberg wearing a parachute and carrying an automatic rifle. Right after Ekberg's visit, the Israeli army raided this training camp.

Gunnar Ekberg immediately gave his story to the daily press, confirming the information about him. He had been an agent for IB. He had been paid 2,500 kronar (about US\$580 at current rate of exchange) a month and was given access to a car and traveling expenses while on the operations he reportedly carried out. The interview took place in the office of the armed forces staff, which obviously saw that a denial was useless. After this, Ekberg went underground. The armed forces staff announced that there were "fears that the Palestinian terrorist organizations would take reprisals" against Ekberg and that therefore he had been taken to a secret place abroad, where he has remained.

With these revelations, the first phase of the IB affair reached its conclusion. From the start, Bratt and Guillou had pressed the demand that their accusations be investigated by a parliamentary commission including representatives from all five parties (i.e., also the Communist party). The government refused to accept this demand but decided instead to let a state prosecutor examine the question. At the end of May this job was handed over to the chief prosecutor, Carl-Axel Robèrt. The two reporters declared their willingness to work with him, but in a statement in the press he brusquely rejected all offers of collaboration.

At the same time, the government began to change its tactics. It started to claim that any more articles would endanger the national security and could only benefit foreign powers. In particular, it seized on the fact that

one of the reporters, Guillou, was not a Swedish citizen. (He was born and raised in Sweden but had a French father and therefore was registered at birth as a French citizen.) The first suggestions that the journalists were acting like spies started at this time but no one yet paid any attention to them.

All-Party Cover-Up During Elections

Then came a deafening silence about the IB case. Many officials had intervened directly with the mass media, appealing for discretion on the matter. Among other things, the Overbefälhavare (OB—Supreme Commander) personally visited *Expressen*, the country's biggest evening paper, and asked the editors to give the prosecutor "a chance to do his work." And he got it too. The liberal *Expressen* decided to shield the authorities. As irony would have it, at the same time the paper started a national advertising campaign on the theme: "*Expressen* keeps an eye on those in high places."

In June, July, and August, the prosecutor continued his investigation in peace and quiet. In mid-September, Sweden went to the polls. It was the most inflammatory election campaign in the history of the country. The three bourgeois parties joined together in a coalition to try to topple the Social Democratic government. In the campaign, accusations were leveled that broke all the traditionally observed rules of political decency. Among other things, the Högerparti [Conservative party] leader Gösta Bohman denounced Premier Olof Palme as a "fascist" and a "supporter of dictatorships."

The election results were extremely close. In the new Riksdag (parliament), the Social Democrats and Communists together won 175 seats, while the three bourgeois parties also won 175. A few thousand votes on either side would have decided the election. The situation in parliament now is untenable and will probably lead to a new election in the spring.

In the election campaign, the IB question played no role whatsoever. Apparently the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties agreed not to raise this sensitive matter. Even the

Communist party respected this understanding. More notably, the KFML and *Folket i Bild* avoided the subject during the whole campaign. This was obviously "tactics." They feared that criticizing the regime over the IB case could bring down the government. But as a result they also missed the chance to carry the issue to broader layers of the population and make the politicians answer for their actions.

Scandal Resumes With New Disclosures

It was not until a week after the election that *Folket i Bild* took up the IB question again. This began the second phase of the affair. It started with a frontal attack. One of the two reporters, Peter Bratt, published a 200-page book entitled *IB och hotet mot var säkerhet* (The IB and the Threat to Our Security) in which the accusations were repeated and broadened. Besides this, *Folket i Bild* published another extensive article with new accusations.

The new charges added considerable concreteness and breadth to the earlier revelations. The analysis of IB's organization had been broadened, and in his book Peter Bratt showed in detail how the spy organization was linked to the various state economic concerns, private financial companies, employers associations, and the leadership of the Social Democratic party. The financing of the IB and its activity through cover companies was carefully analyzed. Its collusion with foreign spy organizations was also taken up more extensively.

But what drew the most attention was the new facts about the IB's activity. According to Peter Bratt the IB was directly under the cabinet. Premier Olof Palme was supposed to have had regular meetings with the IB heads and have given direct orders for every concrete operation.

And the operations IB carried out included spying against North Vietnam. A Swedish colonel is supposed to have traveled to North Vietnam as an "aid expert." He gathered information on the social and economic conditions there, the effect of the bombing, and civilian morale, which he

channeled through the IB to Washington.

As regards IB's activity in Sweden, it was now charged that it had a special department for espionage inside the Social Democratic party and its student organization. New charges were made about spying against various left organizations, but without mention of the names of different agents. It was, however, revealed that on the basis of its agents' activity, the IB prepared a monthly report of twenty to twenty-five pages about the developments in the far left. It was then sent to the SAPO, and from there to the government, the armed forces staff, and the Social Democratic party leadership.

The reaction to the new disclosures was instantaneous. On the same day the book and the new issue of *Folket i Bild* came out, the daily papers carried extensive reportage about the IB. But in the evening of the same day the mass media carried statements by members of the government who said that all the charges were "nonsense" and "drivel," while at the same time claiming that the exposure stories contained classified information whose publication threatened the security of the country. When questioned, they explained that they had in mind Peter Bratt's revelation that Sweden had broken the codes of several countries. That was a matter of national security and Sweden's defenses had now been seriously undermined. The countries whose codes had been broken were Japan, Czechoslovakia, China, Iran, Turkey, Zaïre, and Brazil, countries that could not in anyone's wildest dreams ever be a threat to Sweden.

In this case, the government announced that the matter had been turned over to the prosecutor's office for possible action against the newspapers for an abuse of freedom of the press. At the same time, it was announced that Prosecutor Robert would continue his investigation and would present the results.

At this point, the end of September, two investigations were in progress. On the one hand, there was Robert's investigation of the charges against the IB, and, on the other, a new inquiry into possible abuse of freedom of the press by *Folket i Bild*. In the latter case, the verdict would be against the magazine's publisher of

record and not against the reporters.

What happened after that remains a mystery, but it showed the complete subservience of the Swedish press to the authorities. All the papers and the radio and television network blacked out the whole IB affair. In a month's time, the Swedish mass media hardly said a word about it. No paper apparently dared take up a question such as what could constitute an "abuse of freedom of the press." No one dared write about a case that threatened national security. This showed that the mass media in Sweden no longer played their role as a "fourth estate."

In this period *Folket i Bild* and the other left organizations were forced to push the case alone. Their capacities for carrying out such a task were small, since the left organizations in Sweden are relatively isolated from the broad strata of the population. The possibilities were still more reduced because of *Folket i Bild's* clumsy political and tactical machinations. Right from the start, *Folket i Bild* had explained that it was not challenging the country's right to have an intelligence agency: "We must have our defenses." All they were demanding is that it should be under parliamentary control and be subject to supervision. They were sincerely counting on a split in the Swedish ruling class over this question. But this tactic failed completely.

Not one member of the Riksdag besides the seventeen Communist party members supported the demand for parliamentary supervision. The democratic and petty-bourgeois opposition was not especially concerned because the IB spied on East Europe, helped Israel, and kept the left organizations under surveillance. The mass media were more faithful to the government and the bureaucracy than to their role as a "fourth estate." There was no sign of a split in the Swedish ruling class or state bureaucracy such as occurred, for example, in the United States over the Watergate scandal.

Moreover, it became apparent that *Folket i Bild* was using the disclosures about the IB strictly for its own narrow organizational and tactical purposes. Even before this, it was a standing joke in the far left that all of the agents mentioned in *Folket i Bild* were working against the KFML (the or-

ganization actually behind the magazine) or its front organizations. In no case was any spying revealed against any of the competing left organizations, against the "third period" Stalinists* in the KFML (R), the Trotskyist RMF (Revolutionäre Marxistisk Förbund—Revolutionary Marxist League, the Swedish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), or the centrist Förbundet Kommunist (Communist League).

Only very general accounts were given about the espionage carried out against these groups. For example, it was reported that in 1969 Gunnar Ekberg was given the task of "collecting information about the leaders of the Trotskyist movement, the KFML (R), the KFML, Förbundet Kommunist, and the Appellianer" in Göteborg. (The Appellianer are a group named for their Danish guru, Gottfrid Appell. This group claims that the West European working class has been "bought off" and is no longer revolutionary. This current had a certain influence in 1968-69, but now it has entirely disappeared.) Ekberg was supposed to have compiled a list of several hundred persons in Göteborg. After that he continued developing profiles of these persons. "He went to every address, checked every name plate on the door, the entrances and all the ways out, the type of lock, and the number of windows, as well as how far they were from the ground. He indexed all these facts."

Was it really a coincidence that Bratt

* In 1928, after the right-opportunist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union had led to an impasse, the bureaucracy made a mechanical "left" turn, announcing the arrival of the "third and final" period before the overthrow of capitalism. This was the period in which Social Democratic organizations were attacked as "fascist" and the slogan "After Hitler, us" was raised. When the Soviet bureaucracy found itself facing a new German militarism under Hitler, it returned to its previous policy of forming class-collaborationist blocs with the "democratic" bourgeoisie, which were given the name "popular front." The Swedish Maoists, who have tried to hark back to "the golden age of Stalinism," split into two groups on the basis of the zigzags of Stalinist policy in the 1930s. The KFML tries to imitate the traditions of the popular front; the KFML (R), the tradition of the "third period."—IP.

and Guillou only reported about the agents in the organization they themselves support? In a public meeting in Göteborg, they were asked directly from the floor whether they knew of any agents in other left organizations. They answered that they had identified four other agents but did not want to reveal their names because "this is not a question of individuals," and these persons would be killed if they were exposed. They also explained that they had no intention of informing the leaders of these organizations that there were infiltrators in their group.

This political and tactical error by *Folket i Bild* made it impossible to build a united front of the left on the IB issue. Once again sectarianism threw a monkey wrench into the work of the Swedish left.

On Friday, October 19, Chief Prosecutor Robèrt presented his findings. They were immediately stamped secret by the government, and the mass media reported only that Robèrt had completely exonerated the Informationsbyrå from all accusations of criminal behavior. No evidence was produced on the burglary of the Egyptian Embassy. The fact that Gunnar Ekberg entered the offices of the FNL movement, SDS, and the KFML could not be called burglary. He had his own key!

Finally, the zealous Robèrt stated that the IB had in fact committed some irregularities in burglarizing the homes of Palestinians but that that had happened so long ago that the statute of limitations had run out. With this, he concluded his findings.

The next day, Saturday, October 20, in the United States President Nixon fired special prosecutor Cox for carrying his investigation of the Watergate affair too far. In Sweden, Palme didn't need to fire any prosecutor. The investigator had stayed within bounds.

Reporters Arrested and Charged With Spying

But the affair was not over. The next, perhaps the most sensational, phase in the story now began. On October 22, Chief Prosecutor Robèrt ordered the two reporters Peter Bratt and Jan Guillou arrested and jailed

on suspicion of spying. At the same time he ordered a search of their homes and the offices of *Folket i Bild*. This was an unexpected turn of events. According to the Swedish law on freedom of the press, it is strictly forbidden for the authorities to investigate the sources of a statement made in the mass media. Everyone is supposed to be able to go to a paper in confidence and disclose anything believed to be in violation of the law, without the authorities being able to find out who the source was or where the information came from.

The provision protecting the right of the press to inviolable professional secrecy is one of the cornerstones of Swedish democracy. Now it has been wiped away in a single stroke by Chief Prosecutor Robèrt, who managed to find a paragraph in the organic law making an exception—in cases of spying. This paragraph specified that the accused must have "worked at the behest of a foreign power." But through a radical new interpretation of the law, Robèrt managed to come up with a new conception: "indirect intent," that is, a foreign power could take advantage of the information that was revealed. According to this interpretation, all social criticism is espionage.

The police were very thorough. All the files of *Folket i Bild* were carted away, including the picture file. Even material that obviously concerned other questions was taken into custody. The search of the suspects' homes was similarly thorough. Among other things, they took a membership list of the Palestine movement that was being kept at Guillou's; his wife was a leader in the movement. A photographer who collaborated with the magazine was arrested, along with another person who was not named and whose role remains obscure.

Also arrested was the man supposed to have been Bratt and Guillou's main source, a former IB agent named Hakan Isacsson, who had been overcome by conscience pangs and had defected. The day before he was arrested, October 21, a letter of his was published in *Dagens Nyheter*, in which he accused Chief Prosecutor Robèrt of violating his trust. He reported that in a hearing in Robèrt's offices, he himself heard two other agents from

the IB admit breaking into the Egyptian Embassy. According to Isacsson this admission was on the tape that Robert made of these hearings.

This phase of the story is not yet concluded. The photographer and the unnamed person have been released, while Hakan Isacsson, Peter Bratt, and Jan Guillou have been jailed and are now threatened with trial (which will probably be held behind closed doors). They risk being sentenced to up to six years for their "indirect espionage," and after that Guillou can be deported because he is not a Swedish citizen.

The reaction to this phase of the development has been strong. Virtually all the newspapers in the country (except the rightist press) have protested against this infringement on the rights of journalists.

Here perhaps we should also mention a bizarre extension of this that foreshadows a new attack on freedom of the press. On October 24, two days after Bratt and Guillou were arrested, the daily *Expressen* published a summary of *Folket i Bild's* disclosures. As a result, this paper is now threatened with having to pay the penalty for espionage. It is supposed to have transmitted defense secrets to "foreign powers." Evidently the prosecutor is proceeding from the assumption that foreign powers read *Expressen* but not *Folket i Bild*. Or does he equate "foreign powers" with the Swedish people?

The political youth organizations have raised strong protests, as have large sections of the "people's movements" that are so central in Swedish political and social life (consumer cooperatives, apartment house cooperatives, trade unions, building associations, etc.). Virtually all of the leading cultural figures have disapproved of the prosecutor's actions and warned that democratic rights are in danger in the country.

Finally, the powerful Social Democratic party is threatened with an internal crisis over the IB question. The leading organs of the Social Democratic press have openly criticized the government's action. The biggest Social Democratic organization in the country, the Stockholm Arbetarkommun (Workers Collective) has issued a statement demanding a parliamentary investigation of the whole affair

The resolution was approved in spite of a direct appeal from the party leadership and an hour-long speech by the former minister of defense, Sven Andersson.

Workers collectives throughout the country have voted similar resolutions. The mood in the factories is obviously very critical of the government's irregular conduct, and the authorities' countermove has increased the confusion rather than quieting the opposition. In early November, Premier Palme spoke about the IB question for the first time, after a half a year of complete silence. He minimized the whole business, saying that Bratt and Guillou had "read too many cowboy novels." He claimed that direct parallels could be drawn with the Moscow trials. But in his version it was not Robert who was Vyshinsky but Bratt and Guillou!

Today *Folket i Bild* has managed to rally a large part of democratic and petty-bourgeois opinion in the country behind its demand for a parliamentary inquiry. They have also won over a large part of the Social Democratic rank and file to supporting this demand. On November 13, the Social Democratic evening paper *Aftonbladet* published letters from workers to Premier Palme on the IB case. They were representative of the state of opinion in the country.

"I think that many of the older, proper Social Democrats are deeply disillusioned," a woman wrote. "It is not just the youth who have lost their confidence [in the party]. . . . We are disturbed and shocked." Another Social Democrat, a man in Linköping, wrote: "My wife and I are 65 and ever since we were old enough to register, we have voted for the SAP. We have followed all the articles about the IB tangle and have decided that a five-party investigating committee must be set up if the SAP is not to lose its credibility altogether."

But so far the government has rejected all demands for a parliamentary inquiry. Instead, it has referred the question to the Defense Committee of the Riksdag, where the Communist party has no representatives. It is possible that the government can be forced to make a concession on this point to keep the Social Democracy from losing its credibility. Such a ma-

neuver would probably halt the protest movement that is now growing up, since it remains on a low political level and the KFML and *Folket i Bild* are directly opposing making it more political, citing the classical popular-front argument.

How Progressive Is Sweden?

Sweden has a good reputation abroad. Its progressive social welfare policy and the long tradition of class collaboration have made it an ideal for capitalists all over Europe. It is a country where the trade-union movement is completely subservient to the government and makes no trouble, a country where strikes are forbidden by law, a "mixed economy" where 98 percent of industry is privately owned and corporate taxes are the lowest in the world. In today's conditions, what more could a capitalist want?

But Sweden has also been something of an ideal in the eyes of progressive public opinion. In its foreign policy, the Swedish government has made a number of progressive moves that have attracted attention—support for the liberation movement in Africa, verbal support for the NLF in Vietnam and criticism of the U.S. war, aid to Chile and asylum for Comrade Hugo Blanco.

But these progressive political moves have definite limits. Despite the presence of a very strong Vietnam movement, the Swedish government has, for example, consistently refused to recognize the PRG as the government of Southern Vietnam. But the Swedish foreign policy has other features that are more negative and must be considered in an overall assessment of the government's policy. Let me give a few examples.

(1) An official study has recently shown that in proportion to its population Sweden exports more capital than any other country in the world. Investment and corporate expansion abroad is increasing at a record rate. The favorite countries for setting up foreign affiliates are countries under reactionary rule: Portugal, the Portuguese colonies in Africa, Brazil, and Colombia, to give a few examples. In particular, Latin America has been a popular area for Swedish corporate expansion. The far left here custom-

arily describes Sweden as "a small out hungry imperialist country."

(2) Despite its support for the Allende regime, Sweden refused to pay for the copper it bought from Chile. When the copper mines were nationalized, the American "owner," Kennecott, called on the recipient countries not to pay the Chilean government. In Europe, several countries, France among others, ignored this demand and paid. One of the few that obeyed the U. S. embargo was Sweden. It has still not paid for the copper it got, although it is almost two years since negotiations began. The growing solidarity movement is now demanding that the money for the copper be given to the resistance movement in Chile, but the government has completely ignored this demand.

It might be noted in this connection that the Social Democracy started a fund drive entitled "For the People of Chile." The money collected did not go to the resistance movement nor to exiled supporters of Allende. It went to the Radical party, the Free Masons' party in Chile, which has nothing to do with the workers movement.

(3) Although the Swedish government officially condemned the U. S. war in Vietnam, the Swedish corporations have been permitted to export war materiel to the United States, including products that are known to be used in Vietnam.

These and similar actions give a considerably darker picture of Swedish policy. It should be taken into account, moreover, that the Swedish bureaucracy functions entirely independently of the legislative branch. It is probably one of the few capitalist bureaucracies in the world that has its own, extremely reactionary ideology (Boströmianism), which is rooted in the traditional Prussian school.

There is virtually no political supervision of this apparatus. Its power is explained by the fact that Sweden has never undergone a bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie came to power through an understanding with the state bureaucracy, which it granted relative independence from the parliament. These relationships still continue, despite forty years of Social Democratic government. The tendency now is toward a marked increase in the independence of the executive branch.

There were two institutions that did make it possible to keep a *certain* check on the bureaucracy: the ombudsmen [independent special investigators for handling complaints against bureaucratic actions] and the *inviolability of the press*. We have seen the latter gutted in the IB affair. The former, the role of the ombudsmen, was gutted in a court case in the spring, which also had a clear political character.

In May, a young woman came before a court in Göteborg, accused of assaulting two policemen in connection with a demonstration against Rockefeller. The prosecution could not find any witnesses to say that the policemen were assaulted. On the other hand, a photographer turned up who said that the police had assaulted the woman. She was lying on the ground; a policeman was dragging her by the hair while another was leaning over her holding a club. Besides the photographer, the defense was able to produce eleven witnesses who could swear that the woman was assaulted. In this situation, the prosecutor decided to arrest all the witnesses. The photographer was also arrested.

Besides this, they also arrested a woman in northern Sweden and took her in a police car the full length of the country. Her crime: She had made a complaint about the prosecutor abusing his office to the Justitieombudsman (JO—Justice Department Ombudsman), whose position was created precisely to give citizens a way of appealing against actions of the authorities. If such an accusation is grounds for arrest, not much remains of this institution.

Thus, Swedish democracy has been eroded with extraordinary rapidity this year. That these two cases coming at this time was no coincidence is shown by the fact that in this same period the government has proposed a new basic law that no longer includes democratic rights (i.e., the right to demonstrate, the right of expression, the right of assembly). Its backers openly motivated the new law by saying that the different conditions today require quick action.

A basic law can only be changed by two successive Riksdag votes with a general election intervening. If democratic rights and liberties are not protected by the fundamental law, the

authorities can wipe them out by simple administrative action.

At the same time, the Swedish police apparatus has been strongly reinforced. The Swedish bureaucracy is operating with considerably more self-assurance now than previously, and it is characteristic that it is precisely the prosecutors that are getting directly involved with political questions. It might be noted here that in the crisis of the 1930s the Swedish bureaucracy assumed similar independence. From 1933 to the end of the second world war, the Swedish bureaucracy collaborated closely with Nazi Germany. The Swedish security police exchanged material with the Gestapo.

It was the Swedish bureaucracy that suggested to Nazi Germany that it put the Star of David on the passports of German Jews so that they could block Jewish immigration to Sweden (this sensational piece of information was turned up by scholarly research in the spring). When the Spanish civil war broke out, a special law was passed that prevented volunteers from going to Spain. The 500 Swedes who went to fight on the republican side anyway were jailed when they returned home. They had to remain there for the better part of the war.

Despite forty years of Social Democratic government in Sweden, the power of the bureaucracy has not been curbed. In this area we have never had a bourgeois democratic revolution. The reactionary Swedish bureaucracy conducts its own policy, which is far to the right of the official line. The executive branch drags the legislative in its tow. In periods of crisis such as the present, this state apparatus can cut itself loose from its democratic facade.

All this points to an approaching political crisis in Sweden. It is not unlikely that it will even lead to a split in the Social Democratic party, although this perspective is not an immediate one. □

'Wheels of Justice' Need Oiling

The U. S. Indian Claims Commission has awarded Tlingit and Haida Indians in Alaska \$90,000 in compensation for damage done to their village in a shelling attack by the U. S. navy. The bureaucracy may have been trying to prove the adage about the wheels of justice turning slowly: The attack occurred in 1882.

Heath Declares 'State of Emergency'

By Tony Hodges

London

The Tory government of Edward Heath declared a national state of emergency on November 13, "in view of the present industrial dispute affecting persons employed in the coal mining and electricity supply industries." The state of emergency came one day after 270,000 coal miners began a nationwide overtime ban to back up a wage claim prohibited under the Tories' Phase III wage controls.

Within hours of Heath's declaration, the government released its October trade statistics, revealing a record £298 million balance of trade deficit. "Today's events," wrote the November 13 *London Evening Standard*, "bear all the fearsome hallmarks of one of the worst economic crises we have seen for many years. The stock market shuddered when the news came over the City ticker tapes."

The massive October trade deficit once again underlined British capitalism's inability to compete with its imperialist rivals. Exports were down £54 million in October, while imports were up £67 million. The October balance of payments deficit was £233 million, which if maintained would produce a staggering annual balance of payments deficit of £2,500 million.

After winning the 1970 general election, the Tories tried to keep the British economy buoyant by running a massive government budget deficit and relaxing all credit restrictions. Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber announced a £4,000 million budget deficit last March and government banking figures released on November 19 show the money supply rising at more than 30% annually. These figures revealed a record rise in October of £984 million in sterling lending to the domestic private sector.

This massive expansion of credit has stoked the fires of inflation, now running above 10% a year. The October banking figures forced the Tories to hold back. Threatened by runaway inflation and increasing interimperial-

ist competition, they introduced the emergency measures, jacking up the minimum lending rate to 13% and calling on the banks to place £570 million in special deposits with the Bank of England to cut back the growth of credit. Industrial investment may be cut back as borrowing gets more expensive, threatening an eco-



EDWARD HEATH

nomie recession and growing unemployment.

The *London Times* expressed ruling-class fears in a November 16 editorial: "Everyone knows we are facing a very unpleasant winter, one of the nastiest winters since the war. Money has become desperately expensive, prices are still rising, almost every industry is rumbling with strikes and Britain's balance of payments is in huge deficit."

Meanwhile the coal miners were beginning to muster their strength for a long, hard battle to break through the Phase III wage controls. On November 12, some 270,000 miners began refusing to work overtime.

The swift imposition of a state of emergency by the government, wrote the November 13 *Evening Standard*, "was intended as a demonstration of its determination to face up to a challenge from the miners, electricity workers and others engaged in what Ministers regard as a trial of strength."

The government's emergency powers are similar to those invoked during the 1972 miners strike, when the militancy of the miners forced the government to retreat and grant a 20% pay increase in spite of its "voluntary" incomes policy. This time the Tories are defending a compulsory, statutory incomes policy and are determined to prevent the miners winning a second time. In 1972, the Tories introduced emergency measures too late to conserve coal stocks; this time they are taking no chances. "The [emergency] powers," wrote the November 14 *London Guardian*, "allow each minister to take over essential services and to eschew existing laws and regulations. The Department of Trade and Industry admitted that, with the necessary order, troops could be sent down the mines. . . ."

"Ministers can regulate the ports and all transport, and there are powers of requisition. The government can take over motor vehicles, aircraft, and parts of buildings, if it considers this necessary to cope with the emergency."

Most of these provisions do not come into effect at once. They are designed more as a threat to the union leaders to keep the rank and file in check. According to the November 14 *Financial Times*, "the exception, the one major part of the emergency regulations which automatically came into operation at midnight last night, concerns the preservation of public order. Interference with the performance of essential services is now an offence of sabotage."

Under Phase III wage-control regulations, which came into operation on November 7, wages cannot rise by more than 7% a year, even though prices are rising much faster. In October alone, food prices shot up 3.3%, the largest single monthly increase in food prices for twenty years. The Retail Price Index showed an annual rate of increase of 10.5% for October.

While working-class families are prevented by law from keeping up with skyrocketing prices, the big corpora-

tions are having a field day. The top twenty companies reported an average rise of 32.1% in profits per employee from June 1972 to March 1973. In the first half of 1973 profit increases reported by the four major clearing banks were: 75% for Barclays, 77% for Midlands, 81% for National Westminster, and 96% for Lloyds.

Tory policy from Heath's 1970 election victory to Phase III has been to try to revive British capitalism's sagging fortunes by holding down wages and bolstering profits. Phase III was preceded by a six-month freeze on wages during Phase I and wage rise ceilings of £1 plus 4% on existing wages during Phase II.

But millions of British workers have now had enough of Tory attempts to erode their living standards. More than 6.25 million workers have submitted wage claims that challenge Phase III. Among them are 3 million engineers, 900,000 municipal workers, 300,000 railmen, 320,000 agricultural workers, 300,000 postmen, 400,000 civil servants, 220,000 hospital workers, and 170,000 bank employees—as well as the 270,000 miners already in struggle.

The miners' overtime ban had a big impact in its first week. Coming on top of the Arab states' oil embargo on Britain for London's collaboration with Tel Aviv during the October War, the coal miners' strike could threaten the Tories with a major energy crisis. In the first week of the overtime ban, coal production was cut back 500,000 tons from its normal output of 2.6 million tons per week.

The ban means that safety and maintenance work is now being done during the week, rather than on weekends, thus taking away, as the November 17 *Times* put it, from "valuable coal-cutting time on Mondays and possibly Tuesdays." The *Times* predicted bigger output losses as the ban continued.

The miners have submitted demands for wage rises of £8.21 to £12.71. The National Coal Board offered rises of only £2.30 to £2.57, saying that no more was allowed within the Phase III guidelines. A *Guardian* correspondent summed up the anger of the miners in a report on October 10:

"In Barnsley, Mr Arthur Scargill, president of the Yorkshire area of the

National Union of Mineworkers, said he could see no alternative to a strike by the miners, unless the union received an offer that would bring miners back to the level proposed by the Wilberforce Inquiry [which settled the 1972 strike], that would recognise their increased productivity and the conditions of their work, and would compensate them for the increase in the cost of living.

"The Stage III proposals simply did not fit into Mr Scargill's equation."

On October 11, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) national executive committee met in London and rejected the National Coal Board's miserly offer. Some 1,000 miners demonstrated outside the meeting, demanding: "No retreat! Full demand! Reject Phase III!" The NUM leaders called a national delegate conference for October 26.

The conference authorised the national executive committee to call a nationwide overtime ban, after approval by a ballot of area coal fields. Militant miners began unofficial bans. The November 6 *Guardian* reported that "an overtime ban is now inevitable, with reports from 21 areas of the National Union of Mineworkers strongly supporting early action." The national executive committee met on November 8 and called for the nationwide overtime ban to start November 12.

The Tories are very worried by the miners' threat to Phase III. An editorial in the November 12 *Guardian* expressed alarm: "There is no sign at present that the miners see things the Government's way or that anything will deter them from their overtime ban. . . . The miners are a community with a tradition of solidarity."

The government has decided to fight tooth and nail against the miners. In two speeches on November 16—one to a group of American bankers, the other to a meeting of Conservative party members of Parliament—Anthony Barber warned the unions that they could no longer expect to improve pay agreements through industrial action. "It is inconceivable," he said, "that any government could agree to a dispute being settled by an offer outside the limits laid down."

On November 21, the NUM national executive committee met to review the overtime ban and its continuing negotiations with the government. The

NUM decided to keep up the ban and hold another national executive committee meeting on December 13. Then, if the government has still not yielded, the union may decide to organise a national referendum of its members to start a full-scale nationwide strike.

Other groups of workers have also begun to struggle against Phase III. Further compounding the government's energy problems, 18,000 electricity supply engineers began an overtime ban on November 1. Thousands of London railmen defied their union leaders and staged a one-day unofficial strike November 19.

Workers with previous no-strike records have moved into action. In Glasgow, firemen broke with their union leaders and held a ten-day strike that won big wage increases well beyond the Phase III limits. Half the country's ambulance crews are now operating an overtime ban following a strike by ambulancemen in Durham. A national conference on November 29 may call a national ambulance strike.

While the Tories are shaping up for a hard struggle to impose their statutory wage ceilings on the unions, they are making increasing use of their legal powers to restrict the unions' rights to strike and picket.

Under the Industrial Relations Act, unions can be forced to accept "solutions" to industrial disputes handed down by the National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC). On September 27, the NIRC ordered the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) to halt a strike at the small engineering factory of Con-Mech in Woking, where the employers had refused to recognise the union. The AUEW, in line with its policy of non-recognition of the NIRC, refused to attend the NIRC's hearings and refused to stop the strike. On October 10 the NIRC seized £100,000 of AUEW assets for its refusal to comply with a court order.

On October 22, the NIRC also fined the AUEW £75,000 which, along with costs, was to be taken from the £100,000 seized the previous week. This was the biggest fine NIRC has imposed since the Industrial Relations Act became law in February 1972. It was the third time the AUEW had been fined by the NIRC.

About 300 demonstrators rallied

outside the court and half a million workers struck on November 5 to protest the fine. Striking printworkers closed down all national newspapers and 50,000 autoworkers in British Leyland plants stopped work, costing the corporation £3.75 million. In London, 2,000 workers marched to a rally on Tower Hill. Addressing the strikers, Bill McLoughlin, divisional organiser of the AUEW, said: "Too long have we been passive. Too long have we been kicked and shoved about. It is time we hit back. This call for a one-day stoppage is only a first stage."

Referring to the Industrial Relations Act, he said: "It is an unjust law. It is no good appealing or asking for justice. There is no justice in the Industrial Relations Court. . . ."

"It is government policy to drive down the living standards of the people. They have declared war on us, and it is time we stopped smoking the pipe of peace."

The NIRC's fines, threatening the finances of the unions, are only a part of the Tories' legal assault on the working class. In February 1972 twenty-four building workers were arrested and charged with illegal picketing during the national building workers strike. The workers were charged under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act and were brought before a court in Shrewsbury in October. The case of the Shrewsbury 24 is a test for the government goal of suppressing the right to picket, determined as they are to prevent any repetition of the militant flying pickets that were so successful during the 1972 miners strike.

The November 13 *Times* reported that "an intelligence bureau has been set up at Scotland Yard to give police forces throughout the country early warning of when industrial unrest may turn into violence. . . . The intelligence unit will serve as a 'clearing house' for information so that provincial forces can be alerted in advance of possible trouble." Tory Home Secretary Robert Carr told Parliament that a coordinated plan had been devised by the police and the Home Office to ensure that "violent" industrial troubles would be "dealt with."

Similar threats also came from the coal merchants. Speaking in London on November 21, Leslie Chambers, director of the Coal Merchants Federation, said: "We have not got a strike

at the present time, and this is a dispute with which we do not want to involve ourselves, but in order to honour our customers, we feel justified in calling on police protection or even troops."

This sort of sabre rattling is designed to frighten the trade-union bureaucrats, who are scared stiff of the struggles that lie ahead. The trade-union leaders—both "left-wingers" and unabashed right-wingers—proved themselves utterly incapable of putting up any fight against Phases I and II, thus allowing the Tories to bring in Phase III without any significant opposition. The Trades Unions Congress (TUC) held endless talks with the government, hoping to convince Heath to work out a "voluntary" rather than statutory wage-control policy that the bureaucrats could sell with greater ease to their discontented ranks.

These endless talks provoked the anger of many rank-and-file trade unionists, ultimately forcing "leftist" Hugh Scanlon, president of the AUEW, out of the talks, much against his will, when his union conference in July banned him from taking part.

Even after the announcement of Phase III the TUC refused to call off its talks and mobilise the working class in a united campaign against wage controls. The October 16 *Times* described the deliberations of the TUC's General Council, held to discuss Heath's package, as rejecting Phase III but "in a way that rules out any centrally organised trade union attack on the programme." The General Council rejected a proposal to call an emergency congress of the TUC and simply crawled back to the Tories for another round of talks. This time Scanlon was back with them.

Scanlon, wrote the October 10 *Guardian*, "made it very plain that he was willing and able to go back to Downing Street [the prime minister's residence] as one of the TUC representatives if so desired. . . . Mr Scanlon, who was stopped by his union from taking part in the TUC discussions with the Government, indicated that he saw that decision as a bar no longer."

No more treacherous role has been played than that by Joe Gormley, the miners' president, who warned the miners against striking in a speech on October 21. Gormley told an audience

of miners that if they struck, the Tories would stage a snap election, blame the country's troubles on the miners, and get reelected to office for a further five years. Gormley's whole approach suggested that miners should simply lie down and get trampled on by the Tories. Contrary to Gormley, who tries to frighten the miners into thinking they would be isolated from public support, it is obvious that millions of workers will look to the miners as leaders in the fight to preserve their living standards from the ravages of Phase III.

The Labour party leaders have acted no better. "Mr Wilson's position," wrote the October 25 *Guardian*, "is straightforward. While opposing the [Industrial Relations] Act, he thinks that people should not act outside the law to fight it."

But despite the misleadership of the union and Labour party bureaucrats, the workers must act to counter the Tories' attacks on their standard of living. The TUC must stop all talks with the government and start to mobilise the working class in independent struggle against all wage controls. The unions must stick firm to the right of free collective bargaining and reject every form of government wage restrictions.

The unions must preserve their independence from the state and reject all attempts by the Tories to curtail the right to strike and picket. The Industrial Relations Act and the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act must be repealed. All charges against the Shrewsbury 24 should be dropped.

Trade-union militants should demand that the union leaders fight for a sliding scale of wages to offset price rises and that price committees composed of trade unionists, students, women, pensioners, and tenants be set up to determine the real rate of increase of workers' living costs.

In addition to a sliding scale of wages, which in many cases would only retain low wages at their existing level, the unions should fight for a minimum weekly wage of £35. This is the only measure capable of achieving a decent standard of living and, together with the demand for automatic wage rises to offset price increases as recorded by working-class price committees, it poses a revolutionary

challenge to the capitalist system.

As the miners launch their struggle to break through the Phase III pay limits, no task is more urgent than rallying the entire labour movement

behind them. A congress of the TUC should be called at once to map out a united campaign of action by the whole movement against Phase III. □

and prevent others from going the same route. — *Gerry Foley.*]

* * *

'Belfast Ten' Convicted by London Court

Irish Republicans Get Savage Sentences

[Eight supporters of the Provisional Irish republican movement were sentenced to life imprisonment November 15 in London. They were part of a group of ten charged with setting off car bombs last March in downtown London. The explosions were allegedly intended to protest the British government's referendum on the status of Ulster, which was boycotted by an overwhelming majority of the nationalist population.

[Although the police were warned by telephone that the bombs had been planted, 288 persons were reported injured by flying glass. No one was killed, but one man who was in the area died a few hours later of a heart attack, which some of the British press suggested was brought on by the explosions.

[*New York Times* reporter Richard Eder summed up the Crown's version of the case this way in a November 15 dispatch from London:

"Acting under instructions from the Provisionals' command in Belfast, the group loaded four cars with explosives and brought them over on the ferry. One, parked at New Scotland Yard, the police headquarters, was detected when a policeman noticed a discrepancy in the license. The explosive was defused.

"Another was also detected and defused. The other two, one parked near Whitehall and the other beside the Old Bailey, the Central Criminal Court, exploded.

"The group was captured at Heathrow Airport before the explosions. The police were checking all passengers to Belfast and Dublin, having received a warning that bombings could be expected. The 10 all gave false names and addresses that conflicted with the information on their personal documents."

[The eight given life sentences for the bombings plus twenty years for conspiracy were: Marion Price, 19 years old; Gerald Kelly, 19; Paul Holmes, 19; Robert Walsh, 24; Martin Brady, 22; Dolores Price, 22; William Armstrong, 29; and Hugh Feeny, 21. William McLarnon, 19, got 15 years. Another defendant, Roisin McNearney, 18, turned state's evidence and was acquitted. After conviction, the nine went on a hunger strike demanding political status and transfer to an Irish prison.

[The following article from the November 23 issue of the Provisional republican paper *An Phoblacht*, published in Dublin, gives the reaction of the imprisoned youths' comrades to the severe sentences meted out. It makes clear the sort of feelings that for centuries have inspired courageous Irish youth to strike out desperately against the repressive foreign state power. It makes clear that there can be no peace in Ireland until that foreign repressive system is removed.

[The article also takes note that international opposition to British military terror in Ireland has been increasing. There are, in fact, good possibilities for organizing the kind of mass protests that can force the imperialist repressive forces to retreat.

[Unfortunately the threats of "retribution" in the *An Phoblacht* article will not help build such a campaign. They tend to make it appear that the fight is just between the British repressive forces and the Provisional IRA. But, as the article itself notes, the Irish people can more and more call on mass support around the world in the fight against such victimizations. The pressure of mass protests and mobilized public opinion can rescue these young patriots from British prisons

The sentences imposed in the Winchester bombs trial have been described variously, around the world, as "savage," "hysterical," "excessive," "overdone," "over-reaction," "barbaric" and so forth; but they hardly surprised any Irishman who knew his history.

This time, however, things are different in a really important way; no peace pact will be signed with Britain until the Winchester victims and all political prisoners in Britain or any part of Ireland, regardless of the causes for which they have been jailed, are released.

That pledge has been given, time and again, by Republican leaders, but it does no harm to stress it at this particular time, if only to add to the consolation of the prisoners and their relatives.

The prisoners are not forgotten and will never be forgotten. They will not be left to rot in jails controlled by aliens, as happened in the past. The war in the north-east is part of the final struggle for Irish independence. It is the most impressive since the 17th century and Ireland is winning. Indeed, the Winchester sentences themselves are an indication that Britain recognises she is losing this war, as the Americans and the French lost in Vietnam against the risen people.

A powerful enemy, self-confident, and obviously winning, has no option but to be magnanimous to its enemies. He ensures a fair trial. He sees to it that, if the evidence is such that guilt has been established, the sentences are just and reasonable.

But there must be few reasonable persons anywhere, Britain included, who could defend the Winchester sentences on any basis other than stark hatred and revenge.

They are the last kick of a dying empire, going bankrupt before the world, threatened with extinction by its own death wish expressed in its obsession with the obliteration of the family by abortion and other means, led by a small group of ruthless capitalists who are interested in holding power only for the length of their own life spans and too blind to see that

most of them cannot hope to survive even that long.

But one thing they understand clearly: if Oglaiġ na hEireann [The Irish Republican Army] succeed in the north-east, the other subject classes and nationalities will take consolation from that victory, will learn from it, and will arise to overthrow monopoly capitalism and to bring freedom to the subject masses.

Ireland, not for the first time, is leading a war of liberation which extends beyond our shores, into Britain and into the continent of Europe. That this is recognised is made clear, daily, to leaders of the Republican Movement from radical groups with the same humanitarian and democratic aims, from all over Europe and from places further away.

Support for the Irish cause and not only in the battles for the minds and consciences of just men increases with every hour, every day, and not the least within Britain itself. Republicans are grateful for this recognition and support and proud to be once again in the vanguard of democracy and justice.

The Winchester sentences will increase that international support and pressure on the sick men of Westminster. A few months or years jail would have failed to make any great impression abroad, regardless of the "evidence" that produced the "guilty" verdict. But, as the cartoonist Doll pointed out in the "Irish Independent," justice had to be seen not only to be done but to be over-done; and that stirred the conscience of the world.

There is growing opinion that, in cases of this nature, so obviously political, the only chance of obtaining justice is to be enabled to go outside the control of the politicians and the class they represent. Winchester has added to that body of opinion and the demand for the reform of the International Court of The Hague. The Irish Civil Rights Association could well add its voice to the clamour for international jurisdiction in such matters.

Meanwhile, nine brave Irish citizens are taking the only means left to them to fight for the only possible concession from a degenerate government: recognition as political prisoners and transfer to Irish soil to serve their sentences.

They are not begging for mercy.

They are not down on their knees for reductions of their sentences. They are demanding the minimum, the right to join their fellow prisoners at home and share in their few privileges. Who, except the most bigoted, could oppose that demand?

But, ever since Ireland was first invaded 800 years ago, the rulers of the neighbouring islands have been bigoted and barbaric in their relationships with the Irish people; and it is extremely unlikely that the present Westminster leadership will bend even those few inches in compassion and give way gracefully unless tremendous political pressure is brought to bear on them, at home and abroad.

The matter will not be let rest at that, as far as the leadership of the Republican Movement is concerned, according to statements issued. Retribution has been promised and we are given to understand that in this, as in other areas, Oglaiġ na hEireann will pick their time and place, using only that amount of controlled pressure necessary to bring the wild men of Westminster to their senses.

Oglaiġ na hEireann, in a statement on the sentences in the London car-bombs case, declared: "The day is long past for the Irish people to lie under the lash of British imperialists. In due course, retribution will be exacted from the people who inflicted such callous punishment on Belfast youth in Winchester today."

The statement was signed: "P. O Néill, Rúnaí [Secretary]."

Sinn Féin issued this statement on the Winchester sentences: "British imperialism has excelled itself in the sentences on Dolores and Marion Price, Hugh Feeney and their six comrades in Winchester. The effort to exceed the maximum sentences permitted under British law clearly demonstrates that anti-Irish prejudices and hatred reigned supreme on the bench.

"In the dock, on the other hand, stood the nine prisoners, in all their youthful idealism and promise, determined to end in their lifetimes all the injustices, wrongs and sufferings inflicted on Irish people at home in Ireland.

"They, in their turn, became the accusers of a tyrannical system. Love of the Irish people and all mankind motivated them in their belief that 'my enemy is my brother who is estranged

from me' (Terence McSweeney [the mayor of Cork city who died on a hunger strike against the British authorities during the war of independence]). Tonight, Irishmen and women around the world salute them for their courage in the face of the enemy and their total dedication to duty which is so typical of their generation.

"Sinn Féin in Britain is organising a campaign in support of Irish political prisoners there."

Students from St. Mary's and St. Joseph's Training Colleges in Belfast, formerly attended by three of the defendants in the car-bombs trial — Dolores and Marion Price and Hugh Feeney — held a protest meeting shortly after the sentences were announced and passed a resolution condemning the "particular savagery" of the sentences.

A number of students staged a token one-day strike.

The Ulster Executive of the Sinn Féin, in a statement, demanded that the Price sisters and their comrades be returned to the North as political prisoners "to continue their sentence, pending a general amnesty for all political hostages."

The Andersonstown People's Democracy added its support to the call for political status, and Westminster M.P. Mr. Frank McManus also supported the call.

Mr. McManus described the sentences as savage and said that what happened at Winchester was not enforcement of the law but an act of naked revenge. □

In the U. S., It's Called Phase 4

After listening to Nixon stumble from one hypocrisy to the next, it's refreshing to run across a capitalist politician who says what he really thinks. Ted Chapman, a Liberal party member of the South Australian state parliament, recently outlined his program for controlling inflation:

"What is wrong with sacking a few of the staff and tightening the reins? Too much emphasis and fear is placed on the unemployment issue. If the employees are not effective, stand them down. Let them go hungry for a while. . . . I mean this. The only way to get the message through to some people is through their stomach. . . . We hear about wage fixing and price fixing, but as far as I am concerned, wage reduction is the answer here, because it is the only language some people understand."

The Revolutionary Explosion in Athens

[The following statement was issued November 28 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Since April 21, 1967, Greece has lived under a military dictatorship. While this dictatorship was imposed to solve the grave crisis of bourgeois rule resulting from the prerevolutionary situation of 1963-65, it has become glaringly evident that this solution has failed.

The dictatorship of the colonels was not able to build a popular base for its policy and its regime. This resulted in the bourgeois institutions facing a continual crisis. In no way could the colonels' formal proclamation of a "republic" provide a solution.

The repression and the wage freeze that were supposed to guarantee increased profits for the Greek capitalists and their imperialist backers were unable to prevent the runaway inflation that has been undermining the economy for the past two years. The virtually uninterrupted application of martial law as well as the use of military tribunals and torture to intimidate opponents of the dictatorship proved unable to stem the powerful popular upheaval that took shape in the revolutionary explosion in Athens.

The Greek bourgeoisie had become aware of the patent bankruptcy of their policy, as evidenced during the past year by the signs of a radicalization of major sectors of the worker and student youth. In response to the way the situation was developing (and after the lamentable failure of the navy's attempted coup d'etat), the leading circles of the Greek bourgeoisie pressed for a "liberalization." In reality this shift meant only normalizing the military regime, which assumed some formal trappings of bourgeois democracy such as holding a referendum on the abolition of the monarchy, proclaiming a republic, and preparing elections.

The proclamation of a "republic" had the aim of defining a new institutional

framework in the wake of the collapse of the monarchy. Naming a civilian cabinet under Markezinis, scheduling elections for 1974, and above all lifting martial law were supposed to create the conditions for establishing a strong state, which would be left as a legacy of the years of military dictatorship. The objective of the ruling class was to obtain the maximum room for maneuver in dealing with the demands of the people.

This political operation required the acquiescence of those sectors of the bourgeoisie opposed to the junta (represented by such figures as Kanellopoulos and Mavros). Their participation in the elections was intended to give credibility to Papadopoulos's project. On this condition alone could Papadopoulos be assured of full control of the key sectors of the government. The Stalinists at first took an "understanding" attitude toward this "opening," which was shown in the backing and filling of the political leaders linked to the Bureau of the Interior of the Greek CP (which is opposed to the Moscow-loyalist wing). But finally, under pressure from the popular mobilization, interlocutors for the dictatorship adopted a negative position toward the elections. This ruled out in advance any possibility of operation "normalization" gaining credibility.

The student vanguard, whose confidence had been buoyed by the struggles in the spring of 1973, took advantage of the new conditions brought about by the lifting of martial law. Just as the political consciousness and will to struggle of sectors of the working class and the peasantry were ripening, the students began organizing. A succession of strikes and demonstrations reflected this new political reality.

A sharp drop in the buying power of the exploited classes in recent months helped to spread the influence of the young vanguard of workers and students who stood beyond the direct control of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies. This gave mo-

mentum to the militant trend of the struggle.

Already placed in a precarious position by its isolation from the bourgeois politicians, who held back from Papadopoulos's operation, the Markezinis government and its pretensions were irrevocably doomed by the power of the revolutionary explosion of the Athenian workers and students on November 16. Papadopoulos's fate was sealed. This new irruption of the masses onto the scene came as a much greater threat to bourgeois rule than the mobilizations of 1965. The main feature of the events was that by its revolutionary and anticapitalist character, this social explosion broke out of the reformist limitations imposed on the resistance by the Stalinists and the bourgeois liberals since the coup of April 21, 1967. This was shown by the extraordinary combativity, the exceptionally high level of politicalization, the quality of the democratic and technical organization, and the national impact of the event that will go down in history as the Athens revolutionary explosion of November 1973. At the same time, this development shows the failure of the combined policy of the imperialists and the Greek capitalists, and most of all the acceleration of the revolutionary rise in Europe by sudden leaps.

The new generation of workers and students has taken the initiative in the revolutionary struggle. The demonstrations and barricades of November 1973 have created a new situation, making a turning point in the revolutionary transformation of the mass movement and the mass mobilizations. The emergence of an integrated worker and student vanguard guarantees the failure of any future "normalizations." Still more certainly, it assures that the resistance will widen and deepen, moving toward taking the offensive. The first concrete elements of the answer that has been sought to the crisis in leadership of mass mobilizations arose in action during the revolutionary explosion in Athens.

The accomplishments of this revolutionary explosion are many. The resistance to the dictatorship has assumed a clear working-class and revolutionary character, breaking from the Stalinist class-collaborationist, popular-frontist orientations supported by

the two Greek CPs, which shouted "provocation" when the barricades went up. The impetuous assault of the insurgent students, who raised the slogan "power to the workers and peasants," and the building workers, who demonstrated with banners asserting the vanguard role of the working class, shattered the bourgeois democratic illusions that had been poisoning the popular resistance to the dictatorship. Neither the curfew, nor the tanks, nor the murders were able to prevent the revolutionary mobilization of the masses. Bourgeois liberals and Stalinist reformists have tried, however, to falsify the political character of this revolutionary explosion in their press and the media they control. Their objective is to minimize the implications of this event, which are fatal for their respective policies.

The coup d'etat carried out by a new military junta on November 25 primarily reflects the weakening of the dictatorial regime and the splits within it. The situation is no longer the same as on April 21, 1967. The re-

sistance has organized during the years of the dictatorship. It has learned how to fight, how to organize. And it is no longer paralyzed by surprise and disorganization as it was six years ago. The reformist apparatuses, notably the two Greek CPs, have lost their control over the masses and especially the youth. The rising mobilization of the European working class, in which the emigrant Greek workers have taken part, has had a direct effect on the Greek masses. The isolation of 1967 has been broken. The internationalist character of this explosion was made evident when the students shouted, "Thailand showed the way," or "Greece, Spain, Chile, forward to democracy!" The struggle for a Greek socialist revolution has scored a considerable advance.

Long live the Greek workers and students!

Down with the new military dictatorship!

Long live the Greek socialist revolution!

Louis Beltran, columnist for *Pace* magazine; and Max Soliven, columnist for the *Manila Times*. The bulk of the prisoners in this category were released after spending from three to six months in jail as an object lesson to anyone else who might dare to criticize the Marcos regime.

The second category includes such "political rivals of the president" as the former senators Benigno Aquino and José Diokno, both of whom have been subjected to physical and mental torture, and the thousands of revolutionaries and leftists who spoke out or acted against the dictatorship. Celso Banaag described their plight:

"The worst treatment . . . is reserved for members of allegedly subversive mass organizations. . . . Many of them do not even reach the prison camps for often as not they are killed at the time of their capture by ambitious military men anxious to report 'battle' victories. Those who are lucky enough not to get murdered are taken to secret apartments and at times to military camps where they are squeezed for information through the use of a wide range of crude to sophisticated torture techniques. Many of these cases of torture go unreported, for the Marcos regime has gone to great lengths to show its supposed humane authoritarianism. But the truth will out: Ric Dantes, two weeks in a hospital to recuperate from several days of torture; and finally, Lilia Hilao, a young girl of twenty, tortured to death, then muriatic acid poured down her throat to make it look like she had committed suicide."

Even those political prisoners who are released are not completely free. Some have to report to the military authorities as often as twice a week, submitting a detailed schedule of their daily activities, and they are not allowed to travel outside Manila. The prospect of rearrest is an ever present danger for these ex-prisoners, who, in addition, have extreme difficulties in getting new jobs, since the regime will not give them the necessary clearances.

But the Marcos regime has not stifled its opposition. "If the high morale," Celso wrote, "camaraderie, continuing political education and heightened dedication to revolutionary ideals among political prisoners is any measure, Marcos has not succeeded in his efforts to terrorize us." □

Filipino Intellectual Charges Murder, Torture

Political Prisoners in the Philippines

The September 8 issue of *Focus Philippines*, a pro-Marcos publication, reported that 11,697 people had been jailed since September 23, 1972, when martial law was declared. Although it claimed that 8,000 of these were "criminal elements," the number of political prisoners must be much higher than the difference of 3,700, since persons arrested for political reasons are often classified as "criminal elements."

A November 15 New Asia News dispatch carried a report by Celso Banaag on the conditions in the Philippine prison camps. The writer, a Filipino intellectual, had himself spent some time in Marcos's jails.

According to his report, while the camps in Manila are generally better than those in the rest of the country (owing largely to the presence of many foreign journalists in the capital), even there conditions have deteriorated as they have become more and more overcrowded. For example, at one Manila concentration

camp, Camp Crame, there are now twice as many prisoners as the camp was originally designed to handle, thus endangering the health of those held there. At the same time, food rations have been reduced to a bare minimum.

In the provinces, however, the conditions are much worse. Hygienic precautions are almost nonexistent, and without the restraint of possible publicity, beatings for minor infractions of rules, and torture during interrogations are the general practice.

Among the political prisoners there seem to be two broad categories.

The first category includes a wide range of prominent individuals—members of Congress, intellectuals, well-known reporters, university professors, and priests—who were arrested in order to terrorize any potential opposition. Among the victims of the terror campaign against the press are Chino Roces, publisher of the *Manila Times*; Amando Doronila, editor of the *Manila Chronicle*; Teodoro Locsin, publisher of the *Free Press*;