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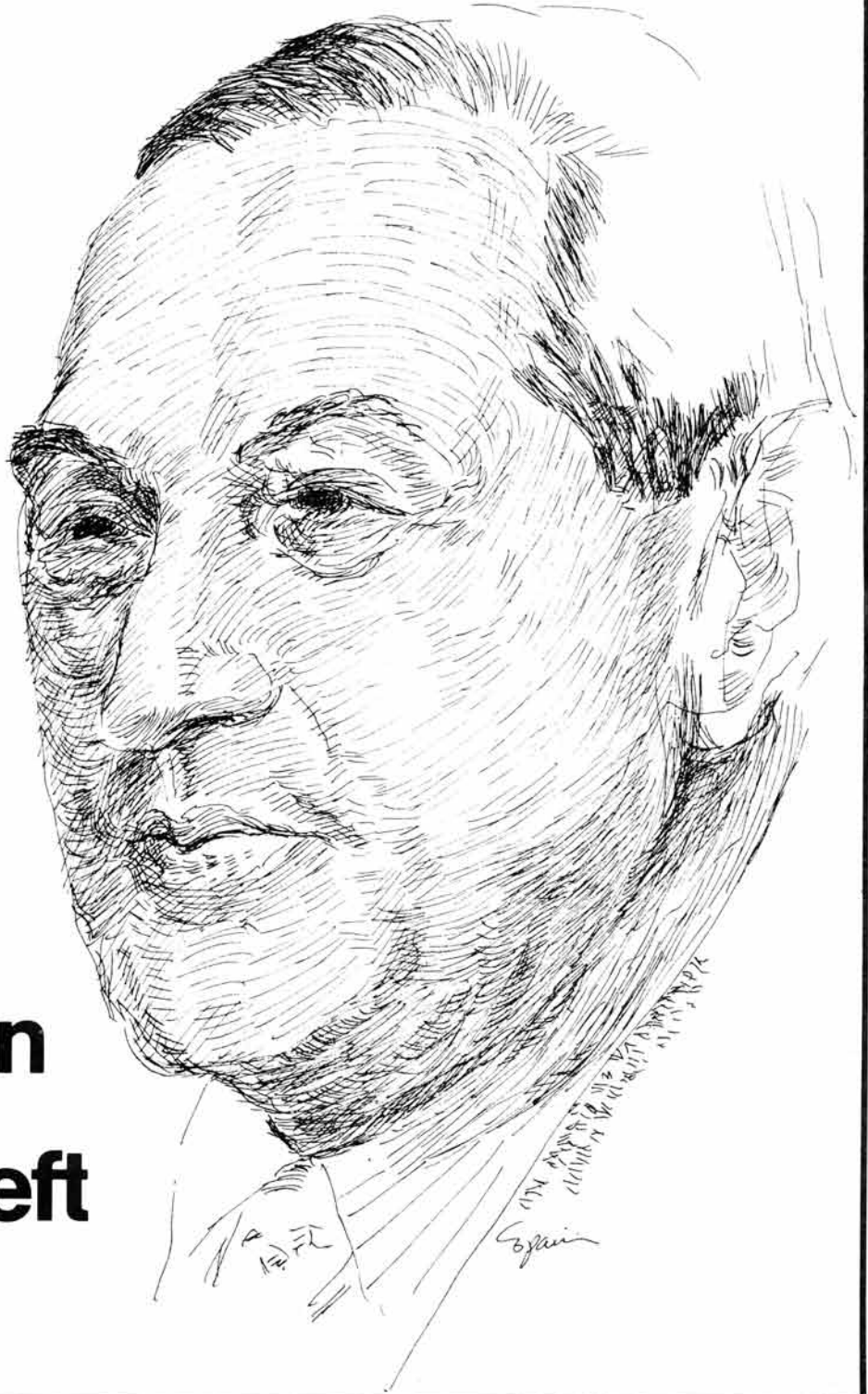
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Peron Escalates Repression Against Left



Ask Protests of Death Sentences

The military court of appeals in Tehran on January 20 confirmed five of seven death sentences handed down, along with five prison terms, by a military court January 9. (See last week's *Intercontinental Press*.) The five are: Khosrow Golsorkhi, Karamet Daneshian, Tyfour Bathaie, Abbas-Ali Samakar, and Reza Allamezadeh. The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) has asked that protests be directed to Iranian embassies demanding that the executions be stopped and that all twelve of the defendants be freed.

Accounts of the trial appearing in the Iranian press indicated that the case was based almost entirely on "confessions" extracted by SAVAK, the shah's political police, during the period of more than a year that the defendants were held prior to their trial. The "defense" provided by court-appointed lawyers consisted of trying to shift blame for the alleged plot to kidnap members of the royal family onto the other defendants. The supposed kidnapping was to have occurred at a time when the twelve had already been in jail for nearly a year!

There is evidence that international publicity can help to defend the shah's victims. Such publicity, CAIFI reports, was instrumental in freeing Reza Baraheni, a prominent poet and literary critic who was arrested in September. His offense was that he published an article criticizing the cultural oppression of national minorities.

In the case of the twelve defendants convicted January 9, the World Confederation of Iranian Students has organized demonstrations in Europe and the United States. The Paris daily *Le Monde* on January 23 published portions of a statement by the Committee for the Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners calling the planned executions "veritable assassination."

Further information about the case is available from CAIFI, 309A Low Library, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027. □

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Peron Escalates Repression After Guerrilla Raid

By Gerry Foley

"At 11:30 last Saturday night [January 19], the city of Azul was quiet," Osvaldo Soriano wrote in the January 22 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*. "Most people had put out the lights in their homes and were getting ready to go to bed. Only the nightclubs, movies, and coffee shops were filled.

"When the shooting began, the couples stopped dancing, the few people out strolling stopped. The roar of gunfire seemed to indicate that something grave was happening. The most daring ones, when they had cars, sped toward the military barracks. They could not get to it. On the bridge over the Azul creek, a dozen persons had taken up positions and were firing on the military post."

The Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—People's Revolutionary Army) was staging a raid on the base of the 10th Armored Cavalry Regiment, one of the strongest military units in the country.

The attack began, according to Soriano, when three trucks of the same model and color used by the army pulled up in front of Guard Post No. 3. "Private Daniel Osvaldo González asked the men who had just pulled up to identify themselves. The persons in the trucks said that they were from the 8th Tank Regiment in Magdalena, and there was no apparent reason to doubt it. They were dressed in khaki uniforms and carried the same kind of weapons used by the army. However, González was suspicious and refused to permit them to pass. A heavy volley of gunfire came from inside the first truck, and the soldier fell dead."

In the meantime, other guerrillas infiltrated the base by different routes. "The grounds occupy more than fifty hectares," Soriano explained. "The main access routes are off Avenida Humberto 1. Pines, eucaliptuses, and carob trees stand in the midst of grass carefully tended by the draftees. Cows and horses graze nearby.

"The house occupied by the com-

mander of the base is a few yards off the road leading into the grounds, near the woods and practically cut off from the barracks. A group of armed invaders headed in this direction. According to the version some soldiers gave this correspondent, Colonel Camilo Arturo Gay, the commander of Armored Cavalry Regiment No. 10 in Azul, heard the shots and went out to see what was happening. There he found himself facing a group of attackers who shot him down.

"On Saturday night, most of the soldiers were on leave, so that few men were left on base. They took up positions and repelled the attackers. They could not, however, prevent the subversive group from taking prisoner Colonel Gay's wife, Señora Hilda Irma Cassau, and her two children, an eighteen-year-old young woman and a boy of fourteen. At this point, the soldiers estimated that there must have been seventy attackers."

The main group of guerrillas abandoned the trucks and fled in cars of various models and makes, which had been left in the area. But one group barricaded itself in the colonel's house, holding his wife and children hostage. They reportedly offered to surrender if reporters, photographers, and lawyers were brought in as witnesses. Their request was refused.

"When regular troops stormed the house," Soriano reported, "the colonel's wife was mortally wounded. She died in the hospital at 1:30 p.m. on Sunday. Although the children of the late Colonel Gay did not talk to the press about the events, it was learned that they were held as hostages, guarded by two men and kept near their father's body."

The fleeing guerrillas took Lieutenant Colonel Roberto Ibarzábal with them as a hostage. As of January 26, there was no word of his fate.

A statement issued by the army general staff January 21 claimed that both Colonel Gay and his wife had been murdered in cold blood in the

presence of their "minor children."

The early reports did not mention any dead on the army side other than the base commander and his wife, and the guard González. Three officers and two enlisted men were listed as wounded.

The January 23 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* claimed that eighteen guerrillas had been captured and two killed. In its January 26 issue, another Buenos Aires daily, *La Prensa*, gave the names of twelve guerrillas reportedly arrested and said that there were "presumed to be others." It did not mention any guerrillas being killed.

Ten guerrillas were said to have been arrested at the scene of the raid: Santiago Luis Carrara, who was wounded; Eustaquio Robert Mayer; Percy Benegas Picollet; José Tomás Boris; Eduardo Smojdny; Antonio Nicolás Esquivel; Emilio Enrique Arqueda; Martín Cobrda, a Czechoslovak by nationality; Julio Gauna; and Luis Antonio Lea Place. Of these, two, Arqueda and Lea Place had been released from prison under the amnesty granted by the Peronist government last May 25 to those jailed for fighting by any means against the military dictatorship.

Liliana Montanaro, who was arrested in Rosario on suspicion of taking part in the raid, was also released by this amnesty. She had been sentenced for taking part in the kidnapping and execution of the FIAT manager Oberdán Sallustro.

Omar Valderrama was reported missing by his wife, who assumed that he was captured at the site of the attack. The government has released no news about him.

According to the January 23 *La Nación*, one of the guerrillas captured was a Bolivian, "a circumstance that has made the investigators suspect that the group included extremist elements who were forced to flee here from neighboring countries and are operating in our country." This kind of speculation by the police is reminiscent

of the stories about "foreign guerrillas" played up by the junta in Chile after the overthrow of the Allende government.

The *La Nación* reporter remarked that the guerrillas seemed to have sustained very high casualties: "Even if these subversives groups work in cells of three or four members, the number of those arrested within a few hours of the event indicates that the investigators will be able to identify most of the extremists and in particular their leaders. This success could be the break needed to open up an energetic campaign against these elements operating outside the law."

Besides the unusually large number of guerrillas reportedly involved, the raid was notable for the use of heavy weapons, such as bazookas. In the January 24 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama*, the editors offered an analysis of the motives that led the ERP to stage such a large-scale attack on a powerful military unit:

"Looking at things from the point of view of the guerrillas, it is legitimate to conclude that the attack on Saturday, January 19, had an eminently political aim. Its goal was to occupy briefly one of the strongest military bases in the country, take prisoner its commanding officers, and seize a good part of its arms.

"The intent may have been to get the unit to announce its surrender publicly, either in a broadcast over the regimental radio or in a written document. The first hypothesis seems to be supported by the discovery of recording tape inside a car found in Chivilcoy. The idea of the written statement is a matter of conjecture. But such an aim could be indicated by the military language that the illegal organization tried hard to maintain through the communiqué in which it claimed responsibility for the action.

"In fact, in that document the illegal organization presented itself as a belligerent force, in open and declared struggle against an enemy army. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the broadly political character of their objective. They were trying to inflict a clear defeat on the military forces of an enemy state and to have this victory clearly established. The method is not a strange or infrequent one in what international specialists do

not hesitate to call revolutionary war. What the guerrillas sought was recognition of a faction as a belligerent in a civil war."

The Political Context

The ERP raid did have a major political impact, but it did not seem likely to win its organizers recognized status as "belligerents in a civil war." Perón seized on the dramatic action as a pretext for escalating the witch-hunt that he had launched against the left inside and outside the Peronist movement shortly after his return from exile in June. From his point of view, the raid seemed to come at an opportune time.

Perón began immediately after his return from exile in June to cast off the liberal and left decorations his movement had needed in the period of opposition to the dictatorship and the rise of the popular mobilizations that forced the military to withdraw from the front of the political stage.

Since he was returned to power on the basis of an agreement with the military and the capitalists that he would use his popularity and authority with the poor strata to impose "discipline" on the workers, Perón had to move to establish a reliably conservative apparatus.

The Ezeiza massacre, where right-wing Peronist goons opened fire on the left Peronist contingents at the welcoming rally for the returning leader, set the stage for Perón's first move. He condemned disunity in vague terms, suggesting in a very ambiguous way that the left was responsible for the slaughter. Then he moved to take the presidency directly as the only person capable of guaranteeing national unity.

Héctor Cámpora, Perón's stand-in as president, who had presided over the liberal reforms forced through by the popular mobilizations that accompanied the rise of the Peronist government and the withdrawal of the dictatorship, was ousted. The liberal minister of the interior under Cámpora was also removed.

Within a few days after he was formally elected president of the country in September, Perón took the assassination of the right-wing Peronist trade-union bureaucrat José Rucci as a pretext for formally launching a "war against Marxism" and on "in-

filtrators" into the Peronist movement. The immediate targets of the campaign were the left-wing Peronist youth organizations and various provincial governors and deputy governors who continued the liberal, reformist line of Cámpora.

Oscar Bidegain, governor of Buenos Aires Province; Obregón Cano and Atilio López, respectively the governor and deputy governor of the province of Córdoba; and the administrations of the provinces of Mendoza and Santa Fe came under attacks from right-wing Peronists.

But although the Peronist youth organizations and guerrilla groups such as the Montoneros suffered heavy blows from rightist parapolice assassins and goons, the attempted purge of the Peronist movement and the provincial administrations tended apparently to bog down. The left tendencies were too strong for Perón to apply the letter of his draconian declaration of war on "Marxism."

A strike of the Córdoba bus drivers at the end of the year, however, forced Perón's hand. The drivers very quickly ran up against the Pacto Social, the class-collaborationist incomes agreement that is the foundation of the Peronist regime. The owners were willing to grant a monthly raise of 56,000 old pesos, approximately US\$55]. But the national employers association, the Confederación General Económica (CGE—General Confederation of Business) pressured the owners to withdraw their offer, since it broke the guidelines of the Pacto Social. When the drivers struck, the Córdoba city government followed the logic of the pact; it prepared to break the strike by mobilizing taxi men.

At that point, the provincial government intervened on the side of the bus drivers. It put the bus companies under trusteeship, forcing them to grant the wage increase. It was the deputy governor, Atilio López, also president of the Unión Tranviarios Automotor (UTA), the bus drivers union, and acting governor at the time, who ordered the intervention. López was a leader of the struggle of the Peronist unions against the repression of the military junta that overthrew Perón's first government. He enjoys a militant reputation and respect among the rank and file, even though he has always been a loyal lieutenant of General Perón.

Having López in the government of the most militant working-class center in the country had been advantageous for the Peronist leadership. As Ernesto Ekaizer wrote in the January 24 *Panorama*, "it was always thought that the presence of Atilio López meant a guarantee that social unrest would not get out of control."

A rightist offensive both within the government and in the trade-union movement had been launched in Córdoba in the general framework of Perón's attempted purge. But the right was particularly weak in the city of the insurrectional general strikes that broke the back of the military dictatorship. As Atilio López said in an interview in the January 24 *Panorama*:

The present leadership of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] reflects the struggles of the *Cordobazo* [the uprisings in 1969 and 1971]. And above all I want to tell you something. When I visited General Perón in 1971, I told him what had happened in Córdoba in May and June of 1969. I told him that the people did not shout 'Viva Perón,' that those actions were not a Peronist affair.

"Perón understood that perfectly. I knew the details. We repudiated sectarianism. The Peronists must have hegemony in the Córdoba CGT—we are entitled to that. But everyone must be represented in its leadership, including the most militant."

As for the rightist faction in the CGT, López explained their origins in this way:

"The first question we have to take up is the problem of the Legalistas and the Ortodoxos. Do you know where these names come from? The Córdoba CGT was the first regional council won back by the workers after the military put the unions in trusteeship in 1957. On July 1 of that year I was elected general secretary of the CGT. Eleven days afterwards, we called a formidable general strike that ended in complete victory. That CGT was called the 'legal' one and was headed by a united leadership of Peronists, non-Peronists, and independents. The old CGT negra [Black-leg CGT] made up of the old leaders was forgotten; it became only a name.

"The history of the labor federation



RUCCI: His assassination was excuse for an earlier witch-hunt.

in Córdoba is the history of the desperate attempts of those leaders, deprived of a base, to oust those of us who supported the unity of labor in the province. The Legalistas are for unity; the Ortodoxos (ex-CGT negra) for exclusionism, division, and sectarianism. Many of those who today make up the Ortodoxos worked hand in hand with Governor Carlos Caballero in his wretched Consejo Asesor [Board of Trustees]."

Despite the usefulness of a popular figure like López and the especially dubious character of the conservative bureaucrats in Córdoba, neither Perón nor the CGT national leadership could accept the veteran unionist's action in the UTA strike, which opened an intolerable breach in the Pacto Social. The CGT district council expelled López.

The leader of the Ortodoxo faction, Bernabé Bárcena, explained in an interview in the January 24 *Panorama*: "López was expelled for a very grave fault; he is responsible for breaking the Pacto Social maintained by the national government and the commander of our movement, General Perón."

Perón himself launched an unmistakable attack on López, employing the most vicious McCarthyite demagoguery:

"Now, I ask you," the caudillo said

in a speech January 14, "what objectives are being served by those agents who are using their positions in government or the unions to destroy the equilibrium that has been achieved, and ruin the advantages for the nation that are being developed in this situation?"

The answer, the old demagogue said, was obvious to anyone with "a modicum of patriotism or even common sense. These agents are serving interests other than those of the Nation and its people. They are trying to restore the inflation that rendered all wage increases illusory. . . ."

"By cheap demagoguery—at odds with the Peronist policy of the government and the leaders of the big unions—some people in public or union offices are trying to exploit our difficulties, not realizing that in the long run they will not only be unmasked but may irreparably undermine any stable and permanent solution.

"In the present circumstances, trying to substitute struggle for the Pacto Social not only means deliberately harming the working people but it represents a crime against the pacification, unity, and solidarity we consider essential for national reconstruction and achieving the workers dream of liberation."

The offensive of Perón and the right-wing trade-union bureaucrats had some effect. About a half dozen unions came over to the Ortodoxo faction in Córdoba, opening up "a perspective for 'normalizing' the regional council," according to Ekaizer in *Panorama*.

A Windfall for Peron

The caudillo seized on the Azul raid as a pretext for carrying his attack on the "soft" Peronists to a new level. The most immediate target of a January 21 speech to the country was the liberal Peronist governor of the province where the action took place.

"Acts of this type," the caudillo proclaimed, "show eloquently the dangerousness and audacity of the terrorist groups that are operating in Buenos Aires Province in the face of the apparent indifference of the local authorities. . . ."

"It is no accident that these actions occur in certain jurisdictions. There is no doubt that this reflects the im-

punity they enjoy thanks to indifference or incapacity, or—still worse—as some suspect, tolerance that amounts to complicity."

For the first time, the Juventud Peronista (JP) departed far enough from "the principle of centralized command" to defend a political figure unmistakably attacked in the most vicious terms by *el lider*. A thousand youths demonstrated their support for the slandered governor. Nonetheless, he resigned the day after Perón's speech. His replacement, Deputy Governor Victorio Calabro, comes from a right-wing trade-union bureaucratic background.

Perón crushed a rebellion by left Peronist deputies, members of the JP, against his new Penal Code, which restores most of the military dictatorship's repressive laws. He told these legislators, when they visited him on January 22:

"The Executive proposed this law because it needs it. There have been thirty attacks that justified a strong law. Nonetheless, we have remained patient. But we cannot continue this way, because if we do, our weakness will bring misfortune on the country, which is what we want to avoid."

Complaints about the vagueness of the code were brushed aside with the remark that "definitions are a problem for the judges." As for any questioning of the bill, that was out of order, since the Peronist parliamentary leadership had made its decision. "No one is obliged to remain in a political grouping. Those who are not satisfied can leave. We will never put any obstacle in anyone's way."

At the end of the discussion, the full text of which was published in the January 23 *La Nación*, the apparently chastened Peronist legislators told their "commander": "We were, are, and will remain disciplined to the death."

On January 25, the new Penal Code was approved by the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 128 to 62. The JP deputies voted for it.

In his January 21 speech Perón had called on the entire country to mobilize against "extremists": "One of the things I must ask the people to do to prove their devotion is to wage this struggle to annihilate criminal terrorism. The time is past for shouting 'Long Live Peron,' the time has come to defend him."

Perón's appeal was immediately taken up by the CGT national leadership, which in an ad in the January 22 *La Opinión* lumped the entire left, especially the opponents of the Pacto Social, together with the ERP:

"This motley crew of traitors has different methods of operation, but they are all aiming for the same goal. They reject the peace Perón calls for. They regard Perón as an enemy.

"And there is a reason for this. Under Perón's guidance, we Argentines are regaining our faith. We know that nothing and nobody can enslave us any more. So, they feel they have to stage attacks, to interrupt our country's climb upward.

"For this reason they also attack the Pacto Social, creating unrest, or assuming poisonous attitudes." The statement went on to say that the persons in question "are the very same who call the workers leaders union bureaucrats."

The Fourth International Is The Scapegoat

Perón also tried to conjure up a conspiracy of "destructive opposition" including all the opponents of the Pacto Social—the guerrillas, the "left infiltrators, the militant unions, and the far left in general." But he sought to give it a more precise name than the CGT leadership's "motley crew of traitors." It was, he said, "the Fourth International."

"In a report published Sunday, January 20, Perón told the journalist Henry Raymond," the January 24 *Panorama* noted, "that 'orthodox Marxism is on our side,' and that it was 'unorthodox Marxism, linked to the Fourth International, with its center in Paris,' that was responsible for the terrorist campaign.

"Minister Gelbard, who was present at the interview, stressed this difference between orthodox and unorthodox Marxism, telling the reporter that 'the Communist party voted for us in the last elections.'"

In his discussion with the JP deputies January 22, Perón returned to this theme:

"You see, what is happening here is happening everywhere. It is going on in Germany, in France. At this moment France has a very grave problem with it. They let them operate

there; they didn't have enough repression. Now the French government is ready to take drastic measures to repress them. . . . I have already said twenty times that the head of this movement is in Paris. You can't stop it in any way, because it is organized on a worldwide basis. It is everywhere—in Uruguay, in Bolivia, in Chile, under different names. And they are responsible for what happened to Allende. . . .

"It is a Fourth International, which was founded for a completely different objective than the Third, which was Communist but orthodox. There is nothing of Marxism here; it is a deformed Marxist movement that is trying to impose its ideas everywhere through struggle."

Perón began his attacks on Trotskyism in response to ERP actions during the period of the change of government in the spring of 1973. At that time, the ERP, which has disavowed all Trotskyist connections, was still formally affiliated to the Fourth International.

Now Perón does not seem to need any factual basis for his charges of a Trotskyist conspiracy. In fact, he has gone so far in conjuring up a phantom conspiracy that he has not hesitated to name as the mastermind of the Fourth International Juan Posadas, who is rather well known in Argentine left circles as a crank who has had no association with the Fourth International in more than a decade. Furthermore, by Gelbard's standards, Posadas qualifies as an "orthodox Marxist," since he called for voting for Perón in the elections.

Perhaps, intoxicated by the adulation that surrounds him, Perón is in danger of overdoing his demagogic campaign, of losing his credibility too quickly. In any case, one of the most astute voices of U.S. imperialism, the *New York Times* expressed worry in its January 28 issue that Perón might be getting carried away:

"Strong measures are obviously required against the guerrillas, who have carried out murders and scores of kidnappings, mostly of foreign businessmen, and extorted millions in ransom. But the greater threat to stability will come if General Perón carries his drive against all leftists so far as to push nonviolent forces into the arms of groups such as the People's Revolutionary Army." □

Pot-Banging and Strike Actions Reported in Chile

"The shortages noticed in recent days have been as extensive as in the final period of the Unidad Popular government," a dispatch from Santiago de Chile reported in the January 16 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*. "Missing from stores in particular were sugar and cooking oil, which rose in price yesterday by 125% and 50% respectively."

According to Sergio de Castro, the junta's minister of economic affairs, "the absence of some products is probably the fault of the newspaper reporters." Rumors about new price rises were supposed to have touched off a run on the goods mentioned.

"Prices have continued to mount spectacularly in the new year," an Agence France-Presse dispatch reported in the January 13-14 *Le Monde*. "The rate of inflation in 1973 reached about 500%. According to usually reliable sources, the minister of economic affairs has authorized a 100% increase for sugar, 200% for flour, and 300% for cigarettes. . . . The guaranteed minimum monthly wage that went into effect January 1 is 18,000 escudos (about US\$23). But one kilo of average-quality meat costs at least 800 escudos; a meal in a cafeteria in the center of Santiago, about 1,000 escudos; and a glass of pisco, the local brand of distilled alcohol, at least 300."

A dispatch from Santiago in the January 19 *La Opinión* reported: "Chilean housewives have resumed their protests against shortages of essential consumer goods in markets throughout the country. . . ."

"In some neighborhoods, housewives have started again to bang their pots in protest against this situation. During the Allende government this was a customary procedure, which was encouraged by the parties opposing the Unidad Popular."

No one can have taken seriously De Castro's attempt to blame the censored press for the shortages. The mutual accusations of merchants and the government have grown too sharp.

"The officers who have been run-

ning Chile since September 11 have blamed the store owners for the shortages," the January 19 *La Opinión* dispatch continued. "But the merchants say that the wholesalers are not filling their orders. So far no less than twenty store owners have been arrested. In every case, they have been accused of hoarding in anticipation of higher prices."

On the other hand, store owners complain about "being forced to pay large bribes in order to stay in business. The individuals taking the money have presented themselves as government employees. General Sergio Arellano, commander of the military government district of Santiago, has warned that such unscrupulous persons must be reported to the authorities. It is said, however, that many of these persons have shown credentials proving that they are bona fide officials."

Some of the shortages, thus, seem to be a result of a traditional trait of military regimes, gangsterism, both on the part of businessmen who thought that the military coup and the ferocious repression of the workers movement removed all restraints on profit gouging; and on the part of the greedy mercenaries in the junta's repressive apparatus.

In addition to this, the international problems of capitalism seem to have seriously limited the possibilities for solving the most acute problems in Chile. "De Castro admitted," according to the October 16 *La Opinión*, "that the new international prices for petroleum and some foodstuffs will make necessary new price hikes in the domestic market."

Thus, despite the aid it has received from the United States, Brazil, Argentina, and other capitalist countries, the Chilean junta now faces the same shortages that drove its petty-bourgeois supporters into a frenzy against the Allende government. And already there are some signs of unrest among these elements.

The junta has clearly failed to solve the problems of the petty bourgeoisie that provided its mass base. And the

continuation of the economic crisis under a government committed to "free enterprise" threatens to speed up the pauperization of small-businessmen and increase the deprivation of the poor petty-bourgeois strata.

The greatest hardships, of course, have fallen on the workers, who have suffered both a drop in real wages and the loss of benefits they enjoyed under the popular-front government.

It could be expected that the course of the rightist regime would quickly disappoint its petty-bourgeois supporters. But what is notable is that there are reports of economic struggles by workers coming so soon after the crushing defeat the working class suffered in the week of September 11 and in the face of the massive terror that ensued and is still continuing.

Perhaps the inability of the junta to stem or even slow the disastrous deterioration in the masses' standard of living at least partially explains the continued resistance by workers.

Arturo Muñoz Ledo, the chairman of the International Labor Organization, announced, according to a dispatch from Mexico City in the January 8 *La Opinión*, that the Chilean workers were carrying out a massive protest against the state of things under the new government. Worker absenteeism had reached 35 percent. "This is the gravest situation I have ever seen," Muñoz Ledo said, "in any country at any time."

Despite the junta's denials that it has run into resistance from the workers, the dispatch continued, "a few weeks after the September 11 military coup, the men working on subway construction in Santiago brought work on this project to a standstill for three days. It is known that various economic activities have been disrupted in a staggered pattern by massive labor shortages.

"Last week the bakery owners complained that the scarcity of bread was caused not only by the lack of flour but also by absenteeism, which was estimated at almost 60%."

The January 19 *La Opinión* reported renewed unrest among the

copper miners. "The junta has also been obliged to mark a harsh denunciation of the workers in El Teniente Mine, who downed tools for twenty-four hours in some of the main sections of the enterprise. The causes of the workers action have not been reported but some sources say the protest was against low wages."

In its January 16 issue, the Argentine Trotskyist weekly *Avanzada Socialista* took note of reports from persons arriving from Chile that workers struck for two days in early December at the Lota coal mines.

On January 20, according to a Reuters dispatch in the January 21 issue of the Copenhagen daily *Information*, six workers at a contracting firm in Buin, a few kilometers south of Santiago, were arrested on suspicion of inciting to strike.

"This was the first time," the dispatch said, "that the military, which banned trade unions and strikes after September 1973, has admitted arresting persons for strike activity."

According to the same dispatch, "all attempted strikes have been stopped by military intervention."

In the strike at El Teniente, an Agence France-Presse dispatch in the January 23 *Le Monde* reported, "The workers gave up after the management told them that they would have to inform the military authorities in the event of a work stoppage."

Whether the military will succeed in firmly bolting down the lid is still to

be determined. But it seems evident that there is enough resistance from the workers to cause some strain on the regime. Such conflict may explain the apparent unease of the man the junta has designated to "reorganize the trade unions."

"Eduardo Rios, the chairman of the new Chilean labor federation, has accused the junta of suppressing the trade unions at the same time it has been reaffirming its intention to respect the workers' rights," an Agence France-Presse dispatch reported in the January 13-14 *Le Monde*.

"In the Christian Democratic daily *La Prensa*, Rios criticized the provisional regulation on unions issued following the overthrow of President Allende and the outlawing of the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers]. He protested against the indefinite prolonging of the terms of the trade-union officials now in office, saying notably that 'the workers are used to electing their own leaders.'"

In this situation, the junta seems to be making some gestures—albeit clumsy ones—to improve its international image. The January 15 *La Opinión* reported that its ambassador in Washington, General Walter Heitmann, told the press that the new constitution would not give the military any special political role. In the aftermath of the coup, the supposed "brains" of the junta, General Leigh of the air force, had said that

the armed forces were to be assigned an important position in the new governmental setup.

Heitmann stressed that the military, which, he said, had taken power "at the request of the people," was not a "political force," and would eventually return to its purely "professional" role. He also said that the members of Allende's government imprisoned on Dawson Island in the Pacific were only being held there for their own protection to prevent "certain left extremists from killing them to keep them from talking."

Moreover, at the start of the new year, the government ordered payment of special bonuses to workers in the private sector equal to their last month's pay.

In the context of the dictatorship's apparently increasing problems, Heitmann's announcement in his mid-January statement that the junta was studying the idea of a rotating chairmanship might indicate that the pressures of the situation are beginning to produce divisions in the ruling circle. If tactical differences appear, they will probably be aggravated by the clique and personality rivalries that unfailingly bedevil military regimes.

It would seem from the signs of mass resistance despite the terror that the generals have so far not achieved complete totalitarian control or complete atomization of the working-class movement. □

The Real Roots of the 'Energy Crisis'

Shortage of Energy: Natural Exhaustion or Social Misuse?

[The following article, the third in a series on the energy crisis and its effects, appeared in the January 1 issue of *La Brèche*, fortnightly organ of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire, Swiss supporters of the Fourth International. The first two articles in the series were published in the January 14 and January 21 issues of *Intercontinental Press*. This article, like the first two, was signed by R. L. The translation is by *Intercontinental*

Press.]

* * *

The Arab embargo and the oil crisis resulting from it has made the "energy crisis" a number one theme today. It is interminably discussed in the bourgeois world in innumerable articles, conferences, symposia, and so on. In the bourgeois press the energy crisis is presented as "a shortage of energy that, in a few years,

will mean the end of the fatted calf." The problem of pollution is generally mixed in with the energy crisis in an eclectic manner.

The systematic theoretical elaboration of the crisis has been produced mainly by what might be called the "ecology" current (zero-growth advocates), whose major statement of views was articulated in the famous MIT report.

This current's conception of the

energy crisis can be summarized in two theses:

1. The coming energy shortage results from the exhaustion of natural resources of oil and coal and is but one aspect of the coming exhaustion of all mineral raw materials.

2. Two of the main sources of energy, oil and atomic power, endanger the very survival of the human race by the pollution that their use inevitably entails.

Various spokesmen for the bourgeoisie have, according to the needs of the moment, drawn on these two theses. Generally, the second thesis is rejected, or at least interpreted in a very optimistic manner, by official representatives of bourgeois governments, despite the fact that it is much more "correct" than the first.

The first thesis, on the other hand, is vigorously utilized and is widely believed throughout the population. When it is a question of making apologies for the capitalist system, bourgeois ideologues speak of temporary shortages while conversion is being made to sources of energy other than oil and coal, usually natural gas or atomic energy. When it is a question of calling on "everyone" to make sacrifices, that is, of calling on the working class to accept wage freezes and unemployment, they put more stress on the definitive exhaustion of energy sources. All these ideas are tossed about in the greatest confusion. It would be useful, then, to clarify the problem.

Scarcity of Energy Sources?

There is no scarcity of useable energy sources, given present technological capacity; nor will there be a scarcity in the short term (five to ten years). Nor will energy resources be exhausted; even oil will not be rapidly exhausted.

The world's crude oil reserves today are as high as 90 thousand million tons, that is, about equal to a thirty-six-year supply at current consumption levels.

But to this must be added another consideration.

"Prospecting goes on at the same time that reserves are utilized. Thus, at the end of 1970, oil reserves stood at 84 thousand million tons. These proven reserves tend on the average to expand at a rate roughly equal

to the rate of production. On January 1, 1950, for example, known reserves were about 10 thousand million tons. Since that date, the world has consumed more than 25 thousand million tons, yet on January 1, 1971, as we have seen, reserves stood at 84 thousand million tons. Thus, during this period, 25 thousand million tons were consumed, while 99 thousand million tons were discovered." (F. Callot, *Annales des Mines*, December 1971.)

Certainly we can be sure that the total amount of oil in the earth's crust is limited. But huge regions of the globe have scarcely been explored or are just now beginning to produce oil (Siberia, China, the Amazon basin, Black Africa, Australia, the North Sea).

Further, most statistics on reserves are supplied by the oil trusts, which alone know the truth of the matter. They have an interest in underestimating reserves in order to foster the idea of shortage that is so profitable for them. The November 11, 1973, *Washington Post* cited a striking example: "After a long fight to gain access to the books of the oil producers operating on federal lands in southern Louisiana, the antimonopoly division of the Federal Trade Commission discovered that the reserves that some companies had listed in their books for certain lands were as much as ten times higher than those they had reported to the American Gas Association."

According to the review *IEEC Spectrum* of July 1973 (page 29), "the United States has in its own subsoil sixty-five years of oil reserves, fifty years of natural gas reserves, 300 years of coal reserves, and enough reserves of bituminous shale to extend the oil reserves by thirty-five years. Taken as a whole, our potential energy resources have sufficient thermal content to satisfy our needs for at least 200 years at the present rate of consumption."

To be sure, consumption is increasing. But in addition to these naturally finite mineral energy sources, there are a number of natural energy sources, apart from nuclear fission, that are infinite, yet practically untapped. We could name solar energy, geothermal energy (hot underground water; see *Le Monde*, July 11, 1973), sea energy harnessed by exploiting the temperature differentiations in lay-

ers of water (see *IEEC Spectrum*, October 1973), and even wind energy. According to the September 3, 1973, issue of *Chemical and Engineering News*, Dr. Heronemus, a professor at the University of Massachusetts, has calculated that exploitation of less than 1 percent of the wind energy in the state of Vermont would produce more than twice the additional energy that Vermont will need between now and 1990. According to him, all Vermont would need would be 957 windmills 370 feet in height utilizing the latest technology in construction of propeller blades and generators.

An Idea With a Real Basis

Thus, the idea of an exhaustion of energy resources, and of oil in particular, does not correspond to reality. But it remains to be explored how this idea arises and by whom it is spread about. Is it purely a lie? Is the energy crisis totally a fabrication of the trusts aimed at getting their projects passed and paid for?

In reality, the energy crisis, the potential shortage of energy, results not from a natural shortage of energy supplies but from the real difficulties that capitalism faces in ensuring the continuation of the growth of energy production. Not natural difficulties or difficulties arising from technological problems, but economic difficulties. In the capitalist system, production is continued, or new production is started, only if it promises to yield a profit at least equal to the profit that can be made through investing elsewhere. Now, beginning in 1970 especially, the oil capitalists started to run up against a conjunction of obstacles tending to diminish their profits.

1. The aggravation of pollution and the resultant popular sensitivity about it had led to a strengthening of legal constraints, of antipollution measures that the trusts were required to take. However insufficient these constraints may have been, they are nevertheless regarded by the trusts as too expensive.

2. The new oil findings (Alaska, the North Sea) had turned out to be more costly than the earlier discoveries, all the more so in that the prices of machines and the necessary equipment had gone up faster than the prices of raw materials like oil.

3. Ever since the oil market had tightened in 1970, the world market had become a "sellers market." The producing countries had been able to obtain price increases and growing participation in the companies' capital.

4. There had been many more nationalizations, the trusts having been unable to boycott producing countries the way they boycotted Iran from 1950 to 1952 after Mossadegh's nationalizations.

5. The producing countries had begun demanding such unacceptable concessions as indexing the price of oil to the price of industrial commodities from the imperialist countries in order to limit losses in connection with the "terms of trade." Further, they had been demanding that profits be re-invested in the producing countries, even though the repatriation of profits made in the third world is one of the important sources of accumulation of imperialist capital.

The anti-inflationary measures taken in many countries limited the trusts' ability to make up for these cost increases by hiking the final selling price. And the historically recession-prone economic conjuncture tended to cast a pall over profits. These cost increases and pressures on profits tended to put the brakes on production increases even though consumption was growing ceaselessly.

Escalating demands from the producing countries and the general political instability of the third world, which weaken the security of investments and tend to ward off further investment, impelled the trusts to begin disengaging from these countries. In the medium term, they envisage being present in these countries simply as buyers of merchandise rather than producing companies.

The increases in production prices resulting from the demands of the producing countries have created the possibility that, if the trend continues, it will make profitable other sources of energy that have never before been profitable (like bituminous shale and asphaltic sands) or that had been profitable but are no longer so (like coal). These energy sources, generally located in imperialist countries, would therefore allow for disengagement from the third world.

The Crisis of Energy Production

These are the factors that led the oil trusts to develop and begin to implement the plans that we have described in a previous article. [See *Intercontinental Press*, January 21, p. 37.] This political plan in fact constitutes a gigantic turn requiring equally gigantic investment. And any difficulty in finding the necessary capital and in maintaining (if not raising) the rate of profit also tends to slow down production.

Moreover, under the capitalist system such a turn can be carried out only piecemeal, in a chaotic fashion, because of the anarchy of the system that is created by brusque inputs of capital into the sectors with the highest rates of profit, wherever they may be, and because of the dispersion of investment decisions. Inevitably, this creates bottlenecks restricting production, refining, or distribution.

Thus, since the second world war, the oil trusts have underinvested in U.S. refineries, because the rate of profit was higher in Europe and Japan. As a result, refining capacity in the United States today is insufficient. This creates a certain shortage in that country. And the construction of needed refineries without sacrificing profit rates is slowed by antipollution laws and by the vigilance of broad layers of the population sensitized to pollution.

These bottlenecks are worsened by the real exhaustion of one natural resource, hydroelectric power, at a time when consumption of electricity is growing and construction of thermoelectric plants is limited because of the serious polluting effects of such plants.

The myth—for that is what it must be called—of the exhaustion of natural resources is the reflection of this real difficulty capitalism creates as it continues to expand energy production. It attributes to nature phenomena that have not a natural but an economic and social origin. This is a constant feature of bourgeois ideology. It has its source in the fact that the laws of capitalism function independently of the conscious will of humanity, like a second natural system. The myth of the exhaustion of resources and the utilization of the theme of the energy crisis serve to hide the

real causes of real problems from the working class in order to make the workers foot the bill.

Coal and Pollution

We see, then, that behind the "energy crisis" lies the inability of capitalism to organize a harmonious development of energy production and satisfaction of needs. This is but one aspect of capitalism's inability to harmoniously develop the productive forces without turning those forces against humanity in the form of shortages, recessions, unemployment, and other "evils."

The case of coal provides a typical example of this incapacity. In past decades, fuel oil has increasingly replaced coal in domestic and industrial heating and in the chemical industry, thanks to its lower cost. The oil trusts organized to wipe out this competing product by selling fuel oil at reduced prices, making up for the profit loss by jacking up the price of gasoline. Factories were shut down, mines had to close, and thousands of workers were laid off, thrown onto the unemployment lines or forced to go through a difficult process of retraining often involving having to move and having to take cuts in salary. Whole regions fell into decay. And all this despite the fact that coal supplies were far from exhausted; in fact, they were more abundant than oil supplies.

Today, the oil crisis has made coal profitable again. Mines are being reopened, new pits dug. What a symbol of the inhumane anarchy of capitalism!

The same sort of process is going on in the third-world oil-producing countries. Today they are getting huge amounts of capital for their oil. But because of the imperialist system, this capital will not have the effect of generating a coherent and organic industrialization in these countries.

The imperialist countries' dependence on this oil will increase still more, but the trusts are organizing to end that dependence eventually. Tomorrow, these countries will receive still more capital; and again it will be badly used. The day after tomorrow, the worldwide recession and the growing competitiveness of coal and bituminous shale and of Alaskan oil will knock down the price of "their" oil.

And within fifteen to thirty years their oil will be exhausted, and the imperialists will toss them out like a lemon peel, without their "underdevelopment" ever having been ended.

In the meantime, the imperialist bourgeoisie will have squeezed them dry. According to the U.S. Statistical Abstracts, less than 2 percent of U.S. foreign investment is sunk into Middle East oil, but the income from these investments constitutes 20 percent of the total income from foreign investments. While the oil income of the producing countries is large in absolute value, it is nothing compared to imperialist profits, for the cost of production represents only 1 percent of the total price of petroleum products. (Chevalier, *Le Nouveau Enjeu Pétrolier*.)

Another phenomenon testifies to the fact that capitalism turns the productive forces, and energy in particular, against humanity: pollution. In our opinion, this is the most terrifying thing, because it endangers the health and the very survival of all humanity.

Here are a few figures on oil pollution of the sea, just to give a general idea of the pollution caused by the energy industry under the capitalist system:

"Already today some 2 million tons of these hydrocarbons pour into the ocean each year, only 10 percent as the result of accidents. The other 90 percent result from negligent or irresponsible handling." (R. C. Clement, *IEEC Spectrum*, August 1973.)

Jacques Cousteau stated in his September 1973 report to the Council of Europe: "... in all the seas of the world, the volume of life has diminished by more than 30 percent but less than 50 percent during the past twenty years." He described the wasting away of the Red Sea and quoted Thor Heyerdahl, who, after sailing across the Atlantic on a raft, described it as a sea of oil.

Oil settles in the ocean as a thin upper film that reduces the amount of sunlight that can penetrate the water, thus reducing the light needed by sea algae. And sea algae produce a good part of the oxygen in the atmosphere. The oil film also increases the reflectivity of the seas, which form the majority of the earth's surface, and can thus cause disastrous mete-

orological changes. (*Scientific American*, September 1970, p. 122.)

All the technical means exist to produce, transport, and refine oil without polluting the environment. They are not used because they would cost too much and reduce profits.

But it must be recognized that oil is an energy source that would be costly to make nonpolluting. Greater and greater quantities of oil are being extracted by undersea drilling. This is a totally irresponsible technique, for storms and undersea currents can wreck the fragile wellheads under water or at water level. Solar, geothermal, and sea energy involve far less danger of pollution. But these sources are underdeveloped and will remain so as long as they are not profitable, despite the fact that oil threatens to really "stick it" to humanity. The capitalists see no reason to invest in putting these sources to use, as long as oil and coal can be utilized at a lower cost with technology developed long since.

They invest as little as possible in research. The following figures give an idea of their priorities: In 1970 U.S. electrical companies spent \$395 million on advertising and only \$46 million on research and development. Since the turn of the century, only two new sources of energy have been turned to account, and those since the second world war. *The first*, bituminous shale and asphaltic sands (which produce oil) allows already existing oil technology to be used at the second stage of production. As for the first stage, it was initiated with enormous state subsidies. *The second* new source, nuclear energy, was initiated at tax-payer expense for military use, at relatively small cost to the capitalists. That is why they insist on expanding its development rather than developing new sources.

Socialism or Barbarism

Finally, the capitalist system causes an immense waste of energy. One cannot speak seriously of exhaustion of resources while neglecting to mention this waste. But that is exactly what is done by the "ecologists" who advocate zero growth. Their belief that it is the limits of nature along with economic and technical growth in themselves (and not the forms that

are lent them by the capitalist structure of society) that cause pollution and other evils obviously blinds them to the waste that is purely a product of capitalist social organization.

What about the waste of energy in such socially useless fields as the production of automobiles deliberately built to fall apart after three years or the energy wasted on advertising (neon signs, television, paper, and so on)? But these fields of investment yield great profits. Truck transport costs five times as much in energy expenditure as rail transport. But rail transport is used less than truck transport.

And this waste of energy is also a waste of labor time. According to the December 18 *Le Monde*, decent insulation in houses would allow a reduction of 30-40 percent in the consumption of energy for heating. But the profits of the real estate industry require construction at the lowest possible cost.

Only a socialist economy would be capable of assuring a harmonious development in the production and supply of energy.

Elimination of private property in the means of production and of the law of profit, and establishment of a planned economy would be able to:

- end the anarchy caused by the diffusion and lack of coordination of investment decisions and the flow of capital toward the most profitable sectors regardless of their social utility;
- eliminate the obstacles to the real utilization of technology that would permit production without pollution.

Planning would allow for real management of energy resources and for reconversion from one energy source to another without difficulties.

Elimination of private property and the law of profit would permit elimination of waste, thus making possible a reduction in the average work week (to twenty or thirty hours), while still increasing the wealth of society and thereby raising the workers' standard of living.

Gigantic investments could be freed for research according to a plan allowing for the easy replacement of one technological means by another. The socialist revolution, by abolishing the laws of the market, would allow developed countries to really aid underdeveloped countries without

looting them. And, through the monopoly of foreign trade, it would allow the underdeveloped countries to develop industries, even if their labor productivity were lower than the cor-

responding industries in the developed countries.

The socialist revolution is the only realistic solution to the capitalist energy crisis. □

'The Ecologists Have Had Their Day'

Oil Giants Press Attack on Pollution Restrictions

By Ernest Harsch

The ecologists have had their day and may be leading us to doom. We cannot build refineries—we cannot build deepwater offshore terminals—we cannot complete the Alaskan pipeline—we cannot drill for offshore oil—we cannot burn coal or high sulfur residual oil at any time—we cannot stave off disaster, unless this changes!

—An official of the New England Fuel Institute, quoted in the *Congressional Record*, February 27, 1973.

The panic atmosphere generated by the artificially induced energy crisis is being used by the oil monopolies to push through their high-profit development plans, overriding the objections of people concerned about the environment. The development of the various domestic energy sources, which have been made more competitive by the increases in the price of foreign crude oil, is a major goal of the American oil giants. They see environmental-protection measures as an obstacle to their wasteful and dangerous methods of exploiting those resources and a threat to their high profit level. One of the aims of Exxon, Mobil, Gulf, Shell, Socal, and other oil giants has been to eliminate or reduce these restrictions as much as possible. The oil embargo and the price hikes have given them a convenient opportunity to do so.

Nixon's signing of the controversial Alaska pipeline bill on November 16 signaled a major victory of the oil monopolies in their latest efforts to push aside environmental restrictions. Ecologists had filed lawsuits against the project, delaying construction for

a few years. They cited the grave dangers to the wildlife in the areas bordering the pipeline as a result of possible spillages. The three corporations that own the most profitable tracts in Alaska's North Slope—Atlantic Richfield, Exxon, and a combine of Standard Oil of Ohio and British Petroleum—paid \$12 million to the state of Alaska for the leases. They expect a minimum return of \$64 thousand million.

The resumption of offshore oil drilling on the continental shelf is another project of the oil giants that will probably be pushed to a profitable conclusion. In 1969, the Interior Department suspended all drilling on federal leases in the Santa Barbara channel after 800,000 gallons leaked from a Union Oil Company operation, covering Santa Barbara's beaches and killing thousands of birds and other wildlife. The January 24 *Christian Science Monitor* reported: "Major oil companies which want to expand their offshore operations have been encouraged by Nixon administration efforts to open more federal lands for leasing.

"Costly advertising campaigns have been undertaken to convince the public that offshore drilling is perfectly safe and even beneficial, but the oil industry admits that accidents can never be eliminated completely. A recent report from the National Academy of Engineering concluded that 'depending on the nature of the incident, a moderate and controllable oil spill . . . can develop, through cascading effects, into an uncontrollable intrusion into the environment.'"

The Amoco Production Company plans to drill a 4,500-foot deep oil

well in Florida's Ocala National Forest, but has run into opposition from state officials and environmentalists. The drilling operations would not only endanger wildlife; the water-bearing stratum beneath the forest, which supplies most of Florida's drinking water, could be disrupted or polluted from oil spills or leakage.

Just as some Japanese industries have opted for the construction of their new facilities in other countries as a result of antipollution campaigns in Japan, so have the American oil giants begun to "export pollution." Their attempts to build deep-water ports off the coasts of New Jersey and Delaware were blocked by the state governments because of fears of environmental destruction. So they decided to build a superport in Puerto Rico instead.

The superport, which is to be constructed by several of the large oil companies with some financial support from the Saudi Arabian regime, is planned as a depot for oil from the Arab-Persian Gulf before it is distributed along the coasts of the United States. The plans also include the development of extensive refining capacity and a petrochemical industrial complex.

The refining activities will use tremendous amounts of fresh water, and the waste water dumped into the ocean will raise the water temperature to a point dangerous to sea life. Large demonstrations in Puerto Rico protesting the construction of the superport forced the oil companies to move the site to nearby Mona Island. But the dangers to the ecological balance in the waters around Puerto Rico still remain. And similar plans are under way for the construction of the world's largest oil refinery on Gaudaloupe in the Antilles, which would imperil fishing in the area.

It looks as though even the New England area, which up until November managed to ward off the construction of ports and refineries, will be compromised by destructive oil facilities. Despite the objections of ecologists and local residents, Meldrim Thompson Jr., the governor of New Hampshire, announced on November 27 that Olympic Refineries, owned by the shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis, would put up a \$600 million oil refinery near Durham. The

400,000-gallon-a-day refinery would include a fifteen-mile pipeline from the proposed docking facilities for super-tankers at the Isles of Shoals, a local fishing area.

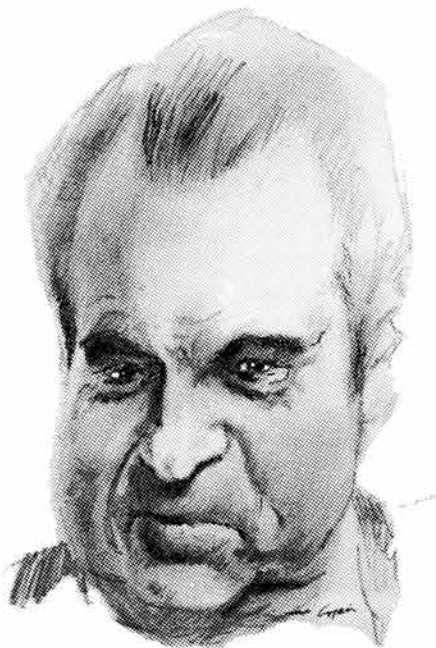
The drive to explore and develop new domestic sources of energy—such as shale oil—and to revitalize old sources that had declined owing to a drop in profitability—like coal—also poses a serious danger to the landscape if not carried out with the proper ecological safeguards. Operations to extract oil from shale tracts have already begun with the leasing of federal lands in Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah. Strip mining of both coal and shale in such a semiarid region would leave irreparable scars on the countryside. The extraction of shale oil requires large amounts of water and, in Colorado, would put a severe strain on the Colorado River. In addition, the process of extraction increases the volume of shale by 25 percent. The oil companies, unconcerned with where they leave their garbage, would probably simply dump this scrap shale in nearby canyons.

One of the most frightening aspects of the oil companies' and the government's assault on the environment is their plan for the rapid development of nuclear energy, particularly the very dangerous breeder reactors. Out of the announced \$1.6 thousand million program for energy research and development during fiscal 1974, a full \$724 million is to be devoted to nuclear reactor development.

Dr. Henry Kendall, a nuclear physicist, testified before the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on January 22 that the current nuclear power program should not continue because of the present inadequacy in safety measures. He cited two examples of the types of accidents that could occur if proper safeguards were not applied to the use of nuclear energy: the rupture of a pipe carrying coolant in a nuclear plant in the northeast United States and the recent leakage of radioactive material from the Atomic Energy Commission installation at Hanford, Washington. He also charged that there were not enough studies under way on how to contain the radioactive wastes produced by fission reactors—wastes which will remain dangerous for thou-

sands of years.

But Kendall was not the only one to criticize the Atomic Energy Commission. According to the January 23 *New York Times*, John E. Ward of the Atomic Industrial Forum, which represents the nuclear power industry, "criticized the AEC and committee for not moving fast enough, for requiring too many regulations and otherwise slowing the advance of nuclear power."



NIXON: For "greater flexibility" in jacking up oil profits.

If Ward's concept of the "advance of nuclear power" holds sway, then the prospects of a tragic mishap would be vastly increased. Describing the magnitude of the possible danger of a breakdown of the cooling system in one of the present nuclear fission reactors, the September 1972 *Environment* magazine wrote:

"A large power reactor can contain fission products equivalent to the fallout from many dozens of nuclear weapons in the megaton range. The uncontrolled release of even 5 or 10 percent of this inventory could bring death to persons from 60 up to 100 miles from the reactor. Persons hundreds of miles distant could suffer radiation sickness, genetic damage, and increased incidence of many diseases including cancer. . . . Several reactors now operating or under construction are sited close enough to

large urban areas so that each could put more than ten million persons within range of a lethal plume of radioactivity."

The federal government has thrown its weight behind the drive of the oil companies to roll back the few gains won by the ecology movement over the years. In his January 23 message to Congress on the energy crisis, Nixon said: "The Clean Air Act has provided the basis for major improvements in air quality and we must continue our progress toward even greater improvement. However, during the current energy shortage, it has become clear that some changes in the act are needed to provide greater flexibility in deadlines and other requirements. The special energy legislation now before the Congress would permit temporary relaxation in some requirements applicable to power plants when an adequate supply of clean energy is not available. It would also extend the deadlines for the reduction of emissions from automobiles. I hope the Congress will move quickly to grant authority for temporary relaxation of requirements and freezing the standards for auto emissions—now applicable to 1975 model cars—for two additional years."

He also said: "The Congress has also been advised by the Environmental Protection Agency of evidence demonstrating that the reductions of nitrogen oxides from automobiles as required by the Clean Air Act are unnecessarily stringent and that technology to achieve the reductions is not yet practicable."

Commenting on Nixon's energy message, the January 24 *New York Times* wrote: "Originally, the Clean Air Act of 1970 required a 90 per cent reduction in auto emissions of hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide for the 1975 model cars from the levels produced by 1970 model cars. At present, however, an order from the Environmental Protection Agency has set interim 1975 standards that represent a reduction of about 65 to 70 per cent from the 1970 levels.

"It is these interim standards that the Administration wants frozen for two years."

The relaxation of requirements on power plants that Nixon mentioned would allow them to burn more polluting high-sulfur oil and coal. □

Reluctant Congress Weighing Impeachment Vote

By Allen Myers

"Whatever the 93d Congress does in the second session that opens today," Mary Russell wrote in the January 21 *Washington Post*, "it will be remembered for its handling of one major and historic issue—impeachment and the future of the President."

But to judge from their public and off-the-record statements, most members of Congress would be happy to forego their place in the history books if the question of impeachment—and Nixon with it—would only go away. To most of these politicians, the issue is one that it seems safest to avoid if at all possible. NBC News reported that it contacted 431 of the 435 members of the House of Representatives between January 17 and 21. Those favoring impeachment numbered 90; 137 said they opposed it; and 204 had "no opinion."

As the *New York Times* complained in a January 26 editorial, "There is little doubt in Congress that Mr. Nixon was deeply involved in the Watergate scandals; but there is also a widespread feeling that it would be impolitic to come out and say so."

Representative John Anderson of Illinois, chairman of the House Republican Conference, told reporters for the *Washington Post* that some Republicans are speaking of Nixon's resignation "almost wistfully, as a solution that would have a less devastating effect" than a vote on impeachment.

Less wistfully, a number of influential Democrats have publicly called for Nixon to resign. They include Thomas O'Neill, the House majority leader; Wayne Hays of Ohio; B. F. Sisk of California; Jack Brook of Texas; and Wilbur Mills of Arkansas.

What perplexes these capitalist politicians—in addition to the problem of winning reelection in November—is the unknown effect of a vote either for or against impeachment on the plummeting public confidence in capitalist government. As Republican Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland complained: "The cost of living, stability of the economy and energy are

the vocal issues. But immediately beneath is the question of confidence in government—in other words, Watergate."

Public opinion polls continue to show a widespread—and justified—cynicism about what the Watergate scandal reveals. While most of the U.S. public believes Nixon is a crook, there is also a widespread conviction that removing him would do little or nothing to improve the situation.

George Gallup reported January 21 on the results of a poll conducted by his organization January 4-7, before the report of a panel of technical experts showed that an 18.5-minute gap on one of the White House tapes must have been caused by a deliberate erasure.

"By 67 to 21 per cent, with 12 per cent 'not sure,'" Gallup wrote, "Americans now think 'President Nixon knew about the attempt to cover up White House involvement in Watergate while it was going on. . . .'"

"By 59 to 22 per cent, Americans feel the 18 missing minutes 'were deliberately erased because they would have proven Mr. Nixon's involvement in the cover-up.'"

However, the same poll found the public evenly divided—46 percent to 46 percent—on the question of whether Nixon should resign. And 37 percent favored impeachment while 53 percent opposed it.

In this situation, neither outcome of an impeachment vote seems capable of winning any credibility for the Congress or the president. A vote for impeachment would simply confirm the present belief in Nixon's guilt, while a vote "clearing" him would be seen, correctly, as a politically motivated whitewash.

Complicating the matter for the capitalist politicians is the possibility that even a resignation by Nixon might not solve their problem. As Silvio Conte, a liberal Republican representative from Massachusetts, told the *Washington Post*: "I don't think it's going to satisfy the country if

he resigns. It would be another Agnew thing."

Nevertheless, the prevailing mood in Congress at the moment seems to be the hope that Nixon will take everyone off the hook by resigning. Republican members of Congress are particularly fearful that their own chances for reelection will suffer if Nixon is still in office in November, although some pollsters claim that Watergate will hurt all incumbents more or less equally, regardless of whether they are Republicans or Democrats. Senator Barry Goldwater told the Associated Press January 22 that he expected the scandal to cost Republican candidates 10 percent of the total vote.

Only a week earlier, Goldwater had defended Nixon, claiming that the boss of the White House gang had "started a recovery." But in the wake of the expert report on the erased tape, although he maintained that he was not calling for Nixon's resignation, Goldwater nevertheless observed that "we have a good man in the Vice President, and there would be no transition problem at all.

"I can see nothing wrong with Ford becoming President if Mr. Nixon resigns or steps aside. He's a guy that's Mr. Clean. He's an All-American boy. Everybody likes him."

A 'Secret' Defense

But Nixon, at least in his public statements, has insisted that he has no intention of resigning. At a meeting with eighteen Republican members of the House on January 21, he reportedly vowed not to be driven from office either by impeachment or resignation. One congressman present at the meeting quoted him as saying, "There is a time to be timid. There is a time to be conciliatory. There is a time, even, to fly and there is a time to fight. And I'm going to fight like hell."

Nixon's remarks on this subject are entitled to as much credibility as his

comments on anything else, and it was therefore natural for his statement to recall Spiro Agnew's vow, "I will not resign if indicted." *Newsweek* magazine, in its January 28 issue, quoted a "Senate insider with well-laid wires to the White House" as saying of Nixon: "He's obsessed by one thing, his fear of going to the penitentiary. He is convinced that [special prosecutor] Leon Jaworski is going to have him indicted for conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Watergate affair."

Nixon's resolve to "fight like hell" is undermined by the fact that he has few weapons to fight with. This was demonstrated by the effort to put out a public-relations defense based on "secret information."

The instruments selected for this defense effort were Hugh Scott, the Senate Republican leader, and Vice-President Gerald Ford.

Without cracking a smile, Scott told a television interviewer January 20: "I have the feeling and information available to me—and I wouldn't want you to misinterpret how complete that is—which would indicate that on specific items the president would be exculpated entirely."

Later in the program, he added: "I have some information which is not yet public, which is enormously frustrating to me, because it seems to me to exculpate the president; but I cannot break through the shell down there of all of his advisers, who feel differently about it, who feel that the president no longer needs to make some of these replies.

"I think it would help if he did. I have found nothing that indicates any guilt on the part of the president of a nature that would be impeachable, but I think they'd help themselves if they told the public some of the things that I know."

On January 22, Ford called a press conference to announce that he too had inside information that Nixon is innocent. His information came straight from the horse's mouth: "I spent time talking to the president about Watergate yesterday and I know from our conversation that the president had no prior knowledge of the Watergate break-in or had any part of the cover-up."

Apparently aware that the cynically inclined might consider Nixon's assertion of innocence as something less

than conclusive proof, Ford went on to claim that there is documentary evidence that "will exonerate the president. It will totally undercut the testimony of John Dean." Ford, it would seem, is nothing if not trusting; he admitted that he himself had not read the "secret evidence" that he described so confidently.

"The president volunteered to show it to me," Ford explained. "It was part of our discussion yesterday but I have not had time to see it."

It was quickly apparent that Scott and Ford were involved in a scheme to publicize "evidence" that Nixon's staff had failed to get into newspaper headlines by other means. In a January 20 dispatch to the *New York Times*, Paul Delaney wrote of Scott's remarks that "he apparently referred to information that White House aides had mentioned in making similar statements to reporters in the last few weeks without providing evidence to substantiate them. None of those statements had been published until today, when the Associated Press attributed them to White House sources."

The "secret information," it turned out, consisted of *summaries* prepared from some of the White House tapes by Nixon's staff.

The January 23 *New York Times* reported that "the material consists of edited transcripts of the White House tapes, according to C.B.S. Television News, which said that the transcripts were prepared for verification by Senator John C. Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, last October."

In other words, the "secret information" is the product of Nixon's unsuccessful attempt to suppress the tapes subpoenaed by former special prosecutor Archibald Cox. There is no reason at all to doubt Scott's word that the summaries prepared by Nixon's staff include absolutely no material implicating the boss. But the tapes themselves are now in the hands of Jaworski, and there is strong evidence that the content of the tapes is considerably different from that of the summaries. Marjorie Hunter wrote in the January 23 *New York Times*:

"According to the Vice President and Senator Scott, the material they consider would 'undercut' Mr. Dean's testimony is now in the hands of the special prosecutor. However, observers familiar with the investigation have seen no indication that Mr. Ja-

worski is preparing to seek a perjury indictment against Mr. Dean."

Quite the contrary, in fact. On January 23, it was revealed in a Washington court that Dean will be a prosecution witness in the upcoming trial of Dwight Chapin, former presidential appointments secretary, who is accused of lying under oath about the campaign sabotage "dirty tricks" of Donald Segretti. If the White House tapes obtained by Jaworski showed that Dean had perjured himself in his testimony against Nixon, it would clearly be inadvisable to use him as a prosecution witness in any trial.

Nixon's "secret evidence" thus boils down to evidence confirming that the "compromise plan" used as a pretext for firing Cox in October consisted of an attempt to substitute a laundered summary for the incriminating material on the White House tapes.

Disappearing Evidence

It is questionable, of course, whether any conversations implicating Nixon remain on the tapes in Jaworski's possession. After two of the subpoenaed recordings were declared "nonexistent" and the relevant portion of a third was erased, it would have been remarkably careless of the White House gang to leave evidence on the other tapes undoctored.

During testimony before Judge John Sirica January 18, it was disclosed that there are two additional gaps on tapes in which Nixon dictated remarks about the Watergate case. There is a 57-second gap in the recording of Nixon's comments on a March 21, 1973, meeting with Dean, and a 37-second blank on a tape in which Nixon discusses a June 20, 1972, telephone conversation with John Mitchell, at that time his campaign manager. Both blanks occur in the middle of a sentence.

June 20, 1972—three days after the arrest of the Watergate burglars—would appear to have been a day in which Nixon did little else but direct the cover-up. One of the "nonexistent" recordings was that of his telephone conversation with Mitchell. The 18.5-minute erasure destroyed the record of Nixon's conversation about Watergate on the same day with H. R. Haldeman.

The White House gang has had con-

siderable opportunity to doctor any incriminating tapes. Testimony during Sirica's hearings on the missing and erased tapes indicated that a campaign to destroy their value as evidence was begun as soon as the Watergate scandal began to break open. Louis B. Sims, head of the Secret Service's technical security division, which was in charge of the taping system, testified that shortly after Dean made his April 19, 1973, statement saying that he would not be a "scapegoat" for Watergate, Stephen Bull, Nixon's appointments secretary, contacted Sims and asked if Dean knew of the existence of the recording system. Sims assured him that Dean did not.

On April 25, Bull then checked out twenty-two of the tapes and turned them over to Haldeman. Throughout the summer, various persons—including Haldeman, who was no longer on the White House staff—were allowed to take out the tapes. The few records of the movements of these tapes were scrawled on a brown paper bag. The deliberate confusion can only have been intended to make it difficult to trace the destruction or doctoring of the tapes.

Perhaps even more incriminating of Nixon and his top aides was the testimony concerning the erased June 20 tape. Originally, the White House lawyers claimed that the entire erasure was caused accidentally by Rose Mary Woods, Nixon's secretary, on October 1. Woods herself testified that she made her "terrible mistake" at about 2:15 p.m. that day and immediately informed Nixon. She said this occurred after she had spent about two and a half hours attempting to transcribe the tape.

Woods' testimony was contradicted not only by the panel of experts, who determined that the erasure had been caused by five to nine separate erasures on the machine Woods was using. In addition, the Secret Service produced evidence that the machine in question, which was purchased that day, was not delivered to Bull—who then turned it over to Woods—until after 1:00 p.m. In and of itself, how long Woods had the tape that day is probably not very important. But in combination with the phony accident story, it indicates that her entire testimony was probably fabricated to

cover up the real manner in which the tape was erased.

This would explain, among other things, the statement by Charles Rhyne, Woods's attorney, who said on January 17 that neither Nixon nor any of the White House lawyers had ever questioned her about the erasure.

"I would have thought," Rhyne said, "that someone would have questioned her. It's hard to believe that they didn't. . . . They did not question her in the slightest."

The January 28 *Newsweek* reported that the special prosecutor's office is working on two different theories of how and when the tape was erased:

"The prosecution . . . remained intrigued with a half-hour meeting she [Woods] had with Mr. Nixon on Sept. 29 and somehow neglected to mention in three turns on the stand; during that time, he [Nixon] put in calls to Bull, [Fred] Buzhardt [one of Nixon's Watergate attorneys] and chief of staff Alexander Haig, and some of the prosecutors have never quit wondering whether the events leading to the erasure were set in motion that evening. . . ."

"An alternate hypothesis visible between the lines of the prosecution's questions was that the erasure might not have happened till the following weekend, when the tape, the Uher [tape recorder], Miss Woods and Bull flew south with the President for a working retreat in Florida. Why the tape went at all was a question, since Miss Woods has testified she finished work on it on Oct. 1."

And Other Crimes

Nixon has good reason for "fear of going to the penitentiary." The handling of the tapes alone would have been sufficient to send an ordinary citizen to jail for contempt, if not for obstruction of justice. (In a letter to the Senate Watergate committee last July 23, Nixon said that "the tapes, which have been under my sole personal control, will remain so.") But some of his other crimes have begun to catch up with him as well.

On January 25, Thomas Quinn, California's deputy secretary of state, told reporters that he had irrefutable evidence, based on analysis of the typewriter used, that a deed turning over Nixon's vice-presidential papers to the

National Archives could not have been prepared by March 27, 1969, the date on the deed. Quinn added that the persons involved in preparing the deed for Nixon had admitted that it was not signed until more than a year later, on April 10, 1970.

The date is important because of a law prohibiting tax deductions for any such gifts made after July 25, 1969. Nixon claimed deductions of \$576,000 for the donation. The falsification of the date on the deed concealed the fact that he was not legally entitled to the deduction. The disclosure thus opens Nixon to the possibility of being charged with tax fraud.

Nixon is also threatened by the slow unraveling of the activities of the secret White House "plumbers" unit. Egil Krogh, the former director of the plumbers, was sentenced January 24 to six months in prison for his role in the burglary of the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. After his sentencing, Krogh, who has agreed to cooperate with the Watergate prosecutor, issued a lengthy statement that was interpreted as "clearing" Nixon.

But the next day, Krogh's attorney indicated that the press had put too broad an interpretation on the statement. It applied, he said, solely to the Fielding burglary. Krogh had been careful not to "exonerate or implicate" Nixon or others in the White House in any of the other activities of the plumbers.

Krogh is shortly expected to be questioned by the Watergate prosecutors on both the Fielding burglary and the other illegal activities of the plumbers. This investigation could lead almost anywhere. Krogh's statement briefly alluded to one activity that is probably typical.

His activity with the plumbers had ended by November 1971, Krogh said, but he was called back the next month "in connection with the India-Pakistan conflict leak. In that period, I was asked to authorize a wire tap in connection with a highly sensitive aspect of that leak. I declined and was thereupon removed from the unit the same day. I learned in reviewing the unit's files on Dec. 13, 1973, that the tap was effected after my removal along with another one in the same investigation."

Krogh is only the most recent for-

mer White House official to be sentenced to prison. Even if none of the other officials confronting the same prospect decide to save themselves by testifying against the boss, the scandal associated with their trials will inevitably increase the pressure to moderate the embarrassment by getting Nixon out of the White House.

In a January 24 dispatch from Washington, *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker wrote that "the opinion seems, widespread here that, so far from making any kind of resignation deal, Mr. Nixon has entered into a last-ditch fight for self-preserva-

tion. Abandoning any real hope of recovering the prestige and credibility he had a year ago, he now—in this view—intends at all costs to cling to his office and avoid the possibility of prosecution. . . .

"Maybe Mr. Nixon will yet fold under pressure; or maybe his fighting stance and powers of office somehow will pull him through. But with Special Prosecutor Jaworski's indictments about to come down, and with other trials about to begin, a stand-up-and-be-counted impeachment vote in the House seems more than ever the only outcome that could fit the case." □

Staff reporters of the *Observer*, for example, reported January 6 that nine Palestinian "guerrillas" had secretly entered Belgium with three SAM-7s. The article claimed that these portable anti-aircraft missiles, equipped with a heat-seeking guidance system and having a range of two miles, were an ideal weapon for Palestinian guerrillas to use in shooting down Israeli planes.

Richard Norton-Taylor, writing from Brussels in the *Manchester Guardian* on January 8, claimed that one such missile was hidden in the back of a truck that had entered Belgium from France.

Before picking up such cloak-and-dagger propaganda, the government first leaked and acted upon a few rumors of its own. Just after Christmas, the government deported four Arabs on the grounds that they were "terrorists" threatening the national security. Two of the four were interrogated for ten days at Ealing police station by British security forces before being deported.

However, the "antiterrorist" propaganda of the European ruling class suffered some difficulties. First the Belgian government insisted that the SAM-7s had not been secretly imported to Europe from afar but had been stolen from a NATO base in Western Europe. Then the whole official rationale behind the anti-Arab propaganda burst when U.S. Defense Department spokesman Jerry Friedheim denied the Belgian claim. Friedheim stated: "We double-checked with NATO and found no NATO missiles missing and none of ours missing either."

The military-police display at Heathrow fits in with Tory antilabour policy at home and its pro-Zionist policy abroad.

The Heathrow operation adds another dimension to the Tory offensive against the living standards of the British working class and the continued use of troops in Northern Ireland. Its purpose was to test how far they can go in using troops in a non-military situation and to test the reaction of the labour movement to open military-police collaboration.

Martin Woollacott examined this thesis in an article in the January 8 *Guardian* entitled "Army gets its boots into the back door." He wrote: "Michael Elliot-Bateman, lecturer in military studies at Manchester University, said:

"We haven't seen this sort of de-

Tory 'Exercise' in Intimidation

Why Troops Surrounded London Airport

By Alan Harris

London

Over the weekend of January 6-7, London's Heathrow airport looked more like the army-occupied streets of Belfast than an air terminal.

Under cover of darkness, a squadron of Scorpion tanks and Saracen armoured cars, together with more than 200 armed troops and a similar number of armed police, set up roadblocks of the eight-mile perimeter road. Tanks were as close as 150 yards from where jumbo jets were taking off.

One soldier with his submachine gun at the ready reported: "I've been ordered to stay here and look down my sights. These bullets are for real."

Five army-police check points were established on the airport perimeter road and all vehicles were stopped and searched. Many drivers, unable to produce the necessary "papers," were turned back. Newspaper reporters and photographers were escorted on specially conducted tours.

The operation was not confined to the airport. Troops and police with Alsatian dogs positioned themselves in the fields at the end of runways and as far away as Windsor, six miles from Heathrow. Much to the surprise of the local inhabitants, one armoured car crossed the Thames and proceeded to drive along Eton High Street.

The appearance of Scorpion tanks carrying 76mm guns together with

the armed police and troops that made up the "exercise"—as government spokesmen delicately termed it—came as a surprise to airport workers, travellers, and great numbers of British citizens. This surprise and unease deepened when it became clear that the troops had been given instructions about opening fire similar to those given to British troops in Northern Ireland: The triggers can be pulled when individual soldiers consider their lives, or the lives of others, to be in danger.

Another feature of this unprecedented display of military hardware was the extent to which the British army assumed command. While apologists for the government tried to pretend that the army was there to "help" the police carry out security measures and was under the control of the local police, few people actually believed this.

The reasons given by government spokesmen for the Heathrow operation were not exactly convincing. To try to justify the government's actions, radio, television, and the capitalist press mounted a massive propaganda campaign against the Palestinian resistance movement, claiming that the possibilities were very real for Israeli jets to be shot from the skies by Arab terrorists armed with Soviet-made SAM-7 missiles.

ployment of troops since the twenties, and I think this represents very definitely the pattern of the future for the army. I would see it as an exercise, partly to get army and police officers—after all, two very different kinds of animals—to work together effectively, and partly a public relations exercise."

Woollacott's examination continued: "The idea of a rôle for the army inside Britain is particularly associated with the books of Brigadier Frank Kitson. His 'Low Intensity Operations,' published in 1971, argued that internal subversion and terrorism would be the army's main preoccupation in the future—at least equaling preparation for the unlikely contingency of major conventional war. He also suggested that unrest in Britain could reach the point where 'the army would be required to restore the situation,' and argued that troops might have to be used 'against political extremists who are prepared to resort to a considerable degree of violence. . . .'"

Whether Heathrow can be wholly justified in terms of a "subversive and terrorist threat," Woollacott observed in conclusion, "it probably does mean that we have taken a step forward toward a new kind of role for the army and a new kind of cooperation between police and army which might ultimately see links at as lowly a level as the local police station. . . . 'Then the army man [says Elliot-Bateman] can be in the picture on crime in the [local police] area—dubious organisations and the like. If any kind of crisis arises then he's ready to go.'"

Home Secretary Carr has made it known that Heathrow will probably not be the only airport in Britain to be ringed with steel. He also indicated that troops may be stationed there permanently.

The Labour party and the trade-union leadership have so far virtually ignored the army-police "exercise" at Heathrow. But the problem will not disappear because they ignore it. Any leadership worthy of the name is obliged to educate and lead the working class to meet such threats and intimidation. And the time to challenge the ability of the Tories to take such unprecedented action is now.

During a recent strike by Glasgow's firemen, the government used troops to try to defeat the strike. That action,

together with the use of troops at Heathrow airport, is a clear indication and warning that hereafter the Tories will consider using troops in

whatever way they can to maintain the rule of big business—not only in Ireland and other parts of the world, but in Britain too. □

New Situation for Revolutionary Marxists

Israeli Society Shaken by October War

[The following interview with Michel Warshawsky, one of the main leaders of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), Israeli supporters of the Fourth International, was taken on January 12, 1974. It appeared in the January 18 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What have been the consequences inside Israel of the October War?

Answer. First off, the October crisis has produced a challenge to the leadership of the Zionist state. For six years, ever since June 1967, the situation of no war, no peace had been presented as the best possible one for Israel. The myth of the invulnerability of the Zionist state made that belief credible. So the partial defeat of October 1973 no doubt marks a new stage in political life here.

This new state of affairs was crystallized in the recent elections [on December 31]. There was a significant increase in the vote for the right-wing bloc, Likud. But we should note immediately that this did not represent a popular desire for a harder line. Essentially it was an expression of defiance of the existing government. The government came out of the election in a weakened position. Under the pressure of the "doves" in the Labor party, and in order to avoid a debacle, the Labor coalition presented itself as a peace coalition. But, paradoxically, its general weakening will strengthen the party's right wing, especially Dayan and Golda Meir.

This result was predictable even before December 31. So the Labor party, which was totally responsible for the setback that the October War constituted for Zionist society, was

obliged to make a big shift in its political propaganda. But because of the results of the election, it will continue its policy almost entirely unchanged.

We could also note instances of challenges to the Labor party from the left. A lawyer known for her opposition to the links between religion and the state presented a list of candidates drawn up shortly before the election. She got 40,000 votes, that is, three Knesset seats. Although there is no doubt that these three Knesset members will become part of the ruling coalition, the fact that they won seats is still significant.

Q. Hasn't the Yom Kippur War intensified the economic crisis in Israel?

A. Yes; in fact, the war has been very costly. Inflation today is running at rates comparable to those in Latin America. The cost of living has recently gone up by 60 to 100 percent. There are various causes of the crisis. First, the necessity to construct an arms industry way out of proportion to the rest of industry. Then, the direct or indirect mobilization of hundreds of thousands of people has disorganized production. Finally, to this has been added a slowdown in the influx of credit owing to the impending international recession.

This economic crisis will make it necessary to lay off a part of the Israeli work force in order to retrain it for other tasks.

At the same time, we can expect unemployment to rise in the occupied territories. Already, during the war, the Arab workers refused to go to work.

Q. What is the present relationship between the ruling Labor party bureaucracy and the Israeli bourgeoisie?

A. The development of an Israeli

bourgeoisie having a real economic base dates from 1967. In the recent period its weight has increased. The Labor party leaders, who base themselves mainly on the labor aristocracy, will have to increasingly take account of this growing economic power.

All the more so in that the right-wing bloc appears as a credible political alternative for this bourgeoisie. The demands of [Finance Minister] Sapir's 2,000 millionaires, as they are called here, will only increase in the period ahead.

Q. What repercussions did the war have in the occupied territories?

A. Just after the sharpest phase of the conflict, a very severe repression came down in the occupied territories. The Zionist state will not tolerate the emergence of an alternative leadership to the rotten, corrupted old notables. The main organizers of the alternative leadership were deported. For more than a month there were strikes in the high schools and among Arab students. The lack of clear goals for these struggles caused them to peter out. Today, the high schools have been reopened.

Nevertheless, the most important result of the 1973 war has been the reemergence of Arab national sentiments, both in the occupied territories and among Israeli Arabs. Today an alternative policy could emerge leading toward a Palestinian state.

Q. The Rakah Communist party appears to have been the big winner among the Arab population during the recent elections. What is the meaning of that development?

A. Rakah got 55,000 votes and won one additional Knesset deputy. You have to understand that Rakah is seen not as the party of the working class, but as the party of the Arab population. As against Rakah, the Arab parties affiliated to the Labor party suffered a stinging defeat. Those parties won only three deputies, two of which were elected thanks to the votes of Israeli-Jews.

Basically, the Arab population voted for Rakah to show its opposition to Zionism. You have to understand that since the 1967 war Rakah has been moving continually to the right. It has been severely criticized, even

among its own members, for accepting UN Resolution 242, for seeking to set up a peace front with parties to its right, and especially for seeking to establish a base among the Israeli-Jews. In the past year, many second-level cadres have quit.

Nevertheless, the attacks unleashed since the October War by all the Zionist parties, from far-right to left, have helped Rakah a lot.

Our decision under those circumstances to vote for Rakah was especially well-founded. We were not a credible alternative against Rakah; we



MEIR: Right wing strengthened by election results.

would not have had the forces to organize the people who would have voted for us. And at the same time, our real influence in the Arab villages would have declined in favor of Rakah and this would have been a demoralizing factor.

The analysis made by the spontaneous groups [who ran a combined list of their own in the elections] led to a significant setback. With 0.5 percent of the vote, they cannot claim to be even the embryo of an alternative to Rakah.

Q. What are your aims in the present situation?

A. The 1973 war has generally freed up our ability to intervene. After 1967 it was difficult to explain to an Israeli that Zionism offered no solution to the problems of the Jewish people, that

Israel could not continue indefinitely to live in a hostile environment. Today, with the myth of Israeli power put in question, there is a greater receptivity to our analyses. During the election campaign, we held larger meetings than ever before. Our circles have grown considerably. In Haifa and Jerusalem, we have hegemony in the high-school movement.

The economic crisis will trigger the development of workers struggles. Today, we don't have the strength to launch them, or even to instigate them. Nevertheless, our tasks in building solidarity when they do break out will be very important.

Q. How about the consequences of the war inside the army?

A. We repeat that the demoralization is terrible. The Israeli army is a reserve army. The soldiers have been mobilized for three and a half months now and they have been told that they won't be demobilized before April. Many of them have families and problems with their jobs. Their economic situation is worsening. These things are heavily felt. The right-wing coalition got a majority of votes in the army. But as I said, this signifies defiance of the Labor party rather than a rise of fascist tendencies. Our comrades who were taken into the army are continuing their propaganda work. In fact, they were even able to distribute a leaflet.

Q. How do you view the Geneva negotiations?

A. Israel went to Geneva under international pressure, especially U.S. pressure. The Israeli leaders are counting on dragging out the talks for two or three years. There is one crucial problem for them: changing around the current cease-fire lines. Because their present length and complexity demand a strong mobilization that is incompatible with the functioning of Israeli society.

This is the meaning of the latest Dayan-Kissinger proposals. Retreat from the west bank of the canal will offer Israel more favorable lines of defense. Once that problem is solved, Israel could drag the negotiations out until the diplomatic situation is more favorable to it. The Israeli leaders hope that American pressure will then diminish. □

CPI, Communist Party (Marxist) Argue Over Brezhnev Visit

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

To allay possible doubts entertained by any of her colleagues in the ruling Congress party, on December 19 in Delhi Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told a meeting of the Congress MPs from Uttar Pradesh that the ruling party's alliance with the Communist party of India (CPI) had "helped to contain communism" in the country and not to strengthen it.

Replying to questions from a section of the party about why the Congress party was "getting close" to the CPI, Gandhi said: "The past events had shown that the Congress had gained and not lost as a result of its alliance with the CPI. This has helped to contain communism."

According to the December 20 issue of the *Bombay Times of India*, she pointed out that the danger of communism had receded both in Kerala and West Bengal as a result of the Congress-CPI alliance. A mid-term election to the state legislative assembly is due to be held in Gandhi's home state of Uttar Pradesh, the biggest state in the country, in March, after six months of central government rule. The legislature, which had been suspended, was allowed to function again only recently. A former central minister, H.N. Bahuguna, has been made the state's interim chief minister until the election. The Congress party is seeking an alliance with the CPI in the election, ostensibly to fight right reaction, but in reality to counter the growing mass discontent in the country.

Six months ago there was a strike by the state police force demanding better living conditions that assumed the form of a virtual insurrection. It was put down with the help of the army. The CPI had lined up with the Congress party in condemning the police strike as "CIA-inspired."

The Congress has political alliances with the pro-Moscow CPI in Kerala, where the CPI's representative, Achuta Menon, acts as the chief

minister. The ruling coalition, however, has a Congress majority. In West Bengal the CPI supports the Congress government without being a part of the coalition. Gandhi has given a green light to the Congress-CPI alliance in Uttar Pradesh, although the CPI has its own reservations about the alliance.

At the Delhi meeting, however, Gandhi noted (as if to placate her allies in the CPI) that the CPI cooperated with her party only when it "suited its interests." In cases where its interests were different, as in the strike of railwaymen in some parts of the country, "the CPI did not extend such cooperation."

The CPI pursues a line of "critical support" to the Gandhi regime, which, according to their Moscow orientation, represents the "progressive national bourgeoisie" in the so-called national democratic revolution against "imperialism and the remnants of feudalism." Soviet Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev visited India and showered praise on the leadership of Gandhi and the ruling Congress party. He said in his "keynote address" November 27 to a massive public meeting held under the ramparts of the historic Red Fort in Delhi:

"The ruling party, the Indian National Congress, has put forward an important democratic program of broad socioeconomic transformations designed to improve the life of the people. It has proclaimed socialism as its goal. Broad political and social circles in India are known to come out in favour of socialism."

Brezhnev and the Indian prime minister signed a fifteen-year agreement on economic cooperation between India and the Soviet Union that has been hailed by the CPI as "a great advance for the left and democratic forces in India." A resolution adopted by the national council of the CPI said that the Brezhnev visit was "the most important and far-reaching development in the world, signifying further success for peace, international

détente, and anti-imperialism."

Brezhnev took time off his official engagements to meet S.A. Dang, the chairman of the CPI, and other leaders, and advised them to support the Gandhi government. He wanted the CPI and its allies in the trade-union movement not to encourage strikes, but in fact to act as strike-breakers in the name of increasing production.

Moscow has agreed to provide more aid to the two major steel plants in the public sector (Bokaro and Bhilai) and to an oil refinery (at Mashura), in addition to assisting schemes for training technical and scientific personnel. On the eve of Brezhnev's arrival in India, the Kremlin had announced a loan of 2 million tons of food grains, to be repaid in kind. This was meant to bring down the soaring prices of essential commodities. But these prices are instead soaring higher each day.

New Age, the CPI mouthpiece, on December 19 welcomed the Indo-Soviet agreements as weapons that would create "millions of new jobs," thereby "helping to ease our explosive unemployment situation." "The agreement," added the journal in an editorial, "above all gives India opportunities to disentangle itself from the tentacles of the crisis-ridden capitalist world economy."

But at the same time the CPI journal could not ignore the hard realities of the Indian situation. In the same edition it warned that "these benefits do not flow automatically from the agreement." It stressed the need for undertaking "concomitant measures to streamline the administration, restructure the economy and democratise the public sector," if the "fruits of the Brezhnev visit are to be reaped."

"The policies pursued by the government," it complained, "are not such as to reassure the people. The line of drift and retreat before the offensive of the vested interests. Concession after concession is being given to monopolists. Multinational corporations are again being invited in."

Furthermore: "Much of the bumper harvest is being allowed to be cornered by hoarders and profiteers. The government itself is hiking up prices of essential commodities like food grains, sugar, cloth and kerosene. . . . The result of all this is aggravated by inflation, galloping prices, scarcity of daily goods and the seething discontent of the masses."

"On the top of it all," said the *New Age*, "the pro-West, pro-monopoly, corrupt bureaucracy entrenched in the government is playing havoc with the declared policies." It has also warned of the resistance put up by the "combined reaction both within and outside the Congress and its government." The *New Age* alleged that the bureaucracy would "seek all means to stall and sabotage implementation of the Indo-Soviet agreements and obstruct India's efforts to develop an independent economy and achieve self-reliance." So, according to the CPI, "all anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces" should forge the "broadest unity" and "move the masses into action to realise possibilities that have opened up." The CPI slogan, therefore, is "Strengthen the hands of Mrs. Gandhi to fight the combined reaction."

The CPI has entered into the public polemics with the CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)] over the evaluation of Brezhnev's Indian visit. CPI General Secretary Rajeshwar Rao, at a press conference, blamed the leadership of the CPI(M) for its view that "the visit of Brezhnev had bolstered the reactionary regime of Mrs. Gandhi." *Kalantar*, a Bengali journal of the CPI, while characterising the policies of the CPI(M) "as those of Mao Tse-tung," accused the CPI(M) of being "anti-Soviet" and of "following a policy of pretended equi-distance between the Soviet Union and China."

Clarifying the CPI(M) position, M. Basavapunniah, the editor of the party weekly, *People's Democracy*, wrote on December 16: "CPI(M) is neither against Soviet and socialist aid to India nor Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation." He claimed that his party had welcomed the "Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship, and that it fervently advocates increasing Indo-Soviet economic cooperation."

Basavapunniah said: "No communist or even a democrat can oppose socialist aid and friendship between the socialist world and the newly liberated countries which are struggling

to defend their national independence and lessen their economic dependence. In fact, the CPI(M) has been systematically advocating the peaceful settlement of the border dispute between India and China and reforging Sino-Indian friendship. It wants greater co-operation between India and the socialist states."

According to the CPI(M) leader, the "right-opportunist stand" of the CPI consists in "willy-nilly advocating that Soviet aid is a panacea for India's economic crisis, maintaining that it enables the so-called progressive forces in the Indian government to defeat the monopolists and their foreign collaborators and believing that Soviet aid, in good doses, gradually puts the country on the path of non-capitalism and 'national democracy.'"

Basavapunniah continued: "It is the foremost task of communists in newly independent countries not only to advocate the close economic cooperation and friendly relations between their respective countries and states of the socialist camp, but also to fight against the exploiting ruling classes for misusing such friendly economic relations and socialist aid for their narrow partisan interests, instead of using them to liquidate legacies of colonialism and to free the people from the clutches of foreign monopoly capital."

The CPI(M) thus seems to suffer from the illusion that the bourgeois regimes of "newly independent countries" like India can utilise the aid given by the workers states to "liquidate legacies of colonialism and . . . foreign monopoly capital." Gandhi, as the leader of the Congress party, has no such illusions. Her objective in seeking an alliance with the CPI and aid from the Soviet Union is to "contain communism." The Indian bourgeoisie is using the Soviet aid announced by Brezhnev to bargain for better concessions from U.S. imperialism. Immediately after the Brezhnev visit, the Indian government reached an agreement with Washington for writing off American loans in the amount of Rs 16,640 million (about US\$2 thousand million) accumulated in India under the PL 480 project. Washington showed this "concession" to New Delhi on the understanding that the American mission in India would be free to spend the balance of the PL 480 loans amounting to more than Rs 34 thousand million

(about US\$4.1 thousand million) as desired. It is well known that the bulk of these funds is used for the operation of the CIA and other U.S. secret agencies in this part of the world and for financing counterrevolutionary political parties and groups in India.

To return to the CPI(M) position, Basavapunniah took exception to the CPI leaders' "echoing the laudatory references to the Indian government made by the Soviet leaders, while woe-fully failing to discharge the tasks enjoining them to make use of such aid for achieving 'independence' from imperialism." He said, in the name of so-called proletarian internationalism and pro-Sovietism, that the CPI has abandoned the "class tasks of struggle against their own bourgeois-landlord regime, equating the internal policy of the revolutionary working class with that of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and its ruling Communist Party." The CPI(M), he asserted, "refuses to repeat what the Soviet leaders state about the Government of India and its internal and external policies and how the Soviet aid is being utilised by the Congress Government."

The CPI(M), though brought up in the traditional Stalinist school, today tries to pursue a policy independent of both the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies. It has accused both these bureaucracies of seeking to subordinate the international working-class movement to their own "national" interests. But the CPI(M) does not accept the Trotskyist characterisation of the Soviet Union and China as bureaucratized and hence degenerated workers states.

In fact, Basavapunniah still swears by the "1960 Moscow statement of eighty-one parties" that proclaimed that "all Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights; they shape their policies according to the specific conditions of their respective countries, etc." Basavapunniah said: "If the Indian Government gives a grand reception for the Soviet Communist leaders like Brezhnev, the same Government deals with Indian Communists fighting for the cause of the exploited workers and peasants by police batons and bullets."

The CPI(M) leader claimed that his party's pro-Moscow and pro-Peking policies follow from their fundamental

loyalty to the cause of Marxism-Leninism. But that loyalty "does not deter our party, as a Marxist-Leninist party, from differing with either of these parties regarding certain policies, if they are found to be either right-revisionist or left-opportunist. . . ."

At its ninth congress, held in July

1972, the CPI(M) adopted a political resolution that accused the bureaucracies, both in the USSR and China, of ignoring "the fact that in the former colonial countries, after independence, social contradictions develop between the ruling classes and the common people." The resolution said: "In pur-

suance of the short-term needs of their foreign policies, they seek to impose upon the Communist and workers parties in these countries such policies as lead to their liquidation and merger with the parties sponsored by the ruling regimes or virtually make them obedient adjuncts." □

Revolutionary Struggle in Martinique, Guadeloupe

Antilles Trotskyists Hold Founding Congress

By. G. Filoche

[The founding congress of the Groupe Révolution Socialiste (Socialist Revolution Group), now the Antilles supporters of the Fourth International, was held in Fort-de-France December 28-30. It was attended by representatives from Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well as Antilleans living abroad.

[Four points were discussed at the congress: analysis of the international situation; the question of internationalism and adherence to the Fourth International; the question of power and the revolutionary process in the Antilles (autonomy, independence, and socialism); and the building of the revolutionary party (perspectives for penetrating the working class throughout the Antilles, trade-union work, work among the youth, concrete internationalist tasks, and democratic centralism).

[The congress was preceded by four months of organized discussion. Workshops were set up to edit the major resolutions in conformity with the discussions held. A central committee was elected, and the congress voted to affiliate to the Fourth International.

[The following article on the GRS and the situation in the Antilles appeared in the January 11 issue of *Rouge*, French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Martinique: 300,000 blacks, 3,000 whites. But it is the whites who own the land and gather in the salons of the Hilton Hotel or in magnificent villas. The occupation of the majority of the population of the Antilles, inso-

far as they are active at all, is unemployment. The illiteracy rate is high. So is the rate of alcoholism.

Rum is sold more cheaply than wine, but it is the only product of the country that is sold, for the country no longer produces anything. The last sugar factories are being shut down, replaced by Monoprix, to the profit of the beet growers of northern France. Commerce and tourism are expanding—to the detriment of everything else.

During the Common Market referendum of 1972 (naturally, the Caribbeans voted—on Europe instead of on self-determination), the Gaullists ran the same campaign in the Antilles as they did in France. One poster depicted ten little children wearing sweatshirts with European flags on them. The ten children were white. Where was the Martinican child? The slogan was: Ten million more consumers for "our" bananas, 20 million more for "our" pineapples, 30 million more for "our" rum! Long live Europe of the Common Market!

But from Europe of the Common Market, the Antilles get only common robbery. Before long, the Antilles began importing pineapples crated in Venezuela. Also imported were middle-aged American tourists who sailed down on cruises to Fort-de-France to take pictures of "little pickaninnies" selling arts and crafts along the docks. The Club Méditerranée (not Caraïbe) invaded the beaches and built the "Bambous Hotel" right alongside the "Paris suburb" restaurants.

There are still beaches, but not so much fishing. In the era of pollution and energy crisis, the United States

wants to construct the world's largest oil refinery on Guadeloupe. Thus, we can be sure that the already limited fishing (in one of the world's most fish-filled seas) will never be expanded again. It cannot even be said that the refinery will create jobs for the people. The technicians will be imported from the United States, as will the military guards for the factory, no doubt.

Trade-union rights are a fiction. But not police rights. There are already armed personnel carriers—sent no doubt by Marcellin and Galley—which do not mean to leave a single inch of territory unprotected from the "enemy within." These carriers were unloaded recently to supplement the infantry troops. The flag of the Naval Ministry flies over Fort-de-France just above the poor neighborhoods, where the ramshackle slums stand.

Importance of GRS Adherence to the Fourth International

For years and years, the weak forces of the nascent far left in the Antilles were torn apart discussing the national peculiarities dividing Martinique and Guadeloupe. When militants from Martinique formulated an opinion on problems in Guadeloupe, militants from Guadeloupe, under Maoist influence, would attack them for "interfering in the internal affairs of another people." Moreover, traditional hostilities between militants abroad and militants in the Antilles had produced split after split. The principal dangers that threatened to arrest the development of the new vanguard lay in nationalist inclinations.

Given that the Antilles "left" pulled away from the muddy track of "assimilation" with France only to enter the road of "autonomy in union with France," and considering that "nationalism is a neocolonial solution," it was not of secondary importance that the GRS placed on the agenda of its first congress the question of adherence to the Fourth International.

It was a historic event.

It was the first time that a revolutionary organization in the Antilles took up the traditions of proletarian internationalism and decided at its very first congress to build the Fourth International as an organization.

It was the first time that nationalist nonsense was overtly rejected, that an organization started to develop on an Antilles-wide scale and took its place on a world scale by raising the slogan of a federation of Socialist States of the Caribbean.

The two main parties in Martinique, to take only two examples—the Parti Populaire Martiniquais [Martinique Peoples party] of Césaire and the Martinique Communist party of Nicolas—favor "autonomy in union with France."

The Antilles have been artificially turned toward European political life. But Antilles revolutionists have emerged out of the revolutionary movements in Latin America and the Caribbean and out of the victory of the Cuban revolution. It is no accident that today one of the founders of the Antilles section of the Fourth International was in 1967 a delegate from the Martinique CP to the OLAS conference. The winds of the first years of the Cuban revolution definitely chilled the bones of the bureaucratic leadership of the Martinique CP. They regarded Cuba exclusively in terms of Castro's "adventurism." But the tragedy is that the radicalization of vanguard currents within the CP and the Young Communists was to take place around the turn of the Castroist leadership after the death of Che. At first, it was the revolutionists who claimed allegiance to Cuba as against the CP leadership; but later, it was the CP leadership that claimed adherence to Castroism against the revolutionists grouped together in the embryonic GRS. The switch occurred around Czechoslovakia.

Today, there is no future for the struggle for socialism in the Carib-

bean without a clear position on Cuba. To fight for independence and socialism is the only road for revolutionists, but this requires a consistent internationalism able, among other things, to draw a balance sheet on OLAS. The autonomist "nationalist" chatterers who set Martinique against Guadeloupe in the name of their separate national identities are such impediments on this point that they cannot even envisage a goal or concrete basis for the program of socialist revolution. What nationalism can assure the independence of the Antilles? The nationalism of a Césaire would be rapidly transformed into the nationalism of a Senghor by crushing the revolutionary movements.

The first congress of the GRS was held in an internationalist framework directly posing the concrete question of the program of the federation of Socialist States of the Caribbean. Initial contacts in Guyana, the Dominican Republic, and Sainte-Lucie with Cuba will be the concrete elements tracing out the path to developing a revolutionary strategy in the Caribbean region.

The Activities of the GRS

In developing itself on three fronts (Martinique, Guadeloupe, and abroad), the GRS is setting itself objectives that can be achieved only with a highly developed press system. Its present newsletters include regional ones (*Le Nord en lutte, Sud en lutte, Robert en marche*), bulletins for intervention in workers struggles (*Le Travailleur Rouge*), and a high-school bulletin (*Jeunesse d'Avant-garde*). They are complemented by the newspapers *Révolution Socialiste* for Martinique, *Guadeloupe Rouge* for Guadeloupe, and *Libération Antilles Guyane* for the Antilles communities abroad.

The first objective of the GRS is to raise 10 million francs to acquire technical equipment (presently not available in the Antilles) necessary for putting out high-quality newspapers.

The main axis of the GRS's activity is work in the working class. From the outset it already has a number of militants and commands a certain influence. So it has been able to intervene in several recent struggles:

- In the banana industry (Marigot)
- In the sugar factories, against the

layoffs of workers at Rivière-Salée.

— In the struggle of the workers of the newspaper *France-Antilles*.

— In the SPEDEM strike.

The struggle at *France-Antilles* was one of the most important, for it was directed against the most powerful of colonialism's means of oppression and control.

The population of the Antilles is considered not yet ready for free speech. So the first thing it will have to do is fight to break the absolute monopoly of information held by the colonial authorities and the big investors.

On television (which is French), Creole is spoken once a year. There is only one chain of newspapers, owned by Mr. Hersant. The mass-circulation paper is called *France-Antilles*. But Hersant also owns *Le Parisien Libéré, Aix-Martin, Centre-Presse, l'Eclair de Nantes, Le Nouvel Adam, La Liberté du Morbihan, Le Havre-Presse, La Revue du Nautisme, Cahiers du Yachting, La Bonne Cuisine, Points de Vente, Le Quincailler, L'Auto Journal, Paris-Normandie*, and many others.

Mr. Hersant has an interesting past. He was an old Nazi collaborator and was charged with "national dishonor" after 1945. He reestablished his "national honor" in the Antilles.

France-Menti (France-Lies), as *France-Antilles* is popularly called, soon will have been on strike for two months. This strike has gotten massive support from the population. In Fort-de-France a united support committee was set up on the initiative of the GRS. There were demonstrations, occupations of offices, a boycott of *France-Antilles*; international solidarity was carried out through a strike of the staff of *Paris-Normandie*.

Today, the strike has become a major focus. The trade-union and political organizations have called a general strike for January 8, 1974, in support of the *France-Antilles* workers.

The "social atmosphere" is charged. There have been many strikes against layoffs and for wage increases. Revolutionists have played an active if not decisive role in these strikes. The anticolonialist struggle is developing through the class struggle and is posing in real life much more direct and decisive questions than "autonomy

in union with France."

This development of the class struggle will be measured on January 8. The GRS put heavy pressure on the CGTM, the CFDT, and the FO to call a general strike. Fort-de-France has been covered with posters explaining that to buy *France-Antilles* is to sell out the strikers.

The actions of the support committee, in which strikers thrown out of their offices are participating, led to a significant street demonstration that the Martinique CP called for—but did not participate in.

The struggle against Hersant's lying monopoly must be carried to France by all those fighting the same enemy. It is time for real, immediately effective international action.

But the GRS is also waging other campaigns: against the drafting of high-school students and against the army; for democratic rights; for the sentencing of the murderers of the high-school student Gérard Nouvet; for the Ajoupa-Bouillon municipality to remain under workers control (Comrade Jean Elie, a member of the GRS, was elected mayor).

The GRS has also organized several meetings to support the Chilean people (200 persons at Fort-de-France, 150 in Robert) and has set up a united Chile committee with the Martinique CP and the trade unions.

Abroad, in France, the GRS has two bulletins: *Douboutt*, aimed at the public assistance and postal workers, and another paper directed to students from the Antilles. The GRS comrades have participated in a number of central demonstrations of the French far left: the twelve hours for Chile, the international Chile demonstration on December 9, the march on Besançon for Lip, the antiracist campaign, and so on.

The strongest group ever to appear on the far left in the Antilles, the GRS, now Antilles section of the Fourth International, can justly set itself the goal of entering a forced march toward the building of a revolutionary party, the indispensable instrument for expelling French colonialism and assuring independence and the construction of socialism. □

A Dialectical Smoke

Among the products that Peking has begun to export to Hong Kong is a cigarette called Long Life.

Prisoners Appeal to U.N.

Ukrainians Report Continuing Arrests

[The following information was released January 22 by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.]

* * *

According to sources in the Ukrainian SSR, KGB [political police] repression is continuing against political dissidents in that republic.

In December 1973, Vasyl Lisoviy, a former employee of the Institute of Philosophy at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, was sentenced by a Kiev *oblast* court to five years imprisonment for protesting the persecution of Ukrainian cultural figures in 1972. Lisoviy was arrested in July 1972 for allegedly having written a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist party of Ukraine that protested illegal political persecutions in the republic and charged the regime with following policies that discriminated against Ukrainian national development.

In conjunction with this letter, the apartment of Yevhen Pronyuk, a friend of Lisoviy, was searched, and nearly seventy copies of the letter were found, resulting in Pronyuk's arrest.

In October 1973, three Ukrainian prisoners sent an appeal to the secretary general of the United Nations protesting the nature of their trials and demanding a new trial with UN observers present. The three, Stefania Shabatura, Nina Strokata, and Iryna Stasiv, were arrested in late 1971 and early 1972 during the massive roundup of Ukrainian dissidents by the KGB and were sentenced to concentration camp terms ranging from four to six years. In their appeal to the UN they wrote:

"January 12, 1972, marked the beginning of a new wave of repression against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. We are being persecuted and condemned to prison solely for the fact that, as Ukrainians, we advocate the preservation and development of Ukrainian national culture and language in Ukraine. . . . We are defenseless before the unjust Soviet court. We have been illegally convicted and now find ourselves in Soviet political concentration camp Number 3 in Dubrovlag in Mordovia. We dispute every single paragraph of the charges brought against us. We ask not for amnesty, but for a genuine, just, open trial with a representative of the United Nations Organization present." □

Diplomatic 'Success' for Ceausescu

Rumanian Regime Plans Chile Investment

By Ted Harding

The Stalinist bureaucrats of Rumania will invest \$3 million in Chilean mines according to Santiago sources quoted in the January 18 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

The Rumanian company Geomin, according to the report, is attempting to obtain permission to invest in a Chilean mining company. Chilean officials say that the Rumanian investment will be split—\$1 million going into materials and \$2 million into

capital investment.

Rumania has continued its diplomatic relations with Chile since the military coup. Shortly before the coup (on September 2, 1973), a Chilean-Rumanian agreement was signed for the construction of a copper plant in both countries. This agreement has not been canceled. If the deal involving Rumanian investment goes through, then the September 2 agreement will probably also be carried out.

This latest development comes four months after a six-country tour of Latin America by CP boss Nicolae Ceausescu.

During this tour he was to have visited Argentina and Chile. The Argentine tour was canceled because of the presidential election there and the Chilean visit because of the military coup.

But the Rumanian population received no explanation for the cancellation. On his return home, Ceausescu made no mention of the projected Chilean visit in his airport speech, and neither did the extensive resolution of the Communist party Executive Committee of September 26, which evaluated the Latin American tour.

Although the official Rumanian press has protested against the repres-

bureaucracy has been carrying out a reactionary foreign policy that has been hailed by both bourgeois and Stalinist commentators for its "bold independence." This diplomacy has led it to embrace some of the world's leading reactionaries: Morocco's Hassan II, former premier Papadopoulos of Greece, the shah of Iran, Franco.

During his stopover in Peru on the Latin American tour, Ceausescu gave

that country's military government unqualified support. In an official communiqué issued September 20, he expressed support for the "measures taken by the revolutionary government of the armed forces" and for the "political, economic, and cultural transformation that was designed to establish a new and free national humanist society based on social justice." □

1,000 Still Being Held in Stadium

Amnesty International Reports on Torture in Chile

[The following news release was received from Amnesty International.]

* * *

Torture of political prisoners, with the aid of foreign "experts," has taken place on a large scale in Chile since the September coup that overthrew President Allende's government, Amnesty International said January 20. Amnesty called for a tribunal of inquiry into the torture charges, with international participation.

The statement was based on the report of a three-man Amnesty International mission that visited Chile in November to investigate the reported gross violations of human rights that followed the coup. The mission consisted of Professor Frank Newman, professor of law at the University of California, Berkeley, Judge Bruce W. Sumner, presiding judge of the Supreme Court of Orange County, California, and Roger Plant, an Amnesty International researcher on Latin America.

"The report of our delegation has convinced us that torture has taken place on a large scale and was still continuing at the beginning of November. Subsequent reports indicate that it continues even now," Amnesty Secretary General Martin Ennals said in a letter to the head of the ruling junta in Chile, General Augusto Pinochet.

Ennals said the mission, which went to Chile with the prior agreement of the junta, was "well received and was

able to carry out its enquiries with considerable freedom." He expressed his appreciation to General Pinochet for this.

"I feel, however, obliged to say that, contrary to some statements issued by Chilean Governmental officials abroad, there is substantial evidence of a persistent and gross violation of the most fundamental human rights," Ennals said. These included torture, political persecution, detention without charge or trial, and executions. A copy of the mission report was sent to the Chilean government.

During their seven-day visit, the mission members interviewed government ministers and officials, foreign ambassadors, lawyers, prisoners and ex-prisoners and their relatives, priests, and journalists. They went to the National Stadium in Santiago, where approximately a thousand political prisoners were still being held, spoke to many of them, and saw visible signs of torture on some of their bodies.

The mission's report said that electric shock and beating had been employed during interrogation of prisoners and that foreign "experts" had been present, despite vigorous denials of this by the foreign ministry.

"Those charged with handling prisoners at the National Stadium readily admitted that Brazilian police had been present at interrogations and that they were there to teach Chilean interrogators their methods," the mission's report said. "In fact, reference was specifically made to a four-day course given by Brazilian police at the Min-



CEAUSESCU: Business as usual with military junta.

sion in Chile, and the party leadership was even charitable enough to offer Luis Corvalán political asylum were he to obtain permission to emigrate, the bureaucracy has decided that events should not interfere with "business as usual."

This new move of Rumanian foreign policy is no surprise. For the past decade or so, the Rumanian

istry of Defence."

Brazilian exiles told the mission that six of their countrymen had been tortured in Chile by Brazilian police.

(In September 1972, Amnesty International published a major report on the widespread use of torture in Brazil by police and military interrogators.)

The mission also reported being shown photographs of a disused mine in a desert where the government proposed to detain prisoners without trial for some months. One member described such conditions as appalling.

In his letter to General Pinochet, Ennals urged that:

—All executions cease and lists of those executed be published.

—"Immediate steps be taken and proclaimed to establish tribunals of enquiry into allegations of torture and that international observers be invited

to participate."

—Lists of detainees be published "to assuage the fears of people who do not know where relatives and friends are detained, or even whether they are detained."

—The decision to try former members of the Allende government be rescinded because legislation that makes something a crime retroactively "is an affront to any system of justice."

—Prisoners against whom charges are not filed, preparatory to trial, should be released immediately.

—The Chilean government "renew its assurances to respect the right of asylum."

Amnesty International also announced that this spring it will publish a more detailed report on human rights in Chile since the coup. □

Venezuela

A Dissenting Voice on Siqueiros

[The following letter to the editor appeared in the January 10 issue of *El Nacional*, a Caracas newspaper that is generally sympathetic to the Stalinist point of view. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

First of all, I have to try not to be afraid of being in a minority, one of the few who dissent from an almost unanimous consensus, who raise a discordant note when everyone else is singing in chorus. I don't share the opinion that you should only say good things about the dead, especially those who have died just recently. On the contrary, I think that the death of any human is a milestone where you have to define things very clearly so as not to sow confusion. What is said at such a time is just as true or just as false as if it were said a year before or a year later. Moreover, it will be read by more people and with a greater interest. And so your responsibility is greater.

So let's talk about David Alfaro Siqueiros frankly and without any fear of saying No when everybody else is saying Yes. Some persons are good artists and at the same time bad human beings. Some persons are excellent human beings and at the same time bad artists. Well, David Alfaro Siqueiros was a bad artist and a bad person. At the same time, in his own country, Mexico, he was a revolutionary myth. But I think that every country has to bear the burden of its own myths and not assume those of others.

Precisely his status as a mythical being gave Siqueiros a great power, which, characteristically, he used for bad purposes. The first important international exhibition of abstract painting could not be held in Mexico until 1964! Siqueiros was against it. He also opposed the one that was finally held.

In order to defend themselves and their exhibition, the organizers had to appeal to the daughter of another mythical figure, to the daughter of

Peru

Junta Agrees on Cerro de Pasco Payoff

On December 31, the day before nationalizing the Cerro de Pasco mining corporation, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, the head of Peru's military junta, declared: "The revolution continues to win victories against the hegemony and omnipotence of those foreign companies whose source, structure, and functioning are capitalist."

Of the foreign-owned enterprises in Peru, Cerro de Pasco stood second in property value only to the International Petroleum Company (IPC), which was nationalized in 1968, the year Velasco "launched" his "revolution." U. S. estimates put Cerro de Pasco's assets above \$140 million.

Cerro de Pasco, renamed Centromin-Peru under the terms of Velasco's decree, was the highest producer of zinc in South America. The corporation also mined copper, iron, silver, and tungsten seams and was the most important exporter of bismuth in the world.

Unlike the IPC expropriation, the Cerro de Pasco "take-over" did not surprise Wall Street. The State Department had long been negotiating an overall deal on nationalizations of

properties owned by American stockholders.

Business Week indicated in its January 12 issue that "the proposed settlement will provide for a single payment by Peru to the U. S. government which will decide how the money should be parceled out among American claimants."

Such a package deal on the governmental level, *Business Week* added, "is more palatable politically to the Peruvians than individual negotiations with U. S. companies that have become targets of political agitation."

"In addition, an over-all settlement will open the way for credits to Peru from the U. S. and from international agencies."

Current U. S. legislation prohibits congressional approval of loans by U. S. lending agencies to any country that has expropriated U. S. holdings, unless that country is in the process of negotiating compensation.

According to *Business Week*, "A settlement could leave some nationalized companies still in business in Peru, under continuing management and supply contracts, or through reinvestment of some of the proceeds." □

Diego Rivera. Siqueiros was a hardened Stalinist. If he had been working in the USSR, or if Mexico had been under the same system, he would not only have demanded a ban on abstract painting; he would have participated directly and personally in the political persecution of "guilty" artists.

The fact that he was capable of such things is shown by his complicity in the attacks that culminated in the murder of Leon Trotsky, one of the most odious crimes of our time.

As for his painting, Siqueiros was the least creative of the three great Mexican muralists. And while this Mexican muralism is interesting as a social phenomenon, it is esthetically mediocre and a pernicious influence on contemporary Latin American painting. Only the confusion that persists between the political ideas or actions of artists and the intrinsic value of their work has been able to throw a smokescreen over something that would otherwise be obvious.

Of course, in my paper, in the January 8 *El Nacional* (the date of this

letter), I see a notice signed by John Canaday from the *New York Times* (Is somebody going to say it's no good because it was written by a Yankee for a Yankee daily?) that puts things pretty much in the proper perspective.

"As an art movement," Canaday writes, "the Mexican Renaissance did not survive the nineteen-forties." Siqueiros was "so divided between sensationalism and humanitarian philosophizing that one could never be certain whether he was more interested in the fate of his fellow man or in the brilliance of his personal image." His early works were "fantasies having to do with human anguish in widely generalized, symbolical or allegorical forms, and are still affecting today, while his [later] efforts to hit hard on more specialized political themes range from blatant caricature to superficial theatricalism."

There is not much more to be said. But it should be said, and it should be said now.

— Sofia Imber

Thailand

Students Protest CIA Presence

On January 9, the same day as the first protests against the visit of Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka to Thailand, 4,000 students, professors, and others staged a demonstration outside the U. S. Embassy in Bangkok, demanding that the U. S. ambassador, William Kinter, and the CIA get out of Thailand. These protests followed revelations that a CIA agent in northeast Thailand had sent a phony letter, supposedly signed by a leader of the guerrilla insurgents, to Premier Sanya Thammasak. The letter offered a cease-fire in return for amnesty to the guerrillas and autonomy for the area in which they were operating. The CIA agent said he had hoped the letter would foster defections from the insurgent forces. Beginning in November, the guerrillas had stepped up their attacks on the U. S.-backed military.

When the revelations about the letter reached Bangkok's newspapers and students began to protest, Ambassador Kinter attempted to hold a press con-

ference in Chiangmai, the second largest city in Thailand, to announce that the agent who had sent the letter had already been dismissed and that Kinter had had no previous knowledge of the affair. More than 800 students broke up the press conference and engaged Kinter in a debate. They demanded that Kinter, his "advisers," and all U.S. forces leave Thailand. They also called for an end to the construction of a major radar station in northern Thailand. When Kinter was asked how the CIA got into Thailand, he astutely replied: "You have to ask your own government how the CIA gets into Thailand."

According to the January 8 Tokyo English-language *Daily Yomiuri*, one of the leaflets distributed by the National Students Center of Thailand called for the disclosure of all activities of CIA agents in Thailand, the introduction of measures to guard against similar actions in the future, and the publication of all secret agree-

ments between Washington and Bangkok concerning the employment of Thai mercenaries to fight in Laos.

In November, when William Kinter came to Bangkok as the new ambassador, members of FIST (Federation of Independent Students of Thailand), headed by Seksan Prasertkul, reportedly passed out leaflets exposing Kinter's previous service in the CIA and calling on Thais to watch his activities closely. Kinter had been a "planning specialist on paramilitary affairs" when he was in the CIA from 1950 to 1952.

As a result of the widespread outrage over the CIA's interference in Thai affairs, members of Sanya's cabinet met on January 15 to discuss possible curbs on CIA activities in Thailand. On January 17 the foreign ministry issued a statement expressing "official dissatisfaction" over the affair. The January 18 *New York Times*, however, noted: "There was a widespread opinion among Western diplomats that unless the student organizations refused to accept the Government's handling of the issue in the statement today, the matter would be allowed to fade away." The January 21 *New York Times* carried an article entitled: "U. S.-Thai Relations Expected to Survive C. I. A. Blow."

The CIA's involvement in Thai politics is but one aspect of the U. S. military presence there. Although 3,700 American troops have been pulled out of Thailand since September, about 35,000 still remain. The presence of the U. S. troops, plus the massive U. S. military aid to the Thai armed forces, had occasionally been the targets of student protests in the past. The CIA affair again brought the issue of U. S. domination into dispute.

While U. S. military aid has declined slightly with the withdrawal of some of the troops from Thailand, it is still quite significant. The January 1 Tokyo *Mainichi Daily News* reported that Washington will provide \$16.2 million in aid and will extend \$2 million in loans to Bangkok in 1974. The major part of the aid, the *News* reported, would go toward financing the "public safety program," a euphemism for the police and counterinsurgency programs. □

Qualified for the Job

The Philippine Airlines (PAL) was recently ordered to hire the same three Filipinos who had hijacked a PAL flight to Hong Kong last September.

On the Social Crisis in Britain

[The following statement was issued January 16 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Under the impulse of a profound economic, social, and political crisis, the British proletariat has in the last four months launched a series of struggles which in their breadth and political impact have no equal in that country since the General Strike of 1926. Not simply the traditionally combative sections of the working class but whole strata of the proletariat with little or no previous history of struggle have been drawn into the fight. The bourgeoisie, caught between the two millstones of, on the one hand, the deteriorating international position of British imperialism in a period of developing world economic recession and, on the other hand, the rise of the proletarian struggle, has been forced, in an attempt to isolate the miners and break the workers struggle, to generalize the struggle throughout the working class through the imposition of a three-day week. Four million workers are engaged or potentially engaged in struggle against incomes policy, and fifteen million are affected by the three-day week.

In Britain we clearly see the outlines of a confrontation between the whole of the working class and the bourgeoisie. The outcome of the series of struggles at present under way will be significant not only for the relationship of forces in Britain but also for those in Europe. A victory of the British proletariat in the present struggle would undoubtedly open up a whole period of tumultuous rise of social struggles and governmental instability, which are capable even of assuming a prerevolutionary height, and which would prevent even a temporary period of political stability in a country which, for all its historic decline, still represents one of the important links in the imperialist chain.

The key elements in the development of this crisis have been the following:

1. The grave historical and conjunctural deterioration of the economic situation of British imperialism. This already decadent capitalism now has an inflation rate running between 10 and 15 percent a year, a balance of payments deficit running at £1,500-2,000 million a year, and interest rates of 11-13 percent. Unemployment, already over 600,000, has been swelled by over a million more as a result of the three-day week. The crisis imposed by the government's measures threatens whole sections of small capital with bankruptcy and complete dislocation of the economy if prolonged for any significant period of time.

2. The continuing crisis in Ireland, which saps the political credibility of the ruling class and continues to tie down large sections of the repressive apparatus of the British state.

3. The inability of the bourgeoisie to break the rise of the

working-class struggle—a curve which has now been ascending sharply for five years. Even in the periods of lull in mass strikes, as in 1973, the actual number of strikes has continued to escalate. In addition, the proletariat has produced or rediscovered qualitatively higher forms of struggle than those of the 1950s and 1960s. The use of mass flying pickets and the occupation of factories is beginning to become a permanent feature of the working-class struggle. The first tentative experiences of workers control have taken place. This ascending curve of the workers struggles has now reached a new qualitative extension. Miners, engineers, rail drivers, ambulance drivers, power workers, firemen, building workers, have all been in the struggle, while the struggle of students has been on a larger scale than in 1968-69.

4. The combination of this economic crisis with the rising curve of mass struggle has produced a profound crisis of government and political structure. The whole evolution of the bourgeoisie's policy is towards the creation of a strong state. This appears clearly in its Industrial Relations Act, Immigration Acts, use of the conspiracy laws, reinforcement of the police, frequent use of declarations of state of emergency, introduction of joint police-army maneuvers, and so on. At the same time, however, the ruling class is unable to impose a strong solution without first breaking the rise of the workers struggle. The bourgeoisie's inability to do so in the present phase, with its social and economic consequences, threatens to tear apart the ruling-class bloc. The soaring inflation and interest rates repulse the petty bourgeoisie from the traditional ruling-class political structures and the main political party of the bourgeoisie—the Tory party. Contradictions within the ruling class are openly expressed. Only a decisive victory of the ruling class in the present round of struggles can re-cement ruling-class political homogeneity and stability. A defeat at the hands of the working class would open up an immediate period of governmental and political instability, which, in a situation of sharply escalating struggle, could open up crises even of prerevolutionary dimensions. It is this perspective which greatly increases the significance of the rapidly escalating repressive acts of the bourgeoisie, such as the jailing at Shrewsbury of building workers for organizing flying pickets, the escalating campaign of hysteria against "terrorism," the police and army maneuvers at London airport, and so on.

Despite the rising repressive activity of the bourgeoisie, the key to the current situation at present lies in the political struggle between the social contestants. Against a combined struggle of even the forces which are at present in struggle, let alone those which are potentially mobilizable, the ruling class has no politically usable repressive apparatus capable of containing the situation. It is only if this wave of struggles remains uncoordinated and without clear political perspective that the bourgeoisie can

hope to be successful. The imposition of the three-day week and other measures could hardly be better designed to expose the political bankruptcy of the bureaucracies of the working class and to divert and atomize the working class by fragmenting its struggle into thousands of individual defensive fights. In this project the ruling class has not misjudged the nature of the bureaucratic leaderships of the British working class. While the great resistance and combativity of, in particular, the miners have so far prevented the bureaucracy breaking the present wave of struggles; nevertheless the bureaucracy has undertaken a whole series of acts of open betrayal. It has refused to organize in any way the coordination of the working-class actions; it continues to propose to the bourgeoisie plans for calling off the struggles; it refused even to protest, let alone act over, the imprisonment of the Shrewsbury victims; it votes for the continuation of the state of emergency imposed by the government; and it in no way outlines working-class political counterstrategies against the ruling class. Under these conditions the bureaucracy continually helps to pass the initiative in the situation into the hands of the bourgeoisie, disorients the working class, and prepares the way for working-class defeats in the political and trade-union fields which, in a period of recession, rising unemployment, and increasing racist hysteria on the part of the bourgeoisie and extreme right, cannot be without their effect on sections of the masses. Only the great combativity of the masses has so far allowed the combat against the bourgeoisie to be maintained.

In this situation, which will determine important changes in the relationship of forces between the classes in Britain, the tasks of revolutionaries remain very clear. They are in particular:

1. First, and above all, to combat the attempts of the bourgeoisie and bureaucracy to fragment the working-

class struggle by refusing to unite the offensive struggles and by attempting to divert the working-class responses to purely defensive ones. This means that the slogan of the General Strike and the formation of strike committees, action committees, and councils of action must remain the central point of the whole campaign of the British revolutionary vanguard.

2. To sustain and organize solidarity with all those sections of the working class who are at present engaged in struggle with the ruling class.

3. Within this framework, to combat all the acts of repression, and in the first place the Shrewsbury trials, together with the three-day week and the army-police maneuvers carried out by the bourgeoisie.

4. To develop an intensive campaign of propaganda and, where possible, initiatives for a working-class solution to the crisis, centering on the theme of workers control and the nationalization of the decisive sections of the economy to implement an economic plan against the anarchy of capitalism.

In the struggle to implement these tasks the International Marxist Group (the British section of the Fourth International) will receive the support of all the sections of the Fourth International, who are already explaining the significance of the struggles in Britain to the working-class vanguard of Europe and who also remain ready to wage an intense campaign of solidarity in the event of attempts at international strikebreaking or intensification of openly repressive acts by the British ruling class.

Solidarity with the struggle of the British working class!

Forward to the General Strike to bring down the Tory government!

Break the attempt of the British bourgeoisie to impose the strong state!

Long live the British Socialist Revolution!

Israeli Trotskyists' Position on Knesset Elections

[During the elections to the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, which were held December 31, the Israeli supporters of the Fourth International, grouped together in the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist) gave critical support to Rakah, the predominantly Arab Communist party. Matzpen's call for a vote for Rakah was combined with a sharp attack on the program and policies of the Stalinist, but non-Zionist party.

[The following leaflet, which we have received in French translation from the Hebrew, was the major Matzpen leaflet distributed during the election campaign. Some 15,000 copies of it were given out, largely among the Arab population. Members of Matzpen have reported that the response to the leaflet, especially among crit-

ical-minded members of Rakah itself, was quite positive.

[The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Worker!

The Knesset elections are taking place just after the October War—the fourth round—and at a time when everything points to the likelihood of yet a fifth round.

The elections are going on at a time when the very foundations of Israel are being shaken, when serious accusations of "malfeasance" and "defeatism" are being hurled back and forth, when Zahal, the "nonpolitical army," is growing increasingly bitter about the "generals' war."

All the various parties are asking for your vote. All of them are promising development, social justice, peace, and security. If you still believe them, you have a broad choice. There are many parties and many promises, and many illusions too.

But if you have ceased to believe their promises; if you have begun to understand that Zionism leads us into the mortal trap of perpetual war; if you understand that "independent" Israel is only an instrument used by imperialism for its own interests, an instrument it is prepared to abandon any time it decides Israel is no longer useful; if you see that the parties in power and all the bourgeois parties are going to make you pay the costs of the war and are getting ready to settle the deep economic and politi-

cal crisis now shaking Israel at your expense and at the expense of all the workers;

In short, if you have begun to shed illusions, what should you do?

Say No to Maarakh and its flunkys! Maarakh is the bloc in power, which is responsible for the existence of the Zionist-capitalist regime: the regime of occupation, repression, and expulsion of the Palestinian Arab people; the corrupt regime that supports parasitic millionaires and helps foreign capital to invest in the country with the aim of intensifying the exploitation of the working class and of helping the bourgeoisie to make even more profits; the regime that perpetuates poverty and institutionalizes discrimination against Sephardic Jews; the openly anti-working-class regime that wipes out the rights of the working class, limits the right to strike, uses requisition orders against striking workers, hauls them into court and hands them fines and prison terms, accusing them of "treason" and "attacking the security of the state"; the regime that eliminates one after another the most basic democratic rights, that attacks the right of free expression and organization and stages sensationalist trials against its political opponents.

Say No to Likud and its affiliates!

They are the direct representatives of the employers, the bourgeoisie, the advocates of a "not one inch" policy, the partisans of annexation and war. Their aim is to intensify repression, expulsion, and exploitation. And how? By perpetuating the war, aggravating the Arab-Israeli conflict and using the "state of emergency" to intensify the exploitation of the workers and completely liquidate their rights as a class. Today they are calling themselves an "alternative," but their dream is to set up a "national government of specialists," a government of generals at the head of an openly fascist regime aimed at repressing you and your fellow workers.

Say No to the "Zionist left," the Moked and the pseudoradical Meri-Haolem Hazeh!

They are the hypocritical arms of the Zionist regime. They are prepared to seek a solution to the Palestinian problem, but without consulting the Palestinians: They want a Zionism that will not be so expansionist and oppressive; they want capitalism, but

they don't want it to be too exploitative. They want democracy, but not for revolutionary anti-Zionists. They will subordinate the interests of the working class to the bourgeoisie's "national union" and subordinate the rights of other peoples to the chauvinist interests of "their" bourgeoisie. In short, they give a "left" cover to Zionism.

Remember! All these electoral alternatives are phony. Remember! The elections will not produce any real change.

For the working class, basic questions are not settled in the Knesset but in the streets, in the factories, and in the neighborhoods. They are settled by the struggle to set up a real fighting trade union, and to build a workers revolutionary party.

The only solution to the problem of the workers is a common struggle of Arab and Jewish workers, a struggle of all the oppressed against their oppressors, of all the expelled against their expellers, of all the exploited against their exploiters. The only solution is a struggle against capitalism and for socialism; against Zionism and for a future of freedom and equality for Jews and Arabs; against the bourgeois regime of phony parliamentarianism and for the direct power of the worker and peasant masses organized in councils (soviets), for the most consistent and most radical democracy: proletarian democracy.

The problems of the working masses of the region will be solved only by revolutionary struggle against imperialism and its flunkys, Zionism and the Arab bourgeoisie; and for the regional socialist revolution, which will put an end once and for all to national oppression and social exploitation, a revolution that will give rise to the Socialist United States of the Arab East.

Such is the program of the Trotskyists, the revolutionary Marxists. Trotskyists in Israel, in the Arab countries, and throughout the world are fighting for it. Listen to us, remember us, and join us. Clearly this program, which answers to the historic interests of the working masses, cannot be won through the Knesset elections. It can be won only if you free yourself from nationalist ideologies and reformist illusions—only if you join the revolutionary forces.

But that does not mean abstain from the elections.

Abstention would strengthen the parties in power and the bourgeoisie. The elections must be used exactly to express opposition to Zionist ideology and policy.

There is only one party running that is not linked to the regime or its left-wing or right-wing flunkys. That party must be supported. It is Rakah, the New Communist List. Under present conditions voting for Rakah in no way means endorsing this party and its ideas. It is a protest vote against the regime's policy, the Zionist policy, for Rakah is neither a Zionist party nor a bourgeois party.

We Trotskyists have deep differences with Rakah, both on general policy and on daily practice. Rakah attacks us violently, calling us "adventurists," "agents of reaction," and "anti-Soviet elements."

Rakah uncritically supports the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful co-existence. We oppose this policy vehemently, for it is counterrevolutionary. It is a policy that sacrifices the class struggle and the revolutionary war of the oppressed peoples on the altar of the détente between American imperialism and the bureaucracy in power in the Soviet Union.

Rakah sings the praises of any regime that maintains friendly relations with the Soviet Union. We, on the other hand, determine our attitude toward each regime on the basis of its class character and its action in the world revolutionary struggle, not according to its relations with the Soviet Union.

Rakah has a reformist program; it conceives of revolution by stages through a policy of interclass alliances. It believes in the illusion that socialism can be achieved peacefully, step by step.

We condemn this policy and affirm that the bourgeoisie will not give up its power and will not abandon its class privileges after a democratic change in the parliament (Greece and Chile are the latest examples on this point). Socialism will be achieved only through a revolution that destroys the bourgeois state apparatus.

Rakah says that it is possible to achieve peace and to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 242. We affirm that this is an illusion and a dangerous error. There cannot be

peace based on an agreement among the great powers, an agreement that recognizes the existence of the state of Israel and the Arab bourgeois regimes, an agreement concluded at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs.

As long as full national rights are denied the Palestinian Arabs, there can

be no solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Any accord that does not grant those rights will only prepare the ground for the next round in the war that has set Jews against Arabs for three generations.

Rakah disagrees with us on this and on many other questions. But

in the Knesset elections, these questions are not at stake. The problem is to know how to express the broadest possible opposition in the elections to Zionist policy.

For us, there is but one way to do this: Vote for Rakah, which is neither Zionist nor bourgeois. □

Argentine PST Position on Peron's Repressive Laws

[The following two articles are taken from the January 16 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, a weekly published in Buenos Aires by the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Behind the facade of revising the penal code, the government is trying to reintroduce the repressive legislation that was wiped off the books by popular pressure last May 25. Moreover, another bill would refer cases under the revised articles to the federal courts, which would mean in fact reviving the ill-famed "Chamber of Terror."

The pretext for these moves has been the recent kidnappings and other terrorist actions. In fact, as is always the case with this kind of legislation, it is formulated in such vague terms that it can easily be turned against working-class and popular mobilizations.

Even if in the beginning this reform of the penal code is applied exclusively to repress kidnappings and other such actions, it constitutes an extremely grave threat to the workers movement, in particular to activists, political parties, and trade-union formations that fight against the bosses and the bureaucrats. We will illustrate this with a few examples:

Readers who are trade-union activists may have participated in a sit-in strike. In these cases, it is almost inevitable that some supervisor, executive, or boss will be caught in the factory, unable to get out. For taking part in such an action, under Article 142(a) of the proposed code, you

could face ten to twenty-five years in prison.

If you take part in a demonstration, it might be interpreted as intent "to



PERON: Hoping to outlaw future Cordobazos?

alarm or intimidate one or more persons." Article 149(a) provides penalties of one to three years in prison for this.

If the police raid your house and you have a few liters of gasoline, kerosene, or naphtha and some empty bottles in the laundry room, that is too bad for you. It will depend on

the mood of the police whether or not they take you in for "possessing bombs . . . inflammables . . . or substances or materials for their fabrication." Article 189(a) provides penalties of five to fifteen years in prison. We are not exaggerating because Article 189(a) does not specify the amount or kind of inflammable substances that you cannot have in your home.

All the articles in the proposed reform of the penal code are on the same order. So as not to become tedious, we will cite only two more. Article 212 provides a penalty of "three to six years for anyone who publicly incites collective violence against groups of persons or institutions." "Inciting" and "collective violence" are such vague terms that they could cover anything.

Article 213(a) is similar or worse. It provides a sentence of three to eight years for "organizing or participating in permanent or temporary groups whose main or ancillary (?) objective is to impose their ideas by force or fear." What sort of "permanent or temporary" groups are meant? Who is to decide, and by what criteria, whether a political party, trade-union group, or strike committee comes under this catch-all heading? A judge? Some decree by the executive branch? In any case, arbitrariness is the standard.

If tomorrow there were a new "Cordobazo" [there were two insurrectional general strikes in the city of Córdoba, one in 1969 and the other in 1971—*IP*], what would happen to a political or trade-union organization that supported such a popular mobilization? What if a strike committee or its picket groups tried to prevent scabs from coming in; wouldn't they run afoul

of Article 213(a) in the proposed code?

We workers should not let ourselves be fooled because for the time being there is relatively little "official" repression against strikes and other working-class mobilizations. Nor should we be confused because *initially* the reformed code may be used in practice only against the guerrilla organizations. It is going to be a sword of Damocles hanging over our heads.

All worker, student, and popular organizations must be in the front line of the fight to block the passage of these reforms. The repeal of the military dictatorship's repressive laws (that they are now trying to restore) was an advance achieved by the popular struggles. This advance must be defended! To this end, we call for a united mobilization of all parties, trade-unions, and student organizations that are for full democratic freedoms.

* * *

In another article we said that the kidnappings and bombings are being exploited in an attempt to restore the repressive laws and the "Chamber of Terror." The argument being used to defend this is that a section of the guerrillas will not accept "democratic coexistence" and are keeping up their actions as if we were still under the military regime. It is said that in the previous period this could be justified, since the dictatorship closed off the legal means of expression, but that now it is a pure "lust for destruction" and nothing but "criminal behavior" covered up with ideological excuses.

Unfortunately, there are many people who, with the best of intentions, have swallowed this line or are at least confused. This question needs to be fully clarified.

In the first place, you don't need a computer to realize that in the last six months the great majority of the bombings, murders, and other such acts have not been carried out by the guerrillas but by the ultraright para-

police groups. And with these groups the problem is that they operate with almost total impunity, an impunity that is more than suspicious.

Let us recall only one case. One of the worst massacres in the recent period occurred last year in Ezeiza. We may never know the exact number of people gunned down, slashed to death, or hanged with baling wire on the reviewing stand. *Avanzada Socialista*, as well as the rest of the press (including the bourgeois press), published pictures showing the butchers at their work. What is more, *El Descamisado* and other left Peronist periodicals were able to give the full names of many of the persons appearing in these pictures.

Well, *compañeros*, have you ever heard anything about one of these persons being arrested and tried? We all know that they are walking the streets without any worries. No judge or police chief has even called them to give testimony. If that isn't impunity for murders, terrorist attacks, and use of goons against worker activists, what can you call impunity. Is this going to be solved by a reform of the penal code? Please don't make us laugh.

The problem of the guerrillas comes second. Since the terrorism of the ultraright enjoys impunity, we must assume that the changes in the code are designed to come down against the left.

On the question of the guerrillas, our position is well known. We have always disagreed completely with the strategy and methods of these *compañeros*. We believe that the kidnappings and executions have done nothing to develop the struggles and independent organization of the workers, either in the past or in the present period. At this time, more than ever before, the complete irrelevance of the guerrillas is evident. You have only to look at the most recent months and consider that dozens of conflicts and workers struggles have developed a thousand miles from the kidnappings and the bombs.

Under the dictatorship, while the guerrillas could not establish by their actions any organic link with the masses, they did garner some sympathy as a result of the hatred there was for the military. Today the indifference of the people toward all the kidnappings and so on is total. And

there are even beginning to be signs of negative reaction. Last week, some 1,500 workers in the fish industry marched through Mar del Plata demonstrating against the kidnapping of the fish business executive Francisco Ventura. From the class point of view, it is an extremely grave thing when a large group of workers demonstrate in defense of one of their bosses. But the blame for this confusion does not lie with the *compañeros* in the fishing industry but with the guerrillas.

At this time more than ever, the guerrillas' actions are lost in a void. Their only result has been to give the Peronist government its pretext for trying to restore the repressive legislation. And we have seen that this legislation threatens not only the guerrillas but also the workers movement, the left parties, and the opposition in general.

Nonetheless, even though the guerrilla actions have had thoroughly negative consequences for the workers movement, such as the new penal code before the Congress and the Gendarmeria [riot police] being stationed at the gates of many factories, we cannot accept the repressive "solution" proposed by the government.

How can a state like this one try the guerrillas? There is hardly a case of its punishing a police torturer. After the truth of the Brandazza* affair became clear, it left everything hanging. It left unpunished the persons responsible for the Trelew and Ezeiza massacres (whose names are known to all). And by some strange chance, it has never been able to track down the ultrarightist gangs, although here also it does not exactly lack clues.

Only a workers government with people's courts could offer authentic justice. Meanwhile, while we do not agree with the actions of the guerrillas, we must energetically oppose any widening of the repressive laws. □

* Angel Brandazza was a young activist who disappeared in the Rosario area in October 1972. A Santa Fe Province investigating commission turned up evidence that he had died under torture while in the hands of the police. High military officers were apparently involved. The investigation was cut off abruptly. This case has importance also because Brandazza has come to represent many persons the dictatorship liquidated without making any accounting. — IP

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