

# Intercontinental Press

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## Pentagon Discovers 'Accounting Error'

# 'Find' More Millions for Thieu



## Argentina

# A New Pattern of Workers' Struggles?

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# Irish Prisoners Continue Hunger Strike

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## Rally in Defense of Soviet Dissidents

About 150 persons attended a rally in defense of imprisoned Soviet dissidents April 18 in New York. Organized by the New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners and by the Young Socialist Alliance, the U.S. Trotskyist youth organization, the rally featured as speakers Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine; Marxist scholar George Novack; Grace Paley of the War Resisters League; and Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, an exiled Soviet dissident.

In his presentation, Novack recalled the defense activities he was involved in during the 1930s to expose Stalin's frame-up trials. Pointing to the continued repression carried out by Stalin's disciples today, he said that the struggle of the Soviet dissidents against persecution "imposes the obligation upon all who value basic human rights and have a commitment to the cause of socialism to come to their defense."

Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin discussed the plight of a number of Soviet dissidents, particularly Pyotr Grigorenko, Vladimir Bukovsky, and Ukrainian oppositionists Vyacheslav Chornovil, Valentyn Moroz, and Leonid Plyushch.

It was noted that according to reports from the Soviet Union, Bukovsky has begun a hunger strike to protest his confinement in a punishment cell and the refusal of the authorities to provide him with medical treatment. Fifty prisoners in the Perm prison camp complex in the Urals, where Bukovsky is being held, have joined the hunger strike in solidarity with him.

The appeal by Pavel Litvinov, Andrei Sakharov, Jiri Pelikan, and others calling for actions on May 7 in defense of Grigorenko (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 22, 1974) was read at the rally, and a meeting to plan a May 7 action in New York was announced. □

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# A New Pattern of Workers Struggles in Argentina?

By Gerry Foley

On the heels of the reactionary coup in Córdoba engineered by Perón, a general strike developed in mid-March in Villa Constitución, an industrial suburb of Rosario, dealing a sudden severe setback to the regime's campaign to break the militancy of the Argentine workers.

The most authoritative and knowledgeable capitalist paper in Argentina was quick to raise the alarm:

"What happened at the Acindar plant [in Villa Constitución]," said *La Nación*, "was very grave. Observations collected in management circles confirm the impression that, diverted by the many functions they have to carry out at the same time, the trade-union leaders have, so to speak, lost the contact with the rank and file that is most necessary for their stability."

That is, the Villa Constitución strike put in question the stability of one of the two pillars of the Peronist regime, the trade-union bureaucracy. And, by extension, it undermined the other essential prop of Perón's class-collaborationist experiment, the Bonapartist authoritarianism of "the Supreme Commander of the Argentine nationality."

Unlike most of the wave of strikes that swept Argentina as the military dictatorship retreated and turned over political office to the "people's general," the Villa Constitución conflict was not over immediate economic demands. The issue was democracy, the right of the workers to elect their own leaders.

And so the workers at Acindar struck at the heart of Perón's demagoguery and gangsterism, a course that reached its height when the trade-union bureaucracy's thugs and the police forcibly removed the left Peronist government of the province of Córdoba, and the governor and deputy governor then resigned in deference to the will of the "Supreme Commander."

On the same day that the deputy governor of Córdoba, Atilio López, one of the most widely respected of the Peronist labor leaders, accepted

a "new assignment" as a "soldier of Perón," a new kind of leadership began to emerge in Villa Constitución. It was on that day, March 7, that the bureaucracy of the Unión Obrera Metalúrgica (UOM—Metal-Workers Union) decided to move to stamp out a few buds of workers democracy in the Acindar plant.

The bureaucrats had just reconfirmed their control of the national union by an election in which all opposition slates were banned and anti-bureaucratic activists were attacked by armed thugs (Eduardo Greizenstein of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International], was shot in the back.)

Ever since 1970, the UOM leadership had held the Villa Constitución local in trusteeship. In one of the three plants in the area, Acindar, the workers started to win back some rights in 1972. They forced the bureaucracy and the bosses to recognize an elected committee of shop stewards and a Comisión Interna (plant committee) headed by an independent class-struggle caucus, the Movimiento 7 de Septiembre, Lista Marrón (September 7 Movement, Brown Slate). The same process was occurring in the other two plants, Marathon and Metcon, but more slowly.

In January, the old trustee was removed for "negligence." The arrival of the new trustees coincided with the start of an anonymous red-baiting campaign in line with the one Perón and the right-wing bureaucrats had been trying to whip up over the assassination of José Rucci in September. On March 7, the trustees, Jorge Fernández and Lorenzo Oddone, tried to campaign openly in the plant against the elected representatives. A group of seventy to eighty workers responded by forcing them to leave, the March 13 issue of the PST paper *Avanzada Socialista* reported in its detailed account of the origins and the first two

days of the strike.

"The next day the UOM sent a statement to the San Nicolás radio that eleven compañeros—members of the Comisión Interna and various shop stewards—had been expelled from the organization 'because they refused to obey the leadership' and because this was necessary to 'purge the union of Marxist elements,'" the *Avanzada Socialista* report continued.

"The bosses, for their part, notified the expelled stewards that they were no longer recognizing them, and, beginning about that time, the police with armored cars took up positions around the union headquarters and in the vicinity of Acindar."

When the news of the expulsions reached the workers, they stopped work and began to discuss what to do. In a short time they decided on a sit-in strike. They posted guards at the gates, among other things to keep the managerial personnel from getting out. The next shift joined the strike; and the workers' wives began to arrive, bringing food. The workers waited in the factory, surrounded by the police.

Then suddenly the strike firmed up. "At 1:30 a.m. [March 9], Pascual D'Errico, a member of the Comisión Interna who was expelled despite being on vacation, arrived at Gate No. 1," the *Avanzada Socialista* report went on. "Many compañeros were sleeping there in the intense heat [March in the Northern Hemisphere is equivalent to August in the Southern]. D'Errico improvised a banner and began to run through the immense plant, shouting: 'Se va a acabar, se va a acabar, la burocracia sindical.' [The union bureaucracy is going to go down.] A demonstration formed behind him."

Later on that night, the bosses made their first concession. They offered to have the armored cars moved back if the workers would allow managerial personnel to go in and out of the plant. The strikers agreed on condition that a certain number of admin-

istrators were kept always in the plant under guard by pickets. This arrangement caused some wrangles among management personnel, however, when their relief was late in showing up.

The decisive factor in the first round of the strike was the attitude of the Marathon workers, since most of the Metcon workers were still on vacation. At 5:20 in the morning of March 9, a team of Acindar workers began to stop the buses bringing in the first shift at Marathon. At 6:00 a.m., they assembled all the workers and started a rally.

"Standing on a truck," *Avanzada Socialista* reported, "the Acindar stewards appealed to the Marathon workers to join the strike. They asked: 'Are you with Acindar, or with the trustees?' The response was unanimous. Hundreds of hands went up and a single shout was all that could be heard: 'With Acindar!'"

"A compañero asked: 'What if the shop stewards come and want to call off our struggle, what will we do then?'"

"The answer came: 'Elect new ones.'"

A new leadership appeared at Marathon. Some of them later explained to an *Avanzada Socialista* reporter how it happened: "On Saturday we all delayed clocking in. We were thinking over what we had discussed at the gate—supporting Acindar and the possibility of electing new shop stewards. We began to strike because we hated the trustees as much as the Acindar compañeros did. The week before, a compañero named Tamborini had died of leukemia and we weren't able to get the UOM to take care of him.

"At 7:00, the Comisión Interna arrived and called an assembly. They started attacking the strike, but the people would not let them speak. Then and there, the workers demanded that the Comisión resign. A new one was elected, including us."

Then the elected bodies in both plants began to coordinate the struggle. Their first joint action was a rally in the center of Villa Constitución. A correspondent for *Avanzada Socialista* described how the march began at Acindar.

"At the gates of Acindar, many of the workers' families were camped along with the 100 compañeros of

our party who were sent in to support the strike. Inside we could see an imposing column of workers with happy but tired faces. Our compañeros formed up on either side of the exit to let the workers through and greet them. They began to applaud and cheer. There was a silence.

"The first to come out was a huge Correntino [a man from Corrientes province]. He stood still a moment. Then suddenly he raised his fist and shouted. That was the spark that ignited the celebration. Thousands of voices joined in shouting and chanting slogans like: '*Se va a acabar, se va a acabar, la burocracia sindical, Los obreros en Acindar, derrotan la intervención y en ella sigue creciendo el clasismo y la Morrón!*'" [The workers at Acindar beat the trustees, and the class-struggle line and the Brown Slate are getting stronger and stronger.]

The procession was ten blocks long. In the rally, the main leader of the class-struggle tendency, Pichinili, attributed the victory to the mass mobilization and the nonsectarian support of the political parties. Pascual D'Errico, who, it was noted, weighs more than 250 pounds, was carried around by workers shouting: "*Con Pichi y con Pascual, democracia sindical!*" [With "Pichi" and Pascual, union democracy.]

The teams from the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA—the youth group in solidarity with the PST) that were going around the neighborhoods collecting money and making posters and leaflets for the strike reported that this spirit was spreading throughout the industrial suburb along Route 9. The Metcon workers promised to go on strike Monday when they returned to work. The merchants offered help and promised to go on strike themselves if the community voted to.

This snowball effect, catching up all the popular sectors of the town, resembled the pattern of the general strikes that were touched off by student protests against high prices and repression in the spring of 1969, and that culminated in the first insurrectionary general strike in Córdoba in May of that year. It was this process that broke the military dictatorship.

Later on Saturday, the bosses made a new concession. They agreed to pay for the days lost and called on the UOM leadership to meet with the

workers to arrange for union elections. Raineri, a hated agent of the trustees, went into Acindar and told the workers that the expelled stewards would be reinstated in the union if the strike were ended. He was given a bad beating by the workers before the elected leaders could stop them. The plant leadership called on the trustees to come and negotiate in person, promising to guarantee their physical safety.

The March 13 *Avanzada Socialista* noted the contrast between the workers' attitude toward their elected leaders and toward the bureaucrats.

"Pichinili, one of the members of the Comisión Interna expelled from the UOM, refused to budge from the factory from Thursday night [March 7] on. He stayed at his post during the entire occupation. In the heat of the fight, he became the best-known leader of the struggle. On Saturday, shortly after noon, after days without sleep and at a time of extreme tension, he became ill and fainted. It was a blow for the thousands of compañeros occupying the plant. They carefully lifted him up and took him to the infirmary. Very suspiciously, the compañeros asked the plant doctor: 'What's he got?' 'How long will it last?' The doctor said that it was nothing but exhaustion, that they would have to let him rest for a while.

"The compañeros discussed it for a time, and then went back: 'What guarantee do you give us that he is going to be okay in a while?' they pressed. Finally, they gave in and agreed to leave Pichi resting for a bit, but they kept constant guard at the infirmary door.

"How sharply this respect and affection the ranks showed for their leader contrasted with what they did to the provocateur Raineri shortly before, when they nearly broke his head."

On Monday, the bureaucracy hardened, refusing to call elections. The strike spread. On Tuesday, it became a general strike. The merchants, the bus drivers, and the railway workers all joined and put themselves at the service of the strikers.

On Tuesday, the government and the goons started up a new campaign to intimidate the workers. A shop was blown up, and rightist gangs threatened to attack the property of merchants who supported the strike. Death



threats were issued against five strike leaders. Seven members of the PST were arrested while distributing leaflets for the strike.

On Wednesday, police banned a rally the workers planned to hold in midtown. But the workers were able to get the police to agree not to interfere with the movement of their representatives and pickets.

Two legal agreements were formally accepted by the police. One of these proposals was drawn up on behalf of the workers by the presidential candidate of the PST, Juan Carlos Coral, a lawyer and experienced parliamentarian, who offered to help the strikers in their negotiations. Coral had arrived Wednesday along with José Páez, the main leader of the second Córdoba insurrectionary general strike in 1971, who is also a member of the PST.

The UOM leadership tried to use the presence of Coral and Páez to red-bait the strike. In a statement placed in the March 14 issue of the Rosario paper *Crónica*, they wrote: "The Unión Obrera Metalúrgica points out that the workers in the conflict are turning more and more against the national and provincial authorities, the Ministry of Labor, and the UOM, trying to create total anarchy. Proof of this is the presence in the Acindar plant of Juan Carlos Coral and Páez."

As for the workers, *Avanzada Socialista* indicated in its March 20 issue, they seemed mainly interested in the fact that a presidential candidate would come to support them. The PST replied to the red-baiting attacks of the UOM leadership as follows:

"If we published tens of thousands of leaflets; if we covered the neighborhoods and called on the women to organize and redouble their support (which was an essential factor in the victory); . . . if we accompanied the workers delegations that went from Acindar to Marathon on Friday, March 8, and later to the two striking Fabricaciones Militares plants in Rosario; if throughout the country we campaigned for statements and telegrams of support; and if for all this we were respected activists in the struggle and our opinions as political and trade-union activists were listened to, it is because we are a socialist party, a workers party that is always

## Coral Faces Peron in Defense of Strikers

Juan Carlos Coral, the candidate of the Trotskyist Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores in the two presidential elections of last year, was jailed in late March for speaking in defiance of a Peronist ban on a rally organized in solidarity with a bank workers strike in Buenos Aires.

Coral was scored by rightists as an "agitator" who sought to "make propaganda" out of the strike. In the April 4 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PST leader replied:

"There are much more comfortable and safer ways of making propaganda. Our presence in the bank strike cannot have surprised anyone. It was the natural consequence of our party's constant activity in the working class. We are deeply rooted in the workers movement, and no task is more important to us than organizing and mobilizing the workers against the maneuvers of the bureaucrats and the measures taken by the bosses and the bourgeois state.

"From the building workers union in Neuquén to the metalworkers union in Villa Constitución, the workers who have had to go into struggle to defend their rights are familiar with the self-sacrificing work of our members. Jail is only one of the rewards we have gotten for our uncompromising conduct. We have had compañeros shot at factory gates and our headquarters bombed by ultrarightists—as has just happened in Mendoza. We are being

subjected to every kind of intimidation by armed gangs operating with complete impunity."

Several of the workers fired under the "excess personnel law," Coral said, were members of the PST, such as the former shop stewards Mera and Iacaruso. In fact he had gone to the Banco Nación rally to speak on the spot against this law.

On April 5, Coral spoke out on the same issues in the presidential residence of Olivos itself, utilizing a hearing Perón granted to representatives of the opposition parties as a sounding board:

"Coral of the PST brought up the situation of the workers and their low wages, the situation of Acindar and the civil-service workers, and attacked the excess personnel law," the April 8 international airmail weekly edition of *La Nación* reported.

"He also condemned the repression of the far-left demonstrations and noted that this sort of thing did not happen to the far-right ones."

Coral and two other members of the PST were far from the only activists imprisoned in connection with the Banco Nación strike. Because of the vacillations of the left Peronist leadership of the bank workers union, the strike was defeated with heavy casualties. The April 4 issue of *Avanzada* analyzed this defeat in detail and called on the workers in the capital to learn the lessons of Acindar. □

—or tries to be—in the forefront of the struggles of our class.

"Our party is made up of compañeros who have gone through struggles—the biggest and the smallest—but all the same kind as those in Villa Constitución. It is made up of compañeros who, like Coral, have sat in parliament or, like Páez and Expósito, have led unions or, like Rabino, have headed committees of militant shop stewards; it is made up of activists who have tried to inspire—and have inspired—mobilizations like the ones in Villa."

The decisive day for the strike, according to *Avanzada Socialista*, was Thursday, March 14. Signs of fatigue

were showing up in the factories. "But two measures saved the situation. One was letting one shift go home and rest and the other was Pichi's speech to the women, calling on them not to let the men weaken. The women organized a committee and began to participate actively."

Another important factor was a strong force of pickets that maintained discipline and held off the police. "Someone said to a shop steward," the March 20 *Avanzada Socialista* noted, "'Look out, the hungry Pumas are coming.' The Pumas are the Rosario police riot squad. The compañero replied: 'No problem, we have 2,000 tigers here who are also very

hungry.' From then on many compañeros greeted the pickets with 'Chau, tigres' [Hi, tigers]."

Heavy police pressure was kept up until the end. Páez and another group of PST activists were arrested Friday. But the same day, a personal representative of Perón's wife, who is vice-president of Argentina, showed up. An agreement was reached providing for shop elections within 45 days and union local elections within a maximum of 120 days, under the supervision of two representatives from each factory.

On Saturday, 5,000 workers and their wives rallied on the Acindar grounds before marching in a procession twenty-five blocks long to the central plaza to celebrate their victory.

"We are convinced that the kind of workers and popular mobilization that at least for the moment has won the demands in Villa Constitución is the way to solve the country's crisis, drive out imperialism, and build socialism," the March 20 *Avanzada Socialista* wrote.

"In 1968," another article said, "when the workers learned that their union leaders were accomplices of Onganía and the system, they began a process that, from Chocón to the Cordobazos, swept away the feverish bourgeois dreams of twenty years of military dictatorship. In 1974, the workers seem to have come to understand that Perón is a new obstacle to their rebellion. Thus it is possible that with the Acindar action they have begun a new process, a process that they will carry on in the Banco Nación strike, one which points the way toward great struggles for political power, for building socialism. The next months will determine whether this possibility becomes a reality. . . ."

"With the spectacular antibureaucratic victory in Villa Constitución, the working class seems to have come onto the scene—directly, without 'respectable' intermediaries or fraudulently elected representatives. It is no longer a question of arguing about Obregón Cano's merits as opposed to those of Colonel Navarro [the leader of the rightist coup] or Gelbard's as opposed to those of López Rega, of elections as opposed to intervention. The confrontation is beginning to be waged on the fundamental ground of class struggle." □

## PST Mendoza Office Destroyed in Attack

New harassment of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) is reported in the April 4 issue of the party's weekly *Avanzada Socialista*.

The latest incidents took place in the predawn hours of March 29 in

bers were finally released and could return to the site of the bombing, they found the interior of their headquarters ransacked, the telephone broken, and furnishings and literature strewn over the floor.

The attack on the PST in Mendoza is part of a long series of bombings, raids, and arbitrary arrests directed



PST office in Mendoza after bombers and police had done their work.

the city of Mendoza. A powerful bomb exploded at the central headquarters of the PST, causing considerable damage to both the headquarters and neighboring buildings.

Immediately after the explosion, detectives of the provincial police arrived on the scene. Without a search warrant, these agents entered the headquarters and arrested two party members, Abel Angel Alberto and Rodolfo Lorenzo Galván, on charges of having set off the bomb.

Once at police headquarters, Alberto and Galván were accused instead of having violated Article 203 of the new Penal Code. This article penalizes anyone involved in trying to "impose his ideas by means of force." As "proof" of this "crime," the police cited leaflets and other publications of the PST supporting a current bank workers strike.

Hours later, when the two PST mem-

bers were finally released and could

return to the site of the bombing, they found the interior of their headquarters ransacked, the telephone broken, and furnishings and literature strewn over the floor. The attack on the PST in Mendoza is part of a long series of bombings, raids, and arbitrary arrests directed against the party.

On March 15, an explosion took place at their Beccar offices, following on the heels of a similar occurrence March 5 at the party headquarters in Neuquén. □

### Progress Report

After twenty-four years of debate, the United Nations has come up with a three-page definition of the word "aggression"—a diplomatic hot potato since the Versailles conference of 1919.

According to the final phrasing, which took six years to work out, "aggression" includes but is not limited to invasion, bombardment, blockade, and the "sending of armed bands which carry out acts of armed force against another state."

One representative, who noted that his grandfather had worked on the prickly issue in the League of Nations era, said: "Some of us have been almost literally intoxicated by this success."



## What Is Different About Geisel's Regime?

[The article that follows is from the March issue of *Independência Operária*, a bulletin in Portuguese that circulates in Latin America. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Many persons are saying that General Geisel's new government is going to be different. They talk about democratic freedoms, the lifting of censorship, protesting to the government when something is wrong. Some persons even go so far as to say that the wage freeze will end and that we'll receive adequate wage increases instead of the wretched 18 percent they gave us last year.

We workers don't believe everything they say about this new government. But we do believe that it will differ from the last one, that the censorship won't be as strict, and that it's possible that they'll allow us to raise demands and maybe they'll even give us part of what we ask for. It isn't because General Geisel is a better person or more of a friend of the workers than General Médici. No, it's because General Geisel can't do the same sort of thing now that Médici did at the beginning of his government. He no longer has the power to.

Everyone knows that it's easier to break a single stick than a bundle. When they are all joined it is much more difficult, but as with people, it's different when they separate. When General Médici came to power the bosses were all united; they were like a bundle of sticks. That is why you couldn't get anything if you opposed the bosses. In addition, we workers were divided. So they were able to impose a freeze on wages. We fought back in the beginning, forming the Interunion Movement Against Wage Freezes, and there was even a strike in Osasco and another in Contagem in Minas Gerais, but they won. We were divided and poorly organized, and they were more united than ever.

And now, are the bosses united as before? We don't think so. This can be seen in the way Arena [Alliance

for National Renewal] and the MDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement], the two boss parties, are squabbling. This can be seen in the way they are censoring the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*, which represents the views of the bosses. And in the MDB, as within Arena, we see two wings quarreling. They are already talking about elections, freedom of the press, amnesty for political prisoners, freedom for trade unions—so many things that disappeared from the scene during the last decade since the 1964 coup.

So why should the bosses now be quarreling? Well, they first came together because they were afraid. That was during the government of João Goulart. At that time their profits were lower and we were organizing. So, they united to overthrow Goulart and stop the workers from organizing. And they did everything to push their profits back up, beginning with cutting our wages. As long as business was good, the country was growing, and even more wealth was being produced, they divided up the money among all of them and didn't quarrel. But now the good times are over. Now that there isn't so much money to go around, those who are getting less want more, and those who are getting more don't want to settle for less. This is why they are quarreling. And when they quarrel, things become much easier for us.

Many persons will say that we are mistaken, that now there is as much wealth being produced as before, that Brazil has no problems. Could it be, for example, that these persons don't see that there is a shortage of meat? Didn't they listen to the speech General Médici made on the economic situation of the country before General Geisel became president? Don't they see how every day the newspapers talk about the shortage of raw materials and how there is going to be a shortage of petroleum? Don't they see that the whole world is talking about the economic crisis?

Every time there are economic problems the bosses divide. And it becomes

easier for us to struggle against them to win better wages, for instance. But it isn't enough for them to be quarreling. If they are divided and so are we, then we aren't going to win anything. While they are fighting among themselves we have to take the opportunity to unite and organize ourselves to wage a struggle for higher wages, shorter working hours, and better conditions in the factories. We're tired of so many accidents.

Whenever the bosses quarrel, a group appears among them that tries to use the workers as cannon fodder. They are the ones who are talking about our needs, the ones who ask the government to give us raises and let our trade unions function freely. That goes for the MDB Senators Franco Montoro and Ulisses Guimarães, who last month called for granting political freedoms to the trade unions.

We know how important it is to be able to elect our trade-union leaders and to stop the ministry of labor from intervening. We need strong trade unions to end the wage freeze once and for all.

We don't trust Senators Franco Montoro and Ulisses Guimarães. We know what their intentions are when they ask for trade-union freedoms. But we support them and ally with them to struggle for this end. On this point we can work together. But we make it quite clear that when they have problems, we aren't going to remain silent. We are going to denounce them when they don't put up the kind of fight they can and should. Moreover, we aren't going to struggle merely for trade-union freedom, but also for wage increases and a sliding scale of wages. Otherwise, the bosses will raise prices and the wage increases won't be worth anything. We are going to struggle for the right to strike, the only weapon we have to defend our gains. If the MDB senators want to struggle for this along with us, they are welcome. If not, we will go our own way.

Five years after the formation of the Interunion Movement Against Wage Freezes and the Osasco strike, we are again taking up the struggle against the wage freeze and for the right to organize. The time is ripe. And this time we are going to be ready, united when the time to fight arrives. And it will be worth it.

— For a wage increase equal to the

increase in the cost of living.

— For a sliding scale of wages.

— For complete trade-union freedom.

No intervention by the ministry of labor in any trade union.

— For an end to loyalty oaths. For the right of workers to vote for and be elected as trade-union leaders.

— For the recovery of the right to strike. □

Sergeant Juan Ramírez: accused of participating in a clandestine political cell, "Alpha Two," of the MIR.

Sergeant Carlos Trujillo: accused of having been a member of a clandestine leftist cell in the School of Aviation. Gutiérrez is asking five-year sentences for both Trujillo and Ramírez.

The April 20 *New York Times* mentioned the testimony of a lieutenant to the effect that Trujillo had served as his bodyguard after the coup and that he had complete confidence in him.

This carried no weight with the tribunal, however. They simply responded that they were not questioning Trujillo's conduct during and after the coup.

In other cases still to be heard by the tribunal, according to the April 17 *El Mercurio*, charges include giving the "enemy" such information as air force defense plans, detailed plans of air bases in Colina, Cerro Moreno, and El Bosque, and reports on the destination of troops and military equipment.

An April 18 Agence France-Presse dispatch published in *La Opinión*, shed further light on the prosecution definition of the "enemy": It includes the MIR, the Communist party, the Socialist party, the MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action), and the Christian left.

The *El Mercurio* story also referred to such offenses as turning over official resolutions, troop lists, information on the guard system, and the location of military and fuel supplies. Some of the accused had allegedly served as spies, and six former air force officials are accused of indoctrinating their subordinates to support the Allende government.

The frame-up involved in this public trial is obvious. If this is the best the junta can do in public, it is easy to imagine how much justice was dispensed in the hundreds of other trials that have been held secretly throughout Chile in the months since the coup. □

#### Washington Flunks Lie-Detector Test

How many people in the United States believe that "the Government has consistently lied to the American people over the last ten years"? Sixty-eight percent, according to a public opinion poll reported in the April 15 *New York Times*.

*Intercontinental Press*

## 'Confessions' Obtained by Torture

# Chilean Junta Opens Show Trial

By Judy White

"Who did not participate in politics in this country?" asked defense attorney Marcelo Croxatto at the outset of the first open trial of political prisoners in Chile since the military coup last September.

The attorney's question points to the character of the "crimes" the fifty-seven air force men and ten civilians are accused of: active involvement in support of the legally elected Popular Unity government. Prosecutor General Orlando Gutiérrez boasted that he had obtained signed confessions from each of the sixty-seven. However, Alberto Garretón, one of the lawyers for the prisoners, stated to newsmen that his five clients "were beaten and electric current was applied to them," according to a dispatch from Santiago by Patrick Buckley published in the April 18 *La Opinión* of Buenos Aires.

"Other defense lawyers declined to make statements about possible torture," Buckley continued, "but one indicated the possibility of various defense lawyers presenting an appeal to invalidate the statements of their clients 'because they had been signed under physical coercion.'"

A closer look at the charges in this frame-up gives more insight into the strategy of the junta. According to a statement by the public relations department of the Chilean air force, as quoted April 17 in the Santiago daily *El Mercurio*, "the procedures that have as their object the establishment of responsibility among the accused for actions related to Plan Z and the political infiltration of the ranks of the air force have been completed."

"Plan Z" was the pretext used by the Chilean military to stage the September coup. It was an alleged plot hatched by the Allende regime with the objective of physically eliminating

the whole of the Chilean armed forces.

However, as the head of the Chilean junta himself admitted in a March 15 interview with *Le Monde* (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 1), the genesis of the plans for the coup dated to April 13, 1972: "And on that day we arrived at the conclusion that there was no constitutional solution to the conflict between the executive and legislative branches."

The current trial of the sixty-seven marks a further attempt by the junta to justify its seizure of power. Prosecutor Gutiérrez maintained that although the Popular Unity was legally elected, its legitimacy had come into question because it functioned like an "enemy" of the Chilean constitution.

If this position is adopted by the tribunal, it will provide Pinochet with the answer to one of the central defense arguments: that the prisoners are accused of acts committed prior to the coup and the declaration of a state of siege and that therefore the military code under which they are being tried has no validity in their cases.

In three of the four trials completed the first week, the specific charges were the following:

Captain Daniel Aycinena: accused of attending political meetings prior to September 1972 at which other military officers and members of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Left Movement) were alleged to be present. Aycinena admitted this charge, according to the April 19 *New York Times*, but pointed out that he had stopped going to these meetings a full year before the coup because he did not agree with the political ideas of the participants. The prosecution has asked a sentence of five years for this "crime."



# Landlords, Officials Flee Peasant Revolt

When Emperor Haile Selassie designated his grandson, Prince Zara Yacob Asfa Wossen, the eventual successor to the throne on April 14, *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr commented that "the matter did not seem to be as important as it would have been a few months ago."

In fact, Selassie's declaration bordered on the irrelevant. The continuation and spread of the mass upsurge in Ethiopia has brought into motion forces that cannot be contained within the traditional framework of the shaken feudal society. Writing in the April 19 *Times*, Mohr noted the disintegration of the forces of "order": "Above all there appears to be no such entity as 'the army.' Committees of noncommissioned officers have continued to seize towns, formulate demands and disrupt national life. . . ." Without a reliable military or police force, the regime has been able to do little to control the situation.

Particularly ominous for the regime is the continued spread of peasant revolts in southern Ethiopia. In an April 13 dispatch to the *Manchester Guardian*, Martin Walker described the rebellion in a 250-mile stretch of the Rift Valley, the most fertile area of Ethiopia, as "terrifying." In Arba Minch, an agricultural center 355 miles south of the capital, fifteen persons were shot April 12, Walker reported. Landlords whose property had been burned were fleeing to the capital.

"The governor of the region fled to Addis Ababa 10 days ago, his house burning down behind him. The mayor has gone into hiding, and the new municipal council which public demonstrations forced upon the vice-governor on Friday [April 12] has promised to send the mayor to the capital for trial if he is found."

Fishermen in Arba Minch struck to protest expensive fishing licenses, and farm workers abandoned the spring planting and converged on the town to raise their own demands.

One of the major complaints of the peasantry, Walker noted, is the fact

that promised land reforms do not mention the land held by the state church, the Coptic Christian Church, which owns 30 percent of the country's land.

This feudal institution was attacked from another direction April 20, when more than 30,000 Muslims marched through the capital to protest religious discrimination and to support a thirteen-point petition presented to the premier two weeks earlier. "We cannot afford to remain second-class citizens," said placards carried by the demonstrators. "Ethiopia is not a Christian island. We too are Ethiopians."

Also in Addis Ababa, employees of the finance ministry went on strike and workers at the tax and customs offices walked off their jobs, according to an April 15 Reuters dispatch. Trade and disbursements to government departments came to a standstill. Workers at the telecommunications ministry threatened to strike at the end of the month to back their list of demands, which included the right to form a union. On April 18 about 3,000 veterans demonstrated for pension increases.

Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, was taken over April 19 by rebellious police who vowed to hold the city until Lieutenant General Yilma Shibeshi, Ethiopia's top police officer, was dismissed. The rebel police charged him with neglecting his duty and conspiring with corrupt government officials.

About 2,000 officers and troops from various branches of the armed forces summoned Premier Endalkachew Makonnen to a meeting April 18. According to the April 19 *New York Times*, he was warned that if the new cabinet did not take immediate action against the members of the old cabinet, "the army would be compelled to intervene." Makonnen quickly ordered the security forces to place the old cabinet ministers under house arrest.

Some reports also indicated that the spontaneous, disorganized upsurge of the past two months has begun to take on a more organized character in

some areas, as new popular formations arise to fill the vacuums left by the ousted officials and army officers. Besides the reports about committees of enlisted men and junior officers in the military, Martin Walker's dispatch noted that mass meetings were being continually held outside the schools in the larger towns and at the market places in the larger villages.

The April 16 *Le Monde* wrote: "The agitation has spread throughout the country; in certain provinces, for example in Kefa . . . 'revolutionary committees' seem to be trying to substitute themselves for the local authorities."

But the ruling classes in Ethiopia are not necessarily dependent solely on the crumbling state apparatus of repression. The counterrevolution has other resources than the police and the military to bring to bear in attempting to crush the mass upsurge.

In the May issue of the London monthly *Africa*, Peter Enahoro called attention to the existence of a reactionary landlord organization called the Patriotic Association, which is fanatically loyal to the emperor and the church. Its most influential leader is Ras Mesfin Sileshi, a close friend of Selassie's, a well-known leader of the resistance to the Italian occupation during World War II, one of Ethiopia's richest landowners, and the governor-general of Shoa province, in which Addis Ababa is located. Enahoro estimated the size of this armed organization at about 100,000—or almost twice the size of the Ethiopian army.

According to some sources that Enahoro spoke to, there had already been some signs of discontent within the military as early as December, and Selassie took the precaution of alerting the semisecret Patriotic Association. Although it is not yet clear how active the Patriotic Association may be in trying to suppress the peasant revolts in the southern provinces, already some peasants taking part in the rebellions have been killed by armed goon squads under the direction of the landlords. □

### Ecology Report

Students who planned to float an effigy of Nixon over Niagara Falls changed their minds after police threatened to arrest them for polluting the water.

## Protest Mounts Against Abuse of Irish Prisoners

By Patricia Fryd

London

Four Irish republican prisoners, Gerard Kelly, Marion and Dolours Price, and Hugh Feeney, have been on hunger strike in British jails since last November. When convicted of the March 1973 London car bombings (see *Intercontinental Press*, February 11, p. 136) they declared that they would not eat until they were returned to Ireland to serve their sentences amongst other republican prisoners and near their families and friends. Every day since the trial the four have been subjected to the barbaric torture of forcible feeding.

On March 1, Gerard Kelly vomited the force-feed liquid. The prison doctor collected the vomit in a kidney dish and poured it back down the throat tube, according to a letter from Kelly reported in a Joint Action Committee protest statement. The statement said that all four republicans are still choking and vomiting when being fed and are still losing weight. They are already forty pounds below their normal weight. Dolours and Marion Price are badly bruised from manhandling during the daily force-feeding sessions.

A letter from Hugh Feeney in Gartree jail, published in the March 29 issue of *An Phoblacht*, the Provisional republican paper, gives further details of the treatment currently being meted out to the four. He says: "I can only speak for myself, but as the Home Office has laid down instructions as regards my treatment I feel that the others are also covered by these instructions." Feeney and Kelly refuse to wear prison clothing, and so have been kept naked since their trial and denied visitors, including their parents. Feeney originally was able to wear a towel, but according to his letter a prison doctor took it from him and gave instructions that he was not allowed a towel. The letter continues: "On being force-fed I became violently sick. Before feeding me the doctor told me that he was going to be as forceful as possible when feeding me. He did use the force which he threatened to use. After being sick I

was naturally enough covered in vomit. I requested a towel to clean this from my body. This request was refused and I was forced to remain still covered with this mess. I complained about this treatment but nothing was done."

Later Feeney was allowed a towel or blanket when visited by "persons from the political arena." In a security search, Feeney "was spread-eagled over a bed naked," and his "body minutely searched. Again complaints fell on deaf ears." Feeney has received similar treatment in various prisons since his conviction, which is why he believes it is on Home Office instructions.

As he says in his letter: "We were sentenced to life and twenty years imprisonment. When sentence was being passed I do not recall hearing that I was also to be subjected to these forms of degrading treatment."

Despite widespread pressure from organisations and individuals demanding political-prisoner status for the four republicans and their transfer to Ireland, the new Labour government is so far resolutely following the former Tory government's intransigent policy. Replying to a letter from Lord Fenner Brockway and a parliamentary question from Labour MP Paul Rose, Home Secretary Roy Jenkins said March 20 that there would be no move "at present" for the four. But he admitted that the all-male Brixton prison was unsuitable for the Price sisters over a long period. "In the course of the next few months," he said, "a move will, in any event, be necessary. When the time comes I am perfectly willing to consider whether it would be right to transfer them to Northern Ireland." He added that such a decision could not be taken "in response to demonstrations or other pressure." One small concession was made: Jenkins suggested that assisted air fares might be given for relatives to visit the Price sisters in Brixton jail.

The March 28 *Morning Star* (news-

paper of the Communist party) reported that the home secretary had turned down a transfer petition from the Price sisters; and that Gerard Kelly's father and Hugh Feeney's mother have been told they cannot see their sons (whom they last saw on November 14) unless the prisoners agree to wear prison clothes.

In contrast to the treatment of the four republicans, Corporal Francis Foxford, a British soldier sentenced to three years for the manslaughter of a twelve-year-old schoolboy, has been flown to serve his sentence in England. Arrangements are being made for his wife to visit him in prison.

In response to the Labour government's intransigence, activities in support of the republicans' demand for transfer to Ireland have been stepped up. The Joint Action Committee has called for support from all concerned organisations for a march to Whitehall on April 29. The Connolly Association lobby of parliament April 2 included the transfer of the four to Ireland among its demands.

The March 22 issue of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International), published a letter sent to the British Medical Association by a group of thirty-eight doctors, urging the association to make a statement on the forcible feeding of the Irish hunger strikers. The letter points out that eighteen prisoners convicted in Ireland had been transferred to England at their own request, and four others similarly transferred to Ireland since 1971; the ruling against transfer of the four republicans goes against this precedent.

The doctors state that the practice of force-feeding is "medically dangerous, psychologically damaging, and ethically unacceptable, particularly as all four prisoners are now actively resisting the procedure." The letter recalls that in 1917 Thomas Ashe died while being force-fed in Mountjoy jail (Dublin) and that the coroner's jury said his death was due to his treatment in prison and condemned force-



feeding as a dangerous and inhuman operation.

The bourgeois London *Times* and *Guardian* newspapers have so far not seen fit to publish the letter from the thirty-eight doctors.

During the general election campaign, a number of Labour candidates had pledged to take up the case of the hunger strikers. The March 29 issue of *Red Weekly* detailed the activities of the Irish Political Hostages Committee (IPHC) in keeping the pressure on Labour MP's and on the government. On March 23, a fifty-strong picket line at Roy Jenkins's private home showed the home secretary that the campaign was not prepared to wait "the course of the next few months." Pickets are scheduled for local Labour party headquarters to demand that Labour MPs press for transfer. Demonstrations and pickets outside Wormwood Scrubs, Gartree and Brixton prisons were planned, along with a series of public meetings.

Pickets have been held by various organisations at the headquarters of the British Medical Association and at the Irish Embassy, as well as at the prisons.

The IPHC picket at Jenkins's home, like the seventy-strong picket outside Prime Minister Wilson's home on March 10, was part of "phase three" of the IPHC campaign launched last October. Phase one consisted of a series of meetings, rallies, and demonstrations. Phase two involved getting support for the campaign from prominent figures in political, medical, theatrical, and sport circles by means of individual petitioning, leading up to interventions at elections rallies on the question of the hunger strikers. The last phase, which the IPHC believes will lead to victory, according to Rosemary Sullivan's report in the March 22 *An Phoblacht*, involves simultaneously picketing the prisons and the Home Office while campaigning to pressure the Labour party "lefts" to support the demand for transfer of the four prisoners to Ireland. Ten thousand copies of the pamphlet "The Case of the Irish Political Hostages" are being produced.

The April 5 issue of *An Phoblacht* reports that another MP, Maureen Colquhoun, has written to the home secretary demanding that the Price sisters be returned to Ireland. This was a direct result of the IPHC campaign during the election period.

In addition to the April 28 march to Whitehall, a march to Wormwood Scrubs prison was scheduled in early April and another support demonstra-

tion on Easter Sunday.

Letters of protest can be sent to the Home Secretary, Whitehall, London. □

## 650 Still Held in Long Kesh

# Irish Prisoners Ask Stepped-Up Protests

By Jimmy Doag

[The following article is reprinted from issue No. 6 of *An Eochair*, the publication of the Official republican prisoners in Long Kesh concentration camp, Northern Ireland. Copies of this journal can be obtained by writing to Kitty O'Kane, 14 Ton St., Belfast.]

\* \* \*

The place of Long Kesh: Forlorn and desolate stretch its iniquitous wires on a secluded morass on the outskirts of Lisburn. The name Long Kesh unscrupulously and obtrusively stretches its increasing infamy to every corner of the world.

It is a monument commemorating shame in the North of Ireland. It is an anathema on the lips of all decent thinking people. They deplored its opening in August 1971, but consoled themselves with the thought that it could not last.

But they were wrong. It did last and in February 1974 it malevolently marches into its third endless year.

Since the callous inception of internment in 1971, over 1,600 untried and innocent people, men, women and children, have been dragged from their homes, brutally tortured and incarcerated in inhuman conditions indefinitely without trial.

Presently, there are some 600 untried and innocent people unconditionally held under the draconian legislation of the Emergency Provisions Act, their only crime being that they embody sincere political beliefs that are not in accordance with the imperialistic constitution of Westminster, or its now constitutional protege, the Northern Ireland Executive.

Whether held in Long Kesh or Armagh [a prison for women], whether Catholic or Protestant, these unfortunate people are completely innocent from any reasonable legal standpoint.

If they were guilty of any kind of felonious activity, legal action would be undoubtedly taken against them, if only to save more embarrassment to the already discredited British Government. No charges can be preferred because none

can be found. Why are they imprisoned then? Evidently the unequivocal and simple truth is that these people are being held as political hostages.

Every month or so, Westminster promulgates a ludicrous statement to the effect that detention without trial is the surest and safest way to alleviate the high rate of violence. In other words, cessation of violence signals the end of detention.

And so once again, the detainees are being abused and used by captious bureaucrats as bargaining factors in the political sphere.

As a consequence to Sunningdale and as an appeasement to the S. D. L. P. [Social Democratic and Labour party, the bourgeois Catholic party], Mr. Pym, Westminster's latest trouble-shooter, reverently promised to release a large number of detainees before Christmas.

The result: a ridiculous sixty-five from a total of 650 enjoyed their Christmas dinner at home while the rest were left to feed on the antiquated promises of more releases in the subsequent period. As yet, there has been none forthcoming.

The S. D. L. P., who climbed on the sagging backs of the detainees to their present "exalted" position, seem by their silence on the subject of internment to regard false promises as a chivalrous inducement to the electorate who gave them their mandate.

They continually boast to be the only party to secure releases, however small; but, contesting the elections on the detainee issue, they promised and were expected to obtain a lot more. With their prestige tarnished and under extreme pressure from the minority, they will have to produce something more concrete.

While Fitt [SDLP MP in Westminster from West Belfast] and Company conjure up more devious calumny, and with Faulkner and his fragmented Unionist party fending off attacks from Paisley's prattling colleagues, the detainees still languish in the morass of Long Kesh.

And so back to square one. The people are burdened with the complex problem of detention which the sententious poli-

ticians failed to resolve. But what can they do? Can they succeed where the "penny Bubbly" politicians have failed?

The greatest thing they can do is try to take organised action. Initially, they can pester their M. P.'s and demand from them to categorically state their position on detention. Make them work for their thirty pieces of silver.

The people can also make their voices and opinions felt by inundating the press with sincere and cogent letters detailing the evils of detention and by writing to their friends overseas with a view to organising anti-internment groups to make foreigners aware of Northern Ireland's real "pollution" problem. Continuing the

Civil Disobedience campaign and withholding rents and rates is a means of effective protest at home.

But probably the most effective protest of all is by supporting the Civil Rights anti-internment marches, or any other marches organised by sincere and responsible people whose sole objective is for the abolition of detention.

Not only are all these actions valid tactics in the fight against detention, but they provide a tremendous morale booster for the detainees by showing them that they are not forgotten. Every person who possesses a moral conscience must support the men behind the wire. Help free these people. □

## Malaysia

### Relatives of Political Prisoners Face Trial

Trials were expected to begin in April for relatives of Malaysian political prisoners who were arrested during demonstrations demanding the release of the prisoners. About thirty protesters were arrested January 12 outside the offices of the home ministry in Kuala Lumpur. Another fifty were arrested January 18 when they demonstrated outside the parliament building.

The Concerned Malaysian Citizens for Democratic Rights, in a statement issued February 2, estimated that more than 600 persons have been detained without trial under the Internal Security Act and the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance in prisons at Taiping, Batu Gajah, Seremban, Penang, and Kuala Lumpur in Malaya, and at the Changi camp in Singapore. Some of the prisoners have been held for more than ten years. Hundreds of other political prisoners are known to be held in concentration



Relative of political prisoner is attacked by Kuala Lumpur police.

## Seek One Million Signatures

### Petition for Irish Prisoners in Britain

[The following article is from the April 12 issue of *An Phoblacht*, the weekly of the Provisional Irish Republican Movement.]

\* \* \*

A campaign to collect one million signed petitions against the forced-feeding of the Winchester hostages [nine young persons sentenced for setting off an explosion in London to protest the British-sponsored border referendum in March 1973] and for their return to Ireland was opened on March 31 at a meeting in County Dublin.

The meeting followed the weekly protest from Cill Gobain to the gates of the residence of the British ambassador in Sandyford by the Irish Civil Rights Association.

About 150 people, many accompanied by their children, taking advantage of the fine weather, made the now familiar trek to protest on behalf of the Belfast Nine, who were given such savage sentences at Winchester.

These Sunday protests have continued since the commencement of the hunger strike and force-feeding of Dolours and Marian Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerald Kelly in early December and which has now passed 140 agonising days.

A large force of Gardaí, who volunteer for the double-time duty, ringed

"her Majesty's" Dublin outpost and were backed by two carloads of scruffy individuals in plainclothes. Shades of Crinnion and Littlejohn.

Among the speakers were Seán Murphy, Ruairi Mac Eoghain and Tomás Fay of the Dublin Civil Rights Committee.

The failure of the new British Labour government to transfer Irish political prisoners to the North was contrasted with the case of British army Corporal Francis Foxford, who murdered a 12-year-old Newry boy.

Following his conviction for the crime he was transferred to a prison in England. Later he was released on bail, pending the hearing of an appeal.

The silence of the leadership of the Irish Labour Party on the fate of the Winchester Nine was commented upon, particularly that of Mr. Corish, whose intervention on humanitarian grounds would be sufficient to move the British Labour government to end the ordeal of the hunger strikers.

Listeners were told that pressure would have to be increased to bring the horror of force-feeding to an end. The opening of the Nation-wide petition was intended to do this.

Petition forms are available from the I. C. R. A. office at 51 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath, 1.

All supporters of the just cause of the Price sisters and their comrades are asked to help collect the signatures. □



camps in the Sabah and Sarawak areas of Malaysia.

Some prisoners have been released under extremely restrictive conditions.

"Political detainees, after long periods of illegal detention, have been released with many restrictive conditions imposed on them. They are denied the

right to take part in political activities and the trade union movement. They are placed under restrictive residence and movement, and forced to regularly report to police stations and kept under close police surveillance and harassment. Any unjustified suspicion or political expediency can land them

in jail again."

In January and February, prisoners at the Batu Gajah camp conducted a hunger strike to protest conditions there and against the failure of the authorities to investigate the circumstances of the suicide of a prisoner at Taiping. □

## PSU Splits Over Supporting Mitterrand

# Krivine Presses for Piaget as Far-Left Candidate

By Dick Fidler

Nominations for the French presidential election closed on April 16, with the Gaullists having failed in their quest for a single right-wing candidate to face the left in the first round of voting.

Four ministers and thirty-nine government deputies, many of them involved in an earlier attempt to stop the candidacy of leading Gaullist contender Jacques Chaban-Delmas, issued a "manifesto" calling for a united "majority" candidacy that was widely interpreted as supporting Finance Minister Giscard d'Estaing, Chaban's leading rival on the right. Also running is the right-wing Gaullist minister Jean Royer.

Socialist party leader François Mitterrand, on the contrary, seemed to be laying claim to de Gaulle's old slogan: "It's me or chaos." Assured of the support of the Communist party and the Left Radicals, the SP's partners in the Union of the Left, Mitterrand has picked up some support further to the right. On April 14, the political bureau of the Front Progressiste, a small group of opposition Gaullists, threw its support to Mitterrand.

"The existence of a single candidate of the left," its national secretary explained, "constitutes the first fruits of a vast regroupment, the outlines of which are certainly still confused, but which encourages the hope of the popular revival that France needs to build a new world—that national spirit that disappeared with the founder of the Fifth Republic."

The broad support for the Mitterrand candidacy, with the hopes it has

engendered of a first-round victory, has put heavy pressure on political formations further to the left. The main casualty has been the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party), a left Social Democratic formation.

The PSU's national council, meeting April 15, voted by 281 to 150, with 13 abstentions, to support Mitterrand. The majority saw the decision as a further step by the party toward entry into the Union of the Left. National Secretary Robert Chapuis said that the election should prepare the way for "a pact for anticapitalist unity of action" among the left parties and the unions.

Over a third of the council, however, voted against supporting Mitterrand, favoring instead the proposed candidacy of Charles Piaget, a PSU member and a leader of the Lip strikers. The initiative for Piaget's candidacy had come from an alliance of far-left organizations. Piaget expressed willingness to run, but said he would defer to the decision of his own party.

Following the national council vote, the PSU's left-wing faction, the Gauche Ouvrière et Paysanne (GOP—Worker and Peasant Left), declared it was quitting the party to form "May 20 Action Committees" composed of all those in the far left who had supported the Piaget candidacy. According to the April 17 *Le Monde*, the name chosen for the committees "simply means that the problem posed is, What happens the day after [the second round of] the presidential election? These committees are planning to organize a

national regroupment during the election campaign."

The dissident minority, which included between 10 and 15 percent of the PSU's membership, denounced the majority's "irreversible decision to join the Union of the Left," and said they hoped "to preserve . . . the PSU's historic role" by "continuing the discussion with all those who reject the majority orientation of the national council." They said they would call themselves provisionally the Old-Line PSU ("PSU-Maintenu").

The Gauche Ouvrière et Paysanne had mustered 38 votes against the majority's 279 on the final resolution defining the PSU's position on Mitterrand. Another grouping, with 128 votes, abstained on the motion after voting earlier with the GOP to support the Piaget candidacy. This grouping, led by Yvan Craipeau, Michel Mousel and Bernard Ravenel, has been a tendency within the majority faction that was constituted at the PSU's congress in December 1972. Following the vote to support the Socialist party candidate, Mousel and Ravenel resigned from the national bureau, and their grouping issued a statement describing the majority's moves to join the Union of the Left as "contradicting the whole orientation of the PSU and its very reasons for existence." However, they said they would stay in the PSU to fight "against those who want to tighten its moorings to the Social Democracy."

On one side, the PSU is under pressure from the reformist-led mass workers organizations, which have

opted unanimously for Mitterrand in this election; and, on the other side, from the radicalized students and a small but growing layer of worker militants to the left of the CP, SP, and trade-union bureaucracies. This force rallied in considerable numbers to the proposal to run Piaget.

In an interview in the April 12 issue of *La Gauche*, the Belgian Trotskyist weekly, Alain Krivine commented on the proposal to run Piaget: "This candidacy produced a deepgoing cleavage, within organizations like the CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor] and the PSU, between the reformists and the revolutionists, at a fairly confused level, and it exposed the real orientation of the leaders of these organizations who claimed they wanted to form a self-management socialist current in France and at the first decisive test capitulated to the reformists, completely hiding their socialist and self-management orientations under a bushel and thereby provoking divisions within their own organizations."

The April 12 issue of *Rouge* explained that the proposal to run Piaget was intended to express, in the election campaign, "a vast anticapitalist current . . . a current that is also the framework for a massive outflanking of the capitulationist solutions of the reformist parties."

Piaget, *Rouge* said, saw his projected candidacy as "the political expression of the workers vanguard and its distrust of the electoral and parliamentary roads."

When Piaget declined to run because the PSU would not support him, *Rouge* announced Alain Krivine's

nomination; and supporters of the Trotskyist journal formed a new organization, the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR—Revolutionary Communist Front) to build the campaign. (See FCR declaration on page 527 of this issue.)

The central theme of the Trotskyist election campaign is outlined in the Action Program cited in *Rouge*: "The Union of the Left that the SP and CP counterpose as their concrete solu-



ALAIN KRIVINE

tion to the UDR government [Union for the Defense of the Republic, the main Gaullist party] already illustrates the class-collaborationist perspective of these parties. The workers must place in the forefront of their demands the breaking of all links, of any agreement by the workers organizations to collaborate in any way with the bourgeoisie."

The FCR's program emphasizes the need for independent organization of the working class. The socialist alternative to the bourgeois parties and the reformists is projected in such demands as expropriation of all the big industrial trusts and the banks, with management to be placed under workers control; a sliding scale of wages and the thirty-hour work week to combat inflation and unemployment; and recognition of the unconditional right to self-determination and independence of the colonies.

Other far-left organizations seem hard-pressed to explain why they are

refusing to support the Krivine candidacy. Most virulent in its attacks on the *Rouge* initiative has been *Lutte Ouvrière*, a workerist grouping, which refused to participate in the search for a common far-left candidate and announced its own candidate, Arlette Laguiller, within a few hours of President Pompidou's death.

*Lutte Ouvrière* apparently takes a dim view of the prospect of winning over to revolutionary socialism workers who still hold religious beliefs, judging from an April 9 statement by the leadership. Because Piaget is a Christian as well as a PSU member, they said, on no count could he possibly represent the revolutionary current in the elections. As for Krivine, he was a "graduate in history, an intellectual," not a "representative worker militant."

The April 12 *Rouge* replied to *Lutte Ouvrière's* objections: "Yes, Piaget is not a Trotskyist. Yes, he is of Christian background. But, contrary to what *Lutte Ouvrière* thinks, his role in the Lip strike and his political positions make him a very suitable representative of the revolutionary workers. And while he could not 'represent' the whole program of the revolutionary organizations, he is perfectly capable of popularizing many ideas that these organizations advance against the reformist solutions. Unless, of course, you think that the Union of the Left can be outflanked by words alone."

*Lutte Ouvrière* could hardly claim to speak for the far-left organizations, Krivine told *La Gauche*. It "has been totally absent from all the big mobilizations of the revolutionary far left in France, including the march on Lip, the June 21 [1973] demonstration, and all the anti-imperialist demonstrations. Which means that we cannot support its candidate."

However, *Rouge* said, it would seek to carry out joint actions with *Lutte Ouvrière* during the campaign, beginning with participation in the April 20 demonstration on abortion and contraception, and the May 1 action.

Other far-left groups that participated in the attempt to get Piaget to run have refused to support Krivine as a candidate. *Révolution!*, an ultra-left group that originated in a 1971 split in the Ligue Communiste, accused *Rouge* of "giving in to electoral-

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ist maneuvers."

The Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire, a tendency headed by Michel Pablo that split from the Fourth International in 1965, supported the Piaget candidacy, but accused *Rouge* of "carrying out a cheap maneuver" when it nominated Krivine. The AMR had earlier called for a "CP-SP government of Popular Unity, as in Chile." It is currently negotiating an entry into the PSU.

The Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire, a French wing of the small sect headed by Juan Posadas that broke

from the Fourth International in 1962, has called for supporting Mitterrand on the first round, saying that "now is the time to impose the Common Program."

Finally, there is the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, headed by Pierre Lambert, which claims to be "reconstructing the Fourth International." The OCI argues that while it continues to oppose the Union of the Left as a class-collaborationist coalition, it supports Mitterrand on the first round because he is running not as the candidate of the Union of the

Left, but as the first secretary of the Socialist party, which it considers to be a "bourgeois workers party."

Although it recognizes the completely bourgeois-reformist nature of Mitterrand's program, the OCI nevertheless apparently sees some merit in his candidacy. "The election of Mitterrand," it argues, "is a necessary stage in the struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois state. . . . Mitterrand's victory would open a period in which Gaullism and institutions that Gaullism imposed on the bourgeois state, would be liquidated." □

## Why Government May Prefer Her Dead

# Bizarre Twists in Patricia Hearst Kidnapping

By Allen Myers

While there are many puzzles and unanswered questions in the bizarre Symbionese Liberation Army kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, it is clear that Hearst is in danger of her life.

On April 17, two days after Hearst was photographed at the scene of a San Francisco bank robbery carried out by the SLA, U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe publicly provided police and FBI agents with what amounted to a license to shoot to kill. Discounting police speculation that Patricia Hearst might have been forced to join in the robbery, Saxbe called her a "common criminal."

"Based on the activities of the other people involved," Saxbe said, "and the observations of witnesses in the bank and the photographs, my personal conclusion is that she was not a reluctant participant."

Saxbe's "personal conclusion" may or may not be accurate. But there seemed little purpose in its public expression other than to lay the groundwork for Hearst's death in a gun battle between police and the SLA. At this point, a corpse may seem to the government to be the easiest and least awkward outcome of the peculiar affair. The same attitude, moreover, could well be held by the SLA too.

Hearst was taken from her Berkeley apartment by the SLA on February 4. (For details on the kidnapping and

the history of the SLA, see *Intercontinental Press*, March 11, p. 279.) After her father, publisher Randolph A. Hearst, and the Hearst Corporation had provided \$2 million in free food to poor Californians and had placed \$4 million in an escrow account to be similarly used if Patricia Hearst is released unharmed, the SLA on April 2 sent a message to a San Francisco newspaper saying that the time and place of her release would be announced within three days.

But on April 3, a Berkeley radio station received a tape recording in which Hearst said that she had decided to join the SLA. "I have chosen to stay and fight," Hearst said, adding that she had adopted the name "Tania." She went on to accuse her parents of having endangered her life by not following the instructions of the SLA. The recording was accompanied by a color photograph showing Hearst, holding a submachine gun, standing before an SLA flag, which displays a seven-headed cobra.

While her parents and the FBI acknowledged that the voice on the tape was Hearst's, several factors were cited to indicate that she might have been forced to make the recording.

Unlike previous taped messages from the SLA, this one bore no date, indicating that it might have been recorded at some earlier time. A Chi-

cago scientist claimed that an analysis of Hearst's voice patterns showed that she was under extreme stress when she made the recording. Friends and relatives claimed that joining the SLA was completely uncharacteristic of Hearst, who had never shown any interest in politics.

Moreover, the release of the tape seemed totally illogical from the standpoint of the SLA. Since the only condition attached to the release of the \$4 million fund was Hearst's return to her family, why did she not return home and then later rejoin the SLA?

The press, police, and others involved soon began to speculate that Hearst was already dead and that the recording released April 3 was designed to provide an explanation of her disappearance. San Francisco civil-liberties attorney Vincent Hallinan, who had been named one of the trustees of the escrow account, told reporters April 5: "I do have a serious concern that the girl is dead. The tape of her voice could have been made at any time." Hearst, it was pointed out, would be a dangerous witness against the SLA if she were released.

Then on the morning of April 15, four women and a man robbed the Hibernia Bank in San Francisco of \$10,960. Two bystanders were wounded by gunfire from carbines carried by the robbers before they fled

in two automobiles waiting for them outside. Photographs of the holdup, taken by automatic cameras in the bank, revealed that one of the five was Patricia Hearst. The other four were identified as members of the SLA.

After studying the photographs of the robbery, California authorities issued a warrant for Hearst's arrest as a "material witness" rather than on charges of bank robbery. The U.S. attorney for northern California explained that "there is reason to believe that she may not have been acting under her own will." The FBI agent in charge of the kidnapping investigation told reporters that the bank photographs showed one of the other women with her carbine trained on Hearst. Hearst herself carried a carbine, but no one knew whether it had been loaded. Moreover, the photograph of Hearst showed her with her right hand in her pocket, rather than on the trigger of the weapon.

But one of the guards in the bank told reporters that Hearst "absolutely was a participant" in the robbery.

"She wasn't scared, I'll tell you that," the Associated Press quoted him as saying. "She looked as though she knew what she was doing. She had a gun and looked ready to use it. She had plenty of command in her voice. She was full of curse words. She let it be known that she meant business."

While Hearst's real role in the robbery thus remained an open question, the SLA seemed to have had no other purpose than to demonstrate that she was still alive and had really joined the group. Obviously the organization could have obtained far more money with less trouble by demanding a cash ransom for her release. That the raid was intended for publicity purposes was also indicated by the fact that they made no effort to disable the cameras that were photographing them.

For his part, Saxbe is giving the SLA some stiff competition when it comes to publicity. The aim is to use the SLA and the Hearst kidnapping as a pretext for a witch-hunt against the left. In an interview with the Associated Press April 2, Saxbe claimed the discovery of "a worldwide conspiracy" of which the Hearst kidnapping was a part. Saxbe said that government agents had obtained a

"terrorist kidnapping manual" and "this Hearst thing is conducted right by the book."

Saxbe continued: "When you think the Symbionese and the others are taking this right out of some Maoist doctrinal textbooks on how to operate in terrorism and other forms of civil disturbance, you realize it is not just a coincidental thing."

At a press briefing the next day, Saxbe announced that he had ordered a study of possible revision of the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations. This witch-hunting tool was last revised in 1955, and Saxbe expressed the view that it might no longer be "realistic." Today, he said, "worldwide trends are more toward terrorism."

But Saxbe rather clumsily shot some holes in his own trial balloon. His attempts to drum up interest in an "international terrorist conspiracy" were overshadowed by the anti-Semitic remarks he used to explain the new "worldwide trends."

During the McCarthy period, the attorney general said, "there was a great

distrust of the intellectual. . . . One of the changes that's come about is because of the Jewish intellectual, who was in those days very enamored of the Communist party."

Saxbe's subsequent attempts to "clarify" his remarks only revealed that he must really believe such racist myths. The *New York Times* was moved to comment editorially April 10 that all of Saxbe's comments on the Hearst case had added up to "a consistent show of harebrained obtuseness, mixed with ignorance."

But despite the setback caused by Saxbe's putting his foot in his mouth, the Nixon administration can be expected to continue using the opportunity provided by the SLA to push new witch-hunt measures. Patricia Hearst, whether as a captured convert to the SLA or as a rescued hostage able to describe the real extent of the group, could get in the way of the propaganda necessary for such a project. But a "terrorist" killed by police or a hostage supposedly killed by her captors would be a real aid to the plans of the witch-hunters. □

## In Lawsuit Against Watergate Gang

## Socialists List Attacks by U.S. Government

The Socialist Workers party, the U.S. Trotskyist organization, has filed a seventy-seven page document in federal court in New York citing 219 separate incidents of government harassment against its members. The party charged that these attacks were part of a twenty-six year government conspiracy against it that began with the inclusion of the SWP on the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations in 1948.

The papers were submitted April 5 in the course of the party's \$27 million damage suit against Nixon, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other government officials and agencies. The document, drawn up in response to government attorneys' requests for "evidence," outlined the following incidents of harassment:

One hundred and forty-six FBI interrogations involving SWP supporters in sixty cities.

Nine government employees who were either harassed or fired because of their affiliation with the SWP.

Six soldiers who were harassed and eventually discharged from military service for their membership in the SWP prior to induction.

Thirty-four SWP members who were denied induction into the armed forces.

Nine members of the SWP who were asked to become informers.

One SWP member of twelve years' standing who was exposed as an informer for the FBI in San Diego, California.

Fourteen cases of harassment by FBI telephone calls in which an agent, posing as a court official or a friend, sought information under false pretenses.

In addition, the SWP also provided evidence linking the government to



two burglaries of party documents in Detroit, the burning of the party headquarters in Los Angeles, and the fire-bombing of its Houston, Texas, offices. The document further charged U.S. Army Intelligence with complicity in the armed robbery of its Chicago headquarters by the "Legion of Justice," a right-wing terrorist organization.

The party asserted that the government's program of "disrupting" the SWP was intensified in 1970, when Nixon instituted the so-called Huston Plan. This plan, a top-secret spying operation exposed during the Senate Watergate hearings last year, removed previous formal restrictions on gov-

ernment wiretapping, burglary, use of informants, and mail tampering.

Several government questions pried into such areas as the private correspondence and travel of SWP members. The party refused to answer these questions on the grounds that they were a "smoke screen to divert public attention from the government's guilt." Party spokesman Frank Boehm, SWP 1974 Campaign Committee director, pointed out at an April 10 news conference that the government has already admitted wiretapping the SWP from 1945 to 1963, conducting an FBI "SWP Disruption Program" from 1961 to 1971, and monitoring the party's mail during 1973. □

## Down and Out in Bad Axe and Ubly

# Nixon Loses Another Election to Watergate

"God loves Nixon," proclaimed a sign waved by one onlooker as the president of the United States campaigned in rural Michigan for the Republican candidate in a congressional by-election. But God is not a registered voter in Michigan's eighth congressional district, and when the votes were counted in the April 16 election, the Democratic candidate had won by more than 3,000 votes, receiving 51.4 percent of the ballots to his Republican opponent's 48.6 percent.

The eighth district has elected Republicans in every election since 1932. In the last election, in 1972, the Republican candidate had polled 59.3 percent.

In three of the four previous by-elections this year, all in usually Republican districts, the Republican candidate had been defeated. Nixon's personal intervention in the eighth district campaign was a desperate effort to show nervous Republicans in Congress that supporting him is not automatically the same thing as committing political suicide.

Commentators pointed out that Nixon had everything to gain and nothing to lose by campaigning: If the Republican won, Nixon would take the credit. If he lost, Nixon would be blamed, but he would have been

blamed anyway.

Fresh from his propaganda triumph in Paris, where he succeeded in upstaging Pompidou at the latter's funeral, Nixon spent April 10 campaigning in rural villages, many of them barely large enough to appear on the map: Bad Axe, Ubly, Deford, Wilmot, Elmer. The theory, apparently, was that such hamlets were the last outpost of "Middle America," where Watergate had not yet destroyed public reverence for The President.

As it turned out, Nixon's campaigning may have done him more harm than good. The *Detroit Free Press* questioned more than 1,500 voters on election day and found that 12 percent said Nixon's visit made them more inclined to vote Republican, while 14 percent said it had caused them to vote for the Democratic candidate.

Two days after the election, the state chairman of the Massachusetts Republican party, a long-time Nixon supporter, called on Nixon to resign. "My job is to rebuild the Republican party in this state," he said, "and it can't be done so long as Richard Nixon is in the White House."

The same thought, it is certain, has occurred to Republican politicians in the other forty-eight states as well. □

# Calley's Sentence Cut

The sentence of convicted mass-murderer William Calley has been reduced from twenty to ten years by the head of the U.S. Army. Lieutenant Calley, currently free on \$1,000 bail, was originally sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor. He had been convicted in March 1971 of murdering "no less than" twenty-two unarmed Vietnamese civilians at My Lai in 1968.

In response to direct intervention by President Nixon, Calley's sentence was first reduced to twenty years, and the hard labor was suspended in favor of confinement to his apartment on the Fort Benning, Georgia, army base during appeals. A federal judge ordered him free on bail February 27 pending an appeal of the conviction.

Although Secretary of the Army Howard Callaway stated, "There is no reasonable doubt in my mind that [Calley] perpetrated the act for which he stands convicted," he cited "mitigating circumstances" when he halved the twenty-year sentence April 16. Calley, he said, "was not aware of his responsibility to refuse an illegal order." The reference to an "illegal order" is noteworthy, because no high-ranking officers were ever brought before courts-martial on charges of having given such an order.

Calley will now be eligible for parole



WILLIAM CALLEY

after another six months of confinement. He probably entertains hopes of being out before that, however. Nixon, who has said that he will person-

ally review the case, may soon have a vested interest in establishing a precedent of leniency toward convicted criminals. □

Stockholm antiwar conference, the "remnants of the American 'Peace Movement,'" "influential elements of the American communications media," and "susceptible Congressional staffers."

## Ambassador Foils 'Plot' Against 'Congressional Record'

### Washington 'Finds' More Millions for Thieu

By Michael Baumann

Much to the relief of U.S. senators and representatives who have to stand for reelection in the fall, Pentagon officials have found a way to increase aid to the Saigon dictatorship without requiring a formal Congressional vote. The Pentagon has discovered a hitherto unsuspected \$266 million "left over" from the previous year's appropriations.

Initially, the Pentagon had told Congress that \$474 million more in arms would have to be voted to tide Thieu over until July 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year. The House of Representatives reluctantly voted down the request April 4. A similar defeat was expected in the Senate. However necessary such aid is for maintaining the puppet Thieu regime, it can hardly be counted on as an attractive vote-getter in November.

Acting on a helpful suggestion from the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Pentagon rechecked its books and discovered the amazing \$266 million oversight. According to the April 17 *New York Times*, "After several weeks of study . . . the Pentagon maintained that it had found that \$266 million was left over from fiscal 1972-73—money that Congress had appropriated—and that this money was now available for the current fiscal year if Congress did not object. It apparently will not do so."

Some of the credit for laying the groundwork for this transparent maneuver should go to Thieu, who did what he could to provide the proper atmosphere of crisis. As Congress debated the aid increase, he suspended the Paris talks with the Provisional Revolutionary Government, claimed dire shortages in ammunition, and predicted an imminent North Vietnamese offensive.

Graham Martin, U.S. ambassador to Saigon, also chimed in. In the space

of a few weeks, Martin launched a virulent attack on a *New York Times* Saigon correspondent, suggested that the State Department keep as much information as possible from a U.S. Senate investigating committee, and uncovered a startling plot to blacken the good name of the Thieu regime in the *Congressional Record*.

In a lengthy cable to the *New York Times* March 8, Martin tried to rebut some of the more damaging revelations in a closely documented article by *Times* correspondent David K. Shieler. The article, which appeared in the February 25 *Times*, reported some of the methods Washington has used to get around the Paris accords' limitations on support to Thieu. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 11, p. 281.)

After denouncing Shieler's article as disguised "propaganda" with a "grossly obvious" bias, Martin claimed that Thieu really wants elections, that the Central Intelligence Agency never advises the South Vietnamese police, and that unarmed civilians and children are the main targets of National Liberation Front artillery attacks.

More interesting, however, is his attempt to link the international antiwar movement with a plot to convert the *Congressional Record* into a Hanoi propaganda vehicle.

"As a preliminary to a detailed discussion of [the Shieler article]," he cabled, "it is necessary to record that Embassy has long been aware of decision taken last Fall in Hanoi to mount all-out campaign this Winter and Spring to persuade the Congress to drastically reduce the magnitude of both economic and military aid to the government of Vietnam."

The long list of Hanoi's accomplices included, according to Martin, the PRG delegation in Paris, the recent

"The timing preferred," he wrote, "was to begin with insertion of as much material as possible in the Congressional Record, hopefully to secure the condemnation of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam in formal reports of Congressional subcommittees, which could be followed up and given wide circulation by 'investigative reporting' which would tend to confirm and if possible expand on the distortions they had been able to have inserted in the Congressional subcommittee formal reports."

In a secret cable to Kissinger, Martin congratulated himself on thwarting this "plot" and suggested that Kissinger send Senator Edward Kennedy's investigating committee as little accurate information as possible. The cable was subsequently leaked to Kennedy by an unknown person in the State Department.

"It seems rather clear," Martin wrote Kissinger, "that the Shieler article and the reaction to Embassy Saigon's comment thereon has had the effect of upsetting the timetable of those whose objective is to aid Hanoi by seriously crippling the R. V. N. [South Vietnam] through a drastic reduction of economic and military aid. . . ."

"I think it would be the height of folly to permit Kennedy, whose staff will spearhead this effort, the tactical advantage of an honest and detailed answer to the questions of substance raised in his letter."

Although Kissinger's reply to Kennedy ran more than a dozen pages, reports of it in the press indicate that he certainly didn't give away any "tactical advantage." The reply provided nothing new apart from an updated rationalization for continued U.S. aid to Thieu. Contrary to all previous claims, it now seems that the Paris peace accords contained an unwritten "political and moral" commitment to bankroll the Thieu regime indefinitely.

The amount of money that will be required for this is enormous, even according to the figures that are allowed to filter through Washington's peculiar bookkeeping practices. Thieu



received about \$3,000 million in military aid in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and is to receive another \$1,386 million by the end of fiscal year 1974.

Economic aid must then be added to this. This will amount to \$732 million in fiscal 1974. Such economic aid is a long-term project. Based on Thieu's most optimistic projections, the World Bank has estimated that by 1990 Saigon will still need at least \$450 million a year in economic aid

to stay afloat. The total of economic aid between now and 1990, the bank concluded, will have to be at least \$11,000 million.

Faced with this unattractive prospect, Washington is attempting to spread some of the burden to its imperialist partners. Japan, West Germany, and France have already provided grants and loans to Thieu, and negotiations are in progress for aid from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, and Taiwan. □

## Moscow Stresses 'Friendship' With Baghdad

### Iraqi Bombers Destroy 11 Kurdish Villages

The Iraqi government has begun intensive bombing of Kurdish-held areas in northern Iraq in an effort to force the Kurdish national minority to accept Baghdad's proposal for limited self-rule. On April 17, according to a Kurdish radio broadcast monitored in Tehran, Iraqi MIGs destroyed eleven Kurdish villages.

Some 50,000 Iraqi troops have been ordered to the Kurdish front, and Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan Bakr has issued a decree calling part of the military reserves to active duty. Leaders of the Kurdish Democratic party (KDP) reportedly expect a full-scale Iraqi offensive once the torrential spring rains subside.

Meanwhile, the April 18 issue of the Beirut magazine *Arab World* reported that the Iraqi KDP had set up its own government administration—an eight-member executive council—and planned to proclaim full autonomy soon. The April 1 *New York Times* reported that tens of thousands of Kurds had already flocked to the mountainous northern area by foot and mule to join the Pesh Merga, the Kurdish guerrilla army.

The Baghdad autonomy plan, issued March 11 as a fifteen-day ultimatum, has been rejected by the Kurdish leadership as an "attempt to liquidate Kurdish national rights." They charge the Baghdad plan offers no more than limited local self-rule and leaves all real decision-making power in the hands of the ruling National Front of the Baathist (Arab Socialist) party and the Iraqi

Communist party. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 1, p. 374.)

The proposal also failed to grant Kurdish demands for administrative control over the Kirkuk region and a share of the national budget proportional to their representation in the population.

Kirkuk, which accounts for about 65 percent of Iraq's daily production of 2.1 million barrels of oil, is geographically, ethnically, and traditionally a part of Iraqi Kurdistan. The KDP has agreed to a mixed Arab-Kurdish administration in the area but demands that it be placed under the authority of a Kurdish executive council.

The Kurdish leadership has also agreed to allow the central government to continue to collect the revenue from the nationalized oilfield. In return, however, they demand 20 to 25 percent of the national budget, a figure corresponding to Kurdish representation in Iraq's population of 10 million. KDP officials charge that to date they have never received more than 10-12 percent of official revenue.

The Kurds are a predominantly Muslim, non-Arab people generally believed to be descendants of the ancient Medes. Kurdistan, their homeland, covers a territory of more than 150,000 square miles in Iran, Iraq, the Soviet Armenian Republic, Turkey, and Syria. Numbering some 10 million altogether, 80 percent of whom are landless peasants, the Kurds live in extreme poverty in what can most

accurately be described as the most underdeveloped areas of underdeveloped countries.

A study published by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 1965 estimated the average annual income of an Iranian Kurdish family of four at \$26. Their situation in Iraq, though improved after the 1958 revolution that overthrew the Hashemite monarchy, is still one of extreme poverty.

Since the 1958 revolution, the Kurds have fought six Iraqi governments to a stalemate. Baghdad's 1970 promise of autonomy within four years temporarily concluded nearly a decade of open insurrection against the central government. It is this autonomy plan, finally unveiled in March of this year, that the Kurds have rejected as "fake autonomy."

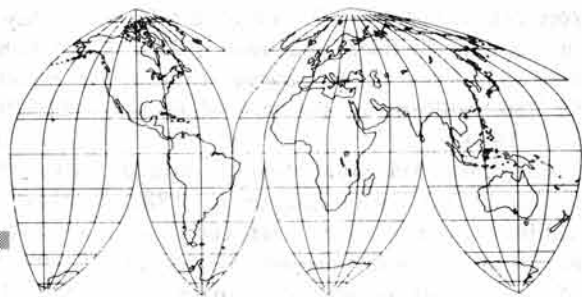
In the past, the Kurds had been able to count on some support from the Iraqi CP and Moscow. In 1956, for example, the Second Congress of the Iraqi CP declared: "The Kurdish people in Iraq is an inseparable part of the Kurdish nation in the whole of Kurdistan. . . . An autonomy founded on *voluntary*, militant, fraternal union constitutes a temporary settlement corresponding to the circumstances and in accordance with the best interests of both [Arab and Kurd] nations." (Emphasis added.)

And in the early 1960s Moscow frequently condemned the Iraqi regime's bloody reprisals against the Kurds. "The tragedy of the Kurds in Iraq has already become an international issue" that "stirs up the righteous indignation of the broadest public in the world," the Kremlin declared in a July 7, 1963, protest.

That, of course, was before Moscow signed the April 1972 Soviet-Iraqi Friendship and Co-operation Treaty, making the Iraqi Baathist regime one of its closest Arab allies. It was also before the Iraqi CP joined the Baathists in the National Front coalition government.

In late March, as Soviet-armed Iraqi troops were already advancing on the Kurdish region, Soviet Defense Minister Andrei Grechko paid a four-day visit to the Baghdad leadership. "The two sides," reported the April 2 official publication *Soviet News*, "noted with satisfaction that the friendly relations between the two countries were stable. . . ." □

# AROUND THE WORLD



## An 'Improved' Nerve Gas

The United States army is considering producing an "improved" nerve gas. The improvement consists of two chemical agents that are relatively harmless so long as they are kept separate; when combined, as in an artillery shell after it has been fired, they produce deadly nerve gas.

Dr. Julian Perry Robinson, a British expert on chemical warfare, is opposed to the project. In his opinion, the army would ultimately spend upward of \$2,000 million to replace present stockpiles.

Robinson also argues that the improved nerve gas could easily be produced by the governments of poor countries and that this would result in a "significant diminution of the relative military strength of the United States" and other nuclear powers.

The new gas would be "safer to handle, transport, and store." But, said Robinson, "of all the environmental problems facing the United States today, does the nerve gas one really have sufficient priority to warrant the purchase of a \$2-billion solution?"

## Mother Fights Deportation in Canada

Evangeline Godron, a resident of Canada since 1967, has been ordered deported to the country of her birth, the United States, as an "undesirable person."

Cited as evidence of Godron's undesirability is the fact that she named her three-year-old daughter Erica Che Fidelista.

Special Inquiry Officer M.A. Kulba wrote: "Obviously the name 'Che' must have been in honor of the late Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara and 'Fidelista' in honor of Fidel Castro, the present communist Cuban dictator, for Miss Godron is known for her left-wing activities and is suspected of being an active militant in the Black Power movement."

Besides Erica Che Fidelista, Godron has three other children. Huey, two years old, and Paul, one, were born in Canada. Fidelia, twelve, was born in Guatemala and would probably be deported to that country.

Without work and without money, Godron is nevertheless trying to keep her family together. A Montreal lawyer, Max

Teitelbaum, has agreed to defend her case in the courts.

## Facts in Nixon's Military Alert Too Sensitive to Be Made Public

The United States House of Representatives voted April 9 to end further inquiry into the worldwide military alert that Nixon ordered last fall. The order caused international alarm that "the President" might be reaching for the nuclear button on his desk.

In deciding to halt the inquiry, the congressmen said that the evidence they had assembled was too sensitive to be made public.

## Ghana Students Required to Sign Pledge of 'Good Behavior'

Students at universities in Ghana are now required to sign a pledge to conduct themselves "in a quiet and orderly manner and endeavour always to be of good behavior" and to "do nothing that will subvert discipline and good order." Signing the pledge is a condition for attending classes, which were resumed March 16, a month after the military government had closed the country's three universities.

The government ordered the closing of the schools after student demonstrations protesting police and military brutality were attacked and dispersed by government forces.

## Army Topples Niger President

A radio broadcast from Niamey, the capital of Niger, announced on April 15 that the armed forces had taken power and deposed the regime of President Hamani Diori. Diori had been Niger's president since the country won its formal independence from France in 1960.

Two days later Radio Niamey announced the formation of a twelve-officer Supreme Military Council to rule the country, with Lieutenant Colonel Seyni Kountie, the chief of staff of the army, as its head. The new military regime suspended the constitution, dissolved the National Assembly, imposed a dawn-to-dusk curfew, and declared the suppression of all political organizations. Under the Diori

regime, the only legal political party had been the Parti Progressiste Nigerien (Progressive party of Niger).

In the radio broadcasts, the new rulers stated that they had overthrown the old regime because it was corrupt and "lacked organization and initiative when confronted with the drought." Niger has been one of the West African countries hardest hit by the six-year drought in that area. Thousands of persons died and millions of head of livestock perished. In the past, students and others protested the Diori regime's corrupt and inefficient handling of the drought and famine situation, and some of them were imprisoned for their protests.

Some of the radio communiques stated that the new military regime would release all political prisoners. A broadcast on April 17 indicated that thirty-seven political prisoners, some of whom had been jailed for the last eleven years, had already been released.

## Sikkim Demonstrators Demand Rights

About 2,000 persons rallied in Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim, April 4 to demand greater democratic rights. The rally also commemorated the anniversary of last year's protests, when 20,000 persons, mostly Nepalese, marched on the palace of the Chogyal (ruler), King Palden Thondup Namgyal, seized police stations, looted shops, and burned homes of supporters of the Chogyal. Indian troops intervened in the 1973 protests and dispersed the demonstrators.

The April 4 rally was organized by the Sikkim Congress party, composed of the elements that led the 1973 mobilizations.

## Dacca to Release Pakistanis Held Since Independence War

Following a five-day summit meeting in New Delhi, the foreign ministers of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh signed an agreement on April 9 providing for the release of 195 Pakistani prisoners of war that the Bangladesh regime had previously planned to try for their war crimes during Bangladesh's 1971 independence struggle from Pakistan.

In return, the Pakistani regime "apologized" for "any crimes that may have been committed" during the 1971 war. The agreement noted that Pakistani



Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had "appealed to the people of Bangladesh to forgive and forget the mistakes of the past in order to promote reconciliation." The "mistakes of the past" referred to the massacre of up to 2 million Bengalis by the Pakistani forces.

### Seoul 'Spy' Trial Begins

Thirty-two persons went on trial in Seoul April 17 on charges of being spies for North Korea. The defendants include three college professors, two Christian ministers, a high-school teacher, a doctor, several businessmen, fishermen, and a former member of the national legislature.

At the same time, a military appeals court sentenced five opposition politicians to prison terms of ten to fifteen years for the "crime" of criticizing the constitution in violation of a decree by President Park Chung Hee.

### Bomb Damages Portuguese Ship

LISBON, April 10—A bomb exploded aboard the ship *Niassa* last night, minutes before its scheduled departure with 1,200 Portuguese troops to the African colony of Guinea. Four soldiers were slightly injured and the ship suffered light damage.

Responsibility for the explosion was claimed by the Revolutionary Brigades, one of three guerrilla organizations that the police claimed to have destroyed last year.

### U.S.-Owned Corporations Allowed to Sell Automobiles to Cuba

The U.S. State Department announced April 18 that it would issue export licenses permitting the Argentine subsidiaries of U.S. automobile corporations to sell automobiles to Cuba.

The automobile sales are part of a larger trade deal between the Cuban and Argentine governments. The State Department spokesman said that in issuing the export licenses to General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, Washington was taking into account threats by the Argentine government to nationalize the automobile companies if they refused to sell the vehicles to Cuba.

### Spanish Poet Jailed

"The Spanish poet Carlos Alvarez was arrested March 29 and taken to Carabanchel prison after being held seventy-two hours at the headquarters of the security police in downtown Madrid," the April 3 issue of the Copenhagen daily *Information* reported.

Alvarez, who was imprisoned in 1963 for protesting the execution of the Spanish Communist leader Julian Grimau, was

jailed this time for engaging in "illegal propaganda." The charge was based on an article he wrote in the March 11 *Information*, which was subsequently reprinted in the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*.

In the article in question, *Information* said, "he made a sharp criticism of the new Spanish government, which he said had taken its first three months in office to step up repression of opposition groups throughout Spain, despite the fact that it had made vague promises of a liberalization."

### Brazilian Politicians Warned

Despite the expiration of a ten-year ban on political activity for 102 citizens, the Brazilian government issued a warning early in April that it would not permit any challenges to "law and order" from the 102.

Among those who regained their political rights March 31—the tenth anniversary of military rule in the country—are ex-Presidents Janio Quadros and Joao Goulart; Luis Carlos Prestes, ex-general secretary of the proscribed Communist party; and former peasant leader Francisco Juliao.

### Argentine Press Under Attack

In recent weeks governmental crackdowns on political dissent in Argentina have extended to the press. Among the periodicals banned by the Peronist regime are the left-wing *El Mundo* (closed by executive decree March 14), and two Peronist weeklies—*El Descamisado* and *Militancia* (both banned in early April).

The closures have been widely denounced as "illegal," and that of *El Mundo* was protested April 7 in a sizable ad in *La Opinion*, a Buenos Aires daily. The ad was signed by scores of political and trade-union organizations from all over the country.

On April 16 *El Mundo* received a favorable court decision that, if not appealed within 48 hours by the federal government, will permit the reopening of the paper.

In appealing the closure of *Militancia*, its editors have cited the *El Mundo* decision.

### New Arrests in Lisbon

Portuguese police arrested a number of journalists and opposition politicians in Lisbon April 18. Among the arrested were Jose Tengarrinha and Marcia Elena Neves, two leaders of the Democratic Electoral Commission, which put up candidates in last October's elections but withdrew them to protest prohibitions on discussion of important issues.

Also arrested were the Lisbon head of Agence France-Presse and correspondents for the papers *Diario de Lisboa* and *O Seculo* and the magazine *Siar Nova*.

### Sri Lanka Police Discover Another 'Subversive Organization'

The Sri Lanka police have begun an investigation of a new "subversive organization," which they claim has begun to carry out activities among young people on the plantations throughout the island to recruit them for "revolutionary activities." According to the April 18 *Ceylon News*, this group has a membership of 3,000 and carries out its activities among both the Tamils and the Sinhalese.

The police claim that members of the banned Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) are involved in the group. Charging the group with carrying out terrorist actions, the police also claim that they arrested its leader in February.

### China-Japan Air Link Established

After a year and a half of negotiations, the Chinese and Japanese governments on April 20 signed an agreement setting up airplane flights between the two countries. The Chiang Kai-shek regime in Taiwan immediately banned Japanese planes from flying over its airspace.

Peking has already held talks with a Canadian airline on possible exchange flights. In the United States, Pan American has said it is interested in an agreement on flights between China and the United States.

### Allende Minister in Colombia

Hernan del Canto Requelme, the minister of the interior in the Chilean Unidad Popular government before it was overthrown by the military, arrived in Colombia April 12. He had taken asylum in the Colombian Embassy following the coup.

### Swiss Journalist Disappears in Santiago de Chile

The disappearance of the Swiss journalist Pierre Rieben in Santiago de Chile April 11 has aroused concern in political circles in his country. Rieben's friends say he was taken away by three plainclothes policemen. The junta's officials deny arresting the Swiss reporter. But at the same time they claim that he did not present his professional credentials when he entered the country. Since Rieben's colleague Jacques Pillet insists that the missing reporter did observe all the formalities, the suspicion has arisen that the authorities may be trying to absolve themselves in advance for any "misunderstanding."

Swiss journalists, intellectuals, and trade unionists have formed a committee to demand that the Chilean junta account for Rieben's whereabouts. In view of the junta's record of indiscriminate murder and threats of reprisals against journalists, the committee apparently feels that immediate protests are necessary.

## Strike Largest in History

# Japanese Workers Win 30 Percent Raise

After a three-day general strike involving an estimated 6.3 million workers—the largest strike action in Japanese history—workers won wage increases averaging around 30%.

Although before the general strike the government and the private railway companies had offered their workers pay increases of about 19%, the April 13 settlement gave employees of the government-owned Japan National Railway a 29.3% increase. Workers on private railways got 31.4%. The railway agreements set the pattern for other industries.

The wage demands were spurred by Japan's skyrocketing inflation. Wholesale prices are up 35.4% over a year ago and consumer prices 26%. Despite wage increases of 20% won during the *shunto*—the spring labor offensive—of 1973, workers had thus suffered a decline in real wages.

The general strike was planned and called by the Spring Labor Offensive Joint Struggle Committee, which was led by three of the largest labor federations: Sohyo (General Council of

Trade Unions), Churitsuroren (Federation of Independent Unions), and Shinsanbetsu (National Federation of Industrial Labor Organizations). The more conservative 2.25-million-member Domei (Confederation of Labor Unions), which had agreed to carry out joint actions with the other three labor federations, withdrew from the Joint Struggle Committee.

Besides the unprecedented wage demands, the unions participating in the *shunto* also called for the right to strike for government and public corporation employees. Although the government workers did not win the right to strike, the government proposed to form a committee to "study" the demand and made no mention of penalizing the government employees for carrying out their "illegal" strike. In the past, government workers have been penalized for walking off their jobs.

Two previous rounds of the *shunto* took place on March 1, when 527,000 railway and other workers walked off their jobs, and on March 26, when an

estimated 2.4 million workers struck. Two days before the scheduled beginning of the third round on April 10, members of Doro (National Railway Motive Power Union) and Kokuro (National Railway Workers Union) began work slowdowns.

During the course of the general strike teachers and airline workers joined the *shunto* for the first time.

On April 11 the police raided hundreds of offices of Nikkyoso (Japan Teachers Union) throughout the country. The National Police Agency said that the strike violated federal and municipal public-service laws. The raids were protested by union leaders as well as leaders of the Socialist party and the Communist party.

Japanese employer organizations claimed that meeting the wage demands would further increase inflation. "But major businesses' profit increases have been so large in recent months that the companies have had trouble making their arguments stick," wrote correspondent Norman Pearlstine in the April 12 *Wall Street Journal*. "Manufacturing companies reported that earnings rose an average of 40% in the six months ended Sept. 30 from the prior six months, and they are estimated to have done as well or better in the six months that ended March 31." □

## Arrests, Forced Removal, Free-Fire Zones

# Smith Steps Up War Against Zimbabwe Guerrillas

By Ernest Harsch

Faced with the growing opposition to the white minority regime in Salisbury by Zimbabwe's 5.6 million Blacks and with the increased activity of the liberation forces in the northern provinces, the Ian Smith regime initiated a series of military and political programs in February to tighten its hold on the country. It made new arrests, established free-fire zones in areas of guerrilla activity, extended the draft of the white population, strengthened the army, and resettled and arrested thousands of Africans.

The guerrilla organizations in Zimbabwe—the Zimbabwe African Na-

tional Union (ZANU), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi)—have been stepping up their actions for about a year. Most of the attacks in recent months against the government forces and white settlers in the northern provinces have been carried out by ZANU.

On December 31 two trains on the Umtali to Beira line through Mozambique, a vital rail link in Salisbury's efforts to break the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations, were attacked. Joint actions by ZANU and Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Mo-

çambique—Mozambique Liberation Front) were recently extended into this area. The day after the first attack on the railway, Ian Smith warned in his New Year's speech that conditions could get worse. On January 7 a spotter plane was shot down by guerrilla fire.

Even sectors of the African population that were considered by the regime as loyal supporters—the tribal chiefs and Black troops fighting with the government forces—have been affected by the struggle against Salisbury.

Thirteen noncommissioned officers



of the Rhodesian African Rifles, the only Black regiment in Salisbury's armed forces, were arrested around the beginning of the year, charged with mutiny, and court-martialed. "Although details of the charges have been withheld by the defence officials," wrote Godwin Matatu in the April *Africa*, a monthly published in London, "it is strongly suggested that they arise out of the refusal of the officers to participate in operations against the freedom fighters. If this is true, it indicates a growing political awareness in the regiment and an identification with the Black cause on the part of some of its members. Until now, its loyalty, like that of the chiefs, has been absolute and unquestioned by White Rhodesia."

Commenting on the increased activities of the guerrilla forces, Matatu wrote: "In fact, by Smith's own admission, the offensive is intensifying and the guerrillas, who are essentially politicians in arms, seem to have established a viable operational and political base in an area where some 1.2 million Africans live. And as the Government security forces respond with brutal reprisals and punitive measures, such as the imposition of collective fines against villagers suspected of assisting the guerrillas, a small but increasing section of the African peasantry in the area is becoming convinced that they have nothing to lose but all to gain by joining the freedom fighters. Chief Chiweshe of Mount Darwin, who fled from the brutality of the security forces and joined ZANU with most of his people, is a clear example of this trend."

The growing military and political strain on the white population has also had effects on its morale. More whites are now leaving the country than are coming in. In December the net loss of white population stood at 460, one of the highest losses since 1965, when Smith declared his regime's "independence" from Britain. In an effort to attract more whites to the country, Smith launched the Settlers '74 program, giving the immigrants special incentives, such as draft deferments for five years.

To further strengthen its military forces, the regime stated on February 6 that it would immediately double the draft and recruit a second regiment of Black troops. On April 3 the

Rhodesian Defense Ministry announced that the call-up of men aged 25-35 had already begun.

In an interview with the *Rhodesia Herald*, Minister of Internal Affairs Lance Smith said that Salisbury would form armed militias in the tribal trust lands, "handpicked" by the African trust authorities and armed with shotguns, "the most effective anti-terrorist weapon for a civilian popula-



IAN SMITH

tion." Under this plan each village would have a militia under the control of the district military officers.

Salisbury has received military aid from the racist regime in South Africa. According to the September 1973 *Africa*, ZANU and ZAPU put the South African forces—regular troops and various paramilitary forces—at 8,000 before the closure of the Zambian border in March 1973.

The February 13 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Salisbury was establishing a "no-go area" that runs along its borders with Zambia and Mozambique. The regime admits that it has already resettled 8,000 Africans out of these free-fire zones, but other sources, according to the *Monitor*, put the figure at 15,000 or 20,000.

The April *Africa* reported that Salisbury has initiated other repressive programs in the areas affected by the

guerrilla actions. Magistrates' courts can now be set up at any place without prior notice; persons can be detained for up to sixty days instead of just thirty; the powers of the police and certain district commissioners have been extended to help fight the guerrillas and "extract information" from villagers; Africans can be ordered to do work for the "public security"; food supplies can be controlled and animals destroyed if the peasants defy the authorities. Salisbury also appointed a new minister, directly responsible to the prime minister, to fight "terrorism."

In the Madziwa tribal trust land, eighty miles northeast of Salisbury, *Africa* continued, the government forces detained 110 Africans for supposedly aiding the guerrillas. According to official figures, there are 351 detainees in Zimbabwe apart from those picked up under the emergency regulations permitting detentions of up to thirty days, 270 political prisoners serving long prison terms, and an unspecified number serving twenty-five-year terms for actual or alleged guerrilla activities. The regime also announced that thirteen suspected guerrillas were executed in 1973, but, as *Africa* notes, there may have been more, since the trials were held in secret.

While stepping up the repressive measures against Zimbabwe's African majority, Smith has also been continuing his talks with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the leader of the African National Council (ANC). The discussions have been going on since July 1973. As Godwin Matatu observed in the April *Africa*: "Smith is negotiating not to surrender power but to safeguard the power he has already."

An agreement between Smith and Muzorewa, which might give more token representation to Blacks in the parliament, would give London some political cover for granting Salisbury its formal independence, a step it has not taken so far because of worldwide opposition to the racist minority regime. An agreement with Muzorewa, however, would not stop the activities of the guerrilla organizations or end the mass opposition to the white regime.

Perhaps as a way of pressuring the ANC to drop its demands for majority rule and "one man, one vote," Smith

has not spared its members from arrest. At least twenty senior officials of the ANC were arrested last August. Edson Sithole, a leader of the ANC,

estimated, according to the January 28 *Washington Post*, that between thirty and fifty ANC national and provincial executive members were under

arrest at that time. The March 25 *Washington Post* reported that more ANC leaders, mostly provincial officials, had been arrested. □

## 'Only the Name of the Government Will Change'

# Capitalists Prepare Niugini for 'Independence'

By David Nizoz

[The following article is reprinted from the March 23 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

\* \* \*

It is now over four months since Niugini [Papua-New Guinea] attained its self-government. The hullabaloo around December 1, 1973, is all but forgotten. A good measure of the amount of "independence" granted to Niugini can be gauged from the fact that the daily press cover Niugini in the local pages rather than overseas news pages. Nevertheless, plans for complete independence, on December 1 this year, are proceeding rapidly.

The announcement by the chief minister, Michael Somare, of the independence date was greeted with a ten-minute uproar. Conservative members of the House of Assembly were responsible for this reaction. They are convinced that Niuginian capitalism is not ready yet for formal independence.

These conservative elements are probably wrong. The Somare government, certainly, appears to have taken considerable steps to encourage the growth of capitalism in Niugini. While the Australian Liberal government had undertaken a similar course of support for the independence movement, Labor has certainly gone out of its way to support Somare's plans.

The future of Australian capitalism in Niugini appears to be guaranteed by the Somare government. The goal of this government's actions has been, and still remains, the building of a secure framework for capitalism in Niugini and the maintenance of Australian domination.

The continuation of Australian involvement in Niugini is not being called into question by anyone.

Australian military forces are going to play a key role in a future Niuginian society. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported on March 13: "A spokesman for the Minister of Defence, Mr Barnard, said Australia would probably continue to provide support and staff requested by Papua New Guinea for its Defence Force." As Niugini does not appear to face any external threat, except from Australia, the purpose of this aid is clear. Australian forces and equipment are going to be used to combat tribal uprisings and to squash any separatist movements.

On the economic side a special role for Australia as a dominant foreign power is already being created. The new central bank of Niugini is being set up to take over from the Reserve Bank of Australia and the Commonwealth Bank. Niugini will thus control its own monetary policy. However, the new legislation governing economic policy in Niugini puts the Australian government in the category of an "approved government." What this means is that Australian government securities will play the same monetary role as those of the Niuginian government. Thus decisions made in Canberra will continue to determine the course of events in Niugini well after independence.

The most important policy decisions required for continuous Australian domination concern foreign investment. The policy of the Niuginian government on this score was stated unequivocally by Somare himself. Addressing the fifth national conference of the Institute of Directors, Somare said his country would not allow "the kind of development strategy based on very cheap labor along South-East Asian lines which has been urged upon us.

"We do not want to create industrial

employment for its own sake. In the Philippines, for example, many workers in manufacturing industries earn as little as ninety cents per day. In Papua New Guinea we already have an urban wage of nearly three dollars per day. If we competed with other Asian countries in attracting labor-intensive manufacturing industry we would have to hold down, and even reduce, the existing standard of living of our workers."

Somare explained his government's thinking. Foreign investment is welcomed provided it accelerates the development of Niuginian capitalism. The training of skilled workers, increased employment opportunities, etc., will be among the most important criteria in judging this investment.

He then went on to state: "There will also be increasing emphasis on government ownership of resource ventures in partnership with foreign corporations. I do believe that foreign companies should be satisfied with a reasonable return on their investment, and should not claim absolute right to gigantic profits that are really produced by the earth and water of Papua New Guinea."

The reasons for Somare's use of such rhetoric are quite understandable. The example of Bougainville Copper is too fresh in his mind and in the mind of other Niuginians. The company announced a profit figure of \$158 million [about US\$237 million]. Their huge increase in profit, which followed higher prices for copper overseas, made the return to the government of \$30 million appear quite miniscule.

The Niugini government is fearful that such increases in profits could result in demands for the nationalisation of such companies. The gov-



ernment therefore wishes to limit profits to "reasonable" rates in order to prevent such moves.

Calls for nationalisation of Bougainville Copper have already come from two senior government members, the minister of justice, John Kaputin, and Father John Momis.

Even the Niugini government itself had already taken some preventive measures along this vein. It introduced a bill to the House of Assembly on March 11 to return all foreign-owned land to the Niuginians. Automatic and "equitable" right to compensation is, of course, part of the conditions of the bill. As most of the land suitable for cultivation is owned by non-Niuginians, the actions of the government are rather serious. The purpose of the compulsory acquisition has been spelt out: "to prevent the breakdown of law and order." A continuation of the present situation could only result in a revolt by peasants seeking land.

Such a revolt could obviously jeopardise the pro-capitalist plans of Somare and his cohorts.

The chief minister's address to the conference of directors is the most serious statement on the subject. Ian Perkin commented in the March 15 *Australian Financial Review*: "It was obvious that he regarded the conference as a good forum to put across his Government's views on foreign investment to a group of men representing the private sector of the country which is the largest foreign investor in PNG. The attendance list for the conference reads like who's who of the Australian business and commercial community."

In this role of investment regulator for Niugini, Somare has a powerful ally. The Australian government, too, wants to protect foreign investment. The minister in charge, Bill Morrison, said: "Australia would only encourage private Australian investment in developing countries where such investment was welcomed and where it would be in the joint interest of both countries."

The actions of the two governments are conscious actions. They show just what kind of independence Niugini is to gain at the end of this year. Exploitation and degradation are to continue. Only the name of the government will change. □

April 29, 1974

## How Abortion 'Right' Becomes a 'Social Problem'

### British CP Defends the Hungarian Family

[The following article is reprinted from the March 29 issue of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

Recent changes introduced by the Hungarian government to the law on abortion mean that it will now be illegal except in certain limited cases. Nevertheless, this move has been highly praised in the British Communist party daily, the *Morning Star*.

The motivation for these changes, according to the Hungarian party daily, *Nepszabadsag*, lies in the stagnation of the birth rate at 1.4%. And so, along with the tighter restrictions on abortion, come a certain number of "incentives": Women will be "able" to stay at home for the first three years after they have had a child, and monthly allowances for such women will be substantially raised.

But why is it that Hungarian women thus have to be forced to have children they do not want? The main reason is simply that for very many women the arrival of a child means a considerable drop in living standards. And this is the case because nursery facilities in Hungary have not been sufficiently developed to allow child rearing to become the responsibility of the community rather than of the family unit.

So these new bureaucratic measures—far from advancing the liberation of women and the social equality of the sexes—have the effect of forcing women back into the home, forcing them back to the burden of bearing and bringing up children. They thus contribute to the strengthening of the family as a social unit—which is, incidentally, the declared aim of all the regimes of Eastern Europe. Indeed, the *Nepszabadsag* article even goes on to explain how from now on people will not be allowed to get married without a certificate showing that they have been through a course in pre-nuptial education about the family.

Such aims would appear to contrast sharply with the positions held

by the British Communist party. These have been expressed, for instance, in the pamphlet *Women—The Road to Equality and Socialism*, by Rosemary Small, where it is recognised that child rearing should become the responsibility of society, and that women should have "free contraception and abortion under the NHS [National Health Service], in order to ensure the right of women to decide if and when they will become mothers."

Yet as soon as the changes in the Hungarian law were announced, the *Morning Star* carried an article by Ursula McLean (on 16 January) extolling the "comprehensive approach which Hungary's socialist authorities try to adopt when dealing with social problems." Is this because somehow the question is completely different there, so that police regulation of abortion in a workers state has a revolutionary character, while in Britain a mobilisation against such regulations is central to the struggle of women?

Hardly. After all, Lenin was very clear on this point: "Unless women are brought to take an independent part not only in political life generally, but also in daily and universal public service, it is no use talking about full and stable democracy, let alone socialism." (*On the Emancipation of Women*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 46.)

No, these legal changes have a very specific purpose—to help maintain the rule of the bureaucratic caste in Hungary. This depends above all on the continued fragmentation of the proletariat, which is achieved not only by open repression, but also through measures which strengthen the family unit and split the working class along sex lines.

And the fact that the British Communist party chooses to ignore Lenin's teachings in its glorification of the Hungarian regime is simply another indication that this party has long abandoned the struggle for the world socialist revolution in favour of shallow apologetics for those regimes it terms "socialist." □

## The Upsurge in Gujarat

Baroda

The protest movement that began in the state of Gujarat early in January has continued to spread, extending from the cities into the rural areas. Bandhs [general strikes], processions, fasting, gheraos [holding management personnel in their offices], satyagrahas [passive resistance], stone throwing, looting, arson, hijacking of state transport buses, curfews, lathi charges [charges by police swinging iron-bound bamboo sticks], use of tear gas, shootings, have become daily occurrences. Transport and trade have been disrupted. Schools and colleges have been closed.

In confrontations with the police, more than eighty-five persons have lost their lives. Many others have been wounded. But the mood of the people has remained militant. Thousands have participated in processions despite the curfew. Hundreds of young men have lined up at hospitals to donate blood for those injured by the police. Women have marched by the hundreds to police stations to demand the release of their sons.

Beginning as a protest movement over price rises, people's anger turned against government corruption and the Congress party. Slogans included demands for the resignation of Gujarat's Chief Minister Chimanbhai Patel, dissolution of the State Assembly, and imposition of direct rule by the federal government.

On February 9, Patel suspended the State Assembly and handed in his resignation [see *Intercontinental Press*, February 25]. By the end of March almost half of the members of the State Assembly had also resigned under the pressure from the masses.

The upsurge in Gujarat began under the inspiration of college students. During 1973 they launched several protest movements against "tough" examinations, the semester system, internal evaluation examinations, fee rises, etc. They have complained with increasing insistence against the present educational system and the authoritarian attitude of the faculties and college administrations.

Last December, hostel mess prices were increased from 85 rupees to 120 rupees [1 rupee equals US\$0.1265]. In Ahmadabad and Morvi the engineering students responded by ransacking the living quarters of the rector. The educational authorities closed down the institutions.

In protest against that decision, the Ahmadabad students called for an indefinite strike in the schools and colleges. The call met with a favorable response from most students.

Besides protesting the rise in hostel mess prices, the students denounced atrocities committed by the police. They also de-

manded reforms in the educational system, particularly with regard to administrative authority.

When the "14th August Shramajivi Samiti," an organization dominated by leftist trade unions and political parties, called for a bandh in Ahmadabad to protest price boosts, the students supported the move.

The bandh began January 10, initiating three days of militant demonstrations on a very broad scale, members of the middle class strongly supporting the agitation spearheaded by the students. As the demonstrations reached an intense pitch, the students began raising political demands such as dismissal of Patel and dissolution of the State Assembly. For the first time, they thus linked up their problems with the broader problems of society as a whole.

Angered by mounting police brutality, other sectors, including teachers, doctors, lawyers, bank employees, and social workers, joined in support of the students.

One of the features of the upsurge in Gujarat has been the sympathy for the student-led demonstrations expressed by sectors of the lower middle class. They have turned against the Congress government because of the steep rise in prices and the scarcity of essential commodities in the past year. Certain items such as edible oil, food grains, ghee, butter, vegetables, and meat have increased in cost as much as 100 percent. Some goods have disappeared from the market (vegetable oil, butter, baby food, matches).

Gujarat is dependent on the federal government for food grains, but deliveries have been drastically cut since last June. As against an allotment of 100,000 tons of wheat a month, Gujarat received only 15,000 tons in November. This occurred again in December. Consequently a person in the lower middle class got only one kilogram of wheat in each of those months, no rice, and only two liters of kerosene. To receive these required standing for several hours in a queue.

Well-to-do peasants have played an important but contradictory role in the rising protest movement. Last October, they organized against implementation of a so-called progressive land-ceiling law. The government did not openly yield to this pressure, but it did act leniently toward the utilization of loopholes in the measure.

The peasants next sought to get around the paddy levy act. As usual, the government again took a lenient attitude in collecting the levy in face of offers from landless labourers to see that the levies were carried out.

In the first week of January, the rich

peasants even sought to whip up agitation in the cities against the paddy levy. However, when the demonstrations in the cities took the form of food riots, and the demand for the resignation of Chief Minister Patel rose in volume, the rich peasants switched. They did what they could to save Patel, a member of the landed class. They even mobilized to increase the paddy levy above the amounts prescribed by law.

With the resignation of Patel, the rich peasants decided to back the student demand for the dissolution of the State Assembly. Their hope was to manipulate the next elections in such a way as to put into office a government standing still further to the right.

Merchants and industrialists support various political parties such as the Congress party, Congress (O) [Organisation Congress], Swatantra and Jan Sangh. They also support various factions within the same party. Thus they compete with each other not only in business but in the struggle for power.

Some of Patel's political foes, for instance, backed the students in demanding his resignation and even made some financial contributions with this in mind. However, as a whole, the capitalists sought after February 9 to block the so-called radical forces of the Congress party.

All the political parties, including several factions of the ruling party, have deployed their forces in the present upsurge. The rightist Jan Sangh and Congress (O) parties, for instance, have sought to remain in the forefront. Their purpose, of course, is to seek to lead the movement astray. The Communist party of India and the Communist party (Marxist) have also sought to influence the movement. However, the students as a whole are inclined to be independent and are not under the control of any political party or any one political leader.

The Communist League, the Indian section of the Fourth International, has made gains in this situation. In a couple of cities it has played an effective role in blocking the extreme right. It has also proved attractive to some of the student youth. The gains up to this point are limited but significant.

Up to now the workers have not joined as a class in the agitation. They have held back, either because they are not prepared to follow the lead of college students, whom they regard as children of the rich, or because they do not see how their own interests are directly involved.

As for the students of Gujarat, they have gained in self-confidence. They even feel that they might be able to play a role like that of the students of Thailand, toppling a government through their agitation and initiation of mass demonstrations. The big question facing them, however, is: What next? They want to reconstruct society but they do not see the means whereby that great goal can be achieved. □



# The October War and Israel's Economic Crisis

By Arie Bober

[This is the third installment of an analysis of Israel's economic and political perspectives in the wake of the October War. The first installment appeared in the April 15 *Intercontinental Press*.]

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## A New Reality in Class Relations

The present-day Israeli bourgeoisie is radically different from the pre-1948 bourgeoisie, and even from the pre-1967 one. Economic and social developments especially since 1967, have brought about deep and crucial qualitative changes in the composition and the relative power of the two components of the Israeli ruling class.

This ruling class is actually a *social coalition* consisting of two components: (1) the petty-bourgeois "labor bureaucracy"—historically rooted in the Histadrut and the "left Zionist" political parties—which controls the bulk of the surplus produced by the Israeli workers (in the "public sector") as well as the bulk of the funds flowing into Israel from abroad; and (2) the private capitalists, who appropriate the surplus produced by the workers in the "private sector" of the economy.

The term "labor bureaucracy" is placed in quotation marks in order to prevent hasty and superficial analogies with the labor bureaucracies in other capitalist countries, from which the Zionist "labor bureaucracy" differs in some fundamental aspects. Without going into an elaborate discussion, some of these should be pointed out.

The Zionist "labor bureaucracy" is not the product of a mass workers movement, nor of any proletarian mass struggle. From its very beginnings it was the product as well as the creator and major leader of a colonial movement in collusion with imperialism. Consequently, the Zionist "labor movement" and the bureaucracy heading it never had an anticapitalist dynamic or an anti-imperialist character. Even the *declared* aims of this "labor movement" were Zionist—i.e., working for the establishment of a Jewish state at the expense of the indigenous Palestinian Arabs whom it dispossessed—to which all class struggle, even the most economist and reformist, was subordinated.

Thus the most widely propagandized institutions of the Zionist "labor bureaucracy," the Histadrut and the kibbutz, have nothing socialist or internationalist about them. The Histadrut is not even a

real workers union, but—according to its leaders—"a general organization" that is one of the main pillars of the Israeli state. The kibbutz is no "socialist island slowly transforming society." In the context of pre-1948 Palestine, both were the most efficient tools for attaining Zionist goals.

However, this "labor bureaucracy" was not *merely* a "bourgeois instrument" for diverting and crushing workers struggles. The "labor bureaucracy" controlled the bulk of the surplus produced in the Jewish sector (the Yishuve) and the lion's share of the funds flowing into the country, and it was actually *functioning as a state machine* even before 1948. Thus, while leading the colonial movement that dispossessed the Palestinians, it was replacing them and their society with a modern capitalist economy and class structure created out of the Jews immigrating to Palestine.

These aspects of the Zionist "labor bureaucracy" had wide ramifications and long-lasting consequences, not only on the bureaucracy itself—its internal organization and patterns of recruitment, modes of control, system of promotion and distribution of privileges and benefits, norms and values, etc.—but also on Israel's economy, society, and politics as a whole, over which it still retains its hegemony.

The balance between the two components of the social coalition ruling Israel has been shifting steadily since 1948 in favor of the bourgeoisie. Despite the fact that the petty-bourgeois "labor bureaucracy" is still dominant, a dramatic change has occurred in the relative power of the two, with the bourgeoisie full of confidence and conducting an aggressive political offensive while the "labor bureaucracy" is continuously on the defensive and in retreat. The aftermath of the October War only further exposed this reality.

This changing reality in class relations was clearly expressed by the changes occurring in Israel's two great mass organizations—the Histadrut and the army.

The Histadrut was considered the bastion of the "labor bureaucracy," who completely dominated the organization and turned it into the power base for its hegemony in the Yishuve—the prestate Zionist establishment—before 1948 and in Israel after 1948. This situation has been changing at an ever growing pace since the establishment of Israel, so that in the last election to the Histadrut's general council (September 1973) the bourgeoisie's slate gained approximately 40 percent of the vote and received a pro-

portional representation in the Histadrut's executive committee.

In the army, a no less profound change took place. Before 1948, the "labor bureaucracy" and the Jewish armed forces shared the same outlook. The Histadrut determined the line of the Hagana and the Palmach, the "official" Jewish armed forces in mandate Palestine, while the Zionist "labor movement," and especially the kibbutzim and moshavim (agricultural cooperatives) provided the material base and human resources for the armed forces. Under these circumstances, consistent opposition to the "labor bureaucracy" became the same as opposition to the whole Yishuve; the military organizations of the opposition, the Lehi (Stern gang) and the Irgun, were called "dissident."

Things have changed radically since those days. As a result of the army's actual social position and its own psychological and ideological development, it has continuously approached the standpoint of the nationalist right. The ideology dominating the army today and the new attitude of the officer corps reflect the ideology and political conceptions of the extreme nationalist wing of the Israeli bourgeoisie:

The task of the "labor bureaucracy" was not to dominate, but to expel, the Palestinian people. This was expressed in deeds and in ideology by the slogans "conquest of land" and "conquest of labor" (Hebrew labor only). The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, anticipated the *exploitation* of the Arab masses. The dream of the "liberal" wing of the bourgeoisie—an alliance with the Palestinian notables and bourgeois elements—was crushed by reality. Thus the extremist bourgeois ideology predominated. The extremist bourgeois wing anticipated from the outset a strong Jewish state in which the Arab population would be second-class citizens, constituting a proletariat or subproletariat to be exploited. The dispute between the "labor bureaucracy" and the Israeli bourgeoisie regarding the attitude toward the Palestinians opened up anew after the 1967 war, with the "labor bureaucracy" fighting for "maintaining the Jewish character of Israel" and the "Allon plan" of partial annexation while the bourgeoisie raised the flag of "Greater Israel" and demanded full annexation of all the occupied territories.

The tendency of the new military caste is expressed both directly within the Likud (the new bourgeois political formation headed by M. Begin, the former commander in chief of the Irgun) and through the intermediary of Dayan's faction within the Labor party itself.

The shift in the balance of power be-

tween the "labor bureaucracy" and the bourgeoisie was not limited to the changes taking place in the Histadrut and the army. Similar changes were occurring in all levels and spheres of the Israeli state. These went so far that Dayan's right-wing faction inside the Labor party rapidly increased its political weight and became the factor ensuring the political hegemony of the "Labor Alignment" (the alliance between the Labor party and Mapam). This fact explains to a large extent the quick retreat and the political concessions made by the Labor Alignment to Dayan in 1969 and in 1973. The possibility that Dayan might split away and depose the Labor Alignment from power by forming an alternative government with the right-wing bourgeois parties was not an empty threat.

In other words, the "shift to the right" in Israeli politics harmed the petty-bourgeois "labor bureaucracy" by undermining its ideology, fragmenting its power sources, and eroding its social bases.

To the underlying economic processes (the deformed capitalist growth, its dependence on capital imports and unilateral transfers, the close ties to imperialism, and the structural shift to a war economy), which in the last analysis were the real bases for the strengthening of the Israeli bourgeoisie, were added social processes working in the same direction that stemmed essentially from the colonial character of the Israeli state, i.e., from the logic of the confrontation with the Palestinian people.

This pattern of economic and social development became even more pronounced and was accelerated in the aftermath of the 1967 war as a result of the social and political dynamic unleashed by the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The cardinal aspect was the fact that Israel became the direct oppressor and exploiter of more than half of the Palestinian people, whereas before 1967 the colonial character was mainly— but not exclusively—expressed as an expelling colonialism.

One of the most crucial of these social processes was the accelerated pace of militarization of Israeli society and the consequent prominent social position gained by the army. The immediate and obvious expression of this was the large-scale influx of retired high-ranking officers into key positions in all spheres of society: economy, government and Knesset, local municipalities, all the Zionist parties, mass media, universities, and even the Histadrut.

Of no less significance were the profound changes in values and norms—in the general ideological content of Israeli society—especially the new revival of Zionism and religion among young Israelis. This development was accelerated by the class character and world outlook of the post-1967 immigration from the West and especially from the Soviet Union.

This expressed itself in various ways: in the saturation of the educational system with religious-clerical myths, chauvinism, and racism; in the appearance of openly declared fascist organizations; in the hysterical witch-hunt against the Israeli anti-Zionist left; and, from the "labor bureaucracy's" point of view, in a most crucial way: the mass desertion of intellectuals, political leaders, trade-union militants, and many thousands of rank-and-file members from the Labor Alignment parties to the right-wing parties of the Likud.

In short, the pattern of economic, social, and political development brought about a new reality in class relations, in which for the first time in the history of the "Zionist enterprise" the bourgeoisie controls sufficient economic and political power, not only to challenge seriously, but at the present conjuncture actually to dictate terms to, its former benefactor and senior partner, the petty-bourgeois "labor bureaucracy."

### Preparing for Battle

The Israeli bourgeoisie, however, is bidding its time. Since political courage and initiative are not its most characteristic traits, it is perfectly willing to allow the "labor bureaucracy" to pull Israel out of the deep social and political crisis inflicted by the October War and to try to "solve" the economic problems by increasing the rate of exploitation of the Israeli workers. After all, Sapir and Company have acquired an impressive record in this field.

Nevertheless, the "labor bureaucracy" understands perfectly well what is at stake, what is expected of it, and what would happen should it fail in this task. With this in mind, Ben-Aharon's dismissal from the post of secretary general of the Histadrut can be easily explained. Ben-Aharon is dangerous, not so much because of his achievements for the workers (which really amounted to nothing), but because in the impending explosive situation and inevitable intensification of the class struggle his style and his militant-sounding rhetoric, the hallmark of the "people's tribune," might by themselves spark struggles that neither Ben-Aharon nor the government could control or contain. It is difficult to believe that Meshel, the dull bureaucrat whose sole qualification for the job of general secretary is his total obedience and submission, will warm Ben-Aharon's chair for long.

It is highly probable that after the Knesset elections, Almogi will return from his exile in Haifa (where he is running for the mayor's job) and will be duly "elected" secretary general of the Histadrut. Almogi's qualifications are excellent. During his term as minister for labor, a whole series of Draconian antilabor laws were passed, there was free use of administrative restriction orders, and strikers were regularly put on trial. Moreover, Almogi owes his emergence from the obscurity of a local small-time party functionary of

Mapai to his efficiency in brutally breaking the great seamen's strike and the ATA strike in 1951. For the Israeli bourgeoisie and the Zionist "labor movement," this is, of course, an excellent recommendation for the job of secretary general of the Histadrut.

Lacking the most elementary tools for an effective defense, the Israeli workers are in a very difficult situation in face of the bourgeois offensive.

The workers have no real trade union, let alone a real workers party—not even a reformist one, except the small Stalinist Communist party (the Moscow-oriented Rakah). They have no tradition or experience in proletarian mass struggle going beyond the boundaries of "left Zionist" nationalism and reformism.

The Israeli working class includes a large component of first-generation workers of petty-bourgeois origins, whose sole aspiration is to escape being workers, a status they regard almost as a social stigma. The Israeli workers have been neutralized and weakened through chauvinism and anti-Arab racism, and their collective consciousness has been saturated with demagogic slogans like "National unity," "A people under siege," "There's no choice," etc.

It is a class that has learned to accept as eternal natural phenomena bloody wars every few years, the claim that striking workers are "traitors" and "enemy agents," income policies and package deals at its expense, an extremely regressive tax system and "voluntary" loans, and labor courts and the wide use of administrative decrees against striking workers. The Israeli proletariat, which is about to become the target of the next Zionist blitzkrieg, is entering a crucial battle in which the enemy already enjoys immense advantages.

But it would be a grave mistake to assume that the outcome of this battle is already decided and that the bourgeoisie will emerge victorious. The Israeli workers will fight because they cannot submit passively to drastic cuts in their standard of living, being forced to pay the costs of the war, and the liquidation of their social gains and elementary rights as a class.

Moreover, the hold of demagogic slogans like "National emergency" and "Danger of a new holocaust" is much weaker than it was before. The "earthquake" in the wake of the October War not only smashed the doctrine of the Zionist "hawks," but is shattering the ideological and political foundations of Zionism as a whole—"hawks" and "doves," "left" and "right."

It took the Israeli proletariat eighteen months to engage in its first struggles after the 1967 war. This time, there is no "historic victory" and no economic boom. This time, there is a defeat—or a "stalemate" in official terminology—and a recession. This time the workers struggle will start immediately.

(To be continued.)



## The Next Phase in U.S. Foreign Policy

Reviewed by Dick Roberts



One of Henry Kissinger's perennial themes is that all nations should follow the leadership of the United States in world affairs. But he often speaks with a forked tongue. A year ago, in calling for a "new Atlantic Charter," he said: "We cannot hold together if each country or region asserts its autonomy whenever it is to its benefit. . . ."

In his April 15, 1974, address to the special United Nations assembly on world war materials, his main purpose was to warn underdeveloped countries *against* any attempt at unifying their struggle for economic advance.

*The Next Phase in Foreign Policy* is useful reading because it shows the roots of the two-sided character of U. S. pronouncements on foreign policy. Published by the Brookings Institution, the prestigious Washington-based "thinktank," in which Kissinger himself once participated, this book offers a series of essays by leading U. S. foreign-policy experts. The chapter titles of Part One indicate its scope: "U. S.-Japanese Relations"; "The United States and Western Europe"; "East Asia"; "U. S. Policy in the Middle East"; "U. S. Policy toward Latin America"; "U. S.-Soviet Relations"; "U. S. Relations with China." Part Two deals with global economic and military questions; the third and fourth parts, with proposals to put a new face on U. S. foreign policy.

A decade of radicalization in U. S. politics has had an impact on policy specialists. They are convinced that America's capitalist global aims must be presented to the public in a more favorable light. Henry Owen, the Brookings Institution's director of foreign-policy studies, opens his introduction to *The Next Phase in Foreign Policy* with the observation: "The essays in this book discuss the world role of the United States in the 1970s, in an attempt to answer two questions: How will the U. S. role abroad change? Will the United States, as a nation, be able to carry out a changed role?"

"These questions have special pertinence because of evident changes abroad and at home. The American people are questioning the premises on which foreign and national security policies have been founded since the end of World War II, a questioning brought about not only by the war in Vietnam, but also by diminishing confidence in our ability to influence the course of events in all parts

of the globe, by growing concern over domestic problems, and by the revived strength and confidence of other countries."

This theme is continued throughout the collection of essays. Morton H. Halperin, who served in top policy-making bodies as a member of the senior staff of the National Security Council and as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-

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*The Next Phase in Foreign Policy*, edited by Henry Owen. Essays by Morton H. Halperin, John Newhouse, Ralph N. Clough, Robert E. Hunter, Peter T. Knight and John N. Plank, Zbigniew Brzezinski, A. Doak Barnett, Edward R. Fried, Leslie H. Gelb and Arnold M. Kuzmack, Jerome H. Kahan, Leslie H. Gelb, Seyom Brown. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1973. 345 pp. \$8.95.

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national Security Affairs, writes: "Despite their great differences in historical development and culture, Japan and the United States are alike in many ways. Both are moving into the postaffluent age. Both have restless younger generations, which question the values of society. The population of both is beginning to be concerned about the pollution of the air, the rivers, and the land arising from urbanization and modernization. Although the two nations fought a bloody war, it is one that many of their citizens are too young to remember."

Ralph N. Clough, a Brookings senior fellow, says of U. S. relations elsewhere in East Asia: ". . . a change that may seem the most important of all to many Americans has been the questioning within the United States of the containment policy as a result of the Vietnam experience. The domestic reaction to this war, more than anything else, has forced a reexamination of the basic premises of past policy. Influential voices in the Congress and among the people have challenged official assessments of the importance of American interests in Southeast Asia, the seriousness of the threat to those interests, and the use of U. S. forces there to protect them."

Leslie H. Gelb, one of the authors of the Pentagon papers, who is at present writing on foreign policy for the *New*

*York Times*, says: "In May 1969 Louis Harris published a poll that seemed to confirm what the political analysts of Washington had been expecting all along. The poll did not show that Americans had stopped caring about security, world responsibility, and commitments. It did show a strong disinclination to use force and spill American blood in pursuing these goals. . . ."

"The Harris type of poll . . . tends to fit in with what Washington sees as the public mood. Elected officials, their staffs, newsmen, lobbyists, and the like in Washington—talking to and interviewing each other and studying the surveys—'divine' what the rest of the people in the country think and feel. With uncommon unanimity, this divining rod sees the public mood for the seventies as 'No More Vietnams,' 'Cut military spending,' 'We can't be the world's policeman,' and 'Let's solve our own problems first.'"

Gelb's remarks are particularly ironic. As a Washington "political analyst" in 1969, that is, as one of the few men on the inside of the highest Vietnam war policy-making circles, Gelb says that "all along" these circles knew of the unpopularity of the war. But in 1969 this knowledge was "top secret." The public line of the Nixon administration was that the opponents of the war were a tiny band of dissenters. Nixon ordered his "Watergaters" into the antiwar movement in an attempt to discredit and frame up its leaders.

It is one thing to be keenly aware of the unpopularity of Washington's aggressive role in world policy. It is something else again to find ways of changing that mood without changing the underlying imperialist aims of U. S. policy.

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A running theme of this book of essays is the irrepressible rising nationalism of the economically underdeveloped countries. Editor Owen says: "Nationalism and belief in progress are working to unsettle the outlook and physical surroundings of a large part of the Third World's population, even as a like transformation of attitudes set the West off on its explosive course in the late eighteenth century. Conceivably these forces may work themselves out into new patterns of stability; however,

there are many obstacles. For belief in progress, even among the elite, arouses in developing nations a mounting preoccupation with economic development, while the barriers to its fulfillment are formidable."

Peter T. Knight (Ford Foundation) and John N. Plank (University of Connecticut) believe that there is a revolutionary threat in virtually every Latin American nation. "In any event," they say, "democracy will be imperiled where, as is the case in almost every Latin American country, the 20 to 30 percent of the population that constitutes the core society lives comfortably, if not luxuriously, and controls the political system, another 20 to 40 percent seeks desperately to enter the upper group, and the rest of the population lives in misery near the subsistence level."

Knight and Plank write: "The world breaks today not so much on the East-West axis between communist and non-communist countries as it does on the North-South axis between rich and poor nations. . . . The confrontation between developing and developed countries is likely to intensify through the 1970s."

Edward R. Fried attempts to project actual income figures. (Fried served as a member of the senior staff of the National Security Council, 1967-69, and as executive director of Nixon's Task Force on International Development.) "The maldistribution of people and production in the world will get worse. By 1980 the industrially advanced countries, including the USSR and Eastern European countries, will contain about 25 percent of the world's population and almost 80 percent of the world's income. And partly because population is growing faster in the poor countries than in the rich countries, the disparity in living standards among people in the two categories of nations will widen.

" . . . per capita income in the poor countries, although increasing by almost half, will still amount to less than \$400 on the average. Even here, great disparities will exist—with India at little more than \$100 per capita, China at about \$200, and incomes averaging about \$600 elsewhere in the developing world. . . .

"In a world of vast populations, close communications and rampant expectations . . . the picture looks bleak, if not grim."

The hard economic realities boil down to a few basics: The United States will remain the biggest and richest consumer in the capitalist world market; Europe will not grow so fast; Japan will outpace Europe; and elsewhere the maldistribution of income will get worse. "The income projections for 1980 describe a world that looks dangerously out of balance—a world characterized by tensions that could jeopardize prospects for peace in ways that can be only dimly foreseen."

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Translated into military terms, prospects

of anti-imperialist struggle "that can be only dimly foreseen" require military "flexibility," that is, a wide range of military forces. The Brookings experts do not see either Western Europe or Japan playing a significantly enlarged military role in the next decade.

Leslie Gelb and Arnold Kuzmack (formerly an operations research analyst in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense and later deputy director of the Naval Forces Division of the same office) take it as a matter of established doctrine "that American forces must be maintained in Europe for the defense of that area. This is the agreed linchpin of U. S. security, and there does not seem to be much argument against buying forces for this contingency."

There are apparently some differences among the experts (they do not spell out the details in this book written for public consumption) on precise U. S. force levels to be stationed in Asia and the Pacific. A. Doak Barnett, one of the most influential U. S. Sinologists who supported establishing a detente with Peking in order to advance U. S. interests in Asia, argues: "The United States can and should maintain a credible nuclear deterrent in Asia, relying primarily on the Seventh Fleet and Polarix submarines. It can and should maintain some bases to help preserve security, particularly in the area around Japan. It can and should assist the defense efforts of Asian nations and maintain some capacity to use conventional forces in Northeast Asia, especially Korea, if and when vital American interests are clearly involved. But in the 1970s the United States also can and should substantially reduce the total number of its bases and level of its forces in the region—steps that should have a favorable effect on Chinese attitudes and improve U. S.-Chinese relations."

The last consideration, however, is speculative. In face of the pressures they themselves write about to contain and roll back Washington's global police role, and in face of the advantages to be gained from moving further along the road of detente with both the Soviet Union and China, the Brookings staff is nevertheless unwilling to go beyond a cut of just one U. S. general forces division. "The existing level of thirteen Army and three Marine divisions will not and should not be reduced by more than one division, instead of the full three divisions that could be cut by discounting the Southeast Asian contingency," Gelb and Kuzmack say.

On the level of nuclear forces, the Brookings experts don't even go this far. There is no talk about "convergence" in the rooms where Washington's war policies are decided! "American-Soviet competition will be multifaceted," declares Zbigniew Brzezinski, a Columbia University professor of government and a Brookings Institution associate. "It could continue to involve violence by proxy (as in the Middle East and perhaps in such areas

as southern Africa), with each major 'agent'; it will certainly involve intense political competition in such militarily stable areas as Europe (both Western and Eastern) and Japan; it will involve rivalry for influence in regions that are socially unstable, such as Latin America; it will involve (within the limits set by SALT)\* an increasingly complex race in military technology, as well as in the more conventional forms of military power."

Typical of the "strategic" weapons programs advocated by the Brookings experts is the development of a new bomber with nuclear capacity: "Although the existing B-52 force is aging, the few hundred later-model units could, with appropriate modifications, be maintained through perhaps 1980, thus providing an adequate strategic bomber component. If this component were to be kept in being beyond this decade, it would be necessary to procure a new-generation bomber. To enhance survivability, such a bomber should be capable of rapid takeoff and dispersal at many airfields and of remaining airborne for long periods of time at low cost; to ensure penetration, it should carry a large number of air-to-surface missiles. Essentially, it would be a mobile missile-launching platform."

The author of these chilling lines, Jerome H. Kahan, was previously an officer in the U. S. "Arms Control and Disarmament Agency"—which says a great deal about the fraudulence of Washington's claim that it favors disarmament. The "Arms Control and Disarmament Agency" has in fact become one of the main policy centers for planning nuclear weapons strategy.

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"It is tempting," Henry Kissinger said to the assembled dignitaries in the United Nations April 15, "to think of cartels of raw-material producers to negotiate for higher prices. But such a course could have serious consequences for all countries."

The implicit threat does not end with economic and political sanctions. *The Next Phase in Foreign Policy* makes it clear that Washington stands prepared to intervene militarily as well, as it did and continues to do in Southeast Asia, if the imperialist policy-makers decide that

\*The first round of the "Strategic Arms Limitations Talks," 1969-72, which was signed into agreement in the May 1972 Nixon-Brezhnev Moscow summit, placed a ceiling on the number of "defensive" antiballistic missiles to be placed around cities. The thinking was that an attempt to protect cities could be considered an "offensive" first-strike measure as a guard against a retaliatory second strike. Thus, Moscow and Washington agreed to an essentially unlimited arms race for first-strike weapons.



the situation warrants it. Considerable double-talk about a "unity" of capitalist world interests has indeed been added

to foreign policy pronouncements in the recent period. But the "next phase" is fundamentally no different from the previous

one. The United States remains the number one imperialist aggressor, economically, politically, and militarily.

# DOCUMENTS

## Long Live the Revolutionary Communist Front!

[The following declaration was published in the April 12 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly, under the title, "Vive le Front Communiste Révolutionnaire." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Profound upheavals are on the agenda in France. The growing rise of workers struggles, the challenges to management rights on the job, the mobilizations of student and worker youth against military enrollment, unemployment, and superexploitation, are widening the breach opened up in May 1968.

These struggles of the working class and the youth express a combativity that has successfully resisted both repression and co-optation. They occur in the context of a deepening of the crisis of the strong state that originated in the coup of 1958—a crisis of institutions, of the bourgeoisie's repressive apparatus, as seen in the courts, the army, and the police.

In this context the presidential elections take on a very special significance. For millions of workers and youth, they can appear as a political outlet for their daily struggles. All the more so, inasmuch as the bourgeois political formations are revealing a crisis and a division that are unprecedented since 1958.

But the Union of the Left's response to this crisis is ridiculous. The same people who failed their responsibilities in 1968, when they denounced the revolutionary crisis as a plot hatched by the bourgeoisie, are today proposing nothing but a rearrangement of the system, leaving the bourgeoisie's hands free to carry out economic and military sabotage when it is so inclined. Not only are they not calling on the workers to organize at this

very moment—the only guarantee of resisting bourgeois repression and assuring the realization of our demands—but they advocate a social truce and demobilization in the interests of national unity.

The tasks of the revolutionists are therefore immense. We must not only be a part of all the struggles that are challenging capitalist society, but we must put forward political answers to an ever growing workers vanguard, which is breaking in practice with reformist policies. We must also begin to prepare the ground for the independent organization and self-defense of the workers against the desperate resistance that the bourgeoisie will put up in the event of a victory of the Union of the Left. Finally, we must give an internationalist dimension to these anticapitalist struggles, by drawing the lessons of the Chilean experience as well as counterposing the formation of the Socialist United States of Europe to the Europe of the trusts and the monopolies, whose continued existence the Common Program of the left in no way challenges.

Because they defend such ideas and strive to incorporate them into their action, the revolutionary Marxists have continually faced repression at the hands of the bourgeoisie, which resorts to such means as imprisonment and the dissolution of organizations. The Ligue Communiste was the victim of such repression, and we assure its former members of our support in the struggle for the repeal of the nefarious decree of June 28, 1973, that outlawed them because they had fought the racist intrigues of fascist organizations tolerated by the regime. Moreover, even within the workers movement, the revolutionary Marxists have run up against repression by the bureaucracy, which has continually sought to exclude them from

the labor movement, although with increasing difficulty.

To meet these tasks, to carry on the struggle undertaken by the Bolshevik party in Russia and continued by Trotsky and the Fourth International, to take an active part in the struggle of tens of thousands of revolutionary militants today in Europe and throughout the world, the undersigned have decided to form an organization. In the tradition of proletarian internationalism, this organization will strive to link the struggle of the French workers with the world struggle against capitalism. This organization will break with the Stalinist caricature of democratic centralism by recognizing the right of tendencies while maintaining the centralization that is necessary to prepare the way for the destruction of the bourgeois state by the workers themselves. And it will strive to encourage everywhere the independent organization of the working class, to prepare in the struggles of today the socialist self-management of tomorrow, democratically centralized by a state based on workers councils.

That is why the undersigned revolutionary militants, having participated in the main struggles of the working class since 1968, call for the formation of a new organization, for the establishment of its federations and sections everywhere, with the perspective of holding a first congress at an early date. To this end, they are herewith appointing a provisional leadership, and calling on workers and youth to join the new organization in massive numbers.

Long live the Revolutionary Communist Front!

Long live the socialist revolution!

*Elsa Petit*, teacher; *Michel Rousseau*, post office employee; *J. P. Rataj*, nurse;

André Fichaut, electrician; Michel Récanati, student; Pierre Frank; Michel Lequenne, proofreader; Michel Field, high-school student; Marcel-Francis Kahn, doctor; Jean-Marc Poiron, teacher; R. Adraste, accountant; Alain Krivine, journalist; Jean-Marie Vincent, economist; S. Roux, nurse; Jules Fourrier, construction worker and former Communist deputy in the Popular Front; Pierre Rousset, journalist; Emilia Scialom, teacher; Wil-

frid Pasquet, longshoreman; G. Tomassin, civil servant; Jacques Houdet, tool-and-die maker; J. L. Dion, chemical worker; G. Rey, steelworker; J. P. Billard, bank employee; D. Vaillant, laboratory technician; Sophie Petersen, office worker; Paul Adam, student; Marcel Delpell, skilled trades instructor; Gérard Pessy, post office employee; Suzette Robichon, office worker; Colette Bliesenick, teacher; J. P. Pujnik, worker. □

forces] along the Ho Chi Minh trail that crosses Laos.

But they came to realize that the bombings were totally ineffective. In addition, the Nixon-Kissinger administration, committed to power politics, favors cease-fires because American imperialism is (or believes it is) more effective in battling on the economic and reconstruction level than on the level of military intervention and repression pure and simple. That is why the present American disengagement is a real disengagement. Military aid for 1974 has been reduced to less than \$100 million from \$311 million in 1973, the number of military advisers has been greatly lowered, and American support to the right-wing forces, especially to the Vang Pao mercenaries, has been greatly reduced.

The presence of Pathet Lao detachments in Vientiane and at Luang Prabang will make possible coups by the reactionaries very difficult. On the other hand, their presence encourages the population of these cities and, in general, of the whole zone formerly controlled exclusively by the Souvanna Phouma government to voice their demands and form political movements that were hitherto inconceivable. Thus 4,000 students recently paralyzed the city of Pakse to protest against corruption, illicit trading, and the rise in prices.

The partial victory of the Laotian revolutionists, concretized by the February 1973 accord and the presence of the Pathet Lao throughout Laotian territory, stimulates a dynamic of deepening class struggle that can only favor complete victory for the revolutionists in the short run, all the more because the right-wing forces, abandoned by their main supporter, are paralyzed. □

## The Situation in Laos

[The following article, entitled "Laos: A Real Victory for the Revolutionists," was published in the April 12 issue of *La Gauche*, the weekly organ of the Ligue Revolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers League), the Belgian section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The Peace Accord of February 22, 1973, has begun to bear fruit in Laos. It was concluded at the end of bloody confrontations between, on the one hand, the Pathet Lao, the military and political expression of the popular forces of the country and, on the other hand, the puppet government of Vientiane, supported by the American forces and Thai mercenaries.

This agreement, very similar to the agreement signed at the Paris Conference for Vietnam, provides for a cease-fire, an end to all foreign intervention, the formation of a government of national union and a national political consultative council, and free and democratic general elections.

The (provisional) government of na-

tional union was recently formed. It includes as many ministers from the Pathet Lao as from the Vientiane administration.

However, this is not the first time that a comparable reconciliation has occurred in Laos. In 1956-57 and in 1962-63



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coalition governments were established that sought to follow a "neutralist" policy.

But both times they were overthrown by right-wing forces supported and encouraged to revolt by American imperialism.

The situation after the February 1973 accord is quite different. The Pathet Lao is stronger than ever: It controls 80 percent of the national territory and an important section of the population. But the main factor that has upset the relationship of forces is the new attitude of the Americans. The U. S. imperialists were mainly interested in cutting off the supplies that were reaching the NLF and guerrillas of the FUNK [Cambodian Liberation

### Auto Executives Tighten Their Belts

Announcing that it had taken into account "the regulatory provisions and the spirit" of governmental wage controls, General Motors disclosed April 18 that it was holding the line with its top executives' pay. Board Chairman Richard C. Gerstenberg, for example, is to receive only a 5.5 percent pay hike. Of course, since his pay last year totaled about \$875,000, even 5.5 percent works out to a hefty increase—\$48,037 to be exact.

Executives at Ford Motor Company did not fare so well. In what is perhaps a belt-tightening campaign, Ford Chairman Henry Ford II took a \$9,567 cut, dropping all the way to \$865,000.

By way of comparison, an average U. S. autoworker earns \$11,823 a year. At this rate young workers entering the auto plants at age 20 could—providing they are never sick, laid off, or out on strike—retire at age 98 with the comforting thought that they had finally earned what Richard Gerstenberg rakes in in one year.