

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

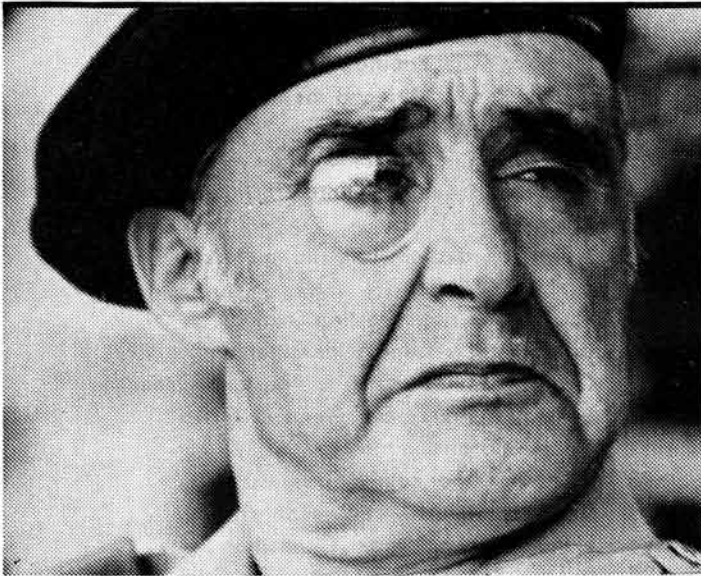
the Americas

Vol. 12, No. 18

© 1974 by Intercontinental Press

May 13, 1974

50c



Spínola's Big Problem--What Next in Africa?

Portuguese Colonies Demand Independence



Nixon Bares (Inaudible) All

El Correo Catalan

'Guardian' Confucian?

The editors of the New York weekly *Guardian*, the retailers of Mao Tsetung Thought in the United States, seem never at a loss in defending the latest innovation from Peking.

Carl Davidson in his eagerness to join in condemning Confucius seems to have really put his foot in his mouth; or perhaps (who knows?) he may be a capitalist-roader like those unmasked so frequently in China these days, waving the red flag in order to oppose the red flag. In any case, his February 27 article "What's Behind the Struggle Inside China?" seems to have slyly included, despite all its apparent Maoist orthodoxy, a sinister attack on no one less than the Chairman himself.

In the best style of those "sham Marxists" who always seem to be worming their way into high positions of leadership in the Chinese CP, he begins his account with feigned innocence by quoting the first two lines of one of Chairman Mao's poems, which he tells us is "now being publicized":

"I care not that the wind blows and the waves beat.

"It is better than idly strolling in a courtyard."

Breaking off in midstanza, he then slips in a quote from a 1967 issue of *Peking Review*:

"Chairman Mao has observed, 'Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time and they do not easily give way.' The bourgeoisie makes use of precisely this trash to corrupt the masses and the younger generation, to try to conquer the hearts of the people and to fight against the proletariat."

Davidson then cunningly returns for a moment to "orthodoxy" to call our attention to the "trash" particularly likely to corrupt the masses and the youth today: Confucianism. Confucius, he says, "is not only a reactionary now, but he was a reactionary in his own time as well."

Surely by now any Chinese reader will have remembered the whole of Mao's poem:

"I care not that the wind blows and the waves beat.

"It is better than idly strolling in a courtyard.

"It was on a river that The Master said: 'This is the whole of Nature flowing.'"

The final line, of course, is from Confucius, whom the Chairman addresses, as the ancient sage's disciples did, as The Master.

Didn't Davidson used to write articles praising Lin Piao, too? Maybe somebody in Peking should look into this. □

In This Issue

FEATURES	600	Detente: Why Both Sides See It as Good Business—by Dick Roberts
U. S. A.	578	"Guardian" Confucian?
	582	Nixon's Gamble With White House Transcripts —by Allen Myers
	584	How White House Conspiracies Are Planned
PORTUGAL	579	Junta Calls for "Order and Tranquillity" —by Michael Baumann
AFRICA	581	Rebels Repeat Demand for Independence —by Ernest Harsch
CANADA	586	Inflation Sparks Labor Militancy
FRANCE	587	Economic Issues Dominate Election —by Pierre Frank
	589	Krivine Speaks for Socialism in Election —by Dick Fidler
	590	Krivine Describes Election Strategy
	591	Ultralefts Reconciled With Mitterrand
ETHIOPIA	592	Cabinet, Military Try to "Restore Order"
INDIA	593	Railway Workers Set General Strike —by Sharad Jhaveri
	593	Mass Arrests of Railway Unionists
MALAYSIA	594	Demand Release of Prisoners
BANGLADESH	594	100,000 Attend Dacca Opposition Rally
CHILE	595	Lawyer Barred From Frame-Up Trial
	597	Junta Gets Loan of \$97 Million
	604	The Workers Movement Under the Junta (Interview With a Labor Leader)
BRAZIL	595	Student Disappears in Police Custody
ARGENTINA	596	Rally Demands Release of Luis Vitale
INDOCHINA WAR	596	Report 24,000 U.S. "Advisers" in Vietnam
PHILIPPINES	597	Catholic Bishops Protest Repression
LAOS	597	Regime Accepts Imperialist "Aid"
IRELAND	603	Belfast Women's Liberation Group Formed
PUERTO RICO	605	Governor Proposes New Repressive Laws
DOCUMENTS	606	Coral Confronts Peron With Five Demands
AROUND the WORLD	598	
DRAWINGS	579	Antonio de Spinola; 583, Richard Nixon; 605, Juan Mari Bras; 606, Arturo Mor Roig —by Copain

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Mai-tan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

COPY EDITOR: Lawrence Rand.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Candida Barberena, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Allen Myers, Jon Rothschild, George Saunders.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein.

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

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

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

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Gueme-nee, 75004, Paris, France.

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercon-tinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

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

Copyright © 1973 by Intercontinental Press.

Portuguese Junta Calls for 'Order and Tranquillity'

By Michael Baumann

"One unhappy category here," reported *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger in a May 2 dispatch from Lisbon, "consists of Portugal's leading families, those who control industry, banking and commerce. They are saying nothing and lying low. But according to those who know them, they are watching with increasing alarm as red banners appear in the streets, hammers and sickles are sprayed on monuments, and the Communists and Socialists, who a week ago were operating clandestinely, now openly bid for political power."

The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* echoed the same concern. "There is a serious question," they wrote April 30, "whether General de Spínola and the young officers of the junta will be able to come to a working arrangement with the political forces that have now been unleashed."

The April 25 military coup provided Portuguese workers the opportunity to express their political opinions openly for the first time in nearly fifty years. The result in the tumultuous week that followed, Giniger wrote in a May 4 dispatch, was "a clear breakdown in authority, with hundreds of thousands of Portuguese rushing to assert their suddenly won freedoms."

"Workers in five key public services — the Post Office, the railways, electricity, telephones and the national airline TAP — have already ousted the top managements because they were closely connected with the old regime or appointed by it. The fear is widespread among business leaders that these 'mini-revolutions' will soon extend to the private sector."

"The state-controlled television network issued repeated warnings last night against people taking things into their own hands, and today a spokesman for the junta called on the Portuguese to go to work. The 'mini-revolutions,' he warned, could hinder economic development."

It is clear that the junta has far more than a threat to economic development on its mind. Direct action by the workers with a clear political fo-

cus would challenge capitalist rule in Portugal.

In the first few days after the takeover the junta took action to restore freedom of press, speech, assembly, and association and provide for recall of colonial governors, amnesty for draft dodgers and deserters, amnesty for political prisoners, and return of political activists from exile. These sweeping decrees have unleashed a dynamic of their own.

An immediate target was the hated secret police, the 3,000-strong General Directorate of Security. One of the ironies of life under the Portuguese dictatorship was that police sur-



SPINOLA

veillance was so intensive that many agents were known by sight. The few who dared to appear on the streets after the coup were saved from swift justice at the hands of their former victims only by Spínola's troops.

The junta has made it known that changes in the repressive apparatus will be kept to a minimum. While popular pressure made it necessary to announce that the secret police would be disbanded immediately, and while as many agents as could be found were jailed (largely for their own protection), the junta's program states

that their function will be taken over by reorganized national and local police forces. Furthermore, it appears that many former agents will not have to look far for new jobs.

Although the junta's plans for the former agents are not yet known, "the impression given so far," reported Richard Eder in the April 30 *New York Times*, "is that the junta will try to make use of the technical experience of those agents who have kept their reputations relatively clean." How a secret police agent could keep "relatively clean" under a dictatorship noted for its brutality, the *Times* reporter did not say.

"For the overseas [colonies]," reported an Agence France-Presse dispatch in the April 28-29 *Le Monde*, "the General Directorate of Security will be restructured and sanitized to become a military intelligence police, should military operations prove to require such a unit."

And most important, the army, the central pillar of reaction and bourgeois rule, remains untouched under Spínola's leadership. In addition to protecting the junta in the metropolitan center, troops are still being sent to fight in the African colonies, which Spínola has refused to grant independence.

The largest outpouring of public sentiment came on May Day, the first time since the 1920s that Portuguese workers have had the legal right to celebrate the international working-class holiday. As an army helicopter hovered over Lisbon and watchful troops took up strategic positions in the downtown area, tens of thousands marched through the streets. More than 100,000 filed into a mass rally at the soccer stadium, reportedly the biggest political rally in the history of the country.

The wide range of political views expressed at the rally was summed up in the signs and placards the marchers carried. According to a dispatch by Miguel Acoca in the May 2 *Washington Post*, "columns representing Communists, Socialists, Liberals, and other parties streamed into the

stadium with banners saying 'Thank You, Armed Forces,' 'Free Trade Unions,' 'Equality for Women,' 'Down With Capitalist Exploitation' and 'Power to the People.'

"A significant number of signs urged independence for the territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. . . . Many signs said 'Bring the Soldiers Back.'"

The May Day demonstration on the island of Madeira, where former dictator Marcello Caetano is being "detained" in a palace, was described as having a "serious Marxist cast."

"The leaders of the demonstration," reported a dispatch in the May 2 *New York Times*, "appeared to be almost exclusively Marxist in political orientation, as were all the leaflets and posters passed out. Crowds were given mimeographed sheets with the words of the 'International,' the Communist anthem, and many of the banners carried past the palace bore portraits of such Communist leaders as Karl Marx and Ernesto Che Guevara. . . . No supporters of Dr. Caetano made their presence known."

In fact, many former Caetano supporters seem to have undergone rapid conversions. Now that the dictatorship has fallen, runs one popular joke, "You won't be able to buy a suit for at least two years. The tailors are busy with orders from turncoats."

A May 2 dispatch by Giniger reported that many former collaborators feel the need for far more in the way of camouflage: "Advertisements are appearing with increasing frequency in the press denying any connection, for example, with the once-feared and now disbanded security police. In one such ad, António da Costa, a resident of Baixa da Banheira on the outskirts of Lisbon, denies he was a member of the security police or an informer for it."

Many union officials were simply thrown out before they could even attempt a quick-change of image. As of May 2, at least seven major unions had been taken over by the workers themselves. Professional associations of doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, and journalists have done the same, and the staffs of two Lisbon dailies, *A Capital* and *Diário de Lisboa*, have called in their own pages for the ouster of the old management.

A similar process took place in the universities. "The government-appointed rectors of the universities have

been dismissed," reported a May 2 dispatch in the *New York Times*, "and faculties and students have been meeting to draw up new statutes that would give them a voice in running the schools."

With these vast changes under way, the junta looked to the May Day demonstrations as a major test of strength matching itself against the political forces unleashed by the coup. A change in the mood of the masses could already be detected as early as April 28, only three days after the coup, when the junta's troops fired into the air to save a number of secret police agents who had been spotted by angry crowds. That same day, Spínola sent tanks to the center of Lisbon to intimidate demonstrators.

"As the tanks moved to the plaza," Acoca reported in the April 29 *Washington Post*, "crowds did not cheer and did not offer the soldiers flowers and wine as in the past few days."

"Soldiers were also busy at the Independence Palace," he reported, "attempting to dislodge leftists from the building's grounds and to discourage leaders of the CDE party [Democratic Electoral Commission—the opposition formation in the October 1973 elections]—a coalition of liberals, Socialists, and old-line Democrats and pro-Soviet Communists—from using the palace as its headquarters."

Later that day a communiqué read over the state-controlled radio station warned the nation not to be taken in by those who "aim at sowing disorder and division among the Portuguese people," and called for "an atmosphere of total order and public tranquillity."

The day after May Day, a representative of the junta interviewed by the *New York Times* expressed satisfaction that the rallies and demonstrations had not gone beyond the limits set by the junta. "We are delighted," the officer serving as second-in-command of the northern region told *Times* correspondent Richard Eder. "We have staked everything on the belief that the Portuguese people can handle freedom, and yesterday they proved us right."

Much of the credit for so far preventing the masses from taking the next logical step and calling for the overthrow of the junta must go to the leadership of the Communist and Socialist parties, who have provided the Spínola regime with an indispensable left cover. From the moment

the exiled leaders of both parties returned to Portugal they became cheerleaders for the junta. Instead of calling for its overthrow, each tried to outbid the other in expressions of support for Spínola, limiting their reservations to the question of independence for the colonies.

A crowd of 5,000 gathered at the Lisbon railroad station April 28 to greet SP leader Mario Soares, returning after five years of exile. The scene reminded one rather naive reporter of Lenin's triumphant return to Russia in 1917 following the February revolution. Soares disclaimed the parallel, as well he might have. "Lenin was a great man," he said. "I am but a simple militant in my party."

In his speech to the crowd, Soares made it plain how far from reality the "parallel" was. While Lenin had called for the overthrow of the provisional government as the first order of business, Soares declared: "Comrades, this is the time for unity and not for fighting."

"From the station," reported Acoca in the April 29 *Washington Post*, "Soares was driven to the Defense Ministry, which has become the junta's headquarters, for the [previously arranged] meeting with Spínola. The general greeted the Socialist with a warm embrace."

The scene was repeated two days later when CP leader Alvaro Cunhal returned from twelve years in exile. "Minutes after his arrival by air from Paris," Giniger reported in the May 1 *New York Times*, "Mr. Cunhal was hoisted atop an armored personnel carrier by young army officers and from there he addressed his followers while soldiers stood guard around him."

In an open bid for a post in the Spínola regime, Cunhal declared: "The Communist party is ready to assume its responsibilities in the present political juncture." The crowd of CP supporters, understanding perfectly, shouted back, "Cunhal in the government!"

"In a display of unity," the *Times* account reported, "Mr. Soares headed a Socialist delegation that went to greet his principal rival at the airport. The two parties want to maintain unity in a popular front with the help of Christian Democrats and this aim was reflected in the repeated chant of the crowd: 'A united people will never be vanquished.'" □

African Rebels Repeat Demand for Independence

By Ernest Harsch

Within days of the coup in Portugal that brought General António de Spínola to power, the various guerrilla organizations fighting for the independence of Portugal's African colonies—Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau—issued statements rejecting Spínola's neocolonialist "solution" to Lisbon's loosening grip on its "overseas provinces."

In his book *Portugal e o Futuro*, published in February, and also since coming to power, Spínola has outlined his proposal for the future relations between Lisbon and its colonies: the creation of a federation of four "equal states," in which Lisbon would dictate policies in the areas of foreign affairs, defense, and finances. "Self-determination," Spínola told reporters shortly after the coup, "should not be confused with independence."

Even without Spínola's clarification, none of the African rebel groups appeared to have been confused by what he meant by "self-determination."

The first guerrilla organization to respond to Spínola's scheme was the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde—African party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands), which controls about three-fourths of the countryside in Guinea-Bissau. Founded in 1956 by Amílcar Cabral and fighting against the Portuguese forces since 1959, the PAIGC declared Guinea-Bissau's independence in September 1973. The PAIGC administration has since been recognized by eighty-two states as the legal government of the country.

In a dispatch from the liberated territories of Guinea-Bissau, written before the April 25 coup and published in the April 29 *New York Times*, correspondent Thomas A. Johnson reported that cadres of the PAIGC were discussing the proposals in Spínola's book.

Luis Cabral, the brother of Amílcar Cabral (who was assassinated in January 1973) and president of the council of state of Guinea-Bissau, said

in an interview with Johnson: "Spínola talks a lot and he has been known to make a lot of promises. But we know that the only language he listens to comes from the guns of our forces hitting him and hitting him and hitting him again." In an earlier interview with Simon Malley obtained after the March 16 attempted coup by supporters of Spínola, and published in the April 1 Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie*, Cabral stated: "We agree to negotiate at any time, with any Portuguese government. But we will negotiate in our capacity as a sovereign state, part of whose territory is still occupied illegally by the aggressive forces of a foreign country."

In a communiqué released April 29 in Dakar, Senegal, the PAIGC declared that the Portuguese forces in Guinea-Bissau were stepping up their raids, especially against civilian targets. The communiqué emphasized that these military actions suggested that no "change of orientation has occurred in Portuguese policy whatsoever." A few days earlier, in a radio broadcast in Dakar, the PAIGC stated that it would step up its actions to put an end to "odious colonialism."

While the Portuguese troops in Guinea-Bissau have been hard pressed in the countryside by the guerrilla forces, up until recently they still retained virtually complete control of the major cities. A report in the April 29 *Afrique-Asie* indicated, however, that the military position of the Portuguese troops in the urban areas was also eroding. According to *Afrique-Asie*, PAIGC forces set off explosions February 22 in the capital, Bissau, just a few yards from the governor's palace and the offices of the commander in chief of the colonialist forces.

While the independence movement in Angola has often been hampered by the rivalry between the three different guerrilla groups in that country, all three organizations responded to the Lisbon coup in a similar manner. They declared their willingness to negotiate, but only for Angola's com-

plete independence.

On April 25, the day of the coup, Agostinho Neto, the president of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), stated in Ottawa that Spínola's formula "doesn't suit us." "This coup," he said, "does not mean that we will obtain independence."

According to the April 30 *Le Monde*, the representative of the MPLA in Algiers said: "The MPLA states its readiness to negotiate with Portugal the question of the complete independence of our country."

"After Angola's independence has been achieved," he continued, "there will be place for all those who respect the sovereignty of our country and who are willing to work honestly and to live in the framework of the established structure. However, power can only be in the hands of the Angolans, and especially of those who defend the interests of the exploited and oppressed layers."

The May 2 *Le Monde* reported that the Portuguese news agency in Luanda, Angola, carried the text of a leaflet attributed to the MPLA that called on African nationalists to demonstrate in Luanda May 1 against Portuguese colonialism. The leaflet called on the population to rally and march on the governor general's palace, and ended with the slogan: "For a multiracial and independent Angola."

Holden Roberto, the president of the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—National Front for the Liberation of Angola) said in Kinshasa, Zaïre, that any formula for federation or autonomy "is outdated." "What we want," he said, "is that power in Angola be returned to the majority."

The May 2 *Le Monde* published a communiqué of UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola): "The Portuguese colonial-fascist regime is losing its wars in Africa, and angry

officers have overthrown the Caetano government. Heading the coup is the famous General Spínola, a veteran of the battle of Leningrad [as an observer with the Nazi forces during World War II] and hangman of the peoples of Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

"This rebel general is right to recognize that Portugal cannot win with the methods that have been used up to now. What he has yet to discover is that Portugal cannot win by any other method or reform.

"UNITA, which is fighting in six of the fifteen provinces of Angola, with an army of more than 4,000 guerrillas commanded by a leadership established in the very heart of the country, solemnly declares that the Angolan people have not spilled so much blood in order, once rid of colonialism, to be subjected to the neocolonialism proposed by Spínola and his friends.

"UNITA notes without the least il-

lusion the contradictions within the Lusitanian [Portuguese] bourgeoisie as they search for one federative solution or another that would allow them to safeguard their interests in Angola. To those who are preparing to take power in Portugal, UNITA serves this warning: 'Your speculation is fruitless, for there is only one solution to this war. Direct negotiation with the same people who, arms in hand, have brought about your failure.'

According to the April 29 *New York Times*, there have recently been major attacks by the Angolan liberation forces against Portuguese troops in Cabinda, where Gulf Oil has about \$200 million tied up in oil-drilling operations.

The independence fighters in Mozambique have also stepped up their attacks against Portuguese installations in recent months. Since the beginning of the year, there have been at least twelve serious attacks against the

railroad connecting Beira, on the coast of Mozambique, to Umtali in Zimbabwe.

Rosaria Tembe, a spokeswoman for Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) said in Lusaka, Zambia, April 28, during a meeting in support of African nationalists in Zimbabwe: "We are not fighting in Mozambique to become black-skinned Portuguese. We are fighting to affirm our identity. As long as our aims have not been achieved, we cannot settle down and say that victory has been won by a simple change in the government in Portugal."

Organization of African Unity Secretary General Nzo Ekangaki stated in Gabon, according to the April 29 *Washington Post*, that Lisbon would not willingly give up its colonies. "What will free our continent," he said, "is the struggle by the liberation movements." □

'The Godfather' Fights Impeachment

Nixon's Gamble With White House Transcripts

By Allen Myers

"It has come to this," columnist George F. Will wrote in the May 3 *Washington Post*. "A President is begging the nation to believe that 1,200 pages of transcripts, edited by him, are 'ambiguous' concerning his involvement in a criminal conspiracy to obstruct justice."

There was little or no ambiguity in the transcripts, Will concluded: "But as Mr. Nixon knows, the question now is not, 'what do the transcripts mean?' but rather, 'does the House of Representatives mean business?'"

New York Times columnist James Reston reached a similar conclusion regarding the transcripts that Nixon had released April 30. In the paper's May 5 issue, Reston wrote:

"President Nixon has asked the American people to read the edited version of his White House conversations on Watergate and to be 'fair' about them; and if they do, he will almost certainly be impeached."

In fact, even though Nixon himself edited the transcripts, they pro-

vide perhaps even a larger amount of damaging evidence against him than was made available in the course of the hearings of the Senate Watergate committee last year. Perhaps even more damaging to Nixon than the evidence of precise crimes is the overall tone of the transcripts. The *New York Times* commented on this aspect in a May 5 editorial: "The long, convoluted, rambling discussions of blackmail payments, of burglaries concealed, of 'national security' cover stories, of 'beating the rap,' of double-crossing some Administration underlings to save others are simply sickening. The pervading tone of these conversations is not that of the Chief Magistrate of a great and free republic with his advisers, but of a shyster lawyer counseling some scared and rattled and rather shady clients. The language is the language of 'The Godfather.'"

Why Nixon Did It

As the transcripts themselves make

clear, throughout the history of the Watergate scandal, Nixon has provided no information and made no concessions that were not either forced from him or carefully designed to gain him more than he gave away. The same is true of the release of the transcripts.

The House Judiciary Committee's subpoena for forty-two tapes of Nixon's conversations on the Watergate cover-up had put the head of the White House gang in an untenable position. To provide undoctored recordings to the committee would have been equivalent to handing over a signed confession. An outright refusal to honor the subpoena would have risked another upsurge of public disgust such as followed last October's firing of the special prosecutor and provided an additional charge in the expected bill of impeachment.

Offering the committee transcripts rather than the subpoenaed tapes had some obvious advantages for Nixon.

First of all, it allowed him to edit

out the more damaging portions. The transcripts released by the White House are so filled with such notations as "(unintelligible)," "(inaudible)," "(expletive deleted)," "(characterization deleted)," and "(Material unrelated to Presidential actions deleted)" that in many places they are practically incomprehensible. These deletions frequently occur in the middle of remarks that seem likely to be highly relevant to the question of impeachment, as for example:

Dean: That is what really troubles me. For example, if it starts breaking, and they do find a criminal case against a Haldeman, Dean, a Mitchell, an Ehrlichman? That is—

Nixon: If it really comes down to that, we would have to (unintelligible) some of the men.

Second, Nixon tried to use the release of the transcripts to win some public support and to pressure the members of Congress against an impeachment vote. The transcripts were released late on the afternoon of April 30. Nixon went on nationwide television the night before to announce that the tapes proved him innocent and John Dean a liar. His chief defense lawyer, James St. Clair, released a fifty-page brief arguing the same thing. It was obviously hoped that this public relations effort would obscure the real content of the transcripts and—in combination with the April 28 acquittal of Maurice Stans and John Mitchell in their trial on charges of conspiracy and perjury in connection with a secret campaign contribution—would produce a dramatic shift in public opinion.

Nixon was trying for a repetition of his successful 1952 "Checkers speech," in which he turned disclosures of his personal corruption to political advantage. The current effort would appear to have flopped. A Gallup poll conducted May 2 found that 17 percent of those who heard or read about Nixon's April 29 speech said that it gave them a more favorable opinion of Nixon; 42 percent said it lowered their opinion of him.

In another aim, Nixon was more successful, at least for the moment. The release of the transcripts was intended to create a division in the House Judiciary Committee between Democrats, who argued that Nixon had not complied with the subpoena, and Republicans, who claimed that

the transcripts were sufficient. This would allow Nixon to portray the moves toward impeachment as a "partisan" effort of the Democrats. In fact, the committee on May 1 did vote along party lines to send Nixon a letter saying that he was not in compliance with the subpoena.

But the contents of the transcripts soon began to undermine any tendency of Congressional Republicans to rally around their party's leader. Clifton Daniel reported in a May 1 dispatch from Washington to the *New York Times*:

"Yesterday, Republicans were hurrying to the floor of the House to



NIXON: "Loses" a few more tapes.

praise the President after he had announced his intention to release the transcripts.

"'Today,' the House Democratic leader, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, said, 'not one man took the floor.'

"'It means,' another member said, 'that we will impeach the President in the last week of June instead of the first week of July.'"

(Unintelligible) Editing

The May 2 *Washington Post* printed an editorial consisting of excerpts from the transcripts in which what appeared would be incriminating passages were replaced by "(inaudible)" or "(unintelligible)." The editors then concluded:

"Moral: Any member of the House

Judiciary Committee who is prepared to place full faith in transcripts of recordings or presidential conversations, transcribed and edited by the White House, without the benefit of any effort by experts to inspect the tapes and attempt to retrieve (*inaudible*) and (*unintelligible*) passages, is an (*expletive deleted*)."

But even with all the deletions, there is more than enough evidence in the transcripts to justify Nixon's impeachment several times over. However, it is true that Nixon's editing job removed more than just his gutter language and racist remarks.

The chief of the White House gang was in fact rather careless about covering his tracks when he deleted material from the transcripts. Nixon seems to have overlooked the fact that the Judiciary Committee was already in possession of at least one tape for which he was providing a transcript. After comparing the transcript with the tape, John Doar, the committee's chief counsel, told the members May 1, "We have found, quite candidly, that these transcripts are not accurate."

In particular, Doar said that passages marked "inaudible" or "unintelligible" in the transcripts could be understood by the committee staff listening to the tape. Was this because the staff used "superior equipment," one committee member asked. "Because of superior diligence," Doar replied.

Doar also said that passages were omitted from the transcripts without any indication of the deletion. He gave no indication of the extent of such unmarked deletions, but they would appear to be considerable.

One of the transcripts that Nixon turned over to the committee was the record of a March 28, 1973, telephone conversation between John Ehrlichman and then Attorney General Richard Kleindienst. The record of this conversation was in possession of the Senate Watergate committee and was obtained last year by the *New York Times*, which published it on June 29. The *Times* version notes at least eight "inaudible" passages that are not noted on Nixon's transcript. If this is typical, Nixon's 1,250 pages of transcripts must contain hundreds, if not thousands, of omissions that are not indicated.

It is obvious that the failure to mention omissions can severely distort the meaning of a passage, particularly

when words are attributed to the wrong speaker, as happens at least once in Nixon's transcript of the Ehrlichman-Kleindienst conversation. For example, the *Times* version contains the following passage concerning John Mitchell:

Ehrlichman: And he [Nixon] would want to have a private communication from you if you are possessed of any information that you think he ought to have with regard to John. Now he (inaudible)

Kleindienst: (inaudible) ought to think about John (inaudible). McCord or Liddy or Hunt or any of these seven, you know, testify. . . .

Nixon's transcript gives the same passage in this way:

Ehrlichman: And he would want to have a private communication from you if you are possessed of any information that you think he ought to have with regard to John.

Kleindienst: Now he ought to think about John. McCord or Liddy or Hunt or any of these seven, you know, testify. . . .

Thus Nixon's transcript completely suppresses the fact, evident in the *Times* version, that Kleindienst and Ehrlichman discussed Mitchell's situation and what Nixon ought to do about it.

Some Wholesale Deletions

The White House editing of the incriminating tapes went considerably

further than this, however. Of the forty-two tapes requested by the committee, Nixon produced no material at all concerning eleven. Nine of the conversations, the White House claimed, had not been recorded, and two others "cannot be located."

The two "lost" tapes reportedly concern a February 20, 1973, conversation between Nixon and Haldeman and a February 27, 1973, conversation of Nixon, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman.

The February 20 meeting is thought to have concerned the appointment of Jeb Stuart Magruder, the former deputy director of the Committee to Re-elect the President, to a governmental position. Magruder later testified that long before this date Haldeman knew that Magruder had perjured himself during the trial of Watergate burglars. John Dean has testified that a frequent concern in weighing appointments was the danger that the naming of a cover-up conspirator to a post requiring Senate confirmation would permit senators to question the conspirator under oath about Watergate.

The February 27 discussion reportedly concerned the assignment of Dean to "investigate" Watergate and report on it to Nixon. The record of that conversation would be likely to provide additional evidence that what Nixon wanted was not an investigation but a whitewash.

Nixon's lawyers have announced that he will not turn over to the committee any additional information. That includes evidence, in such areas as the ITT and dairy industry payoff scandals, that has been requested, but not subpoenaed, by the committee.

On May 1, Nixon's lawyers asked Judge John Sirica to quash a subpoena for tapes and records of sixty-four White House conversations needed by special prosecutor Leon Jaworski for the trials of Nixon aides indicted in the Watergate cover-up. The lawyers indicated that Nixon will appeal to the Supreme Court if necessary in order to prevent Jaworski from obtaining the evidence. Whatever the eventual ruling on such an appeal, the effect will be to delay the trials. Delay seems to be the chief element of Nixon's strategy at the moment.

Nixon's only real hope is to prolong the impeachment proceedings in the hope that something will produce a swing of public opinion in his favor. The question of additional evidence, *Newsweek* reported in its April 29 issue, "may turn out to be irrelevant. One well-wired Congressional Republican source told *Newsweek's* Samuel Shaffer that Rep. Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, the senior Republican on the House committee, has decided on the strength of the tapes already in hand that he would support a bill of impeachment." □

A Sampling From Nixon's Transcripts

How White House Conspiracies Are Planned

Despite the numerous deletions (not all of which are indicated) and allegedly inaudible or unintelligible passages in the White House tapes, the edited White House transcripts offer a revealing picture of the operations of Nixon's "law and order" gang.

From beginning to end, the transcripts show Nixon concerned with one thing above all: limiting the disclosure of Watergate and related events to the maximum extent possible. In considering various illegal measures to maintain the cover-up, virtually the sole consideration was: Will it work?

The first transcript, of a conversation on September 15, 1972 (the day on which the seven original Watergate defendants were indicted), records Nixon's congratulations to Dean on his apparent success in covering up the real extent of the scandal. Dean appears to be fishing for compliments.

Dean: Three months ago I would have had trouble predicting there would be a day when this would be forgotten, but I think I can say that 54 days from now [election day] nothing is going to come crashing down to our surprise.

Nixon: That what?

Dean: Nothing is going to come crashing down to our surprise.

Nixon: Oh well, this is a can of worms as you know a lot of this stuff that went on. And the people who worked this way are awfully embarrassed. But the way you have handled all this seems to me has been very skillful putting your fingers in the leaks that have sprung here and sprung there.

The transcripts do not, of course, provide a day-by-day record of the cover-up conspiracy. After September 15, 1972, the earliest transcript is that of a conversation between Nixon and

Dean on February 28, 1973, in the Oval Office of the White House. By that time, there were already signs that the cover-up might come unstuck. Dean and Nixon spent considerable time discussing how to deal with the planned Watergate hearings of the Ervin committee.

Both expressed dissatisfaction with L. Patrick Gray, the acting director of the FBI, who was apparently not keeping sufficient control over the investigation—and not doing enough to keep troublesome politicians in line—in the manner of his predecessor, J. Edgar Hoover.

Dean: . . . I think we would have been a lot better off during this whole Watergate thing if he [Hoover] had been alive. Because he knew how to handle that bureau—knew how to keep them in bounds.

Nixon: Well, Hoover performed. He would have fought. That was the point. He would have defied a few people. He would have scared them to death. He had a file on everybody.

The same transcript records a discussion of whether it might be necessary for Nixon to give executive clemency to the seven Watergate defendants, who had been convicted and were awaiting sentencing.

Nixon: I feel for those poor guys in jail, particularly for [Howard] Hunt, with his wife dead.

Dean: Well, there is every indication they are hanging in tough right now.

Nixon: What the hell do they expect though? Do they expect clemency in a reasonable time? What would you advise on that?

Dean: I think it is one of those things we will have to watch very closely. For example—

Nixon: You couldn't do it, say, in six months.

Dean: No, you couldn't. This thing may become so political as a result of these hearings that it is a vendetta.

But part of the conspiracy involved promising clemency to the burglars, even though Nixon evidently did not intend to fulfill the promise. This is revealed in the transcript of a March 21, 1973, meeting of Nixon, Dean, and Haldeman in the Oval Office, when Dean said to Nixon: ". . . as you know, [Charles] Colson has talked indirectly to Hunt about commutation, and things like that. All of these things are bad, in that they are problems, they are promises, they are commitments. They are the very sort

of thing that the Senate [Watergate committee] is going to be looking most for."

It seems probable that if the House of Representatives votes to impeach Nixon, the March 21 meeting will be central to the articles of impeachment. Although the burglars had already been paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to keep them silent, Howard Hunt had relayed a demand for an additional \$122,000, threatening to tell the "seamy things" he had done for John Ehrlichman, Nixon's top domestic adviser, if the demand was not met. (One of the "seamy things," it was later revealed, was the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.) Dean led up to the discussion of how to deal with the blackmail threat by filling Nixon in on the details of earlier payoffs.

Dean: . . . then [after the June 17, 1972, arrest of the burglars] they started making demands. "We have to have attorneys fees. We don't have any money ourselves, and you are asking us to take this through the election." All right, so arrangements were made through [John] Mitchell, initiating it.

Dean went on to explain that he, Ehrlichman, Mitchell, and H. R. "Bob" Haldeman, chief of the White House staff, could all be charged with obstruction of justice.

Nixon: You were taking care of witnesses. How did Bob get in it?

Dean: Well, they ran out of money over there [at the Committee to Re-elect the President]. Bob had \$350,000 in a safe over here that was really set aside for polling purposes. And there was no other source of money, so they came over and said you all have got to give us some money. I had to go to Bob and say, "Bob, they need some money over there." He said, "What for?" So I had to tell him what it was for, because he wasn't just about to send money over there willy-nilly. And John [Ehrlichman] was involved in those discussions. And then we decided there was no price too high to pay to let this thing [not] blow up in front of the elections.

Nixon: I think we should be able to handle that issue pretty well. May be some lawsuits.

After some discussion as to how much Hunt and other figures in the case really knew, the conspirators got down to the specifics:

Nixon: How much money do you need?

Dean: I would say these people are going to cost a million over the next two years.

Nixon: We could get that. On the money, if you need the money you could get that. You could get a million dollars. You could get it in cash. I know where it could be gotten. It is not easy, but it could be done. But the question is who the hell would handle it? Any ideas on that?

It should be noted that Nixon's original response when Dean described this conversation to the Senate Watergate committee was that he, Nixon, had said that the money could be raised but that it would be wrong to do so. Haldeman gave Nixon's version in his testimony to the committee, and has since been indicted for perjury.

The conspirators did in fact tend toward the view that there was no point in paying out \$1 million to the burglars, who would not be satisfied if they were not also released from prison. But at several points during the ensuing discussion, Nixon emphasized the need to meet Hunt's immediate demand in order to gain time for reorganizing the cover-up.

Nixon: Your major guy to keep under control is Hunt?

Dean: That is right.

Nixon: I think. Does he know a lot?

Dean: He knows so much. He could sink Chuck Colson. . . .

Nixon: Just looking at the immediate problem, don't you think you have to handle Hunt's financial situation damned soon?

Dean: I think that is—I talked with Mitchell about that last night and—

Nixon: It seems to me we have to keep the cap on the bottle that much, or we don't have any options.

Dean: That's right.

Nixon: Either that or it all blows right now?

Dean: That's the question.

Later that day, Nixon, Dean, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman took up the question of Hunt again.

Nixon: . . . what is your view as to what we should do now about Hunt, et cetera?

Ehrlichman: Well, my view is that Hunt's interests lie in getting a pardon if he can. That ought to be somehow or another one of the options that he is most particularly concerned about. Now, his indirect contacts with

John don't contemplate that at all— (inaudible).

Nixon: He assumes that's already understood.

But Nixon soon steered the question back to the payoff.

Nixon: . . . so the point we have to, the bridge we have to cross there, that you have to cross I understand quite soon, is what you do about Hunt and his present finance? What do we do about that?

Dean: Well, apparently Mitchell and [Fred] LaRue are now aware of it, so they know how he is feeling.

Nixon: True. Are they going to do something?

Dean: Well, I have not talked with either of them. Their positions are sympathetic.

Dean's assurance was sufficient for Nixon; he then went on to other subjects. According to the indictment handed down by a Watergate grand jury on March 1 of this year, on the day this discussion took place Mitchell authorized LaRue to pay Hunt \$75,000 and LaRue delivered the money to Hunt's attorney that night.

In a lengthy argument accompanying the transcripts, Nixon's lawyer James St. Clair argued that the March 21 transcript showed that "the President rejected the payment of \$120,000 or any other sum to Hunt or other Watergate defendants."

St. Clair was merely doing what lawyers of criminals are paid to do. His efforts are not likely to meet with much success here, since the transcript of another meeting contains an admission by Nixon that he expected the payoff to be made. In the April 14 record of a meeting of Nixon with Haldeman and Ehrlichman, the following passage appears:

Nixon: . . . incidentally, what is the liability of Hunt? I am thinking of the payoff thing.

Haldeman: Yeah.

Nixon: This business, somebody in—Dean, Dean. Dean asked, told me about the problem of Hunt's lawyer. This was a few weeks ago. Needed sixty thousand or forty thousand dollars or something like that. You remember? I said I don't know where you can get it. I said, I mean, I frankly felt he might try to get it, but I didn't know where. And then, he left it up with Mitchell and Mitchell said it was taken care of and after (unintelligible).

When it is borne in mind that such

incriminating remarks are contained in transcripts that Nixon himself has edited, his refusal to hand over the or-

iginal tapes to the House Judiciary Committee is not the least bit (unintelligible). □

Strikes, Marches Demand Reopening of Contracts

Inflation Sparks Labor Militancy in Canada

More than 10,000 workers marched through the streets of Montréal and thousands demonstrated in other cities across Québec on May Day in response to an appeal by a "common front" of the major trade unions. An estimated 30,000 workers left their jobs in local and partial strikes lasting between a few hours and the whole day.

A major issue behind the demonstrations and strikes was inflation. Workers in Québec and in English Canada are experiencing a drop in real wages as prices rise at an annual rate of over 10 percent. The theme of the Montréal march was "Inflation, On La Prend Pas" (Inflation—we won't put up with it).

An increasingly popular demand in the Canadian labor movement is for cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts. According to the April 29 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto, only about 15 percent of unionized workers have such protection.

The struggle against inflation received a boost in early April when workers at the biggest steel plant, the Steel Company of Canada in Hamilton, got the company to reopen their contract and grant a modest midcontract wage increase. Within a few weeks after that, tens of thousands of workers in other companies and industries had won similar midcontract increases.

In Québec, delegates from the three main labor federations, the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), and the teachers union (CEQ), held a joint conference March 22-23 with representatives of the farmers union and the cooperative movement to form a common front to fight inflation.

"The common front conference launched a fight for the reopening of

all contracts in order to obtain an escalator clause tying wages to the real rise in the cost of living," Colleen Levis reported from Québec City in the April 1 issue of *Labor Challenge*. The conference also called for lump-sum payments to workers to make up for buying power already lost because of price rises, a raise in the minimum wage and old-age pensions, and the tying of these and other social-security benefits to increases in the cost of living.

"The Québec City meeting was the first conference of the top leaderships of the three main labor federations since their previous common front fell apart in the aftermath of the April-May upsurge of 1972," *Labor Challenge* noted.

Following the conference, trade unions in several regions of Québec formed local "common fronts" to fight inflation.

The CSN and FTQ report that over eighty of their affiliated unions have demanded the reopening of contracts.

Inflation is not the only issue behind the current wave of militant labor struggles. Postal workers across Canada shut down the post office for more than a week in April to protest attempts to introduce automated sorting equipment threatening the jobs and pay rates of present manual sorters. The countrywide strike was triggered by the firing of twenty workers in Montréal April 9. The strike spread throughout Québec and across Canada, in defiance of court injunctions and the retaliatory suspension of hundreds of other workers by the post office.

By April 19, some 18,000 workers were off the job in about eighty cities. At a meeting of 1,000 strikers in the west coast city of Vancouver, a strike committee was formed, and the strikers there published a strike bulletin, the *Daily Picket*. □

Economic Issues Dominate French Election

By Pierre Frank

Chaban-Delmas, Giscard d'Estaing, and Mitterrand are the only candidates who can hope to become president. Mitterrand is sure to be ahead on the first round, and thus remain a candidate on the second round. Of the two others, only the one who outdistances the other will be able to run on the second round.

Although the Socialist party's alliance with the Communist party has been denounced by Mitterrand's op-

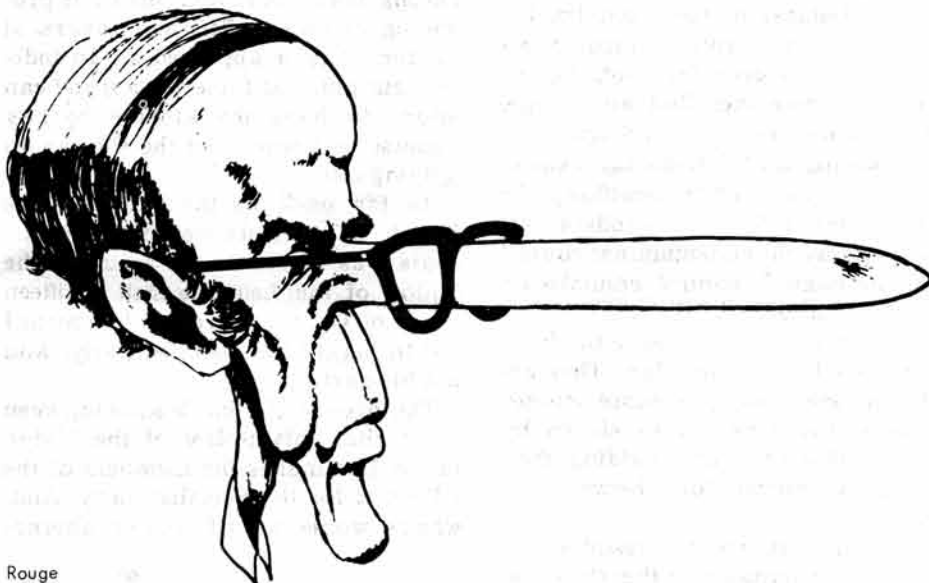
ponent. Who cares about France's "grandeur" and other hollow formulas when prices rose more than one percent in March, which means a forecast increase of more than fifteen percent for the year? The job outlook, already pretty dismal for the fall, has worsened; during the last week in April, the crisis struck the automobile industry, where sales were down by 20 percent in March. The big automobile firms are closing some fac-

more than a small part of his promises in this area. For the real problem, one to which they all give vague replies, is what they propose to do in order to stop the rise in prices and to head off the recession that is developing.

Mitterrand is advised on economic matters by former Premier Pierre Mendès-France and by United Socialist party leader Michel Rocard (who belongs to the upper crust of the civil service, the Inspectorate of Finances) and has unveiled a number of short-term and longer-term measures. He wants to obtain an immediate agreement with the unions on the issue of workers demands—to achieve in a "cold" way a new "Grenelle," without being subjected to the upheaval of major workers struggles, as in May '68.

The CGT [General Confederation of Labor, the Stalinist-led labor union] and the CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor, of Social-Democratic inclination] will be prepared to accede to that request. They have already scheduled a big festival featuring sausages and white wine as a substitute for the May Day demonstrations. They have also lowered their demand for a basic minimum wage of 1,500 francs, which was formulated just fifteen days before Pompidou's death, to 1,200 francs in order to bring it into line with Mitterrand's promises. Georges Ségué, the general secretary of the CGT, is showing his "reasonableness" with statements like this: "After fighting for [the Union of the Left], we would be inconsistent if we risked compromising its success through demagogic demands." (Note that the term "demagogic" is aimed at the workers' demands, not the candidates' promises.)

Mitterrand proposes to stop the rise in prices by reducing the sales tax on items of immediate necessity; that can at best bring about a leveling off of prices for several months, as was illustrated when, as finance minister, Giscard d'Estaing did the same thing with meat prices before the March 1973 legislative elections. Mit-



Rouge

GISCARD d'ESTAING

ponents, it is not the main issue in the first round. The "Communist danger" is a much less useful argument than in the past, and it will really be heard only after the first round, when they're trying to pull together as many votes as possible against the candidate of the Union of the Left. The anti-Communist argument has been relegated to the background by many other things that are preoccupying not only working-class voters but all social categories.

These problems, to which all the candidates have had to give priority treatment in their campaigns, are inflation, job security, and unemploy-

ment. Who cares about France's "grandeur" and other hollow formulas when prices rose more than one percent in March, which means a forecast increase of more than fifteen percent for the year? The job outlook, already pretty dismal for the fall, has worsened; during the last week in April, the crisis struck the automobile industry, where sales were down by 20 percent in March. The big automobile firms are closing some fac-

ories at the end of the month for a day or two. On social questions, all the candidates mentioned above are making almost the same promises: to raise the minimum monthly wage to 1,200 francs [100 francs = US\$20]; to lower the age of retirement and institute a sliding scale on pensions; and to increase the interest rate on savings deposits (it has been six percent for several weeks, while the currency is depreciating at more than double that rate each year). The outgoing majority had already made similar promises last year, in its "Provins program." It is doubtful that a single candidate, once elected, would keep

terrand also says that he will revalue the franc, to put it on a par with other European currencies. Apparently this would be the contrary of the devalua-



CHABAN-DELMAS

Rouge

tion that seemed likely for the end of the year. This monetary maneuver is probably designed to lower the cost of imports and shield France against recession within the Common Market; but once again, it is only a monetary manipulation that will not basically change things.

Mitterrand says that he will use the budget surpluses (the amount is not known) to keep his commitments to aid the disadvantaged sectors of the population, and that he will borrow 10,000 million francs at the current rates of interest. That sounds like fighting the crisis by using deficit financing procedures for economic recovery. In the past such procedures effectively helped to lessen the impact of recessions, but they also laid the basis for the present international monetary crisis, a general depreciation of currencies, and an inflation that has reached the rate of fifteen and twenty percent or more in the highly developed capitalist countries. So, it is really taking a big risk.

Mitterrand's proposals contain monetary manipulations, but nothing that hurts the interests of big business, and nothing to counter the flight of capital that would be inevitable if he were elected. In sum, his program is full of limited and temporary palliatives. Moreover, the other candidates are supporting measures that are not much different.

Giscard is simply trying to show that he is more concerned with saving money, balancing the budget, and so on. He charges that Mitterrand and Chaban-Delmas would empty the state

reserves. Chaban states that the Ministry of Finance is a state within the state, that it is sabotaging reforms, and that in the future, responsibility for the budget must rest with the prime minister and not with the minister of finance.

These two bourgeois candidates are waging the liveliest struggle before the first round, despite the nonaggression pact they had agreed to at the beginning. The first blows were dealt by their stand-ins, but now the candidates themselves are on the attack. Chaban, who appears to be in difficulty, if trends in the public opinion polls are to be believed, has taken the bull by the horns, denouncing the "conservatism" of his opponent, who, he says, is "allied to the right." Giscard is more veiled in his attacks, knowing that part of the UDR [Union for the Defense of the Republic, the main Gaullist party] is turning his way. When thieves fall out, honest men can sometimes find advantage. Thus, in the overseas territories and departments, traditionally the scene of great electoral frauds benefiting the UDR, there will be controllers this time, sent by the constitutional council and the election control commission in order to avoid such frauds.

One more word on the attitude of the bosses in the campaign. They are not expressing any preference between Chaban and Giscard, as shown by the fact that they are dividing their campaign contributions between the two.

One quite remarkable result of the Mitterrand campaign is that the Communist party—this "first party of France," this "party of the working class," this party that has always boasted that it would never play second fiddle—is filling precisely the role of second fiddle to Mitterrand's candidacy in the present campaign.

Mitterrand is treating the CP with what appears to be the smoothest politeness, but in reality with arrogance and disdain. Up to now, he has monopolized the left's radio and television appearances; it can be expected that next week he will accord a few minutes to Georges Marchais [CP general secretary], but also the same amount of time to Mendès-France, the Left Radical Robert Fabre, and to Rocard.

A single big meeting has been organized in Paris under the sponsorship of the Union of the Left. All the big meetings outside Paris are organized

Mitterrand Tops Poll

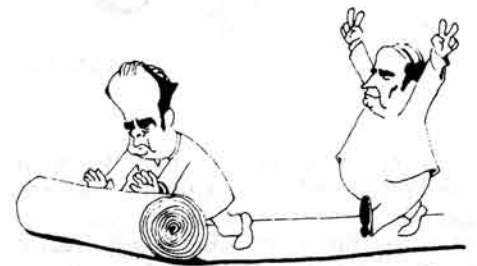
Socialist party leader François Mitterrand topped the polls in the first round of France's presidential election, May 5, with 10,935,763 votes or 43.4 percent. He will face former Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who received 32.9 percent of the vote, in the run-off second round vote on May 19. Former Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas, candidate of the major Gaullist party, polled only 14.6 percent.

The vote of Alain Krivine, the Trotskyist candidate, was not yet available as *Intercontinental Press* went to press.

by the Mitterrand "support committee," in which the CP is just one participant among many. Although the CP is producing its own leaflets and posters, at no time has it appeared as an independent political force. Mitterrand can afford to have the attitude he has because he knows that the CP can do nothing else.

As far back as the day after the March 1973 legislative elections, Marchais was forced to observe that the Union of the Left, the fruit of fifteen years of CP perseverance, had turned out to benefit the Socialist party, and not his party.

The present election is showing even more that this policy of the Union of the Left makes the members of the CP work for the Socialist party. And, what's worse, the CP has no alterna-



Rouge

Marchais rolls out carpet for Mitterrand.

tive policy; it can't outflank Mitterrand on his right, or in any case it wouldn't gain any advantage from doing so; nor can it tack to the left without running the risk of playing into the hands of the far left, which is what it fears above all. This dilemma of the CP cannot help but have some repercussions in the end.

Paris, April 25, 1974

Krivine Speaks for Socialism in French Election

By Dick Fidler

"No Truce or Compromise—For a Workers Government," was the slogan of the French Trotskyists in the presidential election, headlined on posters throughout the country.

The reformist leaders of the Union of the Left engineered an "electoral truce" discouraging strikes and attempting to channel workers' militancy into electing François Mitterrand. The Socialist party leader treated the presidential election as a contest between him and the political heirs of Pompidou as to who could best manage French capitalism for the next seven years.

The Trotskyists, however, turned their campaign into a tribune for revolutionary socialism. The Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR—Revolutionary Communist Front) and its candidate, Alain Krivine, utilized the election as a forum to publicize the demands of labor, women, and youth, and to explain the socialist alternative.

The FCR made extensive use of access to the mass media, as provided by French electoral law, to publicize the views and activities of militants in labor struggles and in the women's liberation movement.

In his April 24 radio broadcast, for example, Krivine turned over the microphone to two activists in the struggle for women's rights. "Colette," who processes checks in the post office, described the discrimination women experience in her job—the lack of child-care facilities, lack of adequate wages, lack of job security and advancement, and the burden of housework at the end of the working day. Krivine then explained to the radio audience what a workers government would do. Among the FCR's proposals: free child-care centers open twenty-four hours a day, collective laundry facilities in each neighborhood, easy and simple divorce, with guaranteed professional training for women who obtain divorces, and a salary until they find work.

"Irene," introduced as a founder of

the MLAC, the Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception, described how the present restrictive abortion laws in France lead to death or mutilation for thousands of women, and serve in a major way to oppress women. She noted that the FCR supports the fight for free abortion and contraception for all women, including minors, on the principle that the question of whether or not to have an abortion should be one for women alone to decide. She emphasized the importance of women organizing as women, with their own demands and leadership.

A key weapon in the campaign to spread the revolutionary-Marxist viewpoint was *Le Quotidien Rouge* (The Red Daily), an attractive eight-page tabloid daily, which was launched April 22. Each issue was crammed with analysis of the election issues and the socialist answers, polemics with the record and views of other candidates, interviews with leading militants in labor and social struggles, and reports on FCR campaign activities.

The paper featured articles presenting a Trotskyist criticism of the Mitterrand candidacy. Mitterrand's program, *Le Quotidien Rouge* argued, could in no way resolve the problems of French working people, and that the Union of the Left's attempts to introduce socialism without dismantling the bourgeois army and repressive state apparatus would be unsuccessful. An article in the April 24 issue reviewed the record of the French Communist party in previous coalition governments with the bourgeoisie—the 1936 Popular Front and de Gaulle's postwar regime—showing how the Stalinists had betrayed the workers' interests.

The international news pages in the revolutionary daily exposed the French bourgeoisie's complicity with the military rulers in Chile and the Thieu regime in South Vietnam, making the point that without a revolu-

tionary program and leadership, the French workers could face a fate similar to that of their Chilean brothers and sisters.

"Ils ne respectent pas la trêve" (They are not observing the [electoral] truce) was the title of a regular feature that reported labor and other social struggles taking place during the electoral period. The column's title could be said to express the whole approach of the Trotskyists' campaign: to use their participation in the election to demonstrate that socialism can be won only through the struggles of the working people, and not through elections and parliament.

Many articles described exemplary struggles in which workers had taken the initiative to expose capitalist profiteering. One issue reported how workers in a food store chain in Brittany, struggling for higher wages, had drawn up their own price index in collaboration with consumer and farm organizations, and used it to organize a boycott by customers. Another article reported how local unions in a town in the Meuse valley had worked with peasants to organize a "vente sauvage" (unauthorized sale) of meat that gave the peasants a higher return and supplied the buyers at a price 30 percent lower than the normal sales price.

Several articles in the daily emphasized the importance of the struggle for women's rights. In an interview in the April 24 issue, for example, four women workers at the Motorola plant in Toulouse explained how a recent strike had radicalized them and resulted in the formation of a "women's commission" in their local union.

Le Quotidien Rouge opened its columns to other candidates to highlight struggles against particular aspects of capitalist exploitation and oppression. It interviewed them, reported their campaign activities, and defended their right to run in the election when the authorities tried to rule some of them off the ballot. These candidates included the agronomist René Du-

mont, representing environmentalist groups; Djellali Kamel, supported by immigrant workers organizations; and Robert Lafont, candidate of several organizations fighting for self-determination for oppressed nationalities in France.

The Krivine candidacy was oriented especially toward radicals inclined to distrust Mitterrand and to reject the Union of the Left. Many of these elements had rallied to the proposal, originally advanced by *Rouge*, to run Charles Piaget, a leader of the Lip strike, as a far-left unity candidate. The proposal fell through when the leadership of Piaget's party, the PSU (United Socialist party), voted to support Mitterrand.

But the impact of the Krivine candidacy was indicated in the April 23 issue of *Le Quotidien Rouge*, which published a statement by a grouping called the Center of Communist Initiative in Narbonne, announcing its decision to reject the PSU stand for Mitterrand and to join the FCR.

The editors published a letter in the same issue from Antinorm, a prominent "sexual liberation" group that fights for homosexual rights and women's liberation, endorsing the Krivine candidacy. *Rouge* called for the formation of Committees to Support the Krivine Candidacy in every area, to open the campaign to the active participation of persons who were not yet members of the FCR.

Mass meetings in support of the revolutionary candidacy were well-attended: 2,500 in Toulouse, 1,000 in Marseille, 1,500 in Lyon, 1,500 in Caen, 1,000 at Nantes, 500 in Lille, and more than 5,000 at the Palais des Sports in Paris April 29.

The Trotskyists were, of course, swimming against the stream in this election. Many worker and student militants attracted to the positions of the FCR nonetheless voted for Mitterrand on the first round under the illusion that his victory would advance the interests of the working class.

Mitterrand's candidacy, Alain Krivine told an election rally in Lyon April 22, "has met with an immense response in the country. It reflects a desire for change, but it also indicates the weight of reformism in the working class." And he denounced the role of the reformist labor leaders in supporting the Union of the Left. □

Interview With Trotskyist Candidate

Krivine Describes Election Strategy

[The following interview with Alain Krivine, Trotskyist candidate for president of France, was published in the first issue of *Le Quotidien Rouge*, dated April 22. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Since you are supported by the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire [FCR]—Revolutionary Communist Front, which has just been founded, you seem to be running as the representative of an organization. In view of what was said around the proposal to run Piaget, do you think this is consistent with the tasks at hand?

Answer. After Pompidou's death our first response, in fact, was to bring the far left and the vanguard workers together in a united campaign around Charles Piaget. Our reasoning was that this workers candidacy would be the best symbol and expression of the most advanced concrete experience in the class struggle since May 1968. We wanted to regroup all those forces that refuse to put their confidence in the Union of the Left and Mitterrand and that depend primarily on their own mobilization and organization to cut through obstacles and open the way to socialism. That was our first response, our first attempt. Inasmuch as the majority of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist Party] rejected that candidacy, our attempt was not a successful one, and Comrade Piaget bowed to his party's discipline.

In line with this thinking, we proposed to all the far-left groups, and especially to *Lutte Ouvrière*, which had already announced that it was running a candidate, that the far left run as its common candidate a worker militant who would not be part of the leadership of any organization. *Lutte Ouvrière* categorically rejected this. We then decided to run me as a candidate, although we were aware that this campaign would not have the same impact or the same function.

It's clear what this function is. Far-left militants who only yesterday were

ferocious antielectoralists, and sick of the Communist party, some of whom even rejected the trade unions, and all of whom accused us of being "moderates," are now to be seen jumping over the fence and bumping into each other at the polling booths in their haste to vote for Mitterrand. In the face of this electoralist pressure, it is important that there be a candidate who can challenge the Common Program and the Presidential Charter [of Mitterrand], by expressing firm positions and a revolutionary program.

Then, too, it is necessary to combat all the demagogy that says that an "organization candidacy" is unfortunate because its base is too narrow. There are enough candidates competing to become the president of all the French people. I claim only to be the spokesman for a program and an organization. And that's already saying a lot; it's the result, the synthesis, of the experience and militancy of several thousand workers and youth in their daily struggles. My candidacy is the expression of the way they have developed the rich lessons of their experiences.

Finally, since the election gives us a tribune, it is also an opportunity to use this valuable means to get a hearing to carry forward the struggle against the dissolution of the Ligue Communiste, which was banned by Marcellin for having fought fascism.

Q. But doesn't calling for a vote for Mitterrand on the second round conflict with the revolutionists' desire to organize the workers' distrust of the reformists?

A. In the eyes of the majority, of the mass of workers, Mitterrand's election would give them the means of getting rid of the regime that originated in the 1958 coup and although mortally wounded, survived the general strike of May '68.

The Communist party and the Socialist party are striving to control this extended mobilization of the workers and the population to their own advantage.

And to a certain degree the election of Mitterrand would remove an ob-

stacle. It would illustrate that a change has already taken place in the class relationship of forces, and it could be the point of departure for a new surge forward.

Finally, Mitterrand is the candidate of the unions, the CP, the SP, the PSU, in short, of the majority of the workers organizations. And that's certainly how the bourgeoisie sees it when they tell Mitterrand: "You are a capable moderate man, but the danger lies in those who are following you."

For all these reasons, a vote for Mitterrand means a class vote for millions of workers. That is why we will call for voting for Mitterrand on the second round — after having explained on the first round the limitations and suicidal contradictions that burden the reformists' plans.

Q. The weekly Rouge, the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire, and you yourself had already stated that you would vote for Mitterrand on the second round only if he did not in the meantime make any compromises with representative sectors of the bourgeoisie. But doesn't the whole orientation of the Union of the Left already tend toward such alliances and such compromises?

A. Yes, it tends to, inevitably. This is its logic. We are convinced of it, we are aware of it, and we say so. And our task is to explain this.

But it must be understood that this analysis of ours is not shared by millions of workers who still have confidence in the CP, the SP, and the leaders of their unions. That majority will only be convinced through experience, with firsthand proof. It will only be torn away from the reformists' solutions by taking the measure of their failures, and then rallying to the revolutionary solutions, with the establishment of a workers' government and the expropriation of the bosses.

That is why we will vote for Mitterrand despite his cowardly, compromising, and bankrupt policies.

But we add: Only if he has not concluded in the meantime any pact with significant sectors of the bourgeoisie. That's not just for the record. Take the example of Chile. There is a difference between the Chilean government without the military before October 1972 and the Chilean government with the participation of the mili-

tary after October 1972.

The change concretized a capitulation of the Popular Unity that was visible and understandable to thousands and thousands of workers, who drew their own conclusions by beginning to organize themselves in the factories, the neighborhoods, and the famous cordones industriales. They began to outline the perspective of a people's power, built by themselves, parallel to the national assembly and the government coalition with the military.

For us, the Union of the Left is heading toward the same compromises. Mitterrand is preparing the way for them. But few workers yet believe us when we say so.

Mitterrand is maneuvering. And that is reason enough for us to ruthlessly denounce all his openings toward the right, his implicit promises to grant ministerial posts to right-wingers, and so on. That is also why we must respond to the large number of workers who will be convinced of our position only when Mitterrand has capitulated — once a coalition government has been set up, for example. Then it will be up to us to go into high gear by setting ourselves objectives that would otherwise be beyond our means.

Q. But then, after having campaigned, why not withdraw before the first round, as a symbol of our contempt for the electoral farce, without taking responsibility for dividing Mitterrand's votes on the first round?

A. Our candidacy is aimed at explaining and illustrating everything I've just said, and popularizing Rouge's action program, preparing for the struggles to come, whatever the election result. For it is not certain that Mitterrand will be elected and we must also explain what we will

do if we find ourselves facing a Chaban or a Giscard who has just been elected for seven years!

Without feeding any illusions that elections are the road to socialism, it is not a matter of indifference to us that even a limited number of workers vote to show their agreement with our positions and our perspectives. A vote for ideas and proposals has all the more meaning and significance when it is done without any illusions as to its immediate effectiveness. These are people who are telling Mitterrand: We will vote for you against the candidates of reaction, but be aware that we have drawn the lessons of May '68, and of Chile, and that we are ready to fight against you if necessary rather than repeat the same tragic errors.

And when they point to rather dubious polls, and ask us, "Isn't it unreasonable to hang tight on the first round if Mitterrand's stock continues to rise, if there's a chance he'll win on the first round?" we reply: Mitterrand and the Union of the Left can't win on all counts. By making bigger and bigger concessions to the right, out of deference for institutions and profits, in order to round up the ten or fifteen percent of the electorate that normally votes for the Réformateurs [bourgeois liberals], they are increasing the distrust on the left of the one or two percent of workers who are in the vanguard. They shouldn't come to us to complain. It is this legitimate distrust by the revolutionary workers that we want to express. We do not invent it; it stems from the capitulations of the reformists. We have already seen enough of the Noskes, the Eberts, the Mochs, and of Mitterrand himself in France, repressing the working class! So, no carte blanche and no blank check! That's what we are demonstrating on the first round. □

Ultralefts Reconciled With Mitterrand

[The following article was published in the April 30 issue of *Le Quotidien Rouge*, which is supporting Alain Krivine, candidate of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire for president of France.

Révolution! is the weekly newspaper of an ultraleft grouping that originat-

ed in a split from the Ligue Communiste in 1971. *Révolution!* participated with the Trotskyists of *Rouge* in a joint initiative to get Charles Piaget, a leader of the Lip strikers, to run as a united far-left candidate in the presidential election. When that project was unsuccessful, and *Rouge* nom-

inated Krivine, *Révolution!* accused it of "giving in to electoralist maneuvers."

* * *

"Voting for Mitterrand can improve the relationship of forces for the working class. . . . And what's more, if Mitterrand wins, his success, while only electoral, will open up more important opportunities for the mobilizations of workers and other layers, based not on reformist initiatives, but on struggles in the factories. . . . We will be at their [the workers'] side on May 19 in voting for Mitterrand, at the side of the workers who will be expressing their desire to resist and challenge the bourgeoisie."

All of this can be found in issue Number 54 of *Révolution!*, which has just appeared, under the headline: "The revolutionaries and the elections."

It's a "flaky" position if you compare it to what *Révolution!* said during the [1973] legislative elections, in a series of articles entitled "Vote for the Union of the Left?" (Issues 21, 22, 23). There we read: "Not one vote to the small-time politicians of the Radical party, the colonialists of the Socialist party, to the strikebreakers of the Communist party. . . . The only solution is to abstain!"

So what is there to justify such a spectacular change? Doesn't Mitterrand have behind him the same small-time politicians, the same colonialists, and the same strikebreakers?

Would his election improve the relationship of forces? That was also true a year ago. Would it create more favorable conditions for the struggles and activity of the revolutionaries? That was true a year ago. *Révolution!* argued then that the victory of the Union of the Left would create *objectively* more favorable conditions, but "by disarming the working class today in the face of the bourgeois offensive, it could not go against its own nature by arming the workers for the struggles of tomorrow." Would Mitterrand arm the workers today? His perspective remains the same: a social truce, respect for the constitution, and class collaboration.

Another slip: The same issue Number 54 of *Révolution!* publishes an open letter to members of the CP, the CGT [General Confederation of Workers], and readers of *L'Humanité*.

It accuses "Mitterrand and the SP of wanting to dump the Common Program [of the Union of the Left]." And in another article, they explain that it was "thanks to the SP's position within the Union of the Left" that a bourgeois line was able to develop. When are we going to hear the slogans: "The CP must break with the SP! CP, apply your program! For a workers united front!" As if the class-collaborationist policies of the Union of the Left were not the ultimate aim of the CP's program! As if the CP were not itself ready to advocate the widening of the Union of the Left to the right, provided it was allowed to keep a few odd jobs for itself—just as it did in 1936, when it proposed a "National Front" wider than the Popular Front, and in 1946, when it sat in the Bidault government!

Ethiopia

Cabinet, Military Try to 'Restore Order'

After a series of secret meetings with military officers during the last week of April, the Ethiopian government of Premier Endalkachew Makonnen began testing out a hard-line response to the continuing mass upsurge in the country.

In response to a strike by 800 postal employees, the government issued a decree banning strikes by government workers. In radio and television broadcasts April 24, the government ordered all teachers and students to return to their classes by the next day or face dismissal and expulsion. It also warned civil servants that if they did not return to work by the end of the week they would be replaced.

On April 26 Haile Selassie University was closed down and its 5,000 students were told to leave the campus. The postal workers returned to work, but hospital employees walked off their jobs. Soldiers and police loyal to the regime broke a strike at the international telecommunications center April 30 by arresting strikers and union officials.

The same evening the Defense Ministry broadcast a statement that charged the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU) with responsibility for the strikes of govern-

ment employees and threatened to shut the confederation down. The CELU responded that it had not encouraged the government workers to strike, but it threatened to call another general strike if the regime moved against it.

On April 26 military and police units mutinied in Addis Ababa and arrested dozens of army and police officers and former government officials. A radio communiqué April 27 in the name of the army, air force, navy, and imperial guard announced the arrest of all the former ministers.

Among those arrested and reportedly held for investigation at the headquarters of the Fourth Division of the army were Lieutenant General Abese Gemed, the former commander of the imperial bodyguard; Lieutenant General Deresse Dubale, the former commander of the ground forces; Deputy Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Haile Baikedagn; and former premier Aklilou Abte Wold.

The broadcast also called on Ethiopians to give the new government a chance to carry out the reforms it had promised. According to the April 28-29 *Le Monde*, a "coordination committee" of the military "accused the new government of being incapable of halting the strikes and demonstrations."

"The events of the past few days lead one to believe," wrote the April 30 *Le Monde*, "that the army has decided to restore order in the country, which has been undermined by two months of crisis."

"While reaffirming their loyalty to Emperor Haile Selassie, the military leaders, bypassing the established powers, have begun to take the initiative in putting the brake on the development of anarchy."

The May 2 *Washington Post* noted that "tension eased" in Addis Ababa "as the army moved to put an end to strikes and disorders that have plagued Ethiopia for more than two months."

An April 24 Agence France-Presse dispatch by Jean-Marie Blin noted that at the same time that top military officers were holding a secret meeting to discuss the situation, crowds of strikers and students stoned the Franco-Ethiopian Gebré Mariam Lycée and Saint Mary's English School in Addis Ababa; striking rail workers were burning all trucks along the main highway between Asmara and Massawa; the ports of Assaba and Massawa were paralyzed by strikes; Ethiopia's only oil refinery, at Assab, was partially shut down; and reports flowed into the capital of strikes in the provincial capitals of Harar, Gondar, Bardar, and Diredawa. □

India

Railway Workers Set General Strike

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar, Gujarat

The coordinating committee of the major national railway workers unions has called for an indefinite general strike beginning May 8. If the strike—which would be the first such general strike since 1960—materialises, it will paralyse the economy, cripple transport, and lead to a direct confrontation with the government.

In view of the political implications of a strike, the government is still holding parleys with the leaders of the committee in an effort to avert one. The political committee of the central cabinet is regularly reviewing the situation. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who has denounced the strike call as "antinationaI," has appointed the deputy railway minister, M. S. Quereshi, to head a negotiating committee. Discussions with the leaders of the coordinating committee have already started.

The railway workers have put forward eight demands, most of them economic. They call for recognition as industrial workers, with an eight-hour day. They also call for job evaluation with a minimum wage based on need. Until such evaluation is carried out, the railway workers demand that they be treated on a par with other workers in the public industrial sector and be paid the same wages

now paid to such workers.

To fight inflation, they demand that the dearness allowance be linked with the cost-of-living index and that it be automatically increased every six months, commensurate with the increase in prices. They have also raised a demand for payment of bonuses for 1971-72 and 1972-73.

The demands of the railway workers are legitimate, but the labour minister who brought the government and representatives of the workers to the

negotiating table turned down the demands, apparently on the ground that railways are a public utility and not a profit-making organization.

The Third Pay Commission had fixed railway workers' minimum wage at 196 rupees [approximately US\$25.00] a month. But with the present rate of inflation, a standard family of five can hardly get by for even fifteen days with such a paltry sum. To maintain a family of that size, a rail-worker is currently estimated to need at least 333 rupees a month.

This scale of wages is inequitable. Other fourth-class employees in the public industrial sector get 300 to 318 rupees a month. In the case of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, the government has conceded a wage of 404 rupees to peons [lowest-paid office workers]. Thus, even the *Economic Times* was constrained to admit in a lead article April 14 that such disparities in pay, which are unrelated to any sound norms of job evaluation, are indefensible.

Although negotiations are continuing, the coordinating committee instructed the various unions to serve the government a fourteen-day strike notice April 23, the strike being set to begin May 8. George Fernandez, president of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, said in Jaipur April 17 that if the government is "determined to force a confrontation on us, we are today prepared to face it. If it is hoping to break us after having forced us into action," he said, "I can only say that it is living in a fool's paradise." □

Mass Arrests of Indian Railway Unionists

In an attempt to halt the all-India rail strike scheduled for May 8, the Gandhi government arrested about 700 railway union leaders May 2. By the end of May 3, according to a Reuters dispatch, more than 2,000 unionists had been arrested.

Among those arrested were George Fernandez, the president of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and the head of the Socialist party. According to the government, one Bombay union leader, V. R. Mhalgi, died of a heart attack shortly after his arrest.

Railway Minister L. N. Mishra

charged that the union leaders were "inciting" the railway workers to violence and that they were continuing with their strike plans while the negotiations with the government were being held. He said that the arrested union leaders would be released if the strike were called off. In case the 2 million rail workers should go ahead with the May 8 strike, Gandhi called on the Territorial Army to stand by to run the trains.

The union leaders not arrested rejected the government's demand that the strike be canceled as a condition for reopening negotiations. They

called on the workers to step up preparations for the strike. Unionists held protest strikes and demonstrations in Bhopal, Lucknow, Ahmadabad, Patna, Jhansi, Baroda, New Delhi, and other major rail centers. In Bombay the rail workers joined in a one-day general strike that paralyzed the city.

The coordination committee of the railway unions demanded that all the arrested union leaders "should be immediately released if the government is sincere about a negotiated settlement." □

Form Defense Committee

Demand Release of Malaysian Prisoners

The Association of Malaysian Students in North America has set up the Committee on Human Rights and Justice (CHRAJ) to protest the continued imprisonment of political prisoners in Malaysia and to demand that they be released immediately or brought to fair trial.

In an appeal issued by CHRAJ, it was noted that according to figures released by the Malaysian Ministry of Home Affairs on March 10, 1971, there were 2,331 Malaysians in prison at that time under provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1960, the Emergency Ordinance, and the Prevention of Crime Ordinance. The Internal Security Act of 1960 gives the regime the power to arrest anyone who, in the opinion of the minister of home affairs, is a "security risk," and to hold them for an *extendable* two-year period without trial.

The appeal noted that one prisoner, Khoo Ping Sia, was arrested for using the word "socialism," and that Dzulkifli bin Ismail, an elected Pahang state assemblyman, was jailed for possessing a book entitled *An Introduction to Marxism*.

Further repressive legislation used by the Kuala Lumpur regime to arrest political opponents includes the Sedition Act of 1971, the Trade Unions Ordinances of 1959 and 1967, the Industrial Relations Act of 1967, and the Universities and University Colleges Act of 1971.

The appeal mentioned cases of tor-

ture and mistreatment of the political prisoners: the beating of prisoners at the Batu Gajah camp in November 1969, the unexplained death of Pang Siong Ming, the detention of Lai Chun Fong in the Tanjong Rambutan mental asylum, and the suicide of Wong Meng Kiew in December 1973.

The CHRAJ appeal also called attention to the cases of some of the political prisoners who have been held for more than eleven years, such as

Said Zahari, a poet, former editor of the *Utusan Melayu*, and a leading proponent of Malay nationalism before his arrest; and Lim Hock Siew, a former leader of an opposition party in Singapore, the Barisan Sosialis (Socialist Vanguard).

The appeal asked that letters of protest be sent to the Malaysian Embassy or to: Minister of Home Affairs, Jalan Dato Onn, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. □

Nationwide Protest, Strike Planned

100,000 Attend Dacca Opposition Rally

The first public rally of the All-Party United Front, composed of six parties opposed to the Awami League regime, drew a crowd of about 100,000 in Dacca April 23. The speakers from the member parties of the Front attacked the regime's repressive actions, the widespread corruption and smuggling, New Delhi's influence over Dacca, and the spreading famine conditions in the country.

The Front was formed April 14 after months of negotiations. According to the April 21 Dacca weekly *Holiday*, the parties participating in the Front are the National Awami party (Bhashani), Bangladesh Jatiya League (Bangladesh National League), Communist party of Bangladesh (Leninist), Sramik-Krishak Samajtantrik Dal (Worker-Peasant Socialist party), Bangla Jatiya League (Bengali National League), and Jatiya Ganamukti Union (JAGMU—National People's Liberation Union).

The announced demands of the Front include: release all political prisoners, end repression and repeal all repressive laws, tackle the food problem and bring down the prices of all essential commodities, and scrap all unequal treaties.

The largest of all the left parties opposed to the regime, the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party) did not enter the Front, although it took part in the negotiations preceding the Front's formation. At the April 23 rally, Mashiur Rahman, of the NAP(B), called on the JSD to join the Front.

The main speaker at the rally, Maulana Bhashani, the president of the Front and the leader of the NAP(B),

called for a conference of all parties in Bangladesh, including the pro-government parties, to discuss the economic and political problems facing the country. Bhashani stated that the conditions for his participation in such a conference would be the release of all political prisoners, including M.A. Jalil, A.S.M. Abdur Rab, and other leaders of the JSD who were arrested in a government crackdown on JSD activities. He also stated that the "underground" parties should be allowed to attend the proposed conference.

At the end of the rally Sirajul Hosain Khan, the general secretary of JAGMU and a member of the central committee of the Front, announced the Front's call for a nationwide day of protest May 12 and a nationwide strike on May 21. □

to:

Intercontinental Press
P. O. Box 116
Village Station
New York, N. Y. 10014

from:

Name _____
Street _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Country _____

[] \$15 enclosed for one year.
[] \$7.50 enclosed for six months.

Lawyer Barred From Frame-Up Trial

Reports of "suicides" by political prisoners, of torture, and of the violation of basic legal rights continue to emerge from Chile despite efforts by the junta to present a facade of legality.

The May 3 *La Opinión* of Buenos Aires reported the case of Juan Bustos, chief of the civilian police at the presidential palace under Allende. The junta claims that Bustos shot himself in the head at the Valparaíso police station after being arrested.

In the show trial of sixty-seven military personnel and civilians being prosecuted for their active political support to the constitutionally elected Popular Unity government, the military judges on April 29 barred a defense attorney from further participation in the trial. The action was taken after attorney Héctor Basoalto charged that his client (Sergeant Francisco Maldonado) had been tortured, criticized the nature of the trial, and insisted on the legitimacy of the Allende government and the defendant's right to have supported it during the pre-coup period, *La Opinión* reported.

This restriction on the rights of lawyers was condemned by Joseph P. Morray, president of the Fair Trial Committee for Chilean Political Prisoners, a group of lawyers and former congressmen from the United States formed to observe the current trials in Chile.

La Opinión quoted Morray as saying, "The military tribunal of the Chilean air force has the declared intention of impeding defense lawyers from questioning the legality of the air force command's decision to overthrow the government of Salvador Allende." Morray added, "The court made it clear to other defense lawyers that they will be silenced and prevented from addressing the tribunal if they contradict the prosecution's ruling on this fundamental political premise."

Meanwhile, the junta has announced the start of a closed trial of the twenty-nine top members of the Popular Unity government who have been held since last September on Dawson Island. They were scheduled to be

transferred to Santiago the week of April 29 in preparation for their trial, reported the April 30 *New York Times*. Among the twenty-nine are Luis Corvalán, former general secretary of the Chilean Communist party, and five former cabinet ministers: José Cademártori, Fernando Flores, Sergio Bitar, Aníbal Palma, and Jorge Tapia. No charges have been announced against this group.

In the small, southern farming community of Linares, where about 230 persons are still imprisoned for political reasons, thirty have been tried and sentenced to 200 days to ten years, usually on charges of illegal

Brazil

Student Disappears in Police Custody

[The following appeal was received from the Grupos de Amigos de Norma (Friends of Norma Groups). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Twenty-five-year-old university student Norma Sá Pereira was arrested in São Paulo April 5, 1974, by the Brazilian political police. Her name was on a list of persons Brazilian repressive forces have been systematically assassinating. That leads us to believe that her life is seriously endangered.

Her father, attorney Augusto Sá Pereira, and her entire family are trying by all possible means to discover her whereabouts in the prisons of Brazil. However, up to now it has all been in vain. Police authorities, the military, and the justice ministry have refused to give any information. This increases our fears.

We ask your help to save Norma's life.

The preoccupation of the Brazilian government with critical world public opinion provides one of the few ef-

fective instruments of pressure in such cases. You can send a letter or telegram to the Ministry of Justice or the Brazilian Embassy in the country where you live.

The Brazilian government is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, it is a notorious fact that it frequently violates those principles. The only thing we ask is that the most elementary points of the Declaration of Human Rights be respected: that the tortures to which Mrs. Sá Pereira is being subjected be stopped, that military authorities let us know where she is being held, and that she be granted the right to legal aid and visits from her family.

Brazilian authorities must be held responsible for the mental and physical health of Norma Sá Pereira. □

Tito to Get Job Security

The presidium of the Yugoslav Communist party announced April 22 that it will propose to the party's Tenth Congress, which begins in late May, that Tito be named president of the party for life.

Rally Demands Release of Luis Vitale

A rally on behalf of Trotskyist leader Luis Vitale, currently imprisoned by the Chilean junta, was held April 10 in the prisoner's hometown of Pehuajó in the province of Buenos Aires.

Vitale was arrested in Chile after the military coup in September 1973 and is currently reported held in the concentration camp in the northern city of Chacabuco. A prominent intellectual and trade-union leader, Vitale now is in mortal danger as a result of torture he has suffered since his arrest.

The Pehuajó rally, as reported in the April 18 *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), was organized by the Coordinadora de Juventudes Políticas (Coordinating Committee of Political Youth) of the city, as the result of a proposal from the PST, one of the committee's member organizations.

Other groups represented on the committee are the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo (Movement for Unity and Development), and the Communist, the Intransigent, and the People's Christian parties.

The rally also had broad support from the city's civic leaders and union officials.

Speaking for the meeting organizers at the rally, Marta Brachetti de Galarza of the Radical Civic Union stated:

"The political youth of this coordinating committee are not concerned with Vitale's political ideology. They are concerned about just one thing: that he is a human being whose dignity must be respected. By respecting the dignity of others, we respect our own, and that is fundamental for all democratic regimes.

"Luis Vitale is to the children of Pehuajó the symbol of every person suffering any form of imperialist oppression. We don't care what kind. What matters to us is that there are oppressors and oppressed and that

there is no reason why there should be even one victim of oppression among this peace-loving people. We don't know Luis Vitale, because he is from a different generation and doesn't live here, but there is no reason this type of man should suffer oppression."

A declaration by rally organizers was quoted by *Avanzada Socialista* as saying in part:

"The Coordinating Committee of Political Youth of Pehuajó expresses its repudiation of the indescribable deeds that took place in our sister country, Chile. Once more imperialism and its

Report 24,000 U.S. 'Advisers' in Vietnam

More than 24,000 U.S. military personnel remain in South Vietnam disguised as civilians, according to a report published in the January issue of *Vietnam Courier*, an English-language monthly published in Hanoi. This figure, which is nearly five times higher than the number of "advisers" acknowledged by the U.S. Embassy in Saigon (4,940 as of mid-February) is broken down as follows by the report:

"So-called members of the diplomatic mission: more than 2,000.

"Advisers in the Ministry of National Defence: more than 3,500.

"Advisers in the various armed services: more than 9,000.

"Advisers in the police: more than 3,000.

"Advisers in other activities: more than 6,500."

Vietnam Courier also reported that only the names of supposedly dismantled U.S. military operations have changed. The embassy's Defense Attaché Office (DAO) is actually the former Military Assistance Command Vietnam, the former "Pentagon East" set up to command the Saigon army.

According to *Vietnam Courier*, the "DAO occupies the former HQ [headquarters] of the MACV and maintains its internal organization. It contains

native agents, in an open mockery of democratic institutions and the desires of the people, have carried out genocide on a scale almost unprecedented in Latin American history.

"Conscious of the monopolistic penetration of our country and the fact that we are surrounded by imperialism, we reiterate our firm determination to continue struggling for the full maintenance of democratic institutions, the people's aspirations, and human rights."

In assessing the rally, the PST stated: "This is the first step in what must be an ongoing campaign. That's why our party is proposing the formation of a broad commission for the repatriation of Luis Vitale, to develop publicity on his case and collect thousands of signatures and to request an interview with the foreign minister to present this demand." □

three armed services continuously in touch with the corresponding ones of the Saigon army. . . .

"DAO has more than 7,000 staff members, 1,000 of whom operate in Saigon, the rest being scattered throughout South Viet Nam to take direct command of the Saigon army through the four U.S. Consulates in Da Nang, Nha Trang, Bien Hoa and Can Tho."

The magazine reported that a program called "Resettlement and Reconstruction" was set up after the cease-fire to replace the U.S. Army "pacification" program that used to be known as "Winning the Hearts and Minds." "A great many of the 'R and R' personnel were in the army before the cease-fire," *Vietnam Courier* said, "and the others, listed as 'civilians' and formerly employed in the 'Pacification Program,' are mostly retired military men."

The magazine also reported that the Agency for International Development "has long been in charge of training, equipment and control of Thieu's 'National Police' machinery." In addition, it said, the "'Office of Public Safety' (OPS), a part of the AID organization, has been directing the Phoenix Campaign of the Saigon Police, the counter-guerrilla operation

which is in charge of the management of Thieu's prisons and the repression of his opponents.

"AID also pays for police advisers from US allies and CIA agents engaged in secret activities in South Vietnam, under the guise of economic specialists and civilian technicians." □

Philippines

Catholic Bishops Protest Repression

Catholic priests in all fifteen dioceses in Mindanao read a protest letter from their pulpits on Easter Sunday, April 14. Addressed "To the People of God in Mindanao and Sulu," and written and approved by all the bishops, heads of Catholic religious orders, and lay organizations in Mindanao, the protest attacked many of the repressive acts of President Ferdinand Marcos's martial law regime.

The April 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review* printed the letter in full. The address stated that the Catholic priests of Mindanao deplored the fact:

"That our people are groaning under the effects of spiralling prices of basic commodities.

"That the position of workers has been greatly weakened by the curtailment of the right to strike or picket.

"That a climate of fear still prevails preventing the growth of effective farmers' and workers' organisations, despite assurances of freedom in this regard.

"That information is withheld in violation of man's basic right to know the truth.

"That freedom of speech, press, expression and communication has been substantially curtailed. . . .

"That evacuees are not given adequate attention, and many of them face the prospect of never being able to repossess the lands and houses they have been forced to abandon due to disturbances in the peace and order situation [a reference to the regime's destruction of Jolo and other areas in the Sulu Islands in its war against the Muslim independence movement].

"That detainees, many of them breadwinners of their families, are detained without charges or the benefit of counsel.

"That some detainees, according to a growing number of reports, have been subjected to torture in violation of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. . . .

"That martial law is being prolonged indefinitely without any sign that it will be lifted in the near future.

"That there is still a glaring lack of real participation in the decision-making pro-

cess affecting the lives of communities."

The address ended with proposals for action, calling on Catholic priests to use their pulpits to give voice to "the voiceless victims of injustice," to set up a Citizens Committee for Justice and Peace in every

diocese, to help the refugees from the war against the Muslims in Zamboanga, Jolo, Basilan, Cotabato, and other areas, and to demand complete freedom in the event another "referendum" is held on the continuation of martial law. □

Coalition Government to Receive \$30 Million

Laos Regime Accepts Imperialist 'Aid'

The coalition government in Laos agreed April 30 to accept continued financial "aid" from several imperialist states to help bolster the weak Laotian economy.

Both sides within the Vientiane regime—the representatives of the former Royal Laotian Government and those of the Lao Patriotic Front (LPF), or Pathet Lao as it is commonly called—approved the decision to accept \$30 million from the British, French, Australian, Japanese, and U. S. governments.

According to a dispatch by James F. Clarity in the May 1 *New York Times*, "the aid agreement with the five countries that was made formal today is intended to provide Laos with hard currency to buy fuel and food and to stabilize her own currency, the rather flabby money known as the kip."

Clarity also noted that Laotian and

Western government officials believed that both China and the Soviet Union would announce their own aid plans soon, with fuel expected to be an important item of aid from those two workers states.

The April 30 decision to accept continued imperialist "aid" had raised the hopes of Western diplomats that "the various factions in the Government want the new system to work," Clarity reported.

The April 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review* quoted part of the first public statement made by Phoumi Vongvichit, the secretary general of the LPF central committee, after becoming foreign minister in the coalition government. Foreshadowing the April 30 decision, Phoumi stated: "The foreign policy of Laos is aimed at peace, neutrality, and friendship with all the countries of the world, in order to permit Laos to benefit from aid from all quarters." □

Chilean Junta Gets Loan of \$97 Million

The largest loan ever granted to Chile was made April 25 by the U.S.-dominated Inter-American Development Bank—for \$75.3 million. It was the second of two loans granted by that agency to Chile this year. During the three years of Allende's presidency, the bank approved no loans to Chile.

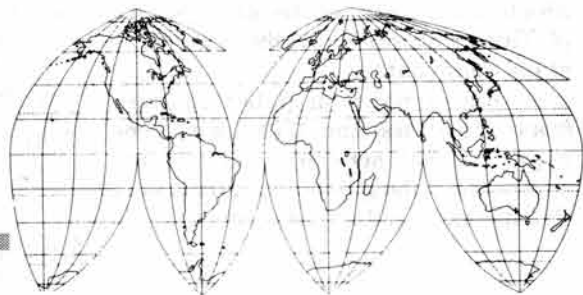
The \$75.3 million loan was made for the construction of a hydroelectric plant in Antuco, 315 miles south of Santiago. A loan for the project had been requested by the Allende government seventeen months earlier, but was finally granted only after the military junta was installed in Chile. Though an article by Terri Shaw in the April 26 *Washington Post* quoted the bank as attributing the delay to

the need to work out a new rate structure for the electric system the plant was to serve, it also reported that even sources associated with the bank complained that the delay was politically motivated.

The other loan, a \$22 million credit for agricultural development, had been granted to the Chilean junta in March. It was railroaded through in two months. Normally there is a delay of six to eight months in granting loans of this type.

"When the agriculture loan was presented," Shaw reported, "four directors asked for time to study it further, a request that is usually granted automatically. This time they were voted down, an informed source said." □

AROUND THE WORLD



Swedish Dockers Strike

Some 2,700 members of the Swedish Dockers Union began an indefinite strike in thirty harbors April 24. The union represents a majority of Swedish dock workers, particularly in such major ports as Gothenburg, Stockholm, and Helsingborg.

The Swedish Dockers Union was organized in 1972, after several locals were expelled from the Transport Workers Union, whose bureaucratic leadership claims the exclusive right to negotiate for dock workers, even though the Swedish Dockers Union represents the majority of such workers. The employers have used the claims of the Transport Workers Union as a pretext to refuse to sign any wage agreement with the Dockers Union.

In a leaflet prepared for distribution to port workers in other cities of Europe, the Revolutionära Marxister Förbundet (Revolutionary Marxist League), the Swedish section of the Fourth International, has asked dock workers to refuse to handle cargo redirected from Swedish ports during the strike.

Messages in solidarity with the Swedish dock workers should be addressed:

Svenska Hamnarbetareförbundet
Nygatan 11
S-891 00 Ornskoldsvik
Sweden

Opponents of Chogyal Win Sikkim Election

In the elections held in Sikkim the week of April 15, the Sikkim Congress party won twenty-nine of the thirty-two seats to the new Assembly. The Sikkim Congress party, which led the April 1973 protests against the Chogyal (ruler), King Palden Thondup Namgyal, is composed primarily of Nepalese, who are about 70 percent of the population. The Sikkim National party, which mainly represents the ethnic Bhutia-Lepcha, who generally support the Chogyal, won only one seat. The United Independent Group, also dominated by the Chogyal's supporters, likewise took only one seat. The remaining seat is reserved for a representative of the Buddhist monasteries.

The Sikkim Congress party, despite the landslide victory, has virtually no control over the government. After Indian troops intervened to disperse the April

1973 protests, New Delhi imposed an agreement on the Sikkim regime that stipulated the holding of the elections, but also specified that a chief executive, appointed by New Delhi, would run the administration and preside over the Assembly.

The Sikkim Congress party has stated that it will try to enact land reforms and abolish private estates. The royal family holds the bulk of the land.

Venezuela Plans Nationalization of Iron Ore Industry

President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela announced April 29 that his government intended to nationalize the iron ore industry, which is dominated by United States companies. He also said that foreign-owned companies in such areas as electricity, radio and television, transport, and department stores would be required to sell at least 80 percent of their shares to Venezuelan nationals within three years.

French University Presidents Urge Limiting Number of African Students

There are some 52,000 foreign students currently attending universities in France, according to a recent report by the French Conference of University Presidents. The problem, in the administrators' eyes, is not their number—they represent only about 7 percent of the student population—but the fact that there are too many from "underdeveloped countries" (i.e., French-speaking Africa).

The report recommended that student enrollment from "underdeveloped countries" be reduced in the future by limiting these students to candidates for advanced degrees in specialized courses.

Calley's Sentence Upheld

Richard Nixon announced May 4 that he would not further reduce the sentence of Lieutenant William Calley, who was convicted of the mass murder of at least twenty-two civilians in the Vietnamese hamlet of Mylai. Calley was convicted in March 1971 and sentenced to life imprisonment. In August 1971, the sentence was reduced to 20 years, and on April 16 of this year the secretary of the army

reduced it to 10 years.

Calley is now free on bail while his lawyers attempt to have his conviction reversed by a civilian court. He will be eligible for parole after six months of imprisonment.

Moscow Demands Release of Crew of Helicopter Downed in China

The Soviet Government demanded May 2 that the Chinese government return the crew of a Soviet helicopter or face the "inevitable consequences" of refusal.

The helicopter landed in Chinese territory March 14 when it ran out of fuel. Moscow said that the crew had accidentally crossed the border while on a mission "to urgently evacuate a gravely ill person from a border post." The Chinese government accused the Kremlin of sending the helicopter on a spying mission.

The Soviet note, which was read to the Chinese ambassador in Moscow May 2 and published by TASS the next day, said in part:

"The Soviet government insists on the immediate return of the frontier-guard helicopter and its three-man crew.

"We would like to draw attention to the fact that if the Chinese side intends to further detain the helicopter and its crew and to abuse the Soviet people, it thereby assumes full responsibility for the inevitable consequences of this provocative stand."

Agnew Disbarred

The Maryland Court of Appeals on May 2 ordered the disbarment of former Vice-President Spiro Agnew. Agnew had asked that he be merely suspended from practicing law rather than disbarred. The court ruled that Agnew's admission of income tax evasion last October was a crime involving "moral turpitude" that required automatic disbarment.

Brazilian Wages Lag Behind Prices

On April 25 the Brazilian government announced a 20 percent increase in wages for industrial workers during 1974. In regions like Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Sao Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul this will bring the monthly wage to approxi-

mately US\$60. In the rest of Brazil, however, it will be only US\$40.

The cost of living in Brazil has already risen 13 percent during the first three months of 1974. Figures for April are expected to show another 9 percent increase.

Government Censors Remarks of French Presidential Candidate

All candidates in French presidential elections have the right to free expression on television and radio—as long as they don't try to exercise it by saying something the government considers intolerable.

That's what Arlette Laguiller, candidate of *Lutte Ouvriere*, discovered when the National Control Commission, which oversees broadcasting in France, ordered her to strike out a reference in a television speech to "militants in the Antilles who are fighting to put an end to colonial domination."

The commission told her that the passage was inconsistent with "respect for the integrity of the national territory." In order not to have the whole broadcast canceled, Laguiller acceded under protest, and substituted the words: "The French colonialists must be taught that the colonized workers are fighting to win their emancipation."

Alain Krivine, candidate of the Front Communiste Revolutionnaire, which supports independence for Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well as the other French colonies, joined in protesting this censorship.

Franco's Police Announce Arrests of Alleged LCR-ETA(VI) Members

Franco's police have arrested seven alleged members of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI), Spanish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, the April 26 issue of *Le Quotidien Rouge* reports.

According to the French Trotskyist daily, Jose Miguel Apaolaza Beraza, 24, and Guillermo Apizu Galard, 25, were arrested in the Basque country in a car carrying "propaganda material" bearing the signature of the LCR-ETA(VI). The Guardia Civil says it found typewriters, a mimeograph machine, and "chemical substances that could be used to make Molotov cocktails" in their home. The pro-Franco press has claimed that these materials have some link with attacks on various military buildings following the execution of Salvador Puig Antich.

In Bilbao, also in the Basque country, five suspected members of the LCR-ETA(VI) were arrested recently after demonstrations against the dictatorship. They are: Jose Maria Jayo Irbalucea, 25, Maria-Christina Jayo Irbalucea, 19, Maria-Blanca Gomez de Segura, 22, Maria Ne-

rea Duralde Tetardi, 19, and Jesu Maria Landa Arocena, 20.

"Following these arrests," said *Le Quotidien Rouge*, "the pro-Franco press wrote: 'The Guardia Civil has succeeded in breaking up one of the most active cells of the LCR-ETA(VI) in the areas of Hernani, Urnieta, Lasarte and Andoian, cutting short a big propaganda campaign that this political movement recently launched.'"

Malaysian Student Protest Attacked

Malaysian students from the Mara Institute of Technology attempted to march April 20 from their campus in Selangor to the parliament building in Kuala Lumpur to back their demands that the Institute be upgraded to the status of a university. A few miles outside of the capital the police attacked with tear gas. Another march from an Institute campus in Petaling Jaya was also attacked by baton-wielding police. Several students were injured in that clash, and 181 were arrested on charges of participating in an "unlawful assembly."

Home Minister Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, who is also the chairman of the Institute's governing board, ordered the Selangor campus closed indefinitely.

Renewed Attack on 'El Mundo'

The Peronist regime is continuing its harassment of the left-wing daily *El Mundo*. In a new executive decree issued April 26, the regime defined the publishing house that issues the paper as an agency of the Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Army of the People).

The decree asserts the regime's right to close *El Mundo* on the basis that its publication threatens the national security of Argentina.

Four Kurds Condemned in Baghdad

Four political prisoners have been condemned to death in Baghdad on charges of carrying out "subversive activities." A May 1 statement from the Iraqi News Agency claims the four confessed to being paid agents of General Mustafa Barzani, leader of the movement for autonomy in Iraqi Kurdistan.

36 Arrested in Greece

A spokesman for the Greek military junta announced May 4 the arrest of thirty-six persons, most of them students, who were accused of belonging to "Communist organizations" allegedly financed from West Germany. The spokesman said that fourteen other members of the organizations were still at large.

Dissidents in Swiss CP Youth Decide to Join Trotskyists

An opposition grouping in the youth affiliate of the Parti du Travail (Party of Labor), the Communist party of Switzerland, has left the organization and applied to join the Ligue Marxiste Revolutionnaire (LMR), Swiss section of the Fourth International.

The grouping contained a third of the active membership of the CP's youth group in Geneva, according to *La Breche*, the LMR newspaper. The LMR itself originated in a split in the PdT in the late 1960s.

Among the factors the group cited in its decision to quit the CP youth and join the Trotskyist organization are the Stalinists' reformist concept of "advanced democracy," the PdT's failure to defend the rights of immigrant workers, and "above all, the lessons of Chile."

Vuskovic Allowed to Leave Chile

Chilean economist Pedro Vuskovic, who was one of the top economic advisers of the Allende government, arrived in Mexico City April 21 after spending more than seven months trying to get a safe-conduct out of Chile.

Vuskovic's safe-conduct was obtained after an intensive campaign by the Mexican government that included threats to cut off trade with Chile if his release was not granted.

Bordaberry Fearful of Elections

There will be no general elections in Uruguay as long as it looks likely that a coalition of left-wing parties would win, President Juan Maria Bordaberry announced April 30.

"The Uruguayan government," he declared, "would like to reestablish elections, but without the participation of Marxists. Participation by the Marxists could lead to the victory of a left-wing coalition on the Chilean—and not European—model. This risk is too great for us to take."

600 Demonstrators Demand Asylum for Haitian Refugees

More than 600 persons, most of them Haitians, marched in New York April 27 to demand the release of 121 arrested Haitians and the right to political asylum for Haitians fleeing the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier. The U. S. Immigration Department has ordered more than 400 Haitians deported to Haiti.

Trade-union officials from Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199, Hotel Trades Council, Joint Board of Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers, and United Farm Workers spoke at the rally. Statements of support from various political figures were read.

Detente: Why Both Sides See It as Good Business

By Dick Roberts

On April 25, Senator Edward Kennedy returned to Washington from a six-day visit to Moscow. The Massachusetts Democrat was immediately asked whether he intended to run for the presidency in 1976. According to some reports, Kennedy said, "No." The April 26 *New York Times* said that Kennedy "would not decide until late 1975."

Kennedy's decision to meet secretly with high Soviet officials was not necessarily part of a campaign to gain publicity. There are matters that Kennedy, as a leading Democratic senator and a member of the American ruling class,¹ may have wished to discuss in Moscow: specifically, the possible obstacles to widened trade relations between the United States and the USSR that have arisen in Congress.

On December 11, 1973, in two separate votes the House of Representatives decided by margins of 319 to 80 and by 296 to 106 to deny the Soviet Union lower tariffs and export credits, on the grounds of Moscow's emigration restrictions, particularly on Soviet Jews. These votes were cast on amendments to trade legislation that has not yet been acted on by the Senate. Moscow has subsequently made it unmistakably clear that export credits are essential to further trade agreements between the two superpowers.

A campaign has been launched in the Stalinist press around this issue. For example, the January 5 *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist party, describes Senator Henry M. Jackson, the leading proponent of measures to restrict trade with the Soviet Union, as a "representative of the military-industrial complex." In the same article, Gus

Hall, CPUSA general secretary, declares that "the movement to obstruct the trade bill is a flank attack. It is a calculated effort to return United States' policies to the days of Cold War aggression. What is frozen in the committee rooms is détente."

It is true that Henry Jackson represents the state of Washington, whose biggest city, Seattle, is the headquarters of the giant bomber-making corporation, Boeing. Jackson is often dubbed the "junior senator from Boeing." It is also true that Jackson is a leading contender for the 1976 presidential elections. Further, it is certain that the pretense of supporting Soviet Jews in their desire to emigrate to Israel is a vote catcher for the Democratic party.

But to jump from these truths to the conception that a sector of the U.S. ruling class, the so-called "military-industrial complex," with Senator Jackson as its standard bearer, opposes the Washington-Moscow détente is far-fetched and obscures a number of issues.

What Moscow Wants

The desire of the Soviet bureaucracy to expand trade with the West (especially the United States because of its capacity to extend credit) is well known to Washington. U.S. foreign-policy experts consider this to be the driving force in Moscow's approach to détente. Thus, Marshall D. Shulman, Director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University, writes in the October 1973 *Foreign Affairs*: "The condition of the Soviet economy is clearly the primary determinant of present Soviet foreign policy. The current Five-Year Plan, begun in 1971, projected widespread modernization of technology, improvements in productivity, and large increases in consumer goods, but the performance of the Soviet economy has fallen far short of expectations. Poor harvests have cre-

ated substantial shortages of both food and feed grains, compounding the effects of low agricultural and industrial productivity and a shortage of industrial manpower. Rather than face the politically painful choice of instituting substantial economic reforms, the Soviet leadership has opted for a massive effort to overcome its shortcomings by increasing the flow of trade, advanced technology and capital from abroad."

The poor Soviet harvest in 1972 gave special impetus to Moscow's wish for increased trade. But this desire is also rooted in a long-range pattern, the *declining growth rate of the Soviet economy*. From a growth rate of 6 percent a year in the Khrushchev era, the rate dropped to 5.5 percent a year during the 1966-70 period, and to 3.5 percent in 1971. The wheat-crop failure drove the rate below 2 percent.

For a time the Kremlin attempted limited economic reforms to spur production. Named after the University of Kharkov professor Yevsei Liberman, who formed these ideas in the early sixties (and who has subsequently "modified" his views), the "Liberman reforms" were essentially aimed at decentralizing economic authority to the level of the enterprise. Managing their own investment funds, the local administrators would use sales profits, and "capital charge" techniques of bourgeois economics to rationalize production. These reforms have apparently been shelved in the main.

Gertrude E. Schroeder, formerly a senior Soviet affairs analyst at the CIA, writes: "In the course of implementing the reform during 1966-70, an element of spontaneity did indeed develop. Enterprises allowed to operate under the new procedures started to exercise their new freedoms and to respond to the new economic parameters. Economic levers began to take hold, and in many cases things started to happen. But the [central] planners did not always like

1. In May 1968, *Fortune* magazine calculated the wealth of the late Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the Kennedy brothers, at between \$150,000,000 and \$200,000,000, ranking him among the fifty wealthiest Americans.

the results. At the same time, the newly created bureaucracies continued to exercise petty tutelage over enterprises in the traditional ways, in violation of the rules of the reform and the new statutory rights granted to enterprises. To cope with these 'problems' . . . the planners successively amended the rules of the reform to restrict enterprise managers' leeway for action. The economic 'levers' were administered in ever greater detail, and the size of the administrative bureaucracy steadily increased." (*Soviet Economic Prospects for the Seventies*, A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, June 27, 1973, p. 70.) The failure of Liberalism has given way to heightened hopes of the economic planners of progress through trade.

Productivity Gap

One of the arguments that has demagogically been used by congressional opponents of expanded trade with the Soviet Union is that it will tend to produce the conditions in which, as Nikita Khrushchev used to say, the Soviet Union will bury the United States economically. These are frivolous assertions. The immense U.S. technological superiority cannot be eliminated by the Moscow bureaucracy's policy of increasing imports of commodities and technology from the West.

In the February 1973 issue of *Fortune* magazine, Herbert E. Meyer described some of the differences between the economies in "Why the Russians are Shopping in the U.S.": "In general, the degree of mechanization in Soviet industry is considerably lower than in the West. Partly as a result, there is a relatively high ratio of auxiliary production workers to basic production workers. The auxiliary workers are engaged in such activities as maintenance or loading and unloading, and do not directly help produce the goods. There are about eighty-five of these auxiliary production workers for every hundred basic production workers in Soviet industry, as compared to thirty-eight per hundred in the U.S. Obviously, that high proportion of auxiliary workers holds down productivity. The productivity of basic workers in the Soviet Union runs between 60 and 70

percent of the basic-worker level in the U.S., while Soviet auxiliary workers are only 20 to 25 percent as productive as their U.S. counterparts."

Although Kremlin spokesmen often proclaim a policy of increasing consumer-goods production and of satisfying the rising consumer demand of the populace, the bulk of trade measures with the West already under way are in capital goods, and the gap in consumption remains great between the United States and the USSR. Meyer gives the following table for 1971:

	Stocks of Consumer Durables (units per 100 persons)	
	U.S.	USSR
Radios	171	20
Television sets	48	16
Automobiles	45	1
Refrigerators	31	10
Vacuum cleaners	29	4
Washing machines	28	15
Sewing machines	14	16

Meyer attributes the large number of sewing machines in the USSR to the very high price of new clothes.

Living in an automobile-oriented economy, Americans will undoubtedly be struck foremost by the wide disparity between U.S. and Soviet auto consumption. Increased auto production has high priority in the current (Ninth) USSR Five-Year Plan. "In 1975," says Imogene U. Edwards, "output of all motor vehicles—passenger cars, trucks and buses—is planned to reach 2,100,000 units compared to 916,000 units in 1970, an increase of 129 percent. Such an increase in motor vehicle production is unprecedented in Soviet experience and rarely matched in non-Communist countries. In recent years only Japan has achieved a higher rate." (*Soviet Economic Prospects*, p. 292.)

Edwards gives the prices for current Soviet cars in rubles and dollars: Volga, GAZ-24: 9,000 rubles (\$12,000); Zhiguli, VAZ-2101: 5,500 rubles (\$7,400); Moskvich, Moskvich-412: 4,936 rubles (\$6,600); Zaporozhets, ZAZ-968: 3,510 rubles (\$4,700). "Prices of these new model cars," she says, "are very high relative to domestic consumer purchasing power. For example, wages of Soviet workers in 1972 averaged 130 rubles per month or about 1,600 rubles per year. Thus, the price of a Zhiguli is equivalent to nearly two years total earnings for an average family with two incomes. By comparison, a moderately priced car in the US in 1972 was equivalent

to about six months earnings for an average industrial worker. The price of the Volga is particularly exorbitant and out of reach of the average Soviet citizen."

Interestingly, the production of automobiles has figured prominently in Moscow's deals with the West. The giant Volga Motor Vehicle Plant at Tol'yatti, built under a 1966 agreement with Fiat of Italy, manufactures Zhigulis; the two major Moskvich plants in Moscow and Izhevsk were designed and equipped by Renault of France. "The Zaporozh'ye Motor Vehicle plant (ZAZ)," says Edwards, "which builds the smallest and least expensive of Soviet cars . . . is the least efficient and most neglected car producer in the USSR."

Clearly, in this area of *consumer goods* the Kremlin bureaucrats are not neglecting themselves in their Western shopping expeditions.

The most backward sector of the Soviet economy is agriculture. Since Stalin's time the bureaucracy has proved largely incapable of utilizing the advantages of nationalized and planned production to advance production on the land. It is true that the need for massive grain imports in 1972 reflected particularly bad weather conditions, but this also has a background—the widening gap between city and countryside that has developed under bureaucratic mismanagement.

"No sector of the Soviet economy," says Meyer, "is in greater need of technological help from the West than agriculture. Farm output accounts for about 25 percent of the Soviet G.N.P. [gross national product], a much larger percentage than in other advanced countries, and a bad harvest can have disastrous effects on overall economic growth. Agriculture employs about one-third of the Soviet labor force, compared to 5 percent in the U.S. But one Soviet farmer can feed only seven people, while his U.S. counterpart can feed forty-six. The Soviet Union cultivates 70 percent more land than the U.S., but has only 40 percent as many tractors and trucks, and 75 percent as many combines. Agricultural productivity in the U.S.S.R. comes to 11 percent of U.S. farm productivity."

Yet agricultural needs have occupied a relatively minor place in So-

viet trade with the United States so far.

U. S. Business

Rarely have the decisive sectors of U.S. capital displayed such unanimity as on the need for, and promise of, increased business with the Soviet Union. Despite the show of opposition in Congress, this business is rapidly increasing. "Trade between the United States and the Soviet Union has been on a sharp upward spiral," *Washington Post* staff writer Laurence Stern reported October 6, 1973. "In 1971 it was \$225 million; in 1972 nearly \$900 million. This year it is expected to go to nearly \$2 billion. The multinational corporations—GE [General Electric], Occidental Petroleum, Xerox, IBM—have been the quickest to seize upon the new religion."

Stern described an October meeting in the New York Hilton Hotel. "On hand . . . were representatives of America's most powerful corporations, Russian trade representatives and U.S. government liaison men.

"For three days the assemblage of corporate vice presidents and international business-getters heard of the vast and uncharted profit prospects beyond the frontiers of what was once commonly called the Free World. There was a generous sprinkling of down-to-earth advice on how to get ahead in the Soviet Union: 'Wining and dining your Soviet business contact is a must.' . . . 'Your Moscow office is no place for boys—it takes a senior man.' . . . 'A cheerful wife is a great asset.'"

A leading spokesman for U.S. trade with the USSR is David Rockefeller, chairman of the powerful Chase Manhattan Bank. (Rockefeller has also collaborated with Premier Chou En-lai in expanded U.S.-Chinese economic relations.) "One out of every four babies born in the world today is Chinese," Rockefeller told *U.S. News & World Report* in August 1973. "When you add the Soviet and the Eastern European socialist countries, you have a very important segment of the world. . . ." Need he say more?

Rockefeller, it must be noted in passing, deserves credit for his cynicism. In February 1974 he was interviewed by a correspondent of the *New York Times Magazine* about the opening of a branch of Chase Manhattan in

Moscow. Rockefeller explained: "To some extent the Soviets have believed their own propaganda to the effect that a small group of families, including our own, really run this country, while the Government is just sort of a front. Therefore, if they're going to have a relationship with the U.S., they probably wanted to deal with the people who they thought really had the power."

The January 12, 1974, issue of *Business Week* magazine listed the major U.S. corporations doing business with the Soviet Union and the "area of cooperation":

Bechtel—Construction methods, planning.
Boeing—Civil aviation, air transport technology.
Brown & Root—Oil and gas development.
Control Data—Computers, peripheral equipment, systems design, software.
Dresser Industries—Oil and gas exploration.
General Dynamics—Shipbuilding, aircraft construction, telecommunications, computers.
General Electric—Power and electrical engineering, atomic power plants.
Hewlett-Packard—Medical electronics, measuring equipment, minicomputers.
ITT—Communications technology, electronic components.
Joy Mfg.—Coal mining equipment.
Litton Industries—(Not available).
Monsanto—(Not available).
Occidental Petroleum—Oil and gas drilling, refining, agricultural chemicals.
Singer—Computers, electronic instruments, textile equipment.
Stanford Research Institute—General science and technology.
Tenneco—(Not available).
Texas Eastern Transmission—(Not available).

U. S. Politics

The second of the corporations listed above is Senator Jackson's "own" Boeing. Not only are the bureaucrats in Moscow dealing with that major "bastion of the Cold War." Five of the seventeen U.S. corporations listed are among the top U.S. military-goods industries: Boeing, General Dynamics (the largest of all U.S. bomber and missile manufacturers), General Electric (missiles), Litton Industries (bombers), and Tenneco (fighter planes). Moscow allows no notions about a "military-industrial complex" affect its positions—except where propaganda

is concerned. The December 12, 1973, *Izvestia* denounced "cold-war advocates" who had "steam-rolled" the House amendment opposing Soviet-American trade.²

The truth of the matter is that a "military-industrial complex" apart from and in disagreement with the major sectors of U.S. capital does not exist. The biggest U.S. corporations, like General Electric, make military equipment. The lesser bomber and missile manufacturing corporations are owned—as are virtually all major U.S. corporations—by the same financial sectors. The Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank, in fact, holds 8.7 percent of the common stock of Boeing.

Senator Jackson is not standing up against his ruling-class backers. He is angling for votes in the far-off 1976 presidential campaign. President Nixon's first choice as secretary of defense, Jackson "can take either side of any issue with ease," James Ridgeway wrote in the *Village Voice* April 11:

"● Jackson expresses his deep concern for the effect of strip mining in the West after he shepherded through the Interior Committee legislation that will ensure increased strip mining in the West.

"● At a committee meeting attorneys for Jackson insist their chairman supports an amendment that gives utilities and oil companies right of eminent domain in a land-use bill. But when it comes to mark up the bill, Jackson himself votes against the measure that was introduced in his name.

"● Jackson sponsors legislation that would weaken air pollution standards. But when environmentalists press for his personal opinion, Jackson side-steps and defers to Edmund Muskie, father of the air pollution legislation, who in turn defers to Jennings Randolph, the representative of the coal industry in West Virginia."

And so forth. It is typical capitalist politics.

The prevailing view in U.S. ruling-class circles was expressed among other places, in the editorial column of the *Wall Street Journal*, December 10: "The question of Soviet emigration has very little to do with the

2. And what about ITT, which played such a nefarious role in toppling the Allende regime in Chile?

U.S. national interest. . . .

"While we have our own suspicions about the Soviets, we do not think that the United States ought to take the initiative in torpedoing détente with this sort of unlimited demand. If a break must come, let it come over SALT, or the Middle East, or something that bears on the security of the United States. So long as our security is not threatened, it seems to us that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger should have a chance to exploit their strategy of weaving a web of interdependence to smooth Soviet-American relations. In the long run, we see no viable alternative."

This editorial also expressed an opinion on how to get around the problem that the House of Representatives did adopt troublesome amendments. "We feel strongly enough, indeed, that we would be willing to forego any trade bill at all."

In other words, they suggest that the Senate not take up the trade bill passed by the House and consequently allow it to die. That would allow congressmen to tell their electorate in the upcoming 1974 elections that they voted "for Soviet Jewish emigration" and "for the rights of Soviet dis-

sidents" without posing the problem of their having to actually pass such a law. (And this in all likelihood was one of the niceties of U.S. parliamentary democracy that Senator Kennedy explained in Moscow last week.) As of April 14, the *New York Times* reported from Washington, "there is a distinct possibility that Congress will not enact the sweeping new trade bill this year. . . ."

"Work on the bill would have to start all over again in a new Congress next year."

* * *

Unlike Moscow's, Washington's great interest in the détente is not primarily economic; it is political. Washington seeks to gain Moscow's help — as it did in the Paris settlement of the war in Indochina — to maintain the imperialist status quo against the advance of world revolution. To these ends the imperialists are willing to pay something in the way of trade and credits. If this quid pro quo is dragged out at times, it is only to put greater pressure on Moscow to come through with concessions. □

Belfast Women's Liberation Group Formed

[The following article is from issue No. 6 of the *Plough*, the organ of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, Irish section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Since last September there has been the birth of the first Women's Liberation group in Belfast. So far it has remained a localised phenomenon primarily in Queens University. In the last few weeks a branch has also sprung up in Jordans-town Polytechnic. The arrival of Women's Liberation groups is a particularly healthy sign in the North as women are more repressed there than anywhere else under British government, although they are still marginally better off than their counterparts in the South.

Many revolutionary groups can see no reason for the existence of separate women's organisations, particularly at a time when the national struggle is of overriding importance. But the struggle on the streets had undoubtedly proved that men have no prerogative in fighting. With the mass incarceration of the men-folk, women have also taken up the military struggle. This has overthrown their traditional role of making cups of tea and

providing first-aid facilities. It has opened the eyes of many women who previously didn't have the confidence to run their lives and make decisions, simply because they have always been told what to do, from their cradles.

The situation can lead to a lot of trouble and confusion in a population so set in tradition. It is therefore extremely important that revolutionary groups face up to the situation and attempt to see women's problems as just something else *apart* from being one item in a general socialist perspective.

That women as women (and not simply as revolutionary women) should want to organise themselves is vital. Many women feel the weight of sexual oppression far more than anything else. Often these brave and militant women are "turned off" socialist ideas precisely because many left groups have no real understanding of women's peculiar problems. Campaigns for better wages for women are looked on as recruiting drives rather than as a fight for women's rights. The fact is that women as an oppressed section of society are far more aware of these oppressive factors than anybody else and socialists should welcome it as a good thing when they organise themselves, without waiting

for anybody's help.

Too often the reformist idea is put forward that women must join with men and subordinate themselves totally to "working-class unity." Such an idea is usually an excuse for holding back the most oppressed and exploited sections of the working class.

The reality of the Irish struggle is one that rejects this idea out of hand. Just as the people of Ireland have the right to fight as an oppressed nation, so too women have the right to fight as an oppressed layer in society.

The role of the revolutionary groups is to support women's groups unconditionally but not necessarily uncritically. Women in revolutionary groups must help to form and join women's groups. By doing this they will be able to convince militant women that the real way to fight their oppression is by fighting capitalism.

The women's liberation group in Queens University has been slow to evolve; this is due partly to differing analyses of women's problems and partly to the fact that women have not had much experience in how to organise themselves. It is hardly surprising that this should be the case since they have been trying to throw off the shackles which have bound them for several hundred years.

The main immediate aim is to establish a women's centre at Queens, which would serve as an advice centre for any women on legal and medical matters, recognising that women are too often faced with cold professional male-chauvinist doctors rather than somebody who has experience and understanding. Valuable as this service can be, a women's centre could easily be turned into a neo-charity organisation which would ease the problems of capitalism rather than attacking them.

The Queens Women's Group is not of course unaware of such problems and they are trying to link up with working-class women in their struggle; e.g., they are discussing with the college cleaning and catering staff who are being paid low wages and subjected to bad conditions. The Polytechnic is doing likewise and perhaps a mass colleges campaign can be organised in the future.

For long-term perspectives the women's groups could well make links with women in other areas of Belfast and a radical programme should be put forward calling for free abortion on demand, free contraception and solidarity with Southern women, as well as for a campaign for equal pay. Combined with an educational programme, a public campaign should be launched to fight for these demands. □

Correction

In last week's article by Tamara Deutscher on the case of Soviet dissident Pyotr Grigorenko, the year in which Aleksei Kosterin joined the Bolshevik party is given as 1966. It should have read 1916.

The Workers Movement Under the Junta

[The following interview with a nationally known leader of the Chilean labor movement appeared in the March 13, 1974, *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly organ of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). For obvious reasons the name of the labor leader is not given. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. What is the current state of the workers movement?

Answer. There are no mass movements because they are forbidden. Any attempt in that direction is ruthlessly repressed. As a result, the labor movement is passive, temporarily on the retreat. But there is some fighting spirit.

Q. How is this manifested? Have there been any struggles?

A. There have been several strikes—among the Santiago subway workers, among construction workers in the Pincoya and La Bandera shantytown districts, and in the El Teniente mine, at Antofagasta, and at the Compañía de Tabacos (state-owned tobacco company).

Q. Who led these strikes? For example, the one at El Teniente, where we know some people were killed?

A. It's Christian Democrats at El Teniente. Some of them died when the government broke the strike because the repression was indiscriminate. The strike took place for the same reason as the one during the Popular Unity government—for a sliding scale of wages, which Allende wanted to get rid of. It was on this issue precisely that the right was able to take the leadership of the workers there.

Q. What is the policy of the junta toward these conflicts? Does it show

any willingness to make some concessions?

A. In general they take a repressive line. But on a certain level the government has an interest in showing that it is open to dialogue. For example, in the tobacco workers strike there was no repression. The strike was for a wage increase, and the government granted it, although it also raised the price of cigarettes. Another case was with the Asociación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales [ANEF—National Association of State Workers]. There the government granted a uniform salary scale for all public workers, which was a concession because it meant raises, above all for the lowest grades of state workers and civil servants, who are most poorly paid.

Q. What's happening with the unions? Who chooses the leadership?

A. The unions are tolerated insofar as they accept the policy of the government. But in fact union activity is almost nonexistent, since there is no right to assemble, nor to present demands.

With regard to the election of leadership, formally it is the same as before the coup. A list of fifteen candidates is nominated at an assembly and then there is a vote by secret ballot—one man, one vote. The top three in the voting get the posts.

Of course, something is happening here: The leftist workers are either dead, have been thrown out of work, or can't show their faces. So the only ones who can come forward are the rightists, like the Christian Democrats or leaders of the National party or "independents"—but independents who lean to the right.

Q. From what you say, it seems the junta does not have a policy of liquidating all workers organizations and forming corporative-fascist type unions in their place.

A. No. Now that it has gotten rid of the Central Unica de Trabajadores

[CUT—United Federation of Workers], the junta has taken on the job of creating its own union federation. It is basing itself on rightists for this. Christian Democrats; Radicals—the Radical party was in the UP [Unidad Popular—Popular Unity]. One thing is very clear: Since there is no possibility for leftist elements to put forward their positions, the government has a free hand to organize unions led by rightists. These aren't corporative unions combining workers and bosses, but rather labor unions led by a rightist bureaucracy loyal to the military government.

Q. Here we know the names of some of the leaders the junta is playing around with. For example, Tucapel Jiménez of the ANEF, Mujica of the telephone workers. . . . Can you tell us what their political affiliation is and what kind of influence they have as leaders?

A. Tucapel Jiménez used to be pro-Stalinist, a fellow traveler of the Communist party, but later he moved further and further to the right; Mujica was a supporter of the Radical party. Jiménez was very militant before the UP government came in. He used to win in democratic elections, and he fought against Ibáñez. Mujica too. I knew him when he worked in the municipal workers union and seemed to be a leftist. But they were "floating" elements who never joined any party.

Q. That is, the corporative scheme proposed by Vilarín (leader of the truckers who promoted the "bosses' strike" against Allende) has not been put into practice. The situation is that labor unions continue to exist while the junta's repression is shifting the balance within them in favor of the rightist bureaucracy. They let the unions operate, but the military junta has put a pistol on the scale, tipping it to the right. Is that how it is?

A. That's right, all these people who are lending themselves to the junta's plan are right-wingers. They represent minority sectors of the workers but they do represent workers.

Q. But isn't that a double-edged sword for the government? Because, on the one hand, the Chilean labor movement has a strong democratic

tradition; and, on the other, this kind of bureaucracy is going to be very weak. If there are struggles it will blow apart. . .

A. The Chilean workers movement has never been under state control, nor has it ever accepted the idea of state tutelage over the working class. So the present state of affairs cannot continue for very long. This is not a strong bureaucracy, like the one in Argentina with a whole crew on its payroll. In Chile they don't have all that apparatus.

Q. On what issues do you think dissatisfaction might explode and pro-

duce mobilizations?

A. In order of importance, I think the main issues will be the right to hold meetings, the right to petition, the right to strike, and the restoration of all the civil rights taken away by the junta. If the economic crisis persists, I think struggles will break out. There have already been several strikes, and there could be more—especially if the repression is relaxed a little.

Even assuming that the present situation continues for a while, if a new vanguard arises that can focus all the discontent brewing among the ranks, then I think things are going to change. □

Puerto Rico to Get Dial-a-Search Warrant?

Governor Proposes New Repressive Laws

Union, student, and political organizers could be sentenced to twenty-five years in prison, under the provisions of a new penal code being considered by the Puerto Rican legislature, for such "crimes" as advocating a rent strike or organizing a demonstration outside the Legislative Assembly.

The May issue of *Puerto Rico Libre!*, bulletin of the New York-based Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization, pointed out the repressive measures of the new code, which was submitted March 14 by Governor Rafael Hernández Colón:

"Under the new law the police force would be 'reorganized,' allowing police to search and detain people for simple suspicion. To facilitate the ability of police to enter and search property, the new code enables them to obtain search warrants by telephone."

The code would eliminate the use of habeas corpus to obtain lower bail, authorize trials in absentia, and restrict the rights of defense attorneys in selecting jurors.

The most serious threats are contained in the provisions defining conspiracy and "chronic criminal activity." Included under the definition of conspiracy, *Puerto Rico Libre!* reported, are such acts as "promoting or sustaining litigation or legal proceedings groundlessly and committing any act

harmful to the public health, safety or morale, or perverting or obstructing justice or the necessary administration



JUAN MARI BRAS

of laws. During a time of struggle between colonial and independence forces, [attorney] Juan Mari Bras points out, any act can be construed as endangering public welfare and ob-

structing justice."

Chronic criminal activity is defined as a crime carried out by an organizer and three or more assistants that is part of a series of violations. Penalties are provided of twenty-five years to life and a \$100,000 fine, or forty years to life and a \$200,000 fine for a defendant with a previous conviction.

"Mari Bras gives the example of a rent strike, No-Pay campaigns (of water bills, electric bills) organized by a party or organization in the community. The leaders could be convicted of conspiracy—obstructing the necessary administration of laws—and condemned to six months, or whatever, in prison. If the same leaders come back to the community to lead another strike and boycott and are convicted a second or third time, they can be convicted of chronic criminal activity and condemned to 25 years at the minimum."

Similarly, Article 279 of the code provides penalties of six months in prison and a \$500 fine for anyone who "disturbs or interrupts" the legislature or any of its committees in a manner that "diminishes the respect due its authority." *Puerto Rico Libre!* pointed out: "Two protests organized before the Legislative Assembly by the same group . . . and the corresponding convictions of its leaders for the crime defined by Article 279 is sufficient to accuse the leaders of chronic criminal activity." □

Pope Alerts Workers to Need for 'Spiritual Gains'

Perhaps sensing an opportunity to outflank the French Communist party bureaucrats, who called off the traditional May day march and demonstration in Paris this year, Pope Paul VI delivered a "salute to working people" before some 20,000 pilgrims in Vatican City May 1.

Although he expressed the church's solidarity with "workers' aspirations to justice and progress," the pontiff apparently could not restrain himself from throwing in a word of caution against the "fascination for revolt" the Vatican has noticed among some workers.

The church, he said, is greatly afraid that workers are allowing the "ardor of their struggle to put the spirit of hatred and vengeance in their hearts and close their eyes to the vision of spiritual gains," not realizing that these gains "are just as necessary to their lives as economic gains."

Closing with a note of consolation, the pope said that "Christ too was a worker, and he was poor."

Coral Confronts Peron With Five Demands

[The following document appeared in the April 11 *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). It features points made by PST leader Juan Carlos Coral at a meeting held April 5 between opposition political parties and officials of the Perón government. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Like that literary character who spoke in prose without realizing it, almost all those who met Friday, April 5, at 10 a.m. at the Olivos mansion [Perón's country estate] failed to see—or pretended not to see—that the meeting between administration officials and representatives of eight opposition parties was a by-product of the big workers mobilizations that began with the Cordobazo.

The Cordobazo dealt a death blow to the oligarchic-imperialist military dictatorship. It resulted in all the bosses being compelled to support a pact known as the Gran Acuerdo Nacional [Great National Agreement], designed to maintain capitalist rule in the form of a bourgeois-democratic government. That is the government of Lieutenant General Perón, which will soon complete its first year in office.

Our party considered it obligatory to participate in all the difficult stages of this laborious process involving constitutional democracy, which was initiated by Lanusse and Mor Roig¹ and is continuing today under General Perón. The struggle has been over democratic rights: on one side, the masses fighting by means of strikes and mass mobilizations to extend these rights; on the other, various ruling figures, parties, and bourgeois sec-

tors trying to restrict them.

This is something that General Lanusse does not seem to understand: In a speech he made last week, he credited the armed forces with having brought about the return to constitutional rule. The bourgeois poli-



ARTURO MOR ROIG

ticians, on the other hand, credit it to "La Hora del Pueblo."² Gentlemen of the military, gentlemen of the bourgeois parties, the credit goes to the working people. They paid for it with their blood.

Today the threat against the democratic conquests of the masses comes from a sector of the ruling party and the union bureaucracy. That is why, just as we once demanded that the military get out and that free elections be held, we have now confronted Perón's government with five demands of the labor and socialist movement.

Our party, based on the daily struggle of the workers, believes that it was

proper to voice these deeply felt demands at the Olivos mansion. Consequently, to this meeting—which was made possible by a Cordobazo that toppled the military dictatorship and opened a period of constitutional bourgeois democracy—we sent a delegation in the same way that we intervened in the strike of the bank workers, the occupation at Panam, and in the Villazo to defend the demands of the workers and the people.

We were able to confront the government ministers and the president directly with these demands. Perón, who was in good health and a jovial mood, showed that he was perfectly aware of what is going on in the country. From here on out, the workers need not entertain any doubts on this score. The excuse advanced by left-wing Peronists that there is some sinister conspiracy to keep the president in ignorance lacks any basis in fact. There is no "screening," no "evil genius," no misinformation, no doing things behind his back. The president is in command and he is directly responsible for everything that happens.

Here are the five most urgent demands of the working people in brief: (1) Call a halt to the violent repression of popular organizations and the murder of their activists. (2) Stay the hand of the union bureaucracy, beginning by recognizing the victory of the workers at Villa Constitución.³ (3) Repeal the law on redundancy. (4) Stop exploitation, starvation wages, and rising prices. (5) Fight imperialism, beginning by nationalizing the automotive monopolies.

The government, we must say, did not reply satisfactorily. There was silence in some cases, evasive answers in others. Nor were promises, hints, or concrete announcements of any kind made—contrary to what the bourgeois press asserts. Each time the government was asked for precise, concrete answers, it evaded the questions, insisting instead on the need "to carry out new meetings to deal with the technical aspects." Only on point No. 2 did Minister [of Labor] Otero maintain that his ministry was committed to carrying out the agreement reached with the metalworkers.

1. President and minister of the interior, respectively, in the closing days of the dictatorship—they were architects of the Gran Acuerdo Nacional.

2. The People's Hour, the Peronist-led popular-front formation in last year's elections. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 31, 1972, p. 904, for an explanation of the genesis of this formation.)

3. See *Intercontinental Press*, April 29, 1974, p. 499 for a full account of the Acindar strike in Villa Constitución.

On drawing a balance sheet and making a report on this meeting, our party must act like the *compañeros* in a Comisión Interna (plant committee) of a factory when they return to the assembly after seeing management: *Compañeros*, we met with management and we put our five demands up to them. They responded affirmatively only to the one about Acindar, although even that is not a complete guarantee. The real victory there belongs to the *compañeros* who carried out the Villazo. On the remaining points they made no positive response. We must keep on fighting to win them."

1. Stop Escalating the Repression

Coral: Minister [of the Interior] Llambi—repeating a concept that we have heard several times from General Perón—has just warned that peace and internal security are threatened as much from the ultraleft as from the ultraright. Nonetheless, we note that the government deploys a large police and military apparatus that is quite efficient when it comes to handling what is called ultraleft violence; an apparatus that, in addition, carries out its functions so zealously that at times we see it tilting with windmills—uncovering imaginary assassination attempts and plots. But, when it is faced with dealing with the violence unleashed by the ultraright, it has not made a single arrest or cleared up a single one of the shocking incidents that have been happening almost every day in the country.

This complacent attitude of the government toward the armed bands of rightists has encouraged an escalation of genuine terrorism, which reached a peak in the seditious action of the police in Córdoba, and which is to be seen in the assassination of students and the destruction of headquarters of political groups that is going on; all of which stirs grave uneasiness over a threat from the army to the exercise of civil liberties.

In summary, gentlemen, the government should speedily come to grips with such flagrant contradictions as the following: Giving a speech at a peaceful assembly of workers is treated as an act warranting arrest for "disturbing the public order," while kidnaping a governor and his entire

cabinet, leaving a province at the mercy of armed civilians, does not constitute a crime, not even an offense!

2. Stay the Hand of the Union Bureaucracy—Respect the Victory at Acindar

Coral: Another factor at the root of the instability to be seen in the country is the discriminatory and despotic way in which the union leadership directs the workers organizations. We could document this statement with an infinite number of examples of intimidation and fraud, of corruption and violence—habitual practices that violate union democracy. But for the moment I want to single out one example, the metalworkers at Villa Constitución, as a symbol of the current situation in the unions. For four years they tolerated the national leadership's intervention in their section. They patiently went through every conceivable channel to present their grievances peacefully. They put out thousands of leaflets and petitions. They made trips and negotiated. They interviewed leaders of the UOM [Unión de Obreros Metalúrgicos—Metalworkers Union] and officials of the Ministry of Labor.

Finally they had no recourse left but to occupy the main plants in the district, which they did with the active solidarity of the whole population, completely paralyzing production. That is, in order to exercise the elementary right to elect their own regional leadership, the workers at Villa Constitución had to go to the very brink of a popular insurrection.

But that is not all, Mr. President. The agreement signed as a basis for ending the conflict has not begun to be implemented, though fifteen days have passed, and Villa Constitución has once again reached an explosive point. We maintain that the government cannot continue as a mere spectator, only observing the unleashing of situations of this gravity by the despotic union leadership.

Minister Otero: In the first place I should state that the agreement to which Coral refers will be carried out in all aspects as a responsibility of this ministry. But I want to make clear, too, that Law 14455 did not establish any time limit on interventions. In the new Trade Union Law

we have included a clause doing just that. On the other hand, we are aware that in the past there have been long interventions by the state, not only in unions but also in the Central Obrera [trade union federation] itself.

Coral: We gratefully accept the commitment that the minister has just made to put the Villa Constitución agreement into force immediately. It is true that the old law did not establish a time limit on interventions. The fact is that all the deadlines and limits laid down in the labor laws were intended to prevent abuses by the bosses and the state. Now the minister should include time limits on moves by the union leaderships themselves. This example cited by the government, far from providing a justification for their actions, constitutes one more proof of the abnormal situation of the unions that I just mentioned. As for the examples of previous interventions—pardon me, Mr. Minister, but I must tell you that your argument is quite unfortunate. Because if you have to point to the ill-fated interventions by the "gorillas" in order to justify the present ones, then I must confess that the situation of the unions is even more serious than we ourselves had imagined.

Mr. Otero: The workers at Villa Constitución were right, but they tried to turn the strike into a political action. . . .

Coral: I can assure the minister that at Villa Constitución, as in the rest of the country, 80 percent of the workers are still Peronists. It is not comprehensible how Peronist workers could organize a strike against their own government. . . .

3. Repeal the Law on Redundancy

Coral: We differ with the president when he states that the aim of the law on redundancy is to dismiss functionaries who are not needed to carry out the present policies and to eliminate employees who are hanging around in the hallways with no useful function and who are in general not needed. At Banco Nación, on the contrary, the law was used to dismiss the most militant representatives of the workers, some of whom had been rehired by the Peronist government itself and then were dismissed again under the law on redundancy. As for functionaries who served the "gorilla" govern-

ment, they not only continue in their posts, but in some cases have even received promotions to key positions in the current government.

President Perón: Those are isolated cases. . . .

Coral: Yes, they are still isolated cases, but sufficiently important to justify our alarm. Above all in view of the government's insistence that parliament extend a law that up to now has only been used to fire union militants. That is, this law has served as one of the instruments with which the government has tried to enforce the so-called Social Pact. We ask that those fired at Banco Nación, at IME—and all others fired for the same reason—be immediately rehired.

(Earlier, in answer to a similar question, the president stated that the constitution gave the administration the power to throw out, transfer, or remove public functionaries. Perón stated that he had not wanted to raise the problem so as not to stir up a juridical controversy, but that he was not willing to permit a limitation of his powers in this regard. From this, we can only draw the conclusion that the presi-

dent of the republic is taking personal responsibility for the application of the redundancy law.)

4. Stop Exploitation and Starvation Wages

Coral: At a time when the government has begun to enter the dangerous road of declaring that a strike voted on by an assembly of 3,000 workers is "illegal and subversive," we state that what is really subversive is the minimum wage imposed on the workers.

The minister of the economy has just admitted that "we are entering a very difficult phase in which we must control price increases to prevent them from getting out of hand." He has also recognized that "there is a certain amount of speculation going on among merchants and industrialists." In view of that situation, we maintain that it is indispensable and urgent to set up mechanisms controlled by the people to ensure compliance with the price ceilings.

But, in addition, those price ceilings should be set after an exhaustive study of costs in all stages of production and marketing, with control of the study in the hands of the workers. We must end trade secrets and substitute workers for the accountants, since the latter are real technicians in tax evasion and in keeping two sets of books to swindle the people. If the whole country knows how much a worker earns, all workers should also know exactly what the bosses' gains are.

Let's take the example of meat, which is of decisive weight because of its importance in the so-called family food basket. The government has fostered a running battle between the housewives and the butchers. We call for a battle of all consumers against the cattle barons—those typical parasitic middlemen, the oligarchy's base of economic power—whose fabulous profit margins, reached under the military, are now being recognized and guaranteed by the present government.

5. Fight Imperialism

Coral: The final item that we are concerned about is the control that imperialism continues to exercise over our economy. This is another serious cause of instability, as is shown by

what has happened in several other sister countries of Latin America. Right now, the conflict is coming to a head around the question of the North American companies that are delaying authorization to their Argentine branches to begin shipment of automobiles sold to Cuba. This threatens our national sovereignty and shows to what extent the international monopolies exercise control over the most dynamic sectors of our productive apparatus.

Mr. Gelbard (minister of the economy): You are wrong. The Argentine government is carrying out the trade agreements with Cuba and is not negotiating—nor would it accept negotiating—with foreign companies or officials.

Coral: I ask you concretely, Mr. Minister, have the shipments to Cuba of Ford and General Motors cars begun yet?

Mr. Gelbard: They haven't begun yet because we have set an order of priorities that begins with agricultural machinery.

Coral: Then our doubts are fully justified, above all after reading the recent foreign reports that Cuba will turn to Mexico as an alternate source for buying automobiles in view of the delay.

[Foreign] Minister Vignes: The government has carefully maintained the national dignity and sovereignty of the country in all its foreign policy actions. If a situation arose like the one described, the government would know very well how to proceed.

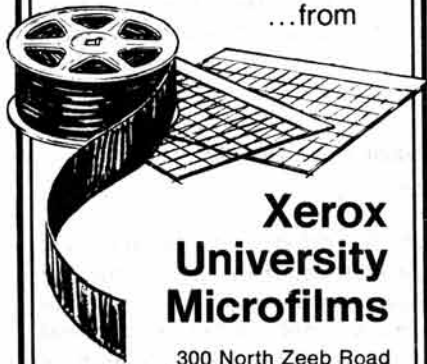
Coral: And the Socialist Workers party also knows what must be demanded of the government—nationalization, under workers control, of all branches of the foreign firms. They did not come here graciously to use their capital to promote the autonomous development of our economy, but to set themselves up like pumps to keep the national wealth—that is, the country's resources and what the workers have produced—flowing into their hands. □

A five-member United Nations commission has been established to investigate charges of atrocities committed by Portuguese troops in Mozambique. The commission is to visit Tanzania and Zambia to confer with representatives of Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique). It will also visit several European cities to interview persons who witnessed or learned of atrocities. The investigation is expected to be completed sometime in June.

Intercontinental Press

**This
Publication
is Available in
MICROFORM**

...from



**Xerox
University
Microfilms**

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Xerox University Microfilms
35 Mobile Drive
Toronto, Ontario,
Canada M4A 1H6

University Microfilms Limited
St. John's Road,
Tyler's Green, Penn,
Buckinghamshire, England

PLEASE WRITE FOR
COMPLETE INFORMATION