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Effort to Expel Immigrants Fails

A proposal aimed at expelling half the foreign population in Switzerland was defeated in a referendum October 20. Sixty-six percent of those voting rejected the proposal. A similar proposal was narrowly defeated in 1970 by a 54 percent "no" vote. Switzerland was the first European country to hold a referendum on the status of immigrants.

The racist campaign against the immigrants was launched by the right-wing National Action party. In 1972 it collected the necessary 50,000 signatures on a petition to call a referendum. The proposal called for limiting the foreign population in each canton to 12 percent, with the exception of Geneva, which would have been limited to 25 percent. This would have meant expelling about 540,000 of the 1.1 million immigrants in Switzerland by the target date, set for the end of 1977.

While immigrants comprise only one-sixth of the total population, foreign workers, predominantly Italian, account for 37 percent of the work force, filling mostly unskilled or semiskilled jobs.

All major bourgeois parties, the trade unions, church leaders, business officials, and the news media came out against the proposal, pointing out that the expulsion of such a large part of the work force would mean "economic catastrophe" for the country. Nello Celio, a former finance minister, said, "Services like garbage collection, meat slaughtering, vegetable growing, baking, canning and waiting on people in restaurants and hotels couldn't be provided any more."

The October 18 *Wall Street Journal* noted that, if the proposal were passed, "the new limits on foreign population would cause havoc for personnel-switching policies of U.S. and other multinational companies operating in Switzerland."

Waldemar Jucker, a trade-union leader, blamed much of the support for the racist proposal on the fear that economic difficulties in neighboring countries may eventually threaten Swiss jobs. □

Next Week

"Threat of World Slump Alarms *Business Week*." Dick Fidler reviews a survey of the economic situation conducted by one of the most prestigious mouthpieces of the American business world. If you like gloomy reading, put this on your "don't miss" list.

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What the British Elections Revealed

By Tony Hodges

London

The Labour party won an overall majority of three parliamentary seats in the October 10 general election, ending the seven months of minority Labour government that began with the defeat of the Tories last February. Prime Minister Harold Wilson is now free to form a majority government without any immediate danger of defeat in Parliament at the hands of a combined opposition bloc.

The Tories, remembered for their confrontation tactics against the unions, for their imposition of a three-day week, for their incomes policies, and for their bitter clash with the miners, suffered another trouncing: 35.8% of the poll—their lowest score this century—and 277 seats to Labour's 319. The smaller parties won a total of 39 seats. Wilson campaigned for reelection with the claim that his administration's social contract had restored industrial peace and that another Tory government would mean a return to the conflicts and hardships of last winter.

The election revealed that hostility towards the Tories outweighed sympathy towards the Labour party. Labour won 39.3% of the vote—only 2% higher than its percentage last February. The party won an absolute majority of parliamentary seats with a minority of the total votes cast only because Britain's system of electing members to Parliament by a simple majority in single-member constituencies squeezes out the smaller parties. The Tories and the Liberals together polled 54.2% of the total vote, four million more votes than Labour received. Labour's proportion of the poll was the second worst since the 1930s. The worst was last February.

What were the causes of this miserable performance, which seems at first sight to be strikingly out of tenor with the rapid rise in class-struggle moods and actions in recent years? Most of the more class-conscious workers undoubtedly voted Labour. But considerable numbers of less committed Labour supporters seem to have ab-

stained, disappointed with Labour's record in office. The turnout on October 10 was only 72.8%, 6% less than in February.

The Labour leadership also failed to reach out to the millions of "floating voters" who have been hard hit by the steep inflation and who are seeking a radical alternative to the Tories. In February, six million of them turned to the Liberals, a minor capitalist party that sought to capitalize on discontent with inflation and the Tories' confrontation with the miners. More than five million persons voted Liberal again on October 10.

It is true that the Liberals did not gain any parliamentary seats. In fact, they suffered a net loss of two seats and are now down to only 13. But the substantial Liberal vote is a striking reflection of the failure of the Labour leadership to project a socialist solution to the growing economic crisis.

The Labour administration of Harold Wilson failed to tackle the real threats now facing working people. In August, retail prices were 16.9% higher than a year ago. And there is every reason to suppose that retail prices will climb still higher and faster in the months to come—wholesale prices were 25.3% higher in August than a year before, and input prices were up 43.1%.

Workers can keep abreast of inflation only through automatic wage increases. But all the Labour government and the trade-union leaders have offered workers is the "social contract," a dressed-up version of "voluntary" wage restraint, designed to keep real incomes down and profits up.

Workers are also suffering from an escalating unemployment rate. Already more than 600,000 are officially admitted to be out of work, and predictions of one million or even two million jobless by the end of 1975 are commonplace. The Labour leadership has failed to advance the only possible solutions to mass unemployment—work-sharing among all who

wish to work with no loss of pay; a crash programme to provide needed houses, schools, hospitals and child-care facilities and to provide employment for those out of work; and nationalisation of companies that threaten to close down.

The Labour leaders stand on a programme of belt-tightening for the workers and profiteering for the capitalists. In the words of the Labour party's election manifesto: "We want to be frank with you. The regeneration of our economy isn't going to be easy, even with a Labour Government. The next two or three years are going to be difficult for us all. There will be no easy times and no easy pickings for anyone."

Is it any surprise that so little enthusiasm was registered among working people for Labour's election campaign?

In Scotland, Labour polled only 36.3% of the vote, the Scottish National party (SNP) coming close behind with 30.4%. The Tories were pushed into third place with only 24.7%. The SNP added four new seats to the seven they won in February. "Their four new seats in Scotland were all won from Conservatives," the *Guardian* noted in an October 12 editorial, "and they did not succeed in dislodging a single Labour member, but they have given some sitting tenants a bad fright, coming up to second place in 36 of Labour's 41 seats and within 7 per cent of the Labour vote in 15 of these. It is a great performance, showing the way the Scottish wind is blowing."

In Northern Ireland, Labour suffered a further blow. The extreme-right United Ulster Unionist Coalition (UUUC) won 10 out of 12 seats and an absolute majority of the Northern Ireland vote. "The scale of their victory in terms of votes cast surprised even the Loyalists themselves," reported Derek Brown in the October 12 *Guardian*. The UUUC polled more than 400,000 votes, the nonunionist candidates mustering 250,000. Among those returned to Parliament on the UUUC ticket was the right-wing rac-

ist demagogue Enoch Powell.

Labour's backing of British military intervention in Ireland and mass internment paved the way for the Loyalists' success. The Labour leaders betrayed the fundamental internationalist principles of socialism by collaborating with the Tories in denying the Irish people their right to determine their own affairs. As the Labour election manifesto put it: "Britain has a responsibility in Northern Ireland and the Labour Party rejects the view that the troops should be pulled out in advance of a political solution. . . . The Labour Government reaffirms its intention to phase out detention for all sections of the community in Northern Ireland when, but only when, the security situation permits."

Another danger signal for the Labour movement was the 112,000 votes won by the far-right, racist National Front, which fielded 90 candidates, 36 more than in February. The National Front have been able to build their anti-immigrant campaign without any real challenge from the Labour leaders, who have themselves upheld the Tory racist legislation.

The International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, called for a vote for Labour in spite of the bankrupt policies of the Labour leaders. "At this election," explained *Red Weekly*, the IMG's paper, in its September 26 issue, "the International Marxist Group is calling for a vote for Labour—but not because a Labour Government can achieve socialism or even because parliamentary elections decide crucial questions. We say vote Labour simply because the return of a Labour Government will create the best conditions for the class struggle and will give the working class more confidence and strength in the really vital struggles—the struggles *outside* Parliament." The IMG called for the new Labour government to be responsible to the organisations of the working class.

The Communist party, which ran 28 candidates, picked up only 17,426 votes. Last February they ran 44 candidates and polled 32,741 votes.

The CP manifesto made no mention of the social contract and charted no fight against it. Nor did it demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. To the contrary, it called for "their withdrawal to barracks, and the speediest pos-

sible creation of conditions for their complete withdrawal from Northern Ireland."

The sectarian Workers Revolutionary party headed by Gerry Healy ran



WILSON: Wants workers to accept a "voluntary" wage cut.

10 candidates who got a combined total of 3,404 votes.

The IMG did not stand candidates after failing in an attempt to form a united front with the WRP and the International Socialists to contest the elections. "As we could not achieve a united front of the revolutionary left," Alan Jones wrote in the September 12 *Red Weekly*, "and as we consider that the decisive struggles. . . will come after the election the IMG has very reluctantly decided that it will not run candidates in the election." The IMG, however, expanded the size of *Red Weekly* to twelve pages during the election campaign, an expansion it is continuing after the election. The IMG also put out a special four-page election manifesto.

Deep pessimism on the part of both the capitalist and Labour politicians marked the electoral contest.

The Labour manifesto opened: "Britain faces its most dangerous crisis since the war. The Labour Party makes no attempt to disguise this."

The Conservative manifesto agreed:

"The dangers now facing Britain are greater than any we have seen since the last war."

Liberal leader, Jeremy Thorpe, introduced the manifesto of his party with the words: "It is already certain that the government which takes office after the election will face the greatest peace-time crisis we have known since the dark days of 1931."

The economic dangers were vividly laid bare by the *Guardian* in a September 16 editorial: "Inflation at above 20 per cent and prices every week climbing higher in the shops? A million or more unemployed next year? Bankruptcies, including some big companies? Pension funds in trouble? Farmers forced out of business in spite of food shortages? Still no settlements on the oil deficits, and another international payments breakdown? Imports restricted by more countries, and a downturn in world trade?" The editorial concluded: "These are all possible or probable." The paper lamented that "no political group has an assured prescription" and that "none is sure of the remedies."

The outmoded, backward capitalist economy of Britain is in deep trouble made all the worse by the mounting danger of a worldwide recession. What are the facts?

- Industrial production is 1% down on a year ago.

- Gross trading profits in the first half of 1974 fell 44.8% from their level in the first half of 1973.

- Unemployment at 611,800 in September was 10% higher than a year ago. The stockbrokers Phillips and Drew predict that unemployment could reach two million—10% of the work force—by the end of next year.

- Investment in manufacturing is expected to fall 8% in the second half of this year.

- Retail prices in August were 16.9% up on a year ago.

- The balance of trade deficit is running at a staggering £4,600 millions a year.

- "Britain's industrial and commercial sector," reports the October 14 *Guardian*, "is heading for a deficit of around £3,000 millions in 1974, according to CBI [Confederation of British Industry] estimates which are broadly accepted by Government. This deficit—more than seven times worse than the 1973 shortfall of £400,000—is the amount by which

business outgoings exceed business income from profit, interest and grants.

"It is the arithmetic computation of the malaise which threatens industry with a cash crisis, bankruptcies, and widespread redundancies."

The stark dangers to the livelihood of millions of workers posed by hyperinflation and mass unemployment "threatens," in the words of the September 14 *Economist*, "the fabric of British society and its democratic institutions." In its September 21 issue the journal warned that "the continuation of the United Kingdom, Britain's future place in the world, the very way of life in these islands, are now at risk." In the September 28 issue, the editors observed that "confidence in Parliament and its ways is probably at its lowest since the slump of the 1930s."

This was the backcloth to the election—and is today the backcloth to its aftermath.

The ruling class overwhelmingly threw their support behind the Tory election campaign. But when the Tories lost, they were generally quite relieved to find that Labour did not have a large majority. "It would have been very bad," the *Times* commented on October 12, "to have had a large Labour majority which would have put pressure on the Government from the left to make a further major movement towards socialism."

"As it is," the editors felt, "the small majority will both discourage Labour from extremism and make it more difficult for them to carry contentious legislation." The *Times* considered that it might even "be better for the nation that Labour should face the inflation with the responsibilities of office rather than as an uncommitted opposition."

The October 12 *Economist* considered that Wilson's slim majority meant that he "now has little to fear, noise apart, from the Labour Party's left." The respectable bourgeois journal felt that the economic crisis would soon present the government with "national choices which must require ministers of the new Government to say what they think, not to act on the bidding of partisan impulses that they fear. They will be choices of a magnitude that simply cannot and ought not to be resolved amid the din of an irrelevant and whipped-up class war."

But will Wilson's small majority cut much ice with the unions?

British Election Results

Party	Seats	Votes	Percentage
Labour Party	319	11,458,704	39.3%
Conservative Party	277	10,458,548	35.8%
Liberal Party	13	5,348,193	18.3%
Scottish National Party	11	839,628	
United Ulster Unionist Coalition	10	407,778	
Plaid Cymru	3	166,321	
Social Democratic and Labour Party	1	154,193	
National Front	-	112,000*	
Alliance Party	-	44,644	
Independent Republican	1	32,795	
Republican Clubs	-	21,633	
Unionist Party of Northern Ireland	-	20,454	
Communist Party	-	17,008	
Workers Revolutionary Party	-	3,404	
Maoists	-	1,645	
Irish Civil Rights Association	-	1,449	

*approximate figure

Most bourgeois commentators have their doubts. They are not overly impressed by the progress of the social contract. "The social compact," the *Economist* stressed in its September 21 issue, "is no more than a voluntary incomes policy . . . concealed as an attack on social injustice. No voluntary incomes policy has worked or will work . . . The biggest fallacy about the social compact is the claim that it is between the Labour Party and the unions. It is not. It is simply an unsigned, unenforceable compact with the Trades Union Congress."

The magazine bemoaned the helplessness of the right-wing union bureaucrats to sell the contract to the rank and file: "Many, if not most, of those moderate pro-Labour leaders are not really in effective control of their unions, and outside meetings of the general council of the TUC or the heady limelight of a pre-election congress they can only maintain their appearance of control by avoiding serious confrontation with their militants."

The September 28 *Economist* reeled out a string of statistics of rising industrial conflict under the contract: "The number of days lost in strikes between April and August, 1974, has been 3.5m, a rise of 35 per cent on the same period a year ago under the Tories' stage two policy"; "the number of strikes in this period has risen by 12 per cent and the number of people going on strike has risen by 22 per cent compared with the year before"; "in the two months since stage

three wage controls were ended and the pay board was eliminated, more than 1m days have been lost in strikes, 53 per cent more than in the same months of 1973"; "In the same period, wage rates have jumped by 6 per cent, equivalent to an annual rate of wage inflation of 35 per cent."

Strikes by Ford car workers in defiance of clauses of the social contract in the middle of the election period; the rejection by the miners of a major productivity deal proposed by the National Coal Board; work-to-rule action by airport ground staffs—these are the past two weeks' symptoms of the strains in store for the contract.

But if the ruling class have little or no faith in the workability of the social contract, they are deeply divided about what to replace it with. All the capitalist politicians and editorial writers are flailing about in search of policies to cope with the crisis, with no confidence that they have the answers and exuding an air of gloom.

The election campaign of the Tories was in disarray from the very start, unable as they were to offer a clear alternative to the social contract. Their programme of antiunion legislation, wage freezes, statutory wage controls and head-on confrontation with the unions had been decisively defeated by the miners and the electorate in February. No immediate return to that course was feasible. Heath, like Wilson, temporarily staked his hopes on a voluntary incomes policy and a contract—a contract of "national unity."

"When the Conservatives obtain a majority at this election," he told Conservative candidates on October 6, "I will immediately set out, with the majority, to establish a government that can transcend party divisions, a government representing men and women of goodwill of all parties and of none. We will, first, consult the leaders of all the parties in Parliament on the measures which can be agreed to meet the crisis. We will then bring into the Administration people of talent and patriotism from all walks of life so that we can use all the skill and intellect at our command."

"This government of national unity," Heath continued, "would seek to put aside party bickering and concentrate on mobilising the full resources of a nation united to beat the crisis."

Heath's plan backfired from the word go. Opposition to class-collaborationist blocs with the Tory party runs too deep in the Labour movement to have allowed a favourable response at this time from the Labour leadership. The Liberals knew that a coalition with the Tories would undermine their own electoral appeal to discontented Tory voters.

A Tory government, lacking Labour's links to the unions, could scarcely have succeeded—where Wilson's social contract is failing—in persuading union members to voluntarily curtail their wages in a period of unabated inflation. Heath would, if elected, have soon resorted to a compulsory wage-control policy—and resurrected the confrontationism of last winter.

The Tory leadership was deeply divided—as it still is. On September 5, Sir Keith Joseph, a member of the Tory shadow cabinet, publicly broke ranks with Heath, announced his lack of confidence in incomes policies as a means of holding down wages, and called for a tight money programme whatever the cost in terms of unemployment. With the Tories defeated at the polls, they seem set for a major leadership squabble, with the ouster of Heath from the Tory leadership virtually certain.

But the Labour leaders will be beset by their own difficulties. As inflation and unemployment worsen, Wilson may be forced to scrap the social contract and slap on compulsory wage controls himself, violating his own pledge, made September 16 at a news conference, that "we rule out sta-

tutory interference with collective bargaining."

"A slump is approaching," the September 14 *Economist* warned, "accompanied by rising inflation and a balance of payments crisis." The solution was indicated with admirable brevity: "It will have to be met by a wage freeze."

"In 1966," the journal noted, "Labour imposed a wage freeze less than four months after it was confirmed in power, in defiance of its election prom-

ises. In the grimmer circumstances of 1974 Mr Wilson might also be ready to eat his words. Of course he would hate to do so. There would be much more opposition on the left than in 1966, partly because this would seem so cynically a repetition of 1966, partly because the freeze would come with unemployment and worker dissatisfaction already rising, mainly because the marxists now have a constituency to support them in the unions." □

The Beginning of a New Mass Upsurge?

Revolts of Political Prisoners in Ireland Touch Off Widespread Solidarity Actions

By Gerry Foley

"Internment is a grievance around which virtually the entire Roman Catholic community in Ulster unites," a dispatch from Belfast noted in the October 17 *New York Times*.

One of the brashest mouthpieces of British imperialism, *The Economist*, offered a certain historical perspective in its October 19 issue:

"The specific reason for staging the prison disturbances was an anti-internment protest. The truth is, as Bagehot wrote nearly 100 years ago, 'that almost all effervescence against civil restraints in matters not obviously moral, is popular in Ireland.'"

There was no doubt that the desperate rebellion of the inmates at Long Kesh prison camp on the night of October 15 touched a deep chord among the nationalist-minded people in Northern Ireland.

"Londonderry was virtually halted as cars and buses were hijacked and shops, offices and factories closed their doors," the *London Times* reported in its October 17 issue. "In Belfast, 500 Catholic dockers walked out in protest at what they said was rough treatment of prisoners at Long Kesh, and in Londonderry several hundred factory workers also walked out."

In Belfast, the British army tried to seal up the protesting Catholics in their ghettos.

"During the evening there was more fighting in Belfast when crowds of

Catholics trying to march to the centre of the city to protest were stopped by troops in Castle Street, one of the main shopping thoroughfares [and the border of the Falls Road ghetto]."

In a number of places, the *London Times* account indicated, the protests were spearheaded by militant strikes. In Derry (called "Londonderry" by the British imperialists in honor of the English conquest), the Catholic workers, the majority of whom tend to be women employed in small, super-exploitative plants, have played a key role in previous protests against British repression. The prison revolts apparently brought them out again. And, the October 17 *London Times* report continued, ". . . at Coalisland, in co Tyrone, Catholic factory workers formed a human chain across several main roads and blocked traffic."

In Belfast also, the October 18 *London Times* reported the next day, there were militant mass actions of this type: ". . . in several streets republican demonstrators formed human chains to block traffic."

"There were similar scenes in Strabane, co Tyrone, and Newry."

This pattern has been seen before in the mass protests touched off in February 1972 after British troops shot down thirteen civil rights demonstrators. At that time, strikes by workers of the oppressed Irish nationality tended quickly to become the dominant

form of action.

The revolt that began at Long Kesh October 15 rapidly spread to Magilligan prison, Crumlin Road prison, and Armagh jail.

"Only 24 hours after the destruction of nearly half the Maze prison at Long Kesh," the October 17 *London Times* reported, "and with the governor of Armagh women's prison held captive by a hundred women, republicans last night went on the rampage at Magilligan prison in co Londonderry on the north coast of Ulster, firing at least two of their compounds and burning the prison kitchens.

"Flames were seen leaping into the sky from three miles away and officials confirmed that several huts were burning fiercely."

The British government tried to play down reports about violence by the guards.

"Rumors swept Northern Ireland," the *New York Times* reported October 17, "that prisoners had been killed in pitched battles at the Maze, but a Government statement insisted that only nine prisoners had been injured, none seriously, while a prison guard had a suspected skull fracture."

The discrepancies between the government's claims and the first detailed reports by prison officials gave fresh force to the feeling of outrage in the Catholic community.

"There was much controversy yesterday about government figures of those injured in the Long Kesh riots," Robert Fisk wrote from Belfast in the October 18 *London Times*. "On Wednesday night Mr Rees [the British overlord of Northern Ireland] had said that nine prisoners had been detained in hospital; yesterday the Government confirmed that 29 had actually been taken to hospital, nine of whom had been detained.

"It emerged, too, that 78 Long Kesh inmates were taken by ambulance to X-ray units in local hospitals after complaining that they had been hurt."

The government claimed that these figures did not contradict their earlier claims. But "... Mr Paddy Devlin, SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour party, the bourgeois Catholic party] whip, said yesterday, however, that Mr Rees now had no credibility left."

In the first days after the revolts, there was little information about the

situation in Magilligan prison and Crumlin Road prison. In Armagh jail, the women prisoners ended their protest, reportedly, when they got assurances from officials that no harm would come to the men in Long Kesh.

The prison revolts touched off an explosion that had been building up for a long time, the report in the October 18 *New York Times* pointed out.

"The outbreaks were the culmination of steady and widespread anger in the Catholic community and among some Protestants over the use of detention without regular trial. The system was introduced three years ago, sparking the bloodiest single day of violence since the start of the current communal conflict."

The dispatch acknowledged the breadth of opposition to internment among the Catholic population:

"Anti-internment feeling stirs the whole northern Catholic community. Last night the Bishop of Derry led a torch-bearing procession of 2,000 in reciting the rosary on behalf of the internees. Moderate Catholic leaders feel that detention gives a major political weapon to an I.R.A. that has otherwise lost much of its support.

"Leaders of the Social Democratic and Labor party . . . who have collaborated closely with the British on many matters, called emphatically today for the end of internment."

The fact is that repression has been the most powerful political issue in Ireland for at least a century. The usual effects of imperialist domination—massive unemployment; hunger; and the maintenance of such forms of exploitation as serfdom—have been eliminated or attenuated in Ireland by emigration en masse to the imperialist centers. The long history of British domination and geography account for that.

Furthermore, the closeness of a giant imperialist industrial machine has tended to discourage hopes of independent capitalist development in Ireland and to convince the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements in the population that they have a better chance as junior partners of British imperialism than they do on their own.

However, to maintain its domination of Ireland, all the more important because of the closeness of the country to the imperialist center, British imperialism has had to build up a complex apparatus of special repressive institutions on the neighboring island.

The most glaring example is the use of the concentration-camp system in what is nominally part of the "democratic" United Kingdom. It is on this question also that the contradictions affecting the native bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie come acutely to the fore.

Since these sectors aspire to be junior partners of British imperialism, they are ready to support the repression of militant nationalists who threaten the system. However, massive repression against the nationalists tends to reinforce the lower caste position of the entire native Irish community, which is historically identified by its rejection of the Protestant religion imposed by the English state. Therefore, it is a threat to their status as well. Moreover, the economic position of the weak Catholic bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie depends to a considerable extent on their control of the political institutions of the oppressed community.

As for the masses of the historic Irish nationality, the special repressive institutions—or "civil restraints," to use the term favored by the theorist of the British bourgeois constitution, Bagehot, to whom the editors of *The Economist* evidently turn in times of stress—are the clearest expression of imperialist domination and a sharper reminder of the English conquest and subjugation it signified.

The mass upsurge in the Northern Irish ghettos that began at the end of the 1960s was initiated by a fight against the status of second-class citizens to which Catholics are inevitably condemned by a state created specifically to maintain British rule in a part of Ireland and to preserve the pro-imperialist settler caste. This revolt deepened dramatically when the traditional repressive forces, the Orange gangs and the British army, went into action on a large scale.

During the past two years or so, however, the mass struggle has tended to lose its momentum. After a long period of tension, large sections of the oppressed community tended to grow weary of the conflict and were more easily disoriented by promises of concessions by Britain. This decline was accelerated and prolonged by some political problems of the main leaderships present, the Official and Provisional IRAs

Both have become frozen in sterile strategies. The Officials have pinned

their hopes on achieving an alliance of Catholic and Protestant workers on economic issues (while trying to hold onto their ghetto following by offering more traditional forms of activity); the Provisionals, on wearing out British imperialism by small-scale military action. Both have had difficulty in building united-front campaigns against the repression, owing, among other things, to their lack of politically trained cadres, which the republican movement has traditionally been unable to produce.

In this situation, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, which gave the lead to the mass struggles at the end of the 1960s, has ceased to be a united front, and, under a predominantly Communist party leadership, has progressively lost its ability, and apparently its desire, to mobilize the masses in the Catholic ghettos.

The wave of protest against repression that welled up in the Catholic communities October 16 and 17, however, shows that conditions have been ripening for a revival of the mass struggle of the oppressed Northern Catholics and of the historic Irish majority.

Furthermore, because of the weakness of British capitalism and the impact of the deepening world economic crisis, imperialism will find it difficult to make the large economic concessions needed to reduce the pressures in Northern Ireland.

Whatever the precise origins or initial issues in the prison rebellions—which are still to be clarified—it is obvious that the response they stirred in the Catholic community, while linked to concrete grievances, reflected a deep-seated feeling that goes beyond the specific question of prison conditions or the specific forms of imperialist repression. The power of this response is not only a major blow to the British "normalization" in Northern Ireland; it is also likely to shake up the logjam of frozen conceptions that has held back the struggle of the oppressed community for many months.

In the first place, the flareup has impressed on public opinion in the British Isles and in the world that the crisis in Northern Ireland has not been resolved and may be headed toward a new and more powerful explosion. It also focused attention on the concentration-camp system Lon-

don has had to maintain in order to repress opposition to its imperialist system among the nationalist population.

"In truth, of course," Robert Fisk wrote in the October 18 London *Times*, "there are many complaints about Long Kesh which it is hard to dismiss. It was built as a temporary jail and it sits in a cold, windswept plain beneath the Belfast mountains. Arc lights bathe the compounds in eternal daylight and the prisoners inside cannot see through the steel walls around them. Those officials at Stormont [the Northern Ireland government center] who dislike any comparison with a German prison camp usually admit that on at least first sight Long Kesh looks like one of the *Stalags*."

Early reports indicated that members of the right-wing Protestant terrorist organizations and common prisoners joined in the prison rebellions. It would not be surprising if the revolt of the nationalist prisoners against the inhuman conditions in these British-run prisons tended to draw in all those who suffer from them. Obviously such unity, if it in fact existed, would be useful for mounting a campaign against the cruelty of the imperialist prison system. There should be no illusions, however, that this would mean that the poor Protestants are about to join the Catholics in a struggle against British imperialism.

The Loyalist prisoners will soon feel the pressure of the Orange community's leadership, which cannot help but see the prison rebellions for what they were—a victory against the repressive imperialist system that maintains the Orange caste. The Loyalists have been opposed to internment on the grounds that it enables the British government to put away with little trouble their members who go too far. They prefer a system of proimperialist courts that would condemn nationalists according to the best traditions of Orangeism and "classical" British justice in Ireland.

The British government has in fact been moving in this direction since the introduction of direct rule in the spring of 1972. And the editorial comment in the London *Times* of October 17 indicates that the prison rebellions may speed this process:

"All those held in Armagh jail and almost two thirds of those held in

Long Kesh are prisoners who have been duly convicted in the courts or are remanded in custody awaiting trial. Five hundred out of the 1,400 in Long Kesh are detainees or held under interim custody orders, and their proportion of the total is likely to fall now that the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] is having more success in bringing charges against men and women suspected of terrorist offences."

Thus, it is important to use the momentum of the protests on October 16 and 17 to build up a campaign against the whole political repression, focusing on internment, which is still the most powerful issue.

One of the most positive recent attempts to develop a broad drive against internment suffered from some built-in limitations. The statement of the End Internment Campaign sponsored by *Hibernia* magazine* on the petition it is distributing says: "We are opposed in principle to the internment of civilians without trial. We also believe that internment in Northern Ireland, now three years in operation, is both a continuing cause of violence and a primary obstacle to the success of peace initiatives. For these reasons, we call for the immediate release of all internees in Northern Ireland."

It was also not helpful to tie the ending of repression to the success of "peace initiatives," which are not likely to gain anything as long as British imperialism retains its hold on Northern Ireland.

However, this petition has won some significant support and can play a role in preparing the way for a broad movement against internment.

It is to be hoped that in the wake of the prison rebellions there will be new and broader initiatives for a campaign focused clearly and uncompromisingly against the repression in the six-county British enclave and in the neocolonialist twenty-six-county state.

In view of the desperation of the oppressed people in the North, built up by five years of unrelieved brutal repression, a mass campaign against imperialist repression is likely to develop powerful momentum once it gets started. □

* Copies of the petition and information can be obtained from *Hibernia* at 206 Pearse Street, Dublin 2, Ireland, or from the Joint Action Committee for Irish Political Prisoners, 326 West 48 St., New York, N.Y. 10036.

Western Australian Unions Protest Antilabor Bill

More than 100,000 workers went on a twenty-four-hour general strike in Western Australia October 1 to protest proposed legislation that would give the state government sweeping powers to do away with basic democratic rights and would lay the basis for a large-scale attack on the trade-union movement.

Industry in Western Australia came to a standstill. The State Electricity Commission cut off all industrial power, and the metropolitan area of Perth and most country towns had intermittent power cuts throughout the day. Four iron ore projects in the Pilbara area stopped when 10,000 miners walked off the job. Three thousand Kalgoorlie nickel and gold miners also joined the strike.

The governing Liberal (i.e., conservative) party in the state of Western Australia used the international "oil crisis" as a pretext for launching the offensive against the unions. The proposed bill—the Fuel, Energy and Power Resources Act Amendment Bill—is nothing more than an outright assault on the trade unions and their right to strike.

As Australian workers battle to have their wages catch up with the spiraling inflation, they have been met by increasingly harsh assaults. The Western Australian government has gone the furthest so far, but attacks have also come from other state governments and from various right-wing groups that have emerged with the specific aim of assailing union rights. They have been joined by the federal Labor government, led by Gough Whitlam, which hopes to establish a "social contract" to limit wage demands as Harold Wilson's Labour government has done in Britain.

The general strike was called at a demonstration of 15,000 workers protesting the proposed bill outside Parliament House in Perth on September 19. It was the largest demonstration of workers ever held in Western Australia.

The basic provisions of the bill are as follows:

"At any time, if the Governor is satisfied that by reason of embargoes by

oil producing countries, disruption of shipping services, disruption of other transport whether outside or within the State, natural disasters or other events, circumstances or causes affecting or likely to affect the provision, supply or distribution of the resources of fuel, energy or power in or to the State, the community or any substantial portion of the community, is or may be deprived of essential supplies or services or a shortage may result, the Governor may . . . declare that a state of emergency shall exist. . . ."

In other words, under virtually any pretext the sweeping powers that come into effect during a state of emergency can be invoked. In particular, if strike action over any issue from wages to safety or victimization causes "disruption" to any fuel or energy resources, the government can declare a state of emergency.

The state of emergency can last for up to six months. However, the bill states that "more than one order may be made . . . in respect of an emergency," so it can be extended as long as the government wants. Another clause states that the regulations have power "notwithstanding anything." That is, they supersede all other laws and democratic safeguards.

Under the state of emergency, rule by decree would prevail. "Emergency regulations . . . may confer upon any minister of the crown the power to make any order or give any direction for the purposes of the regulations."

Actions that may be taken in a situation of ministerial rule by decree include the following:

". . . the delegation of powers and duties, the inspection of premises without a warrant, questioning of persons."

". . . engaging persons, whether for reward or otherwise, to perform functions and carry out acts in order to assist the maintaining, controlling and regulating of supplies and services; . . ."

This last provision has brought one of the most hostile reactions from the union movement. In effect, it provides for the use of a strikebreaking scab labor force. The strikebreakers could

be either the army, police, or hired scab armies from right-wing organizations. One section of the bill lays down regulations for the protection of scabs from any sort of retaliation. It makes workers who refuse to work with scab labor liable for prosecution.

The penalties for anyone "guilty of an offense against the Act" are extremely harsh. Any striking worker, union leader, or supporter of an action that "disrupts" fuel and energy supplies may be sentenced to six months imprisonment or a fine of A\$500 (about US \$660) or both. This is for each day an offense is committed. If, for example, a strike lasted for five days, the penalty could be five times as severe.

Organizations breaking the regulations are liable to fines limited only by their ability to pay. Under this provision, unions, student groups, and political organizations could be totally drained of their financial resources.

On the day of the general strike, a protest rally of more than 10,000 persons and a march on Parliament House were held in Perth. This was in spite of bomb threats from the right-wing Committee for Protection of Democracy in Australia. Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, told the rally that opposition to the undemocratic laws could spread to other states, with industrial action being taken to back the demands of Western Australian workers. □

But It Was Just an Idea. . . .

U. S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz recently vetoed a proposal to send out a traveling tent show in an effort to convince Americans that food prices are not so bad.

The tent show, proposed by the Agriculture Department's public relations chief, would have provided a program of song, prayer, music, and dramatic renderings of early pioneer life. The idea was subjected to ridicule by some members of Congress.

The memo to Butz proposing the idea claimed that such a show would instill in the public "a greater confidence in the department."

Bihar Paralyzed by Three-Day General Strike

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

The eastern state of Bihar continues to be a boiling cauldron.

Beginning October 3 a three-day bandh [general strike] paralyzed the state. The bandh was called in support of the seven-month-old struggle for the dissolution of the State Assembly and the dismissal of the corrupt Abdul Ghafoor Ministry. Rail services and telecommunications were completely disrupted, and on the second day of the bandh Bihar was isolated from the rest of India.

A member of the ruling Congress party in parliament said that 90 to 95 percent of the government administration supported the struggle, which erupted on a turbulent and mass scale during this bandh. Several demonstrators were killed by police, and more than 1,000 persons were arrested.

Bihar is one of the poorest states of India. Sandwiched between Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal and bordering on Nepal, it has an area of 174,000 square kilometers and a population of about 56,332,000. The per capita income is 400 rupees [about US\$50], one of the lowest in the country.

Since the beginning of the mass protests against soaring prices, corruption, and unemployment, the police department has been the only wing of the state apparatus functioning in all seventeen districts. Scores of companies of the Border Security Force and the Central Reserve Police have assisted the 40,000 armed policemen of the state in maintaining "law and order," according to an article by Janak Singh in the *Times of India*, August 31. The daily cost of this huge repressive apparatus is estimated to be more than 100,000 rupees [about US\$12,500].

Seven universities comprising 270 arts and science colleges are located in Bihar, but educationally the state is one of the most backward in India. Less than 2 percent of the population ever enters college. Since the inception of this struggle, educational

life has come to a standstill. According to Singh, educational institutions look like police stations. Constables are posted outside not only laboratories, libraries, and classrooms, but also the houses of faculty members known to be against the struggle.

Ironically, although the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) has consistently opposed this movement and defended the Ghafoor Ministry, the initial agitation was launched by the CPI. Under pressure from its trade-union rank and file, the CPI called for a Bihar bandh on January 21 of this year. Supported by all opposition parties, it was a success. Joint action committees were formed and several meetings were held.

In the last week of February, at a student convention, the CPI (Marxist) students' wing, the Students Federation of India, and members of the Bihar Students Association staged a walkout and formed a front called the Chattra Naujawan Sangharsh Morcha (Student New Youth Fighting Front), with a long-range program of protests to begin March 16. The rest of the students formed the Chattra Sangharsh Samiti (Student Action Committee). It started its protests March 18. Its leadership was subsequently assumed by former Socialist leader, 72-year-old Jaya Prakash Narayan.

The second phase of the Bihar struggle began in the middle of March. Some militant struggles have been directed against hoarders, black marketers, and corrupt officials.

In Bettiah on March 16, a battle lasting several hours resulted in a violent clash between peasant youth and the students on one side and the armed police on the other. (The peasantry of this area is not known to be sympathetic to the CPI or communist ideas.) Several persons were killed in the clash and many were injured. At Patna, two days later, the police let loose a campaign of terror against the Student Action Committee demonstrators; a curfew was imposed.

In Gaya, the police brutally attacked demonstrators. During this second phase, the protests spread like wildfire and engulfed the whole state of Bihar.

It was at this time that Jaya Prakash Narayan entered the struggle. His strategy included programs of propaganda, not agitation. He talked of "total revolution"—but in a characteristically vague and confusing way. He remained scrupulously silent about the character of the social system that causes the evils of corruption, unemployment, and hoarding.

The default of various left parties played a part in allowing Narayan to assume a leadership of the mass struggle and to give it an amorphous character, permitting it to dissipate into sporadic actions during June and July.

The pro-Moscow, pro-Indira, Communist party of India became the strongest defender of the Ghafoor Ministry. Its support surpassed even that of the Congress party of Indira Gandhi, which rules Bihar in its vigorous defense of "democracy" from the onslaught of reactionaries. "Blood will flow in the streets if the Legislative Assembly is dissolved," the CPI warned.

The railway strike in May prompted some of the student activists, disillusioned by the lack of leadership, to raise the question of who would be their allies. The strike caused many of them to look outside their own movement for potential allies. When the Patna Student Action Committee called for a Patna bandh in support of striking railway workers, it was opposed by the top leaders of the struggle. Nevertheless, a successful bandh did take place in Patna, Bhagalpur, and several other places.

The second phase of the movement, led by Narayan, was petering out. But three incidents breathed life into the struggle, giving it the momentum that culminated in the Bihar bandh on October 3. On June 3, the

CPI staged a demonstration to affirm its faith in "constitutional and parliamentary democracy." On June 4, the government staged a parade by the army and police through Patna to cow the students. The inspector-general of the Border Security Force threatened to put tanks into the streets to restore order. On June 5, members of the Indira Brigade fired on anti-government demonstrators. These incidents ushered in the current phase of the Bihar struggle.

A curfew was imposed on several towns in Bihar on October 5. Police atrocities occur regularly. Arrested students and other political prisoners are beaten and tortured in the jails. Except for the maintenance of "law

and order" (that is, repression), the governmental machinery has come to a grinding halt.

The Gandhi regime has continued to resist the demand of the demonstrators for dissolution of the assembly and removal of the corrupt ministry.

The police repression over a prolonged period has heightened the political and democratic consciousness of the population in this backward state. From Narayan's slogan "Whatever be the method of attack we shall not hit," other slogans have been taken up: "We have seen the force of your repressive machinery, we shall see it in the future also," and "The nature of repression will determine the

nature of resistance." Students' visits to the countryside have initiated demands of "Land to the tillers."

The seven-month struggle has been accompanied by a cultural upsurge that includes a number of new youth magazines, poems, posters, and dramas. Several open-air classes and teach-ins have also been reported.

Women have participated in torchlight processions. Faint beginnings of the struggle for women's rights are discernible in the protests initiated by women over the question of dowry.

The leaders of the Bihar struggle have threatened to extend it to the neighboring state of Uttar Pradesh and to New Delhi. □

Sought \$200,000 for Party Tied to Fascists

New Facts Leaked on CIA Operation in Chile

The Central Intelligence Agency recommended secret financing of Chile's National party, an organization closely linked with the fascist group Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom), according to information disclosed in the October 21 *New York Times*. The CIA's request for \$200,000 in funds for the National party was made July 25, 1973, only six weeks before the military overthrew the legally elected Allende government.

Citing "highly reliable sources," *New York Times* correspondent Seymour Hersh reported that the "first word of the C. I. A.'s attempt to become involved with the extremist group became known two weeks ago when a close aide to Secretary of State Kissinger leaked documents in an effort to discredit a former high Nixon Administration intelligence official who was known to be privately critical of Mr. Kissinger's role in Chile.

"The documents, although intended to show that there was a consensus inside the Administration over the clandestine C. I. A. operations in Chile, have instead raised new questions about the extent of the secret United States involvement in the overthrow of Dr. Allende."

Hersh reported that three documents from the 40 Committee—the top-level intelligence board headed by Kissinger that oversees all CIA covert operations—were leaked by Kissinger's executive assistant Lawrence Eagleburger. The first document, dated August 31, 1970, dealt with possible CIA options in case the pending Chilean presidential elections resulted in a runoff involving Allende.

A second document, dated September 4, 1970, the day Allende won a plurality in the election, discussed a CIA proposal for bribing members of parliament, which had the power to refuse to ratify the election results.

The third document, the one dated July 25, 1973, discussed CIA plans for financing anti-Allende political parties, including both the Christian Democrats and the National party.

All the documents reportedly had comments on them written by Ray Cline, the former official whom Kissinger would like to discredit, either endorsing the most extreme option offered or suggesting that the CIA go further.

Cline had revealed earlier that the CIA had directly financed the anti-Allende forces behind the "strikes" leading up to the September coup. He was

the first high official to permit his name to be used in confirming published reports about this aspect of the CIA's activities in Chile. He claimed that there had been misgivings within the CIA and the State Department about some of the operations in Chile. The two agencies decided to "go along," he said, "because the White House—either Nixon or Dr. Kissinger, or both—decided to push the program."

Cline's disagreements were only over tactical questions, however, as his own statements make clear: "I'm not happy about the way things turned out in Chile," he told Hersh, "but I can defend them because I think our strategy was not unreasonable or immoral. It was our duty to preserve institutions which we call free."

Hersh wrote in the October 17 *New York Times* that Cline's account of the assistance to labor groups "flatly contradicts both the public and private descriptions of the C. I. A. role presented by President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger."

Ford had claimed at his televised news conference on September 16 that all the CIA had done was "to help and assist the preservation of opposition newspapers and electronic media and to preserve opposition political

parties."

The same line was peddled by Kissinger at briefings for congressional leaders and members of Ford's cabinet. "All we did was support newspapers and political opponents of Allende who were under siege," he told the cabinet September 17. He gave the same story to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 19.

As director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence, Cline was directly involved in much of the planning and discussions that went on in the 40 Committee. He was clearly in position to know the facts. Furthermore, before joining the State Department, from which he retired last year, he worked for more than twenty years with the CIA, eventually becoming its deputy director for intelligence.

Cline confirmed earlier published accounts that the aim of the program approved by the 40 Committee was far broader than just bailing out the right-wing media and parties. "What the C. I. A. was trying to do," he said, "was to see that at least 50 per cent and probably 60 per cent of the electorate would be disillusioned by the time of the presidential elections in 1976."

According to Cline, some of the money provided by the CIA "was intended for financial support of the small businessmen and the truckers in their resistance strikes against the Allende Government."

Further revelations about the financing of the anti-Allende "strikes" were reported in the October 16 *New York Times* by correspondent Jonathan Kandell.

Leading Chilean businessmen, Kandell said, admit to having personally channeled funds amounting to \$200,000 from companies in Mexico, Venezuela, and Peru to striking truckowners, shopkeepers, and professional groups. The businessmen—members of the SOFOFA, the most important industrial association in Chile—said that \$100,000 had come from a company called Protexa, based in Monterrey, Mexico; \$50,000 from the Grupo Mendoza of Caracas, Venezuela; and \$50,000 from a Peruvian company they declined to identify.

One of the businessmen said that he didn't know whether the CIA was actually the source of the funds. "We did not ask any questions," he said.

He explained that while they had previously had difficulty raising funds

in Latin America for their anti-Allende campaign, the money from the Mexican, Venezuelan, and Peruvian companies suddenly started to arrive in time to help finance the "strikes" and lockouts that began in July of that year.

SOFOFA officials said the money was distributed to strikers weekly in July, August, and September. The dollars were first converted on the black market at rates up to 500 percent higher than the official exchange rate.

"The opposition to Dr. Allende was broadly divided into those who sought a military coup with an end to civilian politics and those who wanted to temper the President's socialist policies and defeat his coalition through elections in 1976," Kandell reported.

"The C. I. A. helped finance both groups even when they were in bitter disagreement with each other. Although defenders of C. I. A. intervention in Chile, including President Ford, have asserted that the goal of the agency was to maintain democratic political parties and other institutions, its rule of thumb apparently was to throw its weight behind the strongest source of opposition to the Allende Government." □

Stalinist Factions Oppose United Action

20,000 Stage Protest at U.S. Embassy in Athens

More than 20,000 persons, according to a BBC estimate, marched October 1 from the University of Athens to the U. S. Embassy to protest Washington's maneuvers to partition the island of Cyprus. It was certainly one of the largest anti-imperialist demonstrations in Greece since the fall of the dictatorship at the end of July.

The mood of the demonstrators was militant, the Greek Trotskyist weekly *Ergatike Pale* reported in its October 5 issue. Among the most popular slogans were "Immediate Withdrawal of All Troops From Cyprus," "Americans Out," "No Partition," and "The Turkish Workers Are Our Brothers and Sisters."

Despite the Caramanlis government's threats that it would break up any demonstrations by force, there were no serious incidents. The police only delayed the march for some time on the stretch of the route between the Athens Hilton Hotel and

the U. S. Embassy. The size and discipline of the demonstration apparently induced the repressive forces to act with restraint.

"The organizing committee, composed of elected representatives of the students, was supported by representatives of the political organizations that participated," the October 5 *Ergatike Pale* noted. "Working together, they organized and coordinated the defense guard for the demonstration. The discipline and smooth functioning of these stewards were a credit to the political maturity both of the organizers and the participants. . . ."

"This is an example that should be noted by some sincere 'superrevolutionists' who sit at home and call the activists who go out on demonstrations and face the deliberate attacks of the police 'provocateurs.'"

The demonstration was sponsored by a united front of independent student committees and several left organizations in-

cluding the Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema (Pa. So. K.—Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement), the formation led by Andreas Papandreou, the Kommunistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados (KDKE—Internationalist Communist party of Greece, the Greek section of the Fourth International), the Sosialistike Epanastatike Pale (SEP—Revolutionary Socialist Struggle), the supporters of the paper *Makhetes*, and several Maoist groups.

The principal traditional forces of the Greek left, however, opposed the united-front demonstration quite strongly. Both factions of the Communist party, which has totally dominated the Greek left for several decades, issued statements denouncing the organizers.

The October 1 issue of *Aughi*, the daily of the "interior" faction of the CP, carried a statement with the headline: "We are not participating in today's demonstra-

tion." The statement played up the positions of a number of the "interior" faction's front organizations.

"The Regas Feraios student organization and the Panspoudastike Syndikalistike Kinese [National Student Association] are not participating in the rally organized today by some 'student committees' with the support of the leftist AASPE [Antifasistike Anti-imperialistike Spoudastike Parataxe tes Ellados—Antifascist, Anti-imperialist Student Group of Greece].

"At the same time, the Regas Feraios called on the students and the people not to participate in a demonstration that has been organized in an irresponsible way and may be exploited for reactionary purposes. Similar calls were made by Elias Eliou, speaking on behalf of the EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras—Union of the Democratic Left, the old CP electoral front now apparently controlled by the "interior" faction], and the KNE [Kommounistike Neolaia tes Elladas—Communist Youth of Greece].

The statement went on to quote Eliou at some length: "We do not approve of the demonstration organized by certain student committees. Our students are organized today in united vanguard organizations. All the student organizations, with a profound sense of responsibility, are renewing their forces and they guarantee that the common aims as well as the peaceful character of demonstrations will be maintained. Furthermore, they try to win the approval of the parties so that their vanguard detachments will have the support of the entire people.

"These elements are lacking from the rally that has been called today. Therefore, we think it should not take place."

The same issue of *Aughi* printed a statement of the rival "exterior" faction that said among other things: "This demonstration has no program and is cut off from the people, from the democratic movement. It diverts the people and the youth from the immediate and basic problems of the struggle for democratizing the life of the country. . . . The responsibility for mass mobilizations must be taken by the vanguard of the movement, by the organizations and the parties that represent it."

Aughi also printed a statement from the Social Democratic "New Political Forces Movement" opposing the demonstration, as well as some others.

Following the declarations, *Aughi* published a brief note saying that it had learned "from a reliable source" that the demonstration would be banned.

The report on the demonstration in the October 2 *Aughi* struck a more positive note. The number of demonstrators was honestly reported, and it was pointed out that the monitors defended it against provocateurs. The "interior" faction daily pointed out that all of the slogans either

opposed the junta and U. S. imperialism or expressed solidarity with the Cypriot people. "The speeches were in the same spirit," *Aughi* reported, "but at the same time there were attacks on the left and the KKE [Kommounistiko Komma tes Ellados—Communist party of Greece]."

The article said, however, that slogans hostile to the CP were not taken up by the crowd and that "what was characteristic of the demonstration was its expression of the anti-imperialist feelings of the Greek people."

The daily of the abjectly pro-Moscow "exterior faction," *Rizospastes*, on the other hand, maintained a sectarian attitude. Its exclusionist approach may have been hardened by its constant attempts to excommunicate the "interior" faction, which maintains a certain independence from Moscow. *Rizospastes* was virtually the only paper in Athens that carried no report of the demonstration.

On October 3, Babes Drakopoulos, a member of the Central Committee of the "interior" faction, held a news conference to open his party's campaign for the November 17 elections. Reporters asked him specifically about his attitude toward the October 1 demonstration and in general toward the young radical groups independent of the two Communist parties.

As regards the united-front march to the U. S. Embassy, Drakopoulos said: "The demonstration the day before yesterday showed that there is a very strong anti-imperialist mood in our youth and among our people that is seeking ways of expressing itself. We must help them find a more united, better, and more ef-

fective form."

A reporter asked Drakopoulos: "When you talk about unity of the left, does that include the far left that appeared in the demonstration the day before last?"

The "interior" faction chief answered: "We think in general that the appearance of many political parties and groups orienting toward socialism is a social and political phenomenon to which we must devote particular attention. . . .

"Moreover, we look toward unity in action of all the left forces, no matter where they stand, whether they are to the 'right' or the 'left' of the KKE (interior), even if the latter in our opinion have, let us say, a relative importance."

Despite the size of the Stalinist forces, which in Greece probably have a combined strength comparable to that of the Communist parties in France and Italy, the October 1 demonstration indicated that neither of the two factions of the KKE, or both taken together, can control the young worker and student activists who developed in the years of the dictatorship.

In this situation, democratically organized united-front actions on certain concrete issues can have considerable appeal for important sectors of the Stalinist periphery and even the ranks of the KKEs themselves, who have shown some impatience with the bureaucratic power struggle between the two factions. By helping to clear away the sectarianism that has obstructed honest political debate in Greece for decades, such actions could also open the way for the kind of constructive political discussion much of the Greek left is apparently looking for. □

Strikes Called in Many Plants

Spanish Auto Workers Press Demands

By Judy White

"Save more, consume less, and make a personal effort to maintain the level of wages and prices." As Spanish Minister of Trade Nemesio Fernández Cuesta said this on October 5 at a ceremony inaugurating a trade show in Madrid, 30,000 workers were reported to be out on strike in different parts of the country.

Collective-bargaining agreements are due for renegotiation throughout Spain in coming weeks. In view of a wage freeze that has been in effect since January and an inflation rate that is expected to hit 20 percent by the end of the year, many of the demands cen-

ter on economic issues. An increase in the minimum wage and extra pay for overtime have been demanded by the auto workers, who are spearheading the current labor struggle.

Demands for better working conditions and for trade-union democracy have also become widespread.

The Spanish liberal weekly *Mundo* reported on the largest of these strikes in its October 12 issue:

More than 13,000 workers at Fasa-Renault in Valladolid held assemblies during September in which they demanded a reduction of the workweek to forty-four hours with Saturday

afternoons off, protested the lack of information on the negotiations taking place, and pressed for replacing official union representatives by negotiating committees elected by plant assemblies.

An "interpretation" of the labor codes by the federal government on September 24 touched off the wave of strikes. The government ruling made it virtually impossible for the Renault workers to win a forty-four-hour week, and they voted to go on strike September 27. The company responded with a lockout.

About 5,000 workers trying to hold an assembly near the Renault plant were attacked by armed police on October 1. Unable to continue the assembly, the workers set out for the center of town. Police charged the marchers, severely injuring several. One worker died the next day. Eight workers were arrested.

The same day 145 workers were notified that they had been fired. Others learned there were legal actions pending against them.

By October 3, the day of the funeral for the slain unionist, the number of workers arrested had risen to twenty. Nonetheless, 2,000 workers gathered to march to the city cemetery. Armed police charged the crowd. They later also broke up another meeting where hospital workers were mapping out a campaign to broaden support for the auto workers.

The strike spread to Michelin, Nicas, and other companies in Valladolid. In each case workers expressed solidarity with Renault workers and raised their own demands. A general strike seemed possible.

However, by October 9, "the date on which the heads of Fasa-Renault had announced the reopening of their factories, the labor situation that had shaken the city had returned to normal," reported the October 19 *Mundo*. The bosses had not agreed to reinstate fired workers, to reduce the workweek, or to discuss overtime pay.

Despite the fact that the strike had met with broad sympathy, according to *Mundo* correspondent F. Valiño, fierce government repression and the strikers' lack of leadership had taken their toll.

In Barcelona, the auto workers responded quickly to a government attack. About forty labor leaders met to discuss the negotiations at SEAT (Sociedad Española de Automóviles de

Turismo—Spanish Pleasure Vehicle Association, the biggest industrial plant in Spain). When they were arrested October 5, an estimated 2,000 to 4,000 workers demonstrated in protest.

SEAT had been involved in labor negotiations and the company was confronted with economic demands that it considered unacceptable, according to Henry Giniger, reporting in the October 16 *New York Times*. The demands came from two sources: the CNS (Central Nacional Sindicalista—National Federation of Syndicates, the Falangist substitute for a trade union) and the clandestine workers commissions. Giniger reported that the proposal of the workers commissions, in addition to making far-reaching economic demands, also sought "to upset the labor structure in the plant as well as in the country."

The demands made by the SEAT workers commission were almost identical to those raised at Fasa-Renault.

An explanation of the leadership problem facing workers in the automobile industry is offered in a leaflet issued in September by the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain).

The leaflet hails the SEAT workers as the vanguard of the struggle in the metal trades. It stresses the importance of SEAT's actions last summer in solidarity with fired workers in Bajo Llobregat (see *Intercontinental Press*, August 5, p. 1064, for an account of this strike) and the rapidity with which SEAT workers developed their own platform of demands.

However, the LC points out, the workers in Bajo Llobregat failed to win their demands because "their struggle was not generalized and their strategy centered on pressuring the negotiating committee for the interprovincial agreement, subordinating independent action of the metalworkers to the collection of signatures and assemblies at the CNS." (The collection of signatures refers to a petition campaign to win support for the proposal of the workers commissions.)

Since the summer vacation period, the leaflet continues, SEAT workers have displayed increasing combativity.

The next problem to be confronted, the LC points out, is that "counter to what the majority tendency in the SEAT workers commission (the

PSUC) [Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña—United Socialist party of Catalonia, the Communist party's Catalan branch] says, promoting the struggle for union demands within the framework of the [Falangist] collective-bargaining agreement means disarming the workers in face of the frontal assault that this agreement is going to impose. . . .

"Negotiations, yes, but what the workers commission at SEAT and all workers commissions must promote today is the struggle for the demands against the SEAT collective-bargaining agreement, which goes against the workers' aspirations. They must force the resignation of the 'honorable' mediators and bargain directly through a united negotiating committee elected by the factory assemblies, one in which workers from the most important companies would be represented."

Also essential to winning victories is an industrywide decision that no struggle will remain isolated, the LC states.

The incipient movement in this direction is clearly a source of concern to some sectors of the capitalist class. The Paris daily *Le Monde* put it bluntly in a front-page editorial October 14:

"Not only are strikes no longer taboo in Spain, but the authorities cannot make a serious effort to halt them. Of course, repression inevitably follows. But this is because the regime, in slowing down, if not decomposing, continues to lash back out of habit."

What is needed and "hoped for by a majority of Spaniards," *Le Monde* continued, "is the quickest possible establishment of normal relations between wage workers and employers."

Le Monde noted that a sector of the bourgeoisie favored "liberalizing" relations as the only way to avoid a turn of events such as befell Portugal.

The editors of *Mundo* spoke in the same vein in the October 19 issue of the weekly:

"The lack of channels for labor expression often means that it degenerates into serious upsets of the public order. Disorientation and attempts to manipulate the working class for political ends on the basis of its deeply felt needs occur as a result of the lack of adequate channels. We are reaping the harvest we have sown by failing to resolve in time the conflicts that—no matter how we strain to remain ignorant of them—really do exist and must be reasonably dealt with in our legislation." □

Reveal White House 'Tilt' Toward South Africa

By Peter Green

A secret White House document urging a policy of support to racist white-minority regimes in southern Africa was brought to light in an article by Tad Szulc in the October issue of *Esquire* magazine. The document, National Security Council Decision Memorandum, was prepared under the direction of Henry Kissinger. It outlined five options for a strategy for holding in check the Black liberation struggles and preserving the status quo in southern Africa.

The "general posture" recommended in the memorandum was for the United States to ". . . maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states."

Option 2 called for Washington to indicate to the colonial-settler regimes its "willingness to accept political arrangements short of guaranteed progress toward majority rule. . . ." This policy was "personally recommended" by Kissinger, columnist Jack Anderson reported October 11. It was the one former President Nixon approved, in February 1970.

After its adoption, Option 2 acquired the name "Tar Baby" among White House advisers. Its fundamental assumption was stated as follows:

"The whites are here [in Africa] to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the Communists. We can, by selective relaxation of our stance toward the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies and through more substantial economic assistance to the black states help to draw the two groups together and exert some influence on both for peaceful change. Our tangible interests form a basis for our contacts in the region, and these can be maintained at an acceptable political cost."

To keep the backlash to an "acceptable" level, White House strategists suggested that the plan be carried out

carefully, gradually, and secretly. ". . . given the sensitivities of the black American community and church and liberal groups," Szulc pointed out, "Tar Baby's" aims had to be carefully concealed.

The document recommended the following "Operational Examples" as ways of putting the plan into practice:

"Enforce arms embargo against South Africa but with liberal treatment of equipment which could serve either military or civilian purposes."

"Permit U.S. naval calls in South Africa with arrangements for nondiscrimination toward U.S. personnel in organized activity ashore; authorize routine use of airfields."

"Remove constraints on EXIM [Export-Import] Bank facilities for South Africa; actively encourage U.S. exports and facilitate U.S. investment."

"Conduct selected exchange programs with South Africa in all categories, including military."

"Without changing the U.S. legal position that South African occupancy of South-West Africa is illegal, we would play down the issue and encourage accommodation between South Africa and the U.N."

"On Rhodesia, retain consulate; gradually relax sanctions (e.g., hardship exceptions for chrome) and consider eventual recognition."

"Continue arms embargo on Portuguese territories, but give more liberal treatment to exports of dual-purpose equipment."

"Toward African insurgent movements take public position that U.S. opposes use of force in racial confrontations. Continue humanitarian assistance to refugees."

"Establish flexible aid programs in the black states of the region; respond to reasonable requests for purchase of non-sophisticated arms."

The document envisaged that Washington would preserve its "economic, scientific and strategic interests in the white states and would expand opportunities for profitable trade and investment." (There is now approximately \$1,000 million in U.S. private investment in South Africa.)

Szulc pointed out that "Tar Baby" was consistent with the top-secret contingency planning that the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have been engaged in for well over a year. The overall aim is to extend their air and naval operations to the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean areas around southern Africa. The planning is being carried out at the Norfolk, Virginia, headquarters of SACLANT—the acronym for Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic—and was initiated by a secret order from NATO's Defense Planning Committee in June 1973. The declaration issued by the June 1974 meeting of the NATO Ministerial Council in Ottawa gave formal approval for the expansion of NATO operations, in effect giving NATO carte blanche to assume military responsibilities wherever it wishes.

The concrete results of the White House's adoption of the "Tar Baby" strategy are becoming increasingly apparent.

The "arms embargo" against South Africa has been given an extremely liberal interpretation. The South Africans have been allowed to buy Bell helicopters capable of being used in police or military operations, as well as twin-engined Lear-jets that can be outfitted for reconnaissance and certain combat or suppression missions. Herbicides and defoliants of the type used in Vietnam have also been sold to South Africa.

Lisbon received the same generous treatment. Boeing 707 airliners that the Portuguese government bought were used to transport combat troops to Africa. Portuguese officers have been trained in counterinsurgency at the U.S. Army's jungle-warfare school at Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone, and at Fort Benning, Georgia. Portuguese jet pilots received training in West Germany, where the U.S. has a number of large air bases.

Direct links between the U.S. and South African military services are increasing. The May 27 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that Washington receives information from a

supersecret South African communications station that tracks Indian Ocean shipping all the way into the Bay of Bengal. According to Szulc, the U. S. also has missile-tracking facilities and a space-tracking station in South Africa. In addition, he reported, "the Central Intelligence Agency and the South African secret services cooperate closely under the terms of a secret intelligence agreement. . . ."

Connie Mulder, the South African interior and information minister who may be next in line for prime minister, paid an "unofficial" visit to Washington in January. While there he met with then Vice-President Gerald Ford, Senate minority leader Hugh Scott, Senate minority whip Robert Griffin, and House majority leader Thomas O'Neill, among others. The least publicized part of his trip was a visit

to the Pentagon, where he met Vice-Admiral Raymond Peet. Peet is a senior official in the office for International Security Affairs, which has responsibility for planning strategy in the Indian Ocean. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the South African press hailed Mulder's visit as the opening of a new era in U.S.-South African cooperation in the Indian Ocean.

In May, the commander in chief of the South African military forces, Admiral Hugo Biermann, visited Washington and met with the acting secretary of the navy, J. William Middendorf. He also met with other government and military officials at informal gatherings. One dinner given for him by a Republican congressman was attended by seventeen admirals.

The U. S. Navy has previously

used ports in Angola and Mozambique. But with the threat that the new regimes in these countries may close port facilities to the U. S., the Pentagon is looking more and more to Pretoria. Although the U. S. has renewed the agreement for its base on the Arab-Persian Gulf island of Bahrain, and is also going ahead with the construction of a large base on Diego Garcia in the middle of the Indian Ocean, Pentagon planners would also like to use the well-equipped naval bases in South Africa.

With the increased strategic importance of the oil-tanker routes around South Africa and with the impetus given to the African liberation struggle by the ending of direct Portuguese rule in some of its colonies, an increased effort to strengthen the links between Washington and South Africa may not be far off. □

Belt Tightening Plus Voluntary Labor on Sundays

Portugal's Way Out, According to Gen. Gonçalves

By Gerry Foley

Since General Spínola withdrew from the presidency at the end of September, the revamped semimilitary regime in Portugal has concentrated on refuting the accusations he made in his resignation speech.

The monocled former "hero of the struggle to hold the overseas provinces" charged that the country was slipping into economic and social chaos, that is, that the experiment with bourgeois-democratic forms of rule in Portugal and its African territories was getting hopelessly out of hand.

In a speech at a mass rally in Oporto on October 5, the premier, Brigadier General Vasco Gonçalves, made an extensive reply to Spínola's charges.

"The country is not on the brink of economic chaos," the premier said. "Just yesterday, the Confederação da Indústria Portuguesa [Confederation of Portuguese Industrialists] denied this." At another point, he said, "We have emerged from this provocation more disciplined and more orderly than we were before."

Vasco Gonçalves thought he could offer some irrefutable evidence that the "process of democratization" was

not getting out of hand. He was speaking the day before the "Sunday of voluntary labor," which he called for immediately after Spínola's resignation, as a way the workers could demonstrate their "discipline."

"What does this day of voluntary labor mean?" Gonçalves asked.

"It means that we are not headed for chaos or anarchy. It means that the people understand that we have to build up this country and that there are not enough hands to do it. The people who decided voluntarily to work tomorrow will not be taken in trucks like cattle at so much per head the way the old government used to do for its demonstrations.

"By working tomorrow, the people are going to say to the entire nation, they are going to say to the alarmists, that they are capable of building Portugal!

"And it is not only the poor people who are going to work tomorrow. The students and the public officials are going to work tomorrow, all Portuguese of good will are going to work tomorrow, all those who understand the time through which we are living."

In stressing the necessity for "discipline," Vasco Gonçalves issued what was in effect an ultimatum: "There must be understanding and clarity on your part, and you have already demonstrated this in many cases. In many cases the people have understood that there are limits to the demands that can be made. For their part, the employers must abide by the contracts that they have freely entered into with their workers.

"There is one point on which we must declare ourselves, face to face, looking each other straight in the eye. Do you believe or not that the Provisional Government is your government?"

"The armed forces also solemnly declare that they are on the side of the Provisional Government and the Portuguese people. And therefore you must have confidence in us and you must be patient, because being impatient today means being a fascist. . . ."

"In our trade-union life, in our relationships on the job, you must be constantly on your guard against provocations that might divide you from the Provisional Government and the Armed Forces."

In advancing this anti-working-class line, Vasco Gonçalves evidently had the support of the Communist party, since it and the Intersindical, the trade-union federation it controls, enthusiastically supported the "Sunday of voluntary labor" and called for a still closer "union between the people and the Armed Forces Movement." The bank workers union, a well-known CP preserve, even decided, according to the October 3 issue of *Diário de Lisboa*, that since bank clerks could not work at their profession on Sunday they should spend the day removing political slogans that have been painted on monuments and public buildings.

The brigadier general devoted special attention to the students, among whom the Communist party and the other traditional reformist organizations are relatively weak.

"The students are also Portuguese workers, but in order for everyone to see this, they have got to stick to their studies.

"Hard work is needed. The students must demand a great deal of themselves, of their studies, of their professors. But they must also understand that in the universities, the high-schools, and the primary schools, a hierarchy is necessary, a democratic hierarchy, a hierarchy of competence. They must keep in mind that some persons who have made mistakes are not necessarily beyond rehabilitation. You don't have to hold people to their mistakes forever. There are people who can be rehabilitated."

Obviously, Vasco Gonçalves was warning the radical students that if they disturbed the "order" he was determined to uphold, he would open a drive against them as "parasites." In particular, he did not want any agitation for democratic decision-making in the schools or for purging the professors and administrators connected with the old regime.

Vasco Gonçalves apparently thought he had to offer reassurances to certain quarters outside Portugal as well:

"We do not want to aggravate the social dissensions that exist in any capitalist society between the bosses and the wage workers."

The premier ended his speech by hailing a figure who for decades was one of the top commanders of the Salazarist military machine as the personification of the kind of "national unity" he was trying to create:

"First let us salute the most illustrious military man we have in Portugal, General Costa Gomes, President of the Republic. This officer is the symbol of the unity of the Armed Forces and the guarantor of the Program of the Armed Forces Movement, the guarantor of social and internal peace in Portugal."

Costa Gomes was the one selected to present the new government's case to a world forum. "The new President of Portugal, Gen. Francisco da Costa Gomes, in an address to the United Nations General Assembly today," *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann reported October 17, "invited delegates to visit his country and see for themselves that 'alarmist' appraisals of its situation were unfounded.

"With a clear allusion to fears that Portugal was sliding toward Communism, General Costa Gomes said that 'minor social derangements' had occurred, but that the present provisional government had been able to handle them."

In offering these reassurances, Costa Gomes seemed to have a definite and immediate goal in mind. "The President said that Portugal, in its current 'predemocratic situation' was beset by economic difficulties and was hoping to receive assistance from the world's democratic nations."

The old general also sought to win more political leeway for his government's policy in Africa. On this point, Hofmann indicated, Costa Gomes made some gains.

"President Costa Gomes, the first Portuguese head of state to visit the United Nations, received a standing ovation from the delegates in the hall. Black Africans led the applause, and the representatives of South Africa joined."

The general went on from his UN appearance in New York to talks with Ford and Kissinger in Washington.

One of the most cynical mouthpieces of imperialism, the British weekly magazine *The Economist*, made a frank examination of the "leftism" of the new Portuguese government in its October 19 issue. The article was entitled "The Litmus Test." The author noted a number of "problems" in the Portuguese situation similar to those in France in 1944.

The biggest difficulties, the article said, were the absence of a strong conservative party and a figure like

de Gaulle. However, the regime meets the "litmus test" at least for the time being, showing a familiar, if faded, blue instead of an alarming red or a warning pink. "The confidential bulletin of the Armed Forces Movement [AFM] is still peppered with fashionable leftist phrases but, at recent important policy-making meetings of the army and air force sections of the AFM, moderate centre-left counsels prevailed. One of the movement's shrewdest leaders gave as his opinion that the army, as a whole, is fairly conservative. President Costa Gomes has said that, although the AFM should remain alert to defeat counter-revolutionary conspiracies, it must not become the instrument of any political group or be used for the radicalisation of the armed forces."

There was one problem the expert in the use of litmus paper did not consider, however, and that is the pressure from the masses. Before the crisis at the end of September, there were also reports by well-informed capitalist sources that the conservatives had won the day within the Armed Forces Movement. But the inability of the government to suppress the radical ferment in the country and to hold back some key labor struggles led Spínola to push for a showdown at any cost. In the mass upsurge touched off by his attempt at a rightist show of strength, the government found itself swept along for a time by forces it could not control.

In face of the demonstration of the power inherent in these forces, it is going to be even harder for the government to keep them within limits that will assure the survival of capitalism in Portugal.

After the mass mobilization of September 27-28, the government has already been forced to make some new concessions to the workers. For example, the Portuguese airport workers who were dismissed by military interventors in an effort to break the strike of their union not long before the crisis have now reportedly been reinstated.

However, there can hardly be any doubt about the Vasco Gonçalves government's intentions. Its record already shows with unmistakable clarity it will use every means of coercion it can, demagogic pressures, and outright repression, to defend the capitalist system against the Portuguese workers and their allies. □

How Workers Defeated Spínola's Attempted Coup

By A. Romero

Lisbon

It was September 28. Responding to General Spínola's call, a self-styled "silent majority"—in reality the choicest sectors of reactionaries—was organizing a big demonstration that would provide the appropriate setting or the opportunity for a rightist coup.

But on that day the working class and its allies barricaded the streets, formed defense pickets, calmly demonstrating the immense power of mass mobilizations. The rightist maneuver was resoundingly defeated, and two days later Spínola had to resign.

"We are still passing through a serious crisis that makes us vulnerable to extremist adventures, Spínola had said September 10. "A systematic assault on public and private centers of decision-making is being promoted by groups operating beyond the pale of any legal and even institutional order. . . . In genuinely democratic human societies transformations must be made without abrupt jolts and convulsions, which sow the seeds of new dictatorships of the right or the left. The silent majority of the Portuguese people must wake up and take action to defend itself from extremist totalitarianism. . . ."

These words were not simply reactionary rhetoric as so many of the general's orations have been. They were a real call to action for Portugal's shaken right wing.

A few days later it became clear that there was a nationally coordinated campaign: The alleged "silent majority" called a demonstration in "support of President Spínola's speech and the program of the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement]." The call was accompanied by the appearance of a large number of expensively printed posters, the air-dropping of leaflets all over the country, and the rental of means of transportation.

The event was set for September 28 at the Praça do Império in Lisbon. A gamut running from the reactionary clergy, known paid goons, the many fascists still at large, the modern Par-

tido Cristão Democrático [Christian Democratic party], the Liga de Ex-Combatentes [Veterans League], to some illustrious names like Champalimaud or Espírito Santo [major Portuguese capitalists] was mobilized openly or secretly to do what was required. People began to call them the "shadowy minority."

In July the second provisional government had taken office. "Despite" the representation of the Communist and Socialist parties, and "despite" the fact that the "progressive" elements of the MFA held a majority, this governmental team distinguished itself by carrying out a series of authoritarian measures. They shut down a Maoist newspaper and used troops to stop a rally protesting the closure. They tried to censor three Lisbon dailies. They banned support rallies for the MPLA [Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and broke up one rally by force, leaving one person dead and several wounded.

They obstructed the purge of fascist functionaries and administrators being carried out by the workers, and freed important fascist figures. They placed the workers at TAP [Transportes Aéreos Portugueses, the national airline] under military discipline to force them to return to work and later fired 200 strikers. They attempted to prevent a demonstration of workers at Lisnave, vetoed the reduction of the workday, and refused to recognize the gains won by the student movement.

In addition, this cabinet issued a profoundly reactionary "strike law" establishing a "legal" basis for eliminating the right to strike and to occupy factories—a right the workers have been exercising in practice—and banning "political" or solidarity strikes.

The aim of all these measures and the many others not mentioned here was obviously to reestablish the authority of the state apparatus and restrict the scope of the workers mobilization by attacking the democratic rights that had been won.

However, at a time of upsurge in workers struggles, this offensive had to be carried out with "flexibility," and without any certainty as to the results. The CP stepped up its efforts to put the brakes on major struggles for fear of political and economic implications (TAP, *Jornal do Comercio*, Lisnave) and to depict the "antistrike" law as a step forward. At the same time they redoubled their subservience to the provisional government. The popular frontism of the Stalinists and Socialists failed to break the upsurge but did succeed in denying it a leadership, fragmenting it, and depriving it of any independent political perspective.

Thus the initiative remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The sharpening of the contradictions occurred without the working class having a perspective for resolving them.

It was this complex of circumstances that led to the attempted palace coup that was designed to consolidate Spínola's power. The conciliatory stance of the CP and SP failed to calm the bosses' fears. What they were afraid of was not the intentions of [General Secretary of the Communist party Alvaro] Cunhal and [General Secretary of the Socialist party Mário] Soares, but the masses—and the latter showed no signs of losing their momentum.

On the contrary, this conciliatory posture encouraged sectors of big business (possibly those like Champalimaud who seem to need a very tightly controlled "decolonization" to preserve their interests), bourgeois politicians (who risked ending up out of work because they represent nothing), and fascist elements to try to impose a right turn—with the help of Spínola and various other members of the JSN [Junta de Salvação Nacional—Junta of National Salvation], of course. The date was set for September 28.

Almost instinctively the workers reacted violently against the campaign of the "shadowy minority," particularly in the largest cities. They

systematically ripped down the anti-communist posters—even at the cost of clashes with elements hired by the right wing. Newspaper, radio, and television workers refused to print or broadcast propaganda for the counterrevolutionary rally. Railroad workers and bus drivers announced that they would not transport people to the rally.

Of course, the protests against the rally by the CP, the Intersindical [trade-union federation], and the MDP [Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement], and later also by the SP and the rest of the trade-union and left organizations, helped considerably to swell the massiveness of the opposition to the rally.

But the line taken by the Stalinists was deliberately confused. Papering over the complicity of the government and the president himself with the putschist demonstration, the Stalinists placed their hopes in Spínola, the MFA, and the provisional government "stopping" the reactionaries from "making a mockery" of the meaning and goals of April 25.

The Stalinists shifted their stance partially only when it had become evident that neither Spínola, nor the MFA, nor the government—which the CP itself is a part of!—would ban the anticommunist demonstration, and that this represented an obvious danger to their remaining in the cabinet. Just days before September 28, the CP took up the slogan "The reactionaries must not pass" and called for blocking the counterrevolutionary rally "by any means necessary." On the afternoon of September 27 the Intersindical unions began to call more directly for a take-over of the streets.

Given the obstacles that had to be overcome, the consequences of the call were all the more impressive. Unarmed and with very little organization, the working class—accompanied by students and sectors of the middle classes—formed picket lines that barricaded access to Lisbon, Oporto, and Coimbra and checked cars and buses to prevent arms or contingents from being sent to the demonstration. By midnight the reactionaries were paralyzed and the pickets were in control of the streets.

Up until the last minute the president and government held back from taking a position, but there is no indication that Spínola had any plans to

call off the rally—or coup. On September 26 he chose to make a public appearance—a dress rehearsal—at a bullfight organized by the Liga de Ex-Combatentes. At the event, there were cheers for Spínola and the "overseas territories" (colonies), "extremism" was denounced, and the speakers invited everyone to join the "silent majority." But at the end of the bullfight, thousands of antifascists confronted the reactionaries and shut them up after some forceful encounters.

The governmental crisis exploded into the open in the final hours of September 27, at the moment when it became clear that the "shadowy minority" would have to use violence to break through the workers' cordons in order to hold the rally. One of the most prominent members of the JSN, [Carlos] Galvão de Melo, publicly announced his support for the "magnificent demonstration" and denounced all attempts to interfere with it. Frantic meetings, held by and large in secret, followed in an attempt to reach an agreement, but events were moving too fast. At 2 a.m., when patrols were leaving to arrest reactionaries and seize arms, military forces acting under presidential orders cut the radio stations off the air. The stations then began to transmit an order to remove the barricades, saying that the provisional government would "guarantee" that the demonstration would take place as scheduled. The newspapers were banned from publishing.

At about 8:30 a.m., the radio stations began to broadcast a communiqué from the MFA calling for "calm in the country" and announcing that "some dozens of individuals had been arrested for investigation" in connection with seditious maneuvers carried out by the "most reactionary elements."

The population did not get any reports about what was really happening, but the cordons grew as the hours passed, and at all important points of the city huge crowds gathered spontaneously, seeking information and determined to take action against the reactionaries when it proved necessary. In addition, since dawn military units acting under the orders of the MFA had been joining the popular forces guarding the city.

At midday a message was broadcast saying that "to avoid clashes" Spínola thought it "advisable" not to hold the demonstration. Shortly after-

ward, he added that the demonstration had been "canceled."

There were repeated announcements that a message from Spínola would be broadcast, but at 6 p.m. it was reported that the statement would not be issued.

During the time that picket groups were functioning for defense and information, some of them held afternoon and evening rallies. In the center of Lisbon, a demonstration organized by some committees of workers involved in struggles and organizations of "the far left" (particularly the Maoists) drew 10,000 to 20,000 persons.

Beginning the afternoon of September 28 and continuing into the following day, the MFA made repeated appeals for the removal of the pickets, "because they were no longer needed." They claimed the triumph had confirmed the MFA's "historic vanguard" role, the value of mobilizations, and the importance of "the unity of the people with the armed forces."

Many workers commented, however, that if it had not been for *their* barricades, the reactionaries would have succeeded. Some picket lines and discussion groups continued to function until the next afternoon as they waited for more information about the outcome of the crisis and, above all, for the denunciation and punishment of figures involved with the right wing.

Broad sectors of the working class had played a central role, though perhaps not totally consciously, in actions of extraordinary importance. They acted both *in advance of* and *independently of* the MFA and the provisional government, and paid *more attention to the instructions of the CP and the Intersindical than to those of the military.*

Despite the fact that it was the masses who defeated the reactionary conspiracy, forced the belated military intervention, and *overthrew* Spínola—for his resignation is a confession of defeat—they were not able to take part in the negotiations held to resolve the crisis.

The CP and SP treacherously endorsed the designation of a new president, who paid homage to Spínola. They allowed the military to hold back any investigation or punishment of the high military and government functionaries implicated in the sedition. They also tended to falsify the facts by giving the MFA credit for

the victory. An example of this was given at the September 30 rally called to "express our gratitude and support to" the MFA, the provisional government, and the new president, [Francisco] Costa Gomes. There the CP went so far as to demand that the party flags be taken down and that the only chant be "Long Live the MFA." But even more astonishing was the call to turn the following Sunday into a "National Day of Labor" in support of the MFA!

Looking beyond stopgap measures, it is clear that the situation is going to become more and more explosive. It is unlikely that the advance in organization and consciousness that this general political mobilization of the class represented can be dissipated by the governmental reshuffle and the conciliationism of the Socialist and Communist leaderships. Proletarian struggles will continue and grow. Internally, the big workers parties will be shaken by the sharp contradiction between the revolutionary needs of the masses, who place their confidence in them, and the increasingly counter-revolutionary orientation pressed upon them by their leaders, who are in up to their necks with the bourgeois government.

In this situation of acute crisis, the need for a consistently revolutionary leadership, for a Trotskyist party with mass influence, takes on the greatest urgency. Building such a leadership and party will be an essential part of the battle against popular frontism and sectarian vanguardism, counterposing a *united front of workers organizations* that can fight:

To defend and extend democratic rights (first of all to repeal the anti-strike law).

To punish those involved in the coup attempt (expropriate the capitalists, strip the military and government officials of their wealth and dismiss them from their positions).

To promote, centralize, and arm pickets organized by the unions.

To gain the rights for the soldiers that they are denied.

In these struggles it will be possible to confront the Communist and Socialist parties, as well as the Inter-sindical, before the public with the main task posed by the situation—the necessity that they, as the representatives recognized by the working class and the oppressed masses, struggle to take over the government in its entirety. Only a government that is

based on the organizations of the workers and their allies and is independent of the bourgeoisie can meet the needs of the masses.

The workers' triumph over the reactionaries on September 28 was only a partial victory. As long as the bourgeoisie holds state power, the democratic gains, the workers organiza-

tions, the very future of the revolution, will be in danger. To smash the reactionaries, to guarantee democratic expression to the masses, the workers organizations must take the government in their own hands immediately as well as the preparations for a constituent assembly.

October 1, 1974

Where the CP Goes Wrong

The Danger of Illusions in the Portuguese Army

By A. Romero

Lisbon

Military maneuvers at dawn on April 25 put an end to almost fifty years of fascist-like dictatorship in Portugal. They were directed by the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement).

Five months later at dawn on September 28, the Armed Forces Movement again ordered troop movements—to "legitimize" the barricades and pickets of the Portuguese workers that had defeated the reactionary coup attempt.

What is this movement hailed by the most important workers organizations as the main support of democratization and social transformation? Where is it headed? Is it really "the people in arms" as some have come to assert? Are the hopes placed in it justified?

Vasco Gonçalves, prime minister and leader of the movement, recently defined it. "The MFA (is) made up of honorable individuals, officers who place love for the fatherland above all else, who are trying to be the driving force behind democratic development, and who are the driving force within the armed forces."

He added, "Such military men know that it is part of their military duty to place the common interests of their fatherland above everything and to dip their banners in respect before these overriding interests that unite us all. . . . We defend the true interests of the Portuguese people, which are reflected in the program we drew up and will carry out against all odds

and challengers."

Making it more emphatic (though not any more precise), during the crisis the radio stations announced: "The historic vanguard character of the MFA has been reaffirmed."

The Partido Comunista Português [PCP—Portuguese Communist party], the Partido Socialista [PS—Socialist party], and even more radicalized formations like the Movimento da Esquerda Socialista [MES—Movement of the Socialist Left] vie with each other in the effusiveness of their support for the MFA as the armed guarantor of democracy and even as the firm ally of the people's struggle against monopolies and against exploitation. With different nuances, all give the MFA the main credit for smashing the coup. *Avante!*, the weekly newspaper of the PCP, has reprinted with approval some statements that leave no room for doubt:

"Those fascists consider our army the same as any other. But this is not so. Our officers and soldiers have been in battle. They know what it is to kill and be killed in the service of a monstrous machine. . . . They were vaccinated against senseless brutality. The war brought them closer to the people. It turned them against the exploiters and enemies of the people. But in addition to being criminal, the reactionaries are stupid. They do not understand that now the guns are aimed in the other direction."

The educational virtues credited to a colonial war are truly amazing!

Doubtless the Portuguese army has notable peculiarities at the present moment, but it is possible to understand the real implications of these features only by analyzing them from the standpoint of general historical concepts and experiences. We need only glance at recent decades in Latin American history to find numerous examples of armies and military men who "swell in importance" during times of crisis until they act like political forces, like the strongest—and at times most lucid—reserves of the bourgeoisie. There is, however, this difference—to do justice to the momentarily progressive features of certain military movements in dependent countries: In Portugal, capitalism has been built on the basis of colonial exploitation, and the "national" bourgeoisie is organized along strongly monopolistic lines. Moreover, the ruling class—in alliance with the other imperialist powers—is getting ready for a neocolonialist penetration in Africa.

It is true that the society and the capitalist state of the last colonial power are passing through an unprecedented crisis. First came the blows of the wars of liberation in Africa. After April came the workers and people's struggles in the mother country. The state apparatus of class rule—including the armed forces—came to the very brink of disintegration.

Certainly the army cannot remain apart from the problems of the society in which it exists, especially since its ranks are made up of workers and peasants who have to spend four years of their lives in the barracks. But its leading officers approach these problems and envision solutions from the standpoint of hierarchical norms and professional interests inseparably linked to the existence of capitalism.

The "antifascist" projects of the high command of the MFA—who directed the military operations in the bloody repression in Guinea, Mozambique, and Angola—can thus have only one meaning. These new perspectives were a defensive reaction on the part of those elements in a position to perceive most immediately the danger of a total collapse of the military apparatus. Furthermore, they got a "green light" from the section of big monopoly business that was being strangled by the bureaucratic apparatus of the Caetano dictatorship. This

is what must never be lost sight of.

But the MFA is more than these commanders who, within the framework of upholding the basic status quo, were looking for a way out of what had become a hopeless situation for them. The Portuguese officer corps experienced an infusion of many "non-professional" officers [long-term draftees], who came largely from the universities and carried with them the seed of leftist ideas. Moreover, a large section of the officers with direct ties to the middle class were also becoming aware of the complete rottenness of the old regime. These sectors, the most dynamic ones of the army, were the necessary yeast in the ferment that led to the organization of the MFA as a force that was at first critical of the dictatorship and later clearly opposed to it.

In August 1973 the "Movement of the Captains" arose on the bases in the colonies. It had a strictly "professional" program. By January 1974 it had spread to the other services and its goals had grown more radical after the government rejected its proposals. At the general meeting in Cascais, it began preparing for the coup and issued its first political communiqué:

"The big problem is the war," which requires "a political solution, not a military one." Portugal "has to seek a solution for preserving its institutions within the framework of political democracy." Then the armed forces would be in a "position to be the instrument of the nation."

Events speeded up: Spínola's book [*Portugal e o Futuro*] was published. He and Costa Gomes were removed from their commands. An attempted coup failed. A new communiqué in March accused the regime of using "terrorist" methods. Then came April 25.

Coming to power, the MFA found itself facing not only all the country's chronic problems but also a colossal upsurge of the mass movement that was going rapidly beyond the limits the MFA could accept. Moreover, since discipline in the barracks continued to loosen, particularly among the common soldiers, a head-on clash with the masses could have led to a total breakdown of military authority. Anjos and Marvães, two "non-professional" officers, were arrested for refusing to repress a strike, and Spínola has resigned in protest against the tolera-

tion of popular struggles.

For now, these are the parameters of the MFA's activity. This activity is confused and contradictory but there are some constants. It has sought to save the hierarchical structure of the army and to maintain "order." It has demanded collaboration from the workers parties while insisting on maintaining its role as an arbiter whose decisions cannot be appealed.

This is what the "specificity" of the Portuguese army seems to consist of. Of course, the revolutionary forces must not close their eyes to such special features, nor to the possibility that limited sectors of the MFA may be won to the workers revolution. But it is essential to look at the reality squarely and not be dazzled by illusions about the officers' "professionalism" or their identification "with the common interests of the fatherland," which was the mistake the biggest workers parties made in Chile and Uruguay.

The MFA cannot guarantee democratization. That depends on other factors entirely. It depends on the workers organizing their struggles free from any constraining ties to alien class forces. It depends on revolutionists building a party that can put the working class in the leadership of the battles for democratic rights that are going on now.

An essential part of this struggle, moreover, is the masses consolidating and beginning to arm their own detachments. This process also includes projecting a program for real democratization of the army, with the extension of the right of political expression and organization to the troops and the formation of soldiers and sailors committees and all that goes with it.

If these conditions are met, the ongoing process of struggle can lead to the conquest of power by the workers, to a socialist revolution that will guarantee democracy in Portugal for the first time.

Perhaps some components of the MFA will participate in this fight, and every effort should be made to ensure this. The first thing that has to be done to obtain such a result, however, is precisely to destroy the dangerous, counterrevolutionary illusion that the MFA as an organization could lead or collaborate in winning democracy in Portugal.

October 1, 1974

Imperialist Powers Move to Cut Oil Imports

"The responsibility for making sure that the tragedy of the 1930s is not repeated in detail over the next few years rests on us collectively," Britain's chancellor of the exchequer, Denis Healey, told the annual joint meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Healey's allusion to the Great Depression was typical of the gloomy assessments made by the finance ministers of the leading capitalist countries, as they met in Washington September 30 to October 3.

Italy's Minister of the Treasury Emilio Colombo, for example, warned that "there is a danger of a drift into beggar-my-neighbor policies of the sort that led to the trade wars of the 1930s."

Robert McNamara, head of the World Bank, said that rampant inflation had already resulted in "near disaster" for the poorest countries comprising one-fourth of the world's population.

U.S. Secretary of the Treasury William Simon took an opposite view: "I don't believe the world is in imminent danger of a drift into cumulative recession." But only a few days earlier, Ford and Kissinger raised that very specter when, in speeches at the United Nations and the World Energy Conference, they rattled the Pentagon's nuclear arsenal to back up threats of economic war against the oil-producing countries.

Kissinger told the UN that the world was "poised on the brink of a return to the unrestrained economic nationalism which accompanied the collapse of economic order in the '30s."

The bourgeoisie is deeply worried about the world economic situation.

The *New York Times* reflected this mood in an October 7 editorial, entitled "Decline of the West": "More worrisome still than the current dangers—with declining growth rates, rising unemployment and a mounting atmosphere of social conflict almost everywhere—is the threat to the West's political fabric of a major depression that could well overtake the whole industrial world if the multiple economic

and monetary problems remain unsolved."

In the October 11 issue of a leading Canadian daily, the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, financial editor Ronald Anderson reported on recent interviews with top civil service officials in Washington. "I came away feeling reassured that the U.S. Government is earnestly seeking ways to strengthen the fragile economic order. Less comforting was the strong impression I received that U.S. policymakers and their advisers feel frustrated and, to a degree, impotent, and that they lack confidence in their ability to cope with the problems."

Washington is particularly concerned about the impact of high oil prices on the world capitalist economy, Anderson reported.

"It is in the U.S. interest to help sustain economic growth and expansion of trade on a global basis. It is for this reason that Washington puts such heavy emphasis on the desirability of bringing down the price of oil—not so much, in the first instance, to help the United States, but to take the destructive pressure off the balance of payments position of important overseas countries which are more reliant than the United States on imported oil.

"There is a belief that these strains, if not relieved in a relatively short time, will cause some countries to default on debt obligations. The result could be severe shocks to financial markets, an increasing incidence of bankruptcies, trade and capital flow restrictions, sudden deflation, and rising unemployment. The countries being watched most closely at present are Italy and Britain."

As the world's strongest imperialist power, the United States has also become international capitalism's main banker and creditor. U.S. private and governmental financial institutions have become deeply involved in bailing out weaker imperialist powers strapped by international payments problems. The October 12 *Business Week* noted that "the government of Italy . . . has borrowed heavily from the International Monetary Fund and central banks of other countries,

and it has also tapped the private international markets for \$10-billion [milliard] in the past few years. U.S. banks probably put up the biggest share of that money."

But this is where the specter of the 1930s arises. If a heavy borrower like Italy defaults on its loans, which is by no means excluded, a series of major banks could fail in quick succession, posing the real threat of a worldwide financial crash.

The unexpected fourfold rise in oil prices over the past year has been the biggest destabilizing factor in the international balance-of-payments position of many countries. That is a major reason why the Ford administration is raising such a hue and cry over the cost of oil imports for the "developed" countries.

At the IMF-World Bank talks, the monetary experts and treasury officials, unable to offer anything much but dire warnings of trade war and depression, focused their attention on the immediate problem of trade and payments deficits. Denis Healey, speaking for British imperialism, argued that "we must accept deficits in our balance of payments of a magnitude hitherto unthinkable, and we must finance those deficits by borrowing." He called for creation of a giant "oil facility" lending fund of \$25,000 million or more, that would borrow petrodollars from U.S. banks and lend them at commercial rates to countries with serious balance-of-payments difficulties.

Washington disagreed. In its view, countries that continue to pile up huge debts to cover payments deficits will inevitably default on their loans, jeopardizing the whole world financial system. In addition, White House representatives pointed out that a larger IMF lending facility, as proposed by Britain, would transfer to the IMF all the risk involved in the necessarily large loans. As a 50 percent shareholder in the IMF, Washington would be assuming half of that risk.

There has been a distinct shift in U.S. policy since the world energy conference last February. At that time, the White House took a relatively complacent attitude toward oil price increases, which, after all, were swelling the coffers of U.S.-based oil trusts and raising production costs for leading imperialist competitors more dependent on oil imports.

The shift began in early July, ac-

cording to the September 28 *Business Week*, "as the realization spread in Washington that the growing financial strains could bring on not just a recession but an international economic collapse."

A key consideration in State Department thinking was reportedly the near-collapse of Italy's finances. Another was undoubtedly the shaky position of some other West European economies, such as Britain's.

The main thrust of Washington's attack is to try to force down oil prices by uniting the major oil-consuming countries in a concerted reduction of oil consumption. The idea is to create a glut of oil on the world market, which would pressure one or more major oil-producing countries to break ranks and lower prices, inducing other members of the cartel to follow suit.

In fact, each of the major imperialist countries is already moving to cut its oil consumption and reduce dependency on external energy sources.

Japan has projected a 2% drop in oil imports this year, compared with an increase of more than 11% in 1973. Britain has reduced oil consumption by 10% in the last year. West Germany expects its oil consumption to drop by about 5% this year. France has already cut oil consumption by 6% from 1973, and the government has projected a further 4% reduction for this year. The United States, which is urging a 15% cut in consumption in other oil-importing countries, has targeted a 6% reduction for itself.

But protectionist cutbacks in oil consumption and in industrial production offer no real solution. A swifter rate of inflation is the most likely outcome.

In their July 2 issue, the editors of the *New York Times* wrote, "The real question is whether there is or can be a common Western purpose at all. Or whether, in dealing with the explosive energy and petro-dollar crisis, go-it-alone policies will be followed that could destroy the benefits of three decades of politico-economic cooperation, endanger the common defense structure and set off a worldwide depression."

"Go-it-alone" is precisely what the major competitor-allies of world imperialism are doing. And the consequences may well measure up to the worst fears of the finance officials at the World Bank meeting. □

Plan to Put Squeeze on Workers

Yamashita Forecasts Depression in Japan

Japan is almost certainly headed for a depression, according to its vice-minister of international trade and industry. Eimei Yamashita, described by the *New York Times* as "one of the four most influential men in the prestigious Japanese bureaucracy," told a meeting in Tokyo October 16



TANAKA: Says wage controls will "promote harmony" in national economy.

that "as long as we try to restrain inflation, we have to take it for granted that a kind of depression will come in 1975."

Japan is currently experiencing the highest rate of inflation among major imperialist countries. "With consumer prices up 25.4 per cent in the last year. . .," Fox Butterfield reported from Tokyo in the October 18 *New York Times*, "inflation is threatening to undermine Japan's affluence only a decade after the vaunted 'economic miracle' transformed the country from the ruins of World War II."

Butterfield noted that "sales of color television sets and automobiles have plummeted in the last six months. The number of Japanese traveling abroad, after jumping 40 per cent in both 1972 and 1973, is expected to show a decline this year."

Department store sales have declined in real terms this year after growing

by 20 percent annually since 1969. The price of rice, the staple of the Japanese diet, as well as railway and subway fares and medical costs, have all increased by substantial amounts. Electricity rates were raised more than 50 percent in recent months.

Japan's unemployment rate is 1.5 percent, which is high for a country that traditionally has guaranteed employment for life regardless of economic conditions. Hitachi, Toshiba, and other major companies have furloughed part of their labor force for three to five days a month at reduced wages. Textile firms—whose exports have been hit hard by a 30 percent upward revaluation of the yen since 1971—have cut production by 20 to 50 percent, and are retiring employees early.

In September, Japan had a \$100 million surplus in its balance of payments, the first since February 1973. But without large international borrowings—for example, a recent loan of \$1,000 million from Saudi Arabia—this would have been a deficit. Yamashita called the increase in oil prices a "fatal blow to the Japanese economy," which imports all its oil and 86 percent of its total energy requirements.

Yamashita made clear that the Japanese bourgeoisie's response to the crisis will center on attempts to lower workers' real wages and living standards. If wage increases can be held to "reasonable" levels next spring, when Japan's annual labor offensive begins, he said, the country might be able to begin an economic recovery.

Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka has threatened to impose wage controls "to sever the vicious cycle of prices and wages and promote harmony between the wage problem and the whole national economy." □

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Boom Ends and Canada Heads for Bust

By Robert Simms

[The following article is reprinted from the September 23 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

* * *

The specter of depression is haunting the world. With the recent publication of statistics showing a halt since April to economic growth, depression's shadow fell across Canada. In factories and offices across the country, working people are voicing fears of depression, fears never greater since the end of World War II.

But Finance Minister John Turner has assured us there is no cause for alarm.

True, Turner acknowledged on September 6, the world capitalist economy is in serious difficulty. He said the world situation is "fragile—meaning it could break."

But he claimed that the Canadian economy is exempt from this process. "We still think there is a lot of underlying strength in the economy," he said, boasting that it was one of the healthiest economies in the world. He castigated Statistics Canada for misleading Canadians with its August 30 report.

Yet the facts as reported by Statistics Canada speak for themselves.

- Zero economic growth in the second quarter of 1974. During the months of April to June, the growth in the dollar value of production was barely equivalent to the rise in prices.

- A further speedup of price increases. The annual rate of inflation soared to 14.5 percent over the three months.

- Housing construction fell off drastically, ensuring a further worsening of the housing shortage. The annual rate of house construction fell from 294,000 in January to 250,000 in June.

- Unemployment is on the rise. In the British Columbia lumber industry alone, more than 9,000 have been laid off in the recent period. Government economists are predicting that

100,000 more workers will lose their jobs before the year-end.

- There are alarming indications of an approaching decline in production. In the months of March to May, the industrial-production index fell 2 percent.

The "Gross National Product" remained constant only because of in-



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creases in government spending and business inventories. The rapid increase of inventories of unsold goods is itself a typical warning of the beginning of a capitalist crisis of overproduction.

There is truth in Turner's statement that the Canadian economy has been one of the strongest in the capitalist world—at least until recently. But it now appears to be locked into the downward slide of the world capitalist economy as a whole.

Organizations such as Britain's National Institute of Economic and Social Research and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have issued reports estimating that in the first months of

1974, the Canadian economy was "healthier" than any of its major capitalist competitors.

These reports of course take no notice of the welfare of Canadians: working people, whose living standards have been declining over the past two years. When they speak of Canadian "prosperity," they refer solely to the Canadian capitalists and their holdings.

The profits raked in by Canadian big business between April and June were running no less than 38.7 percent above the level of a year earlier.

Projecting the trend of the first months of 1974, the OECD reported that the Canadian economy was growing faster than any other of the seven major imperialist economies in the world. Japan, Britain, and the United States were gripped by economic decline, the OECD reported, while France, Italy, and West Germany were still expanding, but at a much reduced rate.

Why did the worldwide business boom of 1973 continue in Canada after it had ended in other countries? A major factor was the side effects on Canada of the U.S. economic offensive launched against its main competitors in August 1971.

Two aspects of the U.S. offensive were particularly beneficial to Canadian capitalists. First, the U.S. forced its "allies" to accept devaluations of the dollar with respect to other currencies. This pushed up currencies such as the German mark and the Japanese yen by over 30 percent. American goods became cheaper in the world market, and easier to sell.

The Canadian dollar has been held roughly equal in value to the U.S. dollar over this period, so that Canadian capitalists received the benefits of the U.S. devaluations. They have traded in world markets under the umbrella of the powerful U.S. offensive.

Second, last year the huge U.S.-based oil trusts, with the connivance of the U.S. government, pulled off a grand heist—creating an artificial oil shortage and promoting the doubling and tripling of oil prices. The United States imports only 20 percent of its oil, while Western European countries and Japan import 75 to 95 percent of their oil needs. The U.S. gained an immense advantage over its competitors in its balance of payments, to say nothing of the superprofits raked in by the U.S.-based oil trusts.

Oil costs have played havoc with international payments and are a major factor in developing economic crises in several countries, such as Italy.

Canada benefited directly. It is the only major industrialized capitalist country that is a net exporter of oil. Its oil exports exceed its imports by 200,000 barrels per day. The Canadian ruling class gained from the oil price increases in several ways:

- They set in motion plans to create an integrated oil market in Canada, freeing themselves from the need to import expensive oil from other countries.

- They established a Canadian price for oil below that of the world market, assuring Canadian capitalists of cheaper oil supplies than their world competitors.

- They escaped with ease from the balance-of-payments crisis brought on by high-priced oil in Japan, France, Britain, and Italy.

Other raw materials aside from oil, together with semifinished products, account for a high proportion of Canadian exports. The prices of these commodities were rising sharply at the same time, and for much the same reason: because of the maneuvers of the U.S.-based monopolies.

With the cards stacked in their favor, Canada's rulers were ready to do business—and business came their way. In 1972-73 the economies of most industrialized capitalist countries expanded rapidly in unison. The business boom was one of the largest in history, but it was extremely short-lived. While it lasted, however, the bosses here reaped huge benefits. And their comparative advantage was great enough to continue the boom in Canada after it had collapsed elsewhere.

However, what was the "underlying strength" of the Canadian economy last year becomes an underlying weakness today. Dependence on exports means that the Canadian economy is quick to catch any fever or disability in the world capitalist system. Concentration on export of raw materials increases this vulnerability. Raw materials markets are characterized by wild fluctuations in prices and erratic alternation of periods of boom and bust.

The same Statistics Canada report that announced zero growth showed this process at work. With major capitalist powers gripped by recession,

Canadian exports declined in the second quarter at a 16 percent annual rate.

It is the world economy which will determine the course of economic decline in Canada. Economic gloom is spreading throughout "developed" capitalist countries, as stock markets skid downward, banks fail, inflation continues its heady climb, and unemployment grows.

On Friday, September 13, the Dow Jones average on the New York Stock Exchange hit a twelve-year low of 627. The index has fallen nearly 40 percent since the height of the boom in 1972, reflecting a growing feeling among those who can afford to invest that there aren't any profitable outlets for capital in industry.

With their options for long-term profitable investment being narrowed by the growing glut and saturation of world markets with goods, many banks are turning to speculation in foreign currency exchange or real estate to turn a quick profit. The failures of several German banks as well as the massive losses of Lloyds Bank in Britain are casualties of this kind of speculative investment.

With signs of a deepening international recession, the present stagnation of the Canadian economy could become a marked decline.

As it becomes harder and harder to find markets for goods, each national ruling class will look for ways to lower its costs of production and increase sales. To do this, they turn on their working class, aiming to force down its living standards, by decreasing real wages, and increasing their competitive advantage. Typically, they embark on policies designed to bring on recession, to slow the production of goods that can't find buyers, and to generate unemployment—which they hope will increase competition among workers and hold down their wage demands.

Right now, the United States ruling class is following recessionary policies in order to hold back American workers' wages. Their object is to carve out bigger foreign markets for themselves as the markets become full. German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has warned the Ford administration that if it continues to pursue these policies the United States could start a world depression snowballing. Turner has told the U.S. government much the same thing.

But such advice cannot lessen the drive of international competition among capitalist countries. It is this drive to protect national interests that imperils the world economic situation for capitalism today.

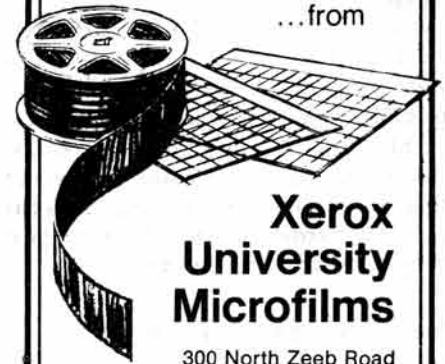
John Turner told Vancouver businessmen on September 13 that to fight inflation, he would underline "the necessity for every sector to exercise a degree of self-restraint." He said the government must set an example by curbing its own spending—a clear hint of recessionary policies.

If the impact of the capitalist world's economic crisis deepens in Canada, the Canadian ruling class will protect only its own interests. To do this, they will urge Canadian workers to "exercise self-restraint" by decreasing their own meager expenditures—and act against the labor movement with even harsher measures to compel working people to accept further declines in living standards.

The militant struggles of Canadian labor this year indicate that Turner, Trudeau, and Co. will not find the carrying out of this policy an easy matter. □

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Giscard Tightens the Screws on French Workers

[The following article appeared in the August 30 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*. The subtitles appeared in the original.]

* * *

With production in most capitalist countries slowing down noticeably, France remains today the only important capitalist country to escape the recession. Production is being maintained at an annual rate of increase of between 4 and 5 percent. There has been a strong surge in exports. The franc has risen by 7 percent in relation to the mark. In many firms, the order books are filled for the fall. For some time [Premier] Chirac has been holding forth with comments like "With all due respect to Mr. Seguy [secretary of the CGT, a labor confederation], there is no economic crisis in France."

However, this optimism cannot hide the problems confronting the government:

- A 35,000 million franc [about US\$7,280 million] deficit in the balance of payments to overcome;

- A rise in prices that, despite the government's promises, has yet to be brought below an annual rate of increase of 16 percent;

- An anticipated rise in unemployment, with an employment situation that in several industrial sectors has made jobs the number one problem.

This, and not the smoke screen of fine words on television, is the evidence on which the working class can base its verdict on the Giscard government's economic policy.

The Fourcade Plan Will not Stop Inflation

After having defended against Chaban-Delmas [the Gaullist candidate in last spring's presidential election] his deliberate refusal [as finance minister] to carry out any deflationary policies, Giscard is today beginning a slight turn by adopting a price-control policy. This minimal struggle against inflation had become necessary for the

sake of European economic recovery and to help meet the dangers of a social explosion that a rise in prices of 20 percent a year would have involved.

The method he has used shows clearly the situation in which the government finds itself. A ruthless and dramatic policy of wage and price freezes is out of the question; it would risk "cutting off expansion," and above all, for a government whose electoral margin is so narrow, would amount to playing with fire: "The relationship of social forces has changed since May 1968. It is no longer possible to slow inflation, let alone stop it altogether, by simply hitting the wage-earners as Antoine Pinay and later, General de Gaulle did," the bosses' magazine *l'Expansion* noted quite lucidly in its July-August 1974 issue.

Instead, the plan of [Finance Minister] Fourcade has been covered with a sauce of "social" measures; it attacks the workers' living standards but it does so somewhat indirectly, encouraging the bosses to tighten the screws.

The measures undertaken are, in the first place, some of the remedies traditionally used by bourgeois governments (an austerity budget, restrictions on credit), plus the notorious "temporary tax," which encourages businessmen to hold back on investments and to reduce wage increases. It is not yet known in detail how all these measures will work out, especially the application of the temporary tax, but several things are already clear:

1. *The acknowledged aim is to reduce consumer purchases.*

Giscard thinks the wage increases the bosses have had to concede so far are too large. The Fourcade plan is aimed at reducing them. The (unpublished) forecasts made by the ministry in June 1974—at the very time the Fourcade plan was announced—are quite eloquent: the growth in buying power must be slowed down. Based on hourly wage rates, it should decline from 6.3 percent in 1973 to 3.8 percent in 1974; and based on available income (which takes account of taxation) it should decline

from 7.1 percent to 1.2 percent. These are averages, which means that a decline in purchasing power is forecast for some categories of workers.

2. *These measures do not affect all firms in the same way.*

The big export firms are hardly touched by the credit restrictions, since they can borrow on the Eurodollar market; they will continue to make juicy profits. But small and middle-sized firms are literally strangled, and petitions for bankruptcy are increasing.

3. *The government will not even succeed in reducing prices to the target level it set publicly.*

Fourcade appears to have prepared a very modest timetable. The goal is to end the year with a 1 percent price increase a month (a record rate of 12 percent a year!), then in 1975 to bring the price level in France down to the level of prices in Germany—that is, to a rate of increase of 8 percent. But taking into account the fact that the prices of raw materials have, contrary to expectations, begun to rise again, and the fact that the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] itself is predicting an inflation rate of 14 percent for France in 1975, this forecast appears to be so much hot air. Truly, when it comes to statistics, Giscard seems to have made the big lie a standard government procedure.

As to Operation "Put the Brakes On," cooked up for the fall as a method of lowering some consumer prices, it will scarcely amount to more than an advertising campaign. While they will make a show of lowering the price of garlic baloney—as Fourcade has announced—by 8 percent at the leading stores, other prices will continue to climb, beginning with fuel and postage stamps.

A Planned Decline in Jobs

Unlike other European countries, France has not had a large increase in unemployment. While in Germany, for example, the number of unemployed has doubled in one year, the number of unsatisfied job seekers in

France has increased at a relatively slow pace.

However, the unemployment problem will take on considerable importance in the fall, because the general increase in unemployment will accelerate, and some industrial sectors will experience major difficulties.

The government's policy in this area will be a completely cynical one:

- It is forecasting a "reasonable" rise in unemployment sufficient to exert pressure on wages. With the savage candor of a good technocrat, Fourcade stated in a *Le Monde* interview that there is "overemployment" (more than a half million unemployed!) and that fortunately this situation will not last: "As to income and salary increases, I think they will begin to change course near the end of the year. . . ." Between now and December the ministry is predicting 80,000 additional unemployed.

- At the same time, the government is seeking to provide itself with a means for keeping unemployment within certain limits by manipulating immigration: the entry ban on foreign workers and the expulsions of immigrants who have lost their jobs should "get rid of" several tens of thousands of jobless, by exporting unemployment to its native countries.

The Giscard regime doesn't operate on the basis of sentimental considerations. Its main aim is efficiency and profitability; it simply strives to lessen the most devastating effects of its policy. This can be seen in several industrial sectors:

- On the one hand, the government is taking a whole series of austerity or restructuring measures that have serious consequences for the jobs of thousands of workers—the decrease in public housing, the elimination of projects already under way, the reduction of the Concorde program, and the strangulation of a whole string of small and medium-sized firms and other lame ducks of capitalism. This has led to a spectacular increase in the number of bankruptcies (8,000 in six months, a 23 percent increase) and layoffs (the number of authorizations for layoffs of more than twenty persons went from 1,834 in March 1974, to 2,375 in April, and to 3,371 in May).

- But at the same time, having learned from experience, the government is trying to prevent the development of explosive situations, the

growth of new Lips. Hence the examination of several proposals for maintaining wages during the first year of a mass layoff, or occupational training to retrain workers who have been fired.

An Uncertain Future

This is the outlook for the next immediate period. Beyond that, there are many underlying uncertainties:

- If it is acknowledged that the Fourcade plan is ineffective as a real means of slowing down inflation, then sooner or later the government may again find itself faced with this absurd alternative, which symbolizes perfectly the nature of the capitalist system: either to accept price increases of 20 percent a year, or to take extremely harsh deflationary measures at the risk of provoking massive unemployment (the choice will depend largely on the international context).

- Moreover, it is by no means obvious that France will not experience a recession. Production levels are at present being maintained. But these are generally linked to a favorable climate for exports. And what about the construction industry, now in the midst of a crisis, and the automobile industry, whose sales fell by 20 percent in June? These are not just two industrial sectors among others, but two key sectors that have traditionally played a leading role in growth and whose difficulties could bring about a whole series of chain reactions.

Plenty of Work to Do

In the short run, as we have seen, whether in wage and price policy or in employment questions, the Giscard government's policy will mean a series of blows against the working class, with a sugarcoating of demagoguery to get us to swallow the pill.

But they won't get away with it. They can't get away with saying that the struggle against inflation has become the priority: if prices continue to skyrocket, it will be understood by millions of people as a *political failure* of the Giscard government.

The offensive aimed at cutting back purchasing power is far from over. Statistics recently published indicate on the contrary that the wage hikes wrested by the workers during the second quarter of 1974 were, on the

average, among the biggest since 1968. The working class has so far refused to bear the cost of inflation and the deficit in the balance of payments. It is unlikely that Giscard's appeals to restrain wage demands will be listened to.

So also for the job situation. It is perfectly clear that Giscard wants to use immigrant workers like infantrymen, subject to forced labor at pleasure, a safety valve for the capitalist system. But it is not so sure that he will be able to do so without difficulties. Struggles like the one at EGCC have demonstrated that.

The reactions—in the middle of the vacation period—to the mass layoffs prove that the workers have learned from the experiences at Lip and Rateau. Instead of passive acceptance and demoralization, the refusal to foot the bill stands out almost everywhere.

The Maragnon plant at Coarrazé, threatened with closing, has been occupied for four weeks; the workers at the Arnaud plant at Valreas (in the Vaucluse region) have been occupying the premises since July 18 to protest a mass layoff; the women workers at the INOSAF plant, struggling against the closure of their factory, have decided to take over production themselves for twenty-four hours, in order to fill an order. At Titan-Coder, there is the same refusal to comply.

And the "open house" held by the workers at the Annonay tanneries [in which people were invited to enter the plant and take part in discussions with the workers] shows the impact these struggles can have on the local population.

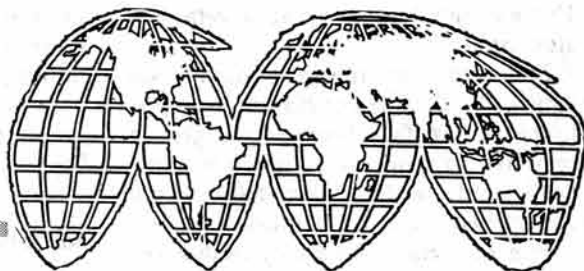
Giscard certainly has plenty of work to do. □

Catholics Protest Thieu Dictatorship

Two protest rallies against the Thieu regime were held at suburban Saigon churches October 6. The leader of the Catholic anticorruption campaign, Father Tran Huu Thanh, received enthusiastic ovations at both rallies. The one in the morning was attended by 1,000 persons; the one in the evening by 3,000.

Thanh, the other priests, and the National Assembly deputies who accompanied them widened their charges against Thieu beyond the issue of corruption. They attacked his iron control over the legislative and judicial branches of government; press censorship; and the lack of a free system of political parties.

AROUND THE WORLD



Japanese Nuclear Ship Returns to Port

Japan's first nuclear-powered ship, the *Mutsu*, has returned to port after weeks of drifting in the North Pacific.

The *Mutsu's* reactor sprang a leak on September 1 during its first test run. The leak was "repaired" by covering the hole with a thick layer of boiled rice.

The *Mutsu* was prevented from returning to port by continued protests of the local fishermen. They relented and allowed the ship to return to the port of Ominato only after the government agreed to pay them more than \$4.5 million in compensation for lost earnings and for an expected decline in demand for fish caught in the area.

Five Yugoslav Students Jailed for Supporting Dissident Professors

Five Yugoslav philosophy students and a professor were each sentenced to ten months imprisonment in Ljubljana, Slovenia, on September 27. They had been charged with "presenting false and malicious information on social and political relations in Yugoslavia."

The students come from Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana; the professor is from Zagreb. Their "crime" was to have drafted a motion of support to eight Marxist professors in the faculty of philosophy of the University of Belgrade who have been accused of "antiparty activity."

5,000 Attend Paris Meeting in Honor of Slain MIR Leader

Five thousand persons attended a meeting in Paris on October 10 in tribute to Miguel Enriquez, the general secretary of the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR—Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria). Enriquez was murdered by the junta's troops in Santiago October 5.

The meeting, called by the Committee to Support the Revolutionary Struggle of the Chilean People and several other organizations, including the Trotskyist Front Communiste Revolutionnaire, was supported by all the major French left-wing organizations, including the Communist party and Socialist party.

The main speaker was Edgardo Enriquez, a leader of the MIR and brother

of the slain leader. "Those who think that Miguel's death means the end of the MIR are mistaken," he declared. "And those who, like his assassins, state or think that the MIR is going to throw itself into suicidal actions motivated by despair, are also mistaken."

"The MIR will continue the struggle. It will maintain the line set by Miguel for a regroupment of all the organizations of the Chilean left, to bring down the Pinochet dictatorship, the big bourgeoisie, and American imperialism. That is the only road toward victory and the only chance of success."

"The best tribute we can pay to the memory of Miguel is to achieve as quickly as possible that political front of the Chilean resistance."

Names of 45 CIA Agents Published in Spain

The names and brief biographies of forty-five CIA agents known to have functioned in Spain were printed in the August 31 issue of the Spanish newsweekly *Mundo*. *Mundo* carried the information as part of a review of a new book, tentatively titled *Who's Who in the CIA?*, to be published in West Germany. The book catalogs 3,000 CIA agents assigned to 120 countries.

Demonstrators Demand Thieu Resign

About 1,500 youths, Buddhist monks, nuns, and Roman Catholic priests marched through Saigon October 20, denouncing the Saigon regime and calling for Thieu's resignation. The demonstrators carried banners protesting the arrests of political prisoners and demanding that the 1973 Paris accords be carried out. One banner said, "As long as Thieu remains, there will be war and starvation."

Large numbers of uniformed and plainclothes police tried to clear the streets and prevent others from joining the demonstration. At the rally, the police tried to drown out the antigovernment speeches with their own loudspeakers. The youths chased the police off, burned a police jeep, tore down government propaganda posters, and waved photos of President Thieu overprinted with a large black X.

After one student was beaten by police in an alley, about 100 youths broke

through police barricades and stoned the National Assembly building. Thich Nhat Thuong, a monk who helped organize the march, told police outside the National Assembly, "What happened here was beyond our will—the police resorted to violence and excited the crowd."

The same day, about 3,000 persons rallied in Hue to hear Senator Vu Van Mau, an opposition leader. In Can Tho, eighty miles south of Saigon, Tran Huu Thanh, the head of a Catholic anticorruption group, addressed a crowd of 10,000.

Tory Solution to Social Crises

Sir Keith Joseph, a former minister of social security and a contender to succeed Edward Heath as leader of the Conservative party, called for the use of birth control by the working class to prevent what he called the degeneration of British society.

In a speech in Birmingham October 19, Joseph claimed that one of every three births in Britain was to an "unfit mother."

"The balance of our population, our human stock, is threatened," he said.

"They are producing problem children, the future unmarried mothers, delinquents, denizens of our borstals [reform schools], subnormal education establishments, prisons, hostels for drifters."

"If we do nothing to stop this, the nation moves toward degeneration hastened by the emigration of talented people."

Joseph said extending birth-control facilities to the working class meant condoning immorality, but asked, "Which is the lesser evil?"

Papua New Guinea Government Signs Tax Deal With Copper Companies

The government of Papua New Guinea has concluded a new tax agreement with Bougainville Copper, Ltd., covering the operation of the world's third largest copper mine. The agreement has been welcomed by business and banking officials in Port Moresby, the capital city, as "a good omen" for further foreign investment. In the first six months of this year the company, jointly owned by the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation of London and Conzinc Rio Tinto Australia, Ltd., made a profit of A\$118.5 million (about US\$156.4 million).

Under the new agreement, retroactive to January of this year, the company will pay taxes at a rate of 33.3 percent on profits up to A\$85 million and 70 percent on profits in excess of this amount. The people of the island of Bougainville have been demanding a greater share of the wealth being produced there, and some have called for the nationalization of the company.

Eritrean Liberation Front Holds Mass Rallies

The Eritrean Liberation Front held a mass rally attended by more than 20,000 persons Sunday, October 13, fifteen miles north of Asmara, the provincial capital. Despite a warning from the central government against "illegal and unauthorized" meetings, the army made no move to break up the meeting, the second such Sunday rally in a row.

On October 17, however, diplomatic sources in Addis Ababa reported that Ethiopian government troops, backed by air force jets and artillery fire, had mounted a large-scale attack against Eritrean Liberation Front guerrillas near Asmara.

Patriotism Has Its Price

"Those South Koreans who chopped off their fingers during anti-Japanese demonstrations in Seoul last month were not acting solely out of patriotic fervor," *Newsweek* reported October 14. "The 32 men who performed the self-mutilation (a traditional way of displaying sincerity in both Korea and Japan) were convicts who were paid by the Seoul government for their theatrics at a rate of \$125 to \$375 per finger."

Demonstrators Greet Shah in New Zealand

One of the stopovers on the shah of Iran's recent tour of Asia was New Zealand. While business officials and civic dignitaries, including the Labour government leaders, gave him a fawning welcome, demonstrations publicized the facts on torture and executions in Iran. One picket was held at Wellington airport, and another, organized by the Young Socialists, took place September 30 outside a state luncheon given for the shah.

New Research Reveals Danger of Plutonium Contamination

Plutonium can be picked up from the soil by plant roots and enter the food chain in much greater quantities than previously thought possible, according to a report in the September-October issue of the *Journal of Agricultural and Food*

Chemistry. The new research was done in the state of Washington near the facility where plutonium was first produced for atomic bombs.

It had been thought that the intake of plutonium by crops was slight, particularly at the low concentrations reportedly expected from a typical nuclear-reactor accident. From the new findings, it appears that the percentage of intake is greatest when only very small amounts of plutonium are in the soil.

Plutonium is one of the most toxic substances known, and even small amounts released to the environment would have very serious effects. According to current projections, thousands of tons of plutonium will be cycling through the world's atomic power industry by the end of the century.

Mun Se Kwang Sentenced to Death

A South Korean court on October 19 sentenced Mun Se Kwang to death for the attempted assassination of President Park Chung Hee and the killing of Park's wife, August 15. The ruling is subject to review by a higher body.

Mun has reportedly admitted to the charges brought against him by the government. He is also reported to have said that he acted on the instructions of a member of a Korean group in Japan and a North Korean agent.

Mun entered Korea on a false passport and used a pistol supposedly stolen from a Japanese police station.

Iran Sending New Troops to Oman

Despite an official announcement from Oman, the shah of Iran is not removing the 1,500 Iranian troops currently stationed in the Arabian Peninsula sultanate. Instead, the shah is sending a new brigade of Iranian paratroopers to take part in a major offensive against the guerrilla forces seeking to overthrow Oman's reactionary Qabus regime.

The false announcement apparently had a dual purpose: to undercut growing anti-war sentiment in Iran and to capitalize on rumored disagreements within the guerrilla organization — the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

Poland to Resume Ties With Israel

Polish Communist party leader Edward Gierk told reporters in Washington October 9 that he envisioned resumption of diplomatic ties with Israel "within a year." He added that "Poland has always supported the existence of Israel."

Diplomatic sources from other East

European workers states said the next day that the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia also expected to resume diplomatic ties with Israel in 1975. All five governments broke off relations with Israel during the 1967 war.

Increased Wages to Polish Miners

The Polish government has quietly increased the wages of coal miners by more than 25 percent during the last three years, according to *Manchester Guardian* correspondent Paul Neuburg. Neuburg reported, as published in the October 12 *Washington Post*, that while the move was aimed at attracting more workers to the mines, it has been little publicized in order to prevent further wage demands by other sectors of the Polish working class.

Article on Abortion Banned in Belgium

The October issue of the mass-circulation French women's magazine *Marie-Claire* has been banned by the Belgian government, and copies of it have been seized. The Christian Social government headed by Leo Tindemans objected to an article in the magazine explaining how abortions can be performed painlessly and harmlessly under proper medical supervision. Abortions are illegal in Belgium.

16 Croats Charged With Plotting Against Belgrade

Sixteen Croats were charged October 19 with attempting to overthrow the government of Yugoslavia and set up an independent Croatian state. Fifteen of them have been under arrest since June; the sixteenth is still being sought.

The group is charged with organizing a Liberation Army, acquiring weapons, and planning attacks on industrial and military targets and assassinations of political figures. Trial is scheduled to begin in November.

No Rush for Ford's 'Amnesty' Plan

A Justice Department official announced October 19 that only 8 percent of the eligible deserters and 1 percent of the draft evaders had accepted President Ford's "amnesty" offer so far. "There's an awful lot of skepticism," he said. Of the 6,600 draft resisters the Justice Department says are eligible for the "amnesty," only 66 have turned themselves in and accepted the two years of "alternative service" required under Ford's offer. Only 783 deserters, out of an officially estimated 10,000, have returned.

The Crisis in the Automobile Industry

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article appeared in the September 9 issue of *Was Tun*, fortnightly newspaper of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International. The subheads appeared in the original.

[The translation was done by Russell Block for *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The automobile industry in the capitalist countries is now going through a crisis of overproduction. It is a classical crisis—not just a simple recession. The scope and the duration of the cutbacks in production testify to this.

The Scope of the Crisis

In the first quarter of 1974 the number of new automobile registrations has declined by the following percentages in comparison with the number in the first quarter of 1973:

France	8 percent
Sweden	18 percent
Italy	22 percent
Great Britain	22 percent
Switzerland	22.9 percent
USA	27.4 percent
Japan	31 percent
West Germany	31 percent

This has resulted in a rapid pileup of inventory despite a significant cutback in production. Profits are even more clearly off. A substantial cutback in employment is unavoidable.

In France, car production in the first quarter of 1974 (not including trucks) was cut back by 2.7 percent, in the USA by 28 percent, in Great Britain by 26 percent, in West Germany by 18.3 percent. In Italy, production increased slightly but only because Italy was the only country in which production had already decreased in the first quarter of 1973 with respect to the previous year.

The decline in profits was sensational. In the first quarter of 1974, General Motors' profits were off by 85 percent, Ford's by 66 percent, Chrysler's by 98 percent, American Motors' by 58 percent, Nissan's by 40 percent, Toyota's by 83 percent. British Leyland lost £16.5 million (before taxes) in the six-month period ending March 31, 1974, compared with £22.8 million profit registered in the preceding comparable period. Fiat also found itself in the red. Citroën narrowly avoided bankruptcy.

In the USA, there was a serious drop in employment. Of the 728,000 members of the United Auto Workers,

79,000 had been laid off by the first week in April and 72,000 were working a short week. That is an unemployment rate of 20 percent (General Motors alone accounted for two-thirds of the layoffs).

In Europe, the layoffs were less extensive. However, there were several waves of partial unemployment (three-day week at Italian Fiat at the beginning of the year; 62,000 workers at Volkswagen in Germany working a short week in the spring of this year). Above all, there was a complete moratorium on hiring, and workers were pressured into early retirement. "Voluntary" separations and other methods were used to disguise the layoffs, but it still boiled down to a reduction in the number of persons employed.

The companies whose profit rate has been hit hardest by the crisis are preparing to make new cuts in employment. The most serious situation is clearly that of British Leyland in Great Britain. On June 21, 1974, this firm announced an "economy" program that anticipates a massive reduction in employment (particularly in the branch that produces the popular Austin Morris).

The Reason for the Crisis

The bourgeois press and the automobile industry public-relations specialists have tried to present the current depression as run-of-the-mill business mishaps engendered by the "energy crisis." There are several reasons for this.

First of all, by using the Coué method,* the companies hope to halt the decline in sales, or at least that portion of the decline that can be attributed to "psychological reasons." (Similarly, Nixon hoped he could stop the recession by declaring that it did not exist.)

We must, in addition, look at the efforts of the industrialists from the standpoint of the importance that the automobile industry has in the imperialist countries (and in a few semicolonial countries like Argentina and Brazil) for the capitalist economy as a whole. The automobile industry is so important that a prolonged depression in this branch of industry would change the whole outlook for investment and the rate of growth in imperialist industry.

Moreover, a more prolonged depression in the automobile industry would unmask the deceptive character of one of the axioms of bourgeois ideology and particularly of contemporary bourgeois political economy—namely, that nowadays the "science of economics" can make it possible to assure sufficient "overall demand" to

*Emile Coué (1857-1926), a French pharmacist and healer whose system of "self-help" won a large audience in Europe and the United States. Coué recommended that his patients repeat over and over: "Every day in every way I am getting better and better."—IP

avoid crises of overproduction, and in addition, assure each important branch of industry a "special demand" to protect it from a sharp fall in production.

But this oversimplified explanation for the automobile crisis—that it was caused solely by the "energy crisis"—doesn't stand up to a serious investigation of the facts. The reality is quite different.

The automobile crisis developed under the influence of *three important factors*: (1) the economic recession in most imperialist countries, (2) the economic effects of the rise in oil prices, (3) the end of the long phase of accelerated growth in the total number of vehicles in Western Europe and Japan (and secondarily in a few other countries). The "energy crisis" is therefore only one of several factors that brought about the automotive crisis. While the "energy crisis" can be considered the detonator of the depression in this branch of industry, this should not overshadow the deeper causes.

Moreover, the false analysis of many bourgeois observers led to a false perspective. They expected a rapid increase in car sales as soon as the petroleum shortages (or fear of shortages) were over and the rapidly escalating gasoline price increases eased off. But there has been no upturn since March 1974, although the petroleum shortages have disappeared and gasoline prices have stabilized—even if at a significantly higher level.

'Energy Crisis' and Automobile Crisis

What then are the real effects of the "energy crisis" on the depression in the automotive industry? Basically the "oil crisis" affected the costs of operating a car and sales of particular classes of automobiles.

The gasoline shortage, as well as the considerable increase in gasoline prices, obviously inhibits people from buying (and/or using cars). This affects a certain kind of buyer—the lowest income group of auto users—the average skilled worker, lower-ranking white-collar workers, artisans, small farmers and shopkeepers who aren't living on Easy Street, and so on. They are giving more thought than in the past to whether they can deign to use public transportation.

A significant increase could be observed in the use of rail, bus, subway, and other means of transportation for which the private car has been competitor number one in the past decade—not just for the home-work-home route, but also for travel and recreation (weekends, evenings out).

Vacation statistics for 1974 are not yet available. But it is already clear that vacation use of automobiles has decreased to a significant extent, at least in Western Europe and Japan. In addition, the gasoline prices together with the lowering of legal speed limits have wiped out most of the advantages that would justify buying a "middle-sized" or big car as opposed to a small one—except for reasons of luxury or prestige. With the exception of a few makes of specialized luxury or prestige cars, large and middle-sized cars have experienced a proportionally greater drop in sales than the smaller cars, which have done better.

On the U.S. market, the sales of smaller cars have declined only slightly, while the sales of cars with big

engines, which were previously preferred (especially by American customers), have literally *collapsed* (from 666,000 in March 1973 to 350,000 in March 1974). Since the beginning of 1974, the number of sales of small cars has exceeded that of large cars for the first time.

This is why the four big American auto trusts are going over to the production of small cars. American Motors, the weakest of the four, had pretty much made this transition before the outbreak of the present crisis. The three other big trusts have introduced an investment program projected over the next several years.

These investment programs are, however, less ambitious than was originally planned. Ford reduced its program from \$1,100 million to \$1,000 million. Chrysler, which was even harder hit by the crisis in profits, reduced its investment program from \$350 million to \$265 million. Only General Motors, which was furthest behind when it entered the small-car market, will invest more in this area this year than in the previous year (\$1,300 million as compared with \$1,200 million).

This restraint is due both to the drop in profits as well as to the rise in the cost of credit and the uncertainty that weighs upon the future of the automotive industry (and thus also on its sales). So, it is apparent how much even the direct effects of the "energy crisis" are actually intertwined with the cyclical and structural factors that determine the development of demand for passenger cars in the imperialist countries.

Effects of the Recession

The auto industry (like other industries that produce consumer durables) is more subject to cyclical ups and downs than other branches dealing with consumer goods. It is clear that the budget item "car" for a working-class family is much more easily reduced than the items "food" or "clothing," not to mention rent and related expenses like heating, electricity, gas, water, and so forth.

Thus every recession leads to a falling off in automobile sales that is greater than the general decline in production. If the decline in automobile sales-figures in the USA, Japan, West Germany, Great Britain, and other countries has outlasted the "energy crisis," obviously this must be attributed to the recession—both the actual recession and the one that is expected in a short time. Countries like Australia and Brazil, which have not yet been hit by the recession, have not experienced faltering car sales, although they have been affected by the "energy crisis" just like other countries.

Measures restricting credit, which have been taken in order to slow inflation (no one talks any longer about halting inflation), have contributed to a decline in auto sales by making consumer credit (time-payment plans) more expensive and difficult to get. Particularly in Great Britain the effects of these measures have had a catastrophic effect on the demand for automobiles.

The lack of causal connection with the "energy crisis" can also be seen in the fact that sales have weakened in a number of other categories of consumer durables and services whose sales generally decline sharply during periods of recession. Typical examples: the decline of sales of black-and-white and color television sets in

Great Britain (from 4.1 million sets in 1973 to 2.5 or 3 million projected for 1974); the decline in foreign travel by vacationers from West Germany (the estimates project a decline in 1974 from the figures for 1973), with catastrophic results for the hotel industry in Spain and certainly noticeable effects on Italy and Yugoslavia.

Naturally, it is impossible to estimate how long the recession will last. Thus it is difficult to give a prognosis for the possibility of an upturn in the automobile market in the near future.

What is certain, however, is that the economic situation is getting worse in Western Europe, especially in West Germany (but in France too), where the recession is taking form more and more clearly, while in the USA and Japan the conjuncture seems stable for the moment. There is no doubt that we will have to wait until September and October to see whether the recession will spread and extend into the fall or even the winter of 1974-75, or whether a mild upturn in the USA and Japan in the second half of 1974 will counteract the West European recession and thus slow it down.

The Long-Term Decline in Automobile Expansion

We must put both these cyclical developments and the effects of the "energy crisis" in a larger context—that of the *long-term development of the automobile industry*. Here few experts would deny that the rapid expansion of the automobile industry in the 1950s and 1960s—one of the most important stimulants for the accelerated growth of the economy in the imperialist countries during this period—is over.

The phenomenon of market saturation, which has already appeared in the USA, is becoming increasingly evident in capitalist Europe and Japan. This tendency can clearly be seen in the declining annual growth rates for total number of automobiles. The figures for the original six Common Market countries (West Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, and Luxembourg) are as follows:

Percentage of increase in total number of vehicles (including trucks):

1955	16.6 percent	1965	12.3 percent
1956	17.6	1966	10.9
1957	16.4	1967	9.0
1958	15.4	1968	8.2
1959	14.8	1969	8.1
1960	15.1	1970	7.2
1961	14.6	1971	6.6
1962	15.9	1972	5.3*
1963	16.4	1973	4.2*
1964	13.9		

*estimated

From the point of view of sales possibilities, the saturation of the market can be explained by the fact that with the present income structure, all those households that want to buy a car, and are in a position to do so, already have a car! Thus current production is increasingly limited to meeting needs for replacement. It tends less and less to increase the number of cars in general. This could only be changed if the real income

of the more poorly paid strata of the working people rose significantly or if automobile prices dropped substantially.

The second possibility is totally excluded for the immediate future. On the contrary, almost all the automotive trusts have replied to the fall in sales and profits with price increases. Only a real technological revolution in the auto industry that would cut the manufacturer's cost by 30 to 50 percent could induce one or another of the trusts to reduce prices in order to radically increase its share of the market.

Moreover, inflation and the recession are causing the real income of households to decline or at least stagnate. If the recession is ended by an economic upswing, inflation will still continue to rage. Thus the real increase in income for working-class households will be very modest, assuming that there is any increase at all, which is far from certain.

Under these conditions a new, rapid increase in the number of automobiles in capitalist Europe and Japan is very unlikely. This is also true for the USA, where increases during the last decade have been almost completely based on purchases of a second car. It is only in countries such as Canada and Australia that a rather rapid expansion could be maintained until the car market reaches a level of saturation comparable to that of the USA or Western Europe.

In the semicolonial countries like Mexico and Brazil that have also been caught up in the motorization wave, the income structure is such that purchasing an automobile is possible only for the middle class and a very thin layer of the labor aristocracy. The level of saturation is reached there much earlier than in the imperialist countries.

The bureaucratized workers states have also plunged into a phase of accelerated motorization. But these countries do not present a supplementary market for the capitalist countries. The governments of the workers states either prohibit the import of private automobiles or limit imports to very small numbers. If they build or expand their own automotive industries in collaboration with capitalist trusts, then the profits will go essentially to the sector that builds machines for the automotive industry. The machine-building industry will acquire supplementary markets, but not the automotive industry itself.

In addition to market saturation based on purchasing power, there are signs of saturation due to physical causes. Neither the construction of highways nor the traffic-handling and parking facilities in the cities of the imperialist countries have kept pace during the last twenty years with the automobile market and the production of cars and trucks.

At peak traffic periods it has become virtually impossible to drive a private automobile in cities like London, New York, Paris, or Tokyo. The roads leading out of the big cities are unbearably crowded during the hours when people leave the cities on nice weekends, not to mention during the general vacation rush. For this reason, independent of the cyclical effects of the "energy crisis" or the current recession, a change in the demand for transportation is taking place, a change that places a higher value on rail and public transportation to the detriment of the private automobile.

The Crisis and International Competition

The crisis in the auto industry has sharpened international competition. As the sales on the domestic markets of the big imperialist countries shrink, the "national" trusts of these countries are attempting to increase their exports in order to cushion the shock. It is still too early to draw the balance sheet of the effects of this sharpened competition. Up till now the following tendencies seem to have been manifested:

On the U.S. domestic market, imports of European and Japanese automobiles have declined to the same de-



Ford storage area in Cologne. Unsold autos are piling up.

gree as the sales of automobiles in general. Thus the foreign competitors are no longer succeeding in increasing their share of the market, especially because the Americans are themselves producing small cars now and the German mark has been revalued upward. The Ford Pinto has now become cheaper than the Volkswagen (in the USA).

In general, it seems that the German auto industry, the leading car exporter in the world, is being especially hard hit (particularly because of the increases in its export prices). In the period from January to April 1974, the export of German automobiles lagged 7.6 percent behind the comparable period in 1973. However, the export share of current production rose from 58.2 to 63.5 percent, because the domestic market has declined even more sharply.

Japan is now overtaking West Germany as the world's leading automobile exporter. Possibly Japan will surpass Germany this year. In 1973, West Germany exported 2.35 million cars and trucks; France, 1.6 million; Japan, 2.1 million; Canada, 1.15 million; Great Britain, 750,000, and Italy, 705,000. In the first quarter of 1974, German automobile exports declined, while Japanese exports increased by 20 percent.

At the beginning of 1974, French and Italian industry had realized modest export gains. These were principally owing to the de facto devaluation of their currency in comparison with the currencies of a number of European capitalist states and to the dollar. It is, however, not certain that the Italian and French firms will be able to maintain these gains if the recession continues to deepen in most of the countries where it has begun.

Declines in production and profits combined with sharper competition threaten the existence of the least profitable firms. At present, BMW, Citroën, Chrysler (including its French subsidiary Simca), and British Leyland seem to be threatened. Chrysler was already at the point of bankruptcy during the previous recession, is operating almost at a loss, and is encountering increasing difficulties in obtaining credit. Citroën was only saved from catastrophe by its merger with Peugeot. The fate of BMW and the weakest of the Japanese concerns will certainly be decided by mergers on the national plane.

The situation of British Leyland is the most dramatic. It poignantly reflects the worldwide decline of British imperialism in the international capitalist economy. British Leyland was itself the result of a merger of automobile companies that were still in the hands of British capitalists. If British Leyland has to undergo merger now, under present conditions it can only merge with a foreign firm. In point of fact, this would mean that it would be swallowed up by one of its foreign competitors.

Since British imperialism cannot tolerate such a development, it is more than probable that it will come to the aid of British Leyland either with massive subsidies, through participation as a minority stockholder, or through partial nationalization, maintaining a minority of private stockholders.

The scope and duration of the recession will determine whether other automobile firms as well are swamped by the profits crisis and whether further moves toward concentration, including concentration on an international scale, will take form.

Ecological Consequences of Growth

The fact that the famous Club of Rome, which popularized the Meadows Report on "The Limits to Growth," is to a large extent supported by automobile firms (in particular, Fiat and Volkswagen) is indicative under present circumstances. Of course, it is no accident that capitalists discover the ecological consequences of growth in "their" sector at the very time when that growth is coming to an end.

No one would deny that these "sins" are real. The poisoning of the air in large cities by automobile exhaust fumes, the heavy toll of traffic accidents, the tremendous waste caused by traffic jams in the cities—all of this is just a portion of the extremely negative account that humanity has to pay as the price for the so-called civilization on wheels.

However, we must avoid the superficial and mechanical reaction of damning the automobile as such and predicting that it will soon disappear. Such a reaction is just as foolish as the forced optimism of automobile industry spokesmen like the head of General Motors, who

predicts a "new unprecedented resurgence" of the automobile in the second half of the 1970s.

Both reactions have something in common: they extrapolate from present tendencies of development and do not consider the possibility, the unavailability, of sudden qualitative changes.

As a daily means of transportation the private automobile is obviously irrational. This irrationality is bound up in the first place with private property. It is clear that the same number of people could be transported by one-half, one-third, or even one-fourth as many individual automobiles, or by one-tenth or one-twentieth as many buses and minibuses, if a rational system of road transportation were organized. The gains in time, money, in physical and mental health, in reduced pollution, could be gigantic.

Moreover, it has not been demonstrated that the users of these means of transportation would have to sacrifice comfort. It is perfectly possible to conceive of a system of buses, minibuses, and taxis that would be extremely flexible and transport the same number of people who now use their private cars for going to work and back under conditions of extreme discomfort.

City planners and traffic experts are nearly unanimous in calling for such a solution. If it is not put into effect on a large scale, if not universally in the richest capitalist countries, it is not because it would be too expensive or because the potential users would object.

The reason is that in the capitalist system there are powerful interests within the bourgeoisie who oppose such a reconversion. The whole logic of bourgeois society favors solutions based on private property and the sale of commodities rather than solutions based on the satisfaction of needs and public services, even when such solutions are more rational and less costly from the standpoint of society as a whole and even from the general standpoint of the individual.

Automobiles, as a means of transportation powered

by internal combustion engines, are certainly not the best technological solution for covering short and medium distances. They were also not the only possible solution. If in the course of the last half century, the automobile has established its complete dominance, this was not for any compelling technological reason, but rather because at a particular time groups of capitalists made this choice in pursuit of their own private interests and enforced it by virtue of their weight and the breadth of the control they had over the market and scientific knowledge.

Other kinds of automobiles are conceivable—ones powered by other sources of energy, particularly electricity—which would radically decrease the damage to the environment now caused by the internal combustion engine. Without doubt, the "energy crisis" has had a positive result in the fact that it will certainly give a powerful stimulus to research and experimentation on, and surely even to production of, electric automobiles. It is only a question of time until large-scale, assembly-line production of such automobiles is undertaken and they become competitive with cars powered by internal combustion engines.

Capitalism Condemned to Death

Production for profit has no future. But the role of the automobile is by no means played out, even if it will never again assume the role of an idol that big business tried to give it in the previous decades.

Because of its great flexibility in comparison to rail transportation, the automobile will retain its leading position in a socialist transportation system. It will maintain its position thanks to a social, technological, and cultural revolution that will make possible the rational use of the automobile, free from the chains of private property and profits.

July 5, 1974

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What Perspective for the Dalit Panthers?

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

The Dalit Panthers movement is a militant organisation of the most downtrodden and oppressed section of Indian society—the untouchables.

The untouchables are the poorest sector of the population, the layer where caste and class merge. Most members of low and scheduled (untouchable) castes are either landless laborers and sharecroppers in rural areas or manual laborers in the cities. In many urban areas of India, the menial labor they perform includes transporting human excrement.

In cities and villages, the untouchables continue to live in physically separated ghettos and are discriminated against in daily life. This includes such forms of social ostracism as exclusion from village wells, temples, and mosques.

In recent times, they have increasingly been the victims of terror attacks, rapes, and arson in several parts of India, particularly in Maharashtra and Gujarat.

This is the social and economic background in which the Dalit Panthers movement (inspired by the Black Panthers in the USA) emerged in Bombay in April 1972.

The immediate source of provocation was the clashes with caste Hindus, who were shielded by the police. Since then, the struggle has spread to several parts of Maharashtra, Gujarat, and south India.

In the past, two of the pioneers of bourgeois nationalism in India developed different strategies for tackling the problem of the scheduled castes.

Mahatma Gandhi, one of the most farsighted leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie, sought to integrate them peacefully into the traditional structure of Hindu society, despite the fact that this society is based on the Hindu religion's oppressive Varnasharama Dharma—a fourfold division of society in which there is no place for untouchables.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, an untouchable himself, ridiculed Mahatma's attempt to brand them as Harijans—the children of God. But his approach was

also religious. In 1956, he led a mass movement to convert untouchables to Buddhism. Obviously, such a movement could never alleviate the caste and class oppression of the untouchables.

The Republican party, founded to gain political power for the untouchables, has also failed in this regard—as well as on the electoral front. Apart from the problem of inadequate campaign funds and the fact that they cannot mobilize the support of caste Hindus, the untouchables are geographically dispersed and account for less than half the votes in almost all constituencies.

According to the 1961 census data, there were then about 65 million untouchables, about 15 percent of the population. About 54 million of the untouchables live in rural areas. About 90 percent are illiterate, and 75 percent work in the agricultural sector.

The Republican party eventually ended up becoming another regional, sectarian, communal type of party. This, in addition to the fact that a number of left parties and trade unions in India never tried to break down the social barriers of casteism, helped pave the way for the formation of the Dalit Panthers.

The Indian bourgeoisie tried to forestall such a development with a two-pronged strategy. On the legal front, it provided several constitutional safeguards and passed the Untouchability (Offences) Act, which made untouchability illegal. To date, however, these guarantees have not been enforced.

The second prong was the adoption of a policy called Protective Discrimination, which amounts to reserving seats in the legislature, scholarships, and a certain quota of government jobs for untouchables.

The result has been no more than the creation of a privileged layer of untouchables, a grouping with no ties with the villages.

This experience too has been decisive in the formation of the Panthers and in the formulation of their

program.

The Dalit Panthers have taken a markedly anticapitalist stance. Namdev Dhasal, a Dalit poet and one of the group's leaders, is reported to be a Marxist. He is the author of the Dalit Panther Manifesto.

The manifesto defines the word "Dalit" as including all scheduled castes and tribes, converted Buddhists, workers, landless laborers, small farmers, and nomadic tribes. It states that all parties aiming at the destruction of the Hindu Varna system and all real anticapitalist parties are its friends. It also states that landlords, capitalists, and money-lenders, along with the government and communal parties that protect them, are its enemies.

In defining the aims of the Dalit Panther movement, the manifesto says:

"We shall have to dominate the controlling positions in the economic, political and cultural spheres. We shall never remain submissive. We do not want a place among Brahmins. We seek to rule the entire country. . . . Mere change of heart or liberal education will not end injustice and exploitation. We shall rouse the revolutionary masses and organise them; the flame of revolution will emerge through the struggle of these vast masses. The social system cannot be revolutionised by mere demands for concessions, elections and satyagraha [civil-disobedience actions]. Our rebellious ideas of social revolution will germinate in the soil, grow in the minds of the people and ultimately will flash into existence like hot burning steel. . . ."

It is clear that the Panthers have a far more advanced perspective than any of the earlier formations of the untouchables. Their call for a casteless, secular society dominated by the downtrodden, and for a revolution led by the masses in struggle, raises high hopes.

The movement appears to have encountered some obstacles, however, including a split in the leadership. According to a report by Arun Sadhu in the July 31 issue of the *Times of India*, Raja Dhale, a Panther leader who was converted to Buddhism, has challenged the very basis of the manifesto—its call for a secular society.

Dhasal has warned that following this path would lead the Panthers to the same ditch of sectarianism that resulted in the virtual demise of the Republican party. □



'The American Radical Press, 1880-1960'

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch

The wave of radicalization that began in the 1960s aroused new interest in the history of the labor and socialist movements. The hundreds of radical newspapers and magazines published in the United States over the last century constitute an important source of material for the study of this history.

Not only did these periodicals record political events that were distorted or ignored by the contemporary bourgeois press and by bourgeois historians since then, but they also chronicled the political and organizational evolution of the many tendencies and groups they represented. The programs, debates, and polemics

The American Radical Press, 1880-1960, 2 volumes, edited by Joseph R. Conlin. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974. 720 pp. \$29.95.

printed in their pages took up the most important questions facing the working class, both in the United States and internationally. The publication of a regular newspaper was a necessity for any group seriously interested in spreading its ideas, recruiting new members, and influencing the political life of the country.

Greenwood Press has reproduced more than 100 of these periodicals (in 410 volumes), making many that had become accessible only in rare collections easily available. For each of these publications Greenwood Press commissioned an introduction, written either by a historian or by someone connected with the periodical. These introductions, plus several essays on newspapers that were not included for reproduction, have now been published under the editorship of Joseph R. Conlin in a two-volume anthology, *The American Radical Press, 1880-1960*.

While the anthology serves as an informal history of the U.S. radical press, and constitutes a valuable reference work, it does contain a few weaknesses. Since most of the articles were written as short introductions to the reproduced periodicals, some of them are limited. They tend to discuss the historical period, rather than describe the newspapers and magazines themselves.

Despite the unevenness of the individual contributions, an excellent panorama of the radical press emerges. The periodicals

of nearly every left-wing tendency of the past century are described, including utopian socialist, anarchist, "Wobbly," syndicalist, Social Democratic, pacifist, Stalinist, Trotskyist, and several so obscure as to defy easy classification.

In the twenty years before the turn of the century, only a handful of journals espoused some form of "socialism." Published by small intellectual circles, such magazines as the *Nationalist*, *New Nation*, *American Fabian*, and *Social Crusader* generally favored gradual reform, offering various utopian schemes.

Few periodicals were directly linked to the working-class movement. One was the *Journal of United Labor* (later called the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*), the official organ of the Knights of Labor, an organization that had recruited 700,000 workers by 1886. Although the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* survived until 1917, the organization's membership dropped to 100,000 by 1890 and within a few more years it disappeared as a significant force.

Among other significant newspapers that appeared before the turn of the century were those of the Socialist Labor party, headed by Daniel De Leon. Thomas Wagstaff, a historian at California State University in Chico, California, notes in his essay that while *The People* and other SLP papers printed extensive articles by De Leon interpreting Marxist social and economic theory, the SLP had little influence on the working-class movement. After De Leon's death in 1914, the SLP became little more than a cult dedicated to the preservation of his memory.

In the radicalization that swept the United States in the pre-World War I period, the trickle of radical newspapers and magazines swelled into a torrent.

The Industrial Workers of the World, which pioneered the concept of industrial unionism in the United States, was founded in 1905. It published several major newspapers, including the *Industrial Union Bulletin*, *Industrial Worker*, *Agitator*, *Syndicalist*, *One Big Union Monthly*, and *Industrial Pioneer*. In addition, local units of the IWW published dozens of other periodicals.

The Socialist party was founded in 1901. By 1912 it was sponsoring more than 300 newspapers, magazines, and

bulletins, published either directly by the party or by sympathizers and supporters. The most widely read of the Socialist party papers was the *Appeal to Reason*, which had a circulation of 750,000 in 1913.

Paul M. Buhle writes in his article on the *Appeal to Reason* that a major factor in its success was the organization of the "Appeal Army." This consisted of as many as 30,000 volunteer "salesmen-soldiers" who tirelessly went out to sell the newspaper, obtain subscriptions, and propagandize for socialism. The army also threw its weight into special campaigns. For instance, when Big Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer, and George Pettibone, leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, were framed up on murder charges in Idaho in 1906, the *Appeal to Reason* took up their defense in a dramatic campaign. One of the items the army distributed was the March 10, 1906, *Appeal to Reason*, a special edition of four million copies containing Eugene V. Debs's fiery call "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" demanding their release. The unionists were freed in 1907.

While other major papers advanced socialist ideas, none had the national political impact of the *Appeal to Reason*.

The *Social-Democratic Herald*, which represented the right-wing faction in the SP headed by Victor Berger, was a major influence in Emil Seidel's victory in the Milwaukee mayoralty election in 1910 and seven months later in Berger's election to Congress. But it lacked the combativity of the *Appeal to Reason*. The *Social-Democratic Herald*, Buhle notes, pushed the idea that socialism could be won via the ballot box and reflected the hopes of the petty-bourgeois elements and privileged workers to whom Berger appealed.

Other Socialist party publications of that period covered in the anthology include *The Challenge*, *Wilshire's Magazine*, *International Socialist Review*, and *American Socialist*.

The entrenchment of the reformist factions in the party apparatus by the end of the first world war undermined the SP's militancy and bred rampant class collaborationism. This was reflected in the pages of the *Appeal to Reason*. "Under Louis Kopelin's editorship," Buhle writes,

"*The Appeal* (renamed *The New Appeal* in 1917) supported [President Woodrow] Wilson's Fourteen Points. Kopelin went so far as to claim: 'Whatever may be our opinions of the capitalist system, the capitalists in no respect control the present administration of the U.S. government.'"

The victory of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 widened the gulf between the left and right wings of the SP. A number of pro-Bolshevik groupings arose within the party. They sponsored a series of journals that defended the Russian revolution, printed works by Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, and other leaders of the world Communist movement, and called on the Socialist party to join the Third International. These newspapers included *The Workers' Council*; *The New York Communist*, edited by John Reed; and *Class Struggle and Revolutionary Age*, both edited by Louis Fraina.

In his introduction to the section of the anthology entitled "Journals of the Bolshevik Crisis" and in his essay on *The Socialist*,¹ Conlin describes the split in the SP that eventually led to the formation of the Communist party.

In April 1919, he writes, the leftists within the SP, led by such figures as Reed and Fraina, were elected to twelve of the fifteen seats on the National Executive Committee and won four of the five international delegacies. The right wing, however, declared the elections fraudulent and began a mass purge. Thousands of left wingers and the seven foreign-language federations were expelled. Before the purge was over, more than half the party had been expelled.

Before the 1919 split, the SP membership stood at 110,000, but within three years it plummeted to 11,000. In an attempt to repeat the success of the *Appeal to Reason*, the SP published the *Socialist World* and the *American Appeal* in the 1920s, with Eugene V. Debs briefly as editor before his death in 1926. The attempt failed. With the exception of a short period in the 1930s, when a left-wing current developed in the ranks,² the Socialist party has since represented little more than a reformist appendage to the Democratic party.

In December 1921, the groups that emerged from the left wing of the SP united in the Workers (Communist) party. Harvey Levenstein, a professor at McMaster University in Canada, points out in his essay that one of the major tasks

1. A factional newspaper launched by right-wing members of the SP in New York City in an effort to counter the influence of the pro-Bolshevik tendency within the party.

2. David Herreshoff's essay on the *American Socialist Quarterly*, *American Socialist Monthly*, and *Socialist Review*, SP

of the fledgling party was to root itself in the U.S. working class, but that the preponderance of foreign-speaking Communists in the party made this difficult. To really "Americanize" the party, it was necessary to print an English-language newspaper.

At its founding, the CP was already distributing the *Communist International* and *International Press Correspondence* (*Inprecorr*), the English-language organs of the Comintern. The first issue of *The Worker*, a weekly, rolled off the presses in February 1922. But the constant aim of the leadership was to launch a daily.

In the fall of 1923 Gregory Zinoviev, the head of the Comintern at that time, wrote a letter to the foreign-language federations of the CP in which he said, "It is a most deplorable fact that against some ten foreign-language communist dailies there is not a single English communist daily in America." On January 13, 1924, this disparity was rectified with the first issue of the *Daily Worker*.

The new party, however, was strangled as a revolutionary organization within a few years. Stalin, who usurped power in the Soviet Union following the death of Lenin in 1924, was directly responsible for the fate of the American CP as of other sections of the Comintern. After the expulsion in 1928 of the Left Oppositionists led by James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern, the American Communist party degenerated into a pliant tool of the Kremlin bureaucrats. Every twist and turn initiated by the Stalinists was trumpeted in the *Daily Worker*.

Conlin cites one particularly revealing incident in 1929, when Robert Minor delivered an article to the *Daily Worker* entitled "Limestone Backs Bukharin." After Lovestone denounced Bukharin that same night, Minor rushed in, shouting, "Stop the press!" He changed a few words, reversed the article's meaning, and then ran it the next day headlined "Limestone Denounces Bukharin."

The *Daily Worker*, which once reflected the best traditions of revolutionary socialism, thus decayed into little more than a press service for the Soviet bureaucrats.³

magazines published from 1932 to 1940, points out that they criticized President Roosevelt's New Deal, published anti-Zionist articles, and debated the relationship of left-wing Socialists to the Stalinists, Trotskyists, and Social Democrats. *Challenge* (1943-1946), the newspaper of the SP youth group, attacked Roosevelt for imprisoning the leaders of the Socialist Workers party under the Smith "Gag" Act.

3. The CP suspended its daily paper in 1958, publishing *The Worker* as a weekly until 1968. It then launched its current paper, the *Daily World*.

The Trotskyist press in the United States began with *The Militant*. The first issue, dated November 15, 1928, printed Trotsky's criticisms of the draft program of the Comintern. For five years after that, *The Militant* was written primarily with the members of the Communist party in mind. It sought to convince the cadres of the CP of the disastrous nature of the policies being followed by Stalin.

After the Stalinized Comintern's sectarian refusal to form a united front with the Social Democrats paved the way for Hitler's victory in Germany in 1933, the orientation of the International Left Opposition changed. It declared the Comintern and the Stalinist parties beyond reform and initiated the call for the construction of a new international. Joseph Hansen, a leader of the Socialist Workers party, observes in his essay on *The Militant*, that the focus of the Trotskyist press in the United States likewise shifted away from the CP members and toward the masses of workers.

"The policy from the beginning," Hansen writes, "was to maintain *The Militant*, not as a mere muckraking or sensationalistic journal, but as a fighting paper integrated with the supreme task of our times—to build a combat party of the working class in the tradition of Leninism. Thus the history of *The Militant* is an integral part of the history of the American Trotskyist movement."

With the exception of a few format and name changes,⁴ *The Militant* has been published almost continuously since 1928.

A contribution to the anthology by George Novack, another leader of the Socialist Workers party, covers the theoretical journals of the American Trotskyist movement. The first issue of the *New International* was published in July 1934. The name was changed to *Fourth International* in 1940, and then to the *International Socialist Review* in 1956.

The American Radical Press also covers dozens of other newspapers and magazines. Some were fairly stable and appeared for decades. Others survived only a few issues. Some, like the *Masses*, *Liberator*, and *Partisan Review*, touched on many different social and political questions, while others, like *Spanish Revolu-*

4. When the Trotskyists fused with the American Workers party of A.J. Muste in 1934 to form the Workers party, the paper's name was changed to the *New Militant*. After they entered the Socialist party in 1936, to influence and recruit the leftward-moving elements within the SP, the Trotskyists expressed their views through *Labor Action*. After leaving the SP in December 1937, the Socialist Workers party was founded and the *Socialist Appeal* was published as its paper. In 1941 the name was changed back to *The Militant*.

tion, *China Today*, and *The Conscientious Objector*, limited themselves to specific topics or addressed particular readerships.

The periodicals range from the *Fore-runner* and *Socialist Woman*, two early

journals that advocated women's rights; through *Dr. Robinson's Voice in the Wilderness*, *Upton Sinclair's*, and *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, newsheets produced primarily by one person; to post-World War II newspapers and magazines like the *National*

Guardian and *Monthly Review*.

The comprehensiveness alone of Conlin's anthology recommends it as a useful reference work for those interested in the history of the radical movements in the United States. □

Victoria de los Nacionalistas de Escocia y Gales

Reducida Mayoría Laborista en las Elecciones

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Labour Wins Narrow Majority in Election", que apareció en *Intercontinental Press* el 21 de octubre].

* * *

En las elecciones generales celebradas en Gran Bretaña el 10 de octubre, el gobierno laborista fue reelegido por una estrecha mayoría de tres escaños en la Casa de los Comunes, que está formada por 635 representantes.

Los resultados finales dieron 319 escaños al Partido Laborista, que obtuvo un 39.3 por ciento del voto total, lo que significa un aumento del 2.1 por ciento en relación a las elecciones de febrero. Los conservadores retuvieron 277 escaños, veinte menos de los que tenían anteriormente, habiendo obtenido el 35.8 por ciento de los votos, siendo éste su punto electoral más bajo en toda la historia moderna. Los liberales conservaron trece escaños, lo que quiere decir que perdieron dos. Recibieron el 18.3 por ciento de los votos.

El voto popular que recibieron estos tres partidos cayó por debajo de los niveles que habían alcanzado en las elecciones de hace ocho meses.

Una proporción considerablemente menor de las personas con derecho a voto fue a las urnas: sólo un 72 por ciento, en comparación al 79 por ciento de las elecciones de febrero.

Una característica importante de las elecciones del 10 de octubre fue el aumento de los votos que recibieron los candidatos nacionalistas en Escocia y Gales. El Scottish National Party [Partido Escocés Nacional], que centró su campaña en la demanda de libertad política para Escocia, aumentó de siete a once escaños, más de lo que había logrado nunca antes. Los

nacionalistas galeses ganaron tres escaños.

En Irlanda del Norte, los Protestant Unionists [Protestantes Unionistas] obtuvieron diez escaños.

Los conservadores centraron su campaña en torno a la promesa de formar un gobierno de coalición para "parar a los laboristas", en el que incluirían a otras fuerzas, principalmente a los liberales. El Primer Ministro laborista, Harold Wilson, que centró su campaña en obtener una sólida mayoría laborista, calificó la consigna de los conservadores de "intento desesperado de hombres desesperados por volver al poder por cualquier medio."

La victoria laborista indica que el pueblo británico no quería tener nuevamente un gobierno conservador. Este había sido derrotado en febrero, cuando el Primer Ministro Edward Heath convocó a elecciones para que se apoyara su posición de línea dura hacia la huelga minera.

Pero la reducida mayoría que obtuvieron los laboristas—que resultó mucho menor de lo que se había previsto—, así como la cantidad de votos para los partidos nacionalistas escocés y galés, demuestran que muchos trabajadores no consideran que los laboristas ofrezcan una solución a sus problemas.

Entre estos problemas están una tasa inflacionaria del 17 por ciento anual, y una cantidad de desempleados de cerca de 700,000, muchos de los cuales están concentrados en áreas subdesarrolladas como Escocia y Gales.

El programa de Wilson está resumido en el tema del discurso que dió cuando se supo su victoria: la necesidad de la "unidad nacional" para enfrentar la crisis económica, llamando al electorado obrero del partido laborista a hacer "sacrificios" en lo que

se refiere a los salarios y al nivel de vida. Evidentemente muchos obreros pensaron que ya que de cualquier manera se les iba a pedir que se sacrificaran, ganaran los conservadores o los laboristas, preferían tener un gobierno que fuera en cierta manera más sensible a la presión de los sindicatos.

Los burócratas sindicales adoptaron la estrategia de Wilson, aceptando su "contrato social"—una promesa de control "voluntario" en las negociaciones salariales y esforzarse por no recurrir a la huelga—con la esperanza de que estas concesiones animarían a los votantes de mentalidad conservadora a votar por los laboristas.

Las especulaciones que siguieron inmediatamente después de las elecciones, se centraron en hasta dónde puede invocar Wilson su pequeña minoría parlamentaria para justificar un alejamiento todavía mayor de las esperanzas y exigencias de la base del partido laborista.

El editor político del *London Financial Times* consideraba que el veredicto electoral "no afecta mucho a este problema en un plazo inmediato." "Todo el mundo" [en el gobierno laborista], escribió el 11 de octubre, "dirá que es una aprobación [el veredicto] del contrato social y comenzará a hablar como si fuera conservador. En la práctica, sin embargo, parece mucho más probable que sean los acontecimientos y las presiones externas los que dictarán la política del gobierno."

Entre esas "presiones externas" se encuentra el curso de la lucha de clases en Gran Bretaña y la creciente tendencia hacia una recesión mundial, que tendría un efecto catastrófico sobre el capitalismo británico.

La actitud del gobierno laborista hacia los conflictos de clases que tiene enfrente fue ilustrada claramente poco

antes de las elecciones, cuando Shirley Williams, secretaria de estado para los problemas de precios y protección

al consumidor, acusó a los "bribones" patrones de dar aumentos de salarios injustificados "irresponsablemente." □

Meteórico Ascenso de un 'General Político'

¿Quién Es Alexander Haig?

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Who Is Alexander Haig", publicado en *Intercontinental Press* el 7 de octubre].

* * *

El 16 de septiembre, el General Alexander Haig Jr., fue nombrado por el Presidente Ford comandante en jefe de la NATO [Organización del Tratado del Atlántico Norte], y de todas las fuerzas norteamericanas estacionadas en Europa. Los editores del *New York Times* y algunos miembros del Congreso criticaron la elección de Ford, mencionando el papel que había jugado en el escándalo de Watergate y llamándolo "general político."

Haig pasó a formar parte del equipo de Nixon en 1969—por entonces era coronel—, cuando fue nombrado asistente de Henry Kissinger y trabajó en el Consejo Nacional de Seguridad. Desde ese puesto ayudó a Nixon a continuar la guerra de Vietnam. En 1972 fue promovido al rango de general de cuatro estrellas, pasando por arriba de otros cuarenta oficiales de alta gradación, y nombrado por Nixon para ocupar el cargo de subjefe del Estado Mayor.

Con el escándalo de Watergate y la creciente exposición de la corrupción de la Casa Blanca, Nixon pidió a Haig, en agosto de 1973, que tomara el cargo de Secretario de la Casa Blanca, reemplazando a H. R. Haldeman. En ese puesto Haig jugó un papel clave para ayudar a Nixon en sus esfuerzos por esconder el caso Watergate debajo de la alfombra.

Un artículo en el *Wall Street Journal* del 10 de septiembre escrito por Dennis Farney, informa algunas de las "hazañas" de Haig que le valieron que Ford lo recompensara dándole la comandancia de la NATO: "... lo que es seguro es que fue el General Haig quien ordenó a William D. Ruckelshaus obedecer la orden de 'su comandante en jefe', de quitar a Archi-

bald Cox de sus funciones de fiscal en el caso Watergate. . . Fue él quien sugirió al Juez John J. Sirica que 'alguna fuerza siniestra' había borrado una grabación decisiva del caso Watergate. Fue el General Haig quien dirigió hasta el final los intentos por probar la inocencia de Nixon."

Supuestamente Haig jugó un papel aún más importante en la Casa Blanca que el de dirigir simplemente el equipo de Nixon y ayudar al encubrimiento de Watergate. En su columna, Jack Anderson decía el 18 de septiembre: "Nuestras fuentes de información en la Casa Blanca han confirmado el informe del ex secretario de prensa Jerry terHorst de que el Presidente Ford y su equipo, cuando entraron a la Casa Blanca, encontraron al General Alexander Haig actuando como 'presidente interino.'"

"Esta caracterización de Haig nos la dieron fuentes totalmente familiarizadas con las operaciones de la Casa Blanca durante los últimos meses del gobierno de Nixon. El atacado ex presidente estaba tan obsesionado con las penas que le ocasionaba el caso Watergate, dicen, que dejó a Haig encargado de gobernar el país.

"Dicho sea en su honor, el capaz y claro Haig, mantuvo unido el gobierno a medida que la pesadilla de Watergate iba ahogando poco a poco el despacho ovalado. La única excepción: dejó los asuntos exteriores en manos del Secretario de Estado Henry Kissinger."

En la transición de Nixon a Ford, Haig jugó papel igualmente importante. Según Farney, fue Haig quien "gentilmente" dijo a Nixon que el baile se había terminado y quien "hábilmente" lo indujo a renunciar.

Después de la renuncia de Nixon, Haig permaneció un poco más en el cargo de Secretario de la Casa Blanca. Según un informe de Everett R. Holles en el *New York Times* del

17 de septiembre, Haig utilizó su posición para hacerle un último favor a su ex "comandante en jefe."

Holles citó a un "amigo de mucho tiempo de Nixon" y que había sido miembro del equipo de Nixon, que dijo que Haig era la persona "principalmente responsable" del perdón que dió Ford a Nixon el 8 de septiembre. Haig, sin embargo, negó haber jugado algún papel en el perdón a Nixon.

Algunos comentaristas burgueses han desacreditado la participación de Haig en una "política partidista", y su supuesto alejamiento de la norma común de los militares de "neutralidad" política. Un editorial del *New York Times* del 18 de septiembre decía: "Lo que provoca tan serios interrogantes sobre el nombramiento, es el hecho de que desdibuja la línea vital divisoria entre la autoridad política y la militar."

El senador William Proxmire dijo en el Senado el 4 de septiembre: "Devolver Alexander Haig al servicio activo, daría un claro indicio a la oficialidad de que la política paga, y en gran forma." El 10 de septiembre Proxmire preguntó, supuestamente con cara seria: "¿Deseamos politizar la estructura de mando de manera que las decisiones militares se oscurezcan con consideraciones políticas?"

Estas críticas olvidan convenientemente que la participación activa de los oficiales de alto grado en la política de los Estados Unidos no es algo nuevo. Antes de ser presidente, Dwight Eisenhower era comandante en jefe de las fuerzas aliadas en Europa. El predecesor de Haig en la jefatura de la NATO, el General Andrew Goodpaster, entró a la Casa Blanca durante el gobierno de Eisenhower siendo coronel y salió con el grado de general. El General Maxwell Taylor prestó servicios en el gobierno de Kennedy, y luego dejó esas funciones, para pasar a ser jefe del Estado Mayor de las tres fuerzas.

La "línea vital divisoria" entre lo militar y lo político a que hacen referencia los editores del *New York Times*, se aplica sólo a las filas de las fuerzas armadas. Es un mito preparado para justificar que quiten a los soldados (la carne de cañón de la guerra imperialista) su derecho constitucional de tomar parte en la actividad política. Esto nunca se ha aplicado a los generales, y no fue diseñado para eso. □

Park y Tanaka Hacen las Paces

Por Peter Green

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Protests in Seoul, Tokyo Condemn Park", que apareció en *Intercontinental Press* el 21 de octubre].

* * *

Seúl y Tokio han hecho un trato a expensas de los sudcoreanos exilados en el Japón. Después de varias semanas de manifestaciones antijaponesas en Corea del Sur y de especulaciones sobre la posibilidad de que el Presidente Park Chung Hee rompiera relaciones diplomáticas con el Japón, el enviado especial japonés Etsusaburo Shiina voló a Seúl el 19 de septiembre. Llevó las condolencias por el atentado contra Park cometido el 15 de agosto por un disidente coreano residente en el Japón. La esposa de Park murió en la balacera.

Park consideró insuficientes las satisfacciones que el Primer Ministro japonés Kakuei Tanaka le envió por escrito, de modo que Shiina las complementó con una declaración verbal. También visitó la tumba de la Sra. Park para ofrecer sus respetos.

Finalmente Park aceptó las efusivas excusas; pero no sin recibir algo más sustancial que meras palabras.

Park había acusado a Corea del Norte de ser la autora intelectual del atentado, y culpaba a Tokio por permitir que se llevara a cabo. El supuesto asesino, Mun Se Kwang, había entrado a Corea del Sur con un pasaporte japonés falso, con una pistola robada de una estación de policía japonesa.

Pero éstos no eran los hechos que verdaderamente contaban. El mismo servicio de seguridad de Park había estado desusadamente flojo. En la ceremonia del Teatro Nacional, a la que sólo se podía entrar con invitación, donde tuvo lugar el atentado, de alguna manera Mun logró eludir 297 policías y agentes de seguridad que estaban afuera y 251 que estaban adentro. Según el *Washington Post* del 3 de septiembre, inclusive había tenido que trepar sobre un policía

uniformado que estaba sentado junto a él antes de correr hacia el pasillo para disparar.

Lo que realmente enfureció a Park fue el hecho de que Tokio no ha podido terminar con las actividades de la poderosa Asociación General de Residentes Coreanos en el Japón, Chosen Soren. La mayoría de los 625,000 coreanos que viven en el Japón se oponen al régimen de Park, y muchos simpatizan con Corea del Norte. Park ha presionado repetidamente a Tokio para que los reprima. Mun era miembro de una liga juvenil vinculada a Chosen Soren.

Park se exasperó todavía más a causa de las declaraciones que durante la crisis hizo el Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores del Japón, Toshio Kimura. El 29 de agosto Kimura expresó en el Parlamento japonés que consideraba que no había ninguna amenaza militar por parte de Corea del Norte contra Corea del Sur. El 5 de septiembre cuestionó la exigencia sudcoreana de "legitimidad exclusiva" para representar a toda la península coreana.

Park presentó cinco demandas a la embajada japonesa en una nota oficial entregada el 2 de septiembre por el Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores Kim Dong Jo. La principal, según informaba el 3 de septiembre el *Daily Yomiuri* de Tokio, era que Japón controlara las actividades "criminales" y "subversivas" de la Chosen Soren y otras organizaciones contrarias a Park que operan en Japón.

Park exigió también satisfacciones oficiales por el intento de asesinato; la extradición a Seúl de tres supuestos cómplices del asesino; cooperación total en la investigación del "complot" y que se rectificaran en la prensa japonesa algunos supuestos informes prejuiciados e injustos que eran desfavorables a los intereses nacionales de Corea del Sur.

Para respaldar estas exigencias, diariamente se realizaron manifestaciones frente a la embajada japonesa en Seúl. Miles de manifestantes trataron

de tomar por asalto la embajada, y el 6 de septiembre alrededor de 200 lograron entrar en ella. Desgarraron la bandera japonesa que estaba colocada en la parte más alta del edificio de cinco pisos, saquearon las oficinas, prendieron fuego a un automóvil de la embajada, y rompieron todas las ventanas del primer piso. El personal de la embajada se atrincheró en el sótano y en los pisos cuarto y quinto.

Uno de los hombres que habían desgarrado la bandera trató de hacerse el hari-kari. En una manifestación que tuvo lugar el 9 de septiembre, treinta y dos manifestantes se cortaron los meñiques con cuchillos de cocina.

También se hicieron manifestaciones en otras ciudades sudcoreanas. La policía coreana dice que solamente en Seúl más de 700,000 personas habían participado en las manifestaciones.

Pronto fue claro para todos que las manifestaciones no se habían dado espontáneamente, sino que habían sido cuidadosamente organizadas por el régimen de Park.

"Según la policía", informaba el *New York Times* el 13 de septiembre, "las manifestaciones se planean con uno o dos días de anticipación y los manifestantes y los policías que protegen la embajada elaboran el guión. Los reportajes televisados están coordinados para que las cámaras puedan captar la acción en su mejor momento."

El 14 de septiembre el diario *Yomiuri Simbun* de Tokio informaba que los manifestantes habían sido reclutados por el gobierno, imponiendo multas de 500 won (1.25 dólares) a quienes se rehusaran a asistir. Como le dijo un coreano que vive en el Japón a un corresponsal de *New Asia News*: "El pueblo de Corea del Sur no tiene derecho de no ir a las manifestaciones."

Además de las manifestaciones preparadas, Park utilizó otros medios

de presión. El 11 de septiembre el *Mainichi Daily News* de Tokio informaba que las "disputas laborales" estaban afectando a treinta y tres de las 167 firmas de propiedad japonesa que hay en Corea del Sur. Normalmente las huelgas son ilegales en la Corea de Park.

Indudablemente hay mucho resentimiento genuino contra el Japón. El recuerdo de más de tres décadas de opresión colonial japonesa directa, de 1910 a 1945, no se ha borrado, y actualmente el imperialismo japonés controla una gruesa trajada de la economía coreana. Pero las manifestaciones fueron orquestadas por Park por razones diferentes, y sus límites fueron estrictamente establecidos. Por ejemplo, el *New York Times* informaba el 23 de septiembre que no se permitió que los estudiantes se unieran a las manifestaciones "por miedo a que se voltearan contra el gobierno."

Los antecedentes de Shiina, el enviado especial japonés, muestran que Tanaka sabe que Park no tiene ningún conflicto fundamental con el imperialismo japonés. "Como Secretario Adjunto de Guerra", informaba *New Asia News*, "Shiina ayudó a elaborar el plan para reclutar más de un millón de coreanos para que trabajaran en la industria japonesa durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Más aún, fue Shiina quien escribió después de la guerra que 'si el control de Japón sobre Corea se llama imperialismo, éste es un glorioso imperialismo.'"

Park habría tenido muchos problemas si hubiera llevado a cabo su amenaza de romper relaciones diplomáticas con el Japón. El *New York Times* informaba el 15 de septiembre que entre 1965 y fines de 1973, el Japón proporcionó el 26 por ciento del total de fondos extranjeros que entraron a Corea del Sur, siendo segundo sólo al 37.8 por ciento correspondiente a los Estados Unidos. También el Japón adquirió el 33.4 por ciento de las exportaciones sudcoreanas en los primeros seis meses de 1974. Casi tanto como el 34.7 por ciento adquirido por los Estados Unidos.

Washington estaba preocupado por la disputa de sus dos aliados asiáticos y aparentemente participó en la elaboración del pacto final. Los diplomáticos norteamericanos tuvieron varias reuniones secretas con representantes del gobierno de Corea del

Sur. Además, el 3 de septiembre funcionarios del Departamento de Estado informaron que el Presidente Ford iba a enviar una carta a Park, instándolo a que se "autocontrole" en su trato a los disidentes y expresándole su preocupación por el deterioro de las relaciones entre el Japón y Corea del Sur.

El 15 de septiembre el *New York Times* informó que la Casa Blanca también había presionado a Park con amenazas de represalias económicas y un posible retiro de tropas. Según el *Times*, funcionarios norteamericanos habían señalado que la posición de Seúl en el próximo debate de las Naciones Unidas sobre el mando de las fuerzas de la ONU en Corea del Sur "ya era difícil y que la ausencia del respaldo japonés empeoraría la situación."

La Represión Continúa en Corea del Sur

Protestas en Seúl y Tokyo Contra Park

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Park and Tanaka Patch Up Quarrel", que apareció en *Intercontinental Press* el 21 de octubre].

* * *

En el mismo momento en que el enviado especial japonés, Etsusaboro Shiina, pedía "disculpas" a Park Chung Hee en Seúl el 19 de septiembre, por el atentado que cometió un coreano residente en el Japón contra la vida del dictador, 30,000 personas participaban en Tokyo en un acto para protestar por el fortalecimiento de la alianza anti-comunista que existe entre los gobiernos del Japón y de Corea del Sur.

Entre las personas que hablaron en el acto se encontraban: el novelista Makoto Oda; el Presidente del Partido Socialista del Japón, Tomomi Narita; el Presidente del Partido Comunista del Japón, Kenji Miyamoto; el Vicepresidente de Komeito (Partido por un Gobierno Limpio), Shoji Tada; y el Presidente de Sohyo (Consejo Sindical General del Japón), Makoto Ichikawa.

Según *New Asia News*, ésta era la primera vez que se realizaba un acto conjunto de los partidos de oposición

El acuerdo a que Seúl y Tokio han llegado ha sido presentado como una "transacción", pero es posible que el resultado sea algo que satisfaga plenamente a ambos gobiernos: un intento de terminar con las actividades políticas de los coreanos residentes en el Japón.

La declaración japonesa que fue entregada a Park pedía excusas por el hecho de que el atentado hubiera sido preparado en el Japón, y prometía hacer "todos los esfuerzos posibles" para evitar que eso suceda nuevamente. También se comprometía a reprimir duramente los "actos criminales dirigidos a derribar el gobierno de la República de Corea." Estos compromisos sólo pueden implementarse siguiendo la dirección de Park y desatando la represión sobre los coreanos que viven en el Japón. □

y los grupos civiles. Llamaron a realizar un cambio radical en la política del gobierno japonés hacia Corea del Sur; por la libertad de los presos políticos que están en las cárceles de Park; y por el alto a la represión contra Chosen Soren, la Asociación General de Residentes Coreanos en el Japón. Después del acto se realizó una marcha por las calles de Tokyo.

La represión dentro de Corea del Sur no se ha detenido. El 4 de septiembre una corte militar de Seúl condenó al abogado Kang Shin Ok a diez años de prisión por haber defendido a sus clientes en la corte, hecho que viola los decretos "de emergencia" de Park. Entre los clientes de Kang se encontraba el poeta disidente Kim Chi Ha, que está acusado de participar en un supuesto complot contra el gobierno.

El *Japan Times* informó el 5 de septiembre que Kang "comparó el juicio semisecreto a los que realizaban los nazis alemanes." Otras tres personas fueron sentenciadas ese mismo día a condenas que van de tres a siete años de cárcel, gracias a esos mismos decretos.

Una corte marcial celebrada el 7 de septiembre ratificó la sentencia de muerte contra ocho personas acusa-

das de "conspirar para derrocar al gobierno"; a otra persona le conmutaron la misma pena por la de prisión perpetua.

Después del atentado en su contra cometido el 15 de agosto, Park levantó dos de sus cuatro decretos de emergencia, seguramente porque consideró que la cacería de brujas antijaponesa y anticomunista que había lanzado le ayudaría a hacer callar a los opositores.

Pero no ha resultado así. En una misa de protesta que tuvo lugar en Seúl a mediados de septiembre, a la que asistieron 2,500 católicos, se leyó una carta enviada por el obispo Daniel Chi Hak Soun, que está preso.

El 22 de septiembre, dirigentes católicos y protestantes anunciaron la formación de un Consejo Sobre la Realización de la Justicia Social. "Después de orar en común durante dos horas, en ofrenda a 'quienes están presos en nombre de la justicia y la restauración de la democracia', llamaron también a que el gobierno libere a todos los disidentes políticos, incluyendo a los dirigentes eclesiásticos", informó el *New York Times* el 24 de septiembre.

El 26 de septiembre tuvo lugar la primera manifestación callejera desde que Park puso en vigor los decretos de emergencia, a principios de este año. Un millar de católicos llevando veladoras, marchó a lo largo de unas cuantas cuadras antes de ser detenido por la policía antimotines.

También los estudiantes han comenzado a movilizarse nuevamente. En la primera acción que se organiza desde octubre del año pasado, 4,000 estudiantes asistieron el 23 de septiembre a un acto-oración que tuvo lugar en Ewha, la universidad para mujeres más grande de Corea del Sur. Los estudiantes exigieron la libertad de todos los presos políticos que son estudiantes. Al finalizar el acto, recogieron firmas para apoyar esta petición. □

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Little Rock y Selma de 1974

Los Hechos de Boston

La ciudad de Boston es escenario de una feroz ofensiva racista contra la comunidad negra. Esta ofensiva ha tomado la forma de una lucha contra los transportes escolares destinados a llevar a los niños negros a las escuelas predominantemente blancas. Por eso la consigna central de los racistas es "¡Basta de transporte escolar!"

Las movilizaciones contra la comunidad negra comenzaron con la apertura de la escuela South Boston High School, el 12 de septiembre, en un intento de impedir que los estudiantes negros entren a las escuelas blancas. La orden de integración fue lanzada por el Juez Garrity el 21 de junio.

Los ataques contra la población negra comenzaron en South Boston, pero a medida que iban adquiriendo fuerza se extendieron por toda la ciudad.

Después de las luchas que libró el movimiento negro en las ciudades sureñas de Little Rock y Selma, en los años sesenta, ésta es la primera gran lucha de esa naturaleza, pero esta vez en una ciudad del norte.

Esta es también la primera vez en muchos años que los racistas tratan de impedir que se cumpla la orden de integración de la corte apelando a la violencia y a la acción de bandas criminales.

Las acciones racistas han consistido en arrojar piedras y palos contra los transportes escolares que conducen a los niños negros, en atacar personas por la calle y disparar sus rifles contra el barrio negro de Columbia Point. También han brindado una calurosa recepción a los líderes del Ku Klux Klan que corrieron a Boston en cuanto se enteraron del terror racista.

El lunes 7 de octubre se formó una banda de linchamientos. Jean Louis Andre Yvon, un inmigrante negro de Haití, que estaba conduciendo a su esposa al trabajo en su automóvil, estuvo a punto de ser esesinado por una de estas bandas. Los blancos rodearon su automóvil, mientras Yvon cerraba las puertas, pero los racistas rompieron el vidrio y lo sacaron, a la par que lo castigaban salvajemente golpeándolo y dándole puntapiés.

Yvon pudo zafarse por unos mo-

mentos cuando un policía hizo disparos al aire, y los racistas vacilaron. Pero luego comenzaron a gritar que iban a colgarlo, entonces se acercaron al lugar más policías y los blancos se retiraron. De este modo Yvon salvó la vida.

Pero éste no es el único hecho grave; en varias ocasiones fueron atacados conductores negros de taxis y autobuses.

La respuesta del alcalde demócrata Kevin White ha sido capitular ante la violencia racista. Cuando una delegación de padres negros lo entrevistó el 9 de octubre, les dijo: "La policía de Boston no puede contener más la situación en South Boston." White "aconsejó" a los padres negros que mantengan a sus chicos en casa. La comunidad negra no parece estar de acuerdo con esto. Junto con la movilización, se acrecienta la convicción de que se necesitan tropas federales para proteger los derechos y la seguridad de los estudiantes negros.

Esto se puso en evidencia en el pedido hecho el 6 de octubre por la fracción de los representantes parlamentarios negros, de que el gobierno envíe de 8,000 a 10,000 hombres de las tropas federales para proteger a la población negra. Sin embargo el mayor White se ha limitado a pedir 125 alguaciles. Pero aún este pobre pedido fue denegado por el Juez Garrity en un decreto del 9 de octubre.

Otra exigencia de los parlamentarios negros es que se cite a los funcionarios públicos y a los ciudadanos privados que incitaron a la violencia contra los estudiantes negros. Esto obedece a que las movilizaciones racistas se organizaron con la complicidad del gobierno de la ciudad de Boston y dirigentes del Partido Demócrata del estado. En la movilización racista del 4 de octubre a la que concurrieron 2,000 personas, el concejo de la ciudad, el comité escolar y conocidos legisladores demócratas estaban en la primera fila. Los burócratas sindicales también dieron su apoyo a los racistas.

Estos hechos no hacen más que dar aliento a la violencia de los racistas blancos. El 15 de octubre organizaron una manifestación de automovilistas con 1,000 vehículos. A la tarde de ese mismo día se reunieron en Hyde Park

unas 1,500 personas, a planificar su ofensiva contra la integración. El presidente del concejo Gerald O'Leary y la concejal Louise Day Hicks, ambos del Partido Demócrata, exigieron que el Juez Garrity suspenda la orden de integración. El diputado demócrata Michel Paul Feeney pidió a las autoridades escolares que cierren las escuelas durante treinta días. Heciéndose eco de esta ofensiva, el concejal demócrata Joseph Tierney planteó la posibilidad de que se pare la aplicación de la orden de integración.

Los medios de difusión han hecho lo suyo para crear la impresión en la opinión pública de que la violencia en Boston es creada tanto por los blancos racistas, como por la comunidad negra. Más aún, se dedican a remarcar los supuestos ataques de los negros hacia los blancos, mientras le restan importancia a los feroces ataques racistas.

También sectores de la izquierda han colaborado con sus posiciones, con la violencia racista. El máximo ejemplo es el de la Revolutionary Union (Unión Revolucionaria), el grupo maoísta más grande de los Estados Unidos. Esta organización levanta las mismas consignas que los racistas: "¡Basta de transporte escolar!" En sus volantes no sólo levantan la misma consigna, también utilizan el mismo signo que identifica a los asesinos racistas!

Más allá de las razones políticas que este grupo invoque para hacer estos planteos, objetivamente no hay dudas de que favorecen al racismo.

La primera manifestación masiva contra la ofensiva de los blancos se produjo el 13 de octubre y fue convocada por los líderes de la comunidad negra. Alrededor de 1,500 personas se reunieron en Boston Common, la plaza principal de la ciudad.

El alcalde White trató de impedir la acción de protesta. Después de haber autorizado a los racistas a manifestar semanas enteras sin ninguna restricción, negó el permiso para realizar la movilización negra. Al final se vió forzado a dar marcha atrás y lo concedió. El acto fue precedido por una entusiasta marcha de 700 negros, seguidos por una caravana de 70 automóviles. Se detuvieron en Carter's Playground, en la comunidad negra, mientras gritaban "¡Libertad ahora!" en la lengua swahili. Llevaban globos rojos, negros y verdes con la inscripción "el negro es hermoso".

Un contingente del Comité de Acción Haitiano, llevaba un cartel con la inscripción "Paremos a los Tontons Macoutes de Boston" (los Tontons Macoutes son la odiada policía secreta del régimen de Haití).

Hablaron en el acto Tom Atkins, presidente del NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—Asociación Nacional para el Progreso de la Población Negra); Tanya Poe, una estudiante negra; el diputado Royal Bolling, y Malnea Cass, una activista comunal. El diputado Mel King dirigió la reunión.

Tanya Poe, de 13 años, recibió la más entusiasta acogida de los concurrentes cuando dijo: "Mis primos volvieron a casa el primer y el segundo día todos sangrantes. La gente no quiere que nos quedemos, pero no vamos a salir corriendo... Los policías no hacen nada, las maestras no hacen nada... ", pero "yo no voy a salir corriendo de South Boston."

Más de 400 estudiantes negros si-

guieron este ejemplo, y el 16 de octubre concurren a clases en South Boston High School.

Otras voces comienzan a escucharse contra la ofensiva racista. El 15 de octubre una coalición de sindicalistas emitieron una declaración donde exigen que las tropas federales protejan a los negros.

En la universidad de Massachusetts en Boston, en Columbia Point, el 11 de octubre se realizó un acto de protesta de 150 personas.

En el Boston State College, el 17 de octubre se va a realizar otro acto. También en Northeastern University, Boston University y Massachusetts Institute of Technology, se van a efectuar movilizaciones.

Estas acciones de solidaridad con la comunidad negra son muy importantes en estos momentos en que la movilización racista continúa, los políticos demócratas y republicanos han capitulado totalmente ante ella y el presidente Ford se ha negado a enviar tropas en defensa de los estudiantes negros y sus familias. □

DOCUMENTS

Balance Sheet on Argentine 'Multisectoral'

[On October 8 a "multisectoral" conference was held in Buenos Aires. Attending were representatives of all the legal political parties, except the Communist party, as well as representatives of big business and the trade union bureaucracy. (The Communist party was not represented directly because, since it did not participate in the elections of February and September 1973, it does not have the status of a registered party. It was, however, represented indirectly.) These figures met with Argentine President María Estela Martínez de Perón to discuss eliminating violence.

[The following article analyzing the conference as a whole appeared in the October 10 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The statement drawn up for the conference by the PST follows. The translation is by

Intercontinental Press.]

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The "multisectoral conference" began in a framework of unknowns and doubts, some of which have still not been cleared up. One of these question marks is represented by the absence of several sectors that it had been announced would attend, such as the armed forces and the church. Moreover, the Communist party was not invited.

The president expressed the idea—which she later repeated clearly, off the top of her head, in her impromptu closing remarks—that to confront the threat of an imperialist military coup and to combat "violent terrorism, subversion, and ideological extremism," the government was turning to dialogue and a pact with the political parties. To achieve such an agreement, she stated, she was ready to "make any necessary sacrifices as well as the

adjustments always needed by a machine in constant operation."

The lineup of the sectors participating also pointed toward a shift toward the "adjustments" the president mentioned and the policy of "dialogue" she laid out. Of the seventeen persons who spoke—not including comrade Coral [Juan Carlos Coral, a leading member of the PST], whose remarks had special characteristics—thirteen of them had the same axis. While condemning guerrilla warfare and terrorism in general, with different nuances, they agreed in their denunciation of the indulgence or tolerance by the government itself toward the rightist terrorism. And, by extension, they harshly criticized the government that they considered responsible for such indulgence.

This is the thread connecting the speeches of the capitalist Julio Broner ("There are irresponsible publications that have the support of official bodies" and "the break-off of dialogue is as serious as terrorism is"), Christian People's party representative Enrique de Vedia ("We must get rid of this concept that 'the best enemy is a dead enemy'"), and of [Radical Civic Union leader] Ricardo Balbin ("The dialogue and this meeting have one virtue—that of breaking down the walls of the narrow circles that surround presidents, disturb the functioning of government, and create an atmosphere of political intolerance and blindness").

The tone of the conference was set fundamentally by this lineup of thirteen speakers, who made different limited criticisms directed at the government in general—most of which were played up in the press—but who centered their criticism on the López Rega/Ivanishevich¹ antidialogue sector of the regime.

It was the accusations against the rightist terrorist organization AAA [Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance] by a representative of Dr. Héctor Sandler (who did not attend the meeting because of the threats on his life) that prompted a reply from Raúl Lastiri. The representative of the Partido Justicialista [Social Justice, a Peronist party], explaining that he had not intended to speak, took the floor to tell

1. Jose Lopez Rega, minister of social welfare, and Oscar Ivanishevich, minister of culture and education, are part of the old-guard Peronist right.

Sandler's representative that his party condemned all forms of terrorism and that he would personally accompany Sandler to assure his safety.

Outside this bloc were others whose remarks must be analyzed. First there was Frondizi, who defended the need of the state to protect itself against subversion and maintained a careful, neutral tone in face of the political differences.

There was the representative of the Partido Conservador Popular [People's Conservative party], who made a passionate apology for the government and for the president in remarks that seemed oriented more toward defining his position in his party's internal disputes.

Finally there were the speeches by Palma and Miguel.² The former, who made a reappearance in the political arena after a considerable absence, came to join the government conclave, demonstrating his support in general for the Social Pact,³ and in particular his endorsement of Isabel, whom he hailed as "a person with a clean record who undoubtedly will leave her mark on the norms of political life."

Lorenzo Miguel angrily claimed that most of the victims were among the union leadership. Responding indirectly to Comrade Coral, he harshly criticized those he said had been stirring up the workers against the Social Pact. He added that the union leadership was going to ask for a wage increase soon, and then he announced a "historic mobilization" in repudiation of the violence.

As for our party's representative, he did not fit into any of the de facto factions that formed there. Coral condemned the threats of a coup and criticized, from a socialist standpoint, guerrilla warfare in isolation from the mass movement. He denounced rightist terrorism, and placed overall blame on the government for all that has happened—not just on its "right" wing but also on its "prodialogue" sectors, including the one that promoted the Social Pact. His remarks were based on the document that accompanies this article.

An initial balance sheet indicates that

2. Segundo Palma and Lorenzo Miguel, the general secretaries respectively of the CGT and the metalworkers union, are two top rightist union bureaucrats.

3. The Social Pact is the antilabor wage-freeze policy of the Peronists.

there has been a relaxation of social tensions, as reflected in the unanimous repudiation of a military coup, although in this regard it remains to be seen why the military was absent from the meeting. A turn seems to be in the making—the "adjustment" referred to by the president—which consists of an agreement by almost all the parties, the government, and the armed forces to cement a social and political front for the purpose of suppressing the guerrillas. This "adjustment" or turn involves a step back by the "no dialogue" sectors of the government and those who favor rightist terrorism. This retreat is not definitive nor does it mean a dissolution of the gangs who only on Tuesday murdered two members of the JUP [Juventud Universitaria Peronista—Peronist Student Youth] in La Plata.

Within the government the economic team together with the wing of the old guard represented by the minister of the interior appeared to be the ones leading the turn. However, the positions of these elements have not been uniformly reinforced, as shown by the fact that Brunello⁴—a friend of the economic team—failed to appear at such a crucial meeting.

The agreement reached on the bases outlined is aimed at isolating the guerrillas socially and politically so that they can be eliminated by the police. The direct participation of the armed forces in this task seems to be a question secretly under discussion. The president revealed that she was opposed to this when she said:

"What they want is to get the armed forces to come onto the streets. And while I am president, I will not permit this."

Within the context of this agreement, the union bureaucracy seems willing to support decisions such as those being made today by the Comité Central Confederacional.⁵ At the same time, the bureaucracy—especially the sector represented by Lorenzo Miguel—is continuing to put pressure on the Social Pact, invoking it to demand

4. Duilio Brunello is second vice-president of the Justicialist party and former federal interventor of Cordoba.

5. The Comité Central Confederacional is the top body of the General Federation of Labor. At the time of the "multisectoral" it was meeting to decide the date of a demonstration in support of the government and against terrorism.

some reforms such as the Ley de Contratos de Trabajo.⁶

This is the line that seems to have prevailed, to judge from the indications given by the conference in the

6. The Ley de Contratos de Trabajo (Labor Contract Law) provides for compensation for workers who are fired, guarantees holiday pay, sets health and safety requirements the bosses must meet, and grants workers the right to disregard any agreements signed to which discriminatory provisions have later been added.

PST Statement at the 'Multisectoral'

[The following is the statement of the executive committee of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) that was presented at the "multisectoral" conference in Buenos Aires October 8. The translation is by *International Press*.]

* * *

Our party is attending this meeting, as we did previous meetings between the government and other parties and organizations. Not because we aspire to, or believe in, the possibility of a "national unity"—which is impossible between antagonistic social classes—but because we want to defend the democratic liberties won at a heavy price by the masses in the fight that began with the Cordobazo.¹

The fundamental purpose of such democratic rights is to ensure respect for the right of the masses to decide what government they want—which in this case is the Peronist government—and the fundamental respect for the right of all political forces to present their ideas to the masses. Thus, we unhesitatingly condemn any attempt at a coup designed to bring down the current government, which has been elected by the majority of the working class.

Starting with June 12, when the social tensions caused by the failure of the Social Pact came out into the open, provoking a resignation threat from the deceased President Perón, a period began in the country that has been marked by a threat hanging over our heads—a threat that the forces of oligarchic-imperialist reaction, the same

Casa Rosada [government palace]. With dialogue, a pact, and the police, they plan to suppress the guerrillas. Nonetheless, the workers movement and the left are also threatened, as is shown by the outlawing of the Federación Gráfica [Printers Federation], which was decreed by the Labor Ministry at the very time the conference was going on, as well as by the president's references to "ideological extremism," and the institution of the State Security Law. □

elements that had to begin a retreat after the Cordobazo, were trying for a comeback by means of a new 1955.²

This threat, which if realized would mean the worst kind of defeat for the country and the workers, is real because the lukewarm nationalist measures and the relatively independent foreign policy line adopted by the government have not touched the powerful economic and political bases that imperialism maintains in the country.

However, the threat of a comeback by oligarchic-imperialist forces at their worst is being aggravated, reinforced, and compounded at this moment by another danger.

This second threat is represented by a growing militarization of political life prompted fundamentally by the activity of the guerrillas and their mirror-image—the terrorists of the AAA and other organizations of the ultraright.

Many sectors objectively are pushing for such a militarization. Independently of the intentions of the protagonists, a dynamic leading toward a military coup has been set in motion. No matter what its ideological tendency may be—but especially if it is under the direction of the oligarchy and imperialism—this coup will have the effect of smashing the democratic rights of the masses.

We did not have to wait until the situation reached its present gravity to express our condemnation—in the name of the working class and socialism—of guerrilla warfare isolated from the masses. We have consistently opposed that desperate resort, which has been taken at times in the name

of a socialist ideal and at others as a tactic designed to apply political pressure. Normally this kind of action ends up sowing the worst type of confusion in the ranks of the workers, as well as opening up the way for the most indiscriminate repression. In this case it has promoted a militarization of the country that may lead very far, that may lead ultimately to eliminating the increasingly limited democratic freedoms that the masses won by their struggles.

But these condemnations of the guerrilla operations must not be used to cover up the causes that provoked this phenomenon nor to whitewash the fascist gangs by lumping their activity together with that of the guerrillas under some general common heading.

We recognize perfectly the differences between the present government and the dictatorial forms that preceded it and threaten to return. We recognize that guerrilla actions and terrorism promote putschism. We proclaim our determination to fight against any attempt to topple the government by a coup. At the same time, we must point out the responsibility for this situation that falls on the government because of its retreat on democratic rights, which began May 25, 1973.³

The attack on democratic freedoms was launched by the government itself on the day when, without consulting the workers or taking their opinions into consideration, it imposed a Social Pact freezing wages. Moreover, this guidelines policy was applied with sympathy for the needs of big business, while workers who resisted it were hit with harsh penalties.

The attack on democratic rights began when a repressive system was set up to protect that Social Pact. The first step in this process was firming up the position of a tarnished union leadership through reforms in the Trade-Union Law.⁴ The next was the application of the new penal code against striking workers.

The attack on democratic rights began when the internal fight in the ruling party spread to public institutions and led to totalitarian measures that affected the whole country. In this way, in a tragic escalation of

1. The 1969 semi-insurrection in Cordoba.

2. On September 16, 1955, Peron was overthrown in a military coup.

3. May 25, 1973, was the day the Peronists took office.

4. The Trade-Union Law is designed to protect the job trusts of union bureaucrats.

violence foreshadowed by Ezeiza,⁵ the "Navarrazo"⁶ occurred, elected provincial officials were replaced by federal appointees, newspapers were shut down, university administrations were purged, and many of the faculties were closed.

The attack on democratic rights is shown by the absolute impunity with which the fascist gangs act. It now culminates in the passage of the State Security Law, which contains articles designed to repress the guerrillas and uses their activity as a pretext to institute repression of strikes and leftist currents.

This rightist course of the government, followed by its four presidents, has in itself achieved many of the objectives that a reactionary coup might shoot for. This course in our country has been an expression of the same evolution that has led to brutal repression of our brothers in another part of the Southern Cone. Continuing this orientation cannot lead anywhere but to a "cold coup" born in the belly of the very regime in power, a reactionary take-over which, through a Bonapartist dictatorship, will end up suffocating the democratic possibilities of the parliamentary regime.

Moreover, this course, unmitigated by feeble attempts at concessions such as the Labor Contract Law, prevents the government from responding to the provocations of the terrorists and the guerrillas in any way but with stepped-up police repression or the militarization of the country, which in turn expose it still more to the danger of a coup.

In April we told General Perón that only adopting measures that could "put the brakes" on the escalating repression, the union bureaucracy, the Law on Redundancy,⁷ exploitation and starvation wages, and the oligarchy and imperialism could stop the march down a dead-end street.

5. Scores were killed and several hundreds were wounded in May 1973 when right-wing Peronist goons opened fire on the left-wing Peronist contingents awaiting Peron's return from exile.

6. The February 1974 coup that ousted the elected Cordoba provincial governor, Obregon Cano.

7. The Law on Redundancy is designed to facilitate the firing of union militants on the basis that there is "excess personnel" in the workplace.

We took then the same position that we have maintained throughout these troubled seventeen months of Peronist rule and that we once again reiterate now. We simply point out the objectively necessary solutions. We have no illusions that they will be adopted, since many of them would require a socialist, workers revolution to transform the structures of society.

In the same spirit, we believe now that the solutions that would be adopted by an authentic workers government arising out of, and based on, a mass mobilization, would start with repealing the State Security Law and disarming, investigating, and punishing the fascist gangs. Such a government would throw out the Social Pact and immediately reinstitute collective bargaining. It would democratize the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confedera-

tion of Labor] and the unions, guaranteeing the election of leadership representative of the ranks. It would return the universities to the authorities chosen by the students, teachers, and workers. It would cut down the economic power of the oligarchy and imperialism by expropriating the big landholdings, monopolies, and foreign and domestic companies, and by putting them under workers control.

If even at this point in the deepening of democracy and the revolutionary process guerrilla and terrorist groups were to persist, they would be turned over to the working masses for judgment.

Our party demands its right to offer this socialist option to the masses and pledges to fight, and is fighting, against any attempt to bring down by a coup d'etat the government these masses elected. □

What Chances for Papandreou's Party?

By Th.

[The following article was published in the October 5 issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the weekly paper that reflects the views of the Greek Trotskyists. The translation from the Greek is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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With its statement of principles and a number of positions relatively more advanced than those of the two Communist parties, Andreas Papandreou's Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema (Pa. So. K. — Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement) has aroused a lively interest among the petty-bourgeois masses, the broad youth vanguard, and among certain militants who previously had ties to organizations of the left or the far left. On the other hand, response from the workers has been quite limited.

Papandreou's attempt to attract former activists of other left organizations to Pa. So. K. and involve them in the work of building an organizational structure that he has undertaken will naturally tend to increase the confusion.

The question that arises is the following: Is a "left" Social Democratic party appearing in Greece in which a mass revolutionary Marxist current could develop?

This was the view expressed in January 1974 by the French fortnightly *l'Internationale*,* which calls itself "the journal of self-management," when it published excerpts from a document by Gabriel. He said:

"We believe that the conditions exist in Greece for the introduction of a new political factor, a kind of left Socialist party inspired by figures such as A. Papandreou and other cadres in the country who represent a real current. We think this will create favorable conditions for the development of a Marxist current with a mass base that would really be in tune with the national situation."

The advocates of this view are small nationally limited groups. Many of their members once belonged to the Fourth International; but they split away from it both politically and organizationally more than ten years ago. They regard the "tactic" of "entry" into the mass CPs and SPs to be a unique organizational panacea. As their central slogan, they have adopted "self-management" (another panacea), a phrase supported by left re-

**l'Internationale* is the weekly journal of the Alliance Marxiste Revolutionnaire, the group based in France headed by Michel Pablo.

formists such as Rocard in France. In their position on A. Papandreou's new group, they are continuing to follow a road that led them from the ramparts of revolutionary Marxism into the swamp of left centrism.

We can see this logic clearly in France, where this tendency, ensconced in the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party), is tending to collapse into the arms of the Socialist party, since the PSU is trying to become a left wing of the SP.

Having abandoned their "ambiguous connection with 'Trotskyism' and the present-day Fourth International" (as they said in a declaration of theirs), the sponsors of the French periodical *l'Internationale* have slid unambiguously to the right, that is, into the left wing of the Social Democracy. And in this process, they have not even been able to maintain their organizational firmness. Their slide politically, followed by organizational enfeeblement, impelled them to seek refuge in reformist and neoreformist political schemes and to try to hitch their stars to messiahs like Ben Bella and Papandreou.

Along with this, they have hung on stubbornly to a political line intended only for a specific conjuncture (entryism sui generis into the mass CPs and SPs). This line proved fruitful over a fifteen-year period (1952-67) when important processes of political differentiation were taking place in the CPs and SPs. But it has been sterile and harmful since 1967-68, when the differentiation began occurring outside the ranks of these parties (with the appearance of the new mass vanguard among the youth that is not influenced by the traditional parties and that stands to their left).

The same basic spirit as that of these centrists imbues the left activists who were enraptured with the slick radical rhetoric of A. Papandreou's statement. They think it "expressed" their position that they have a chance to work in a mass movement and get away from "sectarianism" and the "narrow-minded little revolutionary Marxist shops." But they are closing their eyes to the reformist, petty-bourgeois radical conclusion of the Pa.So.K. statement.

A "statement of the basic principles and goals" of a real socialist movement cannot be limited to correct general observations about the role of American imperialism, the military dictatorship, the "inaction of the gov-

ernment," or abstract talk about "the social liberation of the Greek working people which in the long run is synonymous with the socialist transformation of society." All reformist and neoreformist parties tend to issue a lot of statements and programs like that.

In Pa.So.K.'s statement of principles, radical-sounding phrases conceal large doses of reformist opportunism. In the first place, it says: "The roots of this behavior lie in the subjection of our fatherland" (not in the social structure of capitalism itself).

Secondly, how are the goals of Pa. So.K.—national independence, popular sovereignty, social liberation, and democratic administration—to be realized? By a revolutionary struggle of the oppressed masses grouped around the proletariat, or by parliamentary struggles and constitutional reforms? Papandreou avoids giving any clear answer to this question. The Pa.So.K. statement goes no further than hollow bourgeois liberal formulas such as "all power derives from the people," "constitutional safeguards," "the UN Charter of Human Rights."

What governmental structure is needed for "popular sovereignty," "social liberation," and "socialist transformation"? A revolutionary government of workers and peasants councils expressing the dictatorship of the proletariat? That is the answer that would be given by a socialist movement that consistently observed the basic principles of Marxism. It would be naïve for anyone to expect such an answer from Papandreou's Pa. So.K.

The more demagogically he talks about social liberation from foreign and native capital, from the "economic oligarchy," the quicker he is to reject the revolutionary violence of the masses: "The Panellenio Sosialistiko Kinema will conduct its political activity within the limits of legality, and it is opposed to any action that has as its goal the violent seizure of power or the overthrow of the free democratic form of government." (*Athenaïke*, October 1.)

I could point out many other anti-socialist positions in the Pa.So.K. statement. For example: (a) on the question of national defense for the protection of the bourgeois fatherland; (b) on the question of the army and the security bodies, where the statement, saying nothing about the

counterrevolutionary class role of these forces, calls simply for putting them under the supervision of the legally elected political leadership; (c) on the reformist approach to the state expressed in the slogan "Purge the Entire State Apparatus," and on other questions that are the touchstones of a Marxist programmatic statement.

However, even if we were to suppose that all these opportunist pearls were absent, that the Pa.So.K. statement contained only irreproachable immediate and transitional popular demands, as well as correct class-struggle projections aimed at creating dual power and establishing a revolutionary workers and peasants government, representative socialist democracy, and so on, such a perfect socialist program would still not justify one proletarian militant joining Pa.So.K. For revolutionary Marxists, the decisive criterion is not *what* somebody says but *who* says it. That is, what is this person or persons' political history, their class position in the social struggles in their area?

Andreas Papandreou's political record is filled with compromises with the dictatorships, with bourgeois careerism; he has been a minister in bourgeois governments. And he has not renounced any of this. His present metamorphosis into a democratic socialist is pure demagogy. It may deceive the petty-bourgeois masses for a time, but it must not divert any revolutionary Marxist militants. Because the way to create the subjective factor for revolution is not to sow illusions in a newly proclaimed socialist messiah, but by dissipating such illusions among the masses and the activists.

Social Democracy has never found favorable soil in Greece, where capitalist development has lagged. Nor is it likely to find such ground today in the present phase, when a much more advanced development of Greek capitalism coincides with the many-sided crisis of the international imperialist system as well as with a profound crisis of bourgeois society in Greece itself.

Moreover, this comes at the same time also as the development and mobilization of a militant young vanguard of university students, high-school students, and young workers who stand to the left of the reformist left (the KKE [Kommounistiko Komma tes Ellados—Communist party of Greece] and the EDA [Enosis

tes Demokratikes Aristeras— Union of the Democratic Left, the CP electoral front, which also contains a number of petty-bourgeois liberals) and who are looking for revolutionary Marxist solutions.

The young revolutionists in Greece will not be attracted by Papandreou's Pa. So. K., with its hollow Social Demo-

cratic rhetoric, its "disavowals" of the violence of the masses, and its electoral horse-trading with the Enosis tou Kentrou [Center Union, the liberal bourgeois party]. They will give their support to building the new revolutionary Marxist party in Greece and to making it into a mass organization, which is the prerequisite for the victory of the socialist revolution. □

authorities, if wise, will rectify the matter as quickly as possible.

* * *

We, the political hostages of A Wing, Crumlin Road Prison, wish to protest in the strongest possible terms about the methods employed during the British Army searches in the prison.

During the most recent search by the wrecking crews of the British Army, the Republican prisoners once again suffered at the hands of this collection of sadists. The routine, for anyone who does not know, is as follows. All prisoners are locked inside their respective cells and await their turn for searching. Two prison warders go into a cell and make the inmates strip off their clothes which are carefully searched before being handed back. The prisoners are then escorted to the canteen where they are made to wait for a period of 20 to 50 mins. They are then escorted back to their cells which have been searched (taken-apart is more apt) by two British soldiers.

The cell at this stage shows all the signs of having been hit by a tornado with beds wrecked, contents of cupboards and drawers (food and clothes) scattered on the floor along with pin-ups and family photos torn from the walls and smashed and bed-clothes all being mixed up with the contents of the waste-box and chamber-pot. Quite a mixture and certainly enough to make a vicar use four-letter words. Yet more is to follow. When the cell has been put back in something resembling order, it is common to find that handcraft work has been broken or stolen, along with other items of personal property. Specific items last week included: Stolen—cigarettes, a personal letter from a prisoner's girl-friend, a new tube of toothpaste. Broken—crosses and table lamps made from lollypop sticks and match-sticks. This is just a fraction of the damage and loss sustained, but it is sufficient to give readers the picture.

Added to all that we must protest at the hardship suffered as a direct result of being locked up all day long on these search days.

This isn't a humane way to treat anyone and while we don't blame the individual warders for the system, still we feel that we must protest most strongly and deplore the obvious fact that the British Army can enter the prison and impose their vicious vindictive will on the prison authorities at any time.

I leave it to you, the public, to place the proper name on these bully-boys who take pleasure in performing the acts already stated and especially the two unknown warriors who in one particular cell, gathered up dirt from the floor and mixed it in thoroughly with the inmates' Marvel—a substance we are compelled to use instead of milk. □

Conditions at Long Kesh and Crumlin Road

[Mass internment of militant nationalists has continued in Northern Ireland since August 1971. Groups have spent months—some even years—in the big prison complexes of Long Kesh and Crumlin Road. These two detention centers have become symbols of the repressive system in the British enclave.

[Crumlin Road in Belfast is an old prison where generations of nationalist activists have been held behind bars as reminders to the nationalist-minded minority of nearly 40 percent in Northern Ireland not to try to break out of the social and political order imposed by Britain.

[Long Kesh, a concentration camp ringed with barbed wire outside Belfast, suggests the modern techniques of "counterinsurgency," of systematic terror against entire populations.

[However, since de facto military rule was established in Northern Ireland in 1969 and the British army took over most police functions, Crumlin Road has also begun to take on the aspects of a concentration camp.

[The following statements by groups of nationalist prisoners in Northern Ireland offer an updated account of the conditions under which they are being held. The first was issued by the Public Relations Officer for the (Provisional) Republican Prisoners, Cage 10, Long Kesh Concentration Camp; the second, by the Public Relations Officer for "A" Wing of Crumlin Road Prison.

[The statements are taken from the October 5 issue of the *Irish People*, a weekly paper published in New York City that tends to reflect the point of view of the U. S. supporters of the Provisional Irish Republican Army. Further information on the Provisional IRA prisoners can be obtained from The Irish People Newspaper, 2705 Bainbridge Ave., Suite 32, Bronx, N. Y. 10458; or An Phoblacht, 44 Cearnog Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath 1, Eire].

* * *

Once again we are forced to bring to the attention of the public the inadequate, unhygienic and unhealthy living conditions in Long Kesh. This statement concerns Cage 10, which houses Republican Remand [unsentenced] Prisoners.

Some months ago after many complaints about the growing number of mice in the huts, the Camp Authorities finally showed some concern by supplying mouse traps. Twenty mice were caught in the traps in a few days.

When a nest of young mice was discovered between the corrugated sheets in Hut 86, poison was laid. About a month ago, maggots began to drop from the roof onto the beds. A few sheets were stripped off the roof and maggots and rotten carcasses of dead mice were found. All the men in that hut moved into the other huts in the cage while it was being fumigated. After a few days the men moved back after the Camp Authorities gave assurances that all the maggots had been removed.

A fortnight ago, maggots began to drop from the same roof again. The men decided that no one would stay in the hut until the whole roof was stripped and all the dead mice removed. It was clear that they were the cause of the maggots. A Ministry Official visited the cage and said that his Department were willing to fumigate it again, but this time with a more effective substance.

We were not satisfied with this approach, so now there is serious overcrowding as only two huts are in use. Space is so scarce for the 80 men in the cage, that some are forced to live in the canteen. The canteen has no toilet or water facilities, and the roof has many leaks. [According to the meteorological averages, it rains about one day out of two in Ireland.]

We decided last Friday to strip the roof ourselves, as the authorities were unwilling to make any move on the issue. In the course of stripping, 30 more carcasses were found; some had maggots in them. This is proof that our stand was justified.

The authorities are still refusing to act, so that over-crowding continues. Living conditions, to say the least, are unpleasant and unhealthy.

Our demand is now a simple one:—that they put a new roof on the hut that was stripped. Their intransigence only makes us more determined that the huts used for living are free from all lice and vermin.

Our stand has been justified, so the