These statements of Caramanlis particularly affected the Palace. Under pressure from the bourgeoisie, but fearing for its fate because of the turn political developments might take, it acted precipitously to bring down the dictatorship and present the bourgeoisie with a fait accompli. But it was so hasty, its action so little coordinated, that it failed.

The colonels have won time by the use of armed force, but the resistance in the country is continuing. Armed struggle is the only way. But this is still several years off. The path of preparation will be long and the struggle hard. The colonels' coup of April 21, 1967.

On November 29, 1967, approximately two weeks before King Constantine's abortive attempt to stage a coup of his own against the colonels, an interview with Caramanlis was published in the Paris daily Le Monde in which he condemned the military government and called for the junta's exit from power.

For example, in answer to a question whether he thought the junta would restore democracy, he said: "Indeed, the putchists' attempt to place the army under their control, their continual clashes with the Palace, which is the guarantor of the return to legality, the slandering of the [Greek] political world in its entirety, accompanied by unbridled demagogy, and finally the absurd aim that is attributed to the putchists of drawing up a new constitution lead me to the conclusion that they have no intention of restoring democracy."

He declined to say by what means the colonels might be ousted, but added, "I can in any case assure you that the Greeks will not permit the maintenance of dictatorship in any form." -- W.O.

It is useful to mention one fact. The magazine Tachydromos [Express], which is published in Greece, wrote in its last issue about profitable deposits of uranium existing in the country. A few days after the installation of the dictatorship, a small, unimportant Greek bank which had merged with a big American combine began prospecting for and mining uranium in Greece.

It has not yet been proved what relationship there was between the American economic groups whose interests are expressed by the U.S. intelligence service and the establishment of the Greek dictatorship. But it does not matter how indirect the relationship was. The role of the American government's intelligence forces and the dictators under their control everywhere is to throw humanity backward. The role of revolutionists, the sole defenders of civilization, is to continue their indefatigable struggle for the liberation of humanity. Everything depends on how they carry the struggle forward.

* The son of George Papandreou, the leader of the Center Union, and considered the head of the party's left wing.

** Former head of the Lambrakis Youth, the youth organization of the EDA.

WEST BENGAL -- WHAT NEXT?

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The imposition of the presidential rule in West Bengal and dissolution of the State Assembly comes in the wake of a statewide mass upsurge "led" by the United Front [opportunistic alliance of the "left" Communist party (CPI-M) with capitalist and communal parties in a "non-Congress coalition" -- W.O.] against the Congress-sponsored P.C. Ghosh ministry installed after the dismissal of the government headed by Ajoy Mukherjee. The left constituents of the UF have hailed the development as a victory for them, the goal set before them being only that of a midterm poll [election].

The mass resistance movement against the bourgeois state and brutal police repression was cleverly diverted into "civil disobedience" and "token defiance of law," etc., by the leaders of the left parties, who deliberately sabotaged the possibilities of the masses of workers and poor peasants entering the vortex of the struggle with their own class de-
IN PARIS a crowd of several hundred youth under the leadership of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Communist Youth] demonstrate in front of the Polish embassy March 28. They expressed solidarity with students in Poland who have been imprisoned for voicing sympathy with the democratic reforms won in Czechoslovakia. The Paris students demanded the immediate release of the Polish rebels. They closed their demonstration by singing the "Internationale."

mands. The whole strategy of the traditional left in West Bengal was that of containing the mass discontent within the bourgeois constitutional framework and to utilise the threat of mass action to force a presidential rule as a temporary constitutional solution and not of challenging the bourgeois social order as such. The bourgeois centre, shrewd enough to realise the game of the "left," acted in time before the mass upsurge assumed more serious proportions and got out of control.

It appears as if the Congress leadership has taken a calculated risk. It was clear that Dr. P.C. Ghosh did not command a majority in the Legislative Assembly in spite of the decision of the Congress party to join the coalition with the Progressive Democratic Front, especially after the revolt inside the Congress led by Ashutosh Ghosh.

Strangely enough Ajoy Mukherjee and Jyoti Basu as leaders of the UF despite their claim to be saviours of (bourgeois) "democracy" were prepared to support the Ashutosh Ghosh clique to form a government although this very clique was initially responsible for toppling the UF ministry earlier. What more blatant opportunism could there be for the self-styled Marxist and leftist leaders than this unprincipled horse-trading? Perhaps the faith of the leaders of the CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)] -- the pro-Peking CP, CPI [Communist party of India -- pro-Moscow CP], RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party], SUC [Socialist Unity Centre], etc., in bourgeois parliamentarism has become so strong that they are prepared to make any "sacrifices" (even of their loudly proclaimed principles) to see that they regain their "ministerial gaddis" [throne cushions]. The
anxiety now is to see how soon the centre is going to order a midterm election in the state.

There is no indication when the centre will hold the midterm poll. The president's rule can last for six months "legally" and can be extended further under "special circumstances" although the prevailing mass combativity is a deterrent against any such dilatory tactics.

Even if the election takes place, the bourgeois leaders at the centre have no reasons to be unduly perturbed since the "Marxist" leaders of the UF are committed to playing the parliamentary game, strictly within the capitalist constitutional framework.

The poll might result in an increased strength for the left constituents of the UF in the new Legislative Assembly. The UF as a multi-class opportunist coalition, however, still continues. The real character of the UF during the nine months it remained in office has indeed undergone a change with the Bangla Congress (now the BDK) having gone through a split and the parties like the PSP [Prajata Socialist party] and SSP [Samyukta Socialist party], discredited in the eyes of the masses. But the CPI(M) as the dominant partner of the UF, a prisoner of its own parliamentary cretinism, cannot forsake its bourgeois and middle-class allies. Another opportunistic group of defectors from the BDK led by Jehangir Kabir is being admitted as a constituent of the UF.

There will be new horse-trading for redistribution of seats among the constituents of the UF. The Ashutosh Ghosh clique also might worm its way into the UF. So West Bengal is entering into another spell of "United Frontism" -- fundamentally the same as it was during the first nine months.

The only positive factor in the situation is the still sustained combativity of the masses of workers, urban petty bourgeoisie and land-hungry peasants and their growing realisation of the limitations of their basic problems being solved within the capitalist framework.

In several districts forest land or land owned by absentee landlords have been occupied and are being cultivated by landless peasants. The spectacular revolt of the Naxalbari peasants under the UF ministry was only an open manifestation of the new mood of the rural poor in West Bengal. Faced with prospects of large-scale unemployment, following the closures of the engineering, textile and other establishments, the working class is left with no other alternative but to come in direct clashes with the state apparatus protecting the capitalist employers. Discontent is mounting among the petty-bourgeois masses and the students in the urban areas.

The growing restlessness of the masses is also reflected in the dissensions within the CPI(M) and the revolt against the party's present opportunist leadership staged by the so-called Naxalbari group influenced by Maoism. The leadership of the Chinese CP has begun to openly attack the leaders of the CPI(M) as "neorevisionists." The CPI(M) leadership on its part has adopted a political line which is critical of the Chinese CP.

Whatever be the outcome of the midterm poll, it cannot be gainsaid that West Bengal is passing through an advanced pre-revolutionary situation. The mass discontent cannot be contained within the capitalist framework very long. The newly formed unit of the SWP has a special responsibility in the present context despite its organisational weakness in that it has to generalise the experience of the mass movement and give it a new revolutionary orientation.

The main task before the revolutionary Marxists in West Bengal is to develop and coordinate the emerging struggles of the working class, students, and the rural poor on the basis of a clear anticapitalist, antilandlord programme. The student struggles should centre round demands like democratisation of university administrations, reduction in tuition fees, etc. Struggles of the working class must be built around demands like nationalisation without compensation of all partially or fully closed industrial establishments under workers management, unemployment wages for jobless workers, creation of elected factory committees, etc.

The movement of the rural poor should be developed to a higher stage around demands like land to the actual tiller, abolition of all debts, legalisation of all land occupation by poor peasants, minimum wages for agricultural workers, etc.

The opportunist policies of "multi-class coalitions" pursued by the traditional left parties must be thoroughly exposed. What is needed in the place of the present UF serving the needs of the capitalist class, creating illusions among the masses, is a united front of workers and peasants parties which will strictly subordinate their activities on the electoral front to the extra-legislative class struggle outside.