

## Watergate Scandal Grows



## *Lebanese Army Opens Fire on Palestinian Guerrillas*

## Lanusse Declares 'State of Emergency'



# New Zealand March for Right to Abortion

Demonstrations took place April 13 throughout New Zealand for repeal of the abortion laws. Despite heavy rain, the number of participants in Auckland (350) and Dunedin (100) was double that of the July 1972 actions and reflected broader support for the movement than in 1972.

The build-up to the Auckland demonstration involved weeks of activity, wide distribution of posters and leaflets, forums, and a film show.

Speakers at the Auckland rally included the national president of the Abortion Law Reform Association, the candidate of the Values party in the last elections, and representatives of Auckland Women's Liberation and of Gay Liberation.

Cathy Carroll, secretary of the Auckland Women's Abortion Action Committee, stressed that the fight for abortion was a fight for women's democratic rights and called on all women to "join us in demanding that abortion be a woman's right to choose." Glenda Fryer, secretary of the Eden branch of the Labour party, attacked the party's weak position on abortion. Linda Dorizac, speaking for the Socialist Action League, stressed the importance of demonstrations in keeping the campaign visible to the public and in showing women not yet in the movement that the struggle is in their interests.

In Christchurch a public meeting April 12, chaired by a woman city councillor, was part of the build-up to the spirited April 13 demonstration there, in which 100 people participated.

In Wellington 200 students attended a lunchtime forum organized April 13 by Wellington Women's Abortion Action Committee. Speakers included Dr. Margaret Sparrow from the Student Health Service, who had changed her attitude to abortion mainly because of her patients. The evening demonstration drew 120 participants, mostly women, and as the march proceeded the numbers grew to 170.

In Wellington, as in the other centres, the anti-abortion forces tried to counter the demonstration. That they could only raise 30 people to follow the march is perhaps indicative of the confusion in their ranks. □

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

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

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

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

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# Dean Reported Ready to Testify Against Nixon

By Allen Myers

In a May 5 news release, *Newsweek* magazine announced that fired White House counsel John Dean was prepared to testify that Richard Nixon knew of and approved the attempts to cover up the mushrooming Watergate scandal.

The magazine said its May 14 issue would describe two incidents related by Dean that showed Nixon's complicity in the cover-up. According to the release, Dean said that the first incident occurred last September, when H. R. Haldeman, then chief of the White House staff, summoned him to Nixon's office. The *Newsweek* release continued:

"They were pleased at the success of Dean's effort 'to keep the lid on,' he said, and at the fact that no higher-ups in the White House had been indicted. . . .

"Dean quoted the President as having told him: 'Good job, John. Bob [Haldeman] told me what a great job you've been doing.'"

The other incident occurred in December. *Newsweek* said that Dean has told investigators that a lawyer for E. Howard Hunt Jr., one of the defendants in the Watergate trial, approached presidential counsel Charles W. Colson with a request that Hunt not be given a long sentence. Colson was said to have referred the matter to Dean and John Ehrlichman, Nixon's top domestic adviser. "I'll check," Ehrlichman reportedly replied.

"Dean said Ehrlichman walked into the Oval Office [Nixon's office] and later came back with what he said was Mr. Nixon's promise of executive clemency for Hunt," the release said. "He told Colson to tell the lawyer that 'everything is O. K., but not to be too specific.'"

The *Newsweek* disclosures came only five days after Nixon had thrown his top aides overboard and gone on nationwide television in an attempt to stem the growing belief in his own guilt.

On April 30, Nixon's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, announced that

Dean had been fired and that Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Attorney General Richard Kleindienst had "resigned." The next day, Ziegler added the information that Herbert Kalmbach had ceased acting as Nixon's personal attorney.

As the *New York Times* commented editorially on May 1, the dismissals and Nixon's April 30 speech "did all that was inevitable—but not all that is necessary."

## "Responsibility . . . Belongs Here"

The speech in fact sounded rather like the final plea of a lawyer who, realizing that all the evidence points to the guilt of his client, hopes to sway the jury with a combination of sentimentality, false confidence, and outright lies.

Nixon asserted that his aides had kept the truth about Watergate from him. At the same time, he minimized what they had done and even described Haldeman and Ehrlichman as "two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know."

"Last June I Was Appalled — But Then It Slipped My Mind. Or Something"



Nixon went on to "accept" responsibility for the actions of his subordinates — not much of a concession considering that most of the U. S. public considers him quite directly involved in the scandal.

"I will not place the blame on subordinates," Nixon said after having spent the first half of his speech doing just that, "on people whose zeal exceeded their judgment and who may have done wrong in a cause they deeply believed to be right. In any organization the man at the top must bear the responsibility.

"That responsibility, therefore, belongs here in this office. I accept it."

Having made this gesture, Nixon asserted that the scandal had "claimed far too much of my time and my attention" and that he would now turn his "full attention" to "the larger duties of this office."

If Nixon really expected the scandal to be dismissed that easily, he seriously misjudged the public mood and the attitude of the capitalist politicians who are increasingly disturbed by it. In the May 3 *Washington Post*, columnist Joseph Kraft described the reaction of one of these politicians:

"I watched the President's Watergate telecast with a Republican senator who had repeatedly proclaimed that full disclosure would vindicate Mr. Nixon. At the end of the speech, the senator called his press secretary to say he would issue no statement. 'I feel,' he said, 'like throwing up.'"

## Talk of Impeachment

Kraft went on to suggest a reason for the different ways in which different culprits have been treated by Nixon — praise for Ehrlichman and Haldeman and attempts to discredit Dean and L. Patrick Gray, who resigned as acting director of the FBI:

"The contrast in treatment coincides with different versions of Watergate. Messrs. Haldeman and Ehrlichman are insisting on their own innocence

and that of the President. Hence the White House has an interest in making them seem credible witnesses. Messrs. Dean and Gray are telling stories that implicate the highest White House aides, hence Mr. Nixon's interest in blackening their reputation.

". . . The big question is why Mr. Nixon uses so many stratagems to muddy the story and drag out its telling. The answer that suggests itself is what made the senator feel like throwing up. It is that Mr. Nixon himself may not have clean hands."

That answer has suggested itself to other members of Congress as well. Following Nixon's speech, Congressman John Moss of California and Congresswoman Bella Abzug of New York, both Democrats, called for the House of Representatives to begin a formal inquiry into the possibility of impeachment.

Interestingly enough, neither the Democratic nor Republican leadership of the House rejected the idea out of hand. James M. Naughton reported in the May 1 *New York Times*: ". . . the House Democratic leader, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, said that the leadership 'feels, at this time, that the Moss idea is a bit premature.'

"The time could come when such a committee should be set up,' Mr. O'Neill added. . . .

"Representative John B. Anderson of Illinois, chairman of the House Republican Conference, also chose the word 'premature' to describe the impeachment proposal."

### Top Aides Threatened With Indictment

Even as he described Haldeman and Ehrlichman as "two of the finest public servants," Nixon must have known that they were likely to be indicted by the Watergate grand jury. In a May 1 dispatch to the *New York Times*, Seymour M. Hersh reported, on the basis of conversations with government investigators, that the two are among six high-level officials against whom there is evidence that they conspired to obstruct investigation of the Watergate break-in. The other four are Dean, former Attorney General John Mitchell, and former special presidential assistants Jeb Magruder and Frederick C. LaRue.

"At least four other persons," Hersh wrote, "were also involved in the cover-up, and are now under inves-

tigation by the grand jury, the sources said. They are Dwight L. Chapin, the President's former appointments secretary; Gordon Strachan, a Haldeman assistant; Herbert L. Porter, who worked for Herbert Klein's information office; and Kenneth W. Parkinson. The last is a Washington lawyer who was hired by the re-election committee shortly after the June 17 break-in."



NIXON: "Good job, John."

"The scheme," Hersh continued, "as allegedly worked out by Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Dean, included payments to the arrested defendants, promises of executive clemency, a series of public denials, and arrangements with Mr. Magruder and Mr. Porter to perjure themselves during the trial of the seven Watergate defendants.

"The additional funds needed for the payoffs, sources said, were collected by Herbert W. Kalmbach, President Nixon's personal lawyer, who also served as a chief campaign money raiser."

The next day, Hersh reported on the existence of a conspiracy that went far beyond the Watergate break-in and its cover-up. This was a program of "sabotage and espionage" going back at least to 1971. Its object was to help secure the Democratic presidential

nomination for Senator George McGovern, who was considered the easiest to defeat of Nixon's possible opponents.

This program, Hersh wrote, was "initially authorized by H.R. Halderman . . . [and] included at its peak three networks of agents controlled by the White House and the Committee for the Re-election of the President."

Others reportedly involved were Kalmbach, Strachan, Chapin, convicted Watergate burglars Liddy and Hunt, and Donald Segretti, a California lawyer paid by Kalmbach for various sabotage and espionage operations.

On May 4, Segretti was indicted by a federal grand jury in Florida on charges of having forged a letter on the campaign stationery of Senator Edmund Muskie during the 1972 Florida primary. The letter accused Senators Hubert Humphrey and Henry M. Jackson, who were also candidates, of "sexual misconduct."

### Bonfires of Evidence

On May 1, FBI agents were posted in the offices of Ehrlichman, Halderman, and Dean to prevent any "unauthorized" removal of files. The action was more a symbol of public distrust of the Nixon administration than a practical effort to protect evidence—particularly in view of the fact that the former acting director of the FBI has himself destroyed some of the evidence in the scandal.

Indeed, it seems likely that the evidence that has so far been burned has been sufficient to compromise air pollution control in Washington.

On May 4, it was reported that Kalmbach, one of the more far-sighted of Nixon's top advisers, had destroyed all his campaign finance records more than a year ago. The destruction reportedly took place shortly before a law requiring disclosure of campaign contributors' names went into effect on April 7, 1972. But the action would have been illegal under the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, which was in effect prior to that date.

In the May 5 *New York Times*, Ben A. Franklin reported evidence that Maurice Stans and Hugh W. Sloan Jr., respectively finance director and treasurer for the Nixon campaign, had also burned financial

records. The evidence was provided by Sloan's sworn testimony in a civil suit that is seeking to force the Republicans to reveal details of their campaign financing. The plaintiffs in the suit estimate that the re-election committee secretly amassed as much as \$22 million.

A new twist to the handling of evidence was provided by John Dean. On May 4, he turned over to the Watergate grand-jury judge the keys to a bank safe-deposit box in which Dean said he had hidden evidence that he removed from his White House office prior to his dismissal.



SEGRETTI: Indicted. . .

Papers filed with the court said Dean had taken the evidence because he was "anticipating the reasonable likelihood of either a covert break-in to his office before his termination by persons unknown or the sealing of his files after his termination by Government agents."

It was not immediately clear whether the judge or grand jury would be able to see the papers Dean had stashed away. Dean said that they had been given "a security classification."

### Intervention in Ellsberg Trial

In Los Angeles, meanwhile, evidence released by Judge William Byrne in the Pentagon Papers trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo was providing another indication of the extent of the undercover activities carried out by the Nixon administration. Included

was an obvious attempt by Nixon himself to influence the judge.

After the revelation that Liddy and Hunt had broken into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist in September 1971 (see *Intercontinental Press*, May 7, p. 518), John Ehrlichman was interviewed by FBI agents, at Byrne's request, on April 27. Byrne released Ehrlichman's testimony May 1.

"Mr. Ehrlichman recalled," the FBI report said, "that sometime in 1971 the President had expressed interest in the problem of unauthorized disclosure of classified government information [i.e., the Pentagon Papers] and asked him to make inquiries independent of concurrent FBI investigation. . . . Mr. Ehrlichman assumed this responsibility and was assisted in this endeavor by Egil Krogh, a White House assistant, and David Young of the National Security Agency. . . ."

"Although Mr. Ehrlichman knew that Liddy and Hunt had gone to California in connection with the above inquiries being made by them, he was not told that these two individuals had broken into the premises of the psychiatrist for Ellsberg until after this incident had taken place. . . . He did 'not agree with this method of investigation' and when he learned about the burglary he instructed them 'not to do this again.'"

On May 6, it was reported that Krogh—apparently a man with a sense of loyalty to his superiors—had admitted ordering the break-in and was backing Ehrlichman's story that the latter had not known about it beforehand. But even if Krogh sticks to this story, Ehrlichman's failure to do more than warn Liddy and Hunt not to repeat the break-in could not help but appear to be rather peculiar behavior for the top domestic adviser of a president constantly proclaiming his devotion to "law and order."

Ehrlichman, of course, had good reason to know of Nixon's determination to see Ellsberg and Russo convicted since he and his boss had jointly engaged in a transparent attempt to influence the trial judge.

On May 2, Judge Byrne told defense attorneys that on April 5 and again on April 7, Ehrlichman had met with him to offer him appointment as director of the FBI! And just to make clear that the offer was genuine, Nixon himself had been present at the first meeting.

### "Nixon's the One"

The May 6 *New York Times* described a number of jokes about the Watergate scandal that are making the rounds in Washington. A typical example: "Democrats are wearing campaign buttons that Republicans distributed in 1968. The buttons carry the words, 'Nixon's the One.'"

It is not surprising, in view of the daily disclosures of new crimes, that this opinion is widely shared by the U. S. public. A Gallup poll conducted immediately after Nixon's April 30 speech showed that by a 4-to-3 mar-



HALDEMAN: Next?

gin the public thought that Nixon had not told "the whole truth."

Asked if they thought Nixon knew in advance of the Watergate bugging, 40 percent said Yes and 47 percent No. By a margin of 50 percent to 35 percent, Gallup's respondents thought Nixon had participated in a cover-up of the scandal.

Given these figures, the answer to another question is quite interesting. Asked whether the Nixon administration was more or less corrupt than others during the last twenty-five years, only 29 percent said it was more corrupt; 58 percent said it was about the same and 8 percent said it was less corrupt than previous administrations.

This widespread cynicism of Americans toward "their" government is of course what the U. S. ruling class finds most disturbing about the whole

Watergate affair. One proposed solution was offered with remarkable frankness by Melvin Laird, formerly Nixon's secretary of defense. Interviewed by reporters May 1, Laird said that there were some things about Watergate that "I don't want to know."

"I am totally confident the President just would not be involved in any way in this kind of operation," Laird said, "but if he were, it would be very bad for the country—that kind of disclosure."

"I'm confident the President didn't have any knowledge of this, but I don't want to put the presidency in a position where it's on trial. A trial

of the presidency would be very dangerous, a bad mistake."

A reporter asked, "Are you saying that if the President were involved, you wouldn't want the truth to come out?"

Laird answered, "I would say that, but I don't believe for one minute that is the case."

Nixon's problem is that he is already so distrusted that the mere lack of additional accusations in the future would probably not be sufficient to restore his credibility with the public. It will require a whitewash of monumental proportions to end the growing conviction that "Nixon's the one." □

## Lanusse Confers With Campora

# New 'State of Emergency' in Argentina

By Gerry Foley

"There will never be any conflicts or struggles among the organizations they [the guerrillas] belong to. They are all of the same type regardless of the political bodies they claim to support because they all take their inspiration from the same corrupting ideology and take their orders from the 'Internationals' of materialism. . . .

"I call on God to awaken the conscience of this nation, to send His consolation to the admiral's wife and children, and to grant eternal repose to our comrade fallen in the struggle, as well as the assurance that with our determination renewed we will wipe this tiny band of assassins off the beloved face of Argentina."

Admiral Carlos Guido Natal Coda's speech at the grave of Admiral Hermes J. Quijada was televised throughout Argentina on May 1, the day after the high-ranking naval officer was shot dead in his car by a commando team from the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo 22 de Agosto (The August 22 Revolutionary Army of the People). Quijada was the official charged with trying to justify the murder of sixteen guerrillas at the Trelew airport in Patagonia on August 22, 1972.

Coming less than one month after the ERP kidnapping of Rear Admiral

Francisco Agustín Aleman on April 2 and the shooting on April 4 of Colonel Héctor Alberto Iribarren, chief of intelligence of the Third Army Corps, by the Montoneros, a Peronist guerrilla group, the assassination of Admiral Quijada was made into an occasion of "national mourning."

The military orators took the opportunity to make threatening speeches. The most violent was Rear Admiral Horacio Mayorga of the naval air force. Unlike his colleague Coda, he was not content with railing against "materialist ideologies" but made thinly veiled thrusts at the president-elect, who has said that the guerrilla movements were the response of the people to violence from above.

"Our freedom is gravely threatened by guerrillas who have infiltrated into a group of people that tolerated them and offered slick explanations justifying them as a response to some alleged violence from above, and now is showing signs of not being able to control them."

Mayorga deliberately raised the specter of a rightist coup: "Faced with the elimination of Admiral Quijada, it is hard to avoid giving in to the momentary temptation to establish order in the country first, before handing it over, to hand it over only when it is really swept clean of murderers,

demagogues, poseurs, and purveyors of deceitful phrases, people incapable of building but only of killing, perverters of a violent youth whose prisoners they have now become."

The rear admiral of the naval air force even seemed to make a direct threat against the air force, the service reputedly most committed to a return to constitutional rule. Mayorga promised to uphold the "freedom espoused by those who have already died, murdered for being servants of a state that wants peace, being simple admirals or defenders of order."

Mayorga said he could offer the deceased admiral nothing "in the name of his beloved naval air force but the sky teeming with his planes, a sound-minded youth of commissioned and noncommissioned officers who want to open up horizons of peace and not graves for good men, and an immaculate naval spirit with eyes fixed on high."

The naval officers who dominated the ceremony showed their belligerence in other ways:

"Angry navy officers, demanding stiff measures against left-wing terrorism, shouted insults at President Alejandro Lanusse, an army general, when he appeared today at the wake of a retired navy admiral assassinated by guerrillas," Associated Press reported May 1.

"Other officers refused admittance to former President Arturo Frondizi, who gave his support to the Peronists in the last election," the Montréal daily *Le Devoir* noted May 2 in an article compiled from AP and AFP dispatches. "The former president was reportedly thrown to the ground by the officers in the course of the brawl that followed."

Furthermore, the fanatical outbursts of the ultramilitarist Argentine naval officer corps threatened to take a more serious form. Elements in the Council of Admirals called for a return to strict military rule, according to the May 2 issue of *La Opinión*. The liberal Buenos Aires daily wrote:

"Yesterday the Council of Admirals held prolonged discussions, the terms of which, of course, have not been revealed. Nonetheless, it was possible to find some leaks that help us to understand the most significant features of the meeting."

"The emotional impact on the naval chiefs of the assassination of Admiral

Hermes Quijada had created a certain climate in which the most diverse reactions could be noted. Some of these were translated into concrete proposals, including the following: postponing handing over the government to the constitutional authorities until order is restored in the country; imposing martial law; reestablishing the death penalty decreed during the Onganía government and repealed by Lanusse; and subordinating all security services, above all the police, to the military commands."

Despite the threats and violence at the Quijada funeral, *La Opinión* reported May 2 that "the pressure for a coup seems to have been stopped." Nonetheless, the military government ordered a severe crackdown, which while probably calculated to soothe the nerves of the most rigid and excitable elements of the officer corps, might also have been intended to strengthen the high command's position in negotiating for guarantees and a favorable division of powers with the newly elected civilian government.

"In a mood of barely controlled anger, regional military commanders took complete power today in the capital and in Argentina's five largest provinces, where a state of emergency was put into effect," Jonathan Kandell reported in the May 2 *New York Times*.

"The crisis was created by a small highly effective group of Trotskyite guerrillas who on Monday morning gunned down a retired rear admiral, Hermes Quijada, the former chief of staff of the armed forces.

"The guerrillas, known as the People's Revolutionary Army, are believed to number fewer than 1,000 active members with no organized political base. They have become an uncontrollable third force in the country—after the military and the Peronist Government-elect, which is scheduled to take power on May 25."

Moreover, it was not clear how far the military intended to carry its state-of-emergency provisions.

"There has been no indication whether the state of emergency will be lifted after the Peronist Government takes power.

"But an army general, Tomás Sánchez de Bustamante, one of the highest ranking officers, underlined the severity of the measure by an-



ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES: Will imposition of martial law be step toward a military coup?

nouncing that special military courts would be created with the power to convict and decree the death penalty for killers of active or retired military and police personnel."

According to the May 2 *La Opinión*, six regions—the city and province of Buenos Aires; Santa Fe; Tucumán; Córdoba; Bahía Blanca; and Mendoza—came under the decree. Military courts set up under these regulations are empowered to conduct "brief" trials and their sentences cannot be appealed. They can impose two penalties. The following offenses are punishable by death: kidnapping; assaults on members of the security forces resulting in death or harm; unauthorized fabrication, acquisition, supplying, or possession of arms, explosives, military ammunition, materials or apparatuses capable of releasing nuclear energy, or inflammables, toxic materials, or asphyxiants. This penalty also applies to those accused of complicity in the commission of such acts.

Assaults on military personnel that do not result in harm or death are punishable by fifteen years in prison. In both cases, these penalties are to be imposed regardless of age or sex.

In addition, the state of emergency regulations impose a strict ban on any reporting of guerrilla activities without prior authorization by the military commanders.

From the political standpoint, the most important provision is the ban on all public demonstrations or gatherings except for sporting events and "spectacles." This regulation would prevent supporters of the new government from mobilizing active support for Cámpora in his game of jockeying for position with the military. If the Peronist leaders are going to limit the role of the military in the new government, they will have to make their main moves now while their popular authority is maximal.

On the other hand, the right-wing Peronists reportedly hope to get support from sections of the armed forces. When Cámpora was summoned back from Spain after the Quijada shooting for "discussions" with the military chiefs, he insisted, according to *Washington Post* correspondent Lewis H. Diuguid in a May 3 dispatch from Buenos Aires, that both the naval and air force representatives be present at the same time.

"The air force," Diuguid wrote, "is thought by many Peronists to be their insurance against yet another of the military coups that have punctuated the last 40 years of political history here. It is not coincidental that no air force officer has been the victim of the various terrorist groups.

"Campora was counting on the presence of Air Force Commander Carlos A. Rey to fortify his effort at

subordinating in some measure the military to the civilian authority. Gen. Rey has said publicly that the naming of service commanders should be the task of the president.

"This position conflicts with statements by army officers who want the chain of command left intact and internally selected service chiefs automatically included in the cabinet."

Diuguid saw the guerrilla offensive as aimed primarily at the most right-wing branch of the armed services. "The navy is considered the most tradition-bound, and the most virulently anti-Peron. This assessment apparently is shared by the Trotskyite People's Revolutionary Army, which has concentrated its campaign against the navy."

The *Washington Post* correspondent did not take account of the fact that it was a naval unit that carried out the Trelew massacre in which several members of the ERP were killed. According to a report in the Argentine press, the ERP has pledged to execute four naval officers for every guerrilla slain.

Other reports suggested that the ERP's action against the two admirals was only a small part of a much larger plan. "Circles linked to the bar in Buenos Aires say that the *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo* circulated last week a long list of persons condemned to death for various reasons," the Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama* reported in its April 12 issue. "The number of persons condemned is said to exceed seventy. In a communiqué attached, the ERP allegedly says that the executions will be carried out before the end of June."

It is the left wing of the Peronist movement that seems to have the most to lose from the military's crackdown. Even before the shooting of Quijada, Perón ousted the leader of the leftist-inclined Peronist youth, Rodolpho Galimberti.

When Galimberti told a high-school students' meeting on April 21 that "the revolutionary tendency [of the Peronist movement] proposes to create a popular militia," a storm was touched off in military circles.

"So uneasy was the army about the announced plan," David F. Belpap reported in the April 28 *Los Angeles Times*, "that Maj. Gen. Alcides Lopez Aufranc, chief of the general staff, advised every garrison in the nation

that the army would tolerate no such thing."

The general's message said: "The army opposes and will not allow any kind of armed organization in the country except the traditional armed forces." The text was made public at midnight on April 27.

On April 30 Perón asked for Galimberti's resignation. The ousted youth leader explained that he had not been talking about an armed militia but "voluntary work brigades."

"Rodolfo Galimberti's head is the first to fall for the sake of the great



GALIMBERTI: Forced out of post as head of Peronist youth.

national pacification," the ANSA wire service quoted a Peronist figure as saying. The dispatch in the April 30 weekly edition of the Buenos Aires paper *La Nación* said the same Peronist sources reported that other heads had already fallen or were about to fall.

The harsh crackdown on open political activity, coming in the midst of fears of a rightist coup, threatens to paralyze the more radical of the Peronist rank and file, while giving the right wing a tailor-made excuse to crack down on the "hotheads." Following Perón's line of conciliating the military, Cámpora promised Lanusse, according to a March 4 dispatch by Kandell, that his government would not tolerate guerrilla attacks on the armed forces. The *New York Times* correspondent quoted a Peronist of-

ficial as saying: "We cannot appear to be siding with the military at this point. But you can be sure that if the guerrillas continue their attacks after May 25, they will be isolated and crushed."

While complaining about the heavy-handedness of the military and expressing some fears about the intentions of rightist elements, leading Argentine liberal commentators seemed to discount the possibility of a coup. Among other things, there have been leaks (reported in the April 12 *Panorama*) about a special report circulating in the armed forces concerning an ERP plan for a campaign to "prevent the normalization of the country." This sounds like an argument by the military chiefs that a return to a "gorilla" dictatorship would only play into the hands of the armed groups.

In any case, the majority of the officer corps seems still firmly committed to its course of compromise with the Peronists, and it still seems to be getting all possible guarantees and pledges from "el lider." Despite the touchiness and primitivism of sections of the military, a return to direct dictatorship does not seem yet to be in the interests of any major force. □

### Iranians in Paris Appeal for Political Prisoners

In a communique released in Paris April 23 the Union of Iranian Students in France announced the "imminent" opening of the trial in Teheran of Vida Hajebi Tabrizi, a member of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Teheran.

The communique explained that Tabrizi, after studying in Paris, returned to Iran in April 1969. She was kidnapped on July 23, 1970, in broad daylight, by members of SAVAK, the shah's secret police. Shortly thereafter, other researchers who were investigating tribes in rural areas were arrested.

"Since then," the communique said, "Mrs. Tabrizi has been held incommunicado in the Evine prison and neither the reasons for her arrest nor the charges filed against her have ever been revealed."

The communique also reported that Tabrizi had been tortured and that during the past two years "109 persons have been summarily executed." The Iranian Students Union appealed for world public opinion to demand that the Teheran regime give a full explanation of what has happened to Tabrizi and her colleagues and "demand a public trial in the presence of international observers." □



## ERP Assassinate Retired Admiral

By David Thorstad

The already tense situation in Argentina reached new heights with the assassination April 30 of retired Rear Admiral Hermes José Quijada in Buenos Aires. Quijada had been chairman of Argentina's joint chiefs of staff when naval guards gunned down sixteen imprisoned guerrillas in Trelew last August 22. Hours after the assassination, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo 22 de Agosto (August 22 Revolutionary Army of the People) claimed responsibility for it.

The ERP is the main guerrilla group participating in the stepped-up wave of activity since the presidential election last March 11. It has vowed to avenge the Trelew martyrs with "four of them for one of us."

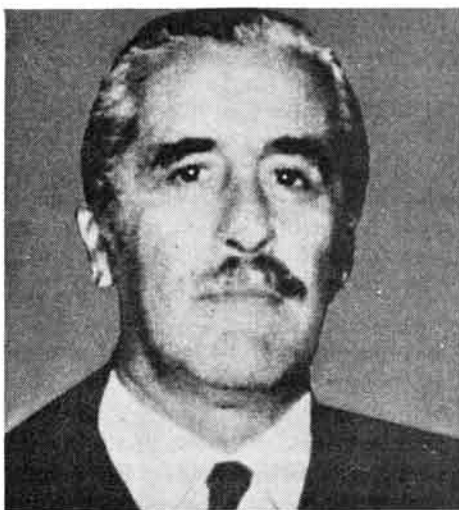
The execution of Quijada would appear to be part of this campaign, since it was he who appeared on nationwide radio and television three days after the Trelew massacre to exonerate the naval guards of all blame and to repeat the official version that the prisoners were shot in an attempt to escape. In reality, they were mowed down, unarmed, by machine guns in the prison corridors at 3:00 a.m.

The ERP has also singled out two other retired rear admirals. Rodolfo E. Berisso was assassinated last December, and Francisco Aleman was kidnapped on April 2. He is still being held by the guerrillas and has been placed on trial.

The ERP's concentration on admirals is thought by some to be explainable in part by the navy's hostility to President Alejandro Lanusse's plan to transfer governmental power to civilians. Lewis Diuguid, for instance, wrote from Buenos Aires in the May 4 *Washington Post*: "Most politicians here make sharp distinctions among the three services in the degree of their anti-Peronism. The navy is considered the most tradition-bound, and the most virulently anti-Peron. This assessment apparently is shared by the Trotskyite Peoples' Revolutionary Army, which has concentrated its terror campaign against the navy."

Quijada was killed when two guer-

rillas, dressed as policemen and riding on a motorcycle, pulled up alongside his chauffeur-driven vehicle as it stopped at a downtown traffic light during the morning rush hour. One



REAR ADMIRAL ALEMAN: Being tried by ERP for 1972 massacre by Trelew naval guards.

guerrilla opened fire point-blank through a window, wounding the officer in the head.

"Admiral Quijada's chauffeur, who was grazed on a wrist, jumped out of the car and fired at the guerrillas, wounding one of them," wrote Jonathan Kandell in the May 1 *New York Times*. "The chauffeur also flagged down motorcycle policemen, but they were unable to catch the gunmen." Quijada died shortly afterward in a hospital.

The wounded guerrilla also subsequently died. An anonymous phone call directed police to a downtown Buenos Aires apartment where they found his body, Kandell reported in the May 3 issue of the *Times*. The entrance to the otherwise empty apartment was reportedly cluttered with flower wreaths. The dead guerrilla was identified in an ERP communiqué as Victor José Fernández Palmeiro. According to the May 2 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, he was twenty-five years old, and had

escaped from Villa Devoto Prison in February 1972, "by passing for a brother of his who bore an extraordinary physical resemblance to him and who agreed to take his place in the cell. The escape was discovered only ten days later."

Following the Quijada murder, the Council of Admirals met in emergency session, and issued a statement that included the following:

"The citizenry must not be confused by this. This is not a war between the navy or the armed forces and terrorism; it is a struggle between two systems of life: unpatriotic totalitarianism, in which murder is a means for achieving utopian ends, and democracy. For this reason, this crime, which some will seek to justify in personalistic ways, is in reality an attack against the Argentine people."

While the Quijada murder was used by the military rulers as the excuse for imposing martial law in six zones, the assassination itself came on a wave of guerrilla activity that had arisen in the preceding weeks. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 23, p. 467.) Most of this activity has been carried out by the ERP.

On April 15, an ERP commando occupied the Laferrere Aero Club just outside Buenos Aires around noon and planted a time bomb in an army plane that exploded a few minutes after the guerrillas' departure, demolishing the plane.

On April 21, ERP August 22, split into four groups, briefly occupied the small Buenos Aires suburb of Ingeniero Maschwitz. According to a United Press International dispatch published in the April 22 issue of the Los Angeles Spanish-language daily *La Opinión*, "they took control of the local police station, the post office, and the railroad station; they put the telephone system out of commission, and cut a master electric power cable."

The following day, the ERP sent a photograph of Aleman, standing in pyjamas alongside a poster of Che Guevara, to the daily *Crónica*. The photograph was accompanied by a message that stated, according to a UPI report in the April 23 Los Angeles *La Opinión*, that the ERP "will not fight the government of Héctor Cámpora as long as he does not 'attack the people or the guerrilla movement,' but it stressed that it 'will continue to struggle militarily against the coun-

terrevolutionary companies and armed forces."

On April 24, four women and three men identifying themselves as members of the ERP took over the May 25 Clinic in the town of Avellaneda outside Buenos Aires and made off with valuable surgical equipment.

An automobile repair shop was attacked in Avellaneda April 25 and a military bus burned. According to a UPI report in the April 26 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, this was part of a series of "perfectly coordinated strikes" in which some fifty guerrillas, split up into four different commandos, participated. In addition to burning the bus, they occupied three railroad stations in the working-class belt that surrounds the capital. The stations, located some twenty kilometers south of Buenos Aires, were Villa Dominico, Don Bosco, and Wilde.

The action was a joint operation by the ERP and the Peronist Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (FAR—Revolutionary Armed Forces). According to UPI, "In Villa Dominico the commandos covered signs bearing the name of the station with the words 'August 22,' while in Don Bosco they replaced the signs with the words 'March 11.'" March 11 is the date of the election won by Peronist candidate C ampora.

On April 26, approximately ten guerrillas in C ordoba kidnapped Lieutenant Colonel Jacobo Nasif, the regional commander of the gendarmerie, a police organization under the control of the military command there. As Nasif's eighteen-year-old son was bringing the family car out of the garage so that his father could take it to the office, he was seized by the guerrillas, reported a UPI dispatch published in the April 27 issue of *El Diario*. "According to gendarmerie sources, the kidnapers warned Nasif menacingly to surrender or his son's life would be in danger, but the officer responded by shooting his pistol at them. Nevertheless, when, following a brief exchange of gunfire, one of the extremists protected himself with the boy's body and placed a revolver to his head, Nasif gave in and surrendered to the guerrillas."

The boy was released. He reportedly said that the guerrillas, who painted slogans of the ERP on the walls before



REAR ADMIRAL CODA: Found meeting with Campora on antiguerrilla strategy "very positive."

leaving, had told him that his father was wanted for questioning.

A UPI report in the April 29 *El Diario* quoted a message stating that Nasif was being held in a "people's prison for questioning and subsequent trial by a revolutionary tribunal."

In addition to the ERP, some Peronist guerrilla groups have been ignoring C ampora's plea for a truce. Police in Mar del Plata announced April 9 that six men and one woman belonging to the Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas (FAP—Peronist Armed Forces) raided several quarries and made off with a large quantity of explosives.

On April 17, a group of six men and three women invaded the offices of the National Registry of Automotive Property. After two hours of carefully going through archives and boxes, they left, taking a great deal of documentation with them. They identified themselves as members of the Peronist Fuerzas Armadas de Liberaci on (FAL—Liberation Armed Forces).

On April 29, a group of nine men and one woman belonging to the FAR invaded a Buenos Aires factory that produces broadcasting and transmitting equipment. They took eleven transmitters and equipment for repairing them.

Several additional kidnappings have occurred for which no group appears yet to have taken responsibility.

Among these was the double kidnapping April 29 near the city of San Miguel del Monte of a prominent Italian bank president, Santiago Jos e Soldati, and his friend, Tom as Justiciano de Estrada. According to a UPI report in the April 30 *Los Angeles La Opini n*, "a police spokesman said that 'the kidnapers had very long hair and at no time said they were members of any extremist organization,' although he did not discount the possibility that they could be."

Since 1968, there have been fifty-seven publicly disclosed kidnappings of officials and businessmen in Argentina. The ransoms total between \$10 million and \$11 million. Of these cases, reported Kandell in the April 28 *New York Times*, twenty-four have occurred during the first four months of this year.

In view of the step-up in guerrilla activity, increasing numbers of foreign businessmen are taking special precautions. "Most are simply following the advice of their embassies and breaking the ordinary patterns of their daily life—by taking different routes to the office, varying their weekend activities, frequently changing their lunch hours, and avoiding late parties.

"But some drive to work with armed chauffeurs or have bodyguards accompany their children to school and back. A few have even given up their suburban residences and live a transient existence, moving from one hotel to another."

In an editorial May 2, the *New York Times* warned U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers that "given the uncertainties, plus the virulent anti-Americanism of the Peronists," he would be "well advised to skip Buenos Aires on his forthcoming trip to Latin America." The trip is scheduled to begin May 12.

Publicly, the Peronist leaders have taken the position that the cause of the guerrilla activity is military injustice and repression and that, when the Peronists take office May 25, this cause will no longer exist. With it, they expect the guerrilla activity also to cease. In the meantime, C ampora has urged the guerrillas to observe a truce. In a speech to 65,000 supporters prior to the April 15 second-round election, he called for "moderation" and warned against "provoca-

tions by those who are trying to prevent the people from taking power."

On April 30, a 1,300-word statement, allegedly made by the National Military Committee of the ERP, was delivered to the daily paper *La Prensa* in Lima, Peru. According to a UPI report in the May 5 Los Angeles *La Opinión*, the statement was a reply to Cámpora. In it, the ERP reportedly announced that it would suspend attacks the day Cámpora assumes power but that the ERP plans to continue its struggle.

In the wake of the sharp rise in tension following the Quijada assassination, Cámpora found himself under increasing pressure from the military junta to take a stronger stand on the guerrillas. Lanusse demanded that he return to Argentina immediately from Madrid, where he was consulting with Perón. He did.

On May 3, he held a three-hour meeting in his apartment with General Lanusse, Rear Admiral Carlos Coda, and Brigadier General Carlos Alberto Rey. Although no details of the meeting were released, both Cámpora and the military chiefs appeared satisfied with it. Cámpora issued a brief communiqué in which he expressed his "deep concern that national pacification be achieved" and that the "normalization of the country" occur after he takes office.

Coda called the meeting "very positive." And Kandell reported in the *New York Times* May 4: "The military officers emerged from the building after the meeting without saying a word. But General Rey flashed a smile and gave a thumbs-up gesture to the television cameras, apparently indicating his satisfaction with the proceedings."

There are indications that Cámpora's public stance does not accurately reflect the attitude of the Peronist leaders. His hesitancy to vigorously criticize the guerrillas, as Lanusse has reportedly urged him to do, appears designed to avoid unnecessarily alienating young Peronist left-wingers before his government takes office.

What Cámpora really did in his meeting with the military brass, however, according to a report by Kandell in the May 5 *Times*, was assure them that he "would not tolerate guerrilla attacks on the armed forces after he takes office on May 25." Kandell quoted his source, a Peronist official

who asked not to be identified, as saying: "We cannot appear to be siding with the military at this point. But

you can be sure that if the guerrillas continue their attacks after May 25, they will be isolated and crushed." □

## Denounces 'New York Times' Editorial

# USLA Calls for Defense of Argentine Prisoners

New York

MAY 4—The U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) today rejected the implication in the *New York Times* editorial of May 2 that the main source of violence and terrorism in Argentina is the guerrilla movement.

Judy White, editor of the *USLA Reporter*, bimonthly magazine of USLA, stated, "It is an outrage for the *Times* to place the blame for violence in Argentina on a small minority that have fought back arms in hand against the bloody Lanusse dictatorship, which has denied civil and human rights for the people of Argentina since it seized power in 1971. The Lanusse regime has abrogated the constitution, gagged all critics of its policies, institutionalized practices of abduction and torture of political dissidents, and assassinated political prisoners in the jails. These policies are the source of the violence of everyday life which has marked Argentine society over the past seven years."

White went on to question the explanation that the military's declaring of a state of emergency in the country was brought on by the actions of a guerrilla group. "It's ridiculous to claim that in the second largest and most powerful country of South America a state of emergency is necessary to deal with a group which even the *New York Times* admits has less than 1,000 members.

"Cámpora, the president-elect, has promised amnesty for political prisoners. This may have stimulated the armed forces to institute their own 'upsurge of violence' in order to force Cámpora to renege on this promise of amnesty. The military have repeatedly stated their opposition to releasing the more than 500 political prisoners there are in Argentina.

"In addition there is the very real danger that the generals are planning to carry out another Trelew-type mas-

sacre before any release of political prisoners can take place."

The Trelew massacre occurred last August when sixteen political prisoners were lined up and killed by the military at Trelew prison in the south of Argentina.

As a response to the current threat to the well-being of Argentine political prisoners, USLA urges all who support human rights to protest immediately the latest actions of the Lanusse dictatorship and to demand that Lanusse do everything possible to guarantee that democratic rights be restored in Argentina and that all political prisoners be released. □

## Some Advice

Most of the press commentary on the Watergate scandal has been fairly predictable, with the bourgeois papers worrying that it will destroy public illusions in the system, and the socialist press pointing out that the dirt being exposed is only a fraction of the filth that is usually kept hidden from view.

One of the few really original commentaries was offered by the *Workers Press*, the paper of the British Socialist Labour League (SLL), the sectarian group led by Gerry Healy.

*Workers Press* does not often comment on events outside Britain except to attack its political opponents on the left. It may have been the desire to overcome a reputation for insularity that moved the SLL to project demands for the U. S. working class around the Watergate scandal. In any event, *Workers Press* staff writer Stephen Johns commented on the affair April 21 under the headline "Nixon May Be Forced to Resign":

"Nixon's crisis is labour's opportunity.

"It opens the way to a campaign within the unions to force a General Election and to the construction of a Labour Party to clear out the Democratic and Republican gang."

There's a program with vision for you. Imagine the U. S. queen's discomfiture when she has to call on the Labour party leader in the U. S. parliament to become prime minister! □

# Government Troops Open Fire on Fedayeen

By Jon Rothschild

"For those who are hinting at a Black May in Lebanon," President Suleiman Franjeh declared May 4, "we tell them that our wish is that the month of May—and the rest of the year—be months of roses and flowers not only for the Lebanese, but for all."

As is usually the case when rulers of capitalist states resort to horticultural imagery and mixed metaphor, the speaker was being more tactful than honest—unless Franjeh was referring to funeral wreaths. His statement came after two days of heavy fighting between government troops and Palestinian fedayeen—the worst such fighting since April 1969.

Later that afternoon, after dozens had been killed and hundreds wounded, a cease-fire came into effect. It lasted until the night of May 7, when government forces opened up with cannon, rockets, and automatic weapons on two large Palestinian camps just south of Beirut. The same night, Premier Amin el-Hafez declared martial law throughout the country.

Exactly how the fighting broke out remains obscure. On April 27 three persons were arrested at the Beirut airport after customs officials reportedly found dynamite hidden in their baggage. On May 1, four fedayeen were arrested near the U.S. embassy, after weapons, explosives, and a radio transmitter were found in their car. Also on May 1, five members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine were arrested—the circumstances are not clear.

On the night of May 1 a Lebanese army sergeant and a corporal were kidnapped. The *New York Times* and *Le Monde* reported that the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the group headed by Nayef Hawatmeh, had claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and was said to have offered to exchange the hostages for some of the arrested fedayeen. (It was not clear which fedayeen; *Le Monde* said it was the group arrested near the U.S. embassy.)

The regime declined the offer. Instead, tanks were moved toward the

two Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut that were assumed to be possible headquarters for the kidnappers. The government demanded that the two noncoms be turned loose by 11:00 a.m. May 2.

"Ten minutes after the expiration of the deadline," Edward Saab wrote in the May 4 *Le Monde*, "the inhabitants of the capital were jolted by the crack of machine-gun fire, followed by violent explosions."

An official communiqué later claimed that the fighting had not been started by the army, but had broken out after fedayeen attacked three army barracks and roadblocks set up outside the Palestinian camps. This is almost certainly not true. It is difficult to see what the fedayeen could have had to gain by opening fire on the army while they were still holding hostages that they wanted to barter for political prisoners. It is even more difficult to see why the Palestinians, who had maintained complete calm overnight, should have acted so obligingly on the army's ultimatum.

As soon as fighting erupted, government tanks opened up on the Shatila refugee camp (where 5,000 Palestinians live) with .50-caliber machine guns. The fedayeen resisted the attack, and fighting soon spread to the Burj el-Barajneh camp.

The battles went on for several hours. Late in the afternoon, the fedayeen turned over the two kidnapped Lebanese soldiers to Kemal Jumblatt, a pro-Palestinian member of the Lebanese parliament. But the army continued to attack. Although still concentrated around the two Palestinian camps in the south suburbs of Beirut, the fighting spread into downtown areas, where fedayeen sniper attacks on the army were reported.

In the early evening, the government imposed a round-the-clock curfew, effective at 7:30 p.m. and extending indefinitely. By late evening, the battles had tapered off. The streets of the city were deserted. The government announced that twelve soldiers had been killed; Palestinian sources

reported that fifty-three fedayeen and thirty-two civilian refugees had been killed.

As the fighting ended, Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, held a meeting in the Makassed Hospital with Premier Amin el-Hafez and three government ministers. At the end of the meeting a cease-fire was announced.

But the army refused to lift its siege of the Palestinian camps, and in the morning, May 3, fighting broke out again. The Dibayeh refugee camp north of Beirut was bombarded by at least 100 cannon rounds by government tanks. Rockets were fired into the Tel Zattar camp, also north of Beirut.

At the Burj el-Barajneh camp south of the city, the government used jet fighters against the refugees. The May 5 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Hawker-Hunter planes made "12 passes to deliver cannon fire, rockets, and finally eight bombs on guerrillas who had moved forward from their camp area close to Beirut airport. The bombing and cannon and rocket fire raised casualties among the Palestinians into the hundreds."

Fighting was also reported in the Arkoub region of southern Lebanon and along the Syrian border in the east.

After fighting had gone on for several hours on May 4, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat dispatched Hassan Sabry el-Kholy, one of his advisers, to Beirut to participate in new negotiations between the government and the Arafat leadership.

Late May 4, the second cease-fire was arranged. This time, it lasted three days. By the afternoon of May 5, only sporadic clashes between the Palestinians and the army were taking place. As of May 6 Franjeh and Arafat were still holding discussions on an overall agreement that would entail lifting the government siege of the refugee camps.

Much of the Western press interpreted the Lebanese regime's assault on the Palestinians as an attempt to eradicate fedayeen activities and thus spare the country from further Israeli "retaliatory" raids. (An exception, at least partially, was the *New York Times*, which viewed the fedayeen attempts to defend the refugee camps as "ineffective criminality" and a "dis-service to the real Palestinian cause,"

of which the *New York Times* is, of course, a consistently staunch supporter.)

But it is doubtful that Franjeh intended the crackdown as a message to Tel Aviv. For at least six months, Israeli raids on Lebanon have been wholly unrelated to fedayeen operations against the Zionist state. Israeli leaders themselves have admitted on more than one occasion that they are now following a policy of "preventive" strikes, meaning that any place where Palestinians live may be struck at any time.

Presumably Franjeh, if not astute enough to figure this out himself, reads the newspapers and has thus been informed of it. It has been more than a year since fedayeen have raided Israeli border patrols along the Lebanese frontier.

What Franjeh is really negotiating with Arafat about is whether the Lebanese army will have the right to permanently occupy the Palestinian camps, or at least to bring them under the same tight military control that the Syrian regime has over the refugee camps on its territory.

Franjeh admitted as much when, after a special May 4 cabinet meeting, he remarked that Lebanon was willing to extend all sorts of aid to the Palestinian people, but that the country would not tolerate the presence of an "army of occupation." The "army" is the Palestinian resistance movement, and the territory being "occupied" is the camps, where more than 150,000 Palestinians live.

The Lebanese ruling class has a strategic reason for wanting to dissolve the autonomy of the Palestinian camps. As long as the fedayeen exist, the potential also exists for the development of a dual-power situation.

But the Lebanese government's strategic interest in eliminating the fedayeen does not fully explain the May 2-4 attacks. Under other circumstances, Franjeh could have negotiated for the release of the kidnapped soldiers rather than provoke a broad military confrontation first and then negotiate. The most compelling factor in the decision to assault the refugee camps was not anything the fedayeen themselves had done, but the political situation that has developed among the Lebanese.

The April 10 Israeli raid came in

the midst of a series of antigovernment demonstrations by Lebanese university students and a series of strikes by teachers. As early as April 4, the student actions had gotten large enough for Michel Abu Jawdeh, editorialist for the prestigious Beirut daily *an-Nahar*, to note certain parallels between the situation in Lebanon and the situation in France—specifically the fact that the parliament had seemingly lost touch completely with the young generation.

The Israeli raid propelled the Lebanese youth mobilization forward. Mass demonstrations protesting government inaction in face of the Zionist attack were organized by students at Beirut's three main universities. The youth mobilization, always sympathetic to the Palestinian movement, began to raise specific antigovernment demands relating to the Palestinian struggle.

About a week after the Israeli raid, a Lebanese military spokesman offered a purported explanation of why the armed forces had stood by passively while Zionist commandos ran amok in the capital city. The police, it seems, failed to notify the military that an attack was under way. The implication was that the Israelis had gotten away virtually scot-free because of a bureaucratic breakdown in communications.

This explanation was ill-received. The students began raising demands that a workers, peasants, and student national defense militia be formed and that it collaborate with the fedayeen to protect the country. This demand was combined with the demands around the teachers strike and around the release of workers who have been arrested or have suffered repression for conducting strikes.

By the end of April, the student movement had reached a higher level of militancy than it had achieved in years. And most significantly, the issues of Lebanese politics and of the Palestinian struggle were becoming combined. The Lebanese students and workers, along with their Egyptian counterparts, have been the first in the Arab East to overcome the effects of the Palestinian defeat of September 1970 and the counterrevolutionary tide that followed.

It is this development, and its potential effect on the Palestinian struggle itself, that Franjeh had to take into

account. In this sense, the May 2 attacks were a message both for the fedayeen and for the Lebanese mass movement.

Unfortunately the Palestinian leadership—at least the dominant Arafat wing of it—has shown less awareness of the potential of the Lebanese upsurge than Franjeh has. There is no evidence that the fedayeen leadership has made any attempt to link up with the Lebanese movement. On the contrary, Arafat, in line with his policy of "noninterference" in the affairs of the Arab states in which Palestinian refugees live, has stayed away from trying to play a leading role, or any role at all, in the Lebanese movement. This general rule is broken only when a military attack comes. Then, as on May 3, the PLO issues a call to the Lebanese people to come to the aid of the Palestinian resistance.

This default by the fedayeen leadership is especially unfortunate in the case of Lebanon, where there have been mass movements, *initiated by Lebanese*, demanding that the regime support the Palestinian resistance.

Both the Lebanese and Palestinian masses have demonstrated their willingness to act. But the default of the fedayeen leadership has created a leadership vacuum—one that inhibits the advance of the Lebanese sector of the movement, undermines discipline in the Palestinian camps, and even opens up opportunities for provocateurs of various stripes.

Unfortunately, the right-wing forces are better organized. The Falange party has a private militia estimated to be 7,000-strong. Its intentions may be judged from remarks made by one of its members during the May 2-4 fighting (quoted in the May 4 *New York Times*): "These [the Palestinians] are filthy savages. If we had our way we would kill them all. We have given these Palestinians a home, food, and a chance to work, but they want to change our good system and make Lebanon Communist."

Even if the current crisis is calmed down by a negotiation process (which is far from a certainty), the Palestinian refugees and the Lebanese workers and peasants will continually have to confront Falangist shock troops and government soldiers. If an adequate leadership is not built in time, there will be many Black Septembers. □

## Nixon's 'Options': Bomb Cambodia or Vietnam

After three days of talks with North Vietnamese representatives in Paris, William H. Sullivan, U.S. deputy secretary of state, indicated the subject of the discussion: the conditions Hanoi would have to meet to escape a resumption of the bombing of North Vietnam. Sullivan told journalists May 1:

"Hanoi will soon have to make its choice and decide whether it wants full implementation of the accords in good faith or if it prefers to take the path which would take us to the unfortunate military situation to which we hoped to put an end by signing the cease-fire agreement. . . .

"We have indicated that we wish the accords to be faithfully carried out. We have spoken frankly and without emotion on these subjects during the past few days. I think that Hanoi knows what is expected of it."

The Nixon administration has publicly stated that talks between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho are set for mid-May and that it regards Sullivan's meetings with Nguyen Co Thach, the North Vietnamese deputy foreign minister, as "preliminary." The subject of the proposed Kissinger-Tho talks, according to Washington, is "strict implementation" of the January 27 cease-fire agreement.

The North Vietnamese have denied agreeing to any such negotiations. They have indicated that Nixon could demonstrate his concern for "implementation" of the agreement by resuming the sweeping of mines from North Vietnamese harbors, ending reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam, and resuming discussions on economic aid. "The atmosphere [for talks] is not favorable," Thach told reporters in Paris.

What Nixon wants to implement, of course, is the end of the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government's resistance to Thieu's attacks and the end of the Cambodian liberation forces' offensive against the puppet Lon Nol regime. As Secretary of State William Rogers put it in testimony before the Senate foreign relations committee April 30:

"We are now in the process of having further discussions with the North Vietnamese with regard to the implementation of the Paris agreement. We hope these discussions will be successful and will lead to a cease-fire in Cambodia."

Nixon has reason for haste in trying to force a cease-fire on the Cambodian rebels. Having hypocritically proclaimed "peace with honor" last January, he obviously hoped that bombing raids would quickly produce similar "honorable peace" on his terms before U.S. and world public opinion became aroused at the continuation of the war.

This plan has been upset by the determination of the Cambodian liberation fighters and the helplessness of the puppet "government" in Pnompenh. Despite massive bombing attacks, the liberation forces control most of the country, and the air raids have been shifted to the very outskirts of Pnompenh, where they are visible to dozens of journalists waiting to report Lon Nol's flight to join his Swiss bank accounts.

While Nixon's barbarism in Cambodia has not yet aroused protests on the scale of those in defense of Vietnam, it is obvious that the potential for such action grows the longer the bombing continues.

The Swedish Social Democratic government has indicated its sounding of public opinion by condemning the bombings. In a statement to parliament April 26, Foreign Minister Kristner Wickman said, ". . . it is from the government's view not acceptable that a big power with superior resources in military technique interferes in a civil war in a small country.

"The bombings appear so much more provocative since they, as was the case earlier in Vietnam, indiscriminately hit the civilian population."

Within the United States, the Watergate scandal now threatens to destroy completely Nixon's already badly eroded credibility. Members of Congress have begun making timid noises about cutting off funds for the bomb-

ing—a sure sign that they fear an explosion of protest.

Moreover, there is evidence that the morale of the troops involved in the air raids has reached a new low. On May 1, Senator William Fulbright inserted in the *Congressional Record* five letters from air force personnel stationed on Guam and in Thailand. (Reuters reported that Senator Edward Kennedy had also received similar letters.)

The letters indicated widespread dissatisfaction and disillusionment at the continuation of the war. The writers indicated that they had favored the bombing of North Vietnam when they were told that it would help the release of U.S. prisoners of war, but they saw no reason for the bombing of Cambodia.

"What is most discouraging," one officer wrote, "is that we thought we were going home when the peace agreement was signed. If not, then surely when all the POW's were freed. Instead, we are bombing in Cambodia, just as we did in Viet Nam."

"I would think that we learned our lesson forgetting involved in Viet Nam. But here we go again in Cambodia, and I hear on the news that President Nixon is considering going back into Viet Nam, and maybe even North Viet Nam. Bombing Hanoi in December was one thing, but going back there, after our POW's have been freed, is something else."

Another officer wrote: "We are no more now than a mercenary army fighting on the whims and discretion of only one man. . . . We have no money at home for needed social programs, but we spend millions daily to bomb thousands of innocent civilians who have never done anything to us. Many, if not most, of the B-52 crew members are tired of killing for no reason. . . ."

"Ground crews," a sergeant wrote, "no longer care whether or not their planes are safe and operational. Flights of crews do not wish to fly wasted missions and consequently abort when given the opportunity."

The crews, it should be noted, have

no illusions about bombing "military targets" instead of civilians.

Another of the letter-writers provided some statistics on the level of the bombing:

"Daily, we are dropping between 42,000 and 55,000 pounds of bombs per bomber on something all over Cambodia; we are programmed against twenty targets a day, each target being hit by three B-52s. All of this heavy bombing (you will note that the above facts pertain to B-52s only—TAC [tactical] air strikes are numbering 150 plus a day) is going

on at the specific request of the Lon Nol government of Cambodia."

If the Pentagon manages to learn the identity of this officer, he will probably be arrested for revealing "military secrets." His figures indicate that Nixon is dropping between 51,000 and 63,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia every month. Defense Department figures gave the total for March as 39,000 tons.

Nixon is now threatening the North Vietnamese with similar genocidal bombing if they do not agree to help guarantee the survival of the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes. □

bertad leader the night before. And they have brought very young supporters out into the streets on a daily basis for weeks. These protests have been joined by elements of the lumpen-proletariat.

On April 26, the demonstrations reached a new level of intensity. In what appeared to be a synchronized operation, numerous headquarters of the Communist and Socialist parties were pillaged in several cities. In addition, attacks were carried out against the homes of leaders of leftist groups (among them the former Communist minister, Mireya Baltra), the socialist paper *Ultima Hora*, and the leftist *Puro Chile*, where all the office windows were broken.

In downtown Santiago, demonstrators stopped traffic and broke windows. "For the first time probably in the history of the country," wrote Kalfon in the April 28 *Le Monde*, "the Moneda palace, the seat of the government, which is located in the center of town, was the target of the demonstrators' anger. A Molotov cocktail bomb exploded there and a rain of rocks broke many windows, including those in the offices of Mr. Allende's personal staff. Allende appeared on his balcony a few moments later to respond to the shouts of solidarity of other groups of students—supporters of the government."

On April 27, the opposition escalated its methods. In the afternoon, the CUT (Central Unica de los Trabajadores—Workers Central Union) brought some 10,000 workers in from the industrial suburbs to march through the center of Santiago in support of the Allende government. As they passed by the six-story modern building housing the Christian Democratic party, shots rang out from the roof of the building, killing one worker and wounding at least seven others.

Humberto Diaz, an upholstery worker, described the scene: "Of course we jeered. They threw rocks at us. We threw rocks at them too, but we could barely reach the third floor. Then they started machine-gunning us from the roof. I picked up the cartridge cases. They came from an Argentine Marcati machine gun, 22 caliber. I know what I'm talking about. I was an armorer in the army."

The Christian Democrats tried to blame the government for the cold-blooded killing by accusing it and its backers of "aiming to destroy the

## Opposition Machine-guns Demonstrating Workers

### Chilean Right Wing Launches New Offensive

After a brief respite following the March 4 elections in Chile, the anti-Popular Unity forces have again taken the offensive. Political polarization is deepening and the class struggle has reached a level of intensity not seen since the capitalist strike last October.

"The bourgeoisie is less disposed than ever to give up the economic, ideological, and political power that it still holds," wrote Pierre Kalfon in the April 18 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. "The working-class parties and the popular masses, on the other hand, are far from having abandoned their intention to win this power. But Mr. Allende must, therefore, struggle from now on not only against an opposition that is stepping up its offensives, but also against a far left that is taking to the streets."

In mid-April, the opposition parties, the Christian Democrats and the right-wing National party, announced their intention of bringing charges of violating the constitution against Allende's entire cabinet. In the past, it has brought charges against only a few individual cabinet members.

In the weeks since the announcement was made, the situation has grown considerably more tense. Should the charges be brought now and approved by the Chamber of Deputies, the entire cabinet would be suspended pending a vote by the Senate. (The opposition controls both houses.)

Such a move, in the present context, could provoke a crisis.

A number of issues are serving as pretexts for the opposition's current offensive. The threatened charges against the cabinet are reportedly based on a decree, signed by all cabinet members, that would transfer forty companies to the state-run "social sector" of the economy.

In addition, the right wing is challenging the Escuela Nacional Unificada (ENU—Unified National Education), a plan to rationalize the educational system. Implementation of the plan, originally scheduled for June of this year, has been put off for another year. The postponement, however, has not deterred the opposition.

"The opposition, which usually shows more imagination," observed Kalfon, "is also continuing to stir up public opinion around the 'holy war of the church against Marxism.'"

The Christian Democrats appear to have hardened their stance. They have decided to again bring out their proposal for a constitutional reform that would annul any state take-overs that have occurred since October 14, 1971. According to an Associated Press dispatch from Concepción May 5, it jointly organized a demonstration with the fascist group, Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom), in which thousands of demonstrators engaged in a two-hour battle with police to protest the killing of a Patria y Li-

Christian Democratic party because it constitutes a barrier against the totalitarians and the fascists of both the right and the left." It claimed the demonstration was an "organized attack" on its headquarters.

The far left is also mobilizing in response to the mounting rightist threat. "During the past week," wrote Kalfon in the April 18 *Le Monde*, "the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] has rallied rank-and-file activists of the Socialist party and MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action] and persons with no party affiliation to organize 'popular mobilizations' in the industrial belt of the poor suburbs of Santiago."

In the face of the deteriorating situation, Allende appears determined to stick to the norms of bourgeois legality. In his May Day speech, he

urged the workers to increase production: "Only the devastating force of the people can detain this fascist threat by producing more, working harder, and showing greater total effort."

And in an interview published in the April 19-26 issue of *Chile Hoy*, he said that the "strict application of the constitution and the law" were the "best defense" of his government: "I think that we have to use all constitutional means against the right in order to defend the popular government. And if they break with the constitution and the law, we will answer with the law, with the forces of order, and, if necessary, with revolutionary forces."

On May 5, Allende decreed a state of emergency in Santiago Province to combat "the climate of social agitation in the province." The following day, the army revoked all civilian gun permits and banned unauthorized public meetings. □

the one headed by the Ligue Communiste, the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party), and the strike committees had about 15,000.

But despite the Stalinists' attempt to sabotage the unity of the march, the slogans chanted by the marchers established a firm atmosphere of solidarity. *Le Monde* reported that there were a huge number of banners proclaiming unity between the French workers and the immigrant workers, who triggered the most recent strike wave in the automobile industry. The number of immigrants in the march was higher than had been expected, and French-immigrant solidarity was a hallmark of the demonstration.

Besides the immigrant workers, there were also banners representing Brittany, Occitanie [Provençal-speaking regions], Corsica, and the Basque country. A small contingent of visitors from Québec carried banners demanding that imprisoned Québec labor leaders be released. Other banners denounced the Greek and Turkish regimes, and several denounced the Franco regime—with the additional words "Pompidou—Accomplice!" There was even one banner proclaiming solidarity with the struggle of the American Indians.

One other special feature—unprecedented in recent May 1 actions—was the participation of a small number of soldiers, naval personnel, and airmen. With their faces masked so as to prevent victimization, they carried a banner reading, "Front of soldiers, sailors, airmen—Soldiers in solidarity with the youth and workers in struggle!"

The youth organizations led by the Communist party tried to get the independent youth to take up their slogan: "The only solution is the Common Program." They were answered, *Le Monde* reported, by chants of "The only solution is revolution." The Stalinist youth tried a compromise: "The only solution is revolution. The only means to it is the Common Program." This, reported *Le Monde*, "had scarcely any success."

The varying slogans of the May Day march—parliamentary gradualism versus extraparliamentary mass mobilization—were but a reflection of the current debate within the mass movement of workers and youth. By May 2, it appeared that the massive strikes in the auto industry were gen-

## Thousands March in Paris on May Day

### Workers at Peugeot Face Fascist Attack

In spite of a driving rain, more than 50,000 people—workers, apprentices, high-schoolers, and university students—turned out for the united May Day demonstration in Paris. The action was the latest focal point in the current wave of mass mobilization that has progressively activated the high-schoolers, immigrant workers, university students, technical students, and the industrial working class.

The May 3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* noted that the slogans of this year's march, while they included the traditional wage and economic demands, were more directly political. Political they were—and they reflected the increasingly sharp division between the Communist and Socialist parties, with their electoralist, reformist perspective, and the growing far left—the high-schoolers especially, who are pressing for continuing extraparliamentary mobilization.

The May Day march had been called as a united action, one in which the trade-union leadership (dominated by the CP and the SP) and the demo-

cratically elected leadership of the youth struggles would get together on equal terms to confront the increasing threat of repression from the Pompidou regime.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy was not about to give the independent youth or the far-left leaders, notably the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, that sort of recognition. Several days before the demonstration, the CP demanded that the trade-union bureaucracy and the youth organizations allied to the CP have a privileged position in the demonstration. The independent high-school and university strike committees would have to subordinate themselves to the trade-union bureaucrats and their allies.

The strike committees in general refused, with the result that there were two contingents that marched separately but converged at a rallying point (not without opposition from the CP). The May 3 *Le Monde* reported that the contingent headed by the CP, the SP, and the trade-union federations had about 30,000, while



erally drawing to a temporary halt—mostly because of the bureaucracy's refusal to generalize the individual strikes.

The May 3 *Le Monde* reported that nearly 80 percent of the striking Renault workers had returned to work. But outstanding issues remained. Negotiations on the stratified classification system—abolition of which has been a major demand of the immigrant workers—were scheduled to resume on May 4. Moreover, Renault has not retreated on its plans to fire about thirty workers for allegedly damaging property during the strikes.

And not all the strikes were at an end. The Peugeot factories in Saint Etienne were still shut down as of May 3. Peugeot has been a central focus of the auto strike-wave for several reasons. The strike there was begun and the initial demands formulated outside the framework of the bureaucratic chain of command; and the two Saint Etienne factories were scenes of gangster attacks on strikers by employer-organized goon squads.

The following article on the Peugeot strike, the fascist attacks, and the workers' response appeared in the April 20 issue of *Rouge*, the Ligue Communiste's weekly newspaper. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

\* \* \*

On the night of April 11-12, a commando gang sent by the management attacked and dislodged a strike picket at Peugeot's Saint Etienne factory, occupied since April 4.

### Workers in Struggle for Their Demands

The two Saint Etienne factories of the Peugeot corporation produce various assembly parts (sheet metal, oil pumps, compressors, etc.) used in diesel engines by the Lille factory and in cars by the Sochaux factory. They employ 1,127 workers, 191 of them salaried, the rest hourly workers.

The movement broke out in the sheet-metal department, where there are mostly unskilled workers. Just as in 1969, demands about the speed of the line and about working conditions were raised. In that year, the workers won a pay hike of three *centimes* an hour after a strike and factory occupation.



Workers mass at the gate of one of the Saint Etienne Peugeot plants after occupation was ended by gangster attack.

That the same demands were raised again this time shows the stubbornness of a tough employer that has decided to do whatever it can to recoup what it had to give up under the pressure of the workers.

The speed of the line and the working conditions are that much more intolerable today since wages are very often less than 1,500 francs [about US\$300 per month] for a workweek of forty-three and a quarter hours.

In 1969, the movement had started off with a list of demands drawn up by the union leaders; but today, it was the workers themselves who worked out the demands. They are:

- 1,500 francs wage and a forty-hour week;
- retirement at age sixty;
- a year-end bonus and equal vacations for all (equivalent to a thirtieth month's pay at the highest level);
- increase in the lunch and transportation bonuses for all;
- distribution of work clothes for all employees.

It was only after drawing up these demands themselves that the workers asked the support of the union leaders. The representatives of the plants' three unions, the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-dominated union federation], the CFDT [Confédération Française Démocratique du

Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the SP-influenced labor federation], and the FO [Force Ouvrière—Workers Force, a right-wing union], agreed.

The majority of the workers voted to occupy the factories instead of conducting isolated strikes, thus choosing a form of action whose value had been proven in 1969.

### The Employers Do Everything to Break the Strike

The occupation of the factory began at noon on April 4, and from the very start management maneuvered to break the strike by utilizing scabs, by laying off union delegates, and by calling out fascist goon squads.

On the afternoon of April 4, clashes took place between strikers and "non-strikers" (mostly supervisors and salaried employees), the latter being slickly manipulated by the management, which used them to finger eight union delegates and one nondelegate for summonses to appear before the Saint Etienne courts.

On April 5, these same scabs occupied the workshops in one of the factories, but were thrown out by the strikers during the late afternoon and took refuge in the "chateau" (the management offices).

On April 7, the court handed down

a decision: "The strikers must vacate the premises by noon." Only one of the factories was occupied by strikers; in the other, the scabs got hold of the switchboard and cut the inside phone lines.

On Monday, April 9, the unions charged that two teams of twenty-five men each had arrived from Dijon and Mulhouse; management refused to explain the purpose of these shifts.

That Tuesday, management fired seven workers "for interfering with the right to work"; it continued to demand that the factory be vacated before any negotiations could take place. For its part, the CGC [Confédération Générale des Cadres—General Confederation of Supervisory Personnel] asked for "respect for the right to work," all the while recalling that it had its own demands that were too often lost in the shuffle!

Finally, the police department announced that the management had called in the police.

On Wednesday, April 11, management asked the factory committee to lay off four delegates.

### **The Fascist Attack and the Workers' Response**

It was in this tense atmosphere, created by management itself, that the employers thought they could get away with calling in a goon squad from the CDR [Comités de Défense de la République—Committees for the Defense of the Republic]. On the night of April 11-12, two "commando groups" of about forty members each, none of them from the Saint Etienne factory, wearing helmets, dressed in blue and khaki uniforms, and armed with iron bars, ax handles, and bicycle chains, attacked the strike pickets at the two factories.

The strikers had to withdraw; seven of them were wounded. Later, the authorities declared that "no weapon, in the criminal and reprehensible sense of the term, had been found!"

One of the aggressors, who lost some papers during the battle, turned out to be one Christian Yvon Lucien Mercier, born in Soissons in 1936, enlisted for five years in the army in 1955 (fought in Morocco and Algeria); he had been carrying an *Ordre Nouveau* [New Order, the fascist organization] leaflet advertising the April 3 fascist demonstration in Paris.

The workers' response began immediately. That same morning, solidarity strikes took place in all the area factories, the strikers clashing with the CRS [Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Companies, the state political police], who had been brought out to protect the factory and the goon squad!

An interunion leaflet came out, signed by the CGT, FO, CFDT, and even the CGC and the CFTC [Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens—French Confederation of Christian Workers]. It called for all the city's factories to stop work that afternoon at 4:00 and to demonstrate in front of Peugeot; 80,000 workers throughout the area joined in the strike; 20,000 came to the demonstration—more than in May '68!

The atmosphere was charged. The police barrier in front of the factory did nothing to dampen the workers' spirits—on the contrary. For more than an hour the demonstrators screamed insults at the cops, pelted them with eggs and mud. It took all the best efforts of the union high priests to prevent a confrontation. They announced a meeting 800 meters off to the side; and they had all the trouble in the world convincing the demonstrators, who persisted in their belief that "it's happening at Peugeot, not in Bellevue." And so, only 2,000 people participated in this demobilization meeting.

### **Britain to Extradite Taiwanese to U.S.**

Great Britain's highest court decided April 16 by a vote of three to two to extradite the Taiwanese architect Chang Tzu-tsai to the United States. Chang is accused of participating in an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Chiang Ching-kuo in New York in April 1970. Chiang Ching-kuo is the son and heir of Chiang Kai-shek.

Last September, Chang was extradited to the United States from Sweden, to which he had fled after being found guilty by a New York court in May 1971. Escorted out of Sweden by plane by two New York policemen, who aimed to fly him to the United States, Chang was nevertheless taken into custody en route by British officials on September 4 because his physical condition made

### **Leaders Agree to Negotiate, But Workers Are Out of the Factory**

While the relationship of forces was clearly favorable, this was not at all exploited properly. Yes, the management got what it wanted: The workers were thrown out of the factory. From then on, the employers could negotiate with their heads held high; the factory was guarded by the tactical police; the occupation was over.

In the atmosphere of general mobilization (occupations at Jaquemard, at the Holtzer tool factory, at Labo-industry), the workers of the Loire solidarized with those of Peugeot. But against the employers' militia "vigilance" is not enough; it's much better to be a step ahead than a step behind.

In fact, the April 12 aggression is part of the employers' increasingly tough general strategy, especially in the auto industry. After Simca and Citroën, now it is Peugeot that is trying to break the workers' militancy by calling out the CFT [Confédération Française des Travailleurs—French Confederation of Workers, a combination company union and right-wing goon squad, heretofore based mainly at Simca and Citroën] and the allied goon squads of the CDR and *Ordre Nouveau*.

Against the CFT fascists—nonexclusionist unity!

Workers Self-Defense!

continuation of the trip dangerous. Chang's British lawyer requested on September 7 that he be granted asylum in England. It was that request that the high court turned down.

There still appears to be a possibility that he may not be returned to the United States, according to a report by Torsten Ehrenmark in the April 17 issue of the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*. There are plans for a delegation, led by Labour MP Neil Kinnock, to attempt to persuade Minister of the Interior Robert Carr to let Chang remain in Great Britain or to allow him to be deported to some other country that might be willing to take him. The interior minister is the only official with authority to go against the decision to extradite.

# Teng Hsiao-ping Back in Circulation

By Les Evans

A curious event took place in Peking April 12. Without fanfare and without explanation one of the principal bureaucrats purged during Mao's "Cultural Revolution" made a public appearance. At a banquet given by Chou En-lai in honor of Prince Sihanouk the guest list included Teng Hsiao-ping. Before the Cultural Revolution Teng was general secretary of the Chinese Communist party Central Committee and next in rank to Liu Shao-chi, one-time heir of Mao.

An April 13 Hsinhua dispatch included Teng's name in a long list of government functionaries present at the banquet, identifying him as a vice-premier of the government. While offering no explanation, the Maoist regime evidently considered the event of some importance. Wang Hai-jung, an assistant foreign minister and a niece of Chairman Mao, approached the foreign correspondents at the banquet and alerted them to the fact that there was a news story "staring them in the face," as the *New York Times* put it. "Miss Wang," the reporter added, "offered no hint why the leadership had chosen this moment to rehabilitate a man denounced five years ago by Jenmin Jih Pao, the official party newspaper, as a 'renegade, special agent and counterrevolutionary revisionist.'"

Teng's career in the Chinese CP belied the frame-up charges that were used to remove him from office in 1966. He joined the Chinese CP in 1924 while living in France. He studied in Moscow in 1926 and returned later that year to Sian in north China, where he participated in the CP fraction within the Kuominchün, the nationalist army of warlord Feng Yü-hsiang, who was allied to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. After Chiang and Feng crushed the 1925-27 Chinese revolution, Teng remained within the Stalinized CCP and rose to prominence as a political commissar in Mao's Red Army.

In 1952 Teng was transferred from southwest China to Peking, where he rapidly moved into the party's top hierarchy, becoming general secretary

of the party in 1954, a post he held until his downfall in 1966.

Teng Hsiao-ping organized the first large-scale purge within the party after it took power: the elimination of the provincial leaders Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih at the national CCP conference in March 1955. He also headed up the "antirightist" campaign against the dissident students and intellectuals in the fall of 1957, following the "Hundred Flowers Bloom" episode in May and June of that year.

Mao, of course, stood behind these purges, but Teng, as the agent directly responsible for carrying them out, became an unpopular figure. He had the qualifications to play the role of scapegoat for the bureaucratic sins of the regime. Mao took full advantage of this during his three-year struggle with his rivals in the bureaucracy during the Cultural Revolution, demagogically appealing to his supporters to "make revolution" against the party and government apparatus headed by Liu and Teng.

It was not Teng's abuse of power that brought him into opposition to Mao. Rather it was his efforts to reduce Mao to the status of first among equals within the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Teng was the head of the Chinese delegation to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist party early in 1956, where Khrushchev delivered his famous speech acknowledging some of Stalin's crimes. Teng sought to promote a similar de-Stalinization in China. He gave the report on "collective leadership" to the Eighth National Congress of the CCP in September 1956 and participated in the revision of the CCP constitution to remove the "thought of Mao Tse-tung" as the guiding principle of the party. (This proviso had been written into the constitution at the 1945 Seventh Congress, where Mao had consolidated his hold on the apparatus.)

Mao did not immediately object to the "collective leadership" formula. He succeeded in 1958 in imposing the adventurist line of the Great Leap

Forward on the party and government. It was only in the aftermath of the failures of the Great Leap that Mao found himself confronted by an organized opposition within the party high command, led by Liu Shao-chi and Teng. The Liu-Teng faction was definitively defeated in the Cultural Revolution.

Why has Mao resurrected Teng? First it should be noted that a turn of this kind is not unprecedented in the history of Stalinism. In the late 1920s Stalin permitted leaders of the Trotskyist and Zinovievist oppositions to return from prison or Siberian exile in exchange for groveling "self-criticisms."

In the CCP the treatment accorded Li Li-san over the years has been similarly "tolerant." Li Li-san headed the CCP in 1928-30 and loyally applied Stalin's line in China. He was made one of the scapegoats for the failures of the ultraleft course of those years, for which Stalin and the Comintern were really responsible. To this day Li has been kept on in secondary posts, where he remains the butt of the regime's propagandists. Occasionally, as in 1963, he is invited to publicly denounce his errors in the party press.

Teng's capitulation can serve a number of useful purposes. It helps in particular to point up the propaganda aimed at Taiwan, in which the Maoists have stressed a promise to find places in the apparatus for any of their old enemies willing to help bring the island under mainland administration.

Internally the move is significant in two ways. It gives renewed hope to the followers of Liu Shao-chi that they, too, may soon be reintegrated. At the same time it serves to further demoralize the "ultraleftists" who counted on Mao to remove the bureaucrats and establish proletarian democracy in China. If Teng himself has been rehabilitated while the radical youth who contributed to his fall are still being deported to the countryside in vast numbers, can anyone fail to draw the lesson that criticism of the bureaucracy is a perilous enterprise indeed in Mao's China? □

### Sportsman

A New York cop has been arrested for robbing a friend at gunpoint to recover the money he lost to him playing gin-mill shuffleboard.

### Crisis Hits Dominican Revolutionary Party

"Very strange things are going on inside our party. People are being expelled and suspended without any regard for the indispensable procedures that have been laid down for such actions. Compañeros are first attacked internally and later lies are cooked up for the press in an attempt to justify the unjustifiable."

These bitter comments were made at the beginning of May by Ernesto Brea Vizcaino, a prominent figure in both the Dominican and United States sections of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD—Dominican Revolutionary party). He made them in an interview published in the May 4 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*.

A crisis has broken out in the PRD. While the issues are not yet fully clear, they appear to involve long existing differences within the party leadership that have been exacerbated in the wake of the ill-fated guerrilla invasion of last February. Soon after the invasion, the top leaders of the PRD—Juan Bosch and the party's general secretary, José Francisco Peña Gómez—went underground. President Joaquín Balaguer charged that the PRD had connections with the guerrillas, but no evidence of such a link has ever been offered.

The crisis erupted near the end of April with the expulsion of at least ten party leaders, including the third-ranking figure in the party, Assistant General Secretary Pablo Rafael Casimiro Castro. Casimiro Castro refused to give up his post.

*El Diario* columnist Reginaldo Atanay wrote May 2 that "political observers believe that Casimiro Castro's refusal to leave the PRD could create a definitive split in the movement, in view of the influence the fiery politician enjoys inside the Dominican Revolutionary party."

Other leaders who have been expelled include Aridio García de León, Franco Badia, and Frida Martínez de Espinal, union leader Luis Manuel Castillo, Rafael Sarante, Juan Almonte, and Dolores González de Moreta.

The reason the permanent commission of the PRD gave for expelling some of them was that they allegedly attempted "to gain positions inside the party in order to impose an electoralist political line." Brea Vizcaino denounced this charge as "demagogy" and a product of "Machiavellian political thinking."

Shortly after the expulsions, the PRD received another jolt when Peña Gómez announced May 2 that he was resigning as general secretary, although he was not leaving the party. He demanded that the expelled members be reinstated.

Just hours after Peña Gómez's announcement, the PRD's permanent commission authorized Bosch to abandon the underground and return to public life. Although this decision had been expected for some time, its timing appears to be related to the worsening internal situation in the PRD.

Meanwhile, on April 17, Claudio Caamaño Grullón, the one remaining guerrilla who was thought to be hiding in the mountains, turned up at the Mexican embassy in Santo

Domingo and requested safe-conduct out of the country. The embassy agreed to grant him asylum and to seek permission for safe-conduct from the Balaguer regime, which has taken the request under consideration.

Caamaño Grullón is a nephew of Colonel Francisco Alberto Caamaño Deñó, who is said to have led the guerrilla invasion in which he reportedly fell. Before seeking asylum, according to a report in the April 21 issue of *El Sol*, published in Santiago, he left behind a note identifying the guerrilla who reportedly died of starvation on February 21 and whose pseudonym was "Braulio." The note reportedly identified him as Domingo Antonio Camilo Ventura (Coca).

There is considerable indignation in the Dominican Republic at signs that a new upsurge in semiofficial terrorism is beginning. Most concern has been voiced over the March 28 murder of the prominent newspaper editor Gregorio García Castro. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 23, p. 463.) While his assassins have been arrested, no serious effort has been made to uncover the authors of the plot.

Father Vicente Rubio caused quite a stir throughout the country when he made an obvious reference to this in his Good Friday sermon in the cathedral in the capital. In the Dominican Republic, he said, "human life is worth less than a cigarette." □

### 'Post-Prison Surveillance' Instituted

### Husak Tightens Up Czech Penal Code

The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly adopted a sweeping "reform" of the penal system on April 25, according to a report in the April 27 *Le Monde*. Part of the change is the institution of a new system of "post-prison surveillance" that was apparently adopted somewhat earlier.

Not all the details on the new penal code are available yet, since they have not been published in the official legal journal. But statements by parliamentary reporters and articles appearing in the Czechoslovak press have allowed for a general determination of the content of the latest bit of "normalization."

The "postprison surveillance" law is a fascinating piece of work. It is aimed, according to the Czechoslovak press, at persons insufficiently "re-educated" by their stay in the hole and at persons about whom "doubts persist" as to their inclination to lead "a serious life of work."

Postprison surveillance will be imposed, according to the law, after a public trial. (Perhaps in anticipation of violation of this aspect of the reform, the law states that those subjected to postprison surveillance without trial have the right to file a complaint.) The surveillance may be effected for one to three years, the court



HUSAK: Will be allowed to follow everybody around.

that imposed it having the power to rescind it at any time.

Those subjected to surveillance will be required to furnish complete details on their income, present themselves to the police at regular intervals, inform the police (in advance) of any change of residence, and allow the police to enter their home at any time, with or without warrants.

The government explained that these police entries are not to be considered "searches," but rather will simply be means for the police to determine if the person is really at home, or if not, where else he or she might be, and also to determine whether the person "is complying with the correction process."

The police will also keep an eye on the subject's workplace and will make sure he or she is not frequenting "meeting places of antisocial elements."

One additional wrinkle in the system is that in cases in which the execution of sentence is delayed past three months for any reason, postprison surveillance can become preprison surveillance, with a view toward "guaranteeing the continuity of influence on the offender, very important for his reeducation."

There were several other changes made in the penal system as well. The maximum sentence was raised from fifteen to twenty-five years. Violations of "state secrecy," desertion abroad, and attempts to hijack airplanes will be punished more severely. (*Le Monde* reported that, according to indications in the press, the latter crime may carry a death penalty.)

The law concerning "distribution of false information abroad" was also amended. Previously it covered only

"false information" relating to the domestic situation; now it will cover information on Czechoslovakia's international position and foreign policy as well.

Penalties were also upped for "crimes" committed by prisoners. These include pretending to be sick, going on hunger strikes, refusing to carry out work assignments, or committing self-mutilation.

The labor-discipline law, up to now applicable only in factories, will be extended to agriculture. □

## Sadat Reopens Upper Egypt Concentration Camp

### Leftist Workers, Intellectuals Arrested

A wave of arrests has hit leftist circles in Egypt, according to a report in the April 19 *Le Monde*. Citing "reliable sources," the Paris daily said that trade unionists and intellectuals had been the targets of the arrests, which took place early in April.

*Le Monde* also reported that Sadat had reopened the concentration camp at the Kharga Oasis in Upper Egypt. The camp has a capacity of more than 3,000. From 1959-1964 it served as home for several thousand members of the Egyptian Communist party interned by Nasser.

The intellectuals seized were described by *Le Monde* as "far leftist." They were interned at Kafr el-Zamat after government authorities discovered an underground printing apparatus.

The unionists were mostly textile workers. The arrests centered in the industrial suburbs surrounding Cairo, notably Matarieh, Zaitoun, and Helwan. Some of the workers seized were said to be trade-union leaders.

In addition to the arrests, three leaders of the Egyptian labor federation were expelled from that body: Abdel Azim el-Maghrabi, one of the organization's secretaries, Ahmed Rifai, deputy general secretary, and Ibrahim Khalifa, who was in charge of foreign relations.

The Egyptian press claimed that the three had been expelled by the labor federation's executive board. But *Le Monde* disputed that story, reporting that the expulsion had come at the command of the minister of labor,



SADAT: Reopens Nasser's old concentration camp for dissidents.

who also serves as president of the trade-union federation. The three leaders were accused of harboring "sympathies for Marxism" and were kicked out despite a 13-to-8 vote against the expulsions by the union executive committee.

It was also reported that information had reached Paris that twenty-two women political prisoners in the Barrages jail near Cairo had been tortured. Among the victims were Safinez Kazim, the wife of the poet Ahmed Nagm, and Siham Tewfik, a leader of the student movement. □

## Sectarians Attempt to 'Bury' U.S. CP

The actions of a small sectarian group have once again confronted the U.S. left with the necessity of defending the principles of workers democracy against hooliganism and the use of violence to "settle" political disputes.

At the beginning of April, a group calling itself the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) suddenly announced that history had called on it to eliminate physically the Communist party and it immediately began attempting to put its "program" into practice.

NCLC is led by Lyn Marcus, now an economics teacher, who broke with the Trotskyist movement in the middle 1960s in order to become high priest of his own little sect. It had previously been distinguished from other sects on the fringes of the radical movement chiefly by the extravagance of its claims to political wisdom and the pomposity of its rhetoric.

The first serious attack by NCLC occurred April 11 in Philadelphia. At Temple University, approximately a dozen thugs armed with clubs and lead pipes invaded the offices of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), the Communist party youth organization. The thugs—most of whom had been brought into the campus for the occasion—assaulted the YWLL members present, injuring six seriously enough to require hospital treatment.

Shortly afterward, the NCLC distributed a leaflet that announced: "Within two months, we will destroy the Communist Party as a political organization. That is the reason for the 'melee' on Wednesday."

NCLC's dispute with the Communist party appears to center around the former's attempts to organize an "unemployed movement" under the name National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization. When this group held a conference in Philadelphia March 31, it was picketed—but not disrupted—by Communist party members and others who saw the new group as an attempt to "split" the National Welfare Rights Organization. In the "logic" of the Marcusites, this picketing constituted "crossing class lines"

and "justified" the physical elimination of the CP.

An editorial in the April 9-13 issue of NCLC's paper *New Solidarity* gives an idea of the delusions from which NCLC suffers. Under the headline "Death of the CPUSA," the editorial declared:

"In North America, and in principle in Western Europe as well, the programmatic outlook and personal courage of our handfuls of memberships are the only existing basis for hope that there will be a human quality of life anywhere in the world after the end of the present decade. . . .

"This is no sectarian's grandiose claim to self-importance; it is an awful responsibility. It gives us very little to cheer about. We have no feeling of strutting about in pride because of such facts. It is an awful responsibility. We have so much responsibility; millions have nowhere to turn but to us, and we have so few resources, we are so personally insufficient in our present development, to meet the duties placed in our hands. It is an awful responsibility."

Continuing to pile one "awful responsibility" on another, the editorial announced that NCLC would institute "workers' governments throughout North America and Western Europe" within the next five years. And it added, "readers will obtain a taste of our ruthlessness in the way we proceed to finish off the Communist Party."

In its next issue, *New Solidarity* declared that NCLC "has launched 'operation mop-up' which will bury the Nixon-allied 'Communist' Party within six to eight weeks."

While postponing its creation of workers governments for the moment, NCLC lost no time in attempting to carry out its plan to "bury" the CP. In the days following the attack at Temple, NCLC goons attacked or threatened meetings of the CP or other left groups in several cities.

In Buffalo, New York, twenty armed thugs invaded a meeting of the Martin Luther King Coalition, sending three participants to the hospital and wrecking the offices of the National Associ-

ation for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), where the meeting was being held.

In Washington, D.C., another group of twenty goons attempted to break up a class at the Du Bois School of Marxist Studies. Communist party members in New York were harassed by NCLC gangs that invaded two bookstores.

Hoping to prevent a united defense by the left of the CP's right to exist, NCLC extended its threats. On the night of April 17, copies of *New Solidarity* were posted on the doors of offices of the Socialist Workers party (SWP) in Philadelphia and New York. It said in part: "If other socialist organizations cross the line and actively join the CP's alliance with Nixon and the fascists in the name of 'workers democracy,' they will be treated similarly."

On the evening of April 20, NCLC goons attempted to enter SWP forums in Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago. In all three cases, they were prevented from entering.

Then on the evening of April 23, NCLC conducted its most serious assault. The incident occurred at a meeting of mayoral candidates at Columbia University in New York. Scheduled speakers were Tony Chaitkin of NCLC; Albert Blumenthal, a candidate for the Democratic nomination; CP candidate Rasheed Storey; and Joanna Misnik, representing SWP candidate Norman Oliver.

Prior to the meeting, NCLC had distributed leaflets threatening Storey. Despite this, the CP declined an SWP proposal for a united defense of the meeting, and instead sent only about a dozen persons as a guard for Storey. Attempts were also made to persuade the student organizers of the meeting that NCLC members should be excluded, but these attempts were unsuccessful.

Shortly after the meeting began, approximately sixty thugs attempted to rush the stage. They were armed with clubs, brass knuckles, and num-chucks (jointed bars that are spun rapidly, increasing the force of their blow). They were met by seventy-five marshals, who, in a battle lasting seven or eight minutes, prevented the goons from reaching the stage. Six of the marshals, all members of the YSA (Young Socialist Alliance, the U.S. Trotskyist youth group), required

medical attention, one of them being hospitalized overnight. The extent of injuries among the attackers is not known.

One week later, another group of approximately fifty NCLC thugs armed with num-chucks attempted to storm a meeting at the CP's Center for Marxist Education in New York. Although marshals beat off the attackers, one marshal was hospitalized in critical condition.

There is considerable evidence that "operation mop-up" has attracted the participation of police agents and/or right-wing lumpen elements.

On April 13, a person identified as one of the attackers at Temple University was arrested on a YWLL complaint. He turned out to be Daniel Valdes, a Pennsylvania parole officer. He was carrying a loaded pistol at the time of his arrest.

At the Columbia meeting attacked by NCLC, the band of thugs had been whipped into such an anticommunist frenzy that they heckled Chaitkin, the NCLC speaker. Vandals in Chicago, who defaced the offices of the SWP, a CP bookstore, the Chicago Peace Council, and the Iranian Student Association, painted swastikas and slogans like "Punks of the world unite," "Commies go home," "KKK," and various obscene and sexist remarks, while pasting up copies of *New Solidarity*.

In Detroit, NCLC members have been seen entering bars, distributing copies of their paper, and asking if anyone was interested in "getting the commies." Many of the thugs involved in the attacks in New York and Philadelphia have been strangers to persons familiar with NCLC.

The right-wing involvement underlines the stupidity of using violence to "settle" disagreements between left groups. It also makes even more important the formation of a united defense of the left to prevent such hooligan assaults.

Unfortunately, the CP's recognition of this necessity has so far been uneven at best. The April 21 issue of the *Daily World*, the CP newspaper, attempted to blame "Trotskyites" for introducing violence into the movement. Dredging up the Stalinist slanders of thirty years ago, the article accused "Trotskyites" of wrecking unions and being "fifth columnists of the fascist Axis."

It appears, however, that the April

May 14, 1973



MARSHALS defend Columbia meeting against NCLC thugs.

23 assault at Columbia University may have convinced CP leaders that sectarian slanders were self-defeating. Readers of the April 25 *Daily World* found the "fifth columnists" described in somewhat different terms:

"Most seriously hurt [defending the meeting] was Tom Tillots, a member of the YSA, who went into a state of shock after receiving a blow on the head and a deep gash below his lip. He remained overnight at the hospital for observation and was released this morning. . . .

"In a statement entitled, 'Defend the right of political discussion at Columbia University,' the YSA denounced 'NCLC' for its campaign of violence against the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League and for its attack at the forum. It also called on all groups and individuals at Columbia and Barnard 'who support basic democratic rights to join in the campaign to repudiate the NCLC's attack.'"

A united defense was organized at Columbia to defend a meeting April 26 commemorating the anniversary of the 1965 uprising in the Dominican Republic. While the CP again refused to join the united effort, Columbia

YWLL did participate. Other groups who took part included YSA, SWP, International Socialists, Youth Against War and Fascism, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Puerto Rican Socialist party, and Columbia Anti-Imperialist Movement. NCLC made no attempt to disrupt this meeting.

In Boston, the CP has shown itself more conscious of the need for united action to prevent hooliganism. There, representatives of SWP, YSA, CP, and YWLL met to plan cooperation in defending their meetings. Joint defenses have so far taken place for a university meeting addressed by YWLL's chairman and a forum of the SWP. The groups are also cooperating in defending planning meetings for the May 5 protests against inflation. □

#### Used to Making Fine Distinctions

California Governor Ronald Reagan said May 1 that the actions of the Watergate conspirators should be considered "illegal" but not "criminal." Last year it was revealed that Reagan paid no state income taxes—which many consider criminal whether or not illegal.

## Healyites Vs. Karl Marx on Gold and Inflation

By Dick Roberts

[This is the second article of a three-part series on the economic theories of the Socialist Labour League, a sectarian British organization led by Gerry Healy, and its U.S. supporters, the Workers League, led by Tim Wohlforth. The first part of the series appeared in the May 7 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The tentative promises of the Socialist Labour League's economic expert Tom Kemp to analyze postwar capitalism and its contradictions in a comprehensive way were never carried out. Instead, the SLL leaders' interest in economic theory withered away, except insofar as theory could be applied in the field of sectarian warfare.<sup>6</sup>

The November 1964 monetary crisis, in which Harold Wilson's Labour government pursued deflationary policies to bolster the pound was reflected in the Healyite press in themes that have altered little in the intervening years. "Not since 1931 have we seen anything comparable to the present intervention by foreign banks," declared the November 25, 1964, *Newsletter*. "Labour MPs. . . were startled when they were suddenly told by government spokesmen that there would be no increase for old age pensioners at Christmas because of pressure from outside financial interests."

● September 18, 1965: "The future of sterling and the world crisis" by Peter Jeffries. "No loan from America, no reorganization of the institutions of world finance, no expansion of liquidity and credit or a moratorium on debt payment can solve the present crisis of British capitalism."

● March 19, 1966: "Sterling crisis worsens" by John Crawford.

● June 25, 1966: "Sterling on the slide" by John Crawford.

● August 13, 1966: G. Healy writes: "World imperialism is drifting rapidly towards its most severe economic crisis since the end of the second world war."

● September 2, 1967: "Wilson reflatés but . . . New crisis ahead."

● January 6, 1968: "United States cuts back, World recession looms."

● March 19, 1968: "World capitalism—1968, Crisis,

6. Since 1963 the Socialist Labour League has been campaigning against the Fourth International as well as the Socialist Workers party, which, although one of the founding members of the Fourth International, is today barred by reactionary legislation from affiliating with the World Party of the Socialist Revolution. For details on the SLL's sectarian arguments and methods see *Marxism Vs. Ultraleftism: Key Issues in Healy's Challenge to the Fourth International* (1967) by Ernest Germain.

panic, crash, Marxism vindicated" by G. Healy. The closing of British banks marks "a new stage of the world capitalist crisis." ". . . it has become impossible for the capitalist class and their representatives to halt the present crisis." "As the capitalist system staggers into the unknown . . ." "It is now plain that the present crisis can virtually dry up the international credit system. . . ."

● December 7, 1968: "Gold reserves slump, Crisis days in front" by the editors.

And so on down to the present day. Every report on U.S. or British trade or payments balances, or stock market swings, or gold-price changes (whether up or down), receives the same treatment until the word "crisis" becomes virtually meaningless. The editors of the *Newsletter* (and of the *Bulletin*, perhaps even more so) ought to recall Tom Kemp's admonition in 1957: ". . . the term 'crisis' has been on all our lips so frequently as to depreciate somewhat its meaning." That was 16 years ago.

### Gold and Inflation

Peter Jeffries appears to be the originator of an economic theory centering on the role of gold that has become one of the distinguishing features of Healyism. In the March 23, 1968, issue of *The Newsletter* in an article titled "Guide to the crisis," Jeffries asked a searching question: Why does the crisis take place?

"Look at the facts: America now holds only around 10 billion dollars of gold compared with nearly 25 billion 20 years ago. Yet the value of dollars now circulating in the rest of the capitalist world—in the hands of governments, banks or private individuals—now total around 30 billion dollars.

"In other words if all holders of dollars tried to exchange them for gold . . . the Americans would have to break their agreement which has kept the world financial system going since the war."

Jeffries continued in the March 30, 1968, issue: "The operation of the law of value has . . . been 'suspended' or 'avoided' throughout much of the boom period.

"The Americans were able to do this through a combination of credit manipulation and by running down their reserves at Fort Knox while they got on with the job of exporting capital, buying up European industry, and piling up inflated profits.

"Now this has come to an end. With two-thirds of their massive gold supply gone and with a collapse of confidence in the entire post-war money system the day of reckoning has arrived."

And this sturdy opponent of empiricism exclaimed: "It is now clear for all to see: the dollar is an inflationary currency, which is completely out of line with the value



of gold."<sup>7</sup>

An unsigned book review in the August 1968 *Fourth International* entitled "The boom . . . that was" adds, "No economist or financial expert, however eminent, could get away from the reality of capitalism, that it involved the exchange of products of labour and that gold was the universal commodity in the background of all international transactions.

"This remained the limit on the boom and, somewhere along the line, the expansion of trade had to run into this contradiction. The fall in the rate of profit could be evaded only up to this point by means of investment in Europe and state purchases of armaments."

There are certain elements of truth in this argument— noted long before by Mandel and others— notably the inflationary impact of government intervention in the economy and the important role this played in the postwar boom. But Jeffries's conceptions about gold and monetary crisis are way off base.

Jeffries, of course, is not voicing an individual opinion. A February 24, 1973, draft resolution of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League published in the February 24, 1973, *Workers Press* said

"In the early 1960s, gold constituted around 60 per cent of total world 'liquidity' (that is gold plus foreign exchange); today the figure has fallen to a little over a third. In other words, roughly two-thirds of world trading assets no longer have any value because they are no longer convertible to gold. . . .

"The most decisive turning point in the whole crisis came with Nixon's August 15, 1971, announcement that the dollar-gold link was broken for all time. . . .

"From this point onwards a vast pool of money was in circulation outside the United States, with no gold backing. Estimates now place this pool of paper at around \$70 billion."

In reading these paragraphs anyone familiar with Marxist economics will note certain problems. In 1968 the "crisis" was caused by the fact that U.S. gold holdings of \$10,000 million corresponded to foreign claims against U.S. reserves equal to \$30,000 million. Today, according to the *Workers Press*, successor to the *Newsletter*, the "crisis" is caused by the fact that there is no gold backing for an outstanding \$70,000 million. And this figure could be corrected. It stood at around \$70,000 million in August 1971 when Nixon inaugurated the "New Economic Policy." When the February 24 *Workers Press* article was written, the figure had risen to about \$80,000 million.

Doesn't this indicate that there is more to the monetary crisis than the relationship between the U.S. gold in Fort Knox and the volume of dollars held abroad? As a matter of historical fact, the volume of gold in the central banking system has barely changed since the introduction of the "two-tier" system in March 1968. But the value of dollars held abroad has nearly tripled.

The world capitalist powers have been in and out of an international recession since 1968. The dollar has been twice devalued. Major world currencies are floating

7. For the Healyite attack on Mandel's supposedly "empirical" methodology see "A Malignant Case of Sectarianism in Philosophy" and "Healyite Revisionism in the Field of Philosophy" by George Novack, in *Intercontinental Press*, 1972, pp. 771 ff. and 1020 ff.

today, a situation ruled out by central bankers in 1968. But the volume of U.S. dollars abroad continues to expand; world trade and finance continues, and it continues to be conducted largely in dollars.

Surely it would have been more in order for the February 1973 SLL draft resolution on world economics to drop Jeffries's arguments. Events have long since demonstrated that they don't explain anything.

But the logic of sectarianism goes the other way. The more a line is shown to be out of keeping with reality, the more shrilly is it repeated. "With gold now supporting perhaps only 10 per cent of the value of world trade," the February SLL resolution states, "the implications of the crisis must be a collapse of much of the other 90 per cent. For no matter how much the revisionists sneered at the analysis of the monetary crisis made by the SLL, gold and commodities are tied together inseparably. This was the whole purpose of Marx's analysis in 'Capital', a work which all these gentlemen said was now 'out of date'."

## Marx and Gold

The Healyites' appeals to Marx are often without justification. Marx's treatment of gold is a case in point. For in the third volume of *Capital* Marx discussed precisely the question under consideration, namely the relationship between the flow of gold in international finance and economic crisis.

Marx polemicized against British central bankers who believed that they could control economic development by regulating the supply of gold and manipulating interest rates.

In a brilliant analysis of the crises of 1847 and 1857, Marx showed that the origins of these crises must be traced to disruptions of production (in 1847, for example, to the collapse of British-India trade). Marx demonstrated that there is no exact correspondence between interest rates or gold supplies and the general direction of the economy.

Only in times of crisis, Marx emphasized, does gold play a role by taking on special qualities. Losing sight of this can lead to erroneous currency theories. ". . . even a very considerable drain of gold is relatively ineffective if it does not occur in the critical period of the industrial cycle."<sup>8</sup>

Then, in a famous passage Marx stated, "A certain quantity of metal, insignificant compared with the total production, is admitted to be the pivotal point of the system. . . . So long as enlightened economy treats 'of capital' *ex professo*, it looks down upon gold and silver with the greatest disdain, considering them the most indifferent and useless form of capital. But as soon as it treats of the banking system, everything is reversed, and gold and silver become capital *par excellence*, for whose preservation every other form of capital and labour is sacrificed. But how are gold and silver distinguished from other forms of wealth? Not by the magnitude of their value, for this is determined by the quantity of labour incorporated in them; but by the fact that they represent

8. References are to the Foreign Languages Publishing House (Moscow, 1962) edition.

independent incarnations, expressions of the *social* character of wealth. . . . This social existence of wealth therefore assumes the aspect of a world beyond, of a thing, matter, commodity, alongside of and external to the real elements of social wealth. So long as production is in a state of flux this is forgotten. Credit, likewise a social form of wealth, crowds out money and usurps its place. It is faith in the social character of production which allows the money-form of products to assume the aspect of something only evanescent and ideal, something merely imaginative. But as soon as credit is shaken—and this phase of necessity always appears in the modern industrial cycle—all the real wealth is to be actually and suddenly transformed into money, into gold and silver—a mad demand, which, however, grows necessarily out of the system itself. And all the gold and silver which is supposed to satisfy these enormous demands amounts to but a few millions in the vaults of the Bank" (pp. 560-1).

Marx made a number of points in this remarkable passage. How is it possible, he asked, that gold, which is always insignificant in value compared to total production, plays such a big role in central banking? Does this refute the theory presented in the first volume of *Capital* that the essential character of capitalism is to be discovered in the production process and not in the process of circulation?

It is precisely because of production crises that gold maintains its special role, Marx answered. For in the panic there is a mad rush to dump "evanescent" paper values for the real value stored in gold.

But this does not mean that gold has a special effect on production generally. For the crisis originates in the "real elements of social wealth," that is, in production. So long as production is expanding, money and credit operations are mere paperwork, "evanescent and ideal." But crises inevitably flow from capitalist production ("the modern industrial cycle"). The credit system is shaken and there is a rush for gold—even for "a few millions." (Note that the short supply of gold did not begin in the 1960s; Marx discussed it here in the 1860s.)

According to Jeffries, "Marx showed that . . . the more the volume of credit was expanded on a narrower gold base, the greater the possibility of a collapse of the entire superstructure of credit" (*Workers Press*, October 30, 1969).

Jeffries seems to attribute to Marx a very profound explanation of credit crises! In fact, what he attributes to Marx is a tautology and Marx was not given to passing off tautology as explanation.

According to Marx—and he was speaking of the reality—credit *always* expands more rapidly than its gold base during the upswing of a capitalist cycle, unless, completely by accident, an increase in gold production happens to keep pace with the increased monetary requirements of the boom. But the further the system advances into the upswing of the cycle, the closer it approaches the point of crisis, which must bring with it a contraction of credit and the possibility of collapse.

But the *explanation* of the collapse is not to be found in the ratio between credit and gold; it is to be found in the dialectical totality of the elements that determine the motion of the economic system, most fundamentally, the organic composition of capitals, rates of exploitation, rates of profit and physical productivity, and the uneven

development of these rates between industrial and geographical sectors. The quantity of gold and the mass of credit neither cause nor prevent collapse.

Jeffries confuses tautology with explanation because he confuses appearance with reality. He repeats the error of the City of London in the 1840s and 1850s which Marx polemicized against.

## Gold and Inflation Again

Marx, however, did not rule out crises being exacerbated by mistaken central banking policies. The Bank Act of 1844 rigidly tied the volume of pound notes in circulation to the gold reserves of the Bank of England. And from the standpoint of the Bank of England (and the SLL), this would seem to be sound monetary policy.

Marx explained: "The Bank Act of 1844 thus directly induces the entire commercial world forthwith to hoard a reserve fund of bank-notes at the outbreak of a crisis; in other words, to accelerate and intensify the crisis. By such artificial intensification of demand for money accommodation, that is, for means of payment at the decisive moment, and the simultaneous restriction of the supply the Bank Act drives the rate of interest to a hitherto unknown height during a crisis. Hence, instead of eliminating crises, the Act, on the contrary, intensifies them" (p. 542).

The truth of these remarks has long been known to British central bankers. From the 1870s onward they increasingly abandoned rigid money controls and resorted to inflationary deficits when the need arose.

Under the stress of the world crisis of the 1930s and the prodding of Keynes, capitalist central banking took another step in this direction. It abandoned the gold standard.

This, the Healyites believe, is the main error and one of these days the gold standard will be reasserted, wiping out "the other 90 per cent" of the value of world trade. Interestingly enough, leading sectors of French capitalism have been urging a return to the gold standard since 1965. Moreover, it is hardly a coincidence that readers of the *Newsletter* in 1965 would get the impression that General de Gaulle's advice to go back to gold was taken seriously.

"In fact," Ernest Mandel wrote in the February 19, 1965, *World Outlook* (the former name of *Intercontinental Press*), "only Pravda declared with a straight face that [de Gaulle's proposal] sounded 'reasonable.'"<sup>9</sup>

In this article, entitled "De Gaulle Doesn't Know It But the Golden Days of Capitalism Are Over," Mandel declared, "there is not the slightest chance that de Gaulle's proposal will be taken up. It would be suicide for capitalism to return to a rigid system of money and credit controlled automatically by the supply of gold. Such a system could lead only to a major depression.

"Those who advocate returning to the gold standard score a good point when they argue that the present monetary system leads to increasing inflation. This is completely correct. But increasing inflation is the only means

9. This article and a number of Mandel's writings on the international monetary crisis are collected in *Decline of the Dollar* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972).

by which a capitalist economy can convert grave depressions into 'minor' recessions. What capitalist government in the United States, for instance, would risk having fifteen or twenty million unemployed for the sake of 'fighting inflation' or 'going back to the gold standard'?"

This does not mean that gold will be ousted from central banking. On the contrary it will continue to play a central role, for the reasons Marx explained—because it is an "independent incarnation" of social wealth. The sharper the rivalry between competing bastions of world imperialism, the greater the instability of the rates of exchange of international currencies and the more will gold be prized.

Further, the price of gold in dollars will continue to rise as it already has with the two devaluations of the dollar. This expresses inflation without eliminating its basic causes in any way. Technology in the gold in-

dustry has lagged far behind the remainder of world industry. It means that the socially necessary labor required to mine gold is relatively greater than that required to produce other commodities. "*The decline in the value of commodities—relative to that of gold—would therefore be expressed in a sharp increase in their price,*" Mandel wrote in the March-April 1969 *International Socialist Review*. "There is no better way of saying that the means of exchange—paper money—is being greatly inflated."<sup>10</sup>

Inflation, be it repeated, is the inevitable result of state intervention in the economy. It is caused by the massive increase in money (including credit) for which there are no countervalues on the market. This occurs independently of the quantity of gold in circulation.

(To be continued.)

10. See *Decline of the Dollar*, p. 99 ff.

## DOCUMENTS

### May Day Manifesto of the Fourth International

[The following statement was issued on May Day by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. It was titled "Forward to Europe-wide Coordination of the Present Struggles of Workers, Youth, and Women! Forward to the Socialist United States of Europe!"]

\* \* \*

During recent months the rising wave of struggles by workers and all the oppressed of capitalist Europe has reached new heights.

In Italy the metalworkers have organized an unprecedented mass mobilization to win new contracts, culminating in a demonstration in Rome of 250,000 workers and the partial occupation of the Fiat factories in Turin.

In Great Britain, after several years of strikes and mounting resistance to reactionary legislation, the trade-union bureaucracy was forced, under the pressure of the growing militancy of the workers, to call for a twenty-four-hour general strike on May 1.

In Spain, the workers of Barcelona have just downed tools by the tens of thousands to protest the police murder of a construction worker.

In France, the revolt of the low-paid, semiskilled workers at Renault,

coming after many occupations of smaller factories, coincides with the occupation of the big Peugeot factory.

Denmark and the Netherlands have just experienced their greatest strike waves since the second world war. In Belgium, a whole series of strikes have gone on, one after the other, since the autumn of 1972. Even West Germany, the most prosperous and stable country in capitalist Europe, has experienced several wildcat and official strikes and growing agitation in the factories and the unions.

This rising wave of militancy of the European working class is the toiling masses' answer to the burdens that the growing contradictions of capitalism impose on the wage earners.

Inflation; massive lay-offs; unemployment on a scale unknown since the second world war; speed-up; increasingly fatiguing work; intensified exploitation; attempts at integrating the unions into the bourgeois state apparatus; attacks against the right to strike and the right to form picket lines, against basic democratic rights of the labor movement; growing repression by the state apparatus, sometimes supported by armed gangs of company goons of an increasingly clear-cut fascist character; superexploitation of immigrant workers, national and racial minorities, youth, and

working women; mounting degradation of the environment and of the quality of life—these are some of the evils against which growing numbers of European workers are struggling.

#### Capitalism in Decline

All these evils are tied to the growing crisis of declining capitalism as a system, nationally and internationally, a crisis that expresses itself, among other ways, in the collapse of the world monetary system, the increase in interimperialist competition, the slowdown in economic growth, and the generalized crisis of capitalist relations of production as a whole. This crisis of the capitalist system is intertwined with a general crisis of all bourgeois social relations.

Parallel to the workers' revolt against capitalist exploitation there has developed an ever deepening youth revolt against the alienating and oppressive character of the educational system and against the bourgeois army, as well as a revolt of women against the burdens that bourgeois legislation and patriarchal class society impose on them.

The recent mass movements in Belgium, Denmark, and above all in France, in which hundreds of thousands of high-schoolers and other

youth took part, show that bourgeois society is today being rejected by massive numbers of youth.

The militancy and anticapitalist thrust of these mass movements prove that the seeds of May '68, far from having been squelched by the bourgeoisie, are flowering more fully than ever among the new generation of youth, on a higher level of consciousness and especially of organization. In this regard, the mass movement of French high-schoolers, university students, and apprentices has an exemplary character whose importance goes way beyond the French youth and the French borders.

The young high-schoolers, students, and apprentices have elected democratic strike committees throughout the country. Each strike committee sends delegates to local, regional, and national coordinating bodies. General assemblies discuss the decisions of these delegations and recall them whenever they disagree with their decisions. Within these general assemblies, workers democracy is respected to the fullest extent. All political currents are free to defend their respective viewpoints and proposals. And the majority decisions are generally respected and carried out by minorities.

### Combining Spontaneity and Organization

This form of organization, missing in May '68, marks an important step forward. It has succeeded in combining spontaneity and organization, freedom of discussion and unity in action. It offers a living foretaste of how the working class and the toiling masses will organize their general struggles to come, how they will organize their revolutionary power and their new state after they have overthrown capitalism, destroyed the capitalist state apparatus, and founded a democratic system of workers councils. It will not fail to deeply influence the forms in which the workers will organize their struggles from now on. Already a growing number of democratic strike committees, elected by general assemblies of strikers, are springing up during the current wave of workers struggles going on in most European countries.

Because the European working class is confronted by a combined on-

slaught of both the employers and the bourgeois state apparatus, it needs a centralized political thrust in order to overcome the factory, local, or regional fragmentation of struggles. Whatever the immediate forms that express this need in the various countries during the current strike wave, in the final analysis, the key question posed is the conquest of power by the working class. This conquest of power requires a new form of democracy, radically different from and more advanced than bourgeois parliamentary democracy: the democracy of workers councils, which will not reduce but will increase all democratic rights, including the right to form opposition parties, to publish opposition journals, to have access to radio and television, and all the other democratic rights that the toiling masses aspire to enjoy fully.

### Against the Europe of the Trusts

Capital's current antilabor offensive shows that the growing structural crisis of capitalism is not limited by national borders. Capital's offensive is carried out by the international capitalist organizations, the so-called multinational corporations, and is backed up by organs like NATO, international financial institutions, and so on. Confronting a capitalist system organized more and more on an international scale, a workers movement organized solely on a national basis becomes weaker and weaker and runs the risk of being outmaneuvered.

Multinational corporations, whether controlled by U. S., European, Japanese, or "national" capital, can open and close factories in many countries at will, can fire thousands of workers, can pressure governments and trade-union bureaucracies to level off wages and working conditions at the lowest point in any country concerned. Reforms enacted by national parliaments, always at best by-products of militant working-class struggles, become less and less feasible in the face of the operations of these giant trusts. There is only one effective answer for the workers: international solidarity and international unity in action.

Let us build a tight network of shop stewards, factory delegates, and factory committees in all plants controlled by the same multinational corporation. Let the committees and delegates consult and inform one another

on every change in labor organization, every speed-up, all layoffs, so that they can work out a common international response in each case!

Let us work toward a solid unity in action of all trade unions in Europe, regardless of political or ideological differences among their members or leaders.

Let us organize Europe-wide strikes against the Europe-wide schemes of the capitalists, like the recent simultaneous occupation of the chemical plants of the AKZO trust in the Netherlands and West Germany, which forced the corporation to retract its decision to lay off 5,500 workers in four different countries.

### The Socialist United States of Europe

Let us prepare to organize a great Europe-wide Congress of Labor that would unite all unions, workers parties, and workers organizations of West Europe in order to work out a common strategy through which the power of 50 million workers can be brought to bear not only in smashing the capitalist offensive, but also in moving forward to overthrowing capitalism and building the Socialist United States of Europe.

Solidarity must not be limited to common action against a common enemy carrying the same trademark of the same corporation. It must especially protect the weak, the super-exploited, the immigrant workers, the unemployed, the workers with the lowest wages, the old, the sick, and the infirm. It must express the central aim of guaranteeing a decent standard of living and basic human rights to all members of society, regardless of economic ups and downs.

It must especially come to the aid of those struggling so courageously under the most difficult conditions of brutal dictatorship and violent repression: our brothers and sisters in Spain, Portugal, and Greece, the heroic fighters of the colonial revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and above all those of Indochina.

In struggling for these goals; for the sliding scale of wages and hours; for the thirty-five-hour week; for opening up the companies' books and ending secret banking; for imposing workers control over hiring and firing, over the setting of the cost-of-

living index, over the pace of work, and over all organization of labor, the toiling masses will find that they can ensure their well-being only by seizing ownership of the factories and the banks from the capitalists, by smashing their state apparatus, by

carrying out a socialist revolution.

Along this road, the construction of a revolutionary party, rooted among the masses and based on the revolutionary Marxist theory and program of the Fourth International, will be an indispensable instrument in as-

simulating the experiences of the mass mobilizations and actions.

*Forward to Europe-wide coordination and generalization of the workers strikes and the youth struggles!*

*Forward to the Socialist United States of Europe!* □

## ERP Offers 'Conditional Support' to Peronist Regime

[The following interview granted to Gian Giacomo Foà, the Buenos Aires correspondent of *Corriere della Sera*, by Mario Roberto Santucho, the head of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People), was published in the April 24 issue of the Milan daily. The interview made a sensation in Argentina, particularly Santucho's announcement of "conditional support" to the Peronist government scheduled to take office May 25. The translation from the Italian is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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BUENOS AIRES, April 23—"We have not killed Admiral Aleman. He is alive and well. You can set the family's mind at ease. We kidnapped him because he has figured in almost all the major episodes of these last eighteen years, and we want to put the regime, the governments that followed successively after the fall of Perón in 1955, on trial."

The black hood covering Roberto Santucho's features could not hide the extreme tension that gripped the commander of the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army), the Trotskyist organization that from the kidnapping of Oberdan Sallustro last March to that of Admiral Enrique Aleman a few weeks ago has shaken the country with ever more frequent and spectacular terrorist actions. Along with Tom Streithourst, a special guest from NBC in New York, and after indescribable adventures, I managed to talk to Roberto Santucho, from whom I wanted to find out the meaning of the guerrilla offensive coming on the heels of the Peronist electoral victory and on the eve of May 25, when the Justicialist candidate Héctor Cámpora is to take office.

Just this morning the Buenos Aires

dailies ran banner headlines announcing the occupation of public buildings (including the police station) in Garín, an urban center sixty kilometers from Buenos Aires, as well as three more terrorist attacks at other spots in the country.

"The recent experiences," Santucho declared, "have taught Argentines that



ROBERTO SANTUCHO

passivity on the part of the masses, inactivity on the part of the people, in other words a truce, has never, not even in the present circumstances when a freely elected people's government is about to come to power, I repeat never, brought positive results. Our organization has been able to see that always, in 1955 as well as in 1956, the passive attitude of the masses enabled the reactionary forces to deprive them of the rights they had won. This is why we have intensified the struggle. By fighting, we are consolidating the victory at the ballot box."

Santucho avoided defining the "reactionary forces." In stepping up their activity in these last weeks, the guer-

rillas, both the Trotskyist and Peronist varieties (the Montoneros and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias [Revolutionary Armed Forces]), have been fighting not only against Lanusse and the armed forces in general but also, and it might not be too venturesome to say, primarily, against the sections of the Peronist movement allergic to the Marxist ideas that all the subversive organizations carry in their baggage and want to impose on the future government.

But as of now it is impossible to predict the features of the Cámpora government. Peronism takes its inspiration from the vague ideology of a colonel who for several years, like many other Latin American officers, tried to ape the Duce [Mussolini]. Some, therefore, define "Justicialism" as a movement based on nationalism, fascism, and primarily demagogogy.

This at least was the reality of Peronism up to 1955. Since then, however, John William Cook (Peron's first representative) and his disciples (the guerrillas) have been absorbing an ideology from Marxism that was completely alien to the old Peronist creed.

After the March 11 election victory, when the time came to gather the fruits of so many years of clandestine struggle, the Peronist left saw the reemergence of old figures in the regime, Black Shirts and Brown Shirts, who they thought were buried. And so, they decided to step up their actions. As was said before, this was not only the reaction of the ERP but also of the FAR and the Montoneros.

This was an aspect Santucho wanted to stress by saying: "In the struggle, we have developed fraternal relations with the Peronist armed organizations, and we share the points of view of the most militant sectors of the Justicialist movement." Roberto Santucho, a Calabrian immigrant's son who got his doctorate in political science from

Princeton University, a champion sharpshooter and an archeology buff, is thirty-six years old and the most wanted man in Argentina.

Married in 1961 to a teacher of painting, Ana Maria Villarreal, he has become the protagonist of a thousand fantastic adventures. Ana Maria was arrested for the first time when she was distributing bottles of milk to slum dwellers after holding up a dairy truck. She was later freed.

Four times Santucho went into the jails and got her out by schemes and by force. Last August both were jailed along with many other guerrillas in the Rawson military prison. Once again Santucho wanted to organize a breakout. The first part of the plan worked perfectly, and all the guerrillas managed to make their escape and head toward the Trelew airport, where they intended to capture and divert two jet liners.

The first plane was seized shortly after its arrival, and Santucho and other leaders were thus able to take refuge in Chile before going on to Havana. The second group of fugitives, including Roberto's wife, was trapped in the airport. That night they surrendered to a naval unit and were taken to the Trelew airbase. During the night they were machine-

gunned "while trying to escape."

Santucho was tense and nervous in our presence, and we were afraid that he would not remain much longer in the room. Many impatient guerrillas were going in and out. We still had a lot of questions to ask. "Will the ERP fight against the Cámpora government? Will it lay down its arms after May 25?"

The commander of the major guerrilla organization was categorical: "We will not lay down our arms on May 25, but we will continue fighting the multinational corporations. We will give conditional support to President Cámpora and we will back the measures we consider positive. We will support the most radical sectors of the Peronist movement but not all of it, because Justicialism is a movement with many faces, with both left-wing and right-wing currents. We will continue our struggle against the army and all the other repressive forces, against all enemies of the people."

Coming back to Aleman, the guerrilla leader Santucho sought to make it clear: "The admiral has always been in the forefront from 1955 till today. He took part in the coup that ousted Perón. He was one of the special commissioners that

served as trustees of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor]. He was not guiltless in the theft of Eva Perón's body. He is one of the cadres of the naval secret service and has worked with other services of this type. He was a member of the Council of Admirals at the time of the Trelew massacre."

After repeating that the health of the "prisoner in the people's jail" was excellent in all respects and that he had all the comforts, the guerrilla leader said: "The maximum guarantees will be afforded to the defendant in his trial." To a specific question, Santucho replied: "Aleman's fate will depend on what attitude he takes, above all on his cooperating to clear up facts and episodes that remain obscure for the people. Sentence has not yet been pronounced."

The interview ended and the elaborate race down unknown streets recommenced. Like the trip coming, the return took three hours. Finally they took off the tape-covered glasses and we could see the light again. It was dawn. We got out in downtown Buenos Aires and bought a morning paper. On the first page we read the report of yet another guerrilla attack. □

## Ligue Communiste Central Committee's Political Resolution

[The Central Committee of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, held a meeting in Paris April 20-23. The April 27 issue of the Ligue's weekly newspaper, *Rouge*, reported that the first two days of the meeting were devoted to discussions on the current political and social situation in France, including special reports on workers struggles, the youth movement, and struggles within the army.

[The last two days were spent discussing preparations for the Tenth World Congress (Fourth since Reunification) of the Fourth International. Reports were given on the state of discussion within the International, on Europe, on Argentina, and on the Middle East.

[The Central Committee decided to open a pre-World Congress discussion within the Ligue and to call for a

national conference on organizational questions to be held late in June. The meeting passed specific resolutions on antimilitarist work and on the youth mobilization. Also passed was a general political resolution, which was published in *Rouge*.

[We reprint below the text of the political resolution. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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1. Since the legislative elections, a new political situation has developed in France. The unprecedented mobilization of students, high-schoolers, and apprentices against the Debré law and against the Fontanet decree has fostered a fresh rise of militant workers struggles in the big bastions of the

metal industry as well as in many small and medium-sized factories.

2. But because of the lack of general perspectives after the political setback of May '68 and the electoral setback of the Union of the Left, the workers have not been inclined to plunge into a head-on test of strength whose outcome appears to them uncertain. Despite the workers' general desire to get rid of the regime, the present struggles are opening up a deep social crisis rather than a generalized explosion; they herald the opening of a period of tough and protracted class confrontations. Nevertheless, a brutal repressive measure or any attack by the state against the working class as a whole could sharply alter the situation by unifying all the struggles and touching off a test of strength.

3. The current situation in the working class is characterized by a general,

though uneven, combativity and by differentiated levels of consciousness—the Renault strike is a graphic illustration. The emergence of a new workers vanguard in the factories and the defiance of the reformist leaderships by sections of the working class foster the development of a growing revolt not only around wage demands, but also around the determination of work classifications and the improvement of working conditions, especially on the part of the semiskilled workers and the superexploited workers (immigrants, women, youth).

4. These struggles place on the agenda questions of workers self-organization and self-defense against capital's armed bands, which have already carried out attacks at Peugeot.

5. For the first time, the youth movement of high-schoolers and university students has been extended to the apprentices of the technical schools. Beyond its immediate demands, this movement expresses the deep revolt of youth against a society that they do not accept—not its militarization, nor its system of education, nor the future it holds for them.

The breadth of the movement and its united democratic organization in the form of strike committees and national coordinating bodies have enabled it to create a favorable relationship of forces and to make the regime retreat. The movement is also a living example for the workers movement. The depth of the mobilization and its international character—demonstrated by the youth struggles in Belgium, Germany, Spain, and Denmark—prove that this is not a matter of a conjunctural explosion. Its quick resumption, already predictable, will play a key role in shaking the capitalist system. A society disavowed by masses of its youth has no great future.

6. This situation brings to light the decisive role of revolutionists. It will in large part be up to them to establish tight bonds between the youth in struggle and the workers movement, to prevent divisions from springing up among workers who have drawn different or even contradictory lessons from the events of the past five years. It will especially be up to the revolutionists to see that elected and recallable strike committees are generated, that working-class experiences of self-organization are repeated and

spread. It is on the basis of these extraparliamentary experiences that the workers will find the road to a regime that will be their own—one of workers councils.

## II

7. The election results have exacerbated the crisis of the system of political domination set up by Gaullism. Pompidou is too lightweight to play the role of a Bonaparte; the UDR [Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the



MESSMER: His government represents eroded remains of Gaullism.

Republic, the Gaullist party], which no longer commands an absolute parliamentary majority, must more and more give up the pretense of being a great collective movement and will tend to become just one party among others in a caretaker parliamentary majority.

8. Messmer's ludicrously reactionary government had no time to put its social-seduction operation into effect. Its modest programs were torn to pieces by the current mobilization. It has already had to endure the development of a campaign that has initiated the whole young generation into antimilitarism. It has had to carry out spectacular retreats: letting Debré go, abortively banning the

March 22 demonstration in Paris, postponing de facto the application of the Debré law. It has also had to abandon the wage policy that was practiced by the Chaban-Delmas government.

At a moment when all the various wage policies throughout Europe are the object of violent social struggles, the French working class does not feel bound by the clauses in its contracts—with good reason—and is forcing the trade-union leaders to escalate their demands in order to contain rank-and-file pressure.

9. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie has not lost all hope of reestablishing a climate of peace and understanding. Under this perspective, it will not hesitate to engage in a sort of blackmail against the union organizations, blackmail that will also allow it to test the unions' capabilities of responding to a more important crackdown, for the day when that may prove necessary. Thus, during the latest struggles, the bourgeoisie took the opportunity to denounce the irresponsibility of those unions whose ranks had outflanked the leaders, and at the same time it reconsidered its plans to recognize the C.F.T.

10. Nevertheless, the terms of the bourgeoisie's dilemma remain unchanged: A policy of head-on repression would facilitate unification of the workers struggles and would risk leading to a united response by the working class. Conversely, a policy of systematic concessions would conflict with the economic recovery of the last years just at the moment when Nixon-inspired international meetings are coming up, and would encourage workers struggles rather than calm them down.

As far as its room for maneuver and its social base are concerned, the regime remains weak. On the other hand, it has progressively built up its police and judicial repressive apparatus, which it resorts to increasingly to get out of its difficulties: "antiwrecker laws," the individual "freedoms" law, the decree on altering the offices of state functionaries.

Moreover, the utilization of employers' militias and fascist groups cannot be interpreted as a mere aberration. It corresponds to the employers' need to have at their command the most varied means (both legal and illegal) of dealing with the militant struggles

to come without becoming a prisoner of their own legal system.

11. The Communist party's mediocre election results (not unimportant setbacks in previous strongholds, stagnation almost everywhere else), the huge electoral resurgence of the Socialist party, and the strengthened reaffirmation of a revolutionary pole of attraction to the left of the CP able to make its influence felt on the electoral field, coming as they did after a campaign in which the CP hoped to make significant gains, raised some questions for the CP membership. The leadership feels compelled to respond to this, partly by changing its previous line; this was already begun during the election period.

In his postelection report to the Central Committee, [CP General Secretary] Georges Marchais reaffirmed the need to give the CP a new public image (as an open, democratic party that is not in favor of importing socialism from abroad).

As the youth mobilizations developed, the CP (after some initial trepidation) tried to latch on to the movement by agreeing, up to a point, to recognize the movement's organizational forms, its slogans, and the lines of action it has marked out.

In the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, France's largest trade-union federation], after having begun with the perspective of fighting for the implementation of the Provins program (a UDR program!), the CP fraction bluntly abandoned this orientation in order to again take up its own demands, and then to extend them progressively as struggles developed and as it became increasingly difficult to discipline and canalize the struggle of the semiskilled workers at Renault. This reorientation is also expressed in the current measures aimed at tying the rank-and-file workers to the union negotiators.

12. These changes must not be seen as a new general line or even a fully elaborated tactical turn. They are a consequence primarily of the results of the elections and of the CP's fear of seeing the electoral pole represented by the SP and the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party], in alliance with the CFDT [Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor], make any headway in the

working class and weaken the CP's control of the working class.

But insofar as these adaptations are going on concurrently with the growing Social Democraticization of the Communist party and the easing of its unconditional allegiance to the Soviet bureaucracy, they do mark a new step in this direction. In the long run, the CP's tactical feint will not avert exacerbation of the CP's own contradictions. The radical pronouncements have remained mostly verbal or literary, even if it is undeniable that the CP's green light to the various struggles facilitated their unfolding.

Insofar as they are crude, unprepared, and not explicit, these successive shifts—even if they correspond to the desires of the membership—cannot help but disorient the CP's secondary leadership. The sudden stress on struggle while the strategy remains unchanged and the orientation fixated on an electoral program when there are no elections in sight can only make for increased incoherence.

## Brazil

### Political Prisoner Commits 'Suicide'

[The following article appeared in the March 1 issue of *Campanha*, a newspaper published by exiled Brazilian revolutionists residing in Chile. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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According to information released at the end of January by the Divisão de Ordem Política e Social [DOPS—Division of Political and Social Order, the political police] in Recife, Anatalia Melo Alves, a prisoner since December 13 of last year, allegedly committed suicide in its headquarters at 5 p.m. on January 22. According to DOPS, she set fire to her clothes and used the handle of her purse to hang herself. They also said that Anatalia was using the name Lucia Maria dos Santos and that she had been held prisoner by DOPS since January 17 along with her husband, Luis Alves de Melo Neto, and that both belonged to the PCBR [Partido Comu-

## III

13. In this situation, in view of the role we have played in the recent mobilizations, the members of the Ligue Communiste have the task of working toward unifying all the presently distinct and parallel movements into a generalized struggle against the regime. To do this, they will pay special attention to conflicts erupting in the factories. Through these struggles, in which we will be able to be a motive force, a broad workers vanguard will be educated; through these struggles we will contribute to shifting the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the working class and between the revolutionists and the reformist leaders of the workers movement.

The members of the Ligue will raise slogans most appropriate to unifying the working class and to pressing toward big struggles, especially by insisting on democratic self-organization of the struggles, and on putting into practice workers control and workers self-defense. □

nista Brasileiro Revolucionário—Brazilian Revolutionary Communist party].

This is just one more murder that is going by the name of "suicide." The fact that DOPS is lying about it can be seen in its own statement. It says that "Anatalia, after confessing that she had signed some documents, asked permission to take a bath. Fifteen minutes later the officers, realizing that she was gone, went to the bathroom and saw that she was dead."

Everybody also knows that taking a bath revives the body and puts the prisoner again in a position to be tortured. The only bath that is allowed is one that is used to get the prisoner to respond with greater sensitivity to electric shock because the body will be damp.

This is another of the usual dirty lies. It is one more murder that we will remember when we settle accounts with the Brazilian military dictatorship. □