

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 11, No. 19

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May 21, 1973

50c

Indict Two Members of White House Gang



Zionist State Marks 25th Year; Threatens to Invade Lebanon

Congress Asked to Set Start of War

The New Hampshire state legislature has asked the U.S. Congress to legislate a ticklish historical question: the date on which the Vietnam war "officially" began.

In a petition printed in the April 30 *Congressional Record*, the legislature requests that Congress "enact legislation setting February 1, 1955, as the starting date of the Vietnam conflict in order to give recognition to all who served in the Vietnam theater of war."

The petition notes that at present August 5, 1964 (the date of the "Tonkin Gulf incident"), is officially regarded as the beginning of the war. There are problems with this date, however, since "the first combat death that the government officially recognizes occurred in 1961. . . ." Obviously disturbed by U.S. soldiers dying in combat during peacetime, the legislators go on to note other changes in official history that invalidate August 5, 1964:

" . . . the United States Senate has twice voted to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. . . . The administration has publicly stated that it does not regard the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution as the basis for its authority to operate in Vietnam. . . ."

The petition, however, does not state why February 1, 1955, should be regarded as the beginning of the war. In fact, it contains arguments that would suggest an earlier date as more appropriate:

" . . . on November 8, 1950, the first American United States Air Force advisers arrived in Vietnam to assist the French and South Vietnamese. . . ."

" . . . after the fall of Dien Bien Phu in May 1954 . . . French forces withdrew and the American presence was gradually increased and escalated. . . ."

There are other possibilities not mentioned by the legislators. We tend to favor the day that Vice-President Nixon publicly raised the idea of using atomic bombs to "save" Dien Bien Phu. But probably it would be best not to take any final action until all the U.S. government's secret files are made public. They would undoubtedly suggest a number of additional dates. □

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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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More Nixon Aides Caught Up in Watergate Flood

By Allen Myers

"The circle of apparent complicity in the Watergate case and related crimes and improprieties spreads ever wider," the *Wall Street Journal* commented in a worried editorial May 9, "embracing a dozen or so White House aides, officials of the Justice Department, the head of the FBI, a high official of the CIA who is now Marine Corps commandant, the President's personal lawyer. It is only natural to expect the disclosures to continue, and to assume that in the end they will prove the worst."

It is a measure of the crisis facing Nixon and the U. S. ruling class that this authoritative capitalist journal found itself forced to consider seriously the possibility of impeachment and what effects such an action might have. Only one president has been impeached in U. S. history; the effort to oust him failed by one vote. The *Wall Street Journal* recalled this precedent with foreboding:

"The unsuccessful impeachment of President Andrew Johnson took three months from the time of the House vote to final disposition. Given the domestic and international trouble that could arise, that is a long time to have a paralyzed President."

In the view of the paper's editors, the "worst outcome" of the Watergate scandal would be an impeachment effort that failed and thus left "half of the nation feeling the President can get away with crime and the other half feeling he was the victim of an overreaching and politically motivated assault."

The "least bad outcome," the editors continued, would be to show that "the President had no direct involvement but was misled by his aides." This, they had to admit, was not too likely: ". . . there is a highly plausible line of conjecture pointing toward presidential involvement if not in the original bugging at least in the subsequent cover-up. It is hard to believe that his most loyal aides would not take the full story to him; it is hard to believe that someone in politics as



L'Express

long as Mr. Nixon would fail to press for a full answer when Washington was abuzz with scandal."

It should be noted that these comments appeared before a number of new developments that spread the scandal even wider — and higher.

Gray Fingers the Boss

The revelation most directly linking Nixon to the attempted cover-up of the scandal came from an unlikely source: former acting FBI director L. Patrick Gray.

Gray has in the past shown an almost doglike loyalty to Nixon and the latter's top aides. His actions in turning over evidence to the criminals — and destroying parts of it at their request — cost Gray appointment as director of the FBI and forced his resignation. Now it appears that under questioning by Senate investigators Gray is beginning to spill the beans.

Anthony Ripley reported from Washington in the May 12 *New York Times* that Gray "has told Senate investigators that he talked by telephone with President Nixon about three

weeks after the Watergate burglary last June 17 to express concern over White House obstacles in his path and confusion that was hampering his investigation, committee sources said today [May 11]."

The next day, Ripley added further details:

"Mr. Gray told Senate investigators that he telephoned Mr. [Clark] MacGregor [who replaced John Mitchell as head of the Republican campaign committee after the latter resigned July 1] first and then the President on July 6, expressing his concern that White House obstacles in his path and confusion were hampering the F. B. I. investigation.

"According to Senate sources, he said he tried to arrange a meeting with Richard Helms, then head of the Central Intelligence Agency, to discuss possible C. I. A. connections to the Watergate incident. He said the meeting was abruptly canceled, with no reason given, by John D. Ehrlichman, assistant to the President."

In a memorandum submitted to the Senate committee May 7, convicted Watergate burglar James McCord pro-

vided a motive for the White House interest in preventing Gray from talking with Helms. This was that there was a plan under consideration to have the CIA take the blame for the break-in.

McCord said that prior to the trial of the burglars in January "intense pressure was applied on some of the defendants to falsely claim for purposes of a defense . . . that the Watergate operation was a C. I. A. operation. This would have had the effect of clearing the Committee for the Re-election of the President [CREEP] and the White House of responsibility for the operation."

McCord said his attorney first raised this idea on December 21.

"I heard him out on the suggestion, which included questions as to whether I could ostensibly have been recalled from retirement from C. I. A. to participate in the operation. He said that if so, my personnel records at C. I. A. could be doctored to reflect such a recall. He stated that [James R.] Schlesinger, the new director of the C. I. A. whose appointment had just been announced, 'could be subpoenaed and would go along with it.'"

It is obvious that the CIA as an organization could only harm its own bureaucratic interests by falsely claiming responsibility for the Watergate burglary. Schlesinger would hardly be likely to volunteer to perjure himself in order to implicate the CIA—unless he was ordered to do so. Such orders could only come from Nixon himself.

Mitchell, Stans Indicted

On May 10, John N. Mitchell and Maurice H. Stans became the first top Nixon aides to be indicted in the Watergate scandal. Mitchell was formerly attorney general, Stans secretary of commerce. At the time of the incidents with which they were charged, they were respectively director and finance director of CREEP.

The indictments handed down by a federal grand jury in New York accuse them, financier Robert L. Vesco, and New Jersey Republican politician Harry L. Sears with conspiracy to defraud the United States and conspiracy to obstruct justice. Mitchell and Stans were each additionally accused of six counts of perjury in their testimony before the grand jury.

Vesco, Sears, and forty other persons have been accused in a civil lawsuit by the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) of looting companies under their control of \$224 million. Last April 10, while the SEC's



STANS: One of the first top Nixon aides to get indicted.

investigation was still in progress, Vesco presented CREEP with a donation of \$200,000 in cash. This contribution was not reported as required by law. Vesco later donated an additional \$50,000 openly. The entire \$250,000 was returned by CREEP in late January, after the contributions had been reported in the press.

The indictment accuses Mitchell of rewarding Vesco's contribution by immediately arranging for Sears to meet with William J. Casey, then chairman of the SEC, and G. Bradford Cook, who was in charge of the Vesco investigation. (Cook has since replaced Casey as chairman.)

Mitchell is also accused of attempting to enlist John Dean, then Nixon's special counsel, to bring pressure on Casey to delay subpoenas that would have brought Vesco's contribution to public attention.

Stans is accused of persuading Cook to remove references to the \$250,000 from the civil suit filed against Vesco.

That suit was filed last November, apparently making Vesco feel that he had been swindled. The indictment charges that he sent a memorandum to F. Donald Nixon—Richard Nixon's

brother—threatening to reveal his secret contribution unless the SEC suit was dropped. This memorandum was brought to the Attention of Mitchell, who, according to the indictment, illegally concealed it from the SEC.

Two other Nixons—at least—were also involved in the Vesco case. Edward Nixon, another brother of the president, was involved in arranging the \$200,000 contribution. F. Donald Nixon's son, Donald F. Nixon, has been employed as Vesco's "personal aide" since July 1971, a month after the SEC began its investigation of Vesco.

It appears unlikely that Vesco will ever stand trial on the charges. He is now in Costa Rica, and has reportedly said he will not return to the United States unless he is given immunity from prosecution in order to testify against Mitchell and Stans.

Vesco may be even more at home in Costa Rica than in Washington. Vesco-controlled companies have some \$60 million invested in Costa Rica, including a \$2.2 million loan to a company founded by President José Figueres. According to the indictment, last July Vesco persuaded Figueres to send a letter to Richard Nixon. The letter complained that the SEC's investigation could hurt Costa Rica's image as "a showpiece of democratic development." It is not known what Nixon may have replied.

Ellsberg, Russo Freed

One day after the Mitchell-Stans indictment, Nixon administration criminality in another field resulted in the dismissal of all charges against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo, defendants in the Pentagon Papers trial.

In throwing the government's case out of court, Judge William Byrne said that his action was based on the entire record of the prosecution's withholding of information and the various illegal actions of White House aides directed against Ellsberg and Russo.

The dismissal, the *New York Times* commented in an editorial May 12, was "an indictment of the Government's resort to police-state tactics in its effort to discredit and intimidate critics of its Vietnam policy."

In the preceding few weeks, the following facts about the Nixon admin-

istration's attempts to railroad Ellsberg and Russo into jail had been revealed by the court:

● In 1969 and 1970, at a time when Ellsberg was allegedly "conspiring" to copy the Pentagon Papers, FBI agents illegally recorded some of his telephone conversations. This was not revealed to Judge Byrne until May 10, more than a year after he ordered the government to turn over all wiretap recordings of the defendants. The records "disappeared" from FBI files between July and October 1971.

● John Ehrlichman gave "general authorization" for "covert activity" against Ellsberg in 1971, after he had already been indicted.

● White House assistant Egil Krogh then arranged for Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt, who later were involved in the Watergate operation, to break into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

● Ehrlichman called General Robert E. Cushman, at that time deputy director of the CIA, and asked him to "assist" Hunt. The CIA then illegally provided Hunt with false identification, a camera, and other materials used in the break-in of the psychiatrist's office.

● In early April of this year, Ehrlichman twice contacted Judge Byrne to offer him appointment as FBI director. On the first occasion, Byrne was introduced to Nixon.

All these facts have been sworn to by one or another of the persons involved. They lend credence to related reports that have appeared in the press.

Blackmail by Hoover?

These reports made it even more difficult to distinguish between Nixon's administration and the caricatures depicted in third-rate gangster movies. In the May 8 *New York Times*, Seymour M. Hersh reported that Nixon had twice attempted to invoke "national security" as justification for withholding information about the break-in at the psychiatrist's office. Hersh quoted "some of the principals, lawyers and Justice Department officials" to the effect that Nixon had wanted to conceal the memorandum that brought the first report of the break-in and had tried to prevent Egil Krogh from testifying as to Ehrlich-

man's role. Nixon was reportedly dissuaded from this by his advisers.

Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward confirmed the story from their own sources in the May 9 *Washington Post*:

"The account of the President's alleged attempt to prevent release of the Justice Department information on the Ellsberg burglary . . . was confirmed by five sources, among them officials at the White House and the Justice Department, as well as lawyers involved in the Watergate case.

"All the sources provided essentially the same account and variously described the President's action as 'an attempt to keep the lid on' and 'a message that he didn't want this thing to surface.'"

Then on May 11 John M. Crewdson reported in the *New York Times* that there had been further disappearances of records from FBI files. These concerned wiretaps of newspaper reporters. Crewdson quoted anonymous sources as saying that the taps had been requested by Mitchell in the spring or summer of 1969. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover reportedly asked for and received Mitchell's written authorization.

In 1971, Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst, who was then deputy attorney general, wanted to permit a Congressional committee to investigate the FBI's operations.

"Mr. Hoover, one source recalled, felt that such an inquiry would be 'highly undesirable from the bureau's standpoint,' and told Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Kleindienst that, if such an investigation were to take place, 'he might be asked to talk about the [wiretap] installations.'"

"Mr. Kleindienst, the sources said, 'felt that Hoover was putting a little pressure on Mitchell to avoid the Senate investigation.' In the late summer of 1971, Robert C. Mardian, then an assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division, was directed to retrieve the forms."

Mardian reportedly obtained the records from William C. Sullivan, the deputy FBI director, in September 1971. When Hoover learned this, he was "extremely angry" and unceremoniously fired Sullivan. (Sullivan was said to have returned from a vacation to find his name removed from his office door and the lock on it changed.)

These wiretap records now seem to have vanished. Mitchell and Kleindienst both deny any knowledge of the wiretaps.

Kissinger 'Uncomfortable'

With each day, there are fewer and fewer members of the Nixon gang who have not been implicated to some degree in one or another of the various scandals. One of the latest names to surface is that of Henry Kissinger.

The 1969-70 recordings of Ellsberg's telephone conversations were made when he was staying at the home of Dr. Morton Halperin. Halperin was Kissinger's subordinate on the National Security Council until September 1969. The tap was apparently put on his phone because he was suspected of "leaking" information to the press.

On May 12, reporters asked Kissinger whether he had been aware of the bugging of Halperin's phone. R. W. Apple Jr. reported in the May 13 *New York Times*:

"Mr. Kissinger had not previously been connected with the Watergate-Pentagon papers imbroglio, although a member of his staff, David R. Young Jr., was involved in the burglary at the office of Dr. Ellsberg's former psychiatrist, while on 'loan' to another White House office.

"When Mr. Kissinger was asked about the wiretap during this morning's briefing . . . he was obviously uncomfortable. Glancing repeatedly at notes, he said that most of the reports submitted to his office by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation dealt with foreign intelligence matters.

"An 'infinitesimal part' of such reports, Mr. Kissinger continued, dealt with 'allegations of mishandling classified information' — the purpose of the Halperin tap, according to Government sources."

More to Come

Beginning as a few leaks, the Watergate scandal has long since become a flood. It would be impossible to describe all the muck that has floated to the surface, but it may be worthwhile to mention two items that may develop into additional major scandals.

Columnist Jack Anderson on May

10 reported that he has "evidence that ex-White House counsel John Dean directed not only the Watergate cover-up but the earlier ITT cover-up as well." The ITT case, it will be recalled, involved a \$400,000 contribution to the Nixon campaign fund in exchange for a favorable ruling on an anti-trust suit.

Anderson wrote that Dean had been instrumental in "the suppression of 34 cartons of documents that ITT delivered under subpoena to the Securities and Exchange Commission. These papers included confidential memos which contradicted the sworn testimony of then-Attorney General John Mitchell at the ITT hearing and implicated Vice President Agnew and former Treasury Secretary John Connally in the ITT antitrust fix."

Connally, who has just become a Republican, has been brought into the White House as a "part-time adviser"

in the hope that he would help refurbish the administration's image.

Another development points to White House involvement in a burglary at the Chilean embassy on the weekend of May 13-14, 1972. After being granted immunity from prosecution, a Cuban counterrevolutionary named Felipe de Diego testified in Miami May 10 that he had been involved in the break-in at the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

According to the May 11 *New York Times*, de Diego's lawyer "indicated that if his client was given immunity from prosecution in other jurisdictions, he might 'shed new light' on heretofore unexplained activities of the Watergate operation.

"Sources close to the investigation suggested that Mr. de Diego might be able to give information about an alleged break-in at the Chilean Embassy in Washington." □

ure is less than the *daily* cost. In a lengthy article on Nixon's Cambodian war in the May 11 *New York Times*, Sydney Schanberg wrote:

"Despite repeated requests by newsmen, the Nixon Administration has refused to divulge any figures on the cost of the current bombing, but estimates by Washington in the past indicate that it is costing \$7-million to \$10-million a day. . . ."

Schanberg wrote that U.S. planes are averaging about 250 sorties a day in Cambodia.

"Although most are tactical strikes by fighters, nearly 60 a day are the vast raids by B-52's—nearly always in groups of three—which would make a total of about 1,700 a month. According to military informants, that is more B-52 raids than were being flown monthly in all of Indochina in 1971, the last year for which full statistics are available. . . ."

"Further, whereas the preponderance of air strikes in Cambodia used to be directed against North Vietnamese and Vietcong supply routes in the eastern third of the country, the bulk are now devoted to tactical support of Cambodian troops under attack in the rest of the country, where population density is higher."

Nixon's supplemental appropriations bill is also intended to provide funds for other U.S. military measures in Indochina. These would not be affected by the House vote.

Presumably covered by the bill would be the \$26 million now being spent annually to maintain Thai troops in Laos. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee May 9, the former U.S. ambassador to Laos estimated that there are now 15,000 to 20,000 Thai troops in that country.

The Thai forces in Laos are additional evidence of the fact that the January 27 cease-fire agreement is seen by Nixon as nothing but a cover for continuation of the war. In the May 10 *New York Times*, Bernard Gwertzman, after describing the ambassador's testimony, added:

"It was later learned from a Senate source that there had been 8,000 Thais in Laos for most of last year, but beginning with October, additional forces were moved there to be in place in anticipation of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement." □

One-Third of Country Is 'Free-Fire Zone'

Vote to Block Funds for Cambodia Bombing

By an unexpectedly large margin, the U. S. House of Representatives on May 10 voted to deny the Nixon administration funds to pay for the bombing of Cambodia. The 219-188 vote "was interpreted even by embittered Republican leaders as a vote of no confidence in Nixon policies in Cambodia," John W. Finney reported in the May 11 *New York Times*.

It was expected that the House action would be upheld by the Senate. While the Senate has in the past approved bills critical of the war, this was the first time that the House had taken such a step.

The vote came on an amendment to a supplemental appropriations bill. It specifically denied the Defense Department authority to transfer funds between different accounts in order to pay for the bombing.

The House action came three days after the release of a Harris poll showing that the U.S. public opposes the bombing by a margin of 49 to 33 percent. While the vote reflected fears that this sentiment could result in new mass antiwar protests, it was also influenced by the Watergate scandal,

which has put former supporters of Nixon under pressure to show some independence of the administration. Finney's report noted that Nixon "had evident difficulty holding in line some Republicans and Democrats who have normally supported the President on his war policies."

The division between Nixon and Congress seems likely to provide some lessons in the realities of "American democracy." In testimony before two Senate committees May 7 and 8, Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson announced that Nixon would continue the bombing in spite of Congress.

"It must be emphasized," Richardson said in a prepared statement, "that the denial of the requested authority will not impact on U.S. air operations in Cambodia. . . ." Richardson explained that Nixon would simply pay for the aggression in Cambodia with funds appropriated for other "defense" purposes.

Richardson also attempted to play down the significance of the bombing by lying about it. Talking to reporters, he estimated the cost of the bombing in Cambodia as only \$5 million a month. In reality, that fig-

Beirut Intensifies Repression of Fedayeen, Lebanese

By Jon Rothschild

"I am afraid the situation in Lebanon is too confused to result in the final, all-out confrontation that occurred in Jordan," an Israeli official complained, recalling the September 1970 slaughter in which as many as 10,000 Palestinian civilians may have been killed. "But at the same time, the Lebanese seem more determined than ever to gain a greater control over the guerrillas. From our point of view, that is all to the good."

He should have added that if the Lebanese regime proves unequal to the task, the Israeli military is prepared to offer some fraternal assistance.

On May 10, as the situation in Lebanon remained inconclusive, an Israeli infantry brigade, with heavy artillery and air support, began extensive maneuvers in the occupied Golan Heights, formerly part of Syria, which border on southeastern Lebanon.

The maneuvers are scheduled to go on for several weeks, and will include war "games" that will entail, among other things, "simulated strikes on enemy targets." The opening of the maneuvers, which Israeli officials insisted had been previously scheduled, was accompanied by a series of threats, ostensibly against the Baathist regime in Damascus. "If the Syrians move into Lebanon and face us on a new border, we shall consider ourselves free to act," Moshe Dayan was quoted as saying. Dayan's threat came several days after Premier Golda Meir warned that Israel would "take steps to protect herself" if there was a Syrian intervention. Foreign Minister Abba Eban had issued similar threats.

Tel Aviv's supposed concern about Syrian intervention is a sham. Since the Zionist regime does not recognize the existence of the Palestinian people, any person crossing into Lebanon from Syria is defined automatically as a Syrian. If the fedayeen quartered in Syria move into Lebanon to defend the Palestinians under attack from the Beirut regime, Meir will charge Syrian intervention. Such a

situation arose during the 1970 Jordanian civil war, when units of the Palestine Liberation Army, a regular force manned by Palestinians and partially supplied by Syria, moved temporarily across the frontier to aid the fedayeen in Jordan. The Israeli army was put on a state of full alert, and Tel Aviv announced that if the tide of the fighting turned, Israeli troops would invade Jordan.

So the Golan Heights war maneuvers are less a warning to Damascus not to intervene than they are a demand on the Syrian government to hold the fedayeen in Syria closely in check during the Lebanese crisis, and a warning to Palestinian leaders that if they act too strongly to aid fedayeen in Lebanon, they will face not only the Lebanese, but also the Israeli army.

The Golan Heights maneuvers began three days after another Zionist military exercise—one that had also been scheduled in advance but happily coincided with the crisis in Lebanon. On May 7, the Israeli government celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Zionist state. Some 300,000 persons turned out to watch the most massive parade of military hardware ever held in Israel.

The parade, which cost an estimated \$6 million to put on, was preceded by an air show involving more than 400 aircraft—Phantoms, Mirages, Skyhawks, and helicopters. The parade itself included hundreds of tanks, armored vehicles, self-propelled howitzers, and other equipment. Significantly, two of the four miles of its route of march weaved through East Jerusalem, the Arab section of the city taken over by force in June 1967.

The two exercises could scarcely have been more timely. Both were used by the Zionist regime to demonstrate its continued absolute military hegemony over the Arab states, and both conveniently coincided with the fighting in Lebanon, thus serving to prove to the Arabs that the state

of Israel is more prepared than ever to fulfill its central regional role—maintaining law and order for imperialism. There is no reason to doubt that if the Lebanese regime loses control of the situation, the Israeli army will find some pretext for invasion, Syrian intervention or not.

Inside Lebanon, the efforts of mediators from the League of Arab States, the Egyptian government, and the Syrian government to arrange a permanent settlement to end clashes between the government and the Palestinian movement had still not been successful as of May 13.

The third cease-fire in the space of one week went into effect late in the evening of May 8. It followed about twenty-four hours of fighting that was apparently more intense than the May 2-4 battles. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 14, p. 556.) A communiqué released May 8 by the Palestinian command and broadcast by the Syrian news agency, Sana, explained what had happened on the night of May 7:

"Monday at 10:00 p.m., at the moment that Yassir Arafat, president of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was meeting in Beirut with former premier Saeb Salem and Mr. Raymond Eddé, leader of the Nationalist Bloc, as well as a certain number of other ministers, the Lebanese Army opened sustained heavy artillery fire on all our refugee camps in Beirut and its environs. The barbarous bombing was directed against the camps of Sabra, Shatila, Bir Hassan, Tel el-Zattar, and Burj el-Barajneh for no reason and with no warning. A helicopter was spotted above the combat zones of Sabra and Shatila."

The fighting continued overnight and into the morning of May 8, when the Lebanese air force once again sent its planes into action against the refugee camps. At 6:30 p.m. on May 8, according to a report in the May 9 *New York Times*, British-made Lebanese Hawker-Hunter jets fired thirty rockets into several Palestinian camps.

When the fighting broke out again on May 7, Premier Amin el-Hafez proclaimed a state of emergency. One of its effects has been to strangle independent news reports in the Lebanese press. It is consequently difficult to estimate the damage done by the army's assaults on the camps. But it does seem certain that the second round of attacks was more severe than the first (May 3-4).

The May 13 *New York Times* reported that medical teams visiting the major camps in Beirut said that as many as 200 to 300 people had been killed and up to 600 wounded. The only reason casualties were not higher was that hundreds of families had streamed out of the camps during May 5-6, taking refuge in the surrounding hills until they could be sure that the fighting was over.

The exact terms of the cease-fire agreement that went into effect late May 8 are not known. Preliminary indications are that they parallel the provisions of the second cease-fire, which had been announced late May 3. That accord was negotiated between Colonel Musa Kanaan for the Lebanese army and Abu Zaim for the Palestine Liberation Organization. According to the May 5 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, it called for the return of both sides to their pre-combat positions, meaning that the Lebanese government's tanks would lift their siege of the camps. It also called for the establishment of a joint Lebanese-Palestinian committee to eliminate the factors leading to "misunderstandings among brothers" and for the creation of common Lebanese-Palestinian patrols to police the cease-fire.

Specifically at issue in the search for eliminating the causes of "misunderstandings" is the Cairo Agreement of 1969 and, more generally, the question of government control over the Palestinian camps. Raymond Eddé, a leader of the National Bloc party, a former minister of the interior, and reportedly one of the men who helped negotiate the May 3 cease-fire, explained the problem more clearly than most government officials.

"When the Hawker-Hunter jets appeared in the skies of Beirut," he told *Le Monde* correspondent Edouard Saab, "I was at the home of [former premier] Saeb Salem in Mseitbeh, in the middle of the Muslim quarter. At



ARAFAT: Aims to "reestablish mutual confidence" with Lebanon regime.

that time I saw the population in a state of extreme tension, ready to come to the aid of the Palestinian commandos. The fact that these planes had been put into action to intimidate the guerrillas had a bad effect on the morale of the people in the neighborhood. It was necessary at all costs to avoid the crisis becoming confessionalized, which would have led us to the state of civil war that we experienced in 1958. Mr. Arafat, with whom I was in telephone contact, proved to be fully cooperative. He especially did not want the resistance to be exploited for internal Lebanese political ends of a confessionalist character."

With certain changes in terminology, that is a fair statement of the Beirut government's problem. It is true that the danger of religious sectarian riots (in this case between Christians and Muslims) exists in any capitalist state inhabited by differing religious groups. But in the current situation, "confessionalism" is a code word. It is an obscurantist expression of the fact that the Muslim section of the Lebanese population supports the Palestinian resistance movement and is willing to come to its aid against government repression. The opposite side of the "confessional" barrier is the right wing, notably the Falange party, which, while based among the Chris-

tian section of the population, clearly does not represent the majority of that population.

"Exploitation of the Palestinian resistance movement" is also a code term. A more nearly correct term for what was bothering Eddé would be "participation of the fedayeen in the social struggles" now going on in Lebanon. This became obvious in Eddé's remarks about the Cairo Agreement, which gave the Palestinians the right to control their own refugee camps in Lebanon. The problem, Eddé said, was not the presence of Palestinians, but the "presence and action" of the fedayeen. Correspondent Saab asked him if strict implementation of the Cairo Agreement was a solution.

"I have always been against this agreement," Eddé answered, "because it conflicts with Lebanese sovereignty, because it was not concluded sensibly, and because it hurts the Palestinians just as much as the Lebanese [?]. I had asked that former chief of state Charles Hélou present the Cairo Agreement to parliament so that the deputies might be informed of its terms and discuss them. This was not done. Even though such action would have conformed both to the letter and the spirit of the constitution. But be that as it may, I still hold to my original position. And I told Mr. Arafat that."

There is no doubt that on this point Eddé is speaking for the government. In discussing the Cairo Agreement, Premier el-Hafez (whose May 8 resignation has not yet been accepted) explained that it would be necessary to negotiate a new formula for Lebanese-Palestinian relations, "one that would not sanction any sovereignty in Lebanon other than the Lebanese state and that would oppose the presence of a state within the state."

The leadership of the PLO, on the other hand, has insisted that the terms of the Cairo Agreement providing for Palestinian sovereignty in the refugee camps are not open to negotiation, that any new accords defining Lebanese-Palestinian relations must include reaffirmation of that provision. There is most certainly unanimity among the ranks of the fedayeen on this point.

When the abortive May 7 accord referred to in the Palestinian communiqué of May 8 was announced, it was described as a "protocol." In general, it reiterated the terms of the Cairo

Agreement. But its third paragraph stated that the proper place for the armed forces of the Palestinian movement to be located was along the Israeli frontier "where the fedayeen can best fulfill their duties." The implication was that the fedayeen should withdraw from the camps, none of which are near the border.

In the May 9 *Le Monde*, Edouard Saab speculated that the Palestinian organizations to the left of Fateh, the group that dominates the PLO, strenuously objected to this provision, regarding it as a breach by the PLO leaders of its promise not to renegotiate the Cairo Agreement. He further suggested that this was among the major factors responsible for the fact that the Arafat leadership appeared to have lost control of the situation in the camps, a fact that has been reflected in the PLO's inability to end outbreaks of fedayeen attacks on army patrols despite the cease-fire proclamations.

By May 12 it seemed certain that the Lebanese government did intend to "demilitarize" the Palestinian camps. The leading Beirut daily, *an-Nahar*, reported that President Suleiman Franjeh was demanding that all heavy weapons be removed to the

Israeli frontier and that the fedayeen camps be purged of "undisciplined" elements. He further demanded that the Palestinians submit to the same laws as the Lebanese.

The law that both Lebanese and Palestinians are subjected to as of May 14 is martial law. This was imposed when the May 7 fighting broke out and may be extended indefinitely. The Lebanese parliament was scheduled to meet May 14 to decide whether the "state of emergency" should be allowed to lapse on May 15, when it is slated to run out. Heated debate on this question was anticipated.

The terms of martial law give the armed forces, to whose orders the police are subject, the right to execute search and seizure without warrants, to ban any public meeting, to suppress any publication deemed to be in conflict with public order. Acts against "national security" and acts the army decides constitute a general threat to public order are illegal. Offenders are to be tried by military tribunals. In addition, all news dispatches are subject to review by military censors.

The martial law measures are directed not only against the fedayeen but against the Lebanese workers and students as well. Their effect is to ban

any demonstration of solidarity with the fedayeen, whether active or verbal, and to forbid the holding of strike meetings, marches, and other activities that can be dubbed "antinational."

If the Lebanese regime can break the rising movement of Lebanese workers and students by resorting to repressive measures, the Palestinian resistance in the country will be seriously weakened, deprived of its most important ally. It will then be less capable of defending itself against the regime's inevitable attempts to recover control over the refugee camps. The government's aim is to restrict the fedayeen's scope of action to the camps, eliminate the domestic movement, and then excise what it regards as the fedayeen cancer, always a revolutionary danger on a regional scale.

Stopping the regime's plans will require joint action by the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, a fact that still seems to elude the central leaders of the PLO. Radio Damascus reported May 11 that Syrian President Hafez el-Assad had received a message from Arafat explaining that "in spite of our human and material losses we have bandaged our wounds and accepted a cease-fire in order to reestablish mutual confidence with Lebanon." □

The Results of a Colonial Enterprise

On the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Zionist State

By Nathan Weinstock

[The following article appeared in the May 4 issue of *La Gauche*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers League), Belgian section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The Ghetto Revolt and the Founding of the Zionist State

This year, within the space of a few weeks, two great events in the contemporary history of the Jewish people will be commemorated—the thirtieth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the state of Israel. The coincidence is not accidental, for the two historic dates are intimately

related. One symbolizes the way in which the fate of the Jews came to represent the human condition under Nazi barbarism. The other is explainable by these sufferings; it took Auschwitz to push the Jewish masses—and with them Western public opinion—into the Zionist camp.

But at the same time, what a contrast! In the Warsaw ghetto the survivors of the genocide against Polish Jewry embodied the dignity of humanity, resisting oppression, even without immediate hope of success; a revolt that ennobled all humanity, a tragic epic that prefigured the victories of the Indochinese revolution which, under different and more favorable circumstances, was able to triumph over bestial imperialism.

But the creation of the state of Israel, on the other hand, symbolizes the spiritual degeneration of this same Jewish community, which has become the colonial oppressor

in Arab lands, reducing a whole people, the Palestinians, to exile, poverty, and powerlessness.

The militants of the young "socialist" movements, who, at the sides of their comrades of the Jewish workers movement, led the Jewish Combat Organization in the Warsaw ghetto from beginning to end, realized, in action, the great historic role of the Jewish spirit in the modern world. The Spinozas, the Freuds, the Einsteins, sons of a community embedded like a hinge between various cultures, undertook the critique of established values. The Marxes, the Rosa Luxemburghs, the Trotskys brought this process to its culmination by forging the ideology and the instrument of the proletariat's struggle, pointing out in the particularities of the Jewish condition the road to the emancipation of humanity—the revolutionary action of the conscious workers. The insurrection of the survivors of the Warsaw ghetto (as well as those of other ghettos, unjustly unrecognized) is part of this proud tradition. It belongs to the most glorious pages of history; it constitutes the Promethian dimension of the Jewish tradition. It taught its generation that man struggles and never gives up.

A Glorious Revolt—But No Heirs

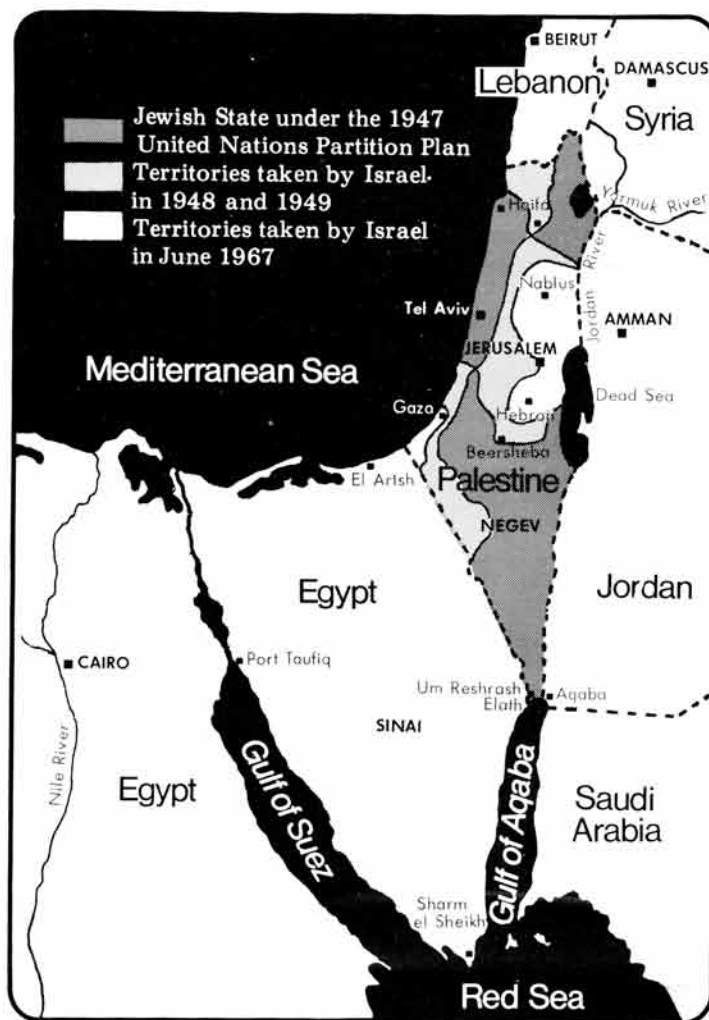
There is no longer any Jewish community in Poland to pay homage to the monument of the ghetto. The bureaucratic Warsaw regime has "purged" the country of Jews, relying on the old reactionary anti-Semitism to try to quell the social rage of the shipyard workers, which was unleashed in the wake of the revolt in the Baltic ports.

The Warsaw ghetto insurrection will not be commemorated by a single Jewish daily in the Soviet Union; since the deportation of Jewish writers in 1952, the Jewish community in the Soviet Union has been deprived of its own cultural life, subjected to subtle and varied forms of discrimination that push it toward emigration. And in the West, the commemorative ceremonies will strike a false note; the official leaders of the Jewish community are closely associated with the existing regimes—too busy organizing the pro-Israeli lobby to bother about the traditions of the revolt; too well integrated into the cogs of the system of exploitation to recognize the lines that bind the Warsaw ghetto revolt to the revolution. Their camp is not that of humanity in struggle for its dignity.

In Israel the monument erected to the glory of the commander of the ghetto insurrection, Mordechai Anilewicz, is located in the kibbutz whose name evokes his memory: Yad Mordechai. This "socialist" village was founded along the (1948) borders as a military outpost. Today, its economic existence is based on the exploitation of the wage-labor of Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip, and especially on the wage-labor of school-age children. What a symbol! What a mockery!

Constant Features of Zionist Plan

This, in a nutshell, was the Zionist program: to construct a Jewish state in Palestine, which implied refusal to fight anti-Semitism wherever it arose, and instead in-



Map shows steady expansion of the Zionist state since passage of UN partition resolution in 1947.

volved the exaltation of Jewish chauvinism as a counterweight to prevailing racism. It necessarily presupposed the dispossession of the inhabitants of the Promised Land. This was well understood by Theodore Herzl, theoretician of the Zionist movement, when he wrote in his "diary" (on June 12, 1895) that it would be necessary "to try to transfer the poorest section of the [indigenous] population to the other side of the border without conflict, by offering them work in the neighboring countries and denying them any employment in our country."

On the same day he also entered in his list of things to do: "prepare a special helmet like Stanley's for the ceremony inaugurating the colonization." Some enlightened spirits warned the Zionists against the consequences of their undertaking; such as the writer Akhad Ha'am, an advocate of a Jewish "spiritual" center (but not a political body) in Palestine, who, as early as 1891, predicted Palestinian resistance. In 1936, Dr. Ruppin, a well-known sociologist and a workhorse in the Zionist cause, admitted that because of the Palestinian masses' hostility, a "state of continuous war with the Arabs" was inevitable.

The openly fascistlike wing of the Zionist movement, headed by Jabotinsky, had understood things immediately. There were no basic differences, Jabotinsky explained,

between "vegetarian" Zionism and "carnivorous" Zionism. The only thing to discuss was whether it would be necessary to rely on British bayonets to colonize the country or whether it would be preferable to directly arm the colonists. And, from his point of view, he was right.

Back in 1940, Joseph Weitz, a leader of the Zionist agricultural colonization, and a "socialist" Zionist, had come to the conclusion that "there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, to transfer all of them: Not one village, not one tribe, should be left." (*Davar*, September 29, 1967.)

The dispossession of the Palestinians, a necessary precondition for Zionist profit, is being continued today by colonization in the occupied territories. As Moshe Dayan put it, with the brutal frankness for which he is known: "During the last 100 years our people have been in the process of building up the nation, of expansion, of getting additional Jews and settlements in order to expand the borders. Let no Jew say that the process has ended. Let no Jew say that we are near the end of the road." (From a speech given on the "liberated" Syrian Golan Heights and reported in *Maariv* July 7, 1968.)

Results of a Colonization

Such was the program on which the Zionist leaders based themselves when they proclaimed the birth of the Zionist state twenty-five years ago in Tel Aviv. As for the aftermath, here are the findings of a report distributed by Dr. Israel Shahak, president of the Israeli Human Rights League: Since 1948, within the borders of the state of Israel, the following Arab villages have been destroyed and the tribes expelled:

Districts	Number of Arab Villages in 1948	Number of Arab Villages Destroyed
Jerusalem	33	29
Bethlehem	7	7
Hebron	16	16
Jaffa	23	23
Ramleh	31	31
Lydda	28	28
Jenin	8	4
Tul-Karem	33	21
Haifa*	43	35
Saint-Jean d'Acre	52	20
Nazareth	26	6
Safad	75	68
Tiberiad	26	23
Beisan	28	28
Gaza	46	46
Total	475	385

*Ten tribes located here have disappeared.

In addition, in the Beersheba district, where on the eve of the birth of the Jewish state there were five tribes comprised of seventy-three subtribes, three-fourths of the population was expelled.

In the case of the el-Azazmeh tribe, the expulsion dates from 1953-54, well after the end of hostilities, and was preceded by the machine-gun massacre of women and children perpetrated by the notorious "Unit 101" of the Israeli army.

May 21, 1973

Even the Druzes, a Palestinian religious community that has collaborated with the Zionist regime—they supply a large part of the foot-troops for the notorious "frontier police"—have not been spared: 60 percent of their land has been expropriated (according to *Haaretz*, February 8, 1971).

The Dispossession Will Go On

This development will roll on fatally, because Israeli capital is desperately searching for new markets in the occupied territory. Hence the authorization granted the Jewish National Fund (the organ of Zionist colonization) to acquire land in the West Bank.

The demographical balance also demands this development. According to predictions of Professor Arens, reported in the September-October 1972 issue of *Israel Economist* (p. 234), the Jewish and Arab populations within the new Israeli borders are evolving in the following manner, despite the expulsion of a million refugees:

Borders	Area (in sq. mi.)	Palestinian Population	Jewish Population, % of Total
1948 plus Arab Jerusalem	8,240	400,000	86%
With annexation of West Bank	10,960	1,400,000	64%

The question for the Zionist leaders therefore is whether to move to a complete annexation, which would involve instituting some form of apartheid (already, at Nahriya, separate maternity facilities have been constructed for Jews and Arabs), as the "Dayan plan" envisages, or to annex the maximum amount of territory containing a minimum number of inhabitants, as the "Allon plan" recommends.

Now, even figuring on a massive Jewish immigration (50,000 per year), in 1982 the proportion of Arabs, because of their higher birthrate, would still be very significant if a total annexation of the occupied territory takes place:

Borders	Palestinian Population	Jewish Population, % of Total
1948 plus Arab Jerusalem	595,000	86%
With annexation of West Bank	2,085,000	63%

It is therefore understandable that the "socialist" General Yitzak Rabin is an advocate of creating conditions for a massive displacement of Palestinians and that General Yadin (also a "socialist" Zionist) expresses his approval for what he actually dares to call the "final solution" to the problem. (*Maariv*, February 16, 1973.)

Those Responsible

Such is the cynical reality of the real face of Zionism—neither the national liberation of the Jewish people, nor the self-determination of the Israeli masses, but the in-

stitutionalization of Israeli hegemony over the Arabs, a process of capitalist exploitation in a specifically colonial context.

Are they liberated, the Israelis in their Fort Chabrol-type superghetto? Are they liberated, the Oriental Jews crushed by discrimination? Are they liberated, the Israeli workers under the yoke of a greedy capitalist class, aided by its labor bureaucracy that serves up antiworker measures? It is to the creation of this colonial bastion, this imperialist bridgehead in the Arab world, that the United States—which has diverted thousands of millions of dollars into the coffers of the Zionist state—has committed itself, in consistent imperialist fashion.

But the first state to recognize Israel was the Soviet Union. And it was at Stalin's command that Czechoslovakia delivered armaments and Messerschmidt aircraft to the new state in 1948. Thus, the Soviet bureaucracy is fully responsible for the tragedy of the Palestinian people—and this was well before the revisionist Khrushchev came to power, comrade Maoists! Anyway, why should Khrushchev take offense at the fate of the Palestinian people, when the Crimean Tatars, deported en masse by the Father of the Peoples, are still not allowed to return to their native land? The Stalinist degeneration has its own Palestinians!

The Meaning of a Tradition

From the moment of the partition of Palestine in 1947—and this is no idle boast—the Fourth International has been *the only* tendency in the whole workers movement to struggle ceaselessly against Zionist colonialism, a struggle that it has never stopped waging in a consistent way, just as it has always been in the forefront of support to the Arab revolution, especially during the Algerian war.

Today, we can say—and of this we are proud—that the very existence of an anti-Zionist front within the Is-

raeli population is the result of the continuity of our presence there, embodied in Israel by the action of our Jewish and Arab militants who came out of the old Palestinian Trotskyist group.

Nothing in history is lost. The rise of a new vanguard in the ranks of Israeli youth is the harvest of seeds that we have been patiently sowing for years, since all the anti-Zionist groups in Israel originated from Matzpen, whose theoretical achievements are a reflection of the work of our comrades. And because any Marxist analysis of the Jewish question must take as its point of departure the remarkable work of our comrade Abram Leon.

Inside the Hebrew bastion, the struggle has only just begun, with much larger forces and a much more solid organization than before—and a much more hardened one as well—with our comrades, organized in the Matzpen-Marxist group, directly confronting the oppressive Zionist apparatus at its bases.

In the Arab states, our nuclei and sections are working to build a revolutionary-Marxist vanguard, fighting a hard struggle aimed at forging the basis of a single party of the Arab world (transcending all ethnic and religious division), uniting Arabs and national minorities in a common struggle against imperialism and its local allies, both Zionist and Arab, and against all varieties of reaction.

If we are to find in the Middle East today the legitimate heirs of the Warsaw ghetto fighters, it is in the ranks of the Palestinians in struggle that we must look—and also among the Israeli anti-Zionist militants who have taken on the heritage of generations of Jewish thinkers and militants who opposed obscurantism and institutionalized disorder.

In struggling against the stream, against the worst chauvinism—their own country's—these comrades are upholding the great democratic Jewish tradition which has contributed so much to the progress of the working class and of humanity. □

United Action Defends U.S.-Irish Against Repression

"Selective harassment of Irish-Americans warrants denunciation by both the Irish community and the American people," said a leaflet that was passed out at a demonstration protesting the subpoenaing of three members of Irish Northern Aid by a Philadelphia grand jury.

Picket lines hastily organized to oppose the latest step in the Nixon administration's attack on the supporters of Irish freedom drew about forty-five persons on May 8 and seventy on May 9.

"This move," the leaflet said of the subpoenas, "fits in with a pattern of

harassment that is occurring in cities throughout this country. It is a blatant attempt to intimidate people who are supporting the struggle for Irish freedom. . . .

"We must mobilize the entire Irish-American community, through demonstrations, protest meetings, petitions and telegrams, to demand an end to the harassment of Irish-Americans and an end to U. S. government complicity with Britain."

Although the three men subpoenaed—Dan Duffy, Neil Byrne, and Danny Cahalane—belonged to the Provisional support group, the Philadelphia

supporters of the Official republican movement also played a prominent role in the protests. The opposition to the latest attack on the Irish movement seems, moreover, to be involving a broader and broader spectrum of groups. Even conservative Northern Aid leaders have reportedly rejected the appeals of Philadelphia's notorious "Red Squad" to exclude American radicals. It is possible that these united protests will go a long way toward overcoming the sectarian divisions that have hampered the American movement in support of the fight in Ireland.

U.S. Diplomat Kidnapped, Freed in Mexico

By David Thorstad

Terrance Leonhardy, United States consul general in Guadalajara, Mexico, appeared at an antidrug exhibit in the local police headquarters on May 4 and then drove off to host an evening social gathering in his home. Two blocks from his home, his car was intercepted by two other cars, and he was kidnapped by their eight to ten occupants.

The guerrillas were members of a previously unknown group, the Fuerzas Revolucionarias Armadas del Pueblo (FRAP—People's Revolutionary Armed Forces). Its communiqués throughout the course of the kidnapping all concluded with reference to "Operation 15 January 1972, Chihuahua." On that date three guerrilla commando groups raided three branch banks in the city of Chihuahua. Three guerrillas were killed.

Among those who took part in the Chihuahua raids were remnants of the Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria (MAR—Revolutionary Action Movement).

The guerrillas made a number of demands in exchange for the life of the diplomat. These included the release of thirty political prisoners (a list of their names was provided in a second communiqué) from various parts of the country, their transfer first to Mexico City and then, on May 6, to Havana, Cuba; publication of the document of demands on the front page of nine specified daily newspapers on May 5; broadcasting of the document on a popular television program and on radio May 4; broadcasting of a third, political statement May 5 and its publication on the front pages of the same list of newspapers May 6; a television interview with the Cuban ambassador to Mexico at 4:00 p.m. May 6 announcing that the thirty political prisoners had arrived safely in Havana; and a suspension, throughout the state of Jalisco, of any attempt by the police or the military to search for the kidnappers during the course of the kidnapping.

The communiqué said that publication of the demands would be taken

as a sign that the government had agreed to meet them. Failure to comply would result in the "execution of the prisoner." The demands were presented as nonnegotiable.

The first communiqué, like the subsequent ones, concluded with the slogan "For the proletarian revolution. Venceremos!"

On May 5, President Luis Echeverría Álvarez told reporters in Mexico City that although he considered the kidnapping "a totally irresponsible, unlawful act," his government would comply with the demands and would release the prisoners as soon as it received a list of their names. "The philosophy of my government is humanistic," he said. "The government accepts the demands of the kidnappers because it is essential to protect his [Leonhardy's] life."

Asked whether the Mexican government would continue to meet the demands of those who may in the future kidnap wealthy or prominent persons living in Mexico, a government spokesman said May 6: "We are playing it by ear and we will try to meet each situation as it arises."

This approach contrasted with the official attitude of the Nixon administration in such matters. The government's policy, formulated after the execution by fedayeen of two American diplomats in Khartoum in the Sudan, is that the State Department will not meet any demands for the release of its diplomats on the grounds that doing so would encourage political kidnappings and "terrorism." State Department spokesman Charles W. Bray 3d said May 7 that this position had been conveyed to Mexican authorities during the captivity of Leonhardy.

Leonhardy's wife apparently disagreed with this policy. As she arrived in Guadalajara May 5 from the United States, where she was vacationing at the time her husband was abducted, she made the following plea, according to the May 6 issue of the Mexico City daily *Novedades*: "We re-

quest the most absolute collaboration between the Mexican people and government so that my husband can regain his freedom, since his death would be of no use to anyone and it would plunge our home and the United States people into mourning."

On May 6, three persons received similar letters from Leonhardy, all in his own handwriting. One, written to his deputy, Ernest Gutiérrez, was addressed to "Dear Friend Ernie." According to the May 8 *New York Times*, it read as follows:

"I want to inform you that I am well and that they are treating me well. I wish to notify you that I will soon have my liberty and that authorities not exert any pressure. Because if they do the contrary, they will delay my freedom. Greetings to all my co-workers at the consulate."

On May 6, the Cuban chargé d'affaires, Jorge Reyes Vega, announced that the thirty prisoners had arrived in Havana.

At this point, the guerrillas appear to have added to their list of demands the payment of a ransom of 1 million pesos (US\$80,000). The ransom was paid on May 7, and the diplomat was released a few hours later.

Addition of the ransom demand came as no great surprise, since it has been part of the pattern of similar kidnappings in Mexico in the recent past. The government, for instance, paid \$240,000 ransom for its director of federal aviation, Julio Hirschfeld Almada, who was kidnapped in September 1971. Two months later, \$200,000 was paid for the return of the millionaire rector of Guerrero State University, Dr. Jaime Castrejón Díez, and nine prisoners were granted safe-conduct to Cuba.

The \$80,000 was lent by a local bank, and now Leonhardy has been informed that he is responsible for paying it back. In view of the State Department's refusal to have anything to do with payment of the ransom, Governor Alberto Orozco Romero of Jalisco State suggested collecting it from Guadalajara's large community of retired Americans: "We could start a collection among the 30,000 U.S. residents here and I'm sure we will raise the money."

John Higgins, information officer at the U.S. embassy in the capital, told reporters in Guadalajara that Leonhardy was well treated: "He was well

fed—even when he didn't feel like eating, the kidnapers were very concerned and tried to get him to eat. He was blindfolded the whole time, except for the brief time when he was permitted to write letters which were dictated by the kidnapers themselves."

Leonhardy appeared thankful that Mexican officials had not followed Nixon's policy on kidnapped U.S. diplomats. "Without their help I wouldn't be here today," he acknowledged. "It was a terrible ordeal, a harrowing experience. I had to pray a lot."

"Monday afternoon [May 7]," he explained, "they put me through a question process. The questions were obviously weighted to favor their theories and thought and procedures. They all had a very anti-American tone."

"I had to walk a tightrope. I was trying to say something that would not end up with my death and at the same time defend my views and those of my country."

The thirty released prisoners came from seven prisons in six states. Most had been accused of participating in guerrilla activities. Among them were Luis Rhui Sausi Galindo, a member of the urban guerrilla group Comando Pablo Alvarado in Monterrey (he told the press that once he had arrived in Cuba he would seek to be returned to Mexico because he did not want to be cut off from his family); the brothers José Alfredo and Carlos Campaña López and Héctor Guillermo Robles Garnica, identified as members of the Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario (FER—Revolutionary Student Front) at the University of Guadalajara (the May 6 issue of the Mexico City daily *El Sol de México* identified them as members of the Communist Youth); José Bracho Campos, who was associated with the late guerrilla leader Genaro Vázquez Rojas; Pablo Martínez Pérez Francisco Javier Pizarro Chávez and Héctor Lucero Martínez, members of the Mexican Communist party who took part in the January 15, 1972, bank robberies in Chihuahua; and the sisters Amalia and María Dolores Gámiz García and Modesto Trujillo Miranda, all accused of robbing a Mexico City bank last April 13, netting some \$160,000 for the guerrilla movement.

The three Guadalajara students, ac-

ording to the May 6 *Novedades*, said as they were leaving prison that they would go to Cuba "to receive ideological and tactical training in order to return to Mexico and continue the



ECHEVERRIA: Says he'll play the next one "by ear."

revolutionary struggle 'and transform the social and economic structures of Mexico.'

In the wake of the Leonhardy incident, police and federal agents have reportedly embarked on a campaign of arrests in Jalisco State. Reuters reported from Mexico City May 9 that five men had been arrested in connection with the kidnapping. They were identified by police as Patricio Yuren, Benjamin Astorga, Alejandro Herrera, Tomás Lazarraga, and Ezequiel Padilla.

The actual number of arrests, however, is probably much higher. According to an Associated Press report published in the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa* May 11, there are a number of groups of police and about a hundred federal agents "investigating" the kidnapping with little or no coordination between them. Sources identified as "responsible" indicated that each group of police was making its own arrests and that at least 150 had been taken into custody.

"The police agents have made arrests with no warrants and with an excessive use of force," AP reported. "Six men armed with machine guns who said they were policemen arrested my son. He was playing in front of the house," said a woman who visited the jails and the offices of the police searching in vain for any trace of her son. None of the authorities admitted having arrested him."

The long political communiqué issued by the FRAP contains little indication as to the ideological leanings of the guerrilla group. It makes no reference, for instance, to either Mao, Giap, Castro, or Che Guevara. *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent James Nelson Goodsell noted May 8 that it was generally felt that "the writer must be someone of considerable education and writing ability. The communiqués were written in good, literate Spanish and suggest a broad knowledge of history and contemporary affairs."

The communiqué, as published in the May 6 *Novedades*, began by accusing the "government of the rich" of launching a propaganda campaign to "obscure the true meaning and origin of the bank robberies, kidnappings, and executions carried out by revolutionary groups operating throughout the entire country and by the party of the poor led by Compañero Lucio Cabañas in the mountains of Guerrero."

The purpose of the communiqué was to counteract this: "Today for the first time, and not of their own will, the news media are serving the proletarian cause. Thus we address ourselves to our exploited brothers, to all the workers, to our people, so they can find out what our struggle is really all about and why we choose the path of armed struggle as the only one by which it is possible to get rid of the rich and their government, a government of exploiters, to get rid of this privileged caste that for centuries has been getting rich off the labor, in subhuman conditions, of the worker, the peasant, and all the working people, in exchange for which they receive a miserable wage that barely buys them bad food. These privileged castes order their repressive bodies to assassinate, jail, or eliminate all traces of thousands of the poor who are protesting against exploitation, working people who refuse to go on

suffering hunger and mistreatment in poverty and ignorance."

The statement sought to expose the "myth of the so-called Mexican revolution and the bourgeois solutions that it is applying to economic and political problems." It actually has led to a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and has perpetuated exploitation of the working people.

"The poor have always been denied the right to culture," it continued. The entire educational system is designed to prevent the poor from receiving anything but the most elementary kind of education, "which turns them into qualified workers so they can then go and serve their boss and be exploited in the countryside and in the factories. . . ."

"The Mexican people are brutally oppressed by the bourgeoisie, poverty is a fact of life in most homes, and the violence of the system is a general aspect of social life; the fact that the best children of the people are being assassinated is not going unnoticed; it is already clear to the people what attitude the bourgeoisie is taking towards the demands raised by the proletariat in its struggle to improve its living conditions. The response is repression and yet more repression.

"There are the murders, still unpunished today, of Rubén Jaramillo in Morelos; of dozens of peasants in Guerrero; repression of peasants and students in Sinaloa, of railroad workers, sugarcane workers, and teachers. There are, as an example of the bourgeoisie's solution to the problems of the proletarians, the hundreds of assassinations committed against the people and the students—in October '68 and on June 10, '71.

"In view of this situation, and based on objective reality, we say to all the poor of the country that there remains only one road leading to our liberation, and that is the road of armed struggle, the creation of an organization capable of sustaining this in revolutionary practice.

"On the basis of the agreed-upon combining of the political with the military in revolutionary actions, the workers and the students are becoming conscious and politically involved in fighting for their politicoeconomic aspirations; we will only achieve our liberation by destroying capitalist relations of production and, as a re-

sult, destroying all the evils the capitalist system inflicts upon the people."

The communiqué concluded by stating that "at no time are the various forms of struggle of the mass movement excluded, for they also play a fundamental role in the process of developing the movement when they are included within the general program of the revolutionary movement

and as a tactic to create another situation that will give rise to conditions allowing this program to be carried out more rapidly. Thus it remains clear that the revolutionary development of the mass movement directly affects the development of the armed revolutionary vanguard, and the latter in turn strengthens the development of the mass movement. . . ." □

Interview With a Spanish Trotskyist Leader

April Events in Catalonia Show Broadening Militancy

[The following interview with one of the leaders of the underground Trotskyist movement in Spain was obtained recently by a correspondent of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Could you briefly summarize the events that occurred in Barcelona early in April?

Answer. The construction workers who were building a thermal-electric plant, about 1,700 in all, held an assembly and decided to elect a committee to fight for some immediate demands like higher pay, a forty-hour week, sick pay, and so on.

The government, which is following a policy of trying to bring the labor movement under control, sent a representative of the CNS [Central Nacional Sindicalista—National Union Federation, the "union" set up by the Franco dictatorship] to offer the workers the right to elect two representatives of the CNS to process their demands through "legal" channels.

Workers belonging to reformist organizations wanted to accept the proposal. The Communist party, which is the largest reformist workers organization, went along with the government move. The Trotskyists of the LCR [Liga Comunista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Communist League] opposed it. They called on the workers to maintain the committee they had elected and to begin organizing picket squads for self-defense in case the police attacked them. The

workers rejected the government proposal overwhelmingly.

The bosses responded with a lock-out and the police attacked the workers. A fight with the police lasted four to five hours. One worker was killed and another wounded.

Instead of dispersing, which is what usually happens when the police open fire, the workers continued to battle. They marched through Besos, where the thermal-electric plant is being built. Others joined them and the strike spread through the whole area. In the following days there were demonstrations of solidarity, including strikes of varying length. In all, as many as 100,000 or 200,000 persons participated to one degree or another.

Q. How would you compare the events stemming from the Besos action with previous demonstrations of the workers in Spain?

A. This struggle was at a higher level than previous ones. As in previous struggles, the workers bypassed the CNS apparatus and set up their own committees, and they resisted when attacked. But this time their resistance was more determined, and the defense squads, instead of being composed of only vanguard elements, became massive. Also, as the solidarity strikes developed, the workers began to occupy their factories on a broader scale than before. The solidarity strikes tended to last longer. The development of the vanguard in the factories reflected a general broadening out. The demand for unity was more pronounced. On top of that the

slogans raised by the workers tended to be at a higher level. They moved rapidly in the direction of calling for the downfall of the Franco dictatorship.

In the SEAT plant, for instance, workers from several sectors of this huge complex, which employs 28,000 persons, began marching from one area to another, shutting down other sectors and shouting, "Down with the dictatorship."

Q. Was unity achieved during these actions?

A. The underground workers movement in Barcelona is divided into three currents. Workers commissions, that is, committees of workers' leaders in each factory, are affiliated to a coordinating council. Unfortunately there are three such councils. The largest is dominated by the Communist party; it is called "Local." The next in size is dominated by a centrist grouping, Red Flag; it is called "Sectors." The smallest—dominated by centrists and syndicalists—is called "Platform."

The Trotskyists participate in all three and call for unifying them into one coordinating center.

During the April struggle, the mass pressure for unity resulted in the formation of a single coordinating body.

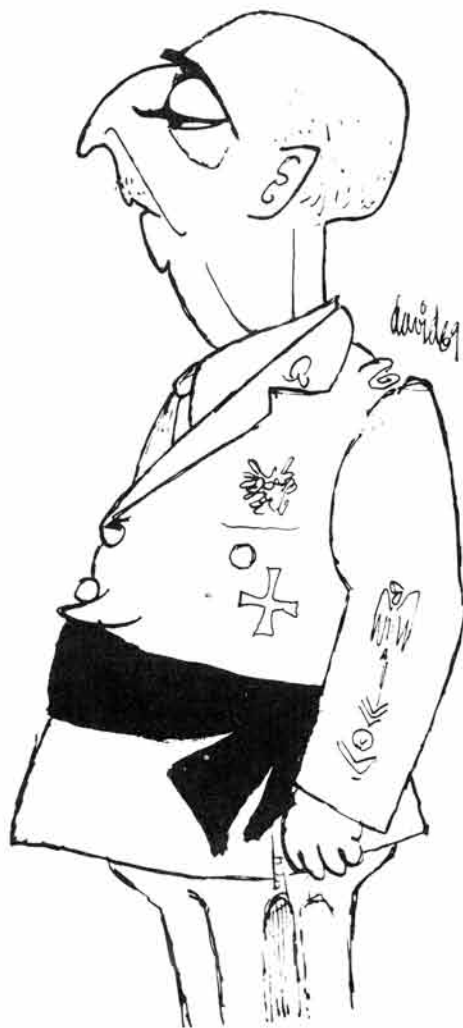
Q. Did the central coordinating committee agree generally on what to do during these actions?

A. At times common agreement was reached; but there were also some sharp conflicts. When the mass demonstrations broke out and the sympathy strikes began, we proposed that Friday, April 6, be set as a date to unite all the spontaneous outbursts into a unified outpouring of the masses.

At first the Communist party delegates accepted under pressure from the ranks. Once the CP had accepted, the Red Flag delegates followed suit. That was at a meeting on Tuesday, April 3.

But Wednesday, April 4, after the CP delegates had consulted with their national leadership, they made a switch and opposed any united action on Friday. Instead they argued for a later date.

The CP is following a line of trying



FRANCO: Challenged by strike action of Barcelona workers.

to prove to the bourgeoisie that they can keep the mass movement under control. They hope to bloc with sectors of the bourgeoisie in a bid for a peaceful evolution from fascism to bourgeois democracy.

In our opinion they became frightened at the perspective of a united mass confrontation in the streets. They decided to try to de-escalate the struggle under cover of radical-sounding verbiage.

For instance, they put out leaflets saying that we must wait until we are ready for a nationwide general strike. The call for a general strike in the abstract becomes nothing but a cover for blocking the mass movement from developing in the concrete forms required at the moment.

Other groups, the Lambertists for instance, followed a similar line, counterposing a general strike sometime in the future to the concrete possibilities open as of now.

For us, the proposed action on Friday was one more step towards the goal of a revolutionary general strike.

Under the pressure of the CP, the Red Flag delegates wavered; and the demonstration had to be postponed until Wednesday, April 11, that is, after the movement had begun to decline. In one area, however, in spite of hesitation and attempts to hold the movement back, a massive confrontation did develop on Friday, April 6.

In Cerdanola a factory of 800 workers held an assembly early in the morning of April 6 and marched out to other factories. They occupied these factories, held assemblies, and got the workers to vote to join them. Before the day was over, 8,000 workers marched through Cerdanola, battling the police and closing down the entire town.

Q. On forming defense squads to protect the demonstrations—was there agreement on that?

A. No. This is one important area of differences. The CP is quite opposed to it and agrees to do so only at the level of the vanguard. That is, they are against making a call generally for the organization of defense squads. They also opposed the demand to dissolve the special repressive units of the police. However, under the impact of the events the proposals of the Trotskyists on the question of defense squads carried during this period in the central coordinating committee and even more so at the factory level.

One of the problems we faced was that after the central coordinating committee reached agreement, the CP would sabotage carrying out the decision where their influence was dominant.

Q. Did the students support the workers struggles?

A. Yes. But the demonstrations were primarily composed of workers until the final demonstration of Wednesday, April 11. The proportion of students was quite large in that one.

Q. Did the solidarity actions spread throughout Spain?

A. No, except among the students. Actions by the workers were limited

to Catalonia, that is, the area around Barcelona.

Q. What were the overall results for the Trotskyist movement in these actions?

A. Besides supporting the immediate demands of the striking workers, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria raised the following slogans: "Police out of the factories, universities, and neighborhoods"; "Free the political prisoners, especially Camacho" [Camacho is a leader of the workers commissions now facing trial]; "Against any sanctions, for rehiring the strikers"; "Dissolution of the special repressive forces"; and "Down with the dictatorship."

We emphasized the need for unity in action; we opposed trying to bypass the united front expressed in the workers commissions, as various sectarian and ultraleft groups have attempted to do.

We tried to set a clear target and a specific date for the actions in order

to maximize their impact and to take preparatory steps toward a general strike.

We called for the formation of self-defense squads.

We also called for the formation of rank-and-file committees, with the right to recall delegates at any time, to provide leadership in the mass struggles.

The contribution made by the Trotskyists to the April struggles was important; but we have to get better coordination among the workers who follow our party so that we can react to events faster at the factory level. We have made some headway in recruiting more workers as a result of what we did.

Of course, we have suffered some arrests. This is one of the most difficult problems. Once workers become known in their plants as militants the danger always exists that they will be arrested after the strikes are settled and the mass movement temporarily subsides. □

At the concluding rally, Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, was heavily heckled by the marchers for his refusal to break off discussions with the Heath government and lead a militant fight against the Phase 2 wage controls. Disapproval of the record of the union leaders ran through many of the May Day marches. It was well known among those who demonstrated that these leaders had been trying for several days prior to the strike to reenter negotiations with the government and downplay the May Day strike.

Only a week before May Day Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, practically told union members not to participate in the strikes and rallies that the TUC itself had called only a few weeks previously. Feather said the day of action would be one of "reluctant acquiescence" in the government's wage control program and that the TUC was not calling a general strike but would leave it up to individual sections of the labor movement to decide whether they wanted to take part. Many major unions refused to support the strike. In some instances this led to widescale flouting of the union leaders' decisions not to participate. This was particularly noticeable among the miners who closed down 133 of Britain's 281 coal mines in defiance of their union executive's refusal to support May Day.

But in many other industries the union leaders' scabbing on the strike led millions of workers who would have joined the protest if they had been given real leadership to stay at work. A well-orchestrated press campaign whipped up against the May Day protests added to their demoralization. Many workers saw little point in striking and losing a day's wages when their own leaders had told them not to strike or that participation in the strike was a matter of individual choice. This mood of demoralization led some workers who had earlier voted to strike to report for work as normal. This was shown by the London bus drivers, almost all of whom ended up working, and by many subway workers who kept about half of the London subways running.

Those 2 million or more workers

Despite Resistance From Union Bureaucrats

Millions in Britain Strike on May Day

London

More than 2 million workers joined May Day strikes throughout Britain to protest the Tory government's wage control policies and the soaring cost of living. The strike, which had been called at a special congress of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in February, hit the railways, auto factories, mines, docks, newspapers, and engineering factories.

Large demonstrations were held in many cities. One of the largest was in London, where more than 20,000 marched, including large contingents of printworkers, who had completely halted publication of the major national daily newspapers. Major speakers at the London rally included the leader of the recently elected Labour party majority on the Greater London Council, Sir Reg Goodwin, and Mineworkers General Secretary Lawrence Daly. Daly attacked the Heath government not only for its assaults on the living standards of the Brit-

ish working class but also for its slavish support for the United States in Indochina at a time when the Nixon regime was carrying out unprecedented bombing raids over Cambodia.

One of the largest turnouts for May Day occurred in Birmingham, where more than 500,000 struck and 20,000 marched through the city center. In Scotland a third of the workforce stopped work; 10,000 joined a march through Glasgow, including contingents of auto workers, miners, construction workers, and shipyard workers.

In South Wales, all 51 coal mines were on strike and miners made up a large part of a demonstration of 8,000 in Cardiff. Some 1,000 of the Cardiff marchers came from the giant East Moors steelworks, which is threatened with closure by the Tory government. Heading the march were contingents of workers who have been occupying the Aberdale Cable factory.

Some 12,000 marched in Liverpool.

who did strike put up a tremendous display of opposition to the Tories and their wages policy. They did so without any real support from the union leaders.

Clearly the top officials of the TUC never had any real intention of taking its May Day "day of action" seriously. They originally called the protests to try to convince angry union militants

that they would be willing to put up a fight against the Tories; but they were determined not to turn the "day of action" into a mass strike and mobilization. Feather, in a May Day statement, denied that the unions were confronting the government and indicated his desire to reopen talks with the government and find a settlement that accepted an amended form of state interference with wages. □

Increases Pressure on Democratic Movement

Kremlin Pushing 'Recantation' Stories

By Marilyn Vogt

The Soviet secret police (KGB) is continuing its campaign to wipe out the *Chronicle of Current Events* and crush the Soviet democratic opposition movement. Recent reports have told of the interrogation and harassment of many leading opposition figures in Moscow.

Irina Yakir, daughter of Pyotr Yakir, the leading oppositionist who has been held in Moscow's Lefortovo prison since his arrest in June 1972, has been subjected to severe KGB pressure. Like her father, Irina has been active in the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, which since June 1968 has issued numerous statements in defense of arrested dissidents.

Valery Chalidze, former member of the Moscow-based Human Rights Committee, who was deprived of his Soviet citizenship in December 1972 while visiting the United States, has written an open letter on Irina's behalf. In the letter, dated April 2 and printed in the April 18 *New York Times*, Chalidze reported that Irina had been interrogated daily during the last two weeks of March despite the fact that she is still nursing her daughter. Chalidze stated: "I ask you to defend Irina Yakir before she is arrested — and this could happen soon."

Further evidence that intense pressure has been brought to bear on Irina came in a news report in the April 19 *New York Times*. According to "unofficial sources," Irina is said to have "confessed during a se-



BREZHNEV: Turning the heat on the democratic movement.

ries of almost daily interrogations over several weeks that she played a role in the preparation of the last 16 issues of [the *Chronicle of Current Events*]."

Andrei Sakharov and Grigory Podyapolsky, two of the three remaining members of the Human Rights Committee, have also been subjected to intense pressure.

Sakharov, a founder of the committee in 1970, is a member of the Soviet Academy of Science and is famous as the "father of the Soviet H-bomb." He has been active in the op-

position movement since the late 1960s. The May 3 *New York Times* reported that Kremlin officials delivered to Sakharov a letter that was supposedly written by Pyotr Yakir. Since December 1972, there have been widespread rumors that Yakir has "recanted" under interrogation. In this letter, Yakir supposedly acknowledged his own "crimes"—keeping in his home and distributing "anti-Soviet" literature, which "in certain cases . . . was used to fight against our country's system" when it "ended up in the West" and was "immediately used by known enemies for propaganda goals against our fatherland, the Soviet Union." The letter stated that Sakharov, too, has been "exploited by anti-Soviet propagandists since 1968." This is a reference to Sakharov's 1968 memorandum to the Soviet leadership in which he presented his theory on the possibility of a convergence of capitalist and "socialist" systems and called for democratization in the USSR.

Pressure from the bureaucracy on Sakharov has been increasing during the past few months. In February he was the object of a press attack, and in March he was called in for KGB questioning. Both of his step-children have been expelled from school. The letter attributed to Yakir poses the direct possibility that Sakharov, whom the bureaucrats consider to be as "guilty" as Yakir, may suffer Yakir's fate.

Sakharov has been invited to serve as a visiting scholar at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, for the 1973-74 academic year. Both his stepchildren have been invited to attend the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and have applied for exit visas. Sakharov is reportedly considering a "limited" stay in the United States through the Princeton offer if his stepchildren are granted exit visas. As yet they have not been.

An April 8 Reuters press release reported that Grigory Podyapolsky, who became a member of the Human Rights Committee in October 1972, was ordered by Soviet military authorities "to undergo psychiatric treatment for three to seven days." He refused to comply until he was handed a written order. Podyapolsky is a 48-year-old geophysicist.

Reports that Viktor Krasin has recanted have been cropping up almost

parenthetically in Western press releases. Krasin is a prominent activist affiliated with the Initiative Group who was arrested in September 1972. In 1969 he had been sentenced to five years in exile for his activities in defense of arrested dissidents. He was released in 1971 before the end of his term, because of ill health.

The April 17 *Washington Post* reported that a mysterious "letter" is circulating in samizdat "partly in Krasin's hand, partly in someone else's." In it Krasin allegedly confesses that he recanted and that he did so "only because he knew Yakir had already talked so freely." Which part of the letter was in Krasin's hand and which part was in "someone else's" is not divulged.

In the cases of both Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin the rumors that they have "recanted" are widespread. But in neither case has there been any public statement other than these letters or parts of letters that they allegedly wrote acknowledging their own "anti-Soviet" activity.

The rumors report that they have both turned over to the KGB the names of people involved in the preparation of the *Chronicle* and in other opposition activities. However, no arrests have been made as a result of all this alleged "cooperation" with the KGB.

Dozens of people have been called in for interrogation since rumors of these supposed recantations began to circulate, and many of those who have been interrogated have reportedly had "confrontations" with Yakir or Krasin. But out of these there have emerged no direct statement from either man implicating any activist by name, nor has there been any positive evidence that the rumors are anything more than another KGB effort to disorient and intimidate activists in the opposition movement.

The Kremlin's intense campaign, launched in January 1972, to wipe out the *Chronicle* and other samizdat publications, did not prevent the appearance of *Chronicle* Nos. 24 (March 5), 25 (May 20), 26 (July 5), and 27 (October 15). However, *Chronicle* No. 28, which should have appeared in December 1972, is now more than five months late.

This delay can very likely be explained by the KGB's "hostage" tactic. Since December 1972 the KGB



YAKIR: Stories about his "recantation" being pushed once again.

has made it known that it has a list of about thirty people who will be arrested if *Chronicle* No. 28 appears. Anatoly Yakobson has been told personally by the KGB that he is on this list. Yakobson spoke in 1968 at the funeral of Aleksei Kosterin, an Old Bolshevik and opposition activist. Yakobson was also an outspoken op-

U.S. Accused of Bombing South Vietnam

U. S. planes have resumed bombing liberated areas in South Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) charged in two protest notes May 12 and 13. The notes asked the four-power International Commission of Control and Supervision to investigate.

Most of the bombing raids appear to have taken place in Tay Ninh and Binh Long provinces north of Saigon. Both provinces border on Cambodia.

The first note said that raids had been occurring for about a month and complained specifically about a week of attacks May 2-9 by U. S. and Saigon planes over a stretch of forty miles westward from Loc Ninh. The city is the PRG's headquarters

ponent of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and has been active in the Initiative Group. Most likely it is Yakobson's public activity against the bureaucracy that has prompted this threat by the KGB rather than any alleged information provided by Yakir.

The people responsible for publishing the *Chronicle* may well fear endangering the freedom or lives of these thirty activists — prominent dissident intellectuals — by issuing *Chronicle* No. 28. Anthony Astrachan reported in the February 20 *Washington Post* that after Irina Belogorodskaya, an opposition activist, was arrested January 3, 1973, the KGB told her husband that she had been arrested "because issue 27 of the *Chronicle* had appeared." Such moves by the KGB add substance to their threat in regard to issue 28.

That the intense campaign of searches, interrogations, arrests, heavy sentences, and rumors of recantations have not succeeded in wiping out the *Chronicle* is suggested by Robert Kaiser's report in the April 17 *Washington Post*. Kaiser states: ". . . according to well-informed dissidents, the KGB has not yet discovered all that it would like to know about who produced the *Chronicle*, and how. Despite hundreds of interrogations and the full co-operation of two suspects [an allusion to Yakir's and Krasin's alleged recantations], these sources say, the basic secrets of the journal remain intact." □

for the areas it controls in southern South Vietnam.

The second protest charged that two U. S. F-4 Phantom jets attacked the area around Loc Ninh and Loc Thanh on May 12. It said that thirty-four persons had been wounded in the raid. The protest continued:

"The above-said criminal act was part and parcel of the United States and Republic of Vietnam large plan of continuous violations of the air space, of bombing and strafing of the Provisional Revolutionary Government-controlled zone in the Tay Ninh and Binh Long areas, which has been put into effect since early April, 1973."

The U. S. embassy in Saigon denied the charges. □

Four Students Killed by Mexican Police

The first nationwide student strike since 1968 was staged in Mexico May 8. Twenty universities, including the National Autonomous University in Mexico City, took part.

The purpose of the action was to protest and commemorate the deaths of four students in the city of Puebla May 1. They were shot by police during a May Day demonstration sponsored by the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party).

The incident reportedly occurred when some 300 students attempted to join the official march. According to an Associated Press dispatch published in the May 3 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, "the police had received orders not to allow the students to take part in the demonstration. . . .

"The student groups that came out into the street [from the university] set fire to a police car and kidnapped three policemen who were getting in. The police used tear gas to disperse them, but according to an official, the students responded with gunshots." The alleged shoot-out lasted one hour. No policemen were killed.

In addition to the four students who were killed, some twenty persons were injured.

Police later agreed to swap six arrested students for the three kidnapped policemen.

The governor of the state of Puebla, Gonzalo Bautista O'Farril, tried to blame the Communist party for the incident. The Communist party, according to a report in the May 5 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, responded with an appeal for international solidarity "to help us hold back the wave of terror that is spreading throughout the country and is reaching its bloody claws into the universities."

Agence France-Presse reported that the rector of the Autonomous University of Puebla, Sergio Flores, accused the police of "provocation" during the May Day demonstration by stationing a police patrol near the student meeting hall. He also charged that

during the incident, police snipers were stationed in buildings near the main university building.

The funeral for the four dead students was attended by some 20,000 persons, according to *La Opinión*.

Seeks to Save Peasant Leader's Life

U.S. Group Defends Brazilian Prisoners

The U. S. branch of the Committee to Defend Manuel da Conceição is waging a petition and letter-writing campaign in an effort to save the imprisoned Brazilian peasant leader's life. The former president of the Union of Rural Workers in the Pindaré-Mirin Valley in the state of Maranhão was arrested for the second time last February, and has now been transferred to a prison for common criminals, where it is feared that the dictatorship will try to murder him. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 12, 1973, p. 267.)

As part of its campaign, the committee is urging that letters be sent to the president of Brazil, General Emilio Garrastazu Medici, c/o Ambassador João Augusto de Araujo Castro, 3000 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D. C. 20008, USA. It suggests a letter along the following lines:

"We have recently learned some frightening news about several Brazilian political prisoners. One is Manuel da Conceição Santos, ex-president of the Union of Rural Workers in Pindaré-Mirin in the state of Maranhão, who was arrested for the second time on February 23, 1972. He was brutally tortured, and is presently under constant threat of death.

"Other cases that have come to our attention are those of João Francisco de Souza, an evangelist, arrested in Recife on January 8, 1973, and tortured; Cesar Queiroz Benjamin, a minor at the time of his arrest on August 8, 1971, severely and con-

tinuously tortured; Paulo Costa Ribeiro Bastos, a 26-year-old engineer, arrested in Rio de Janeiro on July 11, 1972; Sergio Landulfo Furtado, a 21-year-old ex-economics student, arrested on July 11, 1972, whose present whereabouts are unknown.

The dead student was identified as Gilberto Chávez Avila, a leader of the student struggle committees.

A week after the May Day massacre, O'Farril gave in to mounting pressures and resigned. □

"The atrocities committed in Brazil during the past nine years must end. It is your responsibility, Mr. President, to use the power of your office to guarantee Manuel da Conceição and all political prisoners in your country the right to life, decent and humane treatment during their imprisonment, the right to a speedy trial and the right to present their defense."

The Committee to Defend Manuel da Conceição can be contacted c/o the Committee Against Repression in Brazil, P. O. Box 426, Hyattsville, Maryland 20783, USA. □

Equal Time for God

A new version of the Tennessee "monkey law" went into the lawbooks May 8. The law, effective in 1975, requires that biology textbooks place the biblical myth of creation on an equal plane with the theory of evolution.

It was in Tennessee that the high-school science teacher John Scopes was convicted of violating a 1925 law banning the teaching of the theory of evolution. That law was repealed six years ago.

The new Tennessee law will doubtless inspire believers in the creation myth in California. A drive is also under way there to give god equal time in the textbooks.

Volunteer Army or Struggle Against Bourgeois Army?

By Felix Lourson

[One of the issues raised by the current youth mobilization in France has been the question of the nature of the army and military conscription. The following article appeared in the May 4 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. In the form of a polemic against Lutte Ouvrière, one of the far-left groups, it explains the Ligue's position on the question of the volunteer army and antimilitarist work in general. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"Down with the army! End military service!" These were the slogans on the cover of *Lutte Ouvrière* a few weeks ago. But are these really proletarian slogans?

Perfectly Justified Disgust

"Twelve months lost for nothing. Brainwashing, forced labor, humiliation. That's what's waiting for me in the service. I refuse to let myself be drafted." That's what you hear most often.

This spontaneous rejection of the army, perfectly understandable, has spread among a huge section of the youth — high-schoolers, students, workers. The first slogan that came up to express this rejection was basically, "End military service!" But it is necessary to think about the consequences.

The Army and the Revolution

Revolutionists struggle against repression in the army just as they struggle against exploitation in the factories. But they know that along the road to their emancipation the workers will face determined resistance from the bourgeoisie. The exploiters will use every means at their disposal against the workers. And the army is one of the most effective.

It is in the light of this perspective that the various positions on the army must be judged:

Under the present conditions, if military service is eliminated, it will only be replaced by a volunteer army composed of military professionals devoted body and soul to the ruling class. With such an army, the bourgeoisie would have a formidable instrument, tailor-made to repress the workers. Already, part of the bourgeoisie, concerned about the "spiritual state" of the ranks, is prepared to opt for this.

It is true that if military service is maintained, the army can still be used against the working class. But the army today is composed overwhelmingly of workers in uniform who dream of taking off. It is possible to fight against the brainwashing and the despotism; for that it is necessary that the soldiers decide to do it. Surely, this is not easy, but it's possible. The example of Mutzig proves this. This is the task of revolutionary militants.

Lutte Ouvrière's Practice

It is understandable that the revolt of so many youth is expressed by a rejection of military service. But that militants calling themselves revolutionists and Trotskyists follow suit is a little disturbing. For their role should be to educate those they are speaking to, and not just latch on to their immediate reactions.

By adopting the slogan of rejecting military service, LO is not disassociating itself in the slightest degree from the typically petty-bourgeois position of individual draft refusal. One looks through their paper in vain for a single line of criticism, even fraternal, of pacifists or conscientious objectors. This is not chance forgetfulness, but an opportunist adaptation that has led LO in certain areas to form an unprincipled united front with anarchist or spontanist tendencies

against the Ligue on questions relating to the army.

In Tours, for example, LO has allied itself with spontanists from a student milieu (proletarian unity?) against the Ligue. In Dijon, people carrying the black flag who had been attracted by the LO slogans marched in the same contingent with LO members.

Also, there is not a word from LO about *work inside the army*. Moreover, it has never taken a clear position in the movement on the question of a volunteer army. One looks through their paper in vain searching for a single word about this solution to the military problem advocated by the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, and in particular by the *Ordre Nouveau* fascists. Without trying to suggest the slightest amalgam, one cannot but deplore such a position.*

*Well after the battle, in issue No. 9 of its review, *Class Struggle*, Lutte Ouvrière spoke of the "false argument on a volunteer army." Two crushing arguments were advanced:

1. The army is not what *Rouge* said it was: In Algeria in 1961, the army ranks did not move any more than de Gaulle asked them to. In Paris, in 1973, the "miserable grunts" (sic) did nothing but empty out trash cans.

2. In 1940 Trotsky was against compulsory conscription.

These arguments are completely off the mark.

In Algeria, only the ranks could have so quickly neutralized the officers. And these actions were an expression of a revolt against the war; they often took forms that were not at all desired by de Gaulle. As to the draftees disguised as street sweepers to break a strike, they did not all remain passive. Far from it. Apart from the sympathy shown to people who painted antimilitarist slogans on the trucks, the movements that took place at Vincennes prove this.

The reference to Trotsky (who was speaking of the United States in 1940) is a very tortured analogy, once the context is known. It was in the midst of a world war and on the eve of the U.S.

But, LO members will object, we raise the slogan of "arms training in one's neighborhood, without being sent away from the workplace."

Exactly. And, at bottom, the idea is a correct one—the formation of workers militias. This is an integral part of the revolutionary program. But to explain this in a general and propagandistic way is one thing. To present the elimination of the bourgeois army and its replacement by a workers militia as a concrete objective of the mobilization is quite another! For that, it would be necessary for there to be a different political situation and a relationship of forces going way beyond the technical schools.

In reality, for LO, this platonic reference to "arms training" is only window dressing without the least practical import. It serves to hide a deep-seated opportunism in relation to an immediate feeling generally prevalent among the youth.

The Tasks of Revolutionary Militants

A radically different basis for action can be developed:

1. *Give the movement mobilizing and unifying objectives.*

The response to the Debré law was crystallized at first around the defensive slogan of *reestablish deferments*. But militant high-schoolers very quickly felt the need to widen their movement and to find common demands for all the youth: *extension of the deferments and freedom of choice as to date of induction between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five and abolition of the hiring clause that bars access to professional training for all youth who have not fulfilled their military service.*

entry into the war. If the only method convincing to LO is to dangle the "classics of Marxism," we should recall how Lenin dealt with the question of military service.

In fact, all these arguments converge toward one goal: justifying "theoretically" a complete political passivity on the problem of the army, minimizing the possibilities and opportunities for revolutionists to work within the ranks of the army. In a word, throwing out one of the twenty-one conditions of membership in the Third International aimed at drawing a distinction between opportunists and revolutionists.

It takes a bad case of blindness or bad faith to interpret these slogans as "defense of privileges" and as "demands to co-opt" the high-school movement.

2. *Carry out independent revolutionary Marxist propaganda.*

The Ligue has put out pamphlets explaining its basic position on the army; it regularly defends these points of view in the columns of *Rouge* by illustrating them with concrete examples and debates with other tendencies. Within the movement, the Ligue's student, high-school, and apprentice members present their ideas in general assemblies, in workshops, and when films on the army are shown. That is how a real basic job of education—without sectarianism—can be done.

3. *Help the building of a mass antimilitarist movement.*

By working to create the Committee to Defend Inductees, by distributing its magazine *Crosse en l'Air*, the members of the Ligue are fighting to keep the inductees from being subjected to military harassment without benefit of defense and to see that their basic demands are supported. The existing general antimilitarist sentiment must take an organized form.

4. *See to it that revolutionary militants who go into the army do not*

remain inactive and isolated.

A Series of Consistent Errors

In real life, LO's position has resulted in a real line of sabotaging the movement. It has aimed at lining up the technical school youth against the high-schoolers and students; it has generalized manipulation to the point of contempt for all workers democracy. When you know that it does this in the name of the "proletarian" character of its positions on the army, the whole thing would make you smile if these actions were not completely unworthy of Trotskyist militants.

Its rejection of work in the army; its lack of any antimilitarist intervention; its accommodation of pacifism—all this forms a coherent totality for LO. It is related to the ambiguities that come up in the LO position every time the decisive question of violence and the state power is raised: rejection of dissolving the police in favor of calling for "federalization" under the "control of the municipalities"; refusal to struggle today against the fascists, in the name of "arms training" . . . later on, at private homes, and so on.

As a whole it is an opportunistic and legalistic policy, whose most appropriate forums come up around elections and country festivals. □

163 Days After Elections

Netherlands Parties Agree on New Cabinet

A sixteen-member cabinet took office in the Netherlands May 11, ending a governmental crisis that had lasted 163 days. The new government is headed by Joop den Uyl, leader of the Labor party.

The country had been without an elected government since last November 29, when elections failed to give any party a majority.

Den Uyl's Labor party forms a "Progressive" bloc with the Catholic People's party and the Protestant conservatives of the Antirevolutionary party. The bloc took ten of the seats in the new cabinet. Also represented in the government are the Radical party and the Democratic party.

According to the May 12 *New York Times*, the efforts to form a coalition government were successful "18 days after the Queen asked the leaders of the Labor and Protestant Anti-Revolutionary parties to combine forces in an effort to resolve the deadlock."

During the crisis, former Premier Barend Biesheuvel maintained a "caretaker" government.

While the recent crisis was the longest in Dutch history, it was not unusual. A similar crisis in 1956, for example, lasted 121 days.

Joop den Uyl calls himself a socialist. He is known as a "strong supporter" of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. □

Healyites Find That Capitalism Has Dropped Dead

By Dick Roberts

[This is the third and final article of a 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*.]

* * *

Since the latter half of the 1960s world imperialism has been shaken by recurring and increasingly grave crises of the international monetary system. World trade warfare has escalated sharply with the increasing appearance of tariff and import-quota measures designed to protect national markets. Recessions began to appear in Europe and Japan and 1969-72 saw the first international recession in the postwar period.

This intensification of the economic problems of world imperialism has resulted in increasingly harsh measures against the wages and living standards of workers. An economic theory to provide a lucid explanation of the contradictions of imperialism is a key part of the revolutionary arsenal. But in the hands of the leaders of the Socialist Labour League and their followers in the United States, economic theory has been sacrificed in the interest of sectarian warfare against the world Trotskyist movement.

In fact, some of the key contributions first presented by Ernest Mandel have been picked up by the Healyites. But they have done this without the slightest acknowledgment and under cover of systematic falsification of Mandel's views.

The deep crisis of the monetary system compelled these indomitable opponents of pragmatism to finally notice that the inflation of the dollar is one of the consequences of deep-lying contradictions in international finance. Almost ten years after Mandel explained it in *Marxist Economic Theory*, Dennis O'Casey of the Workers League asserted that the "International Committee" was "able to understand that the inflation of paper money by the United States agreed to at Bretton Woods in 1944 must serve at a certain point, through a reassertion of the law of value, to precipitate a world monetary crisis. We were able to understand how this in turn would usher in a new period of revolutionary struggle."¹¹

Then, in accordance with the usual Healyite way of covering up the source of their insights, O'Casey continued: "Mandel could neither grasp the relationship between value and price nor how the abstraction, value, would assert itself against a mountain of concrete paper dollars. This is precisely the reason he could not anticipate this crisis. . . . the question of the world crisis building up under

the surface of capitalism for the past 25 years never held any serious place in Mandel's analysis."

Production Is Central

It is one-sided and consequently incorrect to assert, as O'Casey and his mentors in London do, that the cause of postwar prosperity was simply the flooding of the capitalist world with dollars and currency inflation. This monetaristic concept turns reality and Marxism upside down.

In order to grasp the dynamics of postwar expansion we have to begin, with Marx, in the arena of *production*, not circulation. In the dialectical relation between production and circulation, production is the predominant category. This is the central theme of *Capital*. It is expressed in the logical structure of *Capital* which proceeds from the contradictions of production in the first volume to those of circulation in the second and third volumes.

Marx's labor theory of value is a theory of production relations. Marxism rejects all theories that, like modern marginalism, identify price and value, because they make it impossible to grasp the dynamics of capitalist production beneath the surface appearances in the sphere of circulation. What happens in the marketplace reflects and interacts with the conditions of production, but it does not determine them.

It was on this basis, as we have already seen, that Marx criticized English banking theory in the mid-nineteenth century. The source of capitalist crises is not to be found in the circulation of money, credit, and gold *isolated* from production. This central conception of Marxism is not overthrown by the actual history of imperialism in the postwar period.

On the contrary, to grasp the character of the postwar period, it is essential to begin with understanding that imperialism was able to undergo an unprecedented expansion of production following the holocaust of war. This was *different from* the period following World War I but it did not mean that imperialism had fundamentally changed its character.

Imperialism

For Marxists, the central contradiction of imperialism, monopoly capitalism in the twentieth century, is *the revolt of the forces of production against national boundaries*. Lenin and Trotsky constantly returned to this theme. In *Imperialism*, Lenin wrote: "Capitalist monopolies occupy first place in economics and politics; the division of the world has been completed. On the other hand, instead of an undisputed monopoly by Great Britain, we see a few imperialist powers contending for the right to share in this monopoly, and this struggle is characteristic of the

11. Ernest Mandel: *The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism* (1971).

whole period of the beginning of the twentieth century."

The "division of world markets" completed at the beginning of this century impelled national capitalisms into fierce competition ultimately leading to World War I. But this bloody slaughter did not resolve the contradictions that brought it about. It re-created the basis for continued economic crisis and war.

In his far-sighted "Report on the World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the Communist International" (1921), Trotsky stated: "At the given moment capitalism has entered a period of prolonged and profound depression. . . . the war lasted for too long, provoking not only an acute crisis but a protracted one; it destroyed completely Europe's capitalist economic apparatus, thereby accelerating America's feverish development. But after exhausting Europe, the war led in the long run to a great crisis in America, too. Once again we are witnessing that selfsame depression which they had sought to escape, but which has been intensified many-fold owing to Europe's impoverishment. . . ."

"It is quite obvious that America will have to suffer curtailment since the European war market is gone beyond recall."

The Healyites contend that the situation following the second world war was essentially the same. "World development has been characterized since the First World War not by the rise but by the decline of Europe. . . ."

"What Trotsky says of this relationship in his writings of 1922 and 1926 . . . remains essentially true today in spite of the further growth and development of this relationship and since its temporary and superficial reversal during the period of the boom," O'Casey declared (*Fraud*, pp. 38-9).

But Trotsky least of all would hold that what he said after World War I could be applied to a different situation three and a half decades later. Marxism is ill served by the attempt to bend texts to preconceived notions. To understand the basis of postwar stability we must look at conditions in 1944 and after.

Four factors stand out:

1. In the advanced capitalist countries the crisis of leadership of the working classes had deepened, above all because of the strengthened grip of Stalinism. In a relatively brief period the Stalinist and Social Democratic betrayers quenched the revolutionary fires touched off by the war and marshaled workers back into the factories of capitalist recovery.

2. Nevertheless, the world revolution took giant strides beginning with Yugoslavia in 1943 right in the midst of the war. By 1949 the Red armies of China had driven Chiang Kai-shek off the mainland. A few years later, China, the most prized colonial possession of all, became a workers state. A third of the world's population lived in postcapitalist societies.

The permanent revolutionary ferment made the stabilizing and rebuilding of postwar capitalist societies a matter of urgent necessity to world imperialism. Whereas following the first world war, Washington had, in Trotsky's phrase put Europe on "rations," following the second it flooded Europe and Japan with dollars alongside its occupying NATO and SEATO military forces.

3. The United States was able to do this because it emerged from the war in a position of strength qualitatively superior to its situation following World War I. It

commanded a worldwide police force and it opened world markets for U. S. goods and capital.

The physical destruction of Europe and Japan, coupled with the disorganization of the work force under a traitorous leadership, paved the way for massive investments and spectacular profits.

At Bretton Woods U.S. imperialism imposed a dollar-based system in international finance in order to open up the world to U. S. capital and credit. Washington was able to do this not because of the supply of gold in Ft. Knox but because of the military and economic might of U. S. capitalism and its success in the war. The gold supply resulted from this commanding position and re-enforced it.

4. The ruling classes had learned some lessons from the economic and social crises of the 1930s and the war period itself. The market could not be left to its own devices. Capitalist governments would more and more intervene in the economy, along lines suggested by Keynes, in order to prevent downswings from becoming too deep. The social cost of severe unemployment outweighed its economic advantages. Inflationary policies were deemed less risky than stringent deflation.

The end result was not a repetition of the "prolonged and profound depression" that followed World War I. Moreover, it was not a "superficial reversal" as O'Casey asserts. It was the longest economic expansion in the advanced capitalist countries in the history of world imperialism.¹² It saw unprecedented climbs in industrial production and real wages. Unemployment fell to historic lows in Europe and Japan.

But this prosperity did not resolve the fundamental contradictions of imperialism. It paved the way for subsequent crises.

Seeds of New Crises

For it is precisely in the "division of world markets" that the seeds of new economic crises exist. This was the inevitable result of the postwar expansion, an expansion not only of U. S. monopoly but of the revived imperialisms of Europe and Japan.

Already by 1964, a record year's production of 10.0 million vehicles in the United States and Canada was surpassed by the production of 10.7 million cars and trucks outside of North America.

The 1960s saw a dramatic breaching of the U. S. monopoly of steel production. In 1963 the "Big Eight" U. S. steel companies outsold their eleven biggest foreign competitors by over 20 percent—\$10,900 million as compared to \$9,000 million. But in 1970, the number of foreign companies able to sell on the same scale as the "Big Eight" had grown from eleven to sixteen, and these sixteen outsold the eight U. S. firms by a margin of almost

12. I have limited this series of articles to the essential contradictions of the *advanced capitalist countries*, omitting the manifold contradictions of the economically oppressed capitalist countries and the contradictions between these two main sectors of world imperialism. This otherwise unwarranted simplification can be made because the Healyites, in their sectarian attack on what they dub the "sectoralism" of the Trotskyist movement, themselves *entirely leave out* these pressing questions.

two to one—\$28,900 million as compared to \$15,000 million.¹³

The world oil industry, the industry *par excellence* of imperialism, has seen since the mid-1960s the emergence of unbridled competition for world sources and markets, a factor of immense and increasing importance in world politics.

A simple substitution serves to update the remark by Lenin cited above: "Instead of the undisputed monopoly of the United States, we see a few imperialist powers contending for the right to share in this monopoly." The United States has lost the absolute supremacy it held in the immediate postwar period but has retained its relative supremacy. This is the main feature of interimperialist relations today.¹⁴

This is the cause of the intensified struggle for markets in both the advanced and underdeveloped capitalist countries with its inevitable consequences: the tendency toward longer and deeper national and international recession; the intensified productivity drive in industry with increasing speedup and layoffs; the upward direction of unemployment levels even in times of recovery; the intensification of international inflation; and the increasingly grave shakeups of the international monetary system.

Factional Frenzy

Here is how the *Bulletin* sizes up the most recent shake-up in international finance.

● February 12, 1973: "Crisis deflates Mandel." "The bloated profits to which Mandel points are themselves the offspring of the unchecked inflation of the dollar. . . .

"The masses of worthless paper dollars which are contained within the mountains of capital invested by the capitalists in order to increase the rate of exploitation of the working class has driven the rate of profit produced by the working class below the level of zero percent."

● March 5, 1973: "Gold price soars to new heights" by David North. "The most frantic gold rush in modern history—which last week drove the price of the precious metal up to \$95 per ounce—is a warning to the working class that the latest dollar devaluation is a direct prelude to the complete collapse of the world economic system."

● March 19, 1973: "Marx on the monetary crisis." "Through the massive inflation of paper currency used to erect mountains of credit, the commodity can find no means to realize its exchange value. . . .

"Because exchange value can no longer be realized,

13. See "The World Crisis in Steel" by Dick Roberts, *International Socialist Review*, January 1972.

14. Mandel considers this at length in *Europe Versus America? Contradictions of Imperialism* (1968).

In *Fraud*, O'Casey asserts that "Mandel is completely steeped in the illusion of a rising Europe to the point in fact where it is the rise of Europe that will supposedly now shake America. The whole historical development of the last fifty years, dominated first by the decline of Europe and the rise of America and now the decline of both is turned upside down and inside out." This position of the Healyites, held for a number of years, is apparently being dropped, as usual without any explanation. The February 24, 1973, *Workers Press* states, "From November 1967 the Americans have had no choice but to prepare for economic and financial warfare against the rest of the capitalist world, and particularly against Europe."

the capitalists are forced to cease the production of commodities entirely."

The editors of the *Bulletin* may not know it, but the production of commodities hasn't ceased in the United States: It is on an upturn. In March 1973 Americans purchased 1.1 million cars, with dollars and on credit, the largest volume in the history of the country. Profits are at an all-time record. *Business Week* magazine described 1972 as "a spectacular year for profits" and with good reason predicted even higher profits for 1973. Unemployment remains very high, but more people are working in the United States than ever before.

The editors of the *Bulletin* outdo even themselves when they declare that the rate of profit has fallen "below the level of zero percent," especially when they say in the same sentence that inflation has "increased the rate of exploitation of the working class."

For it must be theoretically excluded that the rate of profit is below zero for U.S. imperialism at a time of increasing production and relatively low unemployment. Long before the rate of profit reaches zero, capitalist production is slowed. When they see no arena for profitable investment, except under extraordinary circumstances, capitalists do not invest. The result is curtailed production and increasing unemployment.

It is true that for a certain period in the economic crisis of the 1930s the rate of profit on investment fell below zero. But it should be unnecessary to point out that before this happened production had fallen off massively and unemployment stood at historic levels.

It is also true that despite the enormous mass of profit produced in the world capitalist economy, the rate of profit is under ever intensifying downward pressure as a result of the growing accumulation of unproductive capital, of surplus capital. But one function of the inflation has been to counteract the tendency of the rate of profit to decline, for, as the *Bulletin* rightly asserts, inflation has *increased* the rate of exploitation.

It is easy to see why Mandel's *Intercontinental Press* article "After the International Recession" so infuriated the Healyites. For if "the basis for the world monetary system has been knocked away,"¹⁵ if "the means of converting . . . commodities back into money . . . has been destroyed,"¹⁶ and if the rate of profit has fallen below zero, how can production be increasing? The answer is simple. It can't be. Under these circumstances there would be no production at all.

Economic Recovery

The fact is that world imperialism did recover from the recession of 1969-72; and for those who take revolution seriously, this is not an event to be ignored, or worse still, wished out of existence. Mandel makes two important points in this "preliminary balance sheet."

First of all, the recovery depended on President Nixon's ability to "export inflation." Second, it depended on Washington's ability to increase the rate of exploitation.

15. "'Recession seems to have ended' says Mandel" by Cliff Slaughter, *Workers Press*, February 17, 1973.

16. *Ibid.*

"... the American working class—under the pressure of the betrayal of the trade-union bureaucrats, who 'went along' with the wage freeze imposed by Nixon—has allowed its standard of living to be reduced and has suffered massive unemployment."

But, Mandel emphasizes, this only heightens the contradictions of world imperialism. On one side of the Atlantic "exported inflation" has stepped up the militancy of the European working class all the more. On the other side of the ocean, "With accelerated expansion, unemployment will no doubt decline in the United States. Then the workers will be able to take revenge for the 'lean years' imposed on them by Nixon. As soon as unemployment seriously drops, outbreaks of strikes can be expected."

The contradictions of world imperialism can be ameliorated only by stepping up the attack on workers. This is Mandel's point in the article on economic recovery and it is the central point of his analysis. These intensified attacks on workers do not resolve the contradictions of imperialism. They press the world working masses towards decisive confrontation with capitalist rule—and only the victory of workers can finally resolve the contradictions

that impel them into revolutionary struggle.

Those who believe that Marxism is a science and not a religion do not pretend to be able to predict what is going to happen tomorrow or next week. We believe that such predictions, especially when carried to the point of factional frenzy, as in the pages of the Healyite press, can only end up by demoralizing some of the potential cadres of the impending revolutionary struggle.

It is certain, however, that the coming crises of capitalism will not exactly duplicate the crisis of the 1930s. The ruling classes learned certain lessons from that disaster and it is incumbent on revolutionists to do the same. As the economic contradictions deepen, governments will undertake quite different policies from those they tried in the 1930s. In the long run, however, even the most sophisticated policies will fail.

We have no doubt that capitalism with all its contradictions will ultimately be rejected by the vast majority of workers. For the socialist revolution to succeed, however, workers need a theory capable of correctly analyzing reality and a program that points the way to changing it. In this the Healyites have nothing to offer. □

Debate Key Issues Facing the Left

Trotskyists Hold Cross-Canada Convention

By Dick Fidler

Toronto

The convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International, met in Toronto April 20-23.

It was the largest convention yet held by the Canadian Trotskyist movement. Of the more than 300 persons who registered, 53 were delegates elected from 12 branches in cities from Vancouver to Montréal, and 34 were alternate delegates. In addition, 29 members of the outgoing Central Committee attended as consultative delegates. Some 50 guests and observers from other countries were present.

The League is working to assemble the cadres of the future mass revolutionary party needed to lead the struggles of the Canadian working class to victory through the winning of state power and the socialist transformation of society on an international scale. Members of the League are active in all aspects of the class struggle in Canada, playing a leading role in the women's liberation movement, the antiwar movement, and student struggles; building the left wing of the New Democratic (labor) party and class-struggle caucuses of militants in the trade unions; and participating in the Québécois nationalist movement. Their concerns were reflected in the banners that adorned the convention hall in the King Edward Sheraton Hotel: "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia," "Pour un Québec Indépendant et Socialiste," "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose," "Defend Latin American Political Prisoners," and "Vive la Quatrième Internationale."

The credentials committee reported that for 19 delegates, their major work area outside the LSA/LSO was as revolutionary activists in the NDP. For 13, it was women's liberation (almost 40 percent of the delegates were women), 10 were active mainly on campus, 9 in antiwar work, 5 (not including teachers) in trade-union work. Sixteen delegates were also members of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, which is in political solidarity with the LSA/LSO.

While discussing the League's work in these areas and plans for expansion in them, the convention focused on defining and clarifying the position of the Canadian section on a number of important questions, including issues in the current internal discussion in the Fourth International.

Democratic Discussion

The convention was preceded by the longest, most thoroughly documented discussion period in the history of the Canadian section. In the space of 11 months, some 58 issues of the English-language Internal Discussion Bulletin were published, containing 91 contributions—for a total of 1,665 pages of typewritten material and approximately 675,000 words. Of this, about half consisted of minority views in opposition to the line resolutions submitted by the Political Committee.

In addition, 16 issues of the French-language internal

bulletin were published, with contributions totaling some 160,000 words.

Organized minorities fully exercised their rights to tour party branches to present their views to the membership, and one-half of the time for reports at the convention was allocated to the presentation of minority points of view.



MANON LEGER: Leader of the LSO speaking at cross-Canada LSA/LSO convention in Toronto.

The convention opened with a report on the world Trotskyist movement presented by Art Young, organizational secretary, for the Political Committee. He outlined the status of the current discussion within the Fourth International preparatory to the Fourth World Congress since Reunification. Pointing to the work of the national sections in a number of countries, he mentioned in particular the intervention of the Ligue Communiste in the recent student upsurge in France. He hailed the breakthrough in Argentina of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). Illegal and underground only two years ago, the cadres of the present PST took advantage of an electoral opening to project a revolutionary class-struggle program. One of the consequences was an impressive increase in the party's membership, organization, and influence in the Argentine working class.

In addition to the official greetings sent to the convention from many sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International, the delegates were addressed by Alain Krivine, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and former presidential candidate of the Ligue Communiste in France; Joseph Hansen of the U.S. Socialist Workers party; and a leader of the Swedish Trotskyist organization, Revolutionära Marxisters Förbund (RMF—League of Revolutionary Marxists).

The convention sent greetings to the congress of the British section, the International Marxist Group, meeting that same weekend; to Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan,

founders of the Chinese Communist party and the Fourth International; and to James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the U.S. Socialist Workers party and of the Fourth International.

The political report, presented by Dick Fidler for the Political Committee, dealt with the main themes of the 57-page political resolution, "The Developing Class Struggle in Canada," which had been discussed by the membership for several months.

Turn in World Situation

The report centered on the turn in the world political situation marked by Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking, the resulting "détente" between imperialism and the workers states, and the success of the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucrats in forcing the Vietnamese to yield major concessions.

Not the least of these concessions is the provision in the accords for a supervisory force with Canadian participation to oversee the cease-fire, a clear violation of the Vietnamese people's right of self-determination. The convention reaffirmed the commitment of the Canadian Trotskyists to campaign for an immediate end to imperialist intervention in Southeast Asia, for withdrawal of Canadian forces, and for an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

The reporter noted that since 1969 and the last world congress of the Fourth International, there have been no new breakthroughs for the world revolutionary process on the order of the 1968 developments in Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, and France. "Imperialism has gained a breathing space" with the détente. But while serious setbacks have been experienced in some sectors, particularly the colonial revolution, there have been advances elsewhere.

"These developments belie any schema of general reversal of the underlying trends of the past decade, one of general radicalization and ferment. There are elements of profound instability in the present situation, not least the continuing dilemma of U.S. and world imperialism in Southeast Asia, and—most significant—the continued thrust forward and deepening of the class struggle in the main imperialist centers."

The détente, the resulting easing of the atmosphere of world political crisis focused for years on the Vietnam war, has produced a certain downturn in mass mobilizations in the student sector in Canada, reinforcing tendencies toward both opportunism and ultraleftism.

"What we are witnessing today is the reaffirmation of the main historical contradiction of our epoch, the crisis of revolutionary leadership"—manifested in the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism, of both the Mao and Brezhnev varieties (Indochina, Indian subcontinent), the bankruptcy of Guevarism and the guerrilla-war strategy (Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay), and the continuing trend of the Social-Democratic and labor-reformist leaderships in the imperialist countries toward integration into the apparatus of the bourgeois state through parliamentary and governmental experience.

The appearance of a "new vanguard layer of young radicals and revolutionary-minded youth, the advanced

elements emerging from the developing social struggles," poses unique and unprecedented opportunities for the construction of mass revolutionary parties. The main challenge before the cadres of the Fourth International is to win and assimilate these youth, and train them in the method and strategy of the Transitional Program.

The reporter stressed the increasing difficulties facing Canadian capitalism in a world characterized by heightened interimperialist rivalry. Canada is one of the largest imperialist powers without guaranteed access to foreign markets through membership in a common-market structure. Its "special relationship" with U.S. capitalism—the result of the continental market and the high degree of interpenetration of capital between the two countries—is being undermined by growing U.S. protectionism. Whether it moves toward closer "integration" in the American market, or toward attempts to diversify foreign trade and investment, the Canadian bourgeoisie must step up the competitive capacity of Canadian manufacturing industries, that is, increase the rate of exploitation of Canadian workers. A general increase in the tempo and depth of the class struggle can be anticipated in the next period.

New Radicalization

As for the new radicalization, the main components in Canada have been the Québécois nationalist struggle for self-determination and political independence, the mass feminist sentiment, recurring student struggles, and anti-imperialist movements centered around defense of the Indochinese revolution. More recently, powerful nationalist movements have developed among the French-speaking Acadian population of the Maritime provinces, and Canada's half-million native peoples, the Indians and Inuit (Eskimos).

Rooted in the objective contradictions of Canadian capitalism, the radicalization has reflected in its contours the changes in composition of the work force and other social layers of the population under postwar capitalism (increasing role of the state and public sector, expansion of the educational system, regional underdevelopment, large-scale entry of women into the work force, etc.), as well as the impact of international developments, especially the colonial revolution, on radicalizing youth and oppressed national minorities. In this sense, their struggles, while unfolding largely outside the control and influence of the traditional working-class organizations, are a vital part of the developing class struggle.

The demands of these radicalizing layers of the population have given rise to repeated and massive struggles directed against the capitalist state and its institutions. In these struggles, the revolutionary Marxists seek to develop their dynamic independent of the control of the bourgeoisie and its parties, formulating demands that can impel them forward along the road of anticapitalist struggle. We seek to recruit the most advanced elements to the nucleus of the revolutionary party, the Trotskyist vanguard organization.

The general increase in labor militancy of recent years, registered in a rising number of strikes, has not resulted yet in a general politicization of the working class, or

even in the development of a rank-and-file opposition current in the unions, which embrace about a third of the work force in Canada. Politically, the English-Canadian working class remains under the leadership of the Social-Democratic NDP and the labor bureaucracy, which supports the NDP. The NDP in turn exercises substantial influence on the radicalization, both positively in giving it a political link with the labor movement, and negatively in tending to channel independent struggles into parliamentarist, electoral forms of action.

New Democratic Party

Since the NDP embraces or holds the allegiance of the mass of politicized and politicizing workers, the Trotskyists "support the NDP as the elemental class alternative to the parties of the bourgeoisie, while giving no support to its reformist program and leadership." As a Social-Democratic party, the reporter emphasized, the NDP is not the party of the revolutionary Marxists. It is an obstacle to the revolutionary progress of the working class and must be removed from its path. The struggle to win the working class away from this reformist leadership and to a revolutionary course is the central strategic task of Canadian Trotskyists.

The League seeks to win recruits to the revolutionary party, to build the influence of the class-struggle elements within the NDP, and to change the relationship of forces between the revolutionary vanguard and the reformist bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions and their political party. Fraction work inside the labor party to build a class-struggle opposition in the ranks is combined with the independent activity of the revolutionary organization through its press, forums, election campaigns, etc. Within the NDP, the revolutionary socialists seek to mobilize significant layers of militants around key political issues, in struggles that challenge the bureaucracy's reformist positions. The masses who look to the NDP for leadership must discover *in the course of their own experiences* the bankruptcy of the Social Democracy and the necessity for a revolutionary party.

The LSA/LSO's orientation to the NDP is not confined to fraction work. In the general agitation and propaganda of the League, our call for an NDP government has proved an effective way of getting the ear of the masses. By advocating what an NDP government should do, we do not express any illusions as to the revolutionary capacities of Social Democracy, but rather explain and popularize our concept of a workers and farmers government. This approach is entirely consistent with the method of the Transitional Program, where Trotsky stated:

"Of all the parties and organizations which base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name we demand that they break politically from the bourgeoisie and enter upon the road of struggle for the workers' and farmers' government. On this road we promise them full support against capitalist reaction. At the same time we indefatigably develop agitation around those transitional demands which should in our opinion form the program of the 'workers' and farmers' government'."

The Canadian Trotskyists' orientation to the labor party, a long-standing central aspect of our politics, has been

expressed through a diversity of tactical applications—sometimes maintaining only the most minimal connections inside the mass party when there were few opportunities for intervention and recruitment; sometimes, when openings appeared, allocating considerable forces to fraction work, even playing a leading role in peripheral bodies of the party or rank-and-file campaigns. Many of the younger leaders of the Canadian section today were only a few years ago the leaders of the NDP's youth organization in some provinces. More recently, in British Columbia, Trotskyists have played a prominent role in mobilizing committees of party and trade-union militants in struggles for implementation of women's liberation demands, and repeal of antilabor laws by that province's newly elected NDP government.

Far from inhibiting the building of the independent revolutionary party, the Canadian section's tactical approach to the Social Democratic labor party has been a principal means of building the influence and cadres of revolutionary socialism in the labor movement. The reporter defended the method and approach of the Transitional Program against ultraleft schematism and opportunist critics. Struggles for democratic demands in the epoch of imperialist crisis, when even the most limited gains of the masses are threatened and constantly undermined, can unleash powerful anticapitalist movements. The struggles of women to end their oppression, of the Québécois for national liberation, and of other oppressed layers of society for similar demands testify to this.

The resolution incorporates the analysis of the student movement contained in the 1969 resolution of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, entitled "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International."

Canadian Nationalism

An important development in Canada in recent years has been the development of Canadian nationalism, much of it directed against the growing weight and influence of U.S. capital in the Canadian economy. This wave of anti-U.S. feeling has had a big impact in the left. In the province of Ontario, the main industrial center of the country, the mass left wing in the NDP split last year, and a large number of militants abandoned organized work in the labor party in order to build a nationalist "Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada."

Much of the preconvention discussion was devoted to analyzing this phenomenon of English-Canadian nationalism and how revolutionary socialists should approach it so as to promote anticapitalist consciousness.

The Political Committee position was presented by John Riddell, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO. His report, based on the PC's draft resolution, "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism," reaffirmed the validity of the traditional Leninist position of opposition to nationalism in imperialist, oppressor nations.

He noted that while U.S. capital now owns an absolute majority of the assets of Canadian secondary manufacturing and mining industries, and holds a substantial share in some other sectors, this process has not altered the fundamental character of Canadian capital-

ism or the Canadian state. The Canadian ruling class is an imperialist bourgeoisie, with highly monopolized holdings concentrated in Canada. It is in firm control of the Canadian state, and uses that state power to defend its class interests. The Canadian bourgeoisie has its own national interests, distinct from those of the U.S. and other bourgeoisies, and uses the Canadian state as an instrument to defend them. Its national interests include defending the interests of Canadian capitalism as best it can against its imperialist competitors.

In imperialist nations, which suffer no national oppression and where there are therefore no national tasks, nationalism can only play a reactionary role, blunting the cutting edge of the class struggle. The Canadian bourgeoisie employs nationalist demagoguery in support of its negotiating positions in its conflicts with U.S. imperialism, to rally workers in defense of wage controls or in support of federal repression in Québec, to help detour developing class consciousness and to fracture the organization of workers along class lines.

Since no "national" tasks exist in English Canada, its nationalism does not correspond to any objective needs of the working class and its allies, and there is no basis for revolutionary Marxists to support or identify with Canadian nationalism.

On the contrary, they must combat nationalist illusions in the working class. Where workers voice their social indignation in a nationalist form, revolutionary socialists must put forward a class-struggle program which can draw out whatever anticapitalist sentiments and real class interests are represented in this nationalism and direct their struggle against the Canadian ruling class, "the enemy at home."

The reporter held that the establishment of a correct theoretical framework, through the adoption of the Political Committee resolution, would lay the basis for further progress both in the study of the specific relationship of Canadian capitalism to U.S. and world imperialism, and in the working out of a correct line of tactical intervention.

A minority tendency, formed primarily around the question of Canadian nationalism, held that a "new nationalism" had appeared with an essentially anticapitalist thrust—a unique phenomenon based on popular reaction against the "domination" of important sectors of the Canadian economy by U.S. capital. This view was rejected by the delegates in a vote of 5 for, 48 against, 0 abstentions.

Women's Liberation

One of the major areas of involvement of Canadian Trotskyists, as well as the most important source of recruits to the section in recent years, has been the women's liberation movement. The wealth of experience gained in this field was reflected in the wide range of discussion in the preconvention period. Two counterreports to the line of the Political Committee were presented at the convention, and a third was withdrawn at the last minute.

The Political Committee resolution, presented by the LSA/LSO women's liberation director, Jacque Hender-

son, was adopted by a vote of 39 for, 10 opposed, and 3 abstentions.

The struggle of women for their emancipation, Henderson noted, has an anticapitalist dynamic in that the goals of the feminist movement—freeing women from their oppression in class society—cannot be achieved without the destruction of the capitalist system. Revolutionists must project a mass-action strategy for the feminist movement, based on reaching out to women through demands that answer their needs, and drawing them into struggle independent of, and against, the ruling class and its institutions, which maintain and defend the oppression of women.

The reporter outlined a broad intervention by the Trotskyists into the feminist movement, on all the key issues and activities which women are mobilizing around—including struggles of working women for equal pay, child care, women's-studies courses, and abortion and contraception. A central aspect of the League's activity is in building the struggle for repeal of antiabortion laws, which has emerged as a key mobilizing issue in the feminist movement at this time. The recent U. S. Supreme Court ruling against state antiabortion laws has given a big impulse to the Canadian campaign, as indicated in the success of the recent conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. Many delegates noted the strongly feminist and radical character of this gathering, which brought together representatives of a wide variety of women's organizations.

Delegates also noted the importance of the struggle for women's rights in British Columbia, where women are organizing independently as women in a campaign to pressure the NDP government to implement its far-reaching platform of women's liberation demands.

Quebecois National Struggle

Another key area of Trotskyist involvement is the national liberation struggle of the Québécois, who constitute close to a third of Canada's population. The Political Committee's report on Québec was presented by Alain Beiner, national organizer of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, and a leader of the Front Commun pour la Défense de la Langue Française (Common Front for the Defense of the French language), which has organized and led mass demonstrations for an independent and French Québec. Beiner's report was based on a Political Committee draft resolution submitted to the membership in December 1972.

The resolution reiterates the LSA/LSO's characterization of Québec as an internal colony structurally assimilated into the Canadian federal state. The struggle for self-determination of this oppressed nation, which now takes the form of a struggle for political independence, assumes a particularly explosive character owing to the overwhelmingly proletarian composition of the Québécois nation, the high degree of industrialization, the weight of foreign imperialist investments (primarily English Canadian and American), and the resulting weakness of the national bourgeoisie. The Québécois national liberation struggle, in the full sense of a struggle to break with imperialist domination, can succeed only through socialist revolu-

tion, in accordance with the theory of permanent revolution first formulated by Trotsky.

Not only is it impossible for Québec to break all ties with imperialism without breaking from the capitalist system, but it is improbable that national independence will be achieved through a "cold" process, that is, without mass struggle against the federal regime.

The explosive character of the national struggle in Québec, and its importance in the development of the political class consciousness of the working class, mean that revolutionists must intervene actively in nationalist struggles for democratic demands, to lead them forward in mass struggle independently of the bourgeoisie.

In recent years, the reporter noted, the increasing mil-



JOAN NEWBIGGING chaired fund-raising "spectacle" at convention.

itancy of Québec labor has been accompanied by a dramatic growth of nationalist consciousness in the working class, and by a tendency for the organized labor movement to increasingly take the leadership of the mass nationalist struggle, as in the campaign for defense of French-language rights. On the political plane, however, the demand for independence continues to be channeled through the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois. A key task facing the revolutionary socialists is to formulate demands and campaigns pointing up the necessity for the Québécois workers to break with the political parties of the bourgeoisie, including the PQ, and take the road of independent class political action. In this connection, the LSO advances the slogan, For a labor party based on the trade unions.

National oppression has served to heighten class tensions within the nation. The growing polarization within Québec society is expressed by, among other things, the provincial government's assault on the independence of the trade unions through severe antilabor legislation and through jail terms and heavy fines against unions convicted of violating antilabor injunctions. The LSA/LSO convention pledged to continue to build the campaign against Bill 89, a government draft law to ban strikes in "essential" public services, and for the freeing of the Québec labor leaders now in jail.

The massive labor upsurge in the spring of 1972 began as an economic struggle for higher wages and better working conditions by newly organized government and

public service employees. Because it was directed against the government, the strike quickly developed into a major political confrontation.

In the public-sector strike the three main labor bodies joined forces through a Common Front. But the spontaneous mass upsurge in May that followed the jailing of the labor leaders essentially lacked leadership on the national level. The labor bureaucrats feared the radical, even revolutionary, thrust of a mass movement in which incipient dual-power situations developed within days in a few cities and towns across the nation.

The Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière participated in the May upsurge with special issues of their newspaper, *Libération*, and massive distribution of leaflets at union meetings and demonstrations. The LSO put forward a broad program of demands designed to overcome the inadequacy of the trade-union leadership and to lead the movement forward. This included mass demonstrations to generalize the upsurge and draw in new layers of workers; publication of a daily strike paper to counter the lies of the bourgeois press and to develop the programmatic side of the struggle; and the formation of action committees "in each factory and workplace, and at a citywide level."

Composed of representatives from the unions, democratically elected by the ranks, "such committees would be able to unify actions in each area and spread them to other workplaces. The committee would elaborate an overall strategy incorporating militant actions like strikes, occupations, take-overs of news media, work slowdowns, mass meetings and demonstrations." Such action committees began to form at the height of the upsurge in worker-occupied cities like Sept-Îles.

The LSO also projected the need for a labor party, in opposition to the Parti Québécois's craven support for the "forces of order."

One of the proudest chapters in the recent history of the LSO was its conduct during the War Measures repression of 1970, when it functioned illegally, with two of its leaders imprisoned, and even carried on an election campaign for the mayoralty of Montréal, winning 7,000 votes for its candidate, Manon Léger. The LSO and LSA were in the forefront of the movement to repeal the emergency laws and to free the political prisoners. Their actions stood in sharp contrast to the ultraleftist adventurism of the Front de Libération du Québec, which has since disappeared from view.

The reporter noted that in the summer of 1972, a grouping led by Michel Mill split from the LSO, and thereby from the Fourth International. They have since set themselves up as the Group Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR—Revolutionary Marxist Group). Several Québec delegates reported that in recent labor and student struggles, the GMR had tail-ended the bureaucratic and conservative elements in the union and student leadership. In a united-front committee to defend the jailed labor leaders, GMR leaders had opposed the proposal for a May Day mass demonstration, claiming it was "premature." In the recent student strike at the Université du Québec à Montréal, the GMR argued for a return to classes against the proposals of a representative of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in the strike leadership to continue the strike.

Another Dissenting View

In addition to the United Tendency, which was supported by five delegates on the question of Canadian nationalism, another minority grouping, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT), was supported by eight delegates. (Delegates were chosen by proportional representation in the branches.) Organized on a platform expressing a wide range of differences with the Political Committee majority, the RCT presented counterreports on all the key points on the agenda. (To permit the fullest, most effective presentation of the RCT's views, the convention suspended the normal rules of procedure on three reports to allow members of the RCT who were not delegates to present counterreports.)

The RCT argued that some of the major areas in which the LSA/LSO and the Young Socialists have been active—such as women's liberation, the student movement, the Québécois nationalist movement—are "peripheral" to the class struggle, and urged that the League begin an immediate, aggressive turn toward "implantation" in the trade unions. Insofar as revolutionary cadres intervened in "peripheral" struggles like women's liberation, it should be as an essentially propagandist left wing. The League should not attempt to lead struggles for reforms, such as the campaign for repeal of antiabortion laws, but should direct these "peripheral" movements toward the organized working class. In student struggles, for instance, revolutionists should intervene primarily around themes like solidarity with workers' struggles and with the colonial revolution.

To the majority's orientation of building broad class-struggle caucuses in the unions and NDP around the key radicalizing issues of the day, the RCT comrades counterposed the building of organizations and "fronts" of League sympathizers and other revolutionists within the traditional organizations of the working class. These fronts or circles would act as a "transmission belt" for revolutionary ideas to the mass movement.

In Québec, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency held, the struggle for independence and against national oppression can be "co-opted" by the national bourgeoisie, and revolutionists should therefore not support independence without at the same time specifying that they mean socialist independence. While the majority held that as Québécois workers develop political class consciousness, they are more inclined to take up the struggle against national oppression, the RCT argued that nationalist demands (such as defense of the French language) become subordinated to class demands.

On Canadian nationalism, the RCT denounced the majority for what it termed their "ultraleft-abstract calls of 'workers of the world unite.'" It held that Canadian nationalism is mainly confined to the liberal petty bourgeoisie, that the working class is "relatively indifferent" to it, that the bourgeoisie has little use for nationalism "because its main thrust is directed against the project to which the bourgeoisie is most committed, the further integration of the North American economy," and that if the bourgeoisie were to promote nationalism at some time in the future, its clearly reactionary use as a de-

fense of the existing order would be unlikely to win it mass support.

The RCT also advanced a different interpretation of the role and function of the Transitional Program.

The RCT's views were rejected by a large majority of the delegates.

At the end of the convention, the Majority Tendency, which had been organized in support of the positions of the Political Committee majority on Canadian nationalism and the discussion in the Fourth International, announced its dissolution. The United Tendency did likewise. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency declared it would continue to exist as an organized tendency.

Rising Prospects for Trotskyism

The convention concluded with the election of a new Central Committee and Control Commission.

The slate of Central Committee members proposed by the nominating commission was adopted unanimously by the delegates. The new Central Committee has 35 members, including 14 women. Five are members of the RCT, three were previously members of the United Tendency.

A postconvention plenum of the Central Committee elected the following as officers: Ross Dowson, chairman; John Riddell, executive secretary; and Art Young, organizational secretary.

The convention marked a significant broadening of the leadership cadre of the Canadian Trotskyist movement, reflecting the rapid political development of the new young forces recruited to revolutionary Marxism out of the current radicalization. The majority of the delegates—39 out of the 53—were between the ages of 22 and 30. For 15 of them, it was their first convention; for another 23, only their second.

Of the 29 consultative delegates on the outgoing Central Committee, almost all had been in the movement for at least five years and a few for up to 35 years or more. Thus the leading cadres of the Canadian section encompass a wide range of experience in the class struggle.

While the League orients strongly to the youth radicalization, its membership is heavily proletarian in composition. Of the delegates, 37 were workers, including six teachers and nine unemployed. Six were in trade unions. Nine were students, six work full time on the staff of the movement, and one was a farmer.

Since its previous convention in September 1970 the LSA/LSO has expanded many operations. Its English- and French-language journals have been increased in size from 8 pages to a 12-page biweekly and a 12-page monthly respectively. (The YS/LJS publishes its own 12-page monthly newspaper.) Several branches have opened new, expanded headquarters; new bookstores have been launched; and the Toronto branch has expanded into three branches.

While membership has increased only slightly, the League's development compares favorably with that of other tendencies in the left, which have been hard hit by the temporary downturn in mass mobilizations. The LSA/LSO is the biggest organization to the left of the Communist party. Its major competitors in the revolu-

tionary left, including the Maoist Communist party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and the Canadian party of Labor (cothinkers of Progressive Labor in the United States), have recently experienced serious splits. The Communist party is stagnating. The convention workshop on the New Democratic party heard reports from across the country that, except in British Columbia, the party's membership has fallen sharply in recent months.

Another indication of the rising prospects for Trotskyism in Canada was the encouraging report on sales of Trotskyist literature in bookstores and on campuses made by a representative of Crescent Publications, the Canadian distributors for Pathfinder Books. Sales were up 100 percent in 1972 over the year before, he said; and already this year they are running 50 percent ahead of last year.

As if to underscore their conviction that this convention was "only a beginning," the delegates launched an expansion fund at a special session held during the convention. To start it off right, they raised some \$6,000 from delegates, as well as five typewriters, and an automobile. One delegate even donated a private airplane! □

Strikes Spreading in Peru

Efforts of the Peruvian government to impose a new law on retirement for workers have sparked a number of local and general strikes throughout the country. The new law, passed at the end of April, sets the age of retirement for both public employees and privately employed workers at sixty for men and fifty-five for women.

The powerful Federación de Empleados Bancarios (FEB—Federation of Bank Employees) initiated the strike action against the law. The FEB is demanding that the government abolish the law and "restore the right to retire on the basis of length of service, and it proposes that this benefit be extended to all workers." Up to now, bank employees have been able to retire after twenty-five years of service, regardless of age.

On May 7 the FEB, which has some 20,000 members, called a nationwide work stoppage as the first show of opposition to the government's new retirement system. United Press International, in a dispatch from Lima published in the May 8 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, reported: "The FEB, which is affiliated to the Communist-oriented Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú [CGTP—General Confederation of Peruvian Workers], ordered its members to stop work in the country's commercial and state-owned banks between 8:30 a.m. and noon, and according to a spokesman the strike was a success."

At the same time, an indefinite general strike was declared by the Departmental Workers Federation in the country's second largest city, Arequipa, virtually paralyzing activity. There the issue was not only the new retirement law but also local grievances. In addition, a similar strike began in Moquegua, the capital of the department of the same name.

Later in the week, workers in the Andean city of Puño joined the growing protests with a forty-eight-hour strike of their own.

By week's end, the FEB had decided to call a second, two-day nationwide work stoppage, scheduled for May 11 and 14.