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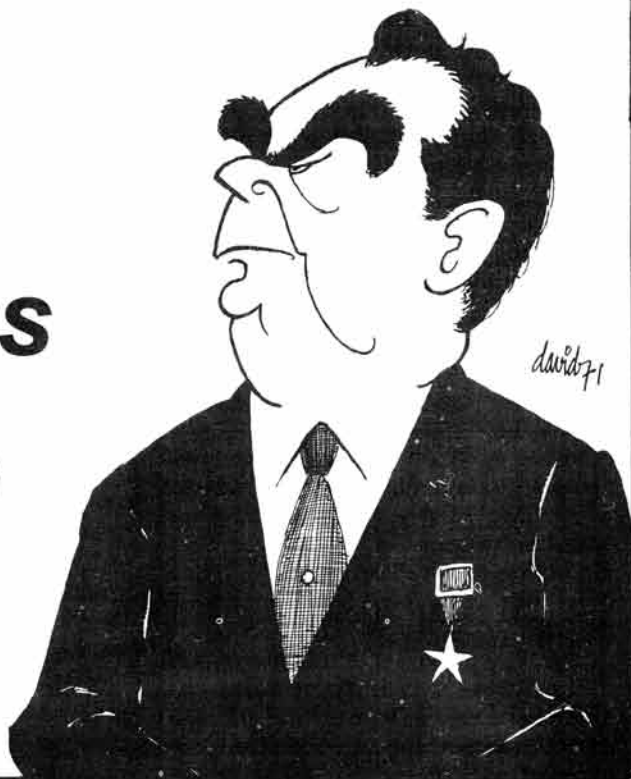
May 28, 1973

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Why Argentine Bourgeoisie Backs Peronists



Brezhnev Rushes to Rescue Nixon From Watergate



Wounded Knee Occupation Ends

The occupation of Wounded Knee by members and supporters of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO) and the American Indian Movement (AIM) came to an end early in the morning of May 8. The small town on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota had been seized February 27 by Indians demanding a Congressional investigation of the U.S. government's violations of past treaties and the suspension of the Sioux tribal government, which is controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Nixon administration responded to the occupation by ringing the town with hundreds of marshals armed with M-16 rifles, machine guns, and armored personnel carriers. Roadblocks were set up and electricity cut off in an effort to starve the Indians into surrender. During the course of the occupation, two of the Indians were killed by gunfire.

Widespread public sympathy for the Indians seems to have been instrumental in preventing Nixon from ordering an all-out assault on the town. "During the occupation," Andrew H. Malcolm wrote in the May 9 *New York Times*, "more than 300 persons were arrested trying to enter or, in recent days, to leave the village." Many of those arrested were attempting to carry supplies into the besieged town.

The end of the occupation came as the result of an agreement between Indian and government negotiators signed May 6. It provided that marshals would pull back from the bunkers surrounding the town and that at the same time Indians in the town would hand over their arms to government mediators. The government promised that any persons arrested would be given speedy bail hearings and that within two weeks five White House representatives would arrive at the reservation to negotiate outstanding issues.

Malcolm reported that about 120 Indians were still in the village at the time the agreement was carried out. About fifteen of them, he said, were arrested. □

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Watergate Was Nothing Unusual for Nixon Gang

By Allen Myers

What began less than a year ago as the "Watergate caper," a seemingly trivial bit of illegal campaign espionage, is now being revealed as a small part of a huge campaign of sabotage, wiretapping, blackmail, frame-up, provocation, bombing, and perhaps even murder.

There is almost no one at high level in the White House who is not implicated in the campaign, which appears to have begun almost the moment that Richard Nixon took office. And despite his efforts to place the blame on subordinates, the unraveling of the web of corruption is focusing more and more attention on the spider who sits at its center: Richard Nixon.

Burglary and Bombs

Writing in the May 17 issue of the *Washington Post*, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward—who recently received the Pulitzer Prize for their role in exposing the Watergate scandal—reported on the results of additional research that they had carried out:

"The Watergate bugging and the break-in into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist were part of an elaborate, continuous campaign of illegal and quasilegal undercover operations conducted by the Nixon administration since 1969, according to highly placed sources in the executive branch."

The article and other information that has appeared make it evident that Nixon's use of illegal tactics against the Democrats was merely an extension of efforts first of all directed against the antiwar and radical movements. Bernstein and Woodward quoted a "high-level participant in many of the undercover activities" as saying:

"Watergate was a natural action that came from long-existing circumstances. It grew out of an atmosphere. This way of life was not new. . . . There have been fairly broad activities from the beginning of the administration. I didn't know where 'national security' ended and political

espionage started. . . .

"First it was radicals, then it was reporters and leaking White House aides, then the Democrats. They all got the same treatment: bugging, infiltration, burglary, spying, etc."

The reporters listed some of the typical activities of the Nixon administration. These included the use of paid provocateurs to encourage vio-



RUCKELSHAUS: Gee, look what I found!

lence at antiwar demonstrations; "vigilante squads" to conduct break-ins such as those at Watergate; the compiling of information on the private life of a Democratic presidential candidate by the Secret Service; and the use of government funds to set up a pro-Nixon organization of Vietnam veterans.

Bernstein and Woodward also reported that presidential adviser John Ehrlichman obtained—apparently from the FBI—the medical records of Senator Thomas Eagleton long before those records were leaked to the press. (Eagleton was dropped as McGovern's vice-presidential candi-

date after it was revealed that he had been treated for nervous exhaustion years before.)

The reporters' sources indicated that the illegal activities were supervised by Ehrlichman, Attorney General John Mitchell, Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian, and presidential aides H.R. Haldeman and John Dean.

Dean's primary role at the White House was sabotage and espionage against radical groups, according to a report by Seymour M. Hersh in the May 14 *New York Times*. Dean headed a group that also included Egil Krogh, the undersecretary of transportation who has admitted ordering a break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, and John J. Caulfield, a White House staff member who has now been linked to efforts to cover up the Watergate break-in (see below).

Dean was employed in the Justice Department before Nixon brought him into the White House in 1970. One of Hersh's sources told him that Dean's "whole experience at the Justice Department was in dealing with infiltration and undercover work in radical groups. . . . When he went to the White House, his principal job was not to advise the President legally, but rather it was to continue what he had been doing at Justice—keeping an eye on radical groups."

In another article May 20, Hersh provided an account of activities that went far beyond "keeping an eye" on radicals. He described the activities of Larry D. Grathwohl, an FBI provocateur who infiltrated the Weathermen, an ultraleft faction of the Students for a Democratic Society, in 1969 and 1970. Grathwohl's job for the FBI was to encourage and carry out a number of bombings.

Robert Burlingham, a former Weatherman, told Hersh, "Larry was absolutely a provocateur. I can remember one meeting in Cincinnati where there was a discussion going on about the question of armed political resistance and the various bombings that had occurred. Grathwohl took the

initiative as was his wont and began castigating people for talking about the destruction of property; he said it wasn't enough to carry on these kinds of bombings. 'True revolutionaries,' he said, 'had to be ready and anxious to kill people.'"

Grathwohl is reported to have instructed the Weathermen in making bombs, to have planned bombings in a number of cities, and to have blown up a public school in Cincinnati. Grathwohl's father-in-law told Hersh:

"He went to those communes, he went underground. He was even in New York when that house blew up there."

This was a reference to the explosion of a townhouse in New York City on March 6, 1970, in which two members of the Weathermen were killed. At the time, police and the press described the house as a "bomb factory" and said that the two radicals had apparently exploded a bomb accidentally. It would be interesting to know what role the FBI provocateur played in the explosion—and whether that role might not be properly classified as murder.

Links to Nixon's 'Red Squad'

Hersh reported that Grathwohl's contact in the Justice Department was Guy L. Goodwin, who was in charge of prosecuting cases against members of the Weathermen. In 1971, Nixon rewarded Goodwin with a promotion.

The June 14, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press* reported that Nixon had reactivated a "red squad" in the Department of Justice, responding "to the growing strength of the antiwar movement . . . with a far-reaching assault on the civil liberties of his political opponents."

At the head of the squad was Assistant Attorney General Mardian, one of the persons identified by Bernstein and Woodward as supervising the administration's illegal activities. Goodwin was appointed to the position immediately beneath Mardian, as head of the red squad's "Special Litigation Section." Among Goodwin's accomplishments around this period was the obtaining of the original indictment against Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers case.

When convicted Watergate burglar James McCord testified publicly May 18 before the Senate committee in-

vestigating the scandal, he reported that Mardian had been involved in funneling secret red squad reports to McCord. McCord said he received such reports "almost daily" and that they included information not only on radicals, but also on the activities of Nixon's Democratic opponents.

Mounting Evidence Against Nixon

The bulk of McCord's testimony was concerned with the attempts to prevent him from implicating higher-ups in the scandal. Most such attempts, McCord said, were conveyed by John Caulfield.

Caulfield, a former New York cop,



KISSINGER: Imagine! Disloyal to me!

was on the White House staff from 1969 to 1972, when he transferred to the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP).

McCord testified that in a series of cloak-and-dagger meetings and telephone calls, Caulfield had offered him — on behalf of the White House — executive clemency if he would go along with the cover-up plans:

"Political pressure from the White House was conveyed to me in January, 1973, by John Caulfield to remain silent, take executive clemency by going off to prison quietly, and I was told that while there, I would receive financial aid and later rehabilitation and a job. I was told in a

January meeting in 1973 with Caulfield that the president of the United States was aware of our meeting, that the results of the meeting would be conveyed to the president, and that at a future meeting there would likely be a personal message from the president himself."

McCord said that early in January, "Caulfield stated that he was carrying the message of executive clemency to me 'from the very highest levels of the White House.' He stated that the president of the United States was in Key Biscayne, Florida, that weekend, had been told of the forthcoming meeting with me, and would be immediately told of the results of the meeting."

A few days later, McCord added, Caulfield told him, "The president's ability to govern is at stake. Another Teapot Dome scandal is possible, and the government may fall. Everybody else is on track but you. You are not following the game plan."

McCord also testified that he was offered \$100,000 to remain silent.

When McCord indicated that he was going to tell the truth, Caulfield reportedly responded, "You know that if the administration gets its back to the wall, it will have to take steps to defend itself."

"I took that as a personal threat," McCord testified, "and I told him . . . that I had had a good life, that my will was made out and that I had thought through the risks and would take them. . . ."

The senators conducting the hearing were quick to point out that McCord's implication of Nixon was only "hearsay." That observation, however, does not answer the question of how Nixon's subordinates could offer executive clemency without authorization from Nixon himself. Moreover, there is an abundance of additional evidence pointing to Nixon as the chief culprit.

It will be recalled that in his April 30 speech, Nixon tried to place all the blame on his subordinates by pretending that he had left management of the campaign to them.

"To the maximum extent possible," he said, ". . . I sought to delegate campaign operations, to remove the day-to-day campaign decisions from the President's office and from the White House."

That defense has been rendered largely irrelevant by the disclosures

of illegal activities going far beyond the campaign. But it is also demonstrably untrue.

In the May 15 *New York Times*, Hersh described a political seminar at Harvard University in January at which Jeb Stuart Magruder, deputy director of CREEP, made it quite clear that Nixon was in charge of the campaign. "There was basically a triad of decision makers," Magruder was quoted as saying, "the President, Bob Haldeman and John Mitchell—until July of '72. They were in constant consultation with each other over major activities."

Magruder also told the seminar: "We broke up the campaign initially into 16 groups, and had deadlines as to when we had to have decisions made; we put the decision papers together and fired them off through John Mitchell into Bob Haldeman to the President."

In fact, as late as last August 29, Nixon himself told a press conference, "I am conducting this campaign. . . ."

It was at the same press conference that Nixon made his now famous claim that John Dean had conducted an investigation and reported to him that no one employed by the White House was involved in the scandal. On May 16, after numerous newspaper articles questioning the existence of Dean's "report," Nixon's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, admitted that Dean had never spoken to Nixon about the affair. Ziegler now claims that Dean had reported orally to Ehrlichman, who had in turn spoken to Nixon. Dean reportedly is prepared to deny this.

'Secret' Bombing of Cambodia

Some of the underhanded activities Nixon has not even attempted to deny. On May 14, acting FBI director William Ruckelshaus announced that he had "found" records of wiretaps that figured in the dismissal of the Pentagon Papers trial. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 21, p. 581.)

Ruckelshaus said the taps had been placed in 1969 on the phones of four reporters and thirteen government officials, including Henry Kissinger's deputy on the National Security Council! Nixon has admitted that he personally authorized the bugging. According to newspaper accounts, the taps were requested by Kissinger, who

thought members of his staff might be responsible for "leaks" that upset the administration.

The taps were installed, Hersh reported in the May 17 *New York Times*, because that paper had carried an article in May 1969 reporting that U. S. B-52s were bombing Cambodia. "National security" in this case meant keeping the bombing secret from the people of the United States.

Hersh quoted the comments of one official to explain the wiretaps: ". . . there wasn't one member of the staff who was disloyal to the country.



NIXON: "I am conducting this campaign."

"But they were disloyal to Kissinger, and they were giving him real problems."

Fear of Hoover

Ruckelshaus said that he found the wiretap records in the office safe of John Ehrlichman. They apparently were placed there in the autumn of 1971 by Mardian, who obtained them from William H. Sullivan, who was at that time deputy to J. Edgar Hoover. Sullivan has told Jack Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times* that Mardian and John Mitchell wanted the records moved because Hoover was "not of sound mind" and they feared that he would use them to blackmail the

administration.

"That fellow was a master black-mailer and he did it with considerable finesse despite the deterioration of his mind," Sullivan said.

"He always did that sort of thing. The moment he would get something on a senator he'd send one of the errand boys up and advise the senator that we're in the course of an investigation and we by chance happened to come up with this data on your daughter. But we wanted you to know this—we realize you'd want to know it. But don't have any concern, no one will ever learn about it. Well, Jesus, what does that tell the senator? From that time on the senator's right in his pocket."

Finesse indeed. It is no wonder that a clumsy operator like Nixon so often expressed admiration for Hoover.

The Same Old Gang

The fact has not received much publicity, but Nixon has been caught at least once before engaging in the same dirty tricks now coming to light.

This occurred in 1962, when Nixon was defeated by Edmund Brown in the election for the governorship of California. As the result of his activities in the campaign, the California Democrats sued Nixon, and the court decision, which was handed down in 1964, fully supported the charges against him.

The court found that Nixon had set up a phoney "Democratic" committee, which circulated material charging that Brown was a tool of "radicals." The phoney committee also falsified the results of polls it took in order to make it appear that "average Democrats" were opposed to Brown. The court also ruled that the Nixon organization was guilty of soliciting money under false pretenses, by asking for contributions to the "Democratic" committee that actually went to Nixon's campaign.

In this case, Nixon was not able to plead ignorance of what his supporters were doing. The judge ruled: "Mr. Nixon and Mr. Haldeman approved the plan and project as described . . . and agreed that the Nixon campaign committee would finance the project."

Haldeman is not the only veteran of Nixon's 1962 campaign who has now been implicated in the Watergate

scandal. Others include Ron Ziegler, who has been responsible for repeating Nixon's lies to the press; Nixon's per-

sonal attorney Herbert Kalmbach; and presidential appointments secretary Dwight Chapin.

The Nixon gang has increased in size and in power since 1962, but the boss has not changed at all. □

'We Don't Want to See Him Embarrassed'

Kremlin Pours Oil on Nixon's Troubled Watergate

By Allen Myers

As the plane bearing West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and his aides was about to land in Washington April 29, one of the party is reported to have asked, "Do you think the welcoming committee will come in handcuffs?"

The question put in jest reflected a serious concern—one that exists in many capitals besides Bonn—as to how the Watergate scandal will affect Nixon's dealings in foreign affairs.

Barbara Bright reported in the May 7 *Washington Post* that the West Germans suspected that even the invitation to Brandt had been tainted by the scandal:

"The feeling throughout the German delegation . . . was that Brandt and his reputation as Europe's leading statesman may have been used by the White House. Had the White House had some forewarning of a deep tremor due to shake the government in late April and early May? And had they scheduled Kissinger's Atlantic Charter address, Brandt's visit and the State of the World speech to deflect some of the damage?"

Concern for Nixon's 'Authority'

Nixon has in fact made it quite clear that he intends to use whatever foreign affairs spectaculars he can arrange to divert attention from the scandal and his own complicity in the various criminal operations grouped under the name Watergate. But the continuing revelations inevitably raise the question of whether his authority has been so compromised as to limit his ability to direct U.S. foreign policy.

An Associated Press dispatch from the United Nations printed in the May 18 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa* reported:

"Many diplomats with long experience in the United Nations are predicting that the U.S. Congress will reduce presidential powers as a result of the Watergate scandal.

"In their opinion, it will reduce U.S. influence in the world."

In a dispatch from London to the May 3 *Christian Science Monitor*, John Allan May wrote: "It is felt likely here that congressional influence from now on will be used to accelerate the reduction in the level of American ground forces in Europe. The extent of that influence vis a vis the President may be crucial—another Watergate imponderable."

The conservative London *Daily Mail* on May 10 warned U.S. politicians not to let the scandal get out of hand: "Even thoughtful Democrats do not want Mr. Nixon to be rendered powerless for the rest of his term, let alone impeached. For this would strike at the stability of the whole system of American government and its enormous impact on world affairs. Certainly, American political life needs to be thoroughly cleaned up. But the Presidency of the United States is too important to be destroyed by a per-

sonal witch-hunt."

In France, government opinion is divided on the effects of Watergate, Bernard Gwertzman reported in the May 17 *New York Times*:

"Some [French] officials believe Watergate will weaken Mr. Nixon in his dealings with both West Europeans and with the Russians. But a view becoming more dominant is that Mr. Nixon's internal problems are going to strengthen him in foreign affairs. . . . One point is that he can argue to foreign leaders that Congress is going to be much tougher on bargaining than he is, and that if the French press him too hard for concessions, they must understand that he is in too much trouble with Congress to bull the concessions through the legislature."

When speculation against the dollar sent gold prices above \$100 an ounce in mid-May, most observers agreed that Watergate was partially responsible. The *Wall Street Journal* reported May 15:

". . . European business and government officials said privately they see considerable logic in Watergate weakening the dollar. This, they observed, is the year President Nixon is pushing into monetary and trade negotiations to strengthen the competitiveness of the U.S. economy and thus the international value of the dollar.

"With the President and his emissaries under the shadow of Watergate, foreign officials simply won't feel compelled to grant the sort of concessions they would if he were riding high, these Europeans said. They also ventured that a chief executive in trouble at home isn't as likely to be able to persuade Congress to ratify agreements that his negotiators reach."

The article went on to observe that the scandal might make U.S. labor unions less subject to "moral suasion"

Only Doing His Duty

Probably the most straightforward defense of Nixon's role in the Watergate scandal came from an official in the Thai foreign ministry. He was quoted in the May 14 issue of *Newsweek* as saying:

"Nixon only did what was right. He's the government, and it's the government's duty to see what the opposition does. The liberals in America call it bugging, but Nixon was only being vigilant."

from the White House to hold wages down.

Brezhnev to the Rescue

But if Nixon's capitalist allies and competitors were concerned about his loss of authority, it remained to the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European workers states to pitch in and try to restore that authority.

After a five-day visit in Moscow, Henry Kissinger was able to announce May 12 that Soviet Communist party boss Leonid Brezhnev would visit the United States June 18-26.

"For the Nixon Administration," Theodore Shabad wrote in the May 13 *New York Times*, "embattled in the Watergate affair, Mr. Brezhnev's planned arrival would be expected to demonstrate the ability to conduct an effective American foreign policy despite domestic troubles."

The visit will likely do a great deal more than that. Nixon will turn it into a press extravaganza designed to push the Watergate scandal off the front pages of the newspapers. It will allow him to pose as a "statesman" untouched by the "petty" crimes of his subordinates.

Brezhnev and the other Soviet bureaucrats are not ignorant of the favor they are doing Nixon. Their willingness to protect Nixon has been evident from the moment the Watergate case began to break open. The Soviet and East European press has tried to ignore or minimize the importance of the scandal. After Nixon's April 30 speech, for example, *Pravda* reported only that L. Patrick Gray had resigned as acting director of the FBI. The forced resignations of top Nixon aides H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman were not mentioned.

Soviet citizens had to wait until May 16 to read even a brief outline of the scandal. On that date, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published a 500-word report. Robert G. Kaiser described the article in a dispatch from Moscow to the *Washington Post*:

"The story recounts the basic facts of the Watergate break-in and subsequent trials. The paper notes that former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and former secretary of commerce Maurice H. Stans 'turned out to be involved.' . . .

"The paper does not mention any



of the wider ramifications of Watergate or the related events like the political sabotage campaign, the mysterious campaign funds and so on."

(While the Chinese bureaucracy has not yet offered to help out by sending Chou En-lai to Washington, ordinary citizens have not even been informed that a scandal exists. With the exception of a foreign press summary that is distributed only to a few thousand top party officials, the Chinese press has yet to mention Watergate.)

Some papers in East Europe have come out even more openly in Nixon's defense. The May 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* described a report in the Hungarian weekly *Magyarország*, which argued that "the world needs a quite strong and efficient U. S. president to negotiate with both East and West Europe. Now Mr. Nixon, in spite of the Watergate affair, is such a man. His personality cannot be separated from the grand process he has set in motion to establish peaceful relations with the East, and all these questions are more important than the Watergate affair."

The bureaucrats are now proceeding to baptize Nixon part of the "progressive bourgeoisie" and defend him against "rightist" attack.

"Soviet representatives in Eastern Europe," Dan Morgan reported in the May 15 *Washington Post*, "have told Westerners that the Watergate scandal appears to them to be a 'conspiracy' by powerful forces in the United States opposed to detente with Moscow."

"The plot theory has been floated by a number of Soviet journalists and Communist editors regularly based in Belgrade, Bucharest, Warsaw and Moscow. According to this theory, reactionary American elements, which have never accepted the rapprochement with

the Communists initiated by Mr. Nixon, have organized a plot to discredit him."

Morgan described the bureaucrats as "baffled and dismayed" by the difficulties of Nixon, who "is an admired figure in all official circles of Eastern Europe." He continued:

"The concern in Communist circles over Mr. Nixon's position was perhaps best summed up by a Polish editor who was explaining the scant coverage of the Watergate affair in the Polish news media.

"From our standpoint, Richard Nixon is the best possible American president in the current circumstances, and we don't want to see him embarrassed."

Brezhnev's visit is such an obvious boon to Nixon that several major U. S. capitalist papers have expressed alarm as to what Brezhnev may be expecting in return. The *Washington Post* speculated May 15 as to "what role Watergate may have played in his [Nixon's] decision to receive Mr. Brezhnev at this difficult time, and . . . whether Mr. Brezhnev may feel that the President's domestic distress offers the Soviet Union extra bargaining leverage. . . . Could Mr. Brezhnev believe that by coming now he is doing the President a favor for which a certain payment could be expected, or that the President may be eager enough for a show of achievement to make concessions or pledges that otherwise would not be made?"

In a May 17 editorial, the *New York Times* went even further, calling for postponement of the visit:

". . . the timing of the Soviet leader's trip next month . . . is decidedly inopportune. It would be in the country's best interest to postpone these talks until late fall or next year. . . .

"It is not in the interest of the United States or its allies for an American President to enter into substantive negotiations with his chief diplomatic rival when a domestic political storm puts the President at a serious disadvantage."

Brezhnev, in short, is more devoted to helping Nixon out of a jam than are the editors of these capitalist papers. This is not surprising. After receiving Nixon in Moscow last year at the same time that U. S. planes were mining the harbors of North Vietnam, why should the Soviet bureaucrats balk at helping Nixon conceal his domestic crimes? □

Congress in New Blocks on Bombing Funds

By Jon Rothschild

Popular disgust with the bombing of Cambodia, public relief at what is commonly assumed to be permanent U. S. withdrawal from Indochina, and the "crisis of confidence" triggered by the Watergate morass have driven Congressional support for Nixon's Indochina policies to an all-time low. Soviet Communist party boss Leonid Brezhnev, however, is hanging tough. As the normally flaccid American parliament moved toward an increasingly sharp confrontation with the Nixon regime over the Cambodian bombing and the war-making powers of the president, Brezhnev, as he has in the case of Watergate, moved to fill the breach.

On May 10, the House of Representatives voted 219-188 to withhold funds to carry on the bombing of Cambodia by denying the Defense Department authority to transfer funds between different accounts. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 21, p. 582.)

The vote was significant in that it was the first time the lower house of Congress had passed a purse-pinching measure aimed at limiting the war. But it left a loophole. While the Defense Department could not transfer funds within its budget, it could economize on other military operations included in the same budgetary category and then use the extra funds for the bombing.

On May 15, the Senate Appropriations Committee passed a measure that, if enacted, would close the loophole. The move took the form of an amendment to a routine bill appropriating \$3,200 million to various departments of the government for the duration of the current fiscal year, which ends June 30. Thomas Eagleton proposed that the committee stipulate that no previously appropriated funds could be used, directly or indirectly, to finance the Cambodian bombing.

The measure passed the committee by a vote of 24-0, with former Nixon supporters like Milton Young, Roman Hruska, and Norris Cotton concurring. "As far as I'm concerned," Cotton explained, "I want to get the

hell out of there just as quick as possible, and I don't want to fool around to the point that they might take more prisoners."

On May 14, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted an amend-



SCOTT: The old stall pulls it out for Nixon.

ment that would cut off use of any funds for military action in Indochina that had not been specifically authorized by Congress. The amendment, sponsored by Senators Clifford Case (a Republican) and Frank Church (a Democrat), was attached to a budget authorization bill.

Senate Democratic leaders planned to bring both bills to the floor during the week of May 21-25, the last days the Senate will be in session before a holiday break. While the Senate bills went further than the House bill in restricting military operations in Indochina, it was expected that there was a reasonable possibility that the House would accept the Case-Church amendment.

Nixon had previously announced his intention to circumvent the House bill. The Senate action, however, if passed and approved by the House, would have been harder to work around. Nixon would consequently be put in the position of having to veto the measure, simultaneously depriving himself of needed funds and triggering a major confrontation with Congress just at the height of the Watergate mess.

The administration reacted by resorting to delaying tactics. By making use of a formal right to prepare a minority report, Hugh Scott, ranking Senate Republican, managed to stall floor debate on the appropriations bills. On May 25 Congress will recess for four days. It is therefore unlikely that the Congress could get the bills passed and forwarded to the White House before the middle of June. Thus, whatever the outcome of the parliamentary wheeling and dealing, Nixon has gained the ability to continue the Cambodian bombing for at least a month after the Senate's two rebuffs to his policy were voted.

But the "constitutional crisis" remains. A symptom of it was a May 15 editorial by the *Wall Street Journal*, which has been a consistent supporter of Nixon's Indochina aggression: "We happen to believe that the House of Representatives was wrong, on balance and at this time, to vote against further bombing in Cambodia. But we believe far more strongly that the administration is wrong in its apparent attitude that the bombing will continue regardless of what Congress does." The editorial concluded: "The Founding Fathers, after all, did invest Congress with the power to declare war. This observation may not provide an instant answer to all the constitutional questions that may arise in this day and age, but certainly, those words in the Constitution mean *something*."

With the ruling class divided, the Watergate case sapping popular confidence in the regime, the American public against the bombing, and the U. S. ground troops out of Indochina for the most part, Nixon is in a weaker position than ever before in his attempt to extract further concessions from Hanoi leaders—not only on the question of Cambodia, but on questions relating to southern Vietnam as well. On May 16, Nixon's mouthpiece, Ronald Ziegler, accused Congress of

"action that could severely undermine" Washington's attempt to impose its interpretation of the Vietnam cease-fire accords. Ziegler complained that the Congressional measures were especially damaging "on the very eve of negotiations to achieve compliance" (sic) with the Paris accords.

The negotiations Ziegler was talking about were the secret meetings in Paris between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, which began on May 17.

There is no sure information on what Nixon is seeking in these talks, and, as usual, no reports on what took place in them have been released. "Presumably," *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis wrote May 20, "he [Kissinger] was trying to persuade Hanoi to cut the flow [of personnel and equipment] into South Vietnam to the agreed limit of one-for-one replacements and to get the North Vietnamese to push the Vietcong toward a political settlement."

It may be assumed that Kissinger was negotiating with Tho about Cambodia as well—with the aim of extort-

ing a "settlement" that would preserve the Lon Nol regime.

The question was, What sort of leverage does Kissinger have, given the precarious state of Nixon's clique and the Congress's reluctance to approve an extension of the Cambodian bombing? Writing in the May 17 *New York Times*, Flora Lewis suggested an answer:

"The key to the United States hopes of obtaining an agreement by Hanoi to at least reduce the level of fighting in South Vietnam and to support a halt in the fighting in Cambodia was reported to be an understanding Mr. Kissinger is said to have achieved in his talks in Moscow last week.

"It was rumored authoritatively that the Russians had promised to tell North Vietnam that it could not count on replacement of any military supplies that would be used in any new offensive in the South."

In the meantime, the bombing goes on. May 19 marked the seventy-fourth consecutive day that American planes, including B-52s, struck in Cambodia.

and the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and has won the support—and even the enthusiasm—of all sectors of the national bourgeoisie.

A few months ago, Argentina's bosses were flailing about in desperation. The spoliation of Yankee imperialism had them by the throat. At the same time, the workers were dealing blow upon blow. The bosses as a whole saw no way out of their predicament and had lost any trace of optimism about the future.

It was in this context that the CGE and the CGT drew up their common plan, the only one with a chance of acceptance, inasmuch as Yankee imperialism was not prepared to revise its policy toward the Argentine bourgeoisie. North America is not interested in pouring capital into Argentina to transform it into an imperialist submetropolis. Consequently this road—which is defended here by Alsogaray and Krieger Vasena—remains closed for the time being. The only alternative was the Peronist plan, which consists of bringing capital from Europe and attempting to do so under less extortionate conditions than those imposed by the Yankees in the past, and also of protecting local industry and reactivating the economy. All this has been crowned by an agreement on social peace with the leaders of the CGT.

The plan was accepted by the traditional oligarchy, whose old strategic allies, with whom it dealt in the past and with whom it will deal as long as it exists, are in Europe. Today there is not one Argentine bourgeois who does not agree that this plan is the first step toward regaining lost grandeur and that it opens up a period of great and glorious business ventures.

The oligarchy thinks it will be doing business on a greater scale than ever; the middlemen for foreign investment are rubbing their hands and traveling to various world capitals in anticipation of setting themselves up as "agents." The bourgeoisie has regained its optimism about the future. This is the real reason for the strength of Perón and Cámpora.

A government official put it this way to a journalist from *Cronista Comercial*: "Suppose a military coup to prevent the transfer of power were successful. Can you tell me how they

Promises Economic Development, Social Peace

Why Argentine Bourgeoisie Backs Campora

[The following article analyzes the plan for economic development and social peace worked out by the Argentine bourgeoisie and labor bureaucracy. The plan, which is championed by Peronist President-elect Héctor Cámpora, has helped to rally the bourgeoisie behind the new Peronist government, making the likelihood of a military coup to prevent the new government from taking office on May 25 increasingly remote.

[The article was published in the May 9 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Why is it that the navy came to agreement on turning over the reins of government to the Peronists? Why is it that the forces of reaction have

not used the killing of Quijada as an excuse to stage a preventive coup? Why is it that a party like the Radical party, after eighty years of following an independent course, is flailing about between completely contradictory pronouncements, while the great Radical minstrel, Balbín, has completely silenced his guitar?

Secret of the Present Strength of Peronism

It might perhaps be thought that the forces of reaction have no other choice than to go along with Cámpora because of the six million votes he received. This, however, is not the case. More than once we have seen the results of elections or decisions of the people trampled underfoot.

The Peronist movement has taken up the economic plan of the CGE [Confederación General Económica—the national employers' organization]

would go about forming a government in that case?"

This statement is a recognition of the fact that no important sector of the bourgeoisie would give its backing to the authors of a coup. This is the reason that Rear Admiral Mayorga, after making provocative gorilla-type statements, issued a press release saying he had been "misinterpreted." This is the reason that the military junta is now negotiating the "five conditions" it presented to Cámpora, which only a short time ago were still regarded as binding.

Peron's Policy and Balbin's Silence

This is the same key to explaining the policy of Perón. By removing Galimberti [from his post as head of the Peronist Youth] and humbling Abal Medina [general secretary of the Peronist movement], he has helped strengthen the CGE-CGT sector, which is what the Argentine bourgeoisie wants. And Perón is even going outside the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación — Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist coalition] to call on all sectors, especially the Radicals, to back his plan. This was shown by Deputy Lastiri's speech at the opening of Congress.

The UCR [Unión Cívica Radical—Radical Civic Union] finds itself at a real crossroads and in danger of experiencing a split. It is in complete agreement with the economic plan of the Peronists. But if it lets what it stands for become blurred with Peronist positions, as was already done by Pugliese, Jáuregui, Tróccoli, and the Radicals in Córdoba (who issued a joint statement with the FREJULI), then it will be liquidating the political future of the party. On the one hand, if it does not support the plan, it will be forced to reach an agreement with the most reactionary forces, with Yankee imperialism, as Mathov is demanding. On the other hand, if it does support it, it will be destroying any possibility of becoming a new electoral alternative for the bourgeoisie four years from now. It is this contradiction that has driven Balbin into complete silence.

The CGE-CGT Plan Is Doomed

But all the euphoria that the Argentine bosses are displaying now that

they believe they have come to the end of their dark tunnel is not going to last long. The CGE-CGT plan, too, will end in failure.

The European monopolies are no better than the Yankees. Clashes with them are inevitable.

But whatever the rate and the time at which these clashes occur, the CGE plan is doomed to failure, since there is no possibility of achieving an independent development of the country on the basis of the domestic market without breaking with the oligarchy and imperialism.

No independent development of the country will be achieved without certain basic measures being taken that neither the bosses of the CGE nor any other bosses want to take, such as a break with imperialism in order to keep imperialist profits in the country, expropriation of the oligarchy in order to develop agricultural production, planning the economy under the control of the working class, and integrating the economy with that of the socialist and liberated countries of the world. As long as these measures are not adopted, the country will experience crisis after crisis. And these measures will only be adopted by a government run directly by the workers.

At best, the CGE plan might bring about a brief respite, but those who will be implementing this plan are condemned to exploit the workers. If the bosses want to amass wealth, the

only source from which they can obtain it is the sweat of the wage earners. This iron law will also hold true under Cámpora.

This is why they make such an effort to involve the bureaucrats and traitors of the CGT. The latter will be playing a very important role for the bosses during the next few months. They will be saying that there is no need to struggle, no need to come to blows, no need to get one's back up, but rather that it is necessary to help with reconstruction. They will be saying what Rucci [head of the CGT] said: "We are not going to demand that the new government grant us wage increases."

But it is the workers who have the floor—the workers who brought down Onganía and Levingston, who stole the elections from Lanusse, who voted for Cámpora (not so that he could implement the exploitative CGE-CGT plan, but so that they could get an increase in wages and see their worst problems solved). The workers will not be long in making their voice heard.

They are continuing to struggle for their rights, and will continue to do so, because the bosses of the CGE will continue—despite the backing of Cámpora—to inflict hunger and exploitation upon them. And when all the workers join the struggle, this plan—the only one the bosses now have to offer—will inexorably collapse. □

Some Guerrillas May Be Excluded

Will Peronists Free All Political Prisoners?

By David Thorstad

Throughout the Argentine election campaign that brought the Peronists to power, an important issue was amnesty for political prisoners under a future Peronist government. President-elect Héctor Cámpora is scheduled to take office on May 25, yet as the day draws near it is still not clear just which prisoners will be freed by an amnesty.

On May 3, shortly after the execution of Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada by guerrillas belonging to the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo 22 de Agosto (August 22 Revolutionary

Army of the People), Cámpora met, in secret, with the military junta, including President Alejandro Lanusse. Throughout his campaign, he had refused any meeting with the junta. While all parties to the meeting emerged with evident satisfaction, the details of what was decided have been kept quiet.

The theme of the meeting, according to an editorial in the May 9 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), was the

question of amnesty. Since the meeting, the Argentine press has been full of speculation on the nature of the amnesty that will be implemented after May 25.

Indications are that the amnesty will be a limited one. This is the interpretation given to Cámpora's statement that "the amnesty will be broad, generous, and just." The "just" is held to mean that certain political prisoners will not be freed.

There are other signs as well. Vice president-elect Vicente Solano Lima, for instance, hinted that the amnesty might not include certain non-Peronist guerrillas: "The decree of an amnesty will possibly be the first legislative act [of the new government], as a move toward helping to pacify the country. The extent of the amnesty will be set by the law itself. The law will have to determine whether events such as what happened to Rear Admiral Quijada are of a political nature or not. The proposal is that the law be broad in scope. But the parliament has the power to restrict it, place limits upon it, and, in the final analysis, to regulate it." The Peronists hold a majority in both houses.

Up to a point, this statement seems to echo a declaration by Admiral Mayorga on May 2: "I cannot conceive of anyone saying that political prisoners who killed a policeman should be freed. . . ." In a further clarification of the thinking of the most reactionary wing of the armed forces, he added: "If a legislator votes for freeing a murderer, everything possible must be done to put the legislator in jail. . . ."

The Peronist tack appears to be to adopt an amnesty law that will bring about the release of Peronist political prisoners, but not necessarily those of the ERP or the ERP August 22. Such a move would clearly be designed to isolate the non-Peronist guerrillas, thereby making it easier to crack down on them. Mariano Grondona speculated on the intentions of the Peronists in the May 12 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*:

"It is obvious that once in power, the Peronist movement will want to amnesty the members of its 'special formations,' thanks to whom, in part, it won the elections. But how far will it go in also drawing its cloak of forgetfulness over its 'enemies,' that is, of figures responsible for the previous



QUIJADA: Non-Peronist guerrillas who executed him may be excluded from new government's amnesty.

regime? Among them are some who have been tried and convicted in illegal rulings. And there are a whole series of acts and situations that, in terms of the new legality, remain unclear. Will all these cases also be affected by a pardon?

"Finally, there is the non-Peronist guerrilla movement, circumstantially allied with the Peronists under a military government, but from now on potentially an opponent. Will the same criteria be applied to this movement as to the Peronist activists? Will the non-Peronist guerrillas be asked, for instance, to leave the country once released?"

One answer to these questions was offered on May 9 by Deputy Salvador Busacca, a member of the Partido Popular Cristiano (Christian People's party), who belongs to the Peronist coalition, the FREJULI (Frente Jus-

ticialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front). According to the May 10 *La Opinión*, when he was specifically asked what fate awaited the guerrillas who participated in the executions of General Sánchez and Fiat director Oberdan Sallustro, Busacca replied that this would be up to the courts. Moreover, cases where the amnesty does not clearly apply to a prisoner, and which therefore go into the courts, could drag on for an estimated ten months before a final ruling comes down, reported *La Opinión*.

In view of the clear collusion between the military and the Peronist leadership to place conditions on the post-May 25 amnesty, *Avanzada Socialista* issued an urgent appeal for a campaign of mass mobilization to compel the new government to grant a broad, unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners. "Since the most reactionary sectors of the country are waging a public campaign against unconditional amnesty and against legislators who defend such an amnesty—Mayorga's statements, for example, show this to be the case—we want to meet them in the same way. It is through a big, public campaign for the release of all the political prisoners, involving all the popular parties and those who claim to represent the working class, together with the union organizations, the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor], and the entire workers movement, that we will win the debate in parliament and any internal discussion this question may prompt within the ranks of the FREJULI and the Peronist movement." □

Soviet Scientist Argues for More Pollution

There are indications that the Soviet bureaucracy is once again considering plans to build industries around Lake Baikal, the largest fresh-water lake in the world. In an article that appeared recently in *Pravda*, Dr. Pyotr L. Kapitsa, director of the Institute of Physical Problems in Moscow, argued for "sensible industrial use" of the lake.

In May 1966, Kapitsa was one of thirty prominent Soviet citizens who issued a public appeal to preserve the Siberian lake from the pollution of industrial de-

velopment. In the *Pravda* article, he now calls for a study to determine how much pollution Baikal can absorb. Kapitsa even argued that pollution might be good for the water:

"The water that enters the lake through its tributary streams is much dirtier than the water leaving the lake. That purification is performed by biological processes. If we were to feed only pure, distilled water into the lake, life in it would cease and Baikal would stop purifying any incoming polluted water." □

The Sharpening Struggle in Chile

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

MAY 4—During the past two weeks, Santiago and other cities have been the scene of street demonstrations that reflect the sharpening social and political tensions in Chile.

Daily, the right wing brought hundreds of secondary-school students into the streets to demonstrate against the government's proposed educational reform, the Escuela Nacional Unificada [ENU—Unified National Education]. Behind the students followed shock troops of the right. They stoned buildings, such as the offices of the leftist dailies *Puro Chile* and *Ultima Hora*, the headquarters of the Socialist party, the home of left-wing legislator Mireya Baltra, and finally the governmental palace. The street demonstrations were combined with student strikes.

Public Works employees took over the offices of that ministry, and highways were blocked in support actions. Their struggle is around economic demands, but it also has important political ramifications. In response to the accusation by Allende and such reformist sectors as the Communist party that the strike action was inspired by right-wing sentiments, the president of the National Association of Workers in the Ministry of Public Works, Alberto Gálvez, made some strong statements: "Let there not be the least doubt that if the president calls us, we will go over the heads of not only the congress and *El Mercurio* [a right-wing newspaper], but also of the Contraloría [federal control office], the courts, and the armed forces. Even though we reach a state of civil war, the workers will not be held back by these reactionary institutions. . . . Our movement has arisen out of the workers' need to increase their income, given the fact that Public Works is one of the most neglected sectors."

He stated that between 50 and 60 percent of the Public Works budget goes to private contractors, who are

doing a fantastic business at the expense of the workers.

In addition, he denounced the bureaucracy: "It is the managers who enjoy a kind of all-embracing authority. A government of the workers must be based on the power of the masses. We demand not only a raise in wages, but also that the power of the people be exercised from the bottom up and that decisions affecting the ministry be taken by the ranks."

He added that the workers are demanding that the Social Area [state-run sector of the economy] be expanded, that private contracting be eliminated, that the workers have the right to supervise the managers and remove them, and that there be an end to the payment of incorrect wages. Finally, he said that if the necessary funds are lacking, payment should be stopped on the foreign debt, and on the stocks of private companies and state-run industries. "If this is done, there will be enough money to pay the workers," he said, speaking for the 30,000 workers he represents.

After several days of continuous right-wing demonstrations, leftist students decided to counteract them by also taking to the streets. In Santiago, they held a meeting in Caupolicán theater to discuss the problem of the ENU. Upon leaving the meeting to stage a demonstration, they had to confront the right-wing bands that were operating in the central part of the city. Similar clashes also occurred in other cities; the rightists, who up to that point had been operating with impunity, saw their path blocked.

On June 27, the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union] called a workers demonstration in support of the government. As one of the branches of the march was moving through downtown Santiago, it was attacked by gunfire from the headquarters of the Christian Democratic party. The result was several workers wounded and one killed. The dead man was José Ricardo Ahumada, a construction

worker and member of the Communist party. The police charged the workers. At a rally shortly afterward, Allende made a speech in which he attempted to pacify the workers.

The funeral was held on April 30. It drew an impressive hour-and-a-half parade of 150,000 persons in a repudiation of fascism. Together with the tepid, reformist slogans of the CP could be heard others, chanted by the revolutionary left: "Create, create people's power," "Create, create, a popular militia," and "Workers to power."

The left staged another gathering on May Day, although this time the turnout was smaller—around 80,000. The explanation for the difference in size lies in the fact that the funeral was an outraged rejection of fascism, whereas on May 1 the workers were to be treated to the reformist talk of Jorge Godoy, president of the CUT, and Salvador Allende. Both the Communist leader and the president of the republic appealed for calm and passivity, and even went so far as to make more or less veiled attacks on the workers vanguard and the revolutionary left. In spite of this, militant slogans were still in evidence, occasionally chanted in direct response to the reformist ideas that were being aired. A demagogic reference to Cuba and Vietnam, for example, prompted the chant "Move forward without compromising, as in Cuba and Vietnam."

The reformist point of view was represented essentially by the CP. The revolutionary left consisted of the left wing of the Socialist party, the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], and, on a lesser scale, the left MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action] and the Partido Socialista Revolucionario [PSR—Revolutionary Socialist party], Chilean section of the Fourth International.

It is worth noting that after a long absence, the Trotskyist movement is again making its presence known at the May Day demonstrations this year. It took part in the demonstrations in Santiago and Valparaíso. Its banners—the only ones in the Santiago meeting—carried slogans like "Workers Control," "Nationalize the Banks," "Workers Militias," and "Workers Government." A few incidents occurred between reformists and revo-

lutionists during the meeting, but nothing serious.

Tensions are continuing to mount, with reports of clashes between fascist bands and squatters or workers. Santiago is currently affected by an urban transport strike, and although this one is qualitatively different from the bosses' strike last October—this time it is the workers themselves who

are paralyzing transportation in support of their demand for higher wages—the interference of the right wing in the present strike cannot be denied.

And while the dynamism of the fascist bands has led to an intensification of activity by the revolutionary left, the serious organizational weaknesses of the working class nevertheless remain. □

New Group Formed in France

Struggle for Right to Abortion Grows

Michel Poniatowski, French minister of public health and social security, went before the National Assembly on May 11 and promised that the Gaullist government would soon propose a reform of the country's reactionary 1920 law forbidding abortions.

Popular pressure for total elimination of the law had been on the rise since February, when 331 physicians issued a manifesto for "freedom of abortion" in which they publicly revealed that they had performed abortions in violation of the 1920 law. (See *Intercontinental Press*, February 26, p. 215.) Poniatowski assured everyone that the Pompidou regime intended to take steps to dispense with the more offensive aspects of the repressive legislation.

But there was reason to doubt the minister's sincerity. On May 8, just three days before his National Assembly speech, police in Eybens, a suburb of Grenoble, had arrested Annie Ferrey-Martin, a thirty-seven-year-old physician and a member of the proabortion group Choisir, and charged her with performing an abortion in violation of the 1920 law.

The arrest came after police investigations made at the urging of the parents of a seventeen-year-old woman who had been impregnated by a man more than twice her age. In the course of their investigations of a corruption-of-minors charge, police uncovered what they said was a clandestine abortion center. Dr. Ferrey-Martin was arrested for having performed an abortion on the seventeen-year-old.

Groups supporting women's right

to abortion reacted immediately. On May 11, while Poniatowski was talking to the parliament, more than 10,000 persons marched in the streets of Grenoble demanding that charges against Ferrey-Martin be dropped.

Four organizations took the lead in mobilizing for Ferrey-Martin's defense: Mouvement Français pour le Planning Familial (French Movement for Family Planning), Choisir, Groupe Information Santé (GIS—Health Information Group), and Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement et la Contraception (MLAC—Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception).

At first, a GIS member, speaking for all the groups and a number of individuals as well, said that "if indictments must come down, let them indict us all." The GIS members declared that the Grenoble center had performed about 500 abortions, all of them free, since it was founded.

The formation of such "illegal" centers has been one of the ways in which proabortion forces have challenged the 1920 law. At a May 14 press conference, MLAC announced that there are now ten centers, mostly in Paris, Marseille, and Grenoble, and that since February they have been performing about 50-100 abortions a week—all either free or for nominal charges.

Growth of public support for the centers apparently induced the Grenoble defenders of Ferrey-Martin to drop their demand that they all be indicted. Gisèle Halimi, a lawyer and leading activist in the anti-abortion-law movement, was quoted in the May 12 *Le Monde* as explaining why the demand for collective indictment was dropped: "We don't want to breathe any life into a dead law." She added that the centers would demonstrate in real life that the 1920 law was finished.

As public support for Ferrey-Martin continued to grow, the MLAC declared a "week of mobilization" for May 14-19. The high point of the week, the group announced, would be a mass



MLAC demonstration was attacked in Paris by cops and hooligans.

meeting May 18 in Grenoble at which an "exemplary public abortion" would be performed.

This announcement provoked controversy—and press coverage. Later, MLAC explained that there had been some misunderstanding. The abortion would be "public" only in the sense that it was openly announced beforehand.

But even though the "spectacular" was called off, plans for the May 14-19 mobilization week continued to get a heavy play in the French press, and it remained doubtful that the government would be able to press its charges against Ferrey-Martin.

The MLAC has been in the forefront of the defense of Ferrey-Martin. The group was formed in early April by many members of a number of organizations including the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Confederation of Labor), the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party), the Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, the group headed by Michel Pablo), the Socialist party, the Groupe Information Santé, the Ligue Communiste (French section of the Fourth International), and others. It has also been endorsed by the 331 physicians who signed the "freedom of abortion" manifesto.

We reprint below the basic statement of the MLAC. The text appeared in the April 20 issue of *Rouge*, the Ligue Communiste's weekly paper. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

* * *

The weight of traditional ideology, the systematic squelching of any real attempt at liberalization, and the refusal to bring to bear all scientific progress are the most obvious signs of the oppression society imposes on the sexuality of men and women, especially men and women of popular strata, who command neither the means nor the information necessary for their full development.

The MLAC declares its solidarity with the struggle of working men and women against the exploitation, oppression, and repression of which they are victims from the cradle to the grave in present society.

Many initiatives have been undertaken to struggle against this system

of oppression, but these actions have been deemed illegal by the regime and they therefore necessitate a broad front of struggle and solidarity.

The Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception proposes to coordinate these initiatives and to create the broadest front in face of the regime's attacks by fighting for:

Sexual education that:

- stops projecting procreation as the only aim of sexuality,

- struggles against indictments and secular prosecutions,

- no longer consigns to women maternity and raising of children as inevitable tasks taking priority over all other activity in social and political life,

- allows both men and women to develop their sexuality;

Freedom of contraception by:

- establishing free access to contraception for all, regardless of age or financial means,

- abolishing the restrictions contained in the Neuwirth law,

- developing the broadest information on the problems of procreation and contraception through campaigns to popularize contraceptive methods and to demystify lying propaganda,

- struggling against the profits and public relations operations of the drug companies,

- orienting scientific research toward simple and nonoffensive means of contraception usable by both men and women and putting these methods into circulation without delay,

- eliminating the inequalities of a contraception program that is banned in metropolitan France, especially for youth, and pushed for by a racist and Malthusian policy in the colonies and overseas departments;

Freedom of abortion by fighting:

- for the repeal of the 1920 law,
- against any legal measure that restricts the freedom and responsibility of the woman, to whom the decision alone belongs,

- against any financial trafficking, abortion being a medical procedure like any other.

Freedom of abortion and contraception implies:

- the collectivity being in charge (financing by the state, by social security, etc.),

- realization of the necessary material means for making a free choice—raising the standard of living, developing social facilities (housing, child-care centers, etc.).

The MLAC will struggle so that people may take these matters into their own hands by organizing at all levels (neighborhoods, factories, schools, etc.). It will especially struggle for the establishment of centers that will dispense sexual information, will perform and popularize abortion and distribute means of contraception in the most favorable conditions. These centers will be meeting places that will allow women to break their isolation, which is due to their lack of information and to the fact that they can be prosecuted for having abortions.

The MLAC will act so that the centers, and family planning in general, far from managing poverty or trying to alleviate it, will be recognized as a public utility, will receive state financing, and will be controlled by those who use them.

The MLAC will provide legal, political, and militant support to all initiatives that are part of this struggle.

The MLAC will ensure the popularization of and support to this struggle through its broader information and its national coordination. □

Interview With a Ligue Communiste Militant

The Fight Against Wage Divisions at Renault

[The May 11 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, reported that the Ligue has scheduled a national conference to draw up accounts of the most recent wave of workers struggles and

to assess the Ligue's participation in it. The conference, to be held June 9-11, will be open to all working-class sympathizers of the Ligue, those in the organized factory groups and others.

[The theme of the conference will be

the problem of the self-organization of the working class. Three central reports will be given: the work of revolutionary militants in the plants, workers control, and workers struggles in Europe. Workshops on these three reports will be organized.

[In preparation for this conference *Rouge* opened up a discussion on the strategy and tactics of workers struggles; we reprint below the first contribution to this discussion.

[It consists of an interview with a member of the Ligue who works in a Renault plant, where the latest wave of struggle was touched off by the OS (ouvriers spécialisés—semiskilled workers), who are mostly low-paid immigrants. The struggle began when the OS in Department 12 of the Billancourt factory walked out to demand that they be raised from the OS classification to PIF, a higher classification set up last year by management.

[The strike raised many questions relating to organization of the work force and hierarchical wage structures. Renault—and other modern companies as well—have such complicated classification systems that it is difficult to find two workers in one plant who get exactly the same wage, despite the fact that labor is increasingly uniform.

["What attitude should revolutionary militants take toward these questions of hierarchy and wage scales?" *Rouge* asked. "Can specific slogans be raised or must we remain on the level of general propaganda? We are not presenting a definitive answer, but to start off the discussion we are reprinting an interview with one of our Renault comrades."

[The interview follows. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. In thinking about unifying demands on the question of wages, one of the first that comes up is for across-the-board increases. During the recent strike the Ligue's factory bulletin, "Renault Rouge," did not advance this demand. Why?

Answer. The strike in Department 12 started out on a very precise and deeply unifying demand, "equal pay for equal work." Everybody in Department 12 works on the presses. They all do the same kind of job. When management set up the PIF clas-

sification, it granted it only to a few, to "the most deserving." Its aim was clear: It wanted to divide the workers. It handed out the PIF to those it wanted to line up, to those it thought could be "bought."

For example, those who were in charge of a production line, that is, those who set the work pace for the others, got the PIF. And by some strange coincidence, it was only French workers that got this famous PIF.

Q. But "Renault Rouge" said that the strike had to extend itself if it



Workers mass outside giant Renault plant during recent strikes. Wage-scale disparities was major issue and remains unresolved.

was to have the best chances for success. Across-the-board increases should have been able to allow unification of the struggles.

A. That's true, across-the-board increases are a unifying demand. We have often raised it. But the Department 12 strike called the attention of all the guys at Renault to this problem of division. It was not a wage increase that was being demanded, but the end of wage disparities.

Across-the-board increases unite the workers in struggle, but it did not relate to the problem at issue, namely

advances to higher classifications and especially a guarantee of equal pay if you change jobs.

Q. Then what demands did you raise?

A. The struggle in Department 12 was a struggle against anarchy in pay scales and against division. This feeling that the pay scales are unjust exists everywhere, not just in Department 12. For a long time we have said that a good way of struggling against division is to fight for "equal pay for equal work."

The application of this demand on the level of wages is: "A single wage rate for each category." That is, all the workers doing the same general type of job should get the same wage. Obviously, this equal wage rate can only be the maximum rate in each category. That is why we raised the two slogans: "Equal pay for equal work!" and "One rate for each category: the highest!"

Q. Were these demands taken up by the workers?

A. For the OS this demand was

applied in the form "PIF for all the OS!" and was widely taken up. For the other categories, such a demand better corresponded to the workers' immediate concerns than the demand for across-the-board increases. It attacked the anarchy of the wage rates and especially the divisions within each category.

Insofar as the skilled workers were not yet ready to fight, this demand played more of an educational role for them. It was a matter of showing them that concrete slogans against the division could be found.

Q. So has the demand for across-the-board increases been dropped at Renault?

A. Anything but. But you must not endlessly harp on the same demands at all times and in all places. We continue propagandizing around these demands, and if coming struggles deal with low wages, we will raise the slogan of equal increases for all as a means of unifying the struggles.

Q. The leadership of the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the

union federation dominated by the Communist party] fights for a single classification system, which would result in significant simplification of the way wages are paid. What is our attitude toward this single classification?

A. There isn't enough space to go into a detailed criticism of this proposed single classification system. But in general, it is basically reformist, because it is based on the utopian hope that the capitalist system could provide a fair day's pay for a fair day's work.

As members of the Ligue, we struggle for improving working and living conditions, but we don't fall into the trap of making counterproposals on how to run capitalism. We have to explain the divisive role played by classifications, categories, and subcategories.

But while there is no question of working out a "more left" classification system, on the level of immediate demands we must raise some slogans, such as integration of bonuses into wages, recognition of the workers' demands on classifications, and so on. □

(United States), the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Communist League] (Spain), the Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna [Basque Nation and Freedom], the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs [Revolutionary Workers League] (Belgium). Christian Courbain gave a speech on behalf of the Groupe Révolutionnaire Socialiste [Revolutionary Socialist Group, based in the Antilles].

A member of the Front of Revolutionary Soldiers, Airmen, and Sailors spoke to the conference about the response the mobilization against the Debré law got in the barracks.

The conference concluded with a speech by Daniel Bensaïd in the name of the Ligue's Political Bureau. The following press communiqué was adopted by the conference:

Some 400 members of the high-school and technical-school Red Circles coming from more than thirty cities in the provinces met May 5-6 at the Pitié Salpêtrière.

The movement against the Debré law, which the members of the Red Circles had been trying to set off since February 1973, has been the most significant youth mobilization France has ever seen. By its breadth, its exemplary structure, and its militancy, this movement forced all political forces to define their relationship to it. The traditional left, after vain attempts at splitting, had to accept the movement's target dates and its structure; the regime was forced to tolerate a profound challenge to its army and its educational system.

Before the strikes were decreed, and before the huge demonstrations were held, the bourgeoisie had wanted to hail the end of a movement that it claimed was just a flash in the pan. But this was to fail to understand that an irreversible situation had been created, that mass politics has reappeared in the high schools and CET, that the content of the educational system has been challenged by "counter-courses," and is under continuous attack, that behind the rejection of the Debré law lay the rejection of an army of repression and militarization.

This mobilization will have another aspect. By trying to build a lasting antimilitarist current in the high schools, by organizing a continuous critique of the content and goals of education, the Red Circles will devote

400 Militants Attend National Conference

French Red Circles Discuss Movement Against Debre Law

[The following article appeared in the May 11 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The third meeting of the FCR [Front des Cercles Rouges—Front of Red Circles, the high-school group affiliated to the Ligue] was attended by 410 comrades, 264 from Paris and 146 from the provinces (more than thirty cities were represented). The meeting was held basically to draw an initial balance sheet on the struggle against the Debré law.

The introductory report, given by Michel Field, and the various work-

shops (structure of the struggle, counter-courses, antimilitarism, political forces involved in the struggle) contributed to drawing this balance. Other workshops were also held (youth struggles around the world, workers struggles, Vietnam); skits on the army and on sports were put on, and a film on Fort d'Aiton was shown.

The meeting marked the first time that many comrades in the CET [Collèges d'Enseignement Technique—technical education institutions] participated in such a gathering. A workshop and a report given by a militant from Grenoble to the entire conference gave the meeting a feel for the CET struggle.

Foreign comrades also attended the conference, including representatives from the Young Socialist Alliance

their energies to making sure that the lessons of March-April 1973 remain a permanent acquisition of the high-school and apprentice movement.

Five years after May 1968, the

whole youth have just taken a significant step forward in the struggle against the bourgeois state. The Red Circles will do everything to make future battles decisive ones. □

Issues Still Not Settled in Lebanon Fighting

Accord Ends Fedayeen-Army Clashes

By Jon Rothschild

A joint Lebanese-Palestinian negotiating committee announced in Beirut May 17 that after two days of meetings, it had reached an overall agreement to settle the differences that had triggered nearly two weeks of heavy fighting between the Lebanese army and the Palestinian fedayeen. The announcement came after three days of relative calm during which both sides observed a cease-fire that had been proclaimed late May 8 but had not really taken hold until several days later.

The terms of the agreement were not disclosed. A statement by the whole committee said that "identical viewpoints" had been reached. Abu Zaim, a leader of Fateh and one of the Palestinian negotiators, told the press that "complete understanding" had been achieved between the two sides.

Apparently, however, understanding was not complete enough to allow for disclosure of any terms at all—despite the fact that they are supposed to be implemented immediately. In the May 20 *New York Times*, correspondent Juan de Onís wrote that "Lebanese authorities reportedly have obtained guerrilla compliance with demands that involve enforcement of Lebanese laws in the refugee camps, removal of some guerrilla elements from the camps and permanent coordination between army and guerrilla inspectors on control of heavy arms stored in camps."

Six days earlier, on May 11, Hassan Sabri el-Kholy, a personal representative of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat who had been sent to Beirut to serve as mediator, had announced that a six-point accord to reestablish good relations between the fedayeen and the regime had been reached.



FRANJIEH: Manages to ride the crisis out—for the time being.

The May 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that the six points were the following: formation of a four-member joint high commission (of undisclosed functions); formation of lower-ranking joint commissions equipped with radio transmitters; creation of a direct telephone hookup between Colonel Musa Kanaan, deputy chief of staff of the Lebanese army, and Abu Zaim; suspension of all artillery fire and air strikes by the Lebanese armed forces; cessation of all propaganda campaigns; and indefinite maintenance of the cease-fire.

The May 17 accord appears to be an extension of the essence of the May 11 agreement. Nevertheless, neither

one has settled the most important division between the regime and the Palestinian movement, namely, who will control the Palestinian refugee camps. The regime had been demanding the right to rule the camps directly; the fedayeen had insisted on maintaining the terms of the 1969 Cairo accords, which give them sole authority over the refugees.

If the May 17 agreement fails to grant the regime control over the camps, as appears to be the case, fresh efforts to restrict the fedayeen's functioning, to purge the camps of left-wing activists, and to disarm the fedayeen rank and file can be expected. The test of the real meaning of the agreement will come when the regime tries to violate the Cairo accords.

Negotiations have also reportedly resulted in staving off Beirut's governmental crisis. Parliament had been scheduled to meet May 14 to consider whether the state of emergency, imposed late May 7, should be extended or allowed to lapse. A confrontation between parliamentary blocs had been anticipated.

But on May 14 only thirty of the ninety-nine deputies showed up for the session, twenty short of a quorum. Debate thus avoided, President Suleiman Franjeh announced that the emergency would automatically continue, a proclamation of dubious constitutional validity that was not forcefully challenged by the opposition parties.

The reason became clear several days later. On May 19, Amin el-Hafez, who had resigned as premier on the morning of May 8, resumed his post. His resignation had never been formally accepted by Franjeh, who had been negotiating with Hafez and other politicians in an attempt to avoid being forced to convene a new government—one that would have had to be broader than the Hafez regime and might have given pro-Palestinian figures some role in the cabinet.

As Hafez again took up his post, government tanks began withdrawing from the capital, returning to their bases along the coast. Roadblocks set up by the fedayeen at the edges of the refugee camps were also reportedly being dismantled. Hafez announced that he planned to lift the state of emergency "soon," but nighttime curfews remained in force. □

Inside Bolivia's Political Prisons

[The following is an interview with Jorge Alderete Rosales, a leader of the Bolivian MNRI (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario de Izquierda—Left Revolutionary Nationalist Movement). He was recently released from prison in Bolivia and exiled to Chile.

[The interview was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* in Santiago on April 27, 1973. The translation from the Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. When and for what reason were you arrested?

Answer. You will recall that the coup occurred between August 19 and 21, 1971. On August 26, they raided my house under the pretext of searching for weapons. They did not find any, but they did take a lot of books.

I was arrested on September 1. No specific charges were brought against me. I imagine they considered a crime the very fact that I was first secretary of the MNRI, a post I have held ever since it was founded in October 1969, following a split in the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] over the increasingly right-wing orientation of its leadership under Paz Estenssoro.

Another possible reason might be the fact that I was the first Bolivian diplomat to serve in socialist countries—in Czechoslovakia from 1959 to 1960 and in Yugoslavia from 1961 to 1963.

Many of those arrested were accused of having "ties to the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army]" simply because they were sympathizers of some left-wing party, or merely because they didn't agree with the government or were suspected of not agreeing with it. Many were put in jail for visiting political prisoners, and as a result only close relatives dared to visit them.

Q. What prisons were you in?

A. First I was in the "Department of Political Order" or "Police Headquarters," about twenty meters from the Government Palace. This is where they first bring all those who are arrested, and usually there are about a hundred there. I was kept in this prison for two and a half months.

Subsequently, I was placed in the quarters of the Bolívar Regiment in Viacha, where I remained for four months.

From there I was taken to the prison in Achocalla, near La Paz. This is a building that was designed as a railroad station. It is called the "House of Stone." I stayed there for four months. As of June 1, 1972, it was converted into a prison for women only, where around forty women are kept at any given time.

From there I was taken to the Department of Political Order in Viacha, where I remained for one month.

Next they took me to Chunchucoro, where I was kept for a month and a half. This is a former ranch that belonged to Rosa Agramonte, a millionaire who died without leaving any heirs. In line with the agrarian reform law, the peasants had first priority to become owners of the place, since they had worked there; a small school began to operate in the main residence. Nevertheless, under Ovando, the entire ranch became state property.

From August of last year until February of this year I was in the political section of the Panopticon Prison in San Pedro. At that point I was released, along with other professionals, on the condition that I not return to the country. This move was the result of a struggle carried on by the National Confederation of Professionals, to which, as a lawyer, I belong.

Q. Could you describe the military quarters in which you were kept?

A. This is the first time that military barracks have been used as a

political prison. It had to be closed down in July 1972 as a result of the pressure of public opinion, although the abominable conditions in other prisons continued to exist.

There were 350 men and women prisoners there. One of the women was Bonadona de Quiroga, whose "crime" was to be the mother of two young guerrillas from Teoponte. There were also two girls who were pregnant. One of them had a baby girl in prison whom she named Freedom. The mother remained a prisoner, but they took her daughter away from her.

There was a prison regulation that applied to all the prisoners, including the women: For not falling in with the precision of soldiers, or for being two minutes late to formation, the prisoners would have to "stand watch." This means to remain standing for hours, "at attention," on specially constructed cement protuberances, under the burning sun of the *altiplano* and the hostile watch of armed soldiers.

Besides the fact that there were guns and machine guns all over the place, sixty soldiers, armed with submachine guns, were always on hand; they were in charge of daily watching and controlling the prisoners; they performed this duty in an aggressive and threatening fashion. Verbal abuse, especially of the women, was a daily occurrence.

Q. What is the food like in the prisons?

A. Inedible. In the military jail, it was worse than the grub they gave the soldiers. For breakfast there was boiled coffee ("sultana") with a piece of bread. Lunch was generally rice of the worst quality and rotten potatoes—all half-cooked. Supper was worse. A retired sergeant had a restaurant, or canteen, where those who had money could eat for exorbitantly high prices. Yet even this meal was bad—never any meat, eggs, or milk, hardly even bones with gristle.

The United States embassy pays the Bolivian government \$7 per prisoner. Those in charge of preparing food for the prisoners receive fifty cents per prisoner, which creates a good business in political prisoners; this is one of the reasons that at any given

time there is always a large number of prisoners. When some are released, others are arrested.

The spread of tuberculosis among the prisoners is shocking, and it would be even worse if it weren't for the food that relatives bring during their weekly visits.

Q. What are health conditions like?

A. In all the political prisons, the prisoners sleep on the ground. They have straw mattresses provided by either the International Red Cross or by the prisoners themselves.

There is no way to bathe, since there are no showers. After a great deal of pressure was applied, the prisoners in the military prison were allowed to use the soldiers' showers once a month.

There are no health facilities in Chunchucoro and Achocalla — not even a privy. The prisoners, including the women, have to do their duty in the open air; the International Red Cross has confirmed this to be the case. There is an elevated area where you have to go, obligatorily, at 1:00 p.m. and defecate in formation. In Achocalla, the men and women defecate in open country and constitute a show for passengers in buses going by on a nearby road. The guards cut down the few bushes that the prisoners used to go behind to get out of sight. In the military prison there was a canal with fifteen stalls; you had to line up in front of them and defecate under the menacing look of the guards, who would keep saying, "Get it over with and fall in."

Q. Were you able to read newspapers and books or listen to the radio?

A. They did not allow newspapers, radios, books, or magazines to get in, except for a few novels and magazines like "Donald Duck" or "Superman."

Q. Did they have "inspections," or, in other words, did they carry out checks of cells and cellblocks?

A. This is done in all the prisons in the most brutal fashion; they throw the prisoners' things on the ground and break them. But the one who makes use of this as a special method



BANZER: His "gorilla" regime rests on torture and repression.

of repression is army Captain Vásquez Sampértegui. He has the prisoners fall into formation at 7:00 a.m. and sing the national anthem. He and his people insult and kick the prisoners in order to get them to hurry. While the prisoners are standing in formation, the guards do their inspection. When they want to "get" someone, they themselves bring books and claim that they found them among the prisoner's belongings.

They are also in the habit of doing what they call "dark alley" and "chocolateada." In the former, the prisoner is made to run a gauntlet of guards, fending off punches, kicks, blows with sticks and chains. In the latter, they pursue the prisoners, hitting them in the same fashion. Other punishments for books being "found" among the prisoner's belongings are to put them in solitary, send them to worse prisons, or deny them visitors.

Q. How does the visiting system work?

A. Visits occur once a week. Each time, a note has to be obtained, signed by the head of the repression, Colonel

Loayza. Sometimes a wait of several days is necessary, and occasionally permission is denied.

At the military prison, there are a thousand people on visiting days standing in line in the street, at the mercy of the elements, under the rain, at an altitude of more than 4,000 meters above sea level.

Throughout the visits, there are two armed soldiers between the prisoner and his relatives, who have to travel thirty kilometers over bad roads in order to spend two to five minutes with their loved ones.

Q. Are the political prisoners kept together with the common prisoners?

A. The political prisoners are kept by themselves in order to make any communication with the outside world difficult, but common criminals are always planted among them to act as provocateurs on behalf of the repressive forces.

Q. Is torture used?

A. There are underground cells in the Ministry of the Interior that are especially used for torture. There are also various places known as "houses of security" that are devoted to this. In Achocalla, the torture cells are located 200 meters from the prison.

The tortures consist of burning the prisoner with lighted cigarettes, sticking pins underneath the fingernails, hanging by arms tied behind one's back ("the pig"), hanging by the feet, beating, etc.

There are groups of women who are trained to torture female prisoners. In addition to the things I just mentioned, they make them sit naked on blocks of ice and they whip them.

Other tortures are the application of electric shock to the genitals, breaking arms, dealing blows to the nape of the neck, thereby causing brain damage, etc. Frequently, it goes so far as murder.

Q. What kind of movements are there to demand freedom for the prisoners or improved prison conditions, and what success has been achieved?

A. First I'll say something about the resistance inside the prisons. On

February 8, 1972, we prisoners began a hunger strike to demand that the law be applied in our case, that specific charges be brought, and that the prisoners be allowed to defend themselves.

The strike was planned over a period of a month and a half. It was planned and carried out in the military prison, but then spread to other prisons, involving a total of 2,000 prisoners.

The relatives of the prisoners backed them, especially in La Paz, and went on a hunger strike in the churches.

We managed to get twenty copies of the strike declaration out of the prison, in spite of the heavy security measures that were put into effect.

Some important trade-union organizations came out in support of us, among them the Miners Federation, the Factory Workers Federation, the Confederation of Professionals, and student groups.

In addition, we got support from some of the clergy. Religious radio stations like Radio Fides and Radio Cruz del Sur supported us. The press was forced to take up the problem. The international repercussions of the strike were reflected in the fact that the BBC in London, Radio Moscow, and various European radios dealt with it.

The strike lasted three days, it was very disciplined, and it succeeded in stirring the conscience of the country. The government tried to break up the organization of the strike by transferring people to other prisons. Some representatives of the church, such as the archbishop of La Paz, were also used in an effort to get the prisoners' relatives out of the churches.

Subsequently, the government promised to take a look at the prisoner situation; offers were made, in general terms, to name commissions, but nothing really concrete. Yet we cannot say that the strike was a failure, since we did succeed as I already said, in stirring the country's conscience, in demonstrating what a serious national problem the fate of the political prisoners is, and in mobilizing support for them.

Also, a relative improvement in the prison conditions did result.

In March 1972, the Confederation of Professionals sent the tribunals its first request for habeas corpus on be-

half of ninety-five professionals who were being held. Since the tribunals are appointed by the government and are subservient to the minister of the interior, they dragged out the proceedings excessively. Then, on June 2, 1972, the government issued an unconstitutional decree negating habeas corpus; in it, it stated that "the Ministry of the Interior can hold prisoners indefinitely in order to carry through investigations." This is what the court was waiting for in order to throw out the case on the grounds that the appeal presented in March was "unfounded."

There are trade-union, peasant, teachers, and other organizations that, on a permanent basis, are raising the demand for the release of the political prisoners.

There are public lightning-demonstrations, leaflets, and wall slogans that demand freedom for the political prisoners.

In November 1972, the Confederation presented another request for habeas corpus, since there were professionals who were still being held in jail. Two months of pettifogging proceedings ensued.

In January of this year, former President Adolfo Siles Salinas presented a motion for habeas corpus on behalf of five women; he did this in the name of the recently created Commission for Justice and Peace. The court turned down this final request. Nevertheless, soon afterwards, the Ministry of the Interior released the prisoners in question, along with another group of prisoners. In view of this, the Confederation of Professionals insisted on pressing its own re-

quest. The Ministry of the Interior asked for direct negotiations on the matter, and of the eighteen professionals who remained at that point, thirteen were freed and the other five were obliged to leave the country.

It should be noted that the Committee for Human Rights existed under other governments, and that the defense of those rights is more needed today than ever, since they have never been as trampled upon as they are today.

Another point that I would like to make is that the officials have discovered a new way to make money through the repression: They sell freedom for dollars. There are some people who have had to pay as much as \$800, and everybody knows that in Bolivia this is a lot of money.

Q. What can be done to aid the Bolivian political prisoners?

A. An intense campaign should be waged to denounce repression in Bolivia and to demand the release of the political prisoners. This should be a national and international campaign, and it should be organized in a nonsectarian way, excluding no one who wants to work with us in this struggle. I call on Bolivians living in exile to be the main bulwark of this campaign on the outside. Whatever our political differences, we must be united in our efforts to win freedom for the political prisoners.

I also appeal to all humanitarian, political, labor, and other organizations abroad to not abandon the Bolivians who are presently rotting in subhuman conditions in the jails of Bolivia. □

Figueres Said to Profit From Watergate

Companies controlled by a figure involved in the Watergate scandal have deposited some \$325,000 in the New York bank account of Costa Rican President Jose Figueres, according to a report by Stanley Penn in the May 16 *Wall Street Journal*.

The figure is financier Robert Vesco, who has been indicted along with two former members of Nixon's cabinet as the result of an illegal campaign contribution made at a time when Vesco was under investigation in connection with charges that he had looted his companies of \$224 million.

Vesco is now in Costa Rica and has

refused to return to face the charges against him.

Questioned by Penn in a telephone interview about the deposits to his account, Figueres said, "I have not made a cent. I'm not going to answer any more questions. You go to hell."

Also on May 16, a Costa Rican parliamentary committee announced that it had found no evidence of any wrongdoing by Vesco in his Costa Rican operations.

Last year, a corporation controlled by Vesco loaned \$2 million to a company founded by Figueres's son. □

30,000 in Milan March for Indochina

Milan

More than 30,000 young people marched through the streets here May 12 in the first Europe-wide Vietnam demonstration since the February 1968 Berlin antiwar protest.

The call for the demonstration was issued by Vietnam solidarity groups from nearly every country in Europe, and the action was hosted by the Milan Comitato Vietnam (Vietnam Committee). The major demands of the demonstration were: free the political prisoners in South Vietnam, end the bombing of Cambodia, withdraw all U.S. forces from Indochina, and end Saigon and U.S. violations of the Vietnam accords.

The crowd gathered at the Plaza of the Duomo, Milan's central cathedral. As the different groups formed contingents for the march, "The Internationale" blared from loudspeakers, and banners, flags, and placards engulfed the square.

Chanting "Nixon Boia!" (Nixon Executioner!), "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh," and "L'Indocina Vincera!" (Indochina Will Win!), the demonstrators started off on the two-hour march through downtown Milan to the Vigorelli bicycle stadium.

Most of the participants marched in contingents organized by Italian far-left and Maoist groups. The largest contingents were led by *Avanguardia Operaia* [Workers Vanguard], *Movimento Studentesco* [Student Movement], and *Partito Comunista* (Marxista-Leninista) Italiano [Italian Communist party (Marxist-Leninist)], followed by smaller contingents from *Lotta Continua* [Struggle Continues] and *Il Manifesto*.

About 2,000 persons marched in the contingent of the Fourth International, including members of the *Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari* [Revolutionary Communist Groups], Italian section of the Fourth International, and delegations from the French, Austrian, German, Swiss, and Swedish Trotskyist organizations.

The *Front Solidarité Indochine* [Indochina Solidarity Front] organized the largest non-Italian delegation with more than 2,000 French

activists marching in its contingent.

The Italian Communist party denounced the demonstration as "irresponsible and adventuristic" and the Italian Socialist party echoed the CP's charges that the action was "divisive."

The demonstration, however, was marked by a spirited sense of unity. Unfortunately, one minor incident did occur when Maoists of the *Partito Comunista* (Marxista-Leninista) Italiano unsuccessfully tried to rip down banners carried by members of the Fourth International as the Trotskyist contingent entered the Vigorelli stadium rally site.

The program at the stadium consisted of speakers, films, and music, and the rally lasted late into the night.

Under Argentina's 'State of Emergency'

PST Member Arrested in Police Raids

In the wake of Argentine President Alejandro Lanusse's declaration of a "state of emergency" in the country's five largest provinces at the beginning of May, the military carried out widespread raids and arrests. Among those arrested was a member of the *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores* (PST—Socialist Workers party).

The martial-law operations were effected in various parts of the country. "In Salta," reported the May 6 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, "combined forces of the army and the police searched various places in the city of Güemes and set up checkpoints on roads leading into Tucumán and Jujuy. Similar measures for controlling vehicles and people were carried out in Posadas, Misiones, where there were searches of low-quality hotels, pensions, assignation locales, and places where students gather; the searches led to the confiscation of revolvers and shotguns.

"Semi-official reports indicated that three students—Gustavo Pérez, Alberto Garrido, and Nora Torres—were

Speakers from the major Maoist groups and from the *Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari* addressed the rally. Other speakers included representatives from the revolutionary forces in Indochina, Vernon Bellecourt from the American Indian Movement, and Sid Peck from the U.S. People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. A message of solidarity was read from the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee.

The following morning, May 13, the Fourth International sponsored a lively meeting attended by 800 people. Daniel Bensaïd of the *Ligue Communiste*, French section of the Fourth International, and Livio Maitan, representing the Fourth International, gave the major speeches. Talks were also presented on the recent workers struggles at Renault in Paris and at Fiat in Turin, and on the Italian immigrant workers movement in Switzerland. □

arrested for possessing subversive literature. Garrido belongs to the *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores*; in the wake of the arrests, the commission for the defense of political prisoners was mobilized."

La Opinión also reported on a "vast antisubversive operation" carried out in the San Martín slum on the outskirts of the city of Mendoza. A house-to-house search was made, reportedly in an effort to uncover two guerrillas. The guerrillas, identified as Ramón Pablo Videla Bustos and Carlos Alberto Malter Terrada, were said to be members of the *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo* (ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People) and the *Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación* (FAL—Liberation Armed Forces).

In Buenos Aires, some thirty persons were arrested for watching a film about Che Guevara. □

Good Work, Leonid!

"CPUSA congratulates Brezhnev on winning Lenin peace prize."—Headline in May 18 *Daily World*, organ of the American Communist party.

Workers Resist 'Stabilization' of Wages

[Last November 17, Austrian capitalists and leaders of the trade unions concluded a "stabilization agreement" that supposedly was to help restrain inflation. We have translated the following analysis of developments since that time from the March issue of *Rotfront*, the new monthly paper of the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (GRM — Revolutionary Marxist Group, the Austrian Trotskyist organization). The translation has been somewhat abridged for reasons of space.]

* * *

Today not even the bourgeois press leaves anyone in doubt about the content of the agreement: freezing wages while prices are able to go on rising. There is little attempt to make much out of the other restrictive measures (building cutbacks, credit limitations, budget restrictions). They have long since disappeared from the front pages of the newspapers, and even in the economic section they have only a modest place.

This change is not accidental. At first, drumming up enthusiasm for the stabilization agreement required broad, veiled methods. The capitalists took refuge in "scientific" terminology borrowed from meteorology. They spoke of the "overheating" of the economy, which could only be brought back to its "normal temperature" through cooling-off measures.

As long as it was a matter of bamboozling the workers, this chatter served a useful function. But with the publication of the first official statistics since the conclusion of the wage-freeze agreement, the fraud can now no longer be maintained. The workers have "stood still"—rather, been held in place—and the explosion of prices has nevertheless spread.

The previously extolled economic levers revealed their total insufficiency. So the formerly "complete" collection of tools has to be abandoned, or at least can no longer be the most important instrument. Obviously it is necessary to attack the situation head-on: dampening measures here, damp-

ening measures there, and even if prices continue to gallop, the workers cannot be permitted to raise any wage demands.

Of course, the various other restrictive measures are either deceptions or an additional burden for the workers. To take only the case of the building cutbacks: In the nineteenth century, when small entrepreneurs competed against each other, it was true that a reduction of effective demand led to a lowering of prices. In the age of monopoly capital, with a few large companies controlling the market, it is more usually the rule that contraction of demand does not produce lower prices; on the contrary, prices are raised. The planned budget reductions in construction orders will not lead to reductions, but to increases in prices.

Austrian capitalists face the necessity of making their economy more competitive—on the backs of the workers. The need is sharpened by association with the Common Market, which means the removal of numerous tariffs that have until now provided protection against cheaper foreign products.

But the economic situation is not sufficient by itself to explain the wage-freeze agreement. One must also take into account the altered political situation.

Central to this is the changed attitude of the working class toward the Social Democracy. Until late in the 1960s, the workers still considered the SPO [Sozialistische Partei Oesterreichs — Socialist party of Austria] "their party." Against the background of [postwar] reconstruction and the rise in living standards, the workers identified with it. Even though the Social Democracy already at that time no longer had a real reformist policy—the post-1945 SPO cannot be ranked with the reformist workers parties—in certain initiatives it still approached the direct interests of the workers.

But the trend toward no longer representing even the most palpable interests of the workers, toward becom-

ing a bourgeois electoral party, grew stronger and stronger. An essential step in this direction was Kreisky's take-over as party chairman.

This development produced decided reactions in the working class. The workers continued to vote for the SPO, but with fewer and fewer expectations. The SPO more and more was regarded merely as the "lesser evil." When the SPO reached a plurality, and finally an absolute majority in parliament, there was not the least excitement in the working class. People went to work the next day as if nothing had happened.

So the workers have the opportunity to see the SPO in action with a parliamentary majority. Their experiences in this led gradually to alienation that is not limited to the party but that spreads out, although more slowly, to include the Social Democratic union leaders, who are seen as the "helpers" of the SPO government.

In such a situation, it was clear to the Social Democracy that it would no longer be enough to rely on the "proven" union leaders and their "normal" means of blocking action when the capitalists launch a massive attack on workers' living standards—especially considering the recent increase in the number of wildcat strikes.

The "social partnership" broth was therefore stirred up at the highest level, namely by the combination of government measures and an "informal" agreement between the union bureaucracy and the capitalist associations. The wage-freeze agreement was necessary for the Social Democratic class collaborators in order to prevent the workers from fighting back against the general attack of the capitalists.

The results were predictable. The effects on wages were visible immediately. The commercial employees were at that point engaged in negotiations over their wage demands. The OGB [Oesterreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund — Austrian Union Federation] leaders intervened and demanded that the workers' representatives protect "stability" by throwing overboard the workers' interests. The representatives gave in to the pressure and settled for a 9.5 percent raise; they went into the negotiations demanding 14 percent.

For the capitalists, on the contrary, the stabilization agreement is a scrap

of paper. They have pushed up prices as high as they could.

All of the workers' daily needs have become more expensive: bread, oil, cheese, fruit, vegetables, meat, sausage, fuel, etc. At the same time landlords have used the value-added tax as a pretext to raise rents.

Even the report of the completely "reliable" Vienna market board clearly expresses this price explosion. A comparison of 500 products in December 1972 and the second half of January 1973 revealed increases in the prices of 200! Only 40 were cheaper, while the rest stayed the same. The facts could not speak more clearly: This is not a matter of a few speculators raising prices while most capitalists remain passive, but a general attack on the interests of the workers.

In the face of this capitalist offensive the SPO government confined itself to saying that the situation could have been worse and that there are not sufficient legal means to intervene to lower prices.

The union leaders again mobilized their whole apparatus—in order to hang the workers with the wage leash. The bureaucrats make every effort to prevent the workers from defending their living standard by demanding escalator clauses and wage increases. Where they are not able to prevent it, they offer no support at all to the demands, or they even openly oppose them.

On February 7, when there was already sufficient evidence of the negative consequences of the stabilization agreement for the workers, the executives of the two largest unions, the metalworkers and the miners, voted (over the objections of the GE [Gewerkschaftliche Einheit—Trade-Union Unity, the Communist party's union fraction]) the following decisions: In the interests of the economy, that is, of the capitalists, "everyone" (read "workers") must deal responsibly. Therefore there could be no reopening of wage negotiations.

This provocation of the workers was endorsed at the highest level. At the executive committee meeting of the OGB on February 27 it was again beaten into the workers that there is nothing more for them. Rather their demands are supposed to "take account of the economic possibilities for the sake of the further development of the Austrian economy."

A real lesson was provided by the behavior of the union bureaucracy during the strike of the high-school teachers. After other efforts had prov-



KREISKY: Austrian chancellor's "stabilization" policy opposed by labor.

en fruitless, the teachers had decided to struggle to raise beginning and middle-term wages, increase the education allowance, and get compensation for increased administrative expenses. The vote in favor of a strike was 97.8 percent! What did the Social Democratic union leaders do? They tried to slander the strike by permanently removing the "antiunion" leadership of the teachers union.

The example of the teachers is only one of many. The procedure of the union bureaucracy is the same in all cases. Less and less does it defend the interests of wage earners and thus it guarantees the continual growth of the capitalists' profits.

The union leaders are playing a dangerous game. It may go well for a while, but it cannot do so forever. As the workers see how they are continually hit over the head, they thumb their noses at the agreements of their representatives and themselves begin wildcat battles.

They are beginning to stir in the factories. They exert their pressure in the factory councils and attempt first of all to regain what has been taken from them by inflation. In the individual factories, the workers are beginning to take their own interests in hand.

As it became increasingly clear that not even the new price excesses would move the union bigwigs to open negotiations, the workers themselves seized the initiative. In numerous factories an immediate compensatory wage increase was demanded and won. This happened at Glanzstoff in St. Pölten, Anglo-Elementar in Graz, and Wirag in Vienna, to name just a few examples.

In the Vorarlberg textile industry, the wage negotiations were moved ahead. Workers in the lard industry achieved their demand of a 13 percent wage hike. The capitalists had offered only 8 percent at first, but the determination of the workers forced them to give in.

As mentioned, these battles took place in individual factories. The wage-freeze agreement was circumvented or chipped away. It has not been and cannot at this time be smashed by the united action of the workers. But what has been expressed in the battles so far is the tendency no longer to wait until the union leaders feel like negotiating but to push through the workers' interests by their own actions. With this, the ice of "social partnership" that froze the political scene has been broken even if not totally melted. This breakthrough provides new possibilities and tasks for revolutionists.

These tasks are not a matter of abstract speculation. The central political link that must be grasped is to show more and more workers that it is possible to struggle successfully for their interests, that the battle has already begun in some locations, and that the vanguard workers no longer have to reckon with the same isolation that they did in the past.

Therefore it is important to provide current information on workers' struggles, information that cannot be found in the bourgeois press and that the Social Democratic class collaborators try to conceal. This does not mean listing facts one after the other, but expressing their total social meaning. Leaflets, which at the beginning are necessarily rather general in content, must become concrete. They must be directed to the burning problems of individual factories without losing sight of the general perspective.

In this way the workers will learn to see revolutionists not as persons who merely express general truths,

but as those who stand at their sides and contribute to the class struggle. In this way it will be possible to win the confidence of the workers and

struggle to unite the now isolated battles into an appropriate organizational form that can destroy the wage-freeze agreement. □

Soldiers Gun Down Six Peasants

Mexican Army in Antiguerilla Drive

The governor of the Mexican state of Guerrero, Israel Noguera, and the military commander of the zone, General Juan Manuel Rodríguez, announced April 19 that a campaign was being launched to crush the guerrillas operating in the area. The announcement came after the body of a rich rancher, Francisco Sánchez López, was found April 18 with three bullet holes in his head and heart. He had been kidnapped in March.

To the body of the rancher was attached a note allegedly signed by members of the guerrilla group led by Lucio Cabañas.

A Reuters dispatch published in the April 19 issue of the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the group had "sent a letter to an Acapulco newspaper claiming responsibility for his kidnaping. They accused him of exploiting the poor."

The guerrillas reportedly executed the rancher when his family failed to deliver a ransom of 2.5 million pesos (US\$200,000).

In his April 19 announcement, Rodríguez said that the army's campaign against the guerrillas "will continue until the Lucio Cabañas groups have been exterminated," according to a United Press International dispatch published in the April 20 issue of the Los Angeles Spanish-language daily *La Opinión*.

The UPI dispatch quoted Noguera as adding: "We have not gone off on a wild goose chase. There will be a battle until we are finished with every one of the authors of this deed."

"We hope that the inhabitants of all the towns will also have confidence that we are struggling for the benefit of everybody."

On April 25, the army provided an example of its "struggle," and it was not an example to inspire "confidence" among the inhabitants of the population of Guerrero: The army rounded up six peasants in the village of Peñoncillo, accused them of having given

food to the guerrillas, and then shot them. The massacre was described by a town official, Hipólito Villa García. A report appeared in the April 27 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*:

"Villa said that a hundred soldiers surrounded the town and accused the heads of families of giving aid to the guerrilla Cabañas. Then they took six men to a soccer field and executed them.

"The wives of the men who were gunned down, Villa said, had to dig graves and bury their husbands while

the soldiers and all their neighbors in the village looked on."

An unidentified spokesman for the Guerrero state government subsequently charged that the killers of the six peasants had been guerrillas masquerading as soldiers.

By April 28, officials were promising a rapid destruction of the guerrilla movement. Secretary of Defense General Hermegildo Cuenca Díaz announced that the guerrillas were split up and would be captured at any moment, according to the April 29 issue of the Buenos Aires *La Opinión*. "He added that on Thursday [April 26] the army had had two encounters with Lucio Cabañas in which two of his followers lost their lives and six others were seized."

Meanwhile, on April 26, the police in Mexico City called a news conference in which they displayed eleven persons charged with carrying out a bank robbery under orders from Cabañas. They were said to belong to a group called the "Brigada Obrera de Lucha Armada" (Armed Struggle Workers Brigade). □

Cops Trying to Listen In at Conference

Swiss Trotskyists Thwart Bugging

The Swiss Trotskyist organization Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (LMR — Revolutionary Marxist League) held its national convention May 4-6 in Epalinges, near Lausanne. Having had some prior experience with police surveillance, the LMR members decided to check out the meeting hall before the conference.

They discovered the place had been bugged.

For a few days, some people were not sure who had planted the listening device. On May 10 it was all cleared up. The federal police issued a communiqué explaining that the local police had done the legwork on the authority of the federal police. The communiqué recalled, brazenly perhaps, that article 179a of the Swiss penal code states that "listening to non-public conversations with the aid of technical devices and without the knowledge of the participants is a crime."

However, added the *polizei*, "Under certain conditions, the right to pro-

ceed with such monitoring is nevertheless allowed when it is a question of protecting the state. . . . The application of such measures then remains limited to repressing and preventing subversive acts."

The LMR is subject to eavesdropping, the communiqué said, because it is "an organization that tries to eliminate the social and democratic order and that does not rule out resorting to illegal means to achieve this."

The federal police and justice department further announced that an inquiry had been set in motion to determine whether the LMR should be ruled an illegal group because of its "subversive character."

It will be recalled that the LMR's newspaper, *La Brèche*, was successfully sued for slander last year because it had charged that workers in a particular company were exploited by the owners. The court ruled that it was not convinced of the veracity of the labor theory of value.

Opposition to French Bomb Tests Grows

By Jeff Mathews

Since the French government announced its intention to carry out nuclear tests on the South Pacific atoll of Mururoa this summer, a storm of protest has mounted in Australia, New Zealand, and other South Pacific countries.

Both the Australian and New Zealand labor governments have filed suit in the International Court of Justice (also known as the World Court, a subordinate body of the United Nations) at The Hague, seeking an injunction that would temporarily restrain Paris from continuing with the tests while the court considers the application made by Australia that the continuance of atmospheric nuclear tests violates the charter of the United Nations.

The French government has indicated that it does not recognize the jurisdiction of the International Court in matters that concern "national defense" and will therefore proceed with the tests regardless of the court's decision.

The Australian and New Zealand governments have said that they will sail naval vessels into the test area if the International Court rules in their favor. Already, about half a dozen civilian craft loaded with protesters have set sail for Mururoa atoll in an attempt to stop the tests. But the French Navy is reported to be patrolling the area and will intercept any intruders. The Australian government has said that it will take no further action if the International Court rules against its submissions.

Although the Australian Academy of Science has issued a report that previous French nuclear tests in the area have affected "every man, woman and child in Australia," the French government claims that the tests will cause no serious damage either to human beings or to the environment. In reply to this, Australia's Labor party Prime Minister Gough Whitlam said, "if there is nothing wrong with the tests, why don't the French save some money and hold them in Corsica?"

Whitlam's statements and the action of his government reflect the mood of a large proportion of the Australian people. Although it appears that the Australian Labor government wants to keep its opposition to the French tests within the bounds of legality, as defined by the United Nations, the Australian people are taking other forms of action.

In Melbourne on April 15, a demonstration and public meeting was held to protest the tests. About 1,000 persons took part. The meeting, chaired by Dr. Jim Cairns, Australian federal Minister for Secondary Industry and Overseas Trade and prominent spokesman for the Labor party, was addressed by Gyotsu Sato, a representative of the Japanese Congress Against A- and H-Bombs; Professor Olga Poblete from Chile; and a Fijian trade unionist. In Sydney on April 18, a meeting was held at Sydney University after which more than 200 persons marched through the city to the downtown offices of the French national airline, UTA. Later that evening, a meeting of about 100 persons was held at the Teachers Federation hall.

The Australian trade-union movement, which has taken strike and boycott action against the U.S. and allied aggression in Indochina in recent years and action against the tours of racist South African sporting teams, has decided that the French nuclear tests are worthy of such attention also.

On May 15, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the largest trade-union body in the country, announced its approval of a nationwide boycott of French goods, the handling of French cargoes, and the servicing of French air traffic, ships, and businesses. The boycott includes a black-out of telegraphic and postal communications between Australia and France and to French businesses in Australia. The Amalgamated Postal Workers Union said that the only mail it would deliver to the French embassy

will be letters and telegrams protesting the tests.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions called on its 41 million members in ninety-four countries to take all necessary action against the French tests. The pro-Moscow World Federation of Trade Unions has threatened to call strikes and boycotts against French companies.

The success of the campaign against the French tests will depend upon what position the French working class takes toward it. When Australian maritime unions placed a ban on the handling of U.S. shipping and cargoes at the beginning of this year, in protest at the renewed American bombing of Indochina, the reactionary leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) in the United States ordered its members to carry out a counterban on all Australian goods.

In an attempt to ensure that French trade unions do not follow the ILA example in yielding to national chauvinism, Australian trade unions are sending a delegation to Paris to try to persuade the French trade unions to take action against the tests.

The Tahiti-based Trade Union Federation of French Polynesia has claimed that the Australian trade-union actions will cause widespread unemployment in Tahiti. It has threatened to take reprisals against Australian goods. This is very unlikely to be a true reflection of the attitudes of the French Polynesian people, who have as much to lose from the tests as any other people who live in the South Pacific. Representatives of Polynesia in the French Parliament have sent an open letter to French Premier Messmer demanding that the people of Polynesia no longer be treated as "guinea pigs." Dr. Jim Cairns said at the protest rally in Melbourne that the French colonialists have turned Tahiti into a police state to silence opposition to the tests there. □

'Socialism' Blows Their Minds

Chile's psychiatric clinics report increases of up to 70 percent in the numbers of their middle- and upper-class patients since the Allende government took office. One psychiatrist says, "The symptoms are tension, acute depression, insomnia, and paranoia." He adds that his patients are also troubled by feelings of financial insecurity.

Conference Sets Goals for Socialist Youth

By Jamie Doughney

Sydney

Revolutionary youth from across Australia gathered in Sydney April 20-23 for the fourth national conference of the Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA). The conference marked the culmination of a period of intense political activity by SYA, which was reflected in the many new subjects under discussion.

The conference opened with a rally addressed by Evelyn Reed, representing the Socialist Workers party and presenting greetings from the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States; Peter Rotherham, a member of the national coordinating committee of the New Zealand Young Socialists; Jim Percy, national organiser of the Socialist Workers League, Australian sympathising organisation of the Fourth International; and Margaret McHugh, who spoke on behalf of SYA. Culminating a highly successful speaking tour of Australia, the speech of Evelyn Reed was a high point of the conference and represented to those present the historical heritage of the international movement SYA is setting out to build in Australia.

The first report of the conference proper was on the international situation. The report argued that Indochina was still the pivotal question in world politics and that the cease-fire has settled none of the underlying contradictions behind the war, the outcome of which could only be decided by struggle.

"The US remains poised and it is only a matter of time before it opens the doors to the renewed bombing of Vietnam, as the puppet regime of Thieu is increasingly threatened. Recent reports of intensified clashes and repeated warnings by the US point very clearly to this."

The report dealt with the sellout of the Vietnamese revolution by Moscow and Peking, and emphasised that revolutionists should in no way support a settlement that extracts concessions from the Vietnamese — as the Communist party had done by supporting the "Sign now" demand.

"SYA and the Challenge of the Youth Radicalisation," a document setting the basic perspectives for SYA, was presented by Nita Keig on behalf of the national executive. It outlined the objective causes of the youth radicalisation, its future prospects, and the lessons it holds for young revolutionists:

"The radicalisation is not just a catchword for a temporary social phenomenon, but rather it represents a dynamic process which is undermining the hegemony of bourgeois ideas, challenging some of the fundamental institutions which prop up capitalism, and giving the masses of people an understanding of class society and the confidence to fight it. The breadth and scope of the radicalisation show that it is continuing to spread, and although it will grow at uneven pace, it will not be reversed."

The document stressed the importance of continued antiwar work and the necessity of building coalitions around the principled demand that the United States get out of Indochina completely and without conditions.

Emphasis was also placed on the feminist movement, which was seen to offer enormous prospects of growth, particularly as the central issue of abortion is being thrust into the political spotlight all over Australia.

In the two and a half years since its founding, the SYA has grown to become the most important revolutionary-socialist youth group in Australia. The document assessed the prospect for further development:

"In recent months we have seen new opportunities open in the areas of campus and secondary-school work. Never before have we had such a healthy base on campus, and this is aided by the vacuum of political leadership in many student struggles which are going on at this time. We are the sole tendency intervening in and building the secondary-school movement, a movement whose potential is seemingly unlimited."

Two documents were presented concretising this perspective. They were

"A Socialist Strategy for the Campuses" and "A Socialist Strategy for the Secondary-School Revolt."

Both explained the important role that the student movement will play in the future growth of SYA and the extension of its influence. They looked at the evolution of the international student movement since the massive explosions of 1968, showing that it had far from exhausted its potential, as the recent events in France and our own experience demonstrate. Using the transitional approach to the student movement outlined in previous documents, the two resolutions put forward practical slogans and courses of action for the campuses and schools whereby SYA student activists could assume a leading position in the student struggles, linking these to a broader programme of socialist revolution.

The secondary-school document assigned particular importance to the campaign within the schools:

"Through its strategic relations to the youth radicalisation, the school revolt can have a vital effect on the relationship of forces on the left, and in society as a whole. SYA's ideas have won hegemony in the organised secondary-student movement, and growing numbers of radicalising students are coming to its ranks."

The document "Labor and Youth" reaffirmed our position of unconditional but critical support for Labor in the elections and began the process of forming a strategy to win Labor youth to the perspective of revolutionary socialism. Analysing how the radicalisation had affected Young Labor Associations, the document saw important openings for SYA and noted some successes that have been won already.

The final day of the conference was devoted to reports on organisational tasks and projections, plus workshops on sales of *Direct Action*, literature, recruiting, and education. Discussion also took place on the questions being considered within the world Trotskyist movement in preparation for the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International. □

Words From the Gods?

Ugandan President Idi Amin has written to Richard Nixon, warning him of a bad omen. Said Amin: "I dreamed that you will soon have to leave the White House."

Australian Labor Youth Moves Left

Sydney

The annual conference of Australian Young Labor (AYL) was held in Sydney over the Easter weekend. Twenty-four delegates and about fifty alternate delegates and observers attended the three-day conference, which discussed motions proposed by the Labor party youth organizations in each state. AYL is the highest body of these youth appendages to the Australian Labor party (ALP), and motions passed by it are sent to the ALP Federal Conference.

In recent years, large numbers of young radicals have started to activate the state Young Labor Associations (YLA), and this was reflected in the motions passed at the conference.

On the question of women's liberation, a resolution was carried that stated in part, "The federal Labor government must support the demands of women to repeal all abortion laws and for safe, freely available contraception." It went on to urge the federal government to support the demonstrations called for June 30 around these demands. A further motion called for an end to discrimination against women in all federal legislation and regulations.

A motion on student rights began: "The Young Labor Council gives its support and encouragement to the forms of direct action, including the June 6 actions of the National Education Action Coalition, used by secondary school students in combatting the rampant authoritarianism evident in many schools."

The National Education Action Coalition was formed after the nationwide strike of over 8,000 high-school students on September 20, 1972. It is organizing similar demonstrations, scheduled for June 6, around demands for democratic rights for students and for better conditions in the schools. The resolution passed by the AYL conference will help in mobilizing young ALP and YLA members and sympathizers in support of the campaign.

Motions were passed calling for an end to foreign bases in Australia, the



WHITLAM: Labor party head losing control over his youth organization.

abolition of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), the Australian Security Intelligence Service and the Joint Intelligence Organisation, and the destruction of these organizations' files. The motion also demanded that "names of all ASIO paid informants in the labor, working class and socialist movements be published for the information of those people on whom they have been spying."

Three motions were passed opposing the employers' attack against the living standards and organizations of the working class. The first "affirms, along with the majority of the labor movement, its strongest opposition to any form of penal sanctions against unions, their members and their representatives." The second motion condemned the use of wage controls as a means of "solving" the present economic crisis. The motion counterposed the sharing of available work (that is, the necessary reduction of the working week, without loss of pay) to eliminate unemployment, and

an escalator clause in all awards (by which wages rise automatically with increases in the cost of living) to counter inflation. The third resolution called for nationalization, without compensation and under workers self-management, of industrial monopolies and the major financial institutions.

On foreign policy, a motion on Vietnam stated in part: "Conference affirms that peace can only be guaranteed by the total disengagement of all U. S. forces from Indochina, and recognizes the need for continued antiwar demonstrations to force the Nixon administration to accede to this demand. Conference therefore endorses the antiwar action on May 19." The resolution listed the demands of this action, and called on the federal government to officially recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

The AYL also demanded withdrawal of all Australian military personnel in Singapore and Malaysia and an end to military support for Indonesia. A resolution on nuclear testing stated in part, ". . . we call on the federal government to suspend diplomatic and economic relations with France until such time as the French agree to cancel future nuclear testing in the Pacific."

With few exceptions these motions were carried unopposed. Some delegates who in the past had been notably conservative were found supporting these proposals in very radical terms. While fewer than half the motions sent to AYL could be discussed in the time available, priority was given to the radical, action-oriented proposals and to those that would pressure the federal Labor government to extend the progressive changes it has instituted since it took office last December.

The radical and independent direction that the Young Labor Associations have taken over the past few years has brought them into direct conflict with the respective state ALP branches. Last year, the Tasmanian branch of the ALP went so far as to dissolve its youth organization and restructure it in a way designed to destroy its growing left wing. This restructured YLA has not yet begun to function.

Therefore a decision made at the beginning of the conference to accept the credentials of persons active in the

Tasmanian Young Labor before its disbandment was especially important. It showed that AYL will not passively accept attacks on its affiliates, whether made by outside organizations or by conservative ALP bureaucrats.

As is usual with such functions, delegates were subjected to long addresses from leading Labor parliamentarians. Despite wide media coverage of a speech by Minister for Immigration Al Grassby in which he attacked racism, his refusal to give direct answers to questions on the acceptance of U.S. draft resisters into Australia and the right of women to control their own bodies offended most delegates. In contrast, Senator Doug McClelland, minister for the media, was unanimously applauded when he said in reply to questioning that a woman should have the right to control her own body without any interference.

The conference reflected the uneven way the current youth radicalization has affected the Young Labor Associations. The ideas of these young activists were expressed by the resolutions they adopted. Yet in many cases the delegates were the same old right and centre careerists, forced by changing conditions to adopt a left stance.

This was shown by the method of election of the AYL executive. Election to these positions was not decided on the political merits of the candidates, but rather by the vote trading that typifies reformist politics.

The 1973 Australian Young Labor conference has a number of lessons for young socialists within the YLA and the ALP. The first of these is that, given sufficient time, all levels of Young Labor will reflect the current radicalization. AYL can develop a program of action for the YLA based on the topics it considers. For this reason the decisions that supported the antiwar action on May 19, the student rights campaign activities on June 6, and the pro-abortion and contraception demonstrations on June 30 were a big step forward. They brought AYL into the arena of extraparliamentary politics—that is, in support of independent mass action.

Also, because it is part of the ALP with a delegate to the ALP Federal Conference, AYL exerts some influence within the party. By providing and publicizing socialist solutions to present problems, both in economic

and other areas, the AYL can help to build a class-struggle left wing within the ALP.

One final lesson can be learnt from the response of the younger delegates and observers to the method of elect-

ing the executive. Their response was disgust, and it should be known that no number of backroom deals can stop the careerists and bureaucrats from being thrust aside by the rising current of the new radicalization. □

'In the Old Days We Bought Off Everybody'

Reveal CIA Financing of Italian Party

The Nixon administration in 1970 considered subsidizing a conservative wing of the Italian Christian Democratic party, according to a report by Seymour M. Hersh in the May 13 *New York Times*. Graham A. Martin, then U.S. ambassador to Italy, was said to have recommended that \$1 million be given to the wing of the Christian Democrats led by former Premier Amintore Fanfani.

Martin's recommendation came to light May 9 during Senate hearings on his nomination as ambassador to Saigon. Senator William Fulbright asked Martin whether he had ever suggested using secret funds to influence Italian politics. The ambassador refused to answer in public.

Martin's recommendation was designed to reestablish a former policy rather than to create a new one. Hersh reported:

"Former intelligence officials said that the covert C. I. A. financing of the Christian Democrats began after World War II and averaged as much as \$3-million a year through the late nineteen-fifties, when it was sharply reduced. The program was completely eliminated by 1967, the officials said."

By the time that Martin arrived in Rome in 1969, Washington was concerned about the political situation:

"Italy had been rocked the year before by repeated government crises, worker strikes and student riots—one of them sparked by a visit by President Nixon to the Vatican in February. By late 1969, repeated concern was being expressed inside the Nixon Administration over the shakiness of the coalition Government then headed by Premier Mariano Rumor, the sources said.

"Mr. Martin and other intelligence sources in Italy began sending reports, the sources said, expressing fears that

Mr. Rumor's coalition Government was vulnerable to increased Communist participation, a fact that could threaten Italy's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

In 1970, Hersh said, Nixon heard alarm expressed from another source: "Some officials in the Vatican had voiced their worries to Peter M. Flanigan, a White House aide."

Hersh wrote that shortly after his arrival, Martin began a series of secret meetings with Fanfani. The reporter quoted one of his sources as saying, "For years Fanfani had been trying to convince the embassy that with a little support he could bring himself back into power. Our guys had been disregarding him, but Graham [Martin] took him seriously."

Nixon also seems not to have taken Fanfani seriously, for he vetoed Martin's proposal. Or perhaps Nixon was motivated by the practical considerations voiced by another of Hersh's sources:

"There are half a dozen factions in the Christian Democratic party all jockeying for position. Martin was going to back one of them. That would have been foolish—the others would have blown the payments within five minutes. At least in the old days we bought off everybody." □

Burdens of State

Organizers of England's second annual Pop and Pot Festival have invited Queen Elizabeth to attend. The music and marijuana party is scheduled for August at Windsor, not far from one of the queen's castles. Organizers said they would ban naked participants if Elizabeth agreed to attend, but officials at Buckingham Palace said that even this concession would not be enough to obtain the royal presence.

Revolutionary Nationalism, Class Struggle, and Problems of Party Building in Ireland

By Gerry Foley

"Gerry Foley's analysis of the 1972 Official Sinn Fein Ard Fheis (conference) is nothing more or less than a eulogy of nationalism as a solution to Ireland's economic and social problems.

"Writing in two issues of the Pabloite Unified [sic] Secretariat's 'Intercontinental Press', he argues for a new unity between Officials, Provisionals and civil righters in a revolutionary party using mass action on the streets as its number one tactic."

This was the assessment of my three articles on the Official Sinn Fein *ard fheis*¹ made by Ian Yeats, the Irish expert of the Socialist Labour League, an English sectarian formation headed by Gerry Healy. Yeats's review appeared in the March 22 issue of *Workers Press*, the organ of the SLL.

Dogmatic denunciation of opponents of the SLL is one of the distinguishing features of the *Workers Press*. Denunciation, in fact, is such a prime consideration that it often overrides the need to keep in touch with reality. An example from Yeats's article is his explanation of the source of division among Ulster workers:

". . . if Ulster workers are divided it is precisely because revisionists like Foley, and indeed all those organizations affiliated to the Unified [sic] Secretariat, have actively applauded and fostered sectarian demands and movements as a substitute for building a Marxist revolutionary consciousness and organization capable of uniting them."

Since the Trotskyist groups are the most immediate competitors of the SLL (which claims to be Trotskyist), they are obviously to blame for any setbacks in revolutionary upsurges around the world. From the Healyite point of view they must be agents of the capitalist system. And, of course, the capitalists are interested in fostering these alleged agents. Thus when the British government felt compelled to concede the right to demonstrate, after it had tried for months to end active mass protest in Northern Ireland, the SLL interpreted this as follows:

"It seems the authorities were keen to allow yesterday's protest against internment to enable 'left' and 'radical' leaders to regain some credibility with the Catholic community." (*Workers Press*, January 3, 1971.)

In other words, the concession gained through mass struggle (in which the SLL did not participate) were part of a plot to keep the masses away from the SLL and its program.

Yeats's attack, while hewing to the usual Healyite requirements, has several unusual features. The most important is that his real target was not that *bête noire* of the SLL, the "Pabloites," and his purpose was not sim-

ply to reassure the faithful. Yeats had in mind a political process taking place in another organization.

The Healyite reporter evidently wanted to impress the most dogmatic and workerist fringe of the Official republican movement, whose attempt to build a mass revolutionary party in Ireland has tended to get bogged down in various types of sectarianism. The fact that he indicated this interest in the Officials confirms the nature of some of the problems this group has been experiencing.

Because of their unique historical advantages, the fact that their organization is known and respected for its heroic past and includes among its activists most of the politically conscious vanguard of the Irish people, the Official republicans tend to think that they cannot fall victim to deviations of the kind affecting some of the smaller left groups. Unfortunately, as the last year in particular has shown, this is not true. In fact, as a result of the all-inclusive political character of the Official republican movement, the disputes of the far-left tendencies have been reflected in its ranks. This process will inevitably continue and deepen as it has in similar organizations elsewhere.

The smaller left groups promulgate various conceptions of party building and revolutionary action. They tend to carry these ideas to their logical conclusion and can thus serve to some extent as laboratory specimens. It would be especially useful for the republicans to study these examples, because if they are to build a revolutionary party as they hope, a party that by necessity will be built on a political program, on ideas, they will have to accustom themselves to thinking in terms of the long-range implications of certain concepts and the way these can become distorted in the complexities of real struggle. However absurd the smaller groups may be, and the SLL certainly ranks high in absurdity, objective processes have produced them; and real political problems, usually very difficult ones to solve, lie at their root.

Moreover, it is not only small organizations that can act in extremely sectarian ways. In its ultraleft phase of 1927-33, the German Communist party, which had a following of millions, displayed aberrations that would put even the strangest of British sects in the shade. The result of this sectarianism was a world-historic tragedy, the victory of Nazism. On the other hand, the British far-left groups have a certain value in that they represent a wide range of errors to avoid in trying to build a revolutionary alternative to the reformist parties.

The Official republicans have learned to some extent how difficult this is. The Communist party's history as a semioutlaw in Irish Catholic society has not made it revolutionary. Nor has the revolutionary daring of the republicans made them proof against the reformist ideas of the CP and the varieties of Stalinism. In fact, as their

1. See *Intercontinental Press*, January 22, February 5, and February 12, 1973.

political situation has worsened, it has become apparent that the Officials, however unwillingly, have been drawn more and more into the train of these reformist concepts—moreover at the very time they are seeing how useless the CP apparatus is for any revolutionary purpose. In fact, reformist ideas are deeply rooted in capitalist society and in the mentality of broad layers of workers under capitalism.

It is also true that the pressures of capitalist society tend to turn ideas and political groups into their opposites. Thus, many Irish rebels of 1916-21 become counterrevolutionists in 1922. The dynamics of this process are illustrated not only by the small groups but also by the disputes that now seem to be developing in the Official republican movement. The fact that the SLL, which claims to be the paragon of Trotskyist orthodoxy, ends up, as we shall see, echoing the arguments of the Irish Stalinists is an example of such an outcome. Another is that, despite an evidently growing antagonism, the basic approach of the workerist ultralefts in the republican movement tends to coincide for all practical purposes with that of the Stalinist-trained reformists.

So, it seems useful to take up Yeats's article in detail, since it illustrates not only the level of the SLL's degeneration but the problems facing the Official republican leaders and some dangerous errors they have made in trying to deal with them.

The Problem of Party Building

As the historic revolutionary organization of the Irish people, the republican movement could pride itself on being a significant factor in the politics of the country, deeply rooted in the society and possessing leaders who had proved their courage, cool-headedness, and devotion in the most difficult situations—eminently practical men and women. But building a revolutionary political party with a consistent program and practice, a party that can challenge the basic structures of imperialism in Ireland, was to all intents and purposes a completely new concept in Irish politics. There was very little in the republican tradition that could serve as a guide for building a party based on a consistent and thoroughgoing critique of society. This is a very different task from building a broad nationalist formation on a program simply of organizing guerrilla struggle against a foreign oppressor and the surface manifestations of colonial subservience.

The style of leadership that has grown up out of nationalist experience is to seek consensus, to avoid sharp political debates, to conciliate and balance off different groupings and individuals with fundamentally different ideas of the kind of Ireland they want. There is little understanding of the need to struggle to clarify political principles and develop tactics in accordance with these principles.

Thus, the inevitable tendency has been to attempt to maintain a politically heterogeneous coalition around a kind of minimum program. For most of modern Irish history, this minimum program in effect has been to prepare a military uprising against foreign rule. Within this framework, revolutionists like James Stephens could work together, however uneasily, with conservatives like Thomas Clarke Luby and even monarchists like John O'Leary.

A revolutionary party also must strive to achieve the broadest possible unity behind democratic and revolutionary-socialist goals. But its method of accomplishing this is completely different from that of vaguely defined formations.

A revolutionary party is built on two foundations: clear political principles, and a constructive and objective approach of working with other groups and tendencies capable to some extent, despite their backwardness and confusion, of participating in the struggle for national and social liberation. United fronts in action with such reformist or eclectic groups are fundamentally a means of reaching out to those layers of the people and the working class that do not yet understand the need for a socialist revolution and must be convinced in practice that socialists are the best fighters for their objectives and that Marxism offers the best practical guide for their struggle.

Trying to put together broad organizational combinations by avoiding or fudging over key questions of program is fatal in the long run to both principle and unity. This approach makes it impossible to educate either the vanguard or the masses in any consistent way. Inevitably, policy is decided by back-room compromises. It is neither discussed fully nor tested in action. The result is a tendency toward competition of organizations and personalities instead of programs and methods of work. Rival combinations try to build themselves at the expense of the mass movement, rather than strive to lead it by winning the masses to their ideas and example.

This law seems to be at the root of many of the basic problems the Official republican movement has encountered over the past nine months in particular. Instead of trying to win the Provisionals over to their political program by seeking to work with them on common objectives, the Officials have tried to anathematize them. They have tended, moreover, to develop the idea that it was possible to participate in united-front work without trying to involve the Provisionals. As a result, among other things, the Civil Rights Association, of which the Officials are the major component, has become more and more sectarian and less and less able to mobilize large numbers of people.

At the same time, apparently in order to hold on to their only allies in the North, the Communist party, the Officials accepted a right-wing program at the NICRA convention in February that called for an "impartial peace-keeping force" and a calling in of "illegal weapons." By implicitly offering confidence to a liberal capitalist and Unionist regime, these planks contradicted fundamental republican as well as revolutionary Marxist principles.

The Civil Rights Struggle

The effect of such positions, if they become the program of the movement in practice, will be to transform the Civil Rights Association into the opposite of what it was during the mass marches. At that time the struggle developed around slogans that struck at the essence of the partition and the counterrevolutionary settlement of the Irish war of national liberation, and at the same time seemed immediate and reasonable demands to the masses of the oppressed Catholic population, who were not ready

to fight for a united Ireland as such. It is quite unlikely in fact that any large section of the population will take up a fight against an entire system as such. Revolutions generally begin as struggles for concrete demands that the system cannot meet.

Because of its revolutionary dynamic, the civil-rights struggle united large masses of the oppressed population in action behind radical opponents of the partition and the imperialist system. In this context, concessions granted under the pressure of direct action by the people only lent more momentum and raised the aspirations of the masses.

However, if the civil-rights movement now takes the approach of saying right from the start that the government and the ruling class have nothing to worry about, that it will keep its followers from going too far, that it is really the best defender of bourgeois-democratic "law and order," the authorities have no reason to make any concessions. The masses of the oppressed population, whose hatred of the system is constantly fired by the intimidation and brutality of the British troops, have no reason to follow it. And what is worse, calls by a respected organization like NICRA for "impartial peace-keepers" and disarming the people strengthen illusions that the government can play a legitimate role as peace-maker, which not only weakens the resistance of the masses to the inevitable attempts to beat them back into passivity but also makes it more difficult to focus international public opinion against the British and proimperialist repressive forces.

Whereas in the period of the big marches the civil-rights movement had a radical democratic impact, encouraging the masses of the oppressed population to act directly to press their demands, an explicitly reformist civil-rights organization will inevitably tend to shift its focus toward lobbying, becoming incorporated into the game of bourgeois politics that demobilizes and divides the people. In this way, "unity of the left" on a reformist program results in disunity of the really important forces, the forces that can make a revolution.

Role of Stalinism

As for the Stalinists in particular, it is not sufficient to regard them simply as "part of the left." Because of the twists and turns of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies to which they are bound and because of the general interest of these privileged groupings in preserving the world status quo, the Communist parties can find themselves in positions to the right of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats and nationalists.

This was the case, for example, in Argentina during and immediately following the second world war when, in the name of unity between the Soviet Union and the West in the war against the Axis, the Communist party opposed the anti-imperialist movement led by Perón. As usually happens when a Communist party is forced to go against the current because of larger opportunistic aims of the bureaucracy, the Argentine CP adopted a sectarian position opposing the driving force of what at the time was the greatest popular movement in the history of the country. As a result it was not only isolated by the Peronist leadership and rendered unable to do anything to

wrest control of the movement from the national-bourgeois leadership but it itself divided and weakened the workers movement and the anti-imperialist forces.

In Northern Ireland also the Communist party cut itself off from the main anti-imperialist current owing to the needs of the Soviet alliance with Britain and the United States in the second world war. It remains isolated from the nationalist-minded population because of its integration into the Unionist and British patriotic left and its fear of any violent upset in the heart of the imperialist "sphere of influence." Thus, in the long run an alliance with the Communist party on a reformist and Unionist program means putting "unity of the left" in place of unity of the nationalist-minded population, which is far more important and has revolutionary potential. Subjective reactions to nationalist groups using violence against the left in their own community should not be permitted to obscure this. It should be recalled that where they have had the strength, the Stalinists' record on this score has been far worse than anything alleged against the right-wing Provisionals.

Yeats Puts in His Oar

The Healyite reporter Yeats seems completely oblivious of the real problems of Official republican strategy in the civil-rights movement. For instance, he writes:

"The Ard Fheis was distinguished by an almost complete move away from backing the on-the-streets reformist militancy of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement and the Communist Party of Ireland to the concept of building a new revolutionary nationalist party."

The real problem is the "off-the-streets" reformism of the Communist party. Although the NICRA convention was held in February, Yeats does not mention in his March 22 article that while Official representation on the executive board was reinforced, the program of the organization shifted to the right. This was the fruit of the "move away from backing the . . . reformist militancy of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement and the Communist Party of Ireland." Moreover, the new executive board included republicans whose courage and militancy are unimpeachable.

How were these leaders, who daily risk their lives and liberties for their convictions, cajoled into compromising their principles by taking responsibility for a probourgeois law-and-order program? The most likely explanation is that they were misled by ultraleft and workerist notions that the civil-rights movement was not important, that it was reformist by nature and that revolutionary politics belonged to another sphere. For example, one of the members of the NICRA executive elected in the last convention, Malachy McGurran, told me in an interview December 26, 1972:

"The Civil Rights Association is quite clearly not the mass movement of the people that it once was, the movement that mobilized primarily large sections of the Catholic people. Its impetus as a mass movement is on the wane. As a strong pressure group with a fairly large membership, it is still reasonably effective. But there are other forces in the field, which have to be taken into consideration. The forces of sectarianism, for example, negate

an awful lot of the potential of the civil-rights movement."²

There can be no question about McGurran's revolutionary ideals, his dedication, or his dislike of Stalinist reformism. But at the same time it is clear that his perspective for the Civil Rights Association parallels that of the Stalinists; that is, he views it essentially as a liberal lobby.

This correspondence between the approach of subjectively revolutionary but non-Marxist republicans and that of the Stalinists and Stalinist-trained reformists and centrists is precisely the most dangerous tendency in the Official movement. I explained this in my article in the February 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press*:

"The civil-rights question is the acid test for Irish political organizations. Not only does it remain the central issue in the North, but the fight against repression has become the key to the political situation in the South. Because of the *political* and *social* mechanisms of imperialist control in Ireland, and because of the revolutionary traditions of the Irish people, the struggle against repression and discrimination is the cutting edge of the fight against imperialism. In fact, the civil-rights movement is an anti-imperialist movement in essence, and this is becoming clearer and clearer as the British army assumes a more and more active role in repressing the nationalist people. Economic issues underlie this struggle, and as it develops, its economic implications will become even clearer. But the *political* issues of democracy and an end to discrimination are the focus.

"Nonetheless, there are historical tendencies in the Official republican movement that could deflect it from concentrating on this issue. Furthermore, both ultraleftists and opportunists are anxious to divert revolutionary republicans from this task. From the standpoint of workerist ultralefts, the civil-rights movement has never been 'revolutionary' enough because it does not unite Protestant and Catholic workers and explicitly challenge capitalist productive relations. . . .

"At the same time the Communist party and its supporters would be happy to see the republicans leave the 'civil-rights side of things' to 'cooler heads,' or 'more politically experienced' people, as they picture themselves."

I also referred to this problem in the preceding article on the Official *ard fheis* in the January 22 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, in connection with the attitude of the Officials toward more conservative and traditional nationalists:

"The Official leadership has seen how harmful the growth of dogmatism can be, as manifested by, among other things, the reaction of its own members to the excesses that appeared for a while in the *United Irishman* [under the editorship of a romantic young Stalinoid]. Whatever the role of individuals or groups in fostering dogmatism, it was facilitated by the atmosphere of hysteria created, in essence, by the Officials' failure to deal politically with the problem of the Provisionals.

"One of the most ominous aspects of this problem was the tendency of a de facto combination to develop between young republicans influenced by ultraleft currents, opposed in principle to any cooperation with 'middle-

class nationalists,' and romanticizers of the 'tough' methods of Stalinism, whose concept of political struggle consisted of issuing denunciations and lurid threats. The Stalinoid romantic posturing in particular was unpleasantly reminiscent of the attitude of the German Communist party in its ultraleft period, when it threatened to 'liquidate' the Social Democratic workers at the very time the fascists were preparing in fact to liquidate both the CP and the Social Democrats."

'Utterly Non-Marxist'

This analysis stirred my Healyite critic to say the following:

"Not only is Foley's approach to nationalism utterly non-Marxist, but so, too, is his approach to class. Indeed, in his second article [it was actually my first], slating those who foster 'dogmatism', Foley condemns 'the tendency of a *de facto* combination to develop between young Republicans influenced by ultra-left currents, opposed in principle to any co-operation with "middle-class nationalists"'

"He goes on, quite wrongly, to say the Stalinists adopt the same line and concludes even more outrageously wrongly that such opposition is 'unpleasantly reminiscent of the attitude of the German Communist Party in its ultra-left period when it threatened to liquidate the Social Democratic workers at the very time the fascists were preparing in fact to liquidate both the CP and the Social Democrats.'

"It hardly needs saying that the German Social Democrats have nothing in common with the bourgeois-nationalists of Sinn Féin."

This "righteous" denunciation skates over the fact that the editor of the *United Irishman* responsible for the hysterical attacks on the Provisionals is a self-proclaimed "Stalinist" and tried to use his diatribes against the Officials' rivals as a means of anathematizing Trotskyism in general. Of course, his version of Stalinism is highly romanticized, and it is not clear how consistently he reflects the views of any Stalinist formation. Nonetheless, a very dogmatic "stages" theory was also pushed in the notorious "Provo/Trot" articles, and so it seems evident that he is at least a purveyor of some key Stalinist concepts and methods.

Moreover, in the *ard fheis*, Desmond O'Hagan, now the educational director of Official Sinn Féin, called the Provisionals a "worse enemy than the British troops." O'Hagan has reasons to resent the traditional nationalists and can rightly claim that their policies of random bombings and shootings have been disastrous for the national and left movement. But the fact remains that the Provisionals lead the largest section of militant anti-imperialists in the North. Thus, such a statement has a pernicious logic. Of course, it might not have been more considered than other remarks O'Hagan made at the *ard fheis*. But it must be taken seriously since it would be a reasonable conclusion from the line of the *United Irishman* for a whole period.

Moreover, while O'Hagan has taken an extremely rigid attitude toward the traditional nationalists, he has taken quite a moderate tone in other circumstances. For example, he was one of the speakers at a peace conference in Northern Ireland on March 3 that was convened by

2. "Under the British Occupation," *Intercontinental Press*, January 15, 1973, p. 25.

the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. The meeting was described by the March 5 *Irish Times* as "probably the most representative of its kind to be held in the North since the outbreak of the present conflict. About 400 representatives from over 100 trade unions, community associations, statutory bodies, the churches, moderate pressure groups and political parties, attended the conference.

"Telegrams of support were received from the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr. Whitelaw, the British Labour and Liberal parties and the Trade Union Congress.

"The new committee, Citizens United for Reconciliation and Equality (C. U. R. E.), met the Minister of State, Lord Windlesham later on Saturday."

The Provisionals were not represented at the conference but O'Hagan referred to them indirectly:

"I don't think I should reject this society, nor be lumped on the side of the bombers and wreckers and those who are trying to bring down formal social institutions."

Of course, the "peace" conference was called by the trade-union movement and had the aim of achieving "unity" between the two communities. Thus, it seems quite likely that from O'Hagan's standpoint these remarks were in line with the highest revolutionary principles.

The Officials' director of education laid out his approach quite clearly in his speech April 22 at the Easter rising commemoration in Dublin: O'Hagan called on his audience to dispense with "a current myth which states that a national liberation struggle is in progress, and that therefore the need of the hour is to build an all-class alliance to complete that struggle."

O'Hagan went on to say: "In a relatively urbanised and proletarianised society, it is nonsense to talk of a national liberation struggle in which the working class is not playing the leading and dominating role through their party and kindred organisations.

"It is dangerous nonsense to suggest that the Republican Movement should ally itself with those who have been, and still are, the enemies of the Republic, or who fail to see that the primary struggle in the North is for democracy and against sectarianism.

"The role of the British Army is clearly one of oppression, and must be resisted by the mobilisation of the people in every way possible. But we republicans would be betraying our class, our principles and our goal, if we were to surrender our movement to the Taca men and their friends in the North.³

"Those who have misguidedly followed the Provisional Alliance, and are suffering in Long Kesh and Crumlin Road, along with our own comrades, will soon see how the hack politicians will sell them out on the question of internment and Special Powers . . . as they rush to divide the spoils and take their seats in the new Assembly.

"An all-class alliance is a return to the 'Labour must wait' position of 1919, and the Irish proletariat have suffered ever since; the Republican Movement cannot and will not ignore the lessons of our history, nor will we betray the class we represent.

"In spite of repression in the North and the denial of

3. Taca is the fund-raising organization for Fianna Fail, the historically more nationalistic of the two bourgeois parties, and has been blamed for splitting the republican movement by feeding money to the Provisionals.

fundamental human rights in the South, we must seek to build a unity of the Left, a unity of all organisations which accept that the Republican programme is the programme for national liberation, and the reconquest of Ireland."

O'Hagan said that "abroad we must follow in the honourable international tradition of Tone, Connolly, and Frank Ryan [who fought in the Spanish civil war], in solidarity with those who fight against imperialism, and seeking support from those socialist countries which have won the battle. For these and only these can be our allies."

So, there can be no doubt that O'Hagan also says some revolutionary-sounding things and makes some points that are quite correct. But what is the overall effect of this contradictory *mélange*?

Theory of Permanent Revolution

It is clear, first of all, that he divides the struggle for "civil rights" from the fight for national liberation. The unity of these movements is the main "myth" he polemicizes against. Surely this should alert the Healyites, who claim to be the chief repositories of the Trotskyist program, that something is fishy here. In fact, the right of national self-determination is part of the historic democratic program. The whole system of repression in the northern statelet was erected to thwart the Irish national revolution. Thus, the mobilization of the oppressed Catholic minority for democratic rights, regardless of the consciousness of the participants, has clearly had an anti-imperialist and nationalist thrust.

The entire history of the Northern Irish struggle has confirmed the theory of the permanent revolution, that is, that in the age of imperialism mass struggles for democratic rights take on a revolutionary dynamic, since they cannot succeed without overturning the capitalist system itself.

Whatever democratic concessions can be won in the context of an increasingly reactionary world capitalist system are temporary by nature and essentially the by-products of confrontations that challenge the essential underpinnings of bourgeois rule in this period. The importance of such concessions is that they stimulate the hopes of the masses and instill in them the confidence that they have the power to change society.

Unless the leaderships of such struggles are politically prepared to face revolutionary battles, they will become paralyzed in the face of the unforeseen violence of the confrontations, allowing the mass movement to become disoriented and impotent. In order to maintain their advance, mass democratic movements more and more must attack the bases of capitalism and bourgeois society as such and at a certain point must make a decisive turn to transform the society as a whole, becoming the basis of a new kind of state and social order.

It is this process that O'Hagan is most anxious to deny, and it is clear that there is a "stages" concept underlying his remarks. The only difference from the usual schema is that instead of the customary two stages—national liberation first and then socialist revolution—a third stage has been added, the stage of winning civil rights. This conforms to the program of the Communist party of

Ireland, which has created a third stage to avoid the revolutionary dynamic of Irish nationalism and to preserve its positions in the British patriotic trade-union movement.

The 'Workerist' Point of View

Similarly, workerists who can see only the economic side of the class struggle—the fight over jobs, wages, and conditions—also deny the national struggle in Northern Ireland.

Both the Protestant and Catholic communities are poor and exploited. And since the only real struggle is supposed to be on economic or "class" issues, the workerist assumes that the one actually taking place must be a product of false consciousness, a fundamentally perverted and sterile conflict. Unlike the Stalinists, who rule out revolution in the foreseeable future, the workerists often have revolutionary aspirations. They tend to think that they can unite the Protestant and Catholic workers through socialist propaganda that avoids the national issues dividing the two communities.

The problem is that the workerist positions tend to converge in actual practice with the Stalinists' outlook. The workerists also regard the threat of clashes between the nationalist and proimperialist popular strata as the ultimate disaster that must be avoided at all costs. As a result, they tend toward a conservative and pessimistic attitude regarding the process going on. And, in making working-class unity their immediate focus, they tend also to try to redirect the nationalist-minded population into the train of the proimperialist trade-union movement.

The workerists and O'Hagan have pointed to some important features in the Irish situation, namely that Ireland is much more integrated into the economy of the imperialist metropolis than the nationally oppressed countries where liberation struggles have taken place in the postwar period. Moreover, the Twenty-Six County state is an old neocolonialist regime, and disillusionment with formal political independence is quite widespread among the working class in particular.

There are various conclusions that must be drawn from this. The most obvious is that the notions of some neo-Maoist dilettantes in the Dublin Official Sinn Féin that there can be a national liberation struggle in Ireland (in a future "stage" of course) like the one in Vietnam are completely divorced from reality. The most important conclusion is that the success of any mass combat in Ireland will be largely dependent on effective support from the international left and working-class movement. O'Hagan's claim that the "only allies" of the Irish people are a vaguely defined category of anti-imperialists and the "socialist" countries who have "won the battle" against imperialism is not only false; it is directly damaging to the Irish revolutionary movement.

By and large, the organized Irish working class has a standard of living closer to that of the workers in the imperialist centers than to that of the workers and peasants of the colonial world. The conditions in the Stalinized workers states have little or no attraction for them. The unqualified claim that these countries have "won the battle" against imperialism does nothing to make the prospect of revolution appealing to the Irish people and a great deal to make it repellent.

It is hard to see how anything less than the hope of revolution in the advanced capitalist countries—where the chances are better for avoiding bureaucratic degeneration and for achieving direct workers democracy that could guarantee efficient administration of the economy, maximum benefits for the most disadvantaged, and more rather than less personal freedom—can inspire the exertions and sacrifices needed to start up a struggle against the worldwide imperialist system on their small, divided island.

Furthermore, unless the Irish revolution aroused broad support in the advanced countries themselves, it would be doomed to collapse in short order. It seems extremely unlikely in view of the evidence of decades that any of the bureaucratized workers states would defend a revolution in the heart of the capitalist world against the determined attempts of the imperialists to destroy it. Even in Vietnam, on the outermost perimeter of world capitalism, where one of the belligerents is an actual member of the "socialist" bloc, the Soviet Union has doled out aid with an eyedropper. And it has forced the Vietnamese, in return for this, to compromise with Nixon. Moreover, it has given more aid to capitalist Egypt, which does not threaten the fundamental interests of world imperialism, than it has to the Vietnamese revolutionists.

The Soviet policy of aiding regimes in the underdeveloped world is part of its policy of peaceful coexistence. The objective is to build a neutral buffer. Even the aid to Cuba was begun with this aim in mind. Supporting a revolutionary regime is quite another matter. The Cuban process took both Moscow and Washington by surprise. We are not likely to see a duplicate. Furthermore, the Irish economy is far more complex than Cuba's. Far more would be needed to sustain it. As for China, its policy is at least as opportunistic as the Soviet Union's. For example, it supports Common Market integration as a counterweight to U. S. imperialism.

An Explosive Combination

On the other hand, it is equally clear that the driving force of radicalization in Ireland is the national issue, which at its peak has tended to go over into extremely advanced forms of economic struggle, such as the general strike after the Bloody Sunday massacre. Although there has been significant economic unrest in Ireland, one of the episodes involved has touched off a general crisis. The greatest explosions in the recent period, however, have resulted from a combination of national and economic aspirations—for example, the demand for a fair allotment of housing that sparked the first civil-rights march. In every case, it has been the national question fundamentally that has given these upsurges their revolutionary force.

So, while it is essential to get the British working class to oppose the repression that its imperialist government is carrying out in Ireland, to make the Irish struggle subordinate to British trade unionism would mean sacrificing the fundamental revolutionary dynamic. If the support of the British unions for the democratic demands of the Irish people is made conditional on toning down the national struggle or on the "good" behavior of the nationalists, it is worthless. If the struggle in Ireland

were brought down to the level of British trade-unionism in order to "unite" British and Irish workers, this would eliminate one of the main factors undermining the stability of British capitalism and preparing the way for a working-class radicalization that could effectively aid the Irish people.

Furthermore, conditional support for "democracy" in Ireland does nothing to educate the British workers to respect the Irish people's right of self-determination. Only a campaign demanding unconditional recognition of the right of the Irish people to determine their own destiny can make inroads into the social chauvinism of the British trade-union movement.

The concept of conditional support for the victims of imperialist repression is also fatal in Ireland. In his Easter commemoration speech, O'Hagan made a strong point warning the imprisoned Provisionals that the conservative elements among their ranks and supporters would betray them if they got a chance to make an advantageous deal with British imperialism. But the fact that the Civil Rights Association (CRA), of which the Officials are the major component, seems to be taking a turn that at least borders on betrayal of the fighters is likely to obscure this lesson for the traditional nationalists.

"The C. R. A. has subtly altered its views on internment, meanwhile," the *Irish Times* reported April 12, "and although still opposed to it on principle, recognises that there is no longer a massive outcry from the minority population. In consequence, Mrs. Edwina Stewart [of the Communist party], the C. R. A. honorary chairman, said at a press conference yesterday that for a successful anti-internment campaign to be mounted the Provisional I. R. A. would have to call off its campaign of violence."

No matter how you interpret this, unless the *Irish Times* fabricated its report—which is unlikely—such an attitude means placing partial blame for the repression on the Provisionals. The tactical errors of misguided combatants can, of course, make it easier for a capitalist government to carry out a program of repression. But when a people have been as oppressed as the nationalist people of Northern Ireland, and for as long, it is inevitable that there will be irrational outbursts. It is impossible to defend the oppressed people effectively without making it absolutely clear that the entire blame for the violence rests with the system and those who support and maintain it. The only way the setbacks caused by the wrong tactics of the Provisionals can be overcome is by offering an effective alternative. But the new NICRA policy tends in the direction of surrender.

Furthermore, there is no way any self-proclaimed revolutionary leadership can get the most militant strata of the nationalist-minded population to follow in the train of British trade-unionism. Only the vanguard, the most politically advanced sections of the population, dazzled by abstractions about "working-class unity," can be diverted by such a concept, with serious results both for the left and for the struggle as a whole.

The Bloody Sunday commemoration in Derry was an example of this. Before the event, the British Labour left was congratulating the Official republicans with unwonted fulsomeness for its determination to avoid any "sectarian incidents." The fact that the Civil Rights Association had been able to persuade British trade-union and liberal

figures to come to Derry to show their support for democracy, it was confidently declared, had thrown the Provisionals into consternation.

But what happened was that the NICRA action turned into a kind of humanitarian prayer meeting that met with general indifference, a certain amount of amusement, and some hostility from the local population. On the other hand, the Provisionals' march to demand the end of imperialist repression drew a crowd estimated as high as 20,000 persons, a number comparing favorably with the largest civil-rights demonstrations.

Danger of Reformist Orientation

The tendency of the Official leadership to think that the struggle in progress is entirely the wrong kind of fight has apparently led them in a more and more reformist direction. The natural outcome of this kind of thinking is that the only thing the movement can do is try to outlast the Provisionals' terrorist campaign. When the adventurists become discredited, which is supposed to be inevitable, then the Officials can resume their economic agitations. Since the main thing is just to survive, the arguments of the reformists seem more and more practical, as revolutionary perspectives appear more and more remote and unreal.

This process, moreover, tends to become self-accelerating. While the Provisionals' reliance on forms of struggle carried out by small armed units divorced from the masses has led to increasing isolation of the militants and to a fading of international support for the struggle of the oppressed people, it is also true that the mass civil-rights movement produced such a deepgoing upheaval that spontaneous outbursts of violence can persist for a long time and continue to inspire substantial sympathy from the most oppressed strata of the population. These disorganizing forms of activity may, in fact, continue as long as none of the groups present offers a mass revolutionary alternative. And this is precisely what Stalinist and ultra-left workerist influences have hindered the Official republicans from doing.

Instead of showing how socialist ideas could point the way forward to victory for the national struggle, the Officials have more and more counterposed general socialist slogans to the real fight. They have invoked socialist ideas to convince the people that nothing fundamental could be won in the present "stage."

Not only is it impossible to win the masses of people to socialism by such a method, it is impossible to educate revolutionary militants or build a revolutionary organization in this way. Pessimism, resignation, pacifism, and reformism are the inevitable result of such a course. The organization settles into a rut of routine and repetitive propaganda, becoming less and less able to see beyond a few narrow preconceptions, unable to readjust to a changing reality, or to intervene in a bold and decisive way in the class struggle as new opportunities arise.

In the last stage of degeneration, principles become mere abstractions and daily practice is guided in fact by petty opportunistic considerations. This is the stage reached by the SLL. And it seems to be the development of such sectarian tendencies on the part of elements

in the Official republican movement that has attracted the attention of the Healyite "raiders."

The SLL View Vs. Reality

Just as the Official leaders have clung to their abstract concept of "working-class unity" for almost four years, despite all the blows of reality, the SLL leaders began by believing that they were defending vitally important principles against a whole array of enemies and betrayers. They did in fact argue for some fundamentally correct and crucial concepts, such as the principle that only a revolution can solve the problems of the working class and only a revolutionary party can lead the workers to victory.

But the revolutionary process did not proceed as expected. The working class in the advanced countries was pacified for a whole period by the postwar boom. The axis of the world revolution shifted at the same time to the underdeveloped countries where it combined with the national revolution in unforeseen forms. The reaction of the Healyites was to deny both aspects of the historic detour. Every scattered spark of working-class militancy was puffed up into a revolutionary upsurge, every recession into an impending cataclysm. This tendency reached its ultimate absurdity when they refused to recognize that a revolution had taken place in Cuba because there was no revolutionary party. Following this concept, moreover, they supported the Stalinist Anibal Escalante against the Castro-Guevara leadership. Escalante, after all, represented a "workers party" while Castro and company were "petty-bourgeois nationalists."

The Healyite reporter Yeats seems to be following the same line of reasoning in his denigration of Séamus Costello, the only one of the Official leaders, to my knowledge, who has openly opposed the Communist party on a basic political point in front of the entire republican cadre:

"With this responsibility upon him [that is, dividing the Northern Irish working class], Foley can still describe his mysterious resolution [on a new orientation to the civil-rights movement] as 'symptomatic of a lot of new thinking going on in the Republican leadership'.

"Foley's quotation continues: 'Correct or not, but the feeling is abroad that a lot of people in the country and many of our members have the idea that we are not in favour of the "National Struggle" or the ending of this "Struggle".'

"This is one reason why the Provos are still a force today and why they will not fade away for a long time yet.

"We must begin to show people and demonstrate clearly to all that our objectives are National Unity and Independence and the Socialist Republic."

Yeats commented: "This is a frank and blatant appeal for unity between the Officials and the Provisionals.

"The device used to bring this about is to suggest that the Provisionals can be divided into a left and right wing, permitting him to argue the prospect of an alliance between the anti-bomb-and-bullet followers of Kevin Street [the Provisionals] and the Officials' right wing, led by Costello."

The Need for a United Front

The dishonesty and destructive intent of this argument are apparent to anyone not blinded by dogma or fear. In the first place there is no reference whatever to "unity" between the Provisionals and Officials. This passage simply points out that errors on the national question have prevented the Officials from meeting the challenge of the Provisionals effectively, and it suggests a readjustment to improve the position of the authors' organization.

Furthermore, in my article I did not advocate "unity" in the sense of fusion but only a united front on specific issues and an end to the political sectarianism that had been growing in the Officials, affecting not just their relations with the Provisionals but all of their work. The need for this, moreover, is felt not just by the "Costello right wing" but by many Official leaders. For example, Malachy McGurran said in his December 26 interview:

"In regard to united fronts with the Provisionals, we would have to define the meaning of the word 'front' very carefully. In the Twenty-Six Counties we are faced with open, naked repression, with laws that go beyond even Franco or Salazar. The fact that they have not been used widely so far is only an indication of the Dublin government's cautious strategy of repression. Within this context I could see a united front not in the terms of burying one's own identity and one's own principles and one's own policies, but unity in terms of opposing and exposing the repression, even the injustice of the arrest and farce of a trial of Seán Mac Stiofáin. . . .

". . . On these issues, and on these issues alone, there could be areas of joint action and joint activity with the Provisionals, with the Communist party of Ireland, with the Irish section of the Fourth International, with other radical, progressive, and even liberal forces."

McGurran, a veteran republican, seems to understand the concrete tactic of the united front, a vital part of the strategy of the revolutionary party, better than the Healyite defenders of the abstract concept.

Furthermore, according to Yeats, who is suggesting unity between sections of the Officials and Provisionals? Yeats's slippery prose makes this completely unclear.

The reason for this slipperiness seems evident. Yeats wants to kill two birds with one stone. He wants to suggest that the supporters of the United Secretariat are "Provisional lovers" and he wants the SLL to benefit from the hysteria whipped up by the "Provo/Trot" amalgam of the Stalinoid ex-editor of the *United Irishman*. More significantly, he wants to attract some ultraleft and sectarian members of the Officials who have come to fear that any letup in the denunciations of the Provisionals might mean an abandonment of "socialist principles."

Yeats at Work in Derry

Yeats has been trying his hand at this technique for some time. Over the summer and fall of 1972, he did a series of interviews with figures in Northern Ireland, using them as foils for his organization's dogmatic arguments. He showed a special interest in Derry, which has had a more complex political history than other sections of the republican movement. The local Officials group has its own nationally circulated paper, the *Starry Plough*,

a monthly that has been by far the most effective propaganda weapon of the Official republican movement. Although it did not go beyond the sectarianism of the Officials on the national question, it at least published good general socialist propaganda in contrast to the *United Irishman* in the "Provo/Trot" period, which appealed neither to any genuine nationalist feelings of the Irish people nor to the socialist aspirations of the young activists.

Yeats talked to the editor and the leading reporter of the *Starry Plough* and then wrote an article in the December 8, 1972, *Workers Press*, which said, among other things:

"Catholics always knew that the Provos had nothing to offer but the gun. But since 'Operation Motorman' [the British occupation of the Derry ghettos] they have been driven to the understandable conclusion that the craven reformism of the official IRA is a blind alley too. . . ."

"Joe Sweeney and Jackie Ward who edit the paper reflect a wide layer of local opinion when they talk of breaking from the Officials and using the Republican Clubs as the basis for a new revolutionary organization."

It was an open secret that pro-Stalinist elements in the Official IRA wanted to make an "example" of the Derry group, as a precedent for curbing all forms of "leftism." Yeats thus had every reason to think that he could provoke a dispute by reporting that the Derry "Trotskyites" were planning a split. It is hard to imagine how he could have more blatantly abused the tolerance of the individuals who agreed to talk to him.

The "happy" result of such a provocation, we must assume, would have been to fan bitterness and suspicion that would have enabled the SLL to pick up a few people on the rebound.

This way of recruiting is part and parcel of the SLL's unprincipled and opportunistic way of relating to other organizations. It is particularly criminal in the case of the Official IRA.

Because of the absence of mass revolutionary parties, centrist organizations have sprung up in many countries. Some have sought to move in a revolutionary direction. The Official republican movement has been one of the best of these. Among other things, it has a historic revolutionary achievement to its credit: the development of the Northern Irish civil-rights struggle. Faced with dramatic pressures, it ran into serious problems. With the development of the crisis in Northern Ireland, the republican movement underwent a politically confused and debilitating split. A political debate was touched off. Although some very fundamental questions of revolutionary organization and action are involved, the debate has been unclear. There is a strong antagonism between the pro-Stalinists and the ultra-left workerists. The "Trotskyist" workerists oppose the civil-rights movement on the grounds that it is neither a specifically working-class nor a socialist movement. The pro-Stalinists furiously denounce the workerists as sectarians, while they themselves propose limiting the civil-rights movement to such a narrow framework that it would in fact become an impotent sectarian front organization.

There is no important practical difference between the two lines. Correct points and abysmal errors are hopelessly tangled. There is, however, an underlying difference

in attitude. The best of the workerists reflect revolutionary moods. The Stalinist-trained types have generally been inoculated against all real revolutionary processes. Their instinct is to clamp down on anything that does not fit the "stage" as they define it or is not tightly controlled by some kind of "Marxist" mandarin. The tragedy of such a debate is that the workerists have no real alternative to the pro-Stalinists. In fact, they are led by their economism to converge with the pro-Stalinists in all practical respects, and so the natural tendency is to try to differentiate themselves by demanding more "radical" slogans and actions while staying in the same general framework. Thus, they simply look impractical, idealistic, and adventurist. The Stalinists, on the other hand, who base themselves on the resignation and cynicism of the conservatized sections of the workers' vanguard, seem nothing if not "practical," and "realistic."

Healyite 'Clarification'

The first duty of a revolutionary Marxist is to help sort out the real issues in this debate. In particular, revolutionists in other countries could offer some of the experience of the international socialist struggle to a movement that has suffered unduly from national isolation. The Healyite reporter does the opposite. In fact, his opportunistic twistings and turnings seem designed to avoid reaching definite political conclusions. His December 19, 1972, article on the *ard fheis* was entitled "Official IRA Continues Its Rightward Turn." In his March 22 article, he says:

"The Ard Fheis was distinguished by an almost complete move away from backing the on-the-streets reformist militancy of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement and the Communist Party of Ireland to a concept of building a new revolutionary nationalist party."

Was this part of the "rightward turn" or not? If it was, why does Yeats approve of it, since he says also in the March 22 article:

"But since direct rule the Officials have been working towards the realization that there is no future in a policy of 'back to the streets'. Their present turn of parliamentary politics and local elections illustrates this.

"They also realize that in the north civil rights demands for the 'nationalist population' are sectarian, undermining all prospect of the triumph of Republicanism."

Even more explicitly, Yeats says:

"Casting around for a whipping boy, Foley slates 'work-erist ultra-lefts' for distracting the Officials' attention from the importance of civil rights. He blames them for characterizing the movement as sectarian and as one which failed to 'explicitly challenge capitalist productive relations'.

"Yet everything that has happened since direct rule, including the growth of Protestant organizations and the decline of all reformist and terrorist groups, suggests the critics were right."

If the republicans were "realizing" one of the Healyites' main contentions, why not give them credit for making some progress toward the SLL line, which Yeats apparently thinks is located in a far leftward direction? Otherwise, surely some explanation is needed as to how the republicans can be moving in a "rightward" direction

and at the same time be "realizing" what the SLL sees as a key point.

What, moreover, did the turn to the right entail? Yeats mentioned in the December 19, 1972, *Workers Press* the exclusion from the conference of Bernadette Devlin, which he held was "consistent with the leadership's new anti-'left' line." But no adult could claim that this by itself necessarily represented a profound programmatic shift. In fact, in stressing this confused incident, Yeats seemed merely to be fishing in troubled waters.

The main thing, Yeats said, was that ". . . There has been no formal break with the Civil Rights movement but the Ard Feish [sic] passed almost unanimously an amendment shifting the emphasis firmly back to traditional Irish nationalism." Was this the rightward turn? If so, Yeats should have discussed it.

Even in his March 22 article he does nothing more than repeat some broad general principles, quoting Trotsky to the effect that "the completion of the socialist revolution within nationalist limits is impossible." This is a concept that in principle would not be disputed by either the pro-Stalinists or the "Trotskyist" ultralefts in the Officials. The question is, What is the role of the national question in the process that is going on now?

Moreover, how could Yeats analyze the "traditional nationalism" of the republicans when he cannot even honestly take up what I said about the role of the national question in Ireland? He claims, for instance, that my article was "nothing more or less than a eulogy of nationalism as a solution to Ireland's economic and social problems."

If Yeats is serious about this accusation and it is not intended simply to impress the ignorant, it would certainly be very important to prove it. That would constitute final confirmation of the unregenerate "Pabloism," and worse, of the nefarious Foley. But the truth is something of an obstacle to him. For example, in my pamphlet *Ireland in Rebellion*, published in October 1971, I said:

"The history of modern Ireland shows that the Irish nation cannot be finally restored except within the context of a totally different world order in which the great economic forces serve humanity instead of dominating it. Whatever the subjective political beliefs of the martyrs of Irish freedom, their vision of an Irish Ireland can only be fulfilled within the framework of a world socialist revolution" (p. 19). This pamphlet is sold by the Official republican book service and has circulated rather widely in their milieu.

In the February 5 article, which Yeats specifically referred to, I wrote:

"To win real national freedom and destroy the direct and indirect influence of foreign business and financial interests, a deepgoing social revolution is required in Ireland. A struggle capable of defeating the political, military, and economic power of British imperialism and its allies requires international ties to be successful."

How does this differ fundamentally from the second and third paragraphs of Yeats's quotation from Trotsky:

"The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena and it is completed on the world arena.

"Socialist construction is conceivable only on the foun-

datations of the class struggle, on a national and international scale."

Characteristically, the Healyite reporter seems to have forgotten where the revolution is supposed to "begin," because it has become a mere abstraction for him, divorced from all the real processes. Or perhaps his concept of the "national arena" is different from mine. He says, for instance, at the end of his March 22 article:

"The first step in the fight back is to forge unity between British and Irish workers in the campaign to force the Tories to resign. . . ."

If the Healyites believe that Britain and Ireland form one national whole, however, they should explain this, since the implications for the Irish struggle would not be unimportant.

But maybe the return to "traditional nationalism" was not the main thing in the "rightward turn" at the *ard fheis*. In his March 22 article, Yeats discovered something else.

"The one 'step forward' at the December Ard Fheis which went completely over Foley's head was the decisive trend to regard elections as the new revolutionary weapon—a trend verified by the appearance of Sinn Fein candidates in the Eire [sic]⁴ nomination lists.

"This is how the Officials' leadership already sees the new revolutionary party working and how sections of the Provisionals may come to see it too, in time."

This "step forward" must have gone over Yeats's head initially, since he did not mention it in his December 19 article on the *ard fheis*. But now he draws rather drastic conclusions from the fact that I did not take up the question of the Officials' electoral orientation in my articles on the same event.

"Foley sets out to cover up this descent into the worst kind of reformism."

The charge of reformism, let alone the "worst kind," is a serious indictment. The Official republicans include many individuals and leaders who have proved their devotion to their own conception of revolutionary principles by great personal sacrifices. Even those influenced by Stalinism are not yet generally hopelessly hardened reformists. If these dedicated fighters are falling into reformism, it is certainly the duty of Marxists to point out precisely where they are going wrong. There is no other way to do this than to analyze specific cases, showing concretely what reformism leads to. But the Healyite expert makes general denunciations that in the context of Irish politics today are most likely to be interpreted as branding electoral activity per se as reformist.

Why Not Fight in Electoral Arena, Too?

Yeats even introduces the argument in a dishonest way. Why attribute so much importance, for example, to my not taking up the electoral orientation put forward at the *ard fheis*? If participating in elections is by nature reformist, Yeats could have "exposed" my position much more effectively by quoting articles where I specifically recommend entering the electoral arena. An example can be cited from my pamphlet *Problems of the Irish Revolution*:

"In particular, challenging the ban on political activity

4. Eire is the Gaelic word for all of Ireland but is used by some chauvinistic English to refer to the Twenty-Six Counties alone.

in the North and gaining recognition as a legal party in the South offer the possibility for effective revolutionary propaganda campaigns. By demanding the right to engage in legal political activity, the republicans can defend themselves in the most effective way against repression and at the same time consolidate solid gains. This, of course, does not mean that a 'democratic phase' is opening up. All democratic freedoms are precarious in this epoch and especially so in Ireland. But the system can be forced to grant a certain room for maneuver at times, which must be used to advantage. . . .

"Elaborate schemes for reforming local government, education, etc., are not very useful for revolutionary agitation, especially given the resources of the republican movement. A few simple themes are needed on which all the propaganda of the movement can be focused, that is, transitional demands. Such demands should seem reasonable to the people they are intended to appeal to and at the same time should expose the contradictions of the system. In a period of general crisis, moreover, local and piecemeal economic agitation stand in secondary place for a revolutionary party. The most important thing is to give political direction and to wage a concentrated campaign against the enemy class, which itself is highly centralized and conscious of its general interests."

Since there has long been confusion in Ireland over the question of revolutionists participating in elections, this is a subject that must be discussed as concretely as possible. As a result of using a fundamentally nonmaterialist method, Irish republicans have traditionally considered that to engage in parliamentary politics is unprincipled. The effects of this stand have been anything but revolutionary.

The inevitable outcome was that the republicans ended up in fact giving unofficial support to bourgeois politicians such as De Valera. In fact, a sort of symbiotic relationship grew up between what was in reality a kind of armed pressure group and bourgeois parliamentary nationalists. As long as the republicans made it a principle not to challenge the politicians in the generally accepted political arena, questions of program simply did not arise.

In this sense, the move of the Official republicans toward a materialistic view of the relation between tactics and principle was a fundamental advance. Once out of the straitjacket of traditionalism, the Officials can of course move in a "normal" reformist direction. If such an evolution becomes definitively established, the result will be to reinforce the sterile old attitudes. The Officials as a whole, and even the leadership, are still a long way from Marxism. There seems on occasion even to be some truth in the Provisionals' claims that when the Officials cast off the bounds of traditionalism, they were left without any firm principles whatsoever. The deeper truth is probably that they have so far replaced one set of abstract principles for another only slightly less abstract set. But the only way the Marxist concept of principle can be explained is by relating principles concretely to the actual problems of political work, pointing the way toward achieving real unity of theory and action. It is hard to do this from three thousand miles away. The Healyites are in a much better geographical position to make concrete criticisms of the Officials' electoral work. But evidently they are not interested in this.

Instead, these sectarians seem to have in mind only a petty raiding maneuver. After the split, sufficient abstentionist sentiment still remained in the Official republican organization to serve as a pole for an opposition grouping. Such a banner could attract serious militants repelled by real reformist mistakes and reformist concepts held by some elements of the leadership. It could also rally ultraleftists and traditionalist adventurers. It could not serve as the basis for developing a Marxist tendency. The only result of a fight over abstention as a principle would be to perpetuate confusion and to waste valuable revolutionary forces. In the process, of course, the SLL could probably pick up a few recruits by raising the banner of abstract principle higher than anybody else. There are after all few restraints on the "ascent" of a purely propagandistic sect.

The way to win sincerely revolutionary republicans to Marxism is the opposite of the SLL's method. The most important thing is to instill the concept that principles are a guide to practical revolutionary activity. The test of principle is the real effect of a policy—whether it advances or retards the process of the masses learning the real nature of society so that they can transform it in accordance with their own real interests. For materialists, moreover, experience is a vital aspect of learning. Whenever principle becomes divorced from reality, even if the letter is kept sacrosanct, the actual result is opportunism in practice. The history of Irish republicanism shows this. The history of the SLL also confirms it. In fact the SLL's formal adherence to Marxist doctrine makes it an excellent example of what happens when principles first become separated from reality and then start to replace it. For this reason primarily, it is worth following the ins and outs of the Healyite line on the Irish struggle.

In the Tradition of Lenin and Trotsky

But first the question of principle in electoral policy should be made clear. While boycotting elections and parliament is a possible tactic in specific cases, the leaders of the Russian revolution fought a decisive battle to convince ultraleftists that intervening in elections and parliamentary struggles is essential for a revolutionary party. One of Lenin's major works, *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, was largely devoted to this. Trotsky also set forth the revolutionary Marxist position on this again and again and in particular in a speech to the Executive Committee of the Communist International on November 24, 1920:

"Comrade Gorter thinks that if he keeps a kilometer away from the buildings of parliament that thereby the workers' slavish worship of parliamentarianism will be weakened or destroyed. Such a tactic rests on idealistic superstitions and not on realities. The Communist point of view approaches parliamentarianism in its connection with all other political relations, without turning parliamentarianism into a fetish either in a positive or negative sense. The parliament is the instrumentality whereby the masses are politically deceived and benumbed, whereby prejudices are spread and illusions of political democracy maintained, and so on and so forth. No one disputes all this. But does the parliament stand secluded by itself in this respect? Isn't petty-bourgeois poison being spread

by the columns of the daily newspapers, and, first and foremost, by the Social-Democratic dailies? And oughtn't we perhaps on this account refrain from utilizing the press as an instrument of extending Communist influence among the masses? Or does the mere fact that Comrade Gorter's group turns its back upon the parliament suffice to discredit parliamentarianism? Were this the case it would signify that the idea of the Communist revolution, as represented by Comrade Gorter's group, is cherished by the masses above everything else. But in that case the proletariat would naturally disperse the parliament without much ado and take power into its own hands. But such is not the case. Comrade Gorter himself, far from

denying, on the contrary grotesquely exaggerates the masses' respect and slavish worship of parliamentarianism. Yet what conclusion does he draw? That it is necessary to preserve the 'purity' of his own group, *i.e.*, sect. In the final analysis Comrade Gorter's arguments against parliamentarianism can be leveled against all forms and methods of the proletarian class struggle, inasmuch as all of these forms and methods have been deeply infected with opportunism, reformism and nationalism."⁵

(To be continued.)

5. Leon Trotsky, *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Vol. I, Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1945, p. 146.

Norway

Conference on Colonialism and Apartheid Held in Oslo

A week-long conference on colonialism and apartheid was held in Oslo, Norway, in mid-April. In attendance were some 200 government "experts" from some sixty countries, as well as representatives and leaders of nine African liberation movements.

The conference, cosponsored by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), took place in spite of opposition from the United States, France, and Great Britain. All three countries boycotted it. The official reason for this, reported Eva Hernbäck in the April 14 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, "is that Portugal and South Africa have not been invited so that they could respond to the anticipated criticism. Portugal and South Africa were not invited because they worked so hard against the conference on the UN level that the conference organizers did not think they were interested in taking part."

Agostinho Neto, leader of MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), denounced the pretext of the three imperialist powers for not attending: "The fact that France, the USA, and Great Britain are absent from this conference is only a reflection of their attitude of hostility to the liberation movements and their tradition of helping Portugal in the colonial war."

The conference received very little coverage in the Western capitalist press.

"The importance of this conference

cannot be stressed too strongly," Andreas Shipanga of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) told Hernbäck. "It is the first to be jointly organized by the UN and the OAU, and it was done despite the opposition of the United States, Great Britain, and France. That alone is a sign that world opinion is moving in our favor. It is also important that the conference is being held here in Norway, which is a member of NATO. This must be very significant in helping to educate the public in both Norway and its neighbor NATO member, Denmark."

Among the proposals to come out of the conference were the following: international economic sanctions against South Africa; a boycott of countries that trade with South Africa; a boycott of Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa for aiding Rhodesia in its attempts to get around the sanctions against it imposed by the UN Security Council; establishment of radio stations by the United Nations for use by the African liberation movements, particularly in the case of Namibia; and an appeal for greater moral and material support for the African liberation movements, with contributions to be channeled to groups recognized by the OAU.

What increased support, if any, will result from the conference was not announced, but it seems that the selection of Oslo as the host city was not accidental: Much of the present support for these movements comes from Scandinavia. The Swedish government's

budget, for instance, currently allocates 21 million kronor (approximately US \$4.5 million) to these movements, and this is expected to be raised by one-third. In addition, private contributions in Sweden amount to about 11 million kronor.

"We in MPLA are not disappointed with the decisions here in Oslo," Agostinho Neto commented. "We did not expect the conference to result in massive material support for our struggle. The moral support we have received from many neutral countries will gradually lead to material aid. Each country must decide on its own whether it wants to give us money, weapons, or other things."

Other groups besides MPLA and SWAPO that sent their leaders to the conference were FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—National Liberation Front of Mozambique), African National Congress (ANC), and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). □

'Comrade' Knows Who He's Dealing With

Soviet CP boss Leonid Brezhnev, in an interview with the West German weekly *Stern*, said he has put on weight since cutting down on smoking.

"One sits the whole day at the desk," Brezhnev said, "and when I don't smoke, appetite is also standing next to me. 'Away with you,' I say. But comrade appetite does not budge from the spot."

No wonder. Comrade appetite has always been influential with the Soviet bureaucrats.

For Unconditional Political Opposition to Campora

[The following statement was issued on May 15 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The March 11 elections marked a turning point in the political situation in Argentina. The Peronist ground swell undermined the attempt of the Lanusse regime to put across the Gran Acuerdo Nacional and compelled the Argentine bourgeoisie to accept a neo-Peronist government. The incoming Cámpora administration will seek to exploit interimperialist contradictions and to gain mass support through populist demagoguery.

In the final analysis, the turn in Argentina came as a consequence of the powerful mobilizations of the masses and the courageous actions of the vanguard. The resulting new situation will serve to step up the militancy of the working class and other exploited layers still further.

Sectors of the army have not yet renounced attempts at a reactionary coup d'etat even before the inauguration of Cámpora. This is because they fear that the new government will be swept aside in the near future. Nonetheless, a coup appears unlikely inasmuch as the decisive sectors of the ruling class are aware that it could provoke a very sharp response from the masses and the outbreak of a civil war, the outcome of which would be in doubt.

In the new stage now opening up, the Argentine revolutionists will take their place in the front ranks of the coming mass mobilizations with the perspective of a major confrontation and a struggle for power. Their objective will be to influence and to organize the vanguard layers that are slipping out of the control of the union bureaucracy and the demagogic ideology of Peronism. They will at the same time call for vigilance against

any military coup d'etat and propose the developments of workers self-defense. They will warn against any illusions in parliamentarism and gradualism.

While not excluding critical support for possible anti-imperialist measures that might be enacted by the Cámpora government, they will maintain an attitude of unconditional political opposition to this new bourgeois government. They will carry on an unceasing struggle for the emancipation of the working class from the influence of bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois political organizations, and the grip of the superbureaucratized union apparatus. They will fight for the independent organization of the proletariat and other exploited layers with the perspective of establishing popular committees. They will battle for the building of a mass revolutionary Leninist party. □

ERP Offers to Hold Fire on Campora Regime

[The following interview with two official spokesmen of the Argentine guerrilla organization, the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People), was published in the May 11-17 issue of the Santiago weekly *Chile HOY*. The magazine prefaced its interview with an editorial note about the ERP which we are also publishing.]

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

They would appreciate it if journalists would stop referring to them, for reasons of convenience, as "Trotskyists" or the "armed branch of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores" [PRT—Revolutionary Workers party]. The party defines itself as Marxist-Leninist, and considers the label "Trotskyist" to be "inadequate." Al-

though it accepts the contributions of Trotsky exposing the degenerative role of the bureaucracy, as well as his concept of world revolution and permanent revolution, and although it belongs to the Fourth International ("we think that we can contribute to proletarianizing it, but we are aware of its limitations"), it also draws on the experiences of Che Guevara (especially), Mao, Giap, Ho Chi Minh, and Kim Il Sung.

While the PRT is a Marxist-Leninist party, being a Marxist-Leninist is not a requirement for those who are active in the ERP. This armed, mass organization is certainly led by the party, but it seeks to bring together all those patriots who, whatever their ideology, are ready to fight weapons in hand for the socialist revolution.

The Revolutionary Army of the People came into being clandestinely at the Fifth Congress of the PRT (July

19-20, 1970), one year after the "Cordobazo" ("a spontaneous mass explosion that demonstrated the need for an armed vanguard"). Ever since the PRT's Fourth Congress, an internal class struggle had been going on to convert the party into a proletarian, fighting party. The party went through a series of internal crises in its effort to concretely take the fundamental path for seizing power—summed up theoretically as armed struggle.

Since then, the ERP has become one of the most active of the armed organizations in Argentina: hundreds of operations in which it confiscates and then distributes food; arrests of the English consul, Stanley Silvester, and of Oberdan Sallustro, the repressive director of Fiat; confiscation of 121 million pesos from an armored truck in Yocsina, Córdoba; [seizure of] 450

million pesos from the National Development Bank, one block from the Pink House [the national palace]; killing of torturers, Agarotti (former chief of police in Tucumán), and, together with the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces], Juan Carlos Sánchez (general and head of the Second Army Corps); the escape, together with the FAR and the Montoneros, from Rawson Prison; detention of [Lieutenant Colonel Jacobo] Nasif and [Retired Rear Admiral Francisco] Aleman in a "people's prison"; and recently (February 1973), the surrounding of the headquarters of Battalion 141 in Córdoba, during which two tons of weapons and explosives were taken ("a truly qualitative advance in the revolutionary war").

This is an exclusive interview granted by two authorized spokesmen of the ERP to *Chile HOY's* special envoy to Buenos Aires, Teófilo Villagrán.

* * *

Question. What political balance sheet do you draw of the March 11 elections that led to the victory of FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front]?

Answer. The election and the emergence of a Peronist-Fronzist government represent the culmination of the Gran Acuerdo Nacional [GAN—Great National Agreement], the scheme of the military dictatorship and the bourgeois politicians of the "Hora del Pueblo." The aim of the GAN is to hold back the revolutionary process that is currently in progress, to deceive the masses, and to isolate the class-struggle trade-union vanguard and the guerrilla movement so as to be able to successfully repress and destroy them through military force and/or deception.

Q. How do you characterize the FREJULI and the future government?

A. We are not unaware of the fact that within Peronism there are sizable revolutionary and progressive popular sectors, which make it explosive, but we must not be deluded by this fact, for the main factor with Peronism, and even more with the FRE-

JULI, is its bourgeois character.

Both in the composition of its leadership and in its program and methods, the future parliamentary government of Cámpora and Solano Lima will represent essentially bourgeois and capitalist interests.

Q. How do you explain the massive popular vote for the FREJULI?

A. For us it reflects both a repudiation of the military dictatorship and the persistence of the ideological



JUAN D. PERON

influence of the bourgeoisie. To put the election results of March 11 in their proper perspective, one must remember that the masses, who remained indifferent throughout the course of the election campaign, were forced to choose between various bourgeois alternatives through the

clever mechanism of an election that was shaped by the dictatorship and the weakness and errors of the revolutionary forces, which prevented any truly representative and genuinely anti-imperialist slate from being presented.

Among the bourgeois candidacies, the majority of the working class and the people opted for the slates run by the FREJULI. The campaign of these slates was based on an energetic and productive confrontation with the government and on proguerrilla arguments.

Q. What, then, in your opinion, are the real proposals of the FREJULI for the next government?

A. This has been clearly explained by its leaders and spokesmen: rebuild the country and pacify it by means of a Justicialist national revolution, also called national socialism. This is to be done within the framework of maintaining "our" Christian way of life, the parliamentary system, private enterprise, and with the help of foreign capital.

Agrarian reform, expropriation and nationalization of big capital, urban reform, and a revolutionary-socialist government—all elementary measures for a true revolution—are completely absent from the plans and proposals of the FREJULI. The bourgeois sectors of the FREJULI, which will have hegemony in the government, will focus their counterrevolutionary policy on an attempt to divide and isolate the revolutionary and progressive forces in order to open up the possibility of their being physically destroyed by the military.

Thus, we can conclude that the program of the FREJULI is to revive capitalism, and, by means of a so-called "pacification," to stem the tide of the revolutionary war that is developing in our country.

Q. Obviously, the FREJULI cannot be regarded as a homogeneous whole; there are different tendencies inside the FREJULI, some revolutionary and progressive, and this will give rise to contradictions. What is the position of the ERP with regard to this?

A. Indeed, as we already mentioned, an intense internal struggle has to develop within the Peronist-Fronzist

government and the parties that belong to it. The main role in this struggle will be played essentially by the revolutionary and progressive sectors of the Peronist movement, who, although they are in a minority, will consistently fight for a truly anti-imperialist and revolutionary program and measures. The ERP will actively support these sectors in their struggle by insisting on unity between Peronist and non-Peronist revolutionary organizations and sectors. The ERP will insist on this unity both in mobilizing the masses for their demands and in preparing for the next, inevitable stage of new and more serious confrontations between the people and the bourgeoisie.

Q. As I see it, the Cámpora government cannot be viewed as the ideal that the military was hoping for. Can a coup d'etat be ruled out?

A. It is true that this parliamentary government will not enjoy the full confidence of the military, which has accepted it as a lesser evil and as a transitional stage in its attempt to hold back the advance of the revolutionary forces, particularly of the guerrilla organizations. A military coup will remain a possibility, and tendencies in that direction will increase in direct proportion to the extent to which the masses are mobilized.

Q. In case of a military coup, where would the ERP stand?

A. Shoulder to shoulder with the progressive and revolutionary wing of the Peronist movement in order to confront any attempt to reestablish the military dictatorship.

Q. In recent statements, President-elect Héctor Cámpora has asked the Argentine guerrilla organizations to call a truce in their actions beginning May 25 [the day Cámpora is scheduled to take office] so that they can "see whether or not we are on the path to liberation and if we are going to achieve our goals." You have indicated a partial acceptance of this appeal. What are the reasons for this decision?

A. Dr. Cámpora's appeal came as a result of various guerrilla actions, among them the kidnapping of Ale-

man and the execution of Iribarren. Then it was understood that the appeal of the president-elect signifies total suspension of guerrilla activity. We believe that the Cámpora government represents the popular will. Out of respect for this will, our organization will not attack the new government as long as it does not attack the people or the guerrilla movement. Our organization will continue to struggle militarily against the large, exploitative companies, imperialist ones for the most part, and the counterrevolutionary armed forces. But it will not direct its attacks against government institutions or against any member of the government of President Cámpora.

As for the police, which is supposedly under the executive branch, in spite of the fact that it has acted as an active auxiliary of the oppressive army during these past few years, the ERP will suspend its attacks against it as long as it does not cooperate with the army in hunting down the guerrilla movement and in repressing popular demonstrations.

Q. What kind of considerations went into your decision not to agree to a total truce?

A. We explained them in our reply to Dr. Cámpora. In September 1955, the leadership of the political movement that President Cámpora represents advised the people "not to shed blood," to "avoid civil war," and to "wait." The military took advantage of the disorganization and disorientation of the working class and the people in order to deal a severe blow and subjugate the people's organizations. The only blood that was not shed was that of the oligarchs and capitalists. The people, on the other hand, saw dozens and dozens of their best children die, massacred and shot to death.

In 1958, this same political leadership that Cámpora represents advised the people to vote for the Radical ticket of Frondizi. The people followed this advice, and everybody knows what happened. Frondizi cleared the way for the army to crush the heroic Peronist resistance with the CONINTES plan [a military plan for national security] and turned the intervened workers organizations over to the traitorous bureaucracy.

In 1966, this same leadership advised the people to "go easy until things clear up," leaving the new military government of Onganía room for action. The Ruccis [Rucci is the head of the country's trade-union confederation] of the period — Vándor Alonso, Taccone, and Company — did not hesitate to support the military dictatorship and went with Onganía on his trip to Tucumán on July 9, 1966, thereby arousing and encouraging hopes among broad layers of the masses. Onganía and the army took advantage of this truce to launch a barbaric campaign to repress the people, to behead it by liquidating the new revolutionary leadership that was beginning to come forward. In our reply to Dr. Cámpora, this is what we said: "Experience shows us that there can be no truce with the enemies of the fatherland, with the exploiters, with the oppressor army, and the exploitative capitalist companies. It shows that to call off or to lessen the struggle is to allow them to reorganize and take the offensive."

Q. In any case, the political situation in Argentina from now until May 25 is one of extreme tension. Could the continuation of guerrilla activity in this context serve as a pretext for elements of the extreme right in the armed forces not to turn the government over to Cámpora?

A. For us, the elections constitute an event, if you wish, of secondary importance. The same attitude of the masses — although they supported the FREJULI — demonstrated, until shortly before the elections, a complete indifference to the electoral circus; although the most backward layers of the working class, as well as petty-bourgeois layers, perhaps are hoping that the people will attain power through the elections, the majority — and above all the vanguard — understand that this is not the path. We who are part of this vanguard understand that the road to workers and people's power in Argentina is prolonged revolutionary war.

And revolutionary war is not thwarted by this electoral event; on the contrary, it is increasing, since we view the oppressor army as being in retreat and in the process of breaking up. If this were not so, it would not even have granted the maneuver of the Great National Agreement.

At the moment, the military party lacks any internal cohesion such as it had at the time of the Onganía coup in 1966, which allowed it to reformulate its political plans.

Moreover, since March 11 exploitation and repression have not ceased. We, as well as the other fraternal guerrilla organizations who have continued their operations, have understood this.

Q. What are the main things that you are now proposing?

A. As we already said, exploitation has not stopped, repression has not stopped, and therefore the armed struggle against exploitation, repression, and the dictatorship continues. Hundreds of our fighters are in prison; they are prisoners of war, hostages of the dictatorship, which therefore might attempt to pull off a new Trelew-style massacre. We have no faith in the goodwill of the dictatorship to guarantee the safety of our prisoner-fighters.

We understand that the safety and release of our fighters depend on popular mobilizations and our activity.

Q. Is this the reason that you kidnapped Admiral Francisco Aleman and made him undergo a revolutionary trial?

A. Yes. Aleman is being tried by a revolutionary tribunal for various crimes—among others, his responsibility for the criminal decision to murder our compañeros, the heroes of Trelew. Aleman was a member of the top body of the Navy—the Council of Admirals—that met several times between August 15 and 22 of last year before taking this barbaric decision.

In addition Aleman, along with Admiral Gnavi (at that time commander in chief of the navy), was one of the main advocates of turning the state-owned company ELMA [responsible for the merchant marine] over to private ownership. He is also charged with stealing—directly and through negotiations—several billion [milliard] pesos worth of state property. He committed these crimes by taking advantage of his post as undersecretary of ELMA and of his personal friendship with General Alejandro Lanusse.

As second in command to Captain Laplacette, Aleman is also jointly re-

sponsible for the barbaric persecution of the National CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and of all labor unions following the 1955 gorilla coup. He is also co-owner with Captain De la Peña of a private police agency that is under contract to various exploitative companies to repress factory workers in the Greater Buenos Aires area.

One thing we want to make absolutely clear: Neither prior to May 25 nor after May 25 will popular justice grant amnesty to the exploiters, the economic criminals, the torturers, and the murderers of the people. They will be mercilessly pursued, since they have been condemned by the people as a whole.

Q. Was it in applying this principle that Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada was killed last week? The deed is attributed to you. What were the charges against him?

A. The execution of Quijada—which was not carried out by us but by a group that split off from the ERP, called "August 22," about which we can say more later—can be explained by the fact that this man was also a member of the Council of Admirals and head of the joint chiefs of staff at the time of the Trelew massacre. He was accused of giving totally false public explanations for the alleged cause of this massacre, which he attributed in a completely vicious way to an escape attempt by our compañeros. The three compañeros who survived—Haidar, Camps, and Maria Antonia Berger—clearly indicated that what was involved was a cold and premeditated machine-gunning of the prisoners.

Knowing what kind of responsibility he bore for this, Rear Admiral Quijada was on the verge of fleeing the country when he was executed.

Q. You say that the authors of this deed belonged to a group that broke away from the ERP, the "August 22." What were the reasons for this split?

A. We had a number of differences with this group that were at first methodological in nature: We thought that these compañeros had serious deviations of a militaristic type and that they did not understand the need to proletarianize the organization. Final-

ly, these differences took on a political coloration when they decided—in what we viewed as an opportunist move—to support the FREJULI.

We think that by continuing to use our emblem, to which they add their name, this group—which is limited to the federal capital—is only helping to confuse the working class and the people and to aid their enemies, namely, the dictatorship and the parties of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

This does not prevent us from approving the execution of a war criminal like Hermes Quijada.

Q. What kind of relationship does the ERP have with the other armed Argentine organizations?

A. From our very inception, we have made, and continue to make, permanent appeals for unity in action among the armed revolutionary organizations, with the aim of building a solid, strong, and unified army of the people, in which there are certainly going to be Peronist and non-Peronist fighters, but in which they will all be united by a common methodology—prolonged revolutionary war—and a common ideal: the building of socialism in our country.

On basic points we share a common orientation. We have fraternal relations with all the armed sister organizations. We maintain that all the contradictions that we have with these organizations must be characterized as contradictions among the people that must be resolved through a critical approach, without conciliation, through the ideological discussion that we are constantly calling on our brothers in struggle to engage in—without making concessions, which we ourselves have never made nor asked for—but also through seeking out points of agreement that open up common political ground; examples of this have in fact been demonstrated, in practice, by the actions that have been carried out jointly. And it is our view that the points that unite us are much more numerous than those that separate us.

Q. How does the struggle you are waging in Argentina fit into a continental strategy for liberation?

A. We recognize Ernesto Che Guevara as the top commander in the revolutionary war on which we have embarked. And this is not a mere

reference or an expression of personal affinity. It also stems from a general agreement with his strategic conceptions on developing the revolution: create two, three, many Vietnams, with one—or several—of them in Latin America.

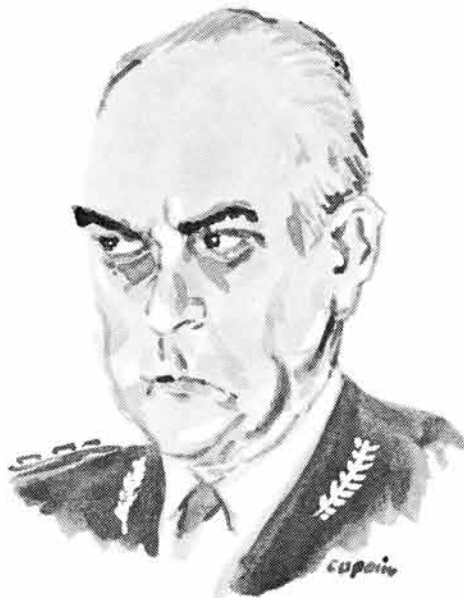
Our starting point was also his concept and his exemplary practice of proletarian internationalism: to be in whatever place people are fighting imperialism arms in hand. This is the reason that our strategy is continental, that we maintain fraternal relations with all revolutionary organizations in Latin America, that we recognize the Cuban revolution as a beacon of liberation in Latin America, and that we see that liberation does not result from the development of revolutions that remain isolated in each country, but that the revolution (national because of the specific forms it adopts in each country) will have an internationalist content.

Q. One final question. You spoke about the line of operations that you propose to follow after May 25, which you defined in your answer to Cámpora. What do the Revolutionary Workers party and the ERP propose for the trade-union struggle, for legal work, and with regard to a united front, and how do you plan to combine legal and illegal work?

A. On the trade-union level, to struggle for the independence of the workers movement from the Cámpora government and the bureaucratic union leaderships; maintain and continue to put forward a program for [revolutionary] war and socialism, through underground work, by pressing and energetically supporting the struggle for immediate demands.

Our legal work will orient toward consolidating and developing an anti-imperialist front together with progressive and revolutionary sectors. We will focus our immediate activity on mobilizing the people for: (a) the release of all the political prisoners; (b) repeal of the repressive laws; (c) legalization of all political organizations on the left and of their press; and (d) an increase in the real wages of the workers.

As for the army: wage an active campaign of propaganda and agitation among draftees, calling on them not to fire on the people and not to take part in the repression; encour-



LANUSSE: Scheduled to step down on May 25.

age soldiers to desert, by calling on them to join the ERP.

On the united front; call on the entire left, all the progressive and revolutionary organizations of the workers and the people to close ranks, offer one another mutual support, and

present an organized common front in the face of the political-ideological and military offensive of the bourgeoisie, in both its repressive and its diversionary populist variants.

And with regard to combining legal and illegal work: jealously maintain the underground structure of the PRT and of the ERP by strengthening the separation between legal and illegal work and adjusting the strict fulfillment of security norms; extend as much as possible the legal activity of the organization and its periphery, and through this combination of legal and illegal work take maximum advantage of all the opportunities that the vigor of the mass movement affords.

Q. In summary, then, your slogans for the present period are . . .

A. No truce with the oppressor army. No truce with the exploitative companies. Immediate release of the freedom fighters. Down with all repressive legislation, and complete freedom of expression and organization for the people. For unity among the armed organizations. Win or die for Argentina. □

PST Statement on Execution of Quijada

[The following statement on the April 30 assassination of retired Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada by members of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo 22 de Agosto (August 22 Revolutionary Army of the People) was published in the May 2 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST — Socialist Workers party). The article was entitled "The Death of Quijada Aids the Right." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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A guerrilla organization has killed Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada in an attack carried out in the heart of downtown Buenos Aires. The action was impressive both in terms of its boldness and its victim, who was a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and one of the main officials of the

navy at the time of the Trelew massacre [August 22, 1972].

The government decreed a state of emergency in the capital and in the largest provinces, which means that the military authorities assumed full powers, with no opportunity for appeal in the civil courts. A War Tribunal was set up and empowered to apply the death penalty in summary judgment.

Coming twenty-five days before the new government takes over, the death of Quijada is not going to substantially alter things. Initial statements by the high commands reaffirm their earlier decision to relinquish the reins of government. Parallel to this, Lanusse sent a telegram to Cámpora stressing an invitation to discuss the pacification of the country. Cámpora agreed, and now the Peronist leadership is increasing, if that be possible, the conciliatory tone it adopted after tossing Galimberti overboard. [See *Intercontinental Press*, May 14, p. 550.]

But there can be no doubt that within this context those sectors that are opposed to turning the government over to the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación — Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist coal-



CAMPORA: Discussing "pacification" with Lanusse.

tion], or who want to impose prior conditions upon it and compromise it as much as possible with the oligarchy, now find themselves in a stronger position. The most likely thing is that now they will hand over power to the FREJULI, but only after imposing conditions—which we cannot be sure Cámpora will reject.

And one direct consequence of the attack is that at a time when various unions are involved in struggles, and with only a short time remaining before the new government for which the workers voted takes office, May Day demonstrations were banned, making the process of reorganizing the workers movement more difficult. One of the groups most hurt [as a result of the attack] is the Juventud Peronista [JP—Peronist Youth], which was dealt a double blow: Perón "cleaned out" [JP leader Rodolpho] Galimberti, and, following the attack, the planned march on the Congress was banned.

We have polemicized at length in

the pages of *Avanzada Socialista* with the guerrilla organizations. Many times we have insisted that their actions, which are isolated from the struggles of the masses, do not aid the struggle for immediate goals, nor do they bring socialism nearer, nor do they educate the workers about the necessity to become protagonists in the struggle; on the contrary, these actions strengthen the forces of reaction.

The killing of Quijada, unfortunately, only confirms the correctness of our position.

The working class and its vanguard are today fighting two decisive battles: to win the release of all the political prisoners and to win nationalization, under workers control, of certain monopolistic companies that are involved in a conflict with the state or with their own workers. This is the situation in the outstanding cases of Códex [a publishing house] and Standard Electric.

By strengthening the right wing and the most reactionary sectors, the new attack does nothing more than place an obstacle in the path of this struggle

that has already begun. And let it not be said in reply that the working class thereby receives a stimulus toward combativity, since, by its very nature, this kind of action is not regarded by the workers as something suitable for them to emulate; at most it might arouse astonishment at its boldness. The fact is that individual terrorism — however strongly it is propagated—cannot be a substitute for mass struggle.

The system can replace thousands of its officials, however valuable they may be; losing them is not going to be enough to bring about its collapse. Moreover, to kill many of them in violence confuses vast layers of the people, who see that both the reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the guerrillas, on the other, resort to a totally arbitrary "justice" that is neither controlled by nor carried out by the masses, even though it may be performed in their name.

For this reason, we repeat: The effect of this type of guerrilla actions is the opposite of what their authors proclaim or want; they actually strengthen the forces of reaction. □

Official and Provisional Positions on Northern Irish Elections

[The question of what position anti-imperialist fighters should take toward the May 31 elections to the new regional assembly in Northern Ireland has been sharply debated in the Irish left and militant nationalist movement. The major anti-imperialist organizations, the Official and Provisional republican movements, have taken clearly opposing positions. The Pro-

visional position was set forth in a statement by the Irish Republican Publicity Board (IRPB) in the May 11 issue of *An Phoblacht*. The Official position was explained in the May issue of the *United Irishman* in an article entitled "Opportunity to Educate and Organise." The text of both these statements follows.]

* * *

The Provisional Position

Six County Local Election: Irish Republican Publicity Board Statement

The Leadership of the Republican Movement calls all Republican-minded people to ignore the forthcoming Six-County Local Government elections. Participation in the elections will not assist the struggle for freedom but will simply confuse and fragment those who have heroically resisted

British military terror over the last few years. Many heavy sacrifices have been made to end British rule for all time, and to be diverted now into a cul-de-sac of meaningless politics will only give comfort to the Whitelaw regime and to those who are determined to maintain foreign rule in our country.

Military repression of the people is the kernel of current British policy. The shooting of innocent civilians and

the killing of unarmed wanted men is the order of the day backed up with increased raiding and searching of homes and the jailing of Republicans. The conduct of the Parachute Regiment in Ardoyne, Newry and South Armagh has evoked the condemnation of all, and the placing of a detachment of those troops in Andersonstown heralds a new phase of increased military terror in that area. Under the circumstances, Mr. Whitelaw's talk of "free elections" is nothing more than a smokescreen for military repression upon which he has based all his hopes for defeating resistance to his junta. By ignoring the election, Mr. Whitelaw can be deprived of his smokescreen and exposed for the dictator he has become.

The system of local government proposed by the British is a meaningless form of government. The elected representatives will have no power to serve local communities in a positive way, but will simply provide a skin of so-called respectability for the English overlords in Stormont Castle. Involvement in such a system is alien to the Republican political programme of giving power back to the people at local, regional and provincial levels

and we urge those who know only too well the malpractices of the last Unionist regime to avoid giving any consent to the tinsel substitute proposed by Mr. William Whitelaw. Withdrawing consent from Stormont was a big factor in bringing about its downfall, and it would be the height of folly to throw away that victory by accepting a further British creation.

The refusal of the Whitelaw junta to allow free political activity by Republicans makes it well nigh impossible to present our programme for a New Ulster to the people. As well as the harassment and jailing of our members, the continued censorship on radio, television and press deprives the people of even an elementary knowledge of our political, social and economic programmes. Despite those obstacles, Republicans will continue to put our policy before the people insofar as it is possible, and we look forward to the day when genuine free elections can be held and the people of Ireland can exercise their right to choose their own democratic institutions of government.

P. O'Neill

(Runai[Secretary], I. R. P. B.)

The Official Position

Opportunity to Educate and Organise

The decision of the Six County Executive to fight the Local Government Elections was arrived at after many meetings of both local clubs and special general members meetings held at different times throughout this year. It was undoubtedly a hard decision to arrive at for a variety of reasons.

For example, the Macrory Report which outlined the whole of local government re-organisation provides for a totally undemocratic shift in power away from local representatives into the hands of appointed bodies. Many saw this as a good reason not to contest elections to councils with no more powers than the old English parish pump councils. The whole Civil Rights struggle for 'One Man, One Vote' had become meaningless and although Proportional Representation had been won, the victory was hollow.

Furthermore, the publication of the British White Paper, carefully designed to win the middle-class to accept a new

sharing of the cake, contained the promise of much vicious legislation. Internment is to continue, special courts denying trial by jury are presented as reasonable, and there is no provision for a genuine Bill of Rights. Powers will be vested in the Secretary of State which will not only make him virtually a dictator but which will provide him with scope for patronage beyond even that held by Faulkner [the last premier of the Belfast parliament] and the Unionist Party.

On top of these assaults on Democracy the British Army continues to kill, arrest, smash homes, intimidate and harass. The very idea of participating in elections seemed to be against the best interests of the Republican Movement.

Therefore, why contest? In the main the decision was arrived at because the majority believed that here was an opportunity to present the Republican Programme to the people; failure to do so was in fact to play the very game the British Government wanted. Politics was to be the preserve of the

middle class and if Republicans 'abstained,' then Westminster and their toadies would have the field to themselves. Republican participation had even more significance, for the decision, once arrived at, was qualified by certain conditions vital for the continuation of the Civil Disobedience Campaign. No seats were to be taken as long as internment or detention and Special Powers continued in any form.

This means that the pressure is on the 'Nationalist' parties to stick by their original commitments of August 1971 and holds out the promise of unity against repression and terror. The place-seekers will be compelled to support the people's struggle. Candidates in the forthcoming elections must stress this aspect of our programme, emphasising that our position is in keeping with the efforts made by the people since 1968.

What of the rest of our programme? Obviously we must see this month as providing an opportunity to educate and organise. What must be stressed is that both Macrory and the White Paper are measures to take power out of the hands of the Irish people and that the people's organisations must fight to have their importance and interests concerned in decision making.

The Election Manifesto deals with all aspects of Local Government activity including Housing, Welfare, Amenities, Education, Ground Rents. The following are but some of the Republican proposals:

In Housing

- (i) The nationalisation of the building industry.
- (ii) An end to speculation in housing and property development and the stopping of the rise in housing prices.
- (iii) Tenants' control of management and administration of local housing estates.

Ground Rents

Abolish all Ground Rents.

Welfare

- (i) A completely free national health service.
- (ii) Communal care of the aged and increased family allowances and extra aid to one-parent families.

Education

- (i) A system of comprehensive non-streamed education [that is, not divided into different programs on the basis of elitist conceptions].

- (ii) Full programme to establish pre-school nurseries in working-class areas.
- (iii) Integration of schools at pre-primary level and the integration of colleges of education (teacher training colleges).

Amenities

- (i) A full scale programme to upgrade amenities in neglected housing areas.
- (ii) Full recreational and sport facilities in all areas.

The Manifesto also raises the urgent questions of light industry, sectarianism [i.e., conflicts between the religious communities], lack of democratic control, regional planning, transport and the very important question of local government finance.

We emphasise, in particular, the abolition of domestic rates on public

and private housing and the Republican demands for the Nationalisation of Banks, Building Societies and other Financial Institutions. In raising these proposals, we are raising the whole question of the exploitation of the majority of the people by the capitalist system at their most vulnerable point, their homes.

The Republican Movement under the direction of the Ard Chomhairle [National Committee] of Sinn Fein will be putting 90 candidates in the field. In the main, our purpose is to present the people with a socialist alternative, no matter how well or poorly we may expect to do in the different areas; we must use these elections as a major opportunity to educate and organise for the development of future agitations. □

phone, or are being frightened in other ways.

There are members of the student unions who are being terrorized in this way for the simple reason that the majority of the Greek students stand behind them in their efforts to find some solution to the student problem.

We students who are refusing to allow ourselves to become slaves appeal to our teachers to stand by us and remember their responsibilities to us, the student youth. We appeal to the Greek people to demonstrate even greater fortitude and to support, in practice, our just struggle for freedom and democracy.

We appeal to all progressive people throughout the world, and especially in Europe, to continue to support us in our difficult struggle. We demand that the dictatorship in Athens stop its violence and terror against the students, that it stop its arrests, torture, and persecution.

We intend to continue our struggle, realizing that it is our duty to do so. □

Greek Students Appeal for World Support

[The following open letter from Greek students was written in Athens on March 26. It was delivered to the correspondent of the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* with the request that it be publicized. A few days later the paper published it, with the explanation that its authors were among a group of some fifty students who have gone underground in view of the widespread arrests and persecutions of students that the dictatorship is engaging in. The translation from the Swedish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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This open letter is from Greek students of both sexes who are being inhumanly tortured in police cells and who are being daily confronted with extreme violence and terror on the part of the dictatorship.

We have been forced to interrupt our studies and go underground in order to avoid arrest. Through this letter to our Greek student comrades, the Greek people, and all progressive people throughout the world, we want to stigmatize and condemn the horrible orgy of violence and terror that the dictatorship has unleashed against our democratic comrades, who are fighting for the independence of the university and for academic freedom.

Following the inhuman bloodbath



PAPADOPOULOS: Forces student activists to go underground.

the students experienced at the law faculty on March 20 this year, the dictatorship unleashed a no-holds-barred persecution against the Greek democratic students, against all honest and decent members of the student unions. A large number of students are being arrested every day, and many have been brutally tortured. Many have gone into hiding to avoid arrest. Others receive threats by tele-

'Codfish War' Heats Up

The forty-vessel British trawler fleet that has been raiding Iceland's fishing grounds withdrew in mid-May because of London's failure to give it Royal Navy protection against harassment from the Icelandic Coast Guard. Since Iceland extended its fishing limit to fifty miles last September, its vessels have cut the wires of more than fifty British trawlers.

At the heart of the dispute is the very existence of the Icelandic economy; 80 percent of the island's exports consist of fish and fish products. Yet continued overfishing by the West German and British fleets has depleted the cod and haddock supply and threatens the ecology of Iceland's continental shelf. Pressure has been mounting in Iceland to arrest the violators.

Britain, which obtains 25 percent of its annual fish take from Icelandic waters, responded to the pullout of its trawlers by agreeing to send Royal Navy frigates into Iceland's waters. This could result in a clash between the two NATO countries, which could prove embarrassing to the United States and France, since Presidents Nixon and Pompidou are scheduled to meet in Reykjavik at the end of May. □