

French Watch-Factory Workers Take Things Into Own Hands



Lip workers and supporters in Besancon demonstrating against layoffs. Lip factory is being run under workers control.

Why Ligue Communiste Was Banned

Special Feature

Trotsky on Individual Terrorism

Nixon Seen As Outstanding Example

Richard Nixon's political career, which is likely to become a subject of study for students of criminology, has already provided subject matter for students in another field, according to a report by William Hines of the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

Following his defeat in the 1962 race for governor of California, Nixon made a long and partially incoherent speech blaming the press for his defeat. The speech is best known for the plaint: "You won't have Nixon to kick around any more."

Hines reports that a tape recording of the speech "was used for several years in the Stanford University [California] Medical Center's psychiatric training program as a classic example of 'paranoid trends' in a person under long and intense pressure." The tape was used for four or five years in a seminar on abnormal behavior conducted by Dr. Peter Rosenbaum, who has since become the center's director of graduate psychiatric education.

Rosenbaum told Hines that a "rambling, angry response to stress is no respecter of party, person, or occupation. Psychiatrists are often called to treat such persons and thus are familiar with the phenomenon."

"In answer to a direct question," Hines reported, "Rosenbaum said, 'I would stress that Richard Nixon's conduct . . . did not constitute a psychiatric break in any sense of the term.' He added that he knew nothing in Nixon's past or present history that would justify a diagnosis of 'paranoia.'" □

Summer Schedule

This is the last issue of **Intercontinental Press** before we begin our summer break. We will not publish during the next four weeks but will resume publication with the issue dated September 10.

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An Initial Analysis of the Ban on the Ligue Communiste

By Pierre Frank

[The following article appeared in the May-August double issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, bimonthly journal of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The dissolution of the Ligue Communiste and the repression of its members are among the most important political events in French political life. To some degree the Ligue Communiste represented the revolutionary movement of May 1968, and because of this its dissolution is politically significant; but that is not at all sufficient to fully explain either the government's move or the powerful reaction that it triggered. The reasons for the repression and the huge solidarity that has arisen against it are to be found in the facts of the current political situation.

The situation in France is marked by two sorts of phenomena that picked up speed after the March 1973 legislative elections and that showed, each in its own way, that the electoral victory of the governmental coalition was illusory. In the first place, the rise of mass movements—which temporarily marked time owing to hopes for a Union of the Left electoral victory—reasserted itself more vigorously, especially in regard to the political level attained. High-schoolers, students, women, intellectuals, artists, and immigrants all took to the streets in turn. Marcellin [pro-fascist minister of the interior] declared on June 20 that since the beginning of the year there had been ninety-three demonstrations in Paris, an average of one every two days! And what's more, the working class has for months been ceaselessly waging struggles in every corner of France, whether it be unskilled workers like the Algerian, Portuguese, and other immigrants at Renault or highly skilled workers who, on the social scale, may even belong to skilled petty-bourgeois layers, like the air-traffic controllers.

Beyond demands for wage increases to counter the prices driven ever higher by irresistible inflation, the demands raised have been essentially political in character: The semiskilled workers at Renault were challenging the whole wage hierarchy structure; the air-traffic controllers were struggling for the right to strike; and finally, for several weeks, the Lip workers at Besançon have in practice been flouting capitalist property rights, the authority of the employers and management, and bourgeois law; and they have been doing this with the sympathy of the masses of the whole country, making a government that wants to be strong impotent for fear of touching off a social explosion.

The second sort of phenomenon falls in the framework of the decomposition of the UDR [Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the Republic, the Gaullist party] and of this period of a Bonapartism with no Bonaparte, in which Pompidou has been trying so far as possible to play the role of arbiter. Beyond the intensified attrition of this après-Gaullism, a situation in which there scarcely exists a plausible alternative solution from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, the rumors of Pompidou's impending involuntary departure from the political scene (rumors that seem to be verified by the plethora of possible candidates for succession to his post) are week by week intensifying centrifugal currents within political circles and within the bourgeois state.

The perspective of a presidential election being held before too long and the consequent possibility of Mitterrand being elected president of the republic are setting off the development of all sorts of tendencies within the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. Obviously, to speak of a fascist threat in the strict sense of a seizure of power by fascistlike elements or groupings is out of order; that is excluded. But one can sense a rising potential, a swarming of currents and

tendencies seeking a forcible solution. Their desire is to put an end to what for them is an intolerable "disorder" that has existed since May 1968.

The government that Messmer set up after the March elections is itself an attempt to gather together the forces of a decaying bourgeoisie in order to try to dam up "disorder" and "anarchy." Several ministers have spoken in terms that seem drawn from the last century; worn out formulas worthy of a Thiers have been expressed. It is this set of conditions that explains the repression against the Ligue Communiste. It is an operation of a preventive type, aimed at decapitating, before the big test comes, the far-left organization that is strongest and most vigorous, that the regime considers to be politically the most competent. It is an operation that was set in motion in the belief that it would not unite the two big partners of the Union of the Left and would not set off serious political ferment.

The troubled waters that are pushing along the degeneration of the UDR are now extending into the state apparatus, into an army that, don't forget, got a taste of coup d'état in 1958 for the first time in ninety years, and into a police force that the minister of the interior is reorganizing in order to make it more efficient in "maintaining order." A machination was mounted at the time of the [June 21] *Ordre Nouveau* meeting aimed at strengthening the most brutal repressive tendencies within the police force—there is no longer any doubt about this. It does not matter whether this machination was mounted directly by Marcellin or, whether, as is more probable, he simply became aware of what was in the works and closed his eyes to it with the idea of taking advantage of it.

In either case, the repression against the far left, and more exactly against the Ligue Communiste, flowed directly from the current political situation, although obviously this should not be taken to mean that the dissolution nec-

essarily had to come down at the precise moment that it did.

An essential element in that situation has been the response—no less surprising for its breadth—triggered off by the repression against the Ligue Communiste. That the government had not counted on such a response is proven by the very words Marcellin spoke on television, when he seethed with indignation at the fact that Marchais [central leader of the Communist party], who yesterday was denouncing the "Marcellin ultraleftists," had taken up the defense of Krivine. But it must also be said that, even among the most optimistic revolutionists, nobody had expected such a mass of defense statements, beginning with the entire far left and going even beyond the traditional workers organizations to take in such unexpected protests as the very measured one put out by the magistrates union.

The government's error, and error it was, is in part explainable by the political vacuity of the minister of the interior and the prime minister, respectively a former lieutenant general in the Foreign Legion and a former colonial governor, two posts that do not compel one to acquire great political savvy.

The very broad united front that was formed, the like of which has perhaps never before been seen in France, has its origin in the present mass movement, which by its power and dynamic is shaking the routinism of the old leaderships. The leadership of the Socialist party is certainly not going to neglect the 2 to 3 percent of the vote that was gotten by the far left in the last election; what is determining the SP leadership's attitude is its hope of co-opting (as it has just done in the case of Régis Debray) a section of the far-left militants in order to infuse the SP's political personnel with a greater dynamism at the moment that its electoral returns are approaching those of the CP, while the SP still lacks the active members needed to take full advantage of the situation.

No one has the slightest illusion about the sentiments the CP leadership holds toward Trotskyism. Despite its successes, the Ligue Communiste has not transformed the relationship of forces to the point of being able to shift the CP's attitude toward the Ligue solely on the basis of that altered



POMPIDOU: Trying to play the role of arbiter.

relationship of forces. When it is recalled what position the CP and the CGT took at the time of the murder of Pierre Overney, the intense campaign now being waged against the dissolution of the Ligue Communiste and the arrest of Krivine (going so far as to include Jacques Duclos's participation in the Cirque d'Hiver meeting) indicates that powerful forces have dictated such a change in attitude.

What has happened since the elections of last March? The CP and CGT leaderships, after having vainly attempted to double-cross the Trotskyist leadership that was democratically elected by the high-school and university movement, had to join in this movement or find themselves isolated. In the case of the semiskilled workers at Renault, the union leadership was compelled to maneuver in order to regain control of the representative bodies of strikers elected independently of the leadership. Other examples point in the same way toward a weakening of the apparatuses' control over the workers. The leaderships of the CP and the CGT understood that if they maintained their previous attitude, they would risk being outflanked to the left during the movements that are

developing. They thus understood very quickly that the response to the repression against the Ligue Communiste would not be insignificant; they did not want to risk being isolated, even temporarily, as had happened in the case of Pierre Overney.

Further, they could not help but be aware of the reactionary danger of the threat we referred to above, and, for the first time, they had to grasp the fact that if they allowed the repression of the Trotskyists to go unhindered, they would risk paying for it themselves in coming months.

The powerful response to the repression against the Ligue Communiste and the change in the CP's attitude cannot be considered immutable elements in French politics, but their importance for the future should not be underestimated so far as the Trotskyist movement is concerned—both in France and internationally. After what the CP leaders have done, it will be very hard for them to claim that Trotskyism is not part of the workers movement and to stifle its voice within the organizations of the working class. The change will not occur without a struggle, but the struggle will take place in much more favorable conditions.

And in places where the Stalinist movement lacks the authority that the French CP has within the working class, the sections of the Fourth International will have greater possibilities of intervention and more extensive means of defending themselves against the repression that cannot but fall on all revolutionary organizations.

If one does not forget the political situation that gave rise to the dissolution of the Ligue Communiste and the perspectives that this situation implies—to anticipate the inevitable great tests, the great class confrontations—it becomes obvious that the struggle to repeal the decree dissolving the Ligue Communiste, and more generally the struggle against all antidemocratic measures taken by the French regime since the great fear of May 1968, is not and cannot be a struggle to return to the former status quo. Such a struggle cannot be separated from the struggle that the masses are increasingly tending to wage in order to transform their lot, to create a socialist society—contrary to the claims of the champions of the theory that envisages bourgeois democracy ex-

tending itself little by little into "advanced democracy," which by some miracle is then supposed to lead to socialism without provoking resistance from Marcellin and the others of the same stripe that are bred and developed by the capitalist system. That is where the role and function of the revolutionary party come in.

In its own way the regime has shown that it understands this fact and also understands that the Ligue Communiste would be fulfilling this function in accordance with its growing ability. There is no doubt that the present repression will involve tempo-



DUCLOS: Sent by CP to speak at meeting in defense of Ligue.

rary inconvenience in the expression of revolutionary Marxist ideas and in the organizing of the current that is the carrier of those ideas. But living through difficulties is not unusual for revolutionists, and the Trotskyist movement in France, which is nearly forty-five years old, has known many difficulties. It will come through this test with courage, and may even be able to transform it into a source of power and progress. In truth, the Trotskyist movement enters this test under infinitely better conditions than it entered those of the past.

The history of the Ligue Communiste, a short history of four or five years, has been a history of the first breakthrough for the Fourth International in France, in the vanguard of the international Trotskyist move-

ment. Trotskyism in France will emerge from this test it has just engaged—and it will be more powerful, having greater implantation and authority within the working class and the working masses. It will come out of the test better prepared to fulfill the role it set for itself when it began to combat the Stalinist and Social Democratic degeneration: to know how to provide a revolutionary Marxist leadership able to lead the masses to the overthrow of the bourgeois order and the construction of socialism.

One would have to totally lack a sense of the ridiculous to think that what a Stalin was unable to destroy, a Marcellin could destroy. Trotskyism has been buried many times be-

fore, but it has never yet disappeared from the political scene. Like the phoenix, it is ever reborn from its ashes. And this time, as even most bourgeois commentators and politicians have admitted, the dissolution decree was a political error from the bourgeois point of view.

Political errors are always paid for, and the revolutionary Marxist vanguard in France and throughout the world will try to make sure that the bourgeoisie pays as dearly as possible for this particular error. The Fourth International has never faced the future with as much confidence as it faces it now, at the very time that its strongest section has just been dissolved.

July 12, 1973

Calls for United Front Against Fascism

Italian Petition for Ligue Communiste

[The following petition is being circulated in Italy, and has already been signed by a broad range of political figures. It appeared in the July 20 issue of *Rouge*; translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In an extremely serious action, which marks yet another step toward the theory and practice of the police state, the French government on June 28 dissolved the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

This is the most serious, but not the only, attack made by the European bourgeois governments against revolutionary organizations; it is enough to recall the persecution and arrests of militants of the KPD [Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands—German Communist party, a Maoist group] in West Germany, and the plans set forth, along with the wiretapping measures already being taken, for dissolving the Swiss Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Marxist League, the Swiss Trotskyist organization]. In Italy, dissolution of organizations such as Lotta Continua and Potere Operaio has been suggested

more than once, the pretext being the series of attacks and provocations carried out from December 1969 to today.

We denounce this repressive action as a serious attack on the freedom of expression and political organization. We consider it necessary to build the broadest possible front against this attack.

We denounce the false nature of the theory of "opposite extremes" resorted to by the Pompidou-Messmer government, and we reaffirm the need for united militant antifascist action, all the more so when (as in France) this means responding to the shameful racist campaign launched by the fascists of Ordre Nouveau ("stop wildcat immigration") and by the government (the Fontanet memorandum) in their attempt to break up the workers struggles, which in France too are developing vigorously, in large part under the impetus of the immigrants.

We demand:

— Abrogation of the decree dissolving the Ligue Communiste and an end to the persecution of revolutionary organizations throughout Europe;

— Immediate release of Ligue Communiste leaders Pierre Rousset and Alain Krivine, imprisoned under the infamous "antiwrecker law." □

Spanish Trotskyists Hail Ligue Communiste

[The following statement, translated by *Intercontinental Press*, was issued by the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist League of Spain, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, formerly known as the En Marcha Tendency. It should not be confused with the Communist League of Spain, another sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, formerly known as the En-crucijada Tendency.]

* * *

Comrades,

Through the press we have learned of the French government decree ordering your dissolution, and of the arrest of Alain Krivine and other comrades. No false symmetry with the fascist goons — who are being deprived of all possibility of becoming a real force by your courageous and systematic intervention — can hide the fact that what is involved is not only a blow against the development of the Trotskyist organization in France and its increasing intervention and growing influence in the workers struggles and youth mobilizations, as demonstrated by the national meeting of "Mole groups" and last spring's high-school movement, but also an attack against the European revolutionists as a whole, against the spectacular growth of the sections of the Fourth International in Europe to which you have contributed so much by your activity. It is as militants of the socialist revolution, as members of the Fourth International, that we who ever since our group was formed have experienced the harsh conditions of struggling in total clandestinity feel ourselves equally struck by the blow. So we want to send you this message of support, of solidarity, in the name of the Trotskyists, revolutionists, workers, and students who are fighting the Franco dictatorship.

At this difficult time we can only remember the support you have always given to the revolutionary struggle in Spain; the magnificent campaign you waged against the 1970 Burgos

courts martial; the defense of our comrades of the ETA (VI) [Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna — Basque Nation and Freedom] against the combined repression of Franco and the Pompidou government; the struggle against the Fontanet memorandum and in defense of the immigrant workers; and your constant help to the Spanish Trotskyists' activities in building the LCR. We know very well that in the developing worldwide struggle against cap-

Solidarity Campaign Initiated

Japanese Trotskyists Protest Ban on Ligue

The Political Bureau of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), Japanese section of the Fourth International, issued a statement July 1 protesting the ban on the Ligue Communiste and the arrest of the Ligue's leaders.

The statement calls for an international campaign of solidarity with the Ligue and demands the immediate lifting of the ban, an end to government repression of the Ligue, and the immediate and unconditional release of those arrested.

The statement outlines the political background to the ban. Despite the betrayal of the working class in 1968 by the French Communist party and the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail — General Confederation of Labor], the Pompidou regime has been unable to resolve the crisis of the French bourgeoisie. The French working class, particularly since the March general elections, has begun to engage in powerful struggles at factory level; the Renault workers came out on strike under the impetus of the immigrant workers; a broad national movement of women developed, demanding the right to abortion, and forced concessions from the government; the movement against the Debré law, supported by broad masses of the working class and led by our comrades of the Ligue Communiste, mobilized hundreds of

italism, imperialism, and Stalinist bureaucracy our guiding principle is to spare no effort to reach our common goal: the world republic of workers councils.

But this is not the time for grand declarations; we must fulfill our internationalist duty by opening up a resolute struggle in our country against this arbitrary action by the French government. You can be sure that in this struggle the French and Spanish workers will stand shoulder to shoulder, united in the same trench.

Hasta la victoria, siempre!

Long live the Ligue Communiste!

Long live the Fourth International!

thousands of youth against the government and forced the French Communist party to accept a united front with the Trotskyist leadership.

From the March general elections on, a movement of massive political struggles and militant offensives by the factory workers has been developing, potentially broader and more powerful than the movement of May 1968. And at the head was the Ligue Communiste, which had made consistent efforts to build a national revolutionary vanguard organization in the working class since May '68.

"In the midst of the deepening crisis of the French bourgeoisie, the working class was increasingly breaking loose from the bureaucratic control of the French Communist party with its parliamentarist reformist outlook. This meant that the Ligue Communiste had the possibility of making a real breakthrough among the broadest layers of the French working class.

"This is the decisive political reason for the ban on the Ligue. The French proletariat is moving toward massive confrontations — the Pompidou government banned the Ligue to deprive the French working class of its revolutionary vanguard.

"Our fight to defend the Ligue Communiste and its activities among the working class is, therefore, a fight

for the revolutionary leadership of the French proletariat and for the French and entire European proletarian revolution."

The statement ends with the following slogans: "Smash the French fascists! Down with the Pompidou regime! Lift the decree of dissolution of the Ligue Communiste! Free the arrested militants of the Ligue! Long live the Ligue Communiste! Long live the socialist united states of Europe!"

Japanese newspapers, with the exception of the bourgeois *Yomiuri*, declined even to mention the ban on the Ligue. But the militants of the JRCL responded immediately. In the evening of June 30, about twenty persons went to the French Embassy to protest the ban, but were not admitted. They shouted out such slogans as "Lift the ban on the Ligue Communiste" and "Release the arrested comrades." Finally the police arrived to remove the demonstrators, twelve of whom were arrested for no apparent reason.

On July 3, about forty persons protested the arrests of their twelve comrades at the Mita police office. They were refused permission to demonstrate

at the French Embassy.

About 200 persons attended a protest meeting called by the JRCL in Tokyo July 7. Participants included Mitsuteru Asada, a representative of a defense committee against the application of the Subversive Activities Prevention Law; Shojiro Kasuga, a former member of the Japanese Communist party; a representative of the Kyuen Renraku Center (a united front red-help organization of the Japanese far left); and Yoshii Iwasawa, a member of the Sanrizuka Peasants Union Against the New International Airport. All of these expressed their solidarity with the Ligue Communiste against the ban. Sakai, a member of the JRCL's Political Bureau, gave a detailed report on the political context of the ban. The meeting agreed to wage a protest campaign against the dissolution of the Ligue.

A special pamphlet, "Defend the Revolutionary Vanguard of the French Working Class—Lift the Ban on the Ligue Communiste!" was issued as part of the campaign. A further pamphlet is projected □

ened into spears. The *gauchistes* were equally well prepared.

It was the most important street confrontation since 1968. It was a miracle no one was killed. And though there may be room for argument about whether the *gauchistes* or the fascists ended the night as winners, it was only too clear who lost.

The CRS riot police had no less than 77 casualties, a dozen of them, mainly suffering from burns, serious enough to be still in hospital. As the leading figure in the policetrade union, Gerard Monate, immediately pointed out, one aspect of the affair was almost without precedent. The police had actually been outnumbered. Anyone who has passed as much as a long weekend in the City of Light in the last few years will appreciate how unusual a state of affairs that is. Visitors usually retain the impression that the Latin Quarter is inhabited almost exclusively by riot police on the one hand, and Japanese tourists on the other. This time the police were caught in the middle.

It was not as if the authorities, whose efficiency is rarely questioned on such occasions, had no warning. The neo-fascist adherents of Ordre Nouveau had advertised their meeting well in advance. They had also challenged the Leftists in a press communique, which was, to put it mildly, provocative. They advised their most obvious opponents, the Trotskyist Communist League, to restrict their opposition to words and no more. Otherwise, the communique promised, they would be beaten to a pulp.

From that moment on there could be no doubt about the consequences. The Communist League is, or rather was, almost certainly the best organized, most influential, and above all most combative, revolutionary movement in France. Its leader, Alain Krivine, is the only figure on the extreme Left with any kind of national reputation. He owes it firstly to his role as leader of the Communist League's predecessor, the equally Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Youth Movement, which with Cohn-Bendit's more anarchist-minded group from Nanterre set the pace on the barricades in May 1968. Secondly, Krivine stood as a Presidential candidate in 1969—without any joy at the polls, naturally.

Sees Government Divided on Move

'New Statesman' Looks at Ban on Ligue

[The following article, entitled "C'est magnifique, mais . . ." appeared in the July 6 issue of the British weekly *New Statesman*. In it, David Leitch describes his reaction to the June 21 events and their aftermath. Of particular interest in his description of the divisions in the government over the wisdom of the decree dissolving the Ligue Communiste.]

* * *

Even by Latin Quarter standards the battle of 21 June, as they now call it in revolutionary circles, was a spectacular affair. It was not just another confused hot summer night scuffle between students and police, a simultaneous expression of high spirits and mutual detestation. To begin with, it was planned, and the civilian demonstrators were at least as well prepared and equipped as the "Forces of Order,"

the Government's name for riot police. Not just long-haired students in jeans chucking a handful of ideological stones before returning to the bosom of their bourgeois families in the outer suburbs. But tough, apparently rehearsed, combat troops of street warfare, clad in Clockwork Orange uniforms of crash helmets, goggles, heavy boots and neck-scarves expertly fastened over mouth and nostrils as a prophylactic against tear gas.

There was, it seemed, not much to choose when it came to expertise and preparation between the two sets of civilians involved. The neo-fascists, recently much encouraged by the success of their counterparts in Italy, were equipped with iron bars six feet long, Molotov cocktails made from bottles originally intended to contain nothing more lethal than *vin ordinaire*, and—God help us—bamboo poles sharp-

But in the process he acquired at least a limited celebrity.

Krivine's men would fight, that much was clear, and not just because the *machismo* of street politics left them no choice. Their analysis of the rise of the fascist groups in France is well known. Once the fascists command the streets, so their thesis goes, they will have no difficulty finding recruits.

Krivine is now pursuing his historical analyses in the tranquillity of the prison of La Santé. Article 314 of the Penal Code, the so called *anti-casseurs* law has been invoked against both him and his organisation. The Trotskyist Communist League, and the fascist New Order movement, have both been proscribed (though none of their leaders have been arrested). It was all very predictable, so much so that even the most pro-government commentators have been wondering whether the situation had not been set up in advance.

The decision to arrest Krivine and dissolve the two movements was taken at a cabinet meeting which by all accounts was a good deal less placid than usual. The Minister of the Interior, Raymond Marcellin, is responsible for police activities. He wanted Krivine arrested, and Pompidou supported him (the President of the Republic owes Marcellin some debts: he was a friend in that period of exile when De Gaulle expressed his gratitude to the Prime Minister who saved the situation in May 1968 by dismissing him, and calling in the glacial Couve de Murville as substitute). Jean Taittinger, the Minister of Justice and champagne millionaire, has no such links with Pompidou. But he has some horse sense. And he suspected the decision would lead to trouble.

It has. The intrinsic unlikelihood of the riot police, as efficient probably as any in the world, being caught on the hop and subjected to a mauling of this order, is such that not only professional adherents of conspiracy theory have said they refuse to believe a word of it. Several police witnesses have already emphasised that the number of demonstrators was vastly underestimated, and that police reinforcements were mysteriously not called on.

It is rather seldom that the government makes a mistake in the eyes of *Le Figaro*. When an editorialist writes as follows, something very strange is happening: "It is bad for

the country that men of good faith can truly and sincerely believe that those responsible for maintaining order have deliberately, and with political motivation, arranged for the police to be defeated. If this really happened, those responsible must not remain in their posts a moment longer." Marcellin was appointed Minister of the Interior on 29 May, 1968, because it was thought he was not a man to take any nonsense from the kids. Certainly this faith has been justified; certainly Krivine is in jail leaving his Trotskyists, for the moment anyway, in considerable disarray.

But has it really worked out as Marcellin intended? I think not. Ever since Krivine and Cohn-Bendit rejected the French Communist Party in 1968,

the *gauchistes* have been reviled by *l'Humanité* with at least as much bitterness as the Gaullists, or even the fascists. Last Wednesday [July 4] at a meeting in the Cirque d'Hiver, probably the widest and most united cross-section of the Left ever seen in France met to condemn Krivine's imprisonment, Marcellin's plot, as it is now generally called, and the prospect of further government restrictions against liberty. It is no mean achievement to unite the French Communist Party, Mitterrand's Socialists and the Radical Party two months after an election defeat.

Most important of all, there is disquiet in the ranks of the police, who do not fancy themselves in the role of political martyrs. □

Pompidou Flouts International Protest

French Nuclear Tests Go On

Despite, worldwide protests, the French government on July 21 exploded the first device in its series of nuclear tests over Mururoa Atoll, 800 miles south of Tahiti.

The South Pacific tests involve detonation devices for thermonuclear warheads.

The New Zealand and Australian governments limited their opposition to the test series to appealing to the International Court of Justice and sending the New Zealand frigate *Otago*, with a government minister aboard, into the test zone as a "peaceful protest." The French government ignored the Court's appeal to halt the tests, and was only irritated by the *Otago's* presence on the perimeter of the "security zone."

On July 17, the French navy seized the U.S. schooner *Fri*, which had sailed into the security zone to protest the explosions, and flew the French, American, and British crew members out of the area.

In Brussels, reported the July 20 *Le Monde*, the general secretaries of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Labor sent a telegram "in the name of millions of workers" to various persons, including Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations, the archbishop of

Canterbury, and the pope, urging them to press Pompidou to stop all preparations for the test series immediately.

The Socialist [Second] International and the World Council of Social-Democratic Women sent telegrams to Pompidou July 19 calling for a halt to the test series.

Two parliamentary representatives from Polynesia also telegraphed Pompidou July 20, threatening to demand a referendum on independence for French Polynesia unless the French government stops carrying out nuclear tests in the area.

The July 21 explosion over Mururoa Atoll—the thirty-first to be carried out in the Pacific by the French government—was estimated to have a force equivalent to 5,000 tons of TNT.

In Japan, the foreign minister called for an immediate end to the test series, which the Japanese Socialist party denounced as an "outrage." The Association Against Atomic Bombs, an affiliate of the Japanese Communist party, protested "in the name of the Japanese nation, of Hiroshima, and of Nagasaki against the French nuclear tests" and declared itself ready "to lead an international campaign for a complete ban on nuclear weapons."

New Zealand's Premier Norman Kirk announced that he would keep a frigate in the test areas as a "silent witness."

Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam said that the explosion showed "the French government's scorn for the well-being of the peoples of the Pacific region and for world opinion . . . as well as for international law and the International Court of Justice." The Australian Trade Union Federation declared that it would continue its boycott of French goods.

The July 23 *New York Times* quoted Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp as saying that "Canada is opposed to all of them [nuclear tests], and we hope that both China and France will wake up to the fact that we are living in a different world, a world in which we are concerned about our survival."

The Swedish government condemned the tests, saying that "China is carrying out tests on its own territory, while France is using other people's."

In Brussels the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions repeated its July 18 call to the "highest world authorities" to make the French government end the test series, and urged the peoples of the world to press for the thousands of millions of dollars spent on armaments to be redirected into peaceful products.

The governments of Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Peru, and Bolivia all condemned the tests, while the Argentine regime expressed "its regrets." The Peruvian government went so far as to break diplomatic (but not commercial or consular) relations with France on July 24.

In France, the Communist and Socialist parties and the Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor) issued statements of protest. Representatives of more than twenty organizations delivered a letter July 23 addressed to Pompidou, demanding an end to all French nuclear testing.

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim issued a statement July 23 in New York deploring the tests. *Le Monde* reported further protests from Norway, Brazil, the Philippines, Indonesia, Italy, and the Netherlands. In Rome, hundreds of persons demonstrated July 23 against the tests, hurl-

ing bags containing ice or water at the French Embassy, where they formed a vapor cloud symbolic of the atomic "mushroom."

French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert responded to the worldwide condemnation of the nuclear series by saying that there would be more tests in the South Pacific, and that the international wave of protests "will not prevent me from sleeping well at

night."

The upcoming Commonwealth Conference in Ottawa and the General Assembly of the UN are expected to have the French tests and the question of radioactive fallout on their agendas.

In defiance of the international protest, the French government exploded the second device in its current series on July 29. □

Interview With Leader of the ex-Ligue Communiste

The Ban and the Solidarity Campaign

[The following interview with Gérard Filoche, a former member of the Political Bureau of the now dissolved Ligue Communiste, was obtained in Paris for *Intercontinental Press* on July 19.]

* * *

Question. Why do you think the Pompidou regime moved to ban the Ligue, and not the other organizations involved in the June 21 demonstration?

Answer. There are three basic reasons why the Ligue, as opposed to the other organizations, was banned.

The Ligue had shown itself capable of leading mass movements, as could be seen during the high-school mobilizations in March. The Ligue was in the leadership of a mass movement of hundreds of thousands of university and high-school students. This movement was prepared, directed, and centralized by our organization. And we played this leading role because the Ligue had a majority of the elected delegates in all the organs of this movement. This was true at every level, among the high-schoolers, the technical-school students, and the university students.

The demonstrations that went on for several weeks forced the government to back down, even if very slightly. The prestige the Ligue acquired during these youth demonstrations found some echo in the working class, basically because of the democratic organs we set up during this mass strike, that is, the strike committees, where all the delegates were elected

and recallable at all times. This was a living example for the workers struggles.

This presence of the Ligue in the student mobilizations that took place in March made a big contribution toward allowing the Ligue to assemble more than 800 workers in the na-



GERARD FILOCHE

tional conference of our Taupe Rouge groups (held June 9-11). That conference was the first time that a far-left group was able to show some real progress in terms of its influence in the working class. There were several hundred union delegates there, and there was representation from all the main branches of industry. Probably this worried the government. It

was well known that the Ligue was the best structured of the far-left groups and that it had the most influence. This is the first reason for Marcellin's attack on us.

The second reason probably relates to our work in the military. This work endangers the present military system, which is a system full of contradictions and is sure to be challenged in the near future. The activities of revolutionists in this area have been quite fruitful. An organization has developed in the military called the Front of Revolutionary Soldiers, Sailors, and Airmen; that's the group that marched in the front of the May Day demonstration this year. They marched in their uniforms, which is completely illegal in this country. You can get several years imprisonment for that.

I should explain that soldiers in this country have no rights at all. They're not allowed to get married, they can't join a union, they can't vote, and they're not even allowed to read the newspapers they want. Most newspapers, even respectable ones like *Le Monde*, are not allowed on base. You can read a far-right paper like *Aurore* or you can read *France-Soir*, but that's it. You are just nothing once you're in the army.

Parallel to this group inside the army, there is a civilian group called Comité de Défense des Appelés [Committee to Defend Draftees]. The actions of these two groups began to worry the minister of defense, and this made him nervous in regard to us.

The third reason for the dissolution was the development of our international work. Marcellin is obsessed by an "international plot." He even wrote a book about it. And there's no doubt that his European colleagues have been pressuring him to put a stop to our activities in France. The ties between the French and Spanish governments are becoming closer and closer; the two armies work together. The Spanish government has surely asked Marcellin to stop the Ligue's activities in support of Spanish revolutionaries. This aspect of the ban is much less spectacular; the press won't talk about it much, but it was surely an essential element in Marcellin's decision.

Q. In spite of the ban, ex-Ligue members have been able to continue publishing Rouge. What kind of re-

sponse have Rouge sellers gotten? Have the sales been higher than usual?

A. Three times higher! Before, we were selling between 10,000 and 15,000 copies a week in hand-to-hand sales. The first issue we put out after the ban came down was completely sold out on a run of 25,000. And you have to consider that when the high schools and universities close down for vacation, our sales go down, usually much lower than 10,000 or 15,000. So allowing for that, we really sold three times as many as usual.

And to sell 25,000 copies during a week in June is really incredible. And we could have sold more if we had had them, but the run was all sold out. I should mention that in Rouen one person paid about \$200 for one copy of *Rouge*!

Q. Could you give some other examples of the solidarity? What about the mood of the workers, especially the CP workers?

A. Well, my first example is not from the working class. There was a violin concert going on, and playing at it was Emanuel Krivine, who is a distant cousin of Alain. This concert was being broadcast live over the radio. When Emanuel Krivine came on the stage, the whole audience stood up and started clapping and chanting "Free Krivine! Free Krivine!" This went out over the radio.

Another example, since you asked about mood: When Alain arrived at La Santé prison after he was arrested, the prisoners in the cells started singing the *Internationale*.

We have never had so many offers of apartments, machines, and help. Even members of the French Communist party have offered us material help, and when we have collected money in the factories, CP workers have contributed.

In some factories in the Rouen area the workers came to see our comrades and proposed various original means of protecting our comrades from the police. Wherever leading militants were known, the workers offered them protection. And the official attitude of the union leadership was to encourage this spontaneous reaction of the workers.

The revolutionary-socialists' possi-

bilities for getting a hearing in the plants have been greatly increased. The CP militants have been divided. Some of them still hold to the old line. These are rank-and-file members who still have the Stalinist reaction of "Well, great, Marcellin has banned the Ligue." But others have been freed to speak their mind because of the new position of their leadership. These people were actually relieved to be able to be friendly with us.

There have been meetings in almost every city in France, each time with hundreds of people participating. For France in the first fifteen days of July, this is absolutely exceptional.

Q. Were most of these meetings organized by the CP and the SP?

A. There were contradictory situations. It was not the same everywhere. In some places, the local CP has been very sectarian, refusing to do anything. In others, they have been absolutely open and fraternal and ready to help out. This has resulted in some meetings that the CP, the SP, and all the far-left groups attended and that ex-Ligue members were able to speak at. In other places, the meetings were organized only by the parties that are affiliated to the Union of the Left, although we still attended.

Q. Does the national committee that has been formed to fight the ban call for international protests? What can you suggest along these lines?

A. Everything! Delegations to French embassies, telegrams to Pompidou and the French government, posters, meetings, getting international personalities to sign the committee's appeal. [See *Intercontinental Press*, July 16, p. 853, for full text of the appeal.]

One very crucial need is money. When the cops sacked our headquarters on the morning of June 22, they did about \$10,000 worth of damage. We had in the office about a dozen mimeograph machines, a photocopy machine, an offset machine, and an IBM composing machine. All these machines—except for the IBM composer, which is rented, so it still belongs to IBM—were either destroyed or very seriously damaged. Financial aid is badly needed in order to replace all this material. Money can be sent to: CCP Pierette Chenot, 4501-42, Paris.

The Marxist Position on Individual Terrorism

By Leon Trotsky

[The following article by Leon Trotsky, published here in full for the first time in English, was written originally for the November 1911 issue of the Austrian socialist magazine *Der Kampf*. It first appeared in German.

[During the 1920s, when the Soviet State Publishing House (Gosizdat) printed a number of volumes of Trotsky's *Works* (*Sochineniya*), an authorized Russian version of the article was included in Volume 4 (1926), pp. 364-369. The present text is translated from that Russian edition, which, having been reviewed by Trotsky, clearly represented his mature thinking on this subject. After his expulsion from the Soviet Union by Stalin, Trotsky continued to refer to this 1911 article as expressing his views on "the futility of individual terrorism" (*My Life*, 1929).

[When charges of terrorism were brought by Stalin and his police and judicial apparatus against the Left Opposition (and against virtually the entire old revolutionary generation) in order to justify the use of official terror in the bloody purges of the middle and late 1930s, it was to this and several other articles against terrorism in his *Works*, Volume 4, that Trotsky pointed to expose the falsity of the charges.

[Speaking before members of the International Commission of Inquiry Into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials, on April 17, 1937, Trotsky took up the political basis of Stalin's charges against the opposition. No opposition, he explained, could permit itself "such an insane squandering of forces" as a policy of terrorism requires, especially not the Left Oppositionists, educated against individual terrorism by "the enormous experience of the revolutionary movement."

[Trotsky recounted for the commission his own contributions, as part of that movement, to the historical and theoretical struggle against terrorist politics. In this account he described the background to his writing the present article as follows:

"In 1911 terrorist moods arose among certain groups of Austrian workers. Upon the request of Friedrich Adler, editor of *Der Kampf*, the theoretical monthly of the Austrian Social Democracy, I wrote in 1911 an article on terrorism for this publication." (*The Case of Leon Trotsky*, New York: Merit Publishers, now Pathfinder Press, 1968, p. 492.)

[The translation of the article is by Marilyn Vogt and George Saunders.]

* * *

Our class enemies are in the habit of complaining about our terrorism. What they mean by this is rather unclear. They would like to label all the activities of the proletariat directed against the class enemy's interests as terrorism. The strike, in their eyes, is the principal method of terrorism. The threat of a strike, the organization of strike

pickets, an economic boycott of a slave-driving boss, a moral boycott of a traitor from our own ranks—all this and much more they call terrorism. If terrorism is understood in this way as any action inspiring fear in, or doing harm to, the enemy, then of course the entire class struggle is nothing but terrorism. And the only question remaining is whether the bourgeois politicians have the right to pour out their floods of moral indignation about proletarian terrorism when their entire state apparatus with its laws, police, and army is nothing but an apparatus for capitalist terror!

However, it must be said that when they reproach us with terrorism, they are trying—although not always consciously—to give this word a narrower, less indirect meaning. The damaging of machines by workers, for example, is terrorism in this strict sense of the word. The killing of an employer, a threat to set fire to a factory or a death threat to its owner, an assassination attempt, with revolver in hand, against a government minister—all these are terrorist acts in the full and authentic sense. However, anyone who has an idea of the true nature of international Social Democracy ought to know that it has always opposed this kind of terrorism, and done so in the most irreconcilable way.

Why?

"Terrorizing" with the threat of a strike, or actually conducting a strike, is something only industrial or agricultural workers can do. The social significance of a strike depends directly upon first, the size of the enterprise or the branch of industry that it affects; and second, the degree to which the workers taking part in it are organized, disciplined, and ready for action. This is just as true of a political strike as it is of an economic one. It continues to be the method of struggle that flows directly from the productive role of the proletariat in modern society.

In order to develop, the capitalist system needs a parliamentary superstructure. But because it cannot confine the modern proletariat to a political ghetto, it must sooner or later allow the workers to participate in parliament. In elections, the mass character of the proletariat and its level of political development—qualities which, again, are determined by its social role, i.e., above all, its productive role—find their expression.

As in a strike, so in elections the method, aim, and result of the struggle always depend on the social role and strength of the proletariat as a class.

Only the workers can conduct a strike. Artisans ruined by the factory, peasants whose water the factory is poisoning, or lumpen proletarians, in search of plunder, can smash machines, set fire to a factory, or murder its owner.

Only the conscious and organized working class can

send a strong representation into the halls of parliament to look out for proletarian interests. However, in order to murder a prominent official you need not have the organized masses behind you. The recipe for explosives is accessible to all, and a Browning can be obtained anywhere.

In the first case, there is a social struggle, whose methods and means flow necessarily from the nature of the prevailing social order; in the second, a purely mechanical reaction identical everywhere—in China as in France—very striking in its outward form (murder, explosions, and so forth) but absolutely harmless as far as the social system goes.

A strike, even of modest size, has social consequences: strengthening of the workers' self-confidence, growth of the trade union, and not infrequently, even an improvement in production technology. The murder of a factory owner produces effects of a police nature only, or a change of proprietors devoid of any social significance.

Whether a terrorist attempt, even a "successful" one, throws the ruling class into confusion depends on the concrete political circumstances. In any case the confusion can only be short-lived; the capitalist state does not base itself on government ministers and cannot be eliminated with them. The classes it serves will always find new people; the mechanism remains intact and continues to function.

But the disarray introduced into the ranks of the working masses themselves by a terrorist attempt is much deeper. If it is enough to arm oneself with a pistol in order to achieve one's goal, why the efforts of the class struggle? If a thimbleful of gunpowder and a little chunk of lead is enough to shoot the enemy through the neck, what need is there for a class organization? If it makes sense to terrify highly placed personages with the roar of explosions, where is the need for a party? Why meetings, mass agitation, and elections if one can so easily take aim at the ministerial bench from the gallery of parliament?

In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it *belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness*, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission.

The anarchist prophets of "the propaganda of the deed" can argue all they want about the elevating and stimulating influence of terrorist acts on the masses. Theoretical considerations and political experience prove otherwise. The more "effective" the terrorist acts, the greater their impact, the more the attention of the masses is focused on them—the more they reduce the interest of the masses in self-organization and self-education.

But the smoke from the explosion clears away, the panic disappears, the successor of the murdered minister makes his appearance, life again settles into the old rut, the wheel of capitalist exploitation turns as before; only police repression grows more savage and brazen. And as a result, in place of the kindled hopes and artificially aroused excitement come disillusion and apathy.

The efforts of reaction to put an end to strikes and to the mass workers movement in general have always,

everywhere, ended in failure. Capitalist society needs an active, mobile, and intelligent proletariat; it cannot, therefore, bind the proletariat hand and foot for very long. On the other hand the anarchist "propaganda of the deed" has shown every time that the state is much richer in the means of physical destruction and mechanical repression than are the terrorist groups.

If that is so, where does it leave the revolution? Is it negated or rendered impossible by this state of affairs? Not at all. For the revolution is not a simple aggregate of mechanical means. The revolution can arise only out of the sharpening of the class struggle, and it can find a guarantee of victory only in the social functions of the proletariat. The mass political strike, the armed insurrection, the conquest of state power—all this is determined by the degree to which production has been developed, the alignment of class forces, the proletariat's social weight, and finally, by the social composition of the army, since the armed forces are the factor that in time of revolution determines the fate of state power.

Social Democracy is realistic enough not to try to avoid the revolution that is developing out of the existing historical conditions; on the contrary, it is moving to meet the revolution with eyes wide open. But—contrary to the anarchists and in direct struggle against them—Social Democracy rejects all methods and means that have as their goal to artificially force the development of society and to substitute chemical preparations for the insufficient revolutionary strength of the proletariat.

* * *

Before it is elevated to the level of a method of political struggle, terrorism makes its appearance in the form of individual acts of revenge. So it was in Russia, the classic land of terrorism. The flogging of political prisoners impelled Vera Zasulich* to give expression to the general feeling of indignation by an assassination attempt on General Trepov. Her example was imitated in the circles of the revolutionary intelligentsia, who lacked any mass support. What began as an act of unthinking revenge was developed into an entire system in 1879-81 [a reference to the People's Will terrorist organization, which succeeded in killing Tsar Alexander II in 1881—Tr.]. The outbreaks of anarchist assassination attempts in Western Europe and North America always come after some atrocity committed by the government—the shooting of strikers or executions of political opponents. The most important psychological source of terrorism is always the feeling of revenge in search of an outlet.

*On January 24, 1878, Vera Zasulich (1849-1919) shot the St. Petersburg chief of police, General Trepov, who had ordered the beating of a political prisoner who had not doffed his cap when passing the general. Zasulich was freed by a jury of ordinary people after a trial that attracted much attention.

A revolutionary Narodnik (populist) of the 1860s, Zasulich was affiliated to Georgy Plekhanov's group, which broke with populism and terrorism and established the first Russian Marxist organization, the Emancipation of Labor Group. In the early years of the twentieth century, she worked on the staff of *Iskra* with Lenin, but in 1903, when the Russian Social Democratic Labor party split, she went with the Mensheviks, with whom she remained to the end of her life. — *Translators*

There is no need to belabor the point that Social Democracy has nothing in common with those bought-and-paid-for moralists who, in response to any terrorist act, make solemn declamations about the "absolute value" of human life. These are the same people who, on other occasions, in the name of other absolute values—for example, the nation's honor or the monarch's prestige—are ready to shove millions of people into the hell of war. Today their national hero is the minister who gives the orders for unarmed workers to be fired on—in the name of the most sacred right of private property; and tomorrow, when the desperate hand of the unemployed worker is clenched into a fist or picks up a weapon, they will start in with all sorts of nonsense about the inadmissibility of violence in any form.

Whatever the eunuchs and pharisees of morality may say, the feeling of revenge has its rights. It does the working class the greatest moral credit that it does not look

with vacant indifference upon what is going on in this best of all possible worlds. Not to extinguish the proletariat's unfulfilled feeling of revenge, but on the contrary to stir it up again and again, to deepen it, and to direct it against the real causes of all injustice and human baseness—that is the task of Social Democracy.

If we oppose terrorist acts, it is only because *individual* revenge does not satisfy us. The account we have to settle with the capitalist system is too great to be presented to some functionary called a minister. To learn to see all the crimes against humanity, all the indignities to which the human body and spirit are subjected, as the twisted outgrowths and expressions of the existing social system, in order to direct all our energies into a collective struggle against this system—that is the direction in which the burning desire for revenge can find its highest moral satisfaction. □

Workers at French Watch Factory Take Things Into Their Own Hands

The Lip Factory: Workers Control Challenges Capitalist Rule

By Caroline Lund

Besançon

The long banner covering the fence at the entrance to the Lip watch factory in this town in eastern France reads: "It can be done—We are producing and selling. [Signed] The Workers."

The 1,320 workers at Lip, France's largest, oldest, and best-known watch company, took over the enterprise on June 19 when faced by a company announcement of massive layoffs and refusal to pay the workers salaries. Since then the workers have organized to continue production on their own, selling the watches they produce to the public at 40 percent discount.

Popular support for the Lip workers is immense and has spread throughout France. Hundreds of workers—in delegations from factories all over France and from other European countries as well—have traveled to Lip to express their solidarity with the strikers, to buy watches, and to deliver collections for the support fund. Dozens of factories across the country have voted to launch unlimited strikes if the government or the bosses move against the Lip workers by force.

In Besançon itself, a city of 140,000, the workers have received sup-

port from almost every local institution, from the trade unions to the masonic lodges to the Roman Catholic archbishop. On June 15, the archbishop of Besançon was one of the speakers at a regional demonstration of 15,000 held to support the Lip strike—the largest demonstration in the city since its liberation from the Nazis in 1945.

To a visitor in Besançon, signs of support for the strikers are everywhere. One sees the red and white stickers on automobile windows: "Support the Lip workers—No to layoffs; No to dismantlement." Posters cover the walls, signed by the two unions at Lip, the CGT and the CFDT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, and Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), the Lip Action Committee, the various far-left organizations. The main highways coming into the city are dotted with prominent red arrows pointing the way to Lip for the constant stream of factory delegations coming to visit the plant.

The French capitalist class is well aware of the implications of this new form of strike, unprecedented in France. For example, the Paris Cham-

ber of Commerce and Industry warned: "Lip is the most disturbing social conflict . . . because the continued operation of the factory, after a robbery, in essence, of the shareholders, calls into question the principles of authority, of property, of responsibility, of respect for contracts vis-à-vis suppliers and subcontractors, which are at the very base of our economic system and of our commercial law."

But despite their fears, the capitalist rulers are reluctant to move against the strikers because of the solid support they have received from the overwhelming majority of Lip workers and from the rest of the French working class. The basic issues generating the struggle at Lip—guaranteed employment for all and the sliding scale of wages—are issues touching all French workers.

The Lip Company is a subsidiary of Ebauches, S.A., a Swiss multinational corporation that also owns the Longines Company. Last April Ebauches announced plans for "restructuring" of the Lip enterprise in order to make it more profitable, resulting in layoffs of 200 workers.

The workers responded with immediate protests. The CFDT and CGT unions at Lip initiated general assem-

blies of the workers to discuss what to do. Work stoppages and slowdowns were conducted. The workers covered the factory walls with leaflets and posters as part of an ongoing political discussion of how to assure employment for all. Objections from the foremen were overruled by the workers with the demand for "respect for freedom of expression."

The Lip workers turned to the population of Besançon for support to their demands for no layoffs and no dismantlement of any sections of the factory. Workers passed out leaflets at entrances to the city, engaging in dialogues with motorists. One thousand of the 1,300 Lip workers demonstrated April 26 at the prefecture. On May 10 a rally of 5,000 took place in Besançon in support of the workers' demands. On May 28 a delegation of 534 Lip workers traveled to Paris to demonstrate and appeal for support. Political discussions and meetings were taking place constantly in the factory on "company time."

Since June 18 the struggle of the Lip workers has found an echo of solidarity across the border in Switzerland, where the problem of layoffs in the watch industry affects thousands of workers. Many meetings have taken place in solidarity with the Lip struggle, and on June 23 there was a demonstration of 800 persons at the border town of Chaux-de-Fonds. Militants of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (LMR, Revolutionary Marxist League, Swiss supporters of the Fourth International) were at the center of the organizing activities that built these support actions.

A turning point in the Lip struggle came on June 12, when the administrators of the factory announced to the workers representatives that the company was applying for bankruptcy, and the workers would no longer receive their salaries and also would not receive their vacation pay (vacations for all the workers were to start June 29). Faced with this ultimatum, the workers representatives decided to hold the managers in their offices in order to find out more about the company's plans against the workers.

Going through the managers' portfolios, the workers found documents laying out plans for layoffs of nearly half the work force at Lip, by dismantling whole sections of the plant. In a press conference held at the fac-

tory, the workers denounced the schemes and lies of the company that were exposed in the secret papers.

One of the documents described the company's plans to put aside 2 million new francs (more than \$500,000) for expenses from "social disturbances (foreseeable if this plan is put into effect)." Another revealed plans for a wage freeze, and the elimination of the sliding scale of wages and other benefits that the workers had won dur-

The Lip workers are appealing for solidarity from other workers throughout the world; both messages of support and financial contributions are needed. All the work of popularizing the Lip struggle must be paid for out of the solidarity collections, not from the sale of watches.

Contributions should be sent to:
Comité de Défense Lip
C. M. D. P. No. 421.388.40
25.000 Bescançon - Palente
France

Send messages of support to:
Colléctif Ouvrier Lip, 25.000 Besançon, France.

ing the May 1968 general strike. Still another document detailed the methods of police surveillance used against trade-union militants at Lip.

In the middle of the night of June 12-13, several hundred mobile guards and CRS (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité — Republican Security Corps) descended upon the factory to "free" the two managers. Several strikers were injured in the brutal attack, which was obviously designed to intimidate the workers.

In face of these provocations, the Lip personnel voted in general assembly the following day for an unlimited occupation of the factory "to safeguard our tools." Their demands were for 1) guaranteed jobs; 2) continued payment of wages; and 3) the staggering of vacations. The workers foresaw that if all of them were to leave for vacations as usual, they would most likely face a lockout when they returned.

As security, the workers took over a store of 65,000 watches worth \$2.5 million and hid them in Besançon. "These watches are being kept as our guaranty of employment," a spokes-

man for the workers told *New York Times* reporter Clyde Farnsworth. In general assembly June 18, the workers decided not to touch these watches, but to start up production again and sell the watches they produced to assure a living wage.

"They refuse to pay us our salaries? We're going to pay them ourselves," the workers declared. The decision was explained by union leaders as "self-defense, not self-management."

One assembly line was set in motion, and the Lip workers organized themselves into six commissions to carry out a long-term struggle. A production commission was responsible for producing the watches. A reception commission was set up to welcome and take care of visitors to the plant. A popularization commission set out to spread word about the Lip struggle and to appeal for solidarity from other workers. A sales commission and a management commission were set up to organize the sale of watches and the bookkeeping. And finally, a security and maintenance commission was set up to organize a twenty-four-hour defense guard for the factory and cleaning of the premises.

In response, the company accused the workers of theft and threatened to prosecute anyone buying Lip watches for receiving stolen goods. The workers answered: "Nothing we are doing can be considered illegal. These watches are the fruit of our work."

In a public statement denouncing "robbery" and "unauthorized sales," the company refused any negotiations until a stop was put to "social agitation." The company attempted to justify its plans for massive layoffs and dismantlement on the grounds of "increased financial burdens due, among other things, to losses resulting from the political developments of May '68 as well as obligations imposed on society in the social arena under the pressure of the same events."

On July 3 the capitalists of the province of Doubs, where Besançon is situated, proclaimed indignantly that "the errors of management at Lip do not give the personnel authority to take the law into their own hands."

The Lip workers answered this charge in the July 11 issue of *Lip Unité*, the information bulletin published by the popularization commis-

sion. The workers replied: "But the right to order layoffs, which exists right now, gives the bosses the right to 'take the law into their own hands.' In fighting against dismantlement and layoffs, through effective forms of action that are decided collectively and are appropriate to the situation, we are exercising our legitimate right of defense."

On June 27 the women workers at Lip (they are more than half the work force) took to the streets in a special demonstration together with their children to emphasize the meaning of the threat of unemployment for their families.

Two days later, the company felt constrained to retreat a step. It agreed to pay the workers their vacation pay and bonus, hoping the strikers would leave the plant and the struggle would be diffused. But the workers decided to give up part of their vacations and stagger them so that 600 workers would always be present to continue production and sale of watches.

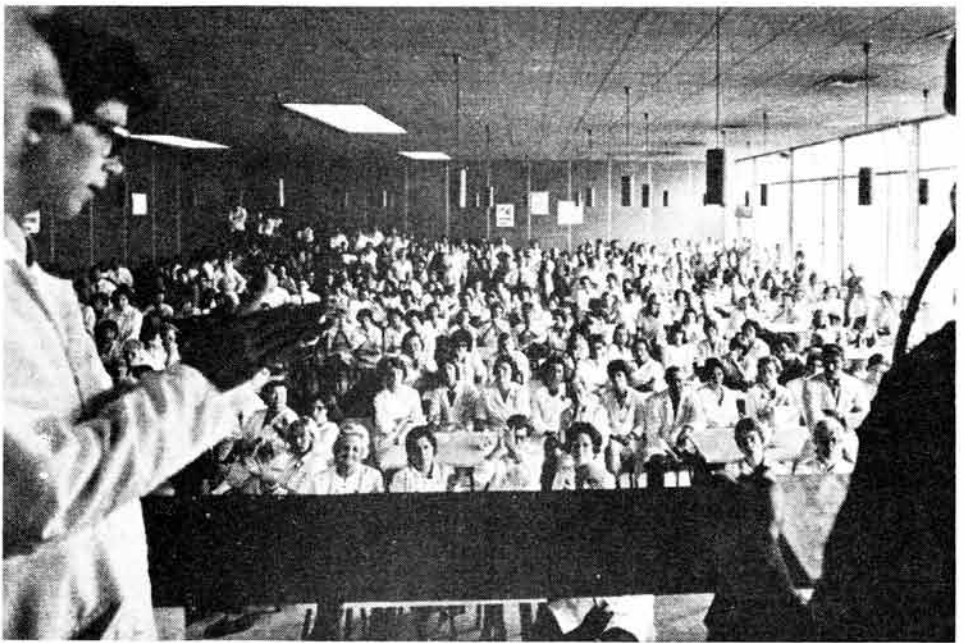
Meanwhile, after postponing a decision for week after week, the Besançon Tribunal of Commerce finally ruled July 13 on the company's application for bankruptcy. It declared liquidation of the enterprise, appointed a public trustee charged with taking an inventory, and authorized continued operation of the plant until December 31, 1973. The capitalist journal *Les Echos* publicly attacked the tribunal judge for "running away from his responsibilities" in legitimatizing operation of the plant under workers control if only until December.

"In reality," wrote the weekly *Politique-Hebdo*, "this decision seems to be an exact measure of the relationship of forces established around the exemplary struggle of Lip."

The Pompidou regime has also been forced to handle the Lip situation with kid gloves. Edgar Faure, president of the National Assembly, has made statements that the situation at Lip demonstrates that the workers are capable of "participation" in the running of a company.

French President Georges Pompidou stated July 19: "It is in the interests of everyone, including the workers, to arrive at an agreement. To make a business run, like it or not, you need money and you need workers. Thus it is necessary that the two have an understanding."

The unions at Lip replied in a pub-



One of the assemblies of the Lip workers. Factory is run by such democratic organizations controlled by the workers.

lic statement, pointing to the responsibility of the government "to make a rapid decision that will assure the potentialities of Lip in its entirety. It is imperative that there be no dismantlement of Lip, and that employment for all be guaranteed.

One union delegate, quoted in the July 20 issue of the Communist party daily *l'Humanité*, noted that "the government has to realize what the constant threat of unemployment means to a worker and his family."

One solution that the government has put forward as a way of diffusing the explosive example set by the Lip workers is a proposal that the workers take over the factory as shareholders in a cooperative. The workers have rejected this. A statement by the CFDT explains: "We are not going to fall into that trap. . . . We would soon be stuck in the contradictions of the capitalist system and could easily be strangled in the economic arena."

Another statement by the unions states, "We are struggling against capitalism; we don't want to become capitalists."

On July 18 the workers delegates announced their refusal to fill an order for 30,000 watches from a Kuwait businessman, even though it would have meant some \$75,000 in revenues. "We are not watch merchants and our aim is not to deal with businessmen who would retail our watches at a profit," stated the workers repre-

sentatives, quoted in the July 19 *Le Monde*.

The Lip section of the CFDT and the Action Committee (a volunteer body made up of both unionized and nonunionized militants in the factory) drew up a manifesto which was approved by the workers in general assembly. Addressed to "all workers," it outlines the perspectives of the struggle:

"[The Lip workers] have shown that the bosses are not indispensable and that the workers are capable of organizing themselves, on their own, even in the economic sphere (production and exchange of goods). It is not only the management of Lip that has been challenged, but the whole employer class. . . .

"Obviously at Lip we are in a privileged branch of production: The watch is a finished product that is quite easily sold. The action carried out here is not transposable, across the board, to all enterprises. Nevertheless, the method we are using, adapted to local circumstances, can be utilized in hundreds of factories.

"It is up to you to think this over, to collectively take the initiatives necessary to enlarge the breach made in the 'system' that imprisons us. . . .

"Our struggle can be an important gain for all workers, if tomorrow other attempts are made in the same direction, if we collectively think out our

methods of action to make them most effective."

A first run of 150,000 copies of these manifestos are now being distributed throughout France. At the last minute the CP-led CGT refused to add its name to the document. The CGT bureaucrats felt the statement went too far in generalizing from the Lip workers' experience.

The CGT explained its position in a separate statement, belittling the importance of the methods used at Lip. "It is strange," says the CGT document, "that those in power and so-called revolutionary organizations join together in amazement that the workers of Lip prove the capacity of self-management. . . . It is not a question of mindlessly copying forms of struggle which, while positive in a given situation, could prove to be not so good, and even detrimental, in other cases."

Despite its wishes, however, the CP is powerless to keep the example of Lip from inspiring workers throughout France. The continued involvement of the rank-and-file Lip workers, despite the many weeks of struggle, testifies to the depth of sentiment behind the workers' demands.

For example, one worker told a reporter from the revolutionary-socialist weekly *Rouge* about the long hours many workers put in for the struggle: "There are guys who work during the day and also take part in the night guard, in the weekend guard, etc. For example, last Saturday and Sunday I stayed about fifteen hours in the factory. That doesn't keep me from coming back today.

"And then, you don't stay only in the shops; there are discussions. You have to keep on top of things. You go to meetings; you go to see the guys from the Action Committee, etc.

"This is why I am ready to do work that I would refuse to do in normal times."

The struggle by the Lip workers for economic demands has taken on many aspects of a social movement. The workers have organized a whole program of social events to help maintain the solidarity and morale of the strikers, including presentation of theater performances, singers, and films. General assemblies are held daily, where reports from the commissions are heard and important decisions made.

A child-care center has been set up for children of the workers, and volunteers from Besançon are asked to help staff it.

The factory has been opened up to all visitors who solidarize with the struggle, and every care is taken to welcome them and inform them about the situation. The reception area contains photographic displays showing the course of the fight, long bulletin boards containing messages and telegrams of solidarity from workers all over the world, displays of press coverage, and a large board containing the latest financial situation of the factory and of the solidarity fund.

A refreshment area has been set up especially for visitors. The factory premises are kept cleaner than ever before. The production workers have found that they can produce in four hours under workers control what they did in nine hours under the boss.

What will be the outcome of the Lip struggle? According to Daniel Montibelli, a CFDT member in charge of press relations for the popularization commission, the workers would consider it a victory, and would turn over the factory, if a new capitalist would sign a written agreement to their demands: No dismantlement, guaranteed jobs for all 1,300 workers, and maintenance of all other gains—such as the sliding scale of wages—won in the past.

Asked what he thought about the de-

mand for nationalization of the factory under workers control as a way to legitimize the current situation, Montibelli felt that, of course, that would be best, but it was "only a hope, with not much chance of achievement." If Lip were nationalized under workers control, he said, "then all the workers of France would want the same thing."

The July 20 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper put out by French Trotskyists, set forth the revolutionary-Marxist solution to the Lip "problem":

"In fact, there can be no good employer or good manager that will not raise the question of profits. Administrators can be changed and bankruptcy can be declared, but the financial problems of distribution and profitability remain. What's more, promises of guaranteeing employment can always be made, papers can be signed; it makes no difference. The capitalists will not hesitate to violate their own legality when their interests are at stake. So? Will the workers have to bear the costs of profitability, of the deficit? Not at all.

"Under the existing conditions, why won't the government take over the Lip business, with the workers keeping charge of the management and of working conditions? Nationalization of Lip under workers control is the only avenue that would allow for guaranteeing both employment and the other gains of the struggle. And what's more, it is the only realistic thing to do." □

Rami Livneh Denounces Zionist Regime

Anti-Zionist Activist Before Israeli Court

In December 1972 the Israeli regime arrested about forty persons, Jews and Arabs, on charges of having been involved in an "espionage and sabotage network" directed by Syrian intelligence. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 29, 1973, p. 73.)

Many of the defendants were tortured by police trying to extract confessions from them. Opposition to the frame-up trials that followed became a major issue uniting the small but growing anti-Zionist left in Israel.

One of the more celebrated of the

defendants was Rami Livneh, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (often known as *Struggle*, the name of its newspaper), a group that had split from the Israeli Socialist Organization (*Matzpen*). The charges against Livneh were that he had had a meeting with a "foreign agent" (actually a member of the Palestinian resistance movement) in 1970, that he was found in possession of illegal literature (actually two copies, three years old, of the Arabic weekly *el-Hurriyah*), and that he knew of the

existence of the "espionage and sabotage network" but failed to report it to the police.

The regime's intent in the trials was quite clear. If Livneh and the other defendants could be sent to prison for holding political discussions with an Arab, an obvious message would go out to all anti-Zionists in Israel: to talk to an Arab is to commit a crime against state security; any Arab involved in politics is a "foreign agent"; and more generally, any Jewish-Arab contact is treasonable.

Rami Livneh came to trial in June. With him in the dock were Meli Lehrman, also a Jew, and five Israeli Arabs, whose names we do not yet know. *Intercontinental Press* has received a copy of the statement Livneh made to the court on June 20. In it, he took the government's frame-up head on, exposing its lies and its political aims. He started by challenging the prosecution's very concept of a foreign agent—and showed how it arose out of Zionist ideology itself:

"The man I had met (three years ago!) has been described by the prosecutor as a 'foreign agent.' Yet even the prosecution itself recognizes that the man was introduced to me as a Palestinian connected with the Palestinian resistance movement. If what the prosecution means to say is that the man was an agent for a foreign country, then I did not know, could not have known, and still do not know it. And it has still to be proven.

"Yet if the argument is that the man is a foreign agent *by the fact of his being connected* with the Palestinian resistance movement then there is nothing that could symbolize more clearly the quality of the Zionist movement's approach to the Palestinian movement, an approach that is to be understood from the casting of the *foreign-agent* concept upon one who is connected with a movement whose whole foundation is the belonging—the Zionists would say attachment—of the dispossessed Palestinian-Arab people to the country of its birth.

"Many things could be said about the Palestinian resistance movement, but it is impossible to attach to it the label of 'foreignness'—not to this land and not to this region. As even Defense Minister Moshe Dayan recognizes: 'It has to be said harshly: The State of Israel was established at the expense of the Arabs—and in their place. We did not come into a void.

There was an Arab settlement here. We are settling Jews in places where there were Arabs. We are turning an Arab land into a Jewish land.' (*Yediot Aharonot*, May 10, 1973.) . . .

"The Arab people born in the country has [been] disinherited (as in Joshua's time), that is, evicted and driven out. Its existence has to be hidden and denied. They are to be classified as resident-aliens in their own fatherland. And, to the extent that one has to put up with their presence, it has to be explained to them by using the most severe oppression and intimidation that this is the land of the Jews; that loyalty to the State is loyalty to Zionist racism; that the State's security is the security of the regime of conquest and discrimination—a regime of eviction and oppression."

Livneh told the court that the Zionist movement's approach to the Arab people is best symbolized by the histories of two "almost anonymous persons, Gabriel Dahan and Chaim Rigvi. Dahan is one of the people convicted for the murder of forty-three workers—men, women, and children—in Kfar Qassim in October 1956.* He was sentenced to fifteen years in prison, but he only remained in jail for a little bit more than three years in the very best conditions such as no prisoner . . . ever gets. Upon leaving jail, Dahan got a job. He became responsible for Arab affairs at the Ramleh municipality! Chaim Rigvi is a Tel Aviv lawyer. Born in Beirut, he studied social sciences at the American University in Beirut and law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In the winter 1973 issue of *Keshet* magazine Rigvi published an article called 'The Camel and the Arab' in which he proves in an allegedly 'scientific' way that Arabs are cruel by nature and that they lack scruples; that hate is in their blood; that the

*The Israeli government had declared a curfew while Arab laborers were in their fields working and thus had no way of knowing that the curfew was in effect. As some workers were returning to their village, Kfar Qassim, they were gunned down by Israeli troops who knew full well that the Arabs were unarmed and did not know that they were violating a curfew. The massacre was so crude that the government felt compelled to bring some low-ranking military personnel to trial. —IP

Arab honor- and hospitality-concepts are actually expressions of superstitiousness and love of lies; that the Arab is a liar who does not know how to love and that the origin of all these characteristics is the influence of the camel upon Arab life. Rigvi sums up this brew of academic racism with the sentence: 'Even though these basic characteristics of the Arab temperament have been known to Europe and its people for a long time, Westerners did not know how to reach the proper conclusions.' But this professor of racism had a job. He was the liaison officer for Muslims at the Ministry of Religion during the first years of its activities!

"It is the barbaric murderer and the academic racist that are the Israeli establishment experts on Arab affairs."

Livneh detailed the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs—the emergency laws, the evictions, the denial of the most elementary democratic rights. This, Livneh said, is what gives rise to the Palestinian resistance:

"The firm stand both of the Zionist movement and of the State of Israel upon the principle of denial of the national rights of the Arab-Palestinian people and of denial in practice of its most basic human rights—all this condemns the Arab masses to a hopeless oppression and the Jewish masses to an unjust eternal war against historical reality itself.

"Only racists of the type who look for identity connections between the Arabs and the camel can believe that any people, in this case the Arab people in this country, can resign itself to the reality of 'facts' like the perpetuation of the expulsion of more than a million refugees and the turning of another million into citizens without rights—both in the conquered territories and inside the Green Line [the pre-1967 state boundaries].

"The very quality of the Zionist enterprise has created here a vicious circle of violence and hatred—a circle paved with blood and atrocities."

Livneh described how the vicious circle of violence and hatred had given rise to the Palestinian resistance movement, a movement that began to go beyond the race-baiting of the old Arab leadership. And he told the court why he had gone to see a representative of Fateh, then the largest of the Palestinian organizations:

"We, the revolutionary communists in Israel, know well from our own experience that only the common fight of the exploited masses of both peoples can be the way toward liberation, and that that liberation cannot be just the political liberation of the Palestinians alone. We know that in order to liberate itself from its ideological association with the Arab bourgeoisie and to strive for the rule of the poor masses of the people of the whole region; we know that in order to free itself from the exile and the degradation, from the hopelessness and distress, the Palestinian people has to agree to a pact with the exploited Jewish masses in Israel itself—those very same masses that today turn their backs on any idea of collaboration between Jews and Arabs. It is toward this that most of our political activities are directed. In this we see part of both our political and human mission. It was for the advancement of this idea that I agreed to *talk* with that man that was introduced to me as a Palestinian socialist—for we will not disregard any opportunity of convincing our Arab interlocutors of the rightness of our way and the indispensability of a common struggle."

Livneh met once with the Fateh member. They discussed political questions. Livneh explained his group's political differences with the Fateh perspective. He explained that he believed that the Fateh cadres could not "solve the Palestinian problem, for various reasons": because they imagine the possibility of a military victory against the state of Israel without a deep social revolution in the Arab world and without a real separation of the exploited Jewish masses in Israel from Zionist ideology; because they separate the struggle against Zionism from the struggle against Arab reaction, consigning the latter to a later stage; because they use ambiguous formulas that describe the Jews as a religious community, avoiding full recognition of the fact that the Jews of Israel are a national, not a religious, community; because they have too close relations with the Arab regimes in the region. These failings, Livneh argued, were at the bottom of what he believed was a false strategy projected by the Fateh leaders.

These political questions, Livneh explained, were the subject of his discussion with the Fateh representative—

and not cloak-and-dagger plots for espionage and sabotage.

But despite his political disagreements with the Fateh positions, Livneh reiterated his aim of establishing a common struggle between the exploited masses—Jewish and Arab—of the region. He described the class oppression of the Israeli-Jewish workers: the low wages, the high prices and rents, the speedups, the constant taxes to pay for the "unjust war against historical reality." He talked about how the regime tries to make Israeli-Jews accept all this by resorting to the notion of "national unity":

"They grind into our heads the idea of national unity. But the poor, whose majority comes from oriental communities, must unite with under-housing, under-income, and under-education. The Horowitz Committee report states explicitly that 12 percent of the people born in Asia and Africa that arrived in the country before 1948 live in conditions of under-housing, three or more persons to a room, and that 25 percent of the people born in Asia and Africa that arrived after 1948 live in such conditions.

"I live in Kiryat Shalom, in the boundary of the Shapira neighborhood, just a stone's throw from the Hatikva neighborhood. I see day by day how people live in these neighborhoods. Yet if someone really needs dry official data: In *Yediot Aharanot*, April 25, Yitzak Tishler quotes data from a research investigation of the Hatikva neighborhood. The research work states: '33% of the heads of family in the neighborhood lack any ordered education. Only 9% of them have studied for more than nine years. The average flat in the Hatikva neighborhood has 1.8 rooms; 40% of the families lack any arrangement for hot water. Only 56% are fully employed. The average gross income of the wage-earners in the neighborhood is 560 pounds [about US\$130]. Thirty percent do not enjoy any substantial income. Another 30% live on an income of 400 pounds or less.'

"Whoever says in these conditions to the workers, the inhabitants of poor neighborhoods, the settlers of the immigrant villages and development towns that the main thing is national unity is using the poverty and sufferings of the poor and the exploited, who are a majority of the population, for the advancement of his own political goals."

Livneh responded to the government's charge that the anti-Zionist movement was plotting violence against the state:

"The revolutionary communists are being accused of standing for violence. We are accused of preaching armed revolution.

"There is no limit to the hypocrisy of the regime.

"At the 'Chemicals and Phosphates' in Haifa, the lungs of the workers are burned out by poisonous gases day after day. My uncle got his lungs burned out there. My father had eaten dust and gases there for twenty years. I too have tasted the poison. This is violence!

"At the textile factories, workers become deaf from the noise of the machines. At paint factories the workers' blood gets poisoned. In all factories work is organized in such a way as to make it possible to suck from the worker as much profit as possible at the expense of his health and life. This is violence in its highest degree!

"In the poor neighborhoods, poor villages, and development towns the physical health of the settlers is destroyed year after year. This is violence!

"In the Arab villages and in the areas that were conquered in 1967 a regime of violent terror founded on antihuman laws is operated. Clubs and weapons, tortures and arbitrary arrests—this is violence!

"When policemen murder slum youth in the streets of Jerusalem and Rehovot in cold blood, when policemen armed with clubs disperse demonstrations of inhabitants of the neighborhoods and of leftists, when armed policemen break a workers strike—this is violence!

"When people from the secret police beat murderously any common delinquent—this is violence!

"Jails. They are institutions whose whole existence is continuous violence.

"This regime is completely based on violence. Oppressing violence is an indispensable condition of its existence.

"And when we organize ourselves for a political struggle whose purpose is the *elimination of the regime of violence*, when we call the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants to a common struggle in order to liberate ourselves from the exploitation and the oppression—the government accuses us of preaching violence.

"We are not fooling ourselves and we are not fooling anybody else. The regime of violence and oppression will not disappear just because it is opposed to the interests of the majority of the people. It will not disappear when most of the workers, laborers, and poor—both Jews and Arabs—organize themselves in order to replace it in a democratic way with a popular government. It will attack, it will go out in a desperate war against both the Jewish and Arab masses. Thus we say to the workers, the peasants, and the poor: You must be prepared for that attack. And we know: Only the organized people, only the force of the oppressed and exploited masses, which make up the majority of the population, united in the understanding of their common interest and knowing the enemy, only this force will succeed in resisting the attack of the state establishment, operated by the exploiting and oppressing class and its associates in the region and the world."

Livneh not only exposed the political basis of the frame-up charges against him, he also refuted the details of the prosecutor's claims. He explained that the alleged Fatch agent he had met with had entered the country in a totally legal manner so far as he knew, that they had made no agreement to pass weapons into Israel, that no arrangements for exchange of money between the two organizations was made. And in fact, no witness was produced at the trial to support any of the prosecution's contentions. The only "evidence" presented was a confession that had been signed by Livneh. He described how that confession was extorted: "After nine days of investigation, which was full of beatings and throughout which I defended my right not to make any declarations but in court, they took the most horrifying course one can imagine: They took my friend who is as close to me as a brother could be [Shauki Khatib, who is an Arab]; they tortured him with electricity and cold showers and simply announced to me that they would not stop until I was ready to talk. I talked. I told them I was ready to say whatever they wanted—and I truly 'incriminated' myself, apparently, and signed whatever they wanted me to. But when those experts in tortures and lies put on innocent faces in the witness stand—that is part of their

profession—the court believed them."

Besides his meeting with a "foreign agent," another charge against Livneh was that police, when searching his home, found two copies (three years old) of the newspaper *el-Hurriyah*, then the organ of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. In his statement to the court, Livneh took the opportunity to "confess" to some other matters regarding this contraband literature: that the Hebrew University library receives *el-*



DAYAN: "The State of Israel was established at the expense of the Arabs."

Hurriyah and that he and his friends even photographed articles from issues of the paper, "a service rendered to every student for 40 agorot each page" by the library's xerox machine.

He also noted that he had committed the "crime" of buying a copy of the magazine *el-Arabi*, a literary newspaper published in Kuwait, which is defined as an "enemy" country. This criminal act he committed at a public newsstand in Haifa.

"There is no doubt," Livneh said, "that those newspapers are sold freely and anybody can freely see the organ of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine at the university library. There is no doubt that these facts are known to the prosecution, and certainly there is no doubt they are known to the Security Services.

"The attempt to incriminate me with the accusation of having such newspapers—an item for which the maximum penalty is ten years—is amazing in its idiocy and daring.

"Idiocy because whoever accuses me of this charge is laughing at himself and at the court. In today's Israel there is no need, yet, to be a man belonging to an "espionage and sabotage ring" as I was defined by the press with the support of the prosecution and the Security Services. In order to read and have such a newspaper, one simply has to go to a store and buy it.

"Daring because by bringing me to trial on this charge, the state machinery does not hesitate to show two of its true intentions in everything related to this trial. One: that it is possible, and even desirable, to read in Israel political articles and newspapers published by the Arab bourgeoisie or reaction, but that it is totally forbidden to read articles that call for a common Jewish-Arab struggle, as can be found in the organ of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The oppressive regime in Israel does not hesitate to show its fear of the realization of the idea of the common struggle of the Arab and Jewish workers and its similarity of interests with the oppressive regimes in the Arab countries. So much so that it casts a most selective reading 'freedom': *Usbuu' el-Arabi*, published by the exploiters of workers in Lebanon, the 'hostile' country, this one can be owned and read. But one can get ten years imprisonment for the possession of the manifesto of those who fight against the oppression of the workers and peasants in Lebanon and Jordan.

"The second intention: that we, members of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (*Struggle*), have to be put in jail at any price and for as long a period as possible. And this in order to deter all leftists from their struggle. The fact that in order to do so I have to be accused of breaking a regulation defined by the justice minister himself as a Nazi regulation, does not mean a thing to the government."

Livneh ended his statement to the court this way:

"The meeting I held was an organic part of the legal political activities of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance (*Struggle*). That meeting was

held in pure innocence. I did not break the law and there was no intention on my part to break the law, nor to harm the security of the state. Our position and our way of ensuring the security of the people of Israel is the realization of massive political struggle.

"I am standing here only because I am an uncompromising fighter against the existing regime. What leads me and my friends in all our activi-

ties is the true interests of the Jewish and Arab masses. While I am completely innocent, there is nothing in the world that can stop me from fighting, together with my friends, for the high aims of communism."

On June 24 Rami Livneh was sentenced to ten years in jail. Meli Lehrman got seven years in jail. The five Arab defendants received sentences ranging from six months to six years. □

Wave of Anger Greets Caetano in Britain

Ten Thousand Protest Lisbon's Wars in Africa

London

Despite the horrified reaction throughout Britain to the massacre allegations revealed in the July 10 *London Times* (see *Intercontinental Press*, July 23, p. 900, and July 30, p. 935), Tory Prime Minister Heath refused to cancel the projected visit to London by Portuguese dictator Marcello Caetano. The visit was planned as part of the "celebrations" of the six hundredth anniversary of the alliance between the British and Portuguese governments.

On July 15, the eve of Caetano's arrival, 10,000 students, trade unionists, and blacks marched through London from Charing Cross to a rally at Hyde Park, passing the Portuguese Embassy. The demonstration was called by the End the Alliance Campaign, a broad coalition of groups united in their opposition to the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and to the British government's substantial support for Lisbon's wars in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. Supporters of the campaign include Labour party and Labour party Young Socialist branches, the Young Liberals, the Communist party, the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), and numerous trade-union, black, student, and Portuguese organizations.

The scheduled main speaker at the rally, a representative of the African Independence party of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verdes, was refused an entry visa by the British government. He was replaced by a speaker from the African National Congress of South Africa.

Another speaker was Bob Wright, a member of the executive committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Britain's second largest union. At its annual conference a few days earlier the nearly 2-million-strong Transport and General Workers Union approved a resolution calling on Heath to cancel the Caetano visit and voted to support the July 15 march. A large trade-union contingent took part, including government workers, dockers, road transport workers, teachers, and clerical workers. Several Trades Councils were represented.

Black groups were also on the march, led by the Africa Liberation Committee (ALC), a coalition of black organizations that has been working to mobilize the British black community in support of the liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa. The ALC contingent included the Black Unity and Freedom party, the Black People's Freedom Movement, and the Black Workers Movement. Large numbers of Portuguese immigrant workers joined the contingent organized by the Portuguese Socialist party and the Portuguese Workers Coordinating committee.

The breadth of support for the July 15 demonstration was clearly increased by the revelations a week earlier of the Wiriyamu massacre. But the End the Alliance Campaign had been launched several months previously and had already won considerable support before the publication of the massacre allegations. In mid-June the British Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau sponsored a tour for Marcelino dos Santos, the vice-presi-

dent of FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front). More than 1,000 persons attended a public meeting in London to hear dos Santos and former Labour party cabinet minister Judith Hart. On the weekend of June 23-24 more than 250 activists participated in a national educational conference on the wars in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

Students played a decisive role in building the campaign. Local End the Alliance Committees were set up mainly by students in cities throughout Britain to mobilize support for the July 15 demonstration. The National Union of Students set up a Southern Africa Network of Activists in constituent unions around the country, which began to work for the July 15 march from the beginning of the summer term.

The End the Alliance Campaign, as well as mobilizing 10,000 persons on July 15, attempted, along with other organizations, to ensure that demonstrations confronted Caetano everywhere he went during his visit, despite the withholding of his itinerary. Nearly 2,000 persons "greeted" his arrival at the British Museum July 19. The unions representing the Museum workers were the main organizers of the protest.

The focus of the End the Alliance Campaign's activity has been Britain's economic, military, and political complicity in Lisbon's colonial wars. The campaign has been demanding a complete and immediate end to all British collaboration with the Portuguese regime. The British government has supplied Lisbon with aircraft, ships, vehicles, and helicopters through NATO. More than 25 percent of foreign investments in Portugal are British. Seventy percent of the Mozambique sugar industry is British-owned. British companies own the Benguela Railway in Angola and the Trans-Zambesi Railway in Mozambique; and British companies are investing in steel, diamonds, coffee, and sugar in Angola. Clearly the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance is a profitable affair for British businessmen. British investments are also of great value to Portugal's rulers: They help prop up Portugal's war-torn economy. British government readiness to arm the Portuguese state through NATO is also motivated by concern that a Portuguese defeat in

Mozambique and Angola could encourage the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Zimbabwe, threatening the gigantic imperialist interests in Southern Africa as a whole.

The Portuguese government now has at least 150,000 troops in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

More than 50 percent of government expenditure goes for the military, and every Portuguese male is subject to the four-year draft. Lisbon's ability to maintain such a vast army in Africa is being strained to the limit. Its reliance on the stronger imperialist powers is crucial in its fight to cling to its colonies. □

York Times that he had participated in or learned of "scores of clandestine Green Beret missions involving kidnappings, ambushes and planned attacks on enemy supply and intelligence outposts as far as 40 miles inside Laos.

"As many as 10 Americans, accompanied by equal numbers of United States trained mercenaries, participated in the operations, he said, and they often wore North Vietnamese, Vietcong or Chinese uniforms.

New Disclosures of Secret Attacks

Nixon Plans More War After Bombing 'Halt'

"No thoughtful person," Senator Harold Hughes warned his colleagues July 27, "can escape being apprehensive about whether or not our government really means business about stopping the Cambodian bombing, considering the history of deepening involvement, of secret, large-scale military operations covered by falsified reports, and of deliberate violations of already existing laws."

The senator's skepticism is, of course, well founded, particularly now that Nixon's attempts to arrive at an agreement with Norodom Sihanouk seem to have stalled. The White House told reporters July 26 that Henry Kissinger's planned trip to Peking had been postponed until some time after August 15, the date on which the bombing is supposed to stop.

"Administration officials" told Bernard Gwertzman of the *New York Times* that "the Cambodian insurgents opposed to the Government of President Lon Nol had flatly refused to negotiate with Phnom Penh and that the Nixon Administration did not anticipate significant diplomatic progress before the Aug. 15 bombing cutoff. . . .

"Once the bombing stops, an official said, it may become apparent whether the Lon Nol Government can survive. He speculated that if Phnom Penh continued to hold out against the insurgent forces, the opposition might decide to seek a settlement through political means."

As Hughes suggested to the Senate, Nixon can be expected to continue covert support to Lon Nol until a settlement acceptable to U.S. imperialism is reached—or until the puppet regime collapses. Recent disclosures about the secret bombing of Cambodia in 1969-70 (see last week's *In-*

tercontinental Press) and other undercover warfare are more than sufficient indication that Nixon's moves in Indochina will be limited only by what he thinks he can get away with.

On July 24, the Pentagon admitted that eighty-one U.S. soldiers who had



LON NOL

been reported killed in South Vietnam since 1965 had actually died on secret operations in Laos and Cambodia. Two days later, the figure was raised to 102. It appears likely that a large proportion of the more than 1,200 U.S. servicemen still listed as missing in action actually died in Laos or Cambodia.

On July 26, Thomas J. Marzullo, a former Green Beret sergeant who served in Indochina from 1969 to 1971, told Seymour Hersh of the *New*

"Casualties were frequently heavy, he recalled, but only those whose bodies were returned and identifiable were officially listed as killed in action. The dead who were left behind, he added, were listed as missing."

Michael Getler reported in the July 25 *Washington Post* that the secret operations in Laos occurred between the fall of 1965 and February 1971, and those in Cambodia between 1967 and the end of June 1970. A law passed in December 1969 prohibits the sending of ground combat troops into Laos.

Richard Nixon stated on March 6, 1970, that "there are no American ground troops in Laos. . . and no American stationed in Laos has ever been killed in a ground combat operation." In the second half of this lie, Nixon used the lawyer's trick of inserting the word "stationed"; officially, the troops sent into Laos would have been listed as being "stationed" in South Vietnam or elsewhere.

In a July 28 dispatch from Washington, Hersh described still another front in Nixon's secret warfare. He quoted "well-informed sources" as saying that a falsification of records had occurred with respect to the bombing of Laos similar to that in Cambodia.

"The sources said," Hersh wrote, "that most of the newly discovered raids took place in Laos from 1969 to 1972. . . .

"Almost all the falsified missions were flown over northern Laos, but were deliberately and incorrectly reported to the military's own operations sections as having been carried out over the panhandle areas of southern Laos, the sources said."

Statistics supplied by the Pentagon and inserted in the *Congressional Record* July 18 report that in the four-year period 1969-72 the U.S. dropped 1,568,948 tons of bombs on Laos. During all of World War II, U.S.

planes dropped a total of slightly more than 2,000,000 tons of bombs in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

There is thus more than ample precedent for assuming that Nixon will find ways to continue his aggression against the people of Cambodia, particularly since the attainment of "peaceful coexistence" with Moscow and Peking insures that the workers state bureaucracies will offer no meaningful objection and will not supply the

liberation forces with the equipment they need to defend themselves.

This fact does not guarantee the Lon Nol "government" a long life, of course, since even with the current massive, nonsecret bombing, the puppets have been able to keep control of little more territory than the ground they stand on. The behind-the-scenes efforts to arrive at an accommodation with Sihanouk may be stalled, but they have not been abandoned. □

'He Has Come to Represent Opportunity'

Imperialists Voicing Open Support for Peron

By David Thorstad

"In November of last year, during his stay in Buenos Aires, Perón explained that only an alliance of the Justicialist [Peronist] movement, the Radicals, the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor], the CGE [Confederación General Económica—General Business Federation]—the national employers' organization—and the armed forces would make it possible for the country to break with the pattern of dependency. Up to now, General Perón indicated at that time, imperialism has taken advantage of the opportunities it has had of pitting these sectors of the nation against one another. At this stage, only a plan for bringing about a political integration of these forces would allow Perón to make his own scheme a reality."

This is how Heriberto Kahn, writing in the July 21 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, described Perón's scheme for putting together a "great national agreement," with himself as the principal architect. Since the resignation of President Héctor Cámpora July 13, it has become increasingly clear that this was Perón's plan all along.

"From exile in Madrid," wrote Jonathan Kandell in the July 25 *New York Times*, "he marshaled his heterogeneous movement to an impressive electoral victory in March, through a campaign dominated by antimilitary and anti-Establishment slogans.

"But once back in the country, Mr. Perón forced the resignation of his loyal follower, Dr. Héctor J. Cámpora,

the man he had picked as his presidential candidate, and has seemingly abandoned the youthful left wing of his movement, which expected him to lead a socialist revolution.

"Instead Mr. Perón has quickly sought to create a new coalition of conservative Peronists and moderate opposition party members with the backing of the once hostile armed forces."

The scheme has led to the increasing isolation of left-wing Peronists within the Peronist movement. With Cámpora's resignation, for example, the only two left-wing Peronists in his cabinet—Juan Carlos Puig, the foreign minister, and Esteban Righi, the minister of the interior—were removed and replaced by conservative Peronists. On July 24, another Cámpora appointee whose views had strong support from left-wing Peronists, Juan Carlos Gené, was removed as director of the government's television station.

The same day, Colonel Jorge Osinde, a close right-wing aide of Perón and his security chief in 1955, was promoted from under secretary of sports to national director of security.

"This reappraisal was advanced in interviews by top officials of the State Department involved with South American affairs and was confirmed by the Argentine Embassy as its understanding of current United States policy."

A source, on the "upper, policy-making floors" of the State Department, put it this way: "I think this is the

moment for Perón. He alone can bring cohesion to Argentina. There is no one else left. So he has come to represent opportunity."

One State Department official told Binder that he thought imperialist relations with Argentina had been smooth during the military dictatorship, but that they were now "better than at any time for the last 45 years."

Washington feels that Perón is the only one who can bring stability to Argentina and restore the kind of order that can create a favorable atmosphere for investments. It is reassured, Binder noted, by the distance Perón has taken from his more radical supporters, who have been pressing him to nationalize foreign industry and kick the imperialists out:

"Nor is the [state] department unduly upset by the prospect that a new Perón Administration would undoubtedly press efforts to nationalize foreign-owned enterprises in banking, transportation, iron production, oil and communications, much of which are in American hands. The book value of American investments in Argentina is about \$1.3-billion [milliard].

"We feel they would not do anything that would completely discourage foreign investment," a United States official said."

The Peronists have taken pains to assure foreign investors that they will have nothing to fear. "An example," wrote James Nelson Goodsell in the July 9 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "was the recent advice given foreign oil companies. The Campora government suggested quietly that they should be prepared to have some reduction in their role, but were assured that the government planned no takeover of the foreign firms and their assets."

Peronist officials, he said, have begun to talk of foreign money to finance development of a copper industry for Argentina. The project would require more than \$1 thousand million.

The companies, moreover, appear persuaded that the wave of kidnappings of imperialist executives will not be of long duration: "In recent months, General Motors, Ford, Saab, and Fiat, the big giants of Argentina's automobile industry, all have invested millions aimed at an eventual boost in production. Many chemical and petrochemical firms are doing likewise. It is also reported that Eastman Kodak, which paid more than \$1 million in

ransom to free one of its executives from the hands of kidnapers, is about to launch new sales campaigns on cameras."

Osinde's promotion is particularly significant, since it was he who was responsible for organizing the immense demonstration to welcome Perón back to Argentina on June 20. In the eyes of young Peronist leftists, he is viewed as the head of armed right-wing commandos that opened fire on the crowd, killing more than thirty and wounding hundreds. The colonel has influential defenders, however, for statements were published at considerable cost in all the newspapers describing him as the "savior of Perón."

A special commission headed by former Vice-President Vicente Solano Lima drew up a report on the incident in collaboration with former minister Righi. Following the cabinet shuffle and the resignation of Cámpora, however, the report appears to have been scuttled.

The only left-wing official remaining from the Cámpora administration is reportedly Rodolfo Puiggros, state intervener of the University of Buenos Aires.

While left-wing Peronists have been continuing to support Perón, regarding him as a captive rather than the architect of the apparent right-wing coup that has occurred, Perón has carefully

avoided any appearance of sympathy with leftists in Peronist ranks. Kandell reported, for instance, in a dispatch from Buenos Aires July 24:

"Mr. Perón has continued to keep his leftist followers at arm's length. Last weekend, he baffled 30,000 youthful Peronists, who marched in support of his candidacy, by leaving his suburban mansion before they arrived. When the youths then followed him to the presidential residence, he pleaded illness and promised to address them at a future rally."

The right-wing swing of the Peronist regime, and Perón's efforts to construct a coalition of "national unity"—minus the left—have met with open support from the imperialists. A reflection of this can be seen in the coverage of the *New York Times*, which ran two articles on July 25 and 29 under the headlines "Peron's New Coalition: Even Old Anti-Peronists Are Welcome as He Seemingly Abandons Left Wing," and "U. S., in Shift, Views Peron As Argentina's Best Hope."

Washington correspondent David Binder began the second article by noting: "In a reversal of attitudes, the United States Government has come to view Juan Domingo Perón not as a menace but as Argentina's best hope for political stability and economic progress.

the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores had repeatedly denounced.

The new levels reached by workers struggles, especially beginning with the Cordobazo, forced the various sectors of the bourgeoisie to put aside their rivalry over which one would predominate, in order to join together in a broad, defensive alliance that will allow them to retain control of political power. The old disputes between the traditional agroexport sector and the development-oriented industrial sectors; the reflection of this reality within the armed forces, which brought them to a state of permanent deliberation, giving rise to factions that at times reached the stage of armed confrontation, as in the case of the blues and the reds [an armed clash between two factions of the army during the Frondizi government; the reds wanted to carry out an immediate coup against Frondizi, while the blues defended him] and the political struggles between Peronists and gorillas—none of these have stood in the way of bringing them all together in a Great National Agreement, the aim of which is to prevent the revolutionary rise of the workers.

The new plan for political hegemony topped off by the Perón-Balbin agreement includes all sectors—from monopoly capital to the old landed and stock-owning oligarchy, whose production continues to be the source for financing industrial development; from the middle social layers—for a good part of whom the Radicals speak—to the so-called "national bourgeoisie," which is definitively integrated into imperialism as a supplier of stocks, materials, and executives.

This is the way the political strategy of imperialism for our semicolonial countries is carried out. This strategy consists of insuring political stability through alliances between classes that guarantee that their economic plans will be carried out without anything unexpected disrupting them. Or, put another way, these are alliances that maintain, and even increase, the rate of exploitation of the workers. Such an alliance could take the political form of authoritarianism and dictatorship, as in Brazil, or participationism and populism, as in Mexico.

The Perón-Balbin agreement, built up on a base of the reformist and bourgeois parties, the union bureaucracy, and the armed forces, will move

Great National Agreement Laid Bare

General Perón's Striptease Act

By Juan Carlos Coral

[The following article was published in the July 18-25 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*.]

* * *

The show that the country has just witnessed with surprise and confusion was nothing less than a striptease by General Perón.

Now that the drums that celebrated the return [of Perón] and the electoral triumph have died down; now that the

guns of the guards at Ezeiza airport are silenced, and the pilgrimages are over that converged in a kind of multitudinous procession from which only the honored saint was absent; and, finally, now that the thousand different expressions of the Peronist liturgy have been exhausted, Perón unavoidably has had to face up to reality, which, as he himself has observed, is the only truth. And now, stripped of the trappings of symbolism and abstract slogans, and his secrets laid bare, he has revealed himself—together with Ricardo Balbin—as the leader of a pact put forward by the bosses, of an agreement between all capitalist sectors that

forward by oscillating between these two alternatives. As long as Perón and the Ruccis [José Rucci is the country's top Peronist labor bureaucrat] agree to bring their influence to bear in order to keep the masses in a state of demobilization, the bourgeoisie will grant itself the luxury of exercising its class dictatorship under democratic and parliamentary forms. But when the masses again break out of their bureaucratic and conciliatory bounds, the repressive elements of the "social pact"—hitherto held in reserve—will appear in the form of General Carcagno, the commanders in chief, and the armed forces; they are participating in the agreement as guarantors of capitalist investments, as custodians of the dividends of the monopolies.

Since it was carried out in order to put the clinch on this perspective, the overthrow of Cámpora can be said to be the result of a typical right-wing coup. That this is an apt characterization can also be seen in the removal of cabinet ministers, replacing Righi and Puig—who in some sense represented the Peronist Youth—with Otero, López Rega or Gelbard. It is a right-wing coup because it tends to jell together a ruling team with a view to carrying out, without any interference, the economic plans of imperialism; because, with regard to the internal life of the Peronist movement, its aim is to liquidate the influence of the youth and the combative sectors that had seriously believed in the slogan "Socialist Fatherland"; and because the general aim consists of placing concrete responsibility for the government in the hands of Perón so that he can be as effective as possible in executing his role of demobilizing and holding back the working class, as well as in fulfilling his function of arbiter and moderator for the bosses' sectors in this, the broadest alliance of classes that we have ever known in this country.

In the election, by which an effort will be made to ratify the coup, no one will be able to claim that a Perón-Balbin ticket is a workers ticket. Those who were engaging in speculation about the brilliant maneuvers of the "Old Man," those who were assuming that once in the government the "Old Man" would turn the tables on the military, are ending up witnesses to an unbelievable striptease at the hand of Balbin, the turning over of respon-



PERON

sibility for economic policy to the president of the bosses' organization, and entrusting the maintenance of "social

peace" to General Carcagno, perhaps because of his qualities as military chief during the Cordobazo.

We have defended, and continue to defend, Perón's right to freely take part in politics and to put forward his candidacy without any kind of restrictions; we likewise defend the right of the working class to freely elect its candidate, and the right of all political forces to participate in the elections on an equal basis—including the right of our own party to participate in order to confront and denounce the alternatives presented by the bosses.

In face of the clear unity attained by all the boss forces, the same kind of unity becomes imperative for the working class and the exploited sectors of the population. It is necessary to put forward the alternative of a workers, class-struggle, and socialist ticket that can rally the most conscious and combative compañeros of the struggles that defeated the first stage of the so-called Argentine Revolution—a ticket that will be able to provide political continuity to the rise in struggles heroically initiated from the union ranks and from the cities and people of the interior. We want to fully exercise the democratic right that until just a short while ago we were demanding for Perón himself. And in this task of putting together the Workers Front, an important role must be played by the Juventud Peronista [Peronist Youth], the combative and antibureaucratic sectors of the unions, and the class-struggle and socialist groups that make up the vanguard of the revolution that is approaching. □

Iranian Students Protest Shah's U.S. Visit

Hundreds of Iranian students demonstrated against the shah during his visit to the United States. In Washington, 300 persons held a picket line and rally July 24 in a park opposite the White House. On the same day, 400 demonstrators in San Francisco picketed the Iranian consulate after a rally at the federal building.

Both demonstrations were organized by the Iranian Students Association.

The Washington demonstrators wore white masks in order to prevent their identification by agents of the shah's political police, SAVAK. According to the August 3 issue of the Trotskyist

weekly *The Militant*, in the week before the shah's arrival SAVAK agents "harassed and threatened Iranian students to discourage them from participating in the demonstration."

A theme of both protests was opposition to the shah's purchase of some \$3,000 million worth of arms from the United States, which are intended to buttress his role as imperialism's policeman in the Middle East. The demonstrators also demanded an end to the suppression of political opposition in Iran, the release of political prisoners, and an end to torture of prisoners by the shah's secret police.

Nixon's Cover-Up Seen As 'Desperate Gamble'

By Allen Myers

"President Nixon's refusal to give his tape recordings to anybody," the conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wrote July 25, ". . . constitutes a desperate gamble: to win back the American people by thumbing his nose at Republican politicians, Congress and his own special prosecutor."

Nixon's decision—announced July 23 in letters to special Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox and Senate Watergate committee chairman Sam Ervin—to attempt to suppress the evidence in the White House tapes is far more likely to confirm widespread suspicion of his guilt than it is to "win back the American people." As Ervin commented in reply to Nixon's letter, "I don't think the people of the United States are interested so much in abstruse arguments about the separation of powers or executive privilege as they are in finding the answer" to the question of how much Nixon was involved in the Watergate affair.

'The President May Have Played His Last Card'

Nixon's letter to Ervin was hardly convincing in its protestations of innocence.

"If release of the tapes would settle the central questions at issue in the Watergate inquiries," Nixon wrote, "then their disclosure might serve a substantial public interest that would have to be weighed very heavily against the negatives of disclosure."

"The fact is that the tapes would not finally settle the central issues before your committee. Before their existence became publicly known, I personally listened to a number of them. The tapes are entirely consistent with what I know to be the truth and what I have stated to be the truth. However, as in any verbatim recording of informal conversations, they contain comments that persons with different perspectives and motivations

would inevitably interpret in different ways."

"If you will notice," Ervin commented after reading Nixon's letter to the television audience, "the president says he has heard the tapes or some of them, and they sustain his position. But he's not going to let anybody else hear them for fear they might draw a different conclusion."

Nixon's refusal to supply the tapes to the Ervin committee was expected;



EHRlichman: Defends Nixon's "right" to order burglaries.

he had earlier refused to hand over White House documents related to the scandal. But Cox is the special prosecutor appointed by Nixon's attorney general; the appointment of a special prosecutor was portrayed as a sort of public pledge that the cover-up would be uncovered. Nixon's refusal to cooperate with Cox is a confession that complete exposure of the facts would be damaging to him—a confession that alarms even his most devoted defenders.

Evans and Novak described congressional Republican leaders as "stunned" by Nixon's denial of the tapes to Cox.

". . . President Nixon gambles," they concluded, "that American public opinion will regard his refusal as a defiant exercise of courage rather than a shrouded admission of guilt. But Mr. Nixon's hard-line Monday [July 23] virtually cut off any escape by other routes. If the gamble for public support fails, even his own aides admit, the President may have played his last card."

In the July 24 *New York Times*, James M. Naughton quoted unnamed members of the White House staff to the effect that Nixon's decision was based on the view that he had nothing to lose since nearly everyone already regards him as guilty:

". . . the White House officials privately expressed—and intimated that the President held—the view that adverse public opinion had 'bottomed out' in the most recent Gallup Poll, which estimated that barely 40 percent of the voters approved Mr. Nixon's performance in the White House.

"According to this view, with the President's esteem at its lowest level since he took office, things could hardly get worse and might well get better, so there was little jeopardy involved in withholding White House tapes and documents."

Nixon's public-relations strategy got a boost from Cox, who backed off from promises to the Senate in May that he would "resign or find some public recourse" if the White House interfered with the investigation. Instead, Cox obtained a subpoena for eight tapes, which Nixon on July 26 refused to honor. The entire matter will now be dragged through the courts—probably over a period of several months—before the Supreme Court finally rules.

The Ervin committee also voted to take the matter into the courts. Committee lawyers are reported preparing to sue Nixon, asking the courts to declare that Nixon must turn over

the tapes and documents sought.

In addition to concealing evidence of his own guilt, Nixon's withholding of the tapes, if approved by the courts, will probably make it impossible for any high-level members of the Nixon gang to be convicted.

The Supreme Court has ruled in the past that the government must provide defendants in criminal cases with any evidence it has that might tend to prove their innocence or, alternatively, must abandon prosecution. It should be easy for any member of the gang who has ever spoken to Nixon to claim that a particular tape proves his innocence and to demand that the tape be produced. When the government refuses, judges will be forced to dismiss the case.

'What a Liar!'

One of the gang members likely to benefit from this situation appeared before the Senate committee July 24-27 and is scheduled for further questioning beginning July 30.

John Ehrlichman, until his "resignation" last April 30, was Nixon's top domestic adviser and the number three man in the White House after Nixon and H. R. Haldeman. As expected, he denied any illegal or improper actions. When pressed on weak points in his testimony, he usually managed to talk about something else. One reporter compared him to a "mechanical toy" that "seemed programmed to back off and crank away in another direction whenever he ran into an obstacle."

After finishing his questioning of Ehrlichman July 25, Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii sat back in his chair and muttered in a whisper his opinion of the witness. Inouye apparently didn't realize that his microphone was still turned on, and his comment was broadcast clearly: "What a liar!"

Ehrlichman appeared unconcerned by the fact that his testimony contradicted that of nearly every other witness. He did not even seem to mind when he contradicted documentary evidence available to the committee.

He denied, for example, Herbert Kalmbach's testimony that Ehrlichman had told him that raising funds for the Watergate burglars was legal and proper and that he should continue. But a telephone conversation

"Here I Am, Copper"



with Kalmbach that Ehrlichman recorded April 19 contains the following exchange:

Kalmbach: "You know, when you and I talked and it was after John [Dean] had given me that word, and I came in to ask you, John is this an assignment I have to take on? You said, Yes it is period and move forward. Then that was all that I needed to be assured that I wasn't putting my family in jeopardy."

Ehrlichman: "Sure."

Kalmbach: "And I would just understand that you and I are absolutely together on that."

Ehrlichman: "No question about it, Herb, that I would never knowingly have put you in any kind of a spot."

Kalmbach: "Yeah. Well and when we talked you knew what I was about to do, you know, to go out and get the dough for this purpose; it was humanitarian."

Ehrlichman: "It was a defense fund."

Most of the questioning of Ehrlichman concerned his connections with the "plumbers," the secret White House spy group that burglarized the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. The two officials in charge of the spy group, Egil Krogh and David R. Young, were under Ehrlichman's overall supervision.

Ehrlichman denied having approved the break-in. The committee counsel then read from a memorandum Krogh and Young had sent to Ehr-

lichman a month before the burglary. It said in part:

"... We would recommend that a covert operation be undertaken to examine all the medical files still held by Ellsberg's psychoanalyst covering the two-year period in which he was undergoing analysis."

Ehrlichman had given his written approval if "done under your assurance that it is not traceable."

By "covert operation," he claimed, he didn't mean burglary but merely a legal investigation in which the investigators were not identified as coming from the White House. Ehrlichman, a lawyer, professed to be unaware of the fact that there is no legal way to obtain a psychiatrist's records except by court order.

But what really appeared to stun the senators was Ehrlichman's unblinking assertion that the burglary was a perfectly proper act:

"It never was my view that Hunt and Liddy, as individuals, had done something that was completely irrational in that break-in. In other words, they were operating in a national security setting and pursuant to either instructions or authorization and, that being the case, that had never been a subject which I considered to be seriously embarrassing."

Ehrlichman assured the committee that Nixon shared his view of the president's right to order burglaries:

"In point of fact, on the first occasion when I did discuss this with the president, which was in March of this year, he expressed essentially the view that I have just stated, that this was an important, a vital national security inquiry, and that he considered it to be well within the constitutional... obligation and function of the presidency."

In revealing that he had discussed the burglary with Nixon in March, Ehrlichman accidentally exposed one of the lies in Nixon's May 22 written defense. In that statement, Nixon claimed that he did not learn of the burglary until April 25. The purpose of Nixon's lie was to conceal the fact that he had delayed for more than a month informing the judge in the Ellsberg trial about the break-in. During that month, Ehrlichman and Nixon met with the judge to offer him appointment as director of the FBI.

Ehrlichman's assertions about Nixon's powers to authorize burglaries

naturally raise the question of what other activities might have been carried out by the "plumbers" and other White House spy groups. Senator Howard Baker, the committee vice-chairman, tried to question Ehrlichman on the subject July 26. Ehrlichman's lawyer immediately interrupted to read a letter from White House special counsel J. Fred Buzhardt invoking "executive privilege" to prevent Ehrlichman from answering.

The other "national security" operations authorized by Nixon may go far beyond burglaries, as the following exchange between Senator Herman Talmadge and Ehrlichman July 25 indicated:

Talmadge: "Now, if the president could authorize a covert break-in and you do not know exactly what that power would be limited [by], you do not think it could include murder or other crimes beyond covert break-ins, do you?"

Ehrlichman: "I do not know where the line is, Senator."

'Dean Would Be Telling the Truth'

When Ehrlichman's testimony is completed, the next scheduled witness is H. R. Haldeman, the former chief of the White House staff. Testimony on July 20 and 23 by Gordon Strachan, his former assistant, implicated Haldeman in both illegal espionage operations and the Watergate cover-up.

According to Strachan, Haldeman had a consuming interest in "political intelligence" and in the operations of the reelection campaign. He insisted, for example, in approving personally every item of campaign advertising.

Strachan testified that Haldeman had begun meeting with John Mitchell to discuss "political intelligence" at least as early as June 30, 1971.

On March 31, 1972, the day after the Key Biscayne meeting at which Gordon Liddy's espionage plan was approved, Strachan was called by Jeb Stuart Magruder, deputy director of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP), and told "that a sophisticated political intelligence gathering system had been approved." Strachan said that he included this fact in one of the political memoranda that he periodically prepared for Hal-

deman and that the latter indicated with a check mark that he had read the item.

On April 4, 1972, Strachan continued, Haldeman had a meeting with Mitchell, and Strachan included an item on "political intelligence" in a list of topics that he prepared for Haldeman prior to the meeting.

Strachan also indicated that Haldeman supervised Liddy's undercover operations. In April 1972, he said, Haldeman called Strachan into his office "and told me to contact Mr. Liddy and tell him to transfer what-



STRACHAN: Shredded documents linked to espionage plan.

ever capability he had from Muskie to McGovern with particular interest in discovering what the connection between McGovern and Senator Kennedy was."

After the burglars were captured inside the Watergate on June 17, Strachan testified, he was "scared to death" that Haldeman would fire him for not having figured out what was going on. He went to see Haldeman on June 20.

"Were you fired or did he berate you?" asked committee counsel Samuel Dash.

Strachan: "No, he did not berate me. He said almost jokingly, well, what do we know about the events over the weekend? And I was quite nervous and retreated to sort of legal protective terms and I said, well, sir,

this is what can be imputed to you through me, your agent, and opened the political matters memorandum to the paragraph on intelligence, showed it to him. He acknowledged his check and that he had read that. . . ."

Dash: "Then what, if anything, did you tell him or did he tell you after he had gone through this memorandum again?"

Strachan: "He told me, well, make sure our files are clean."

Dash: "What did that mean to you?"

Strachan: "Well, I went down and shredded that document and others related."

Strachan also provided an insight into how high-level members of the Nixon gang carefully avoided learning the details of the dirty tricks they knew were being carried out. He said that the office of special counsel Charles W. Colson was known to the White House staff as "the office of dirty tricks."

"Every once in a while," Strachan testified, "Mr. Haldeman would ask me, 'Well, what do you know about what Mr. Colson is doing?' and I would tell him, 'I am sorry I really don't know very much about what Mr. Colson is doing.'"

"And he [Haldeman] would turn to Mr. Higby [Lawrence Higby, another Haldeman assistant] and say, 'Do you know anything about what Mr. Colson was doing?'"

"And it was sort of a joke. Nobody really knew what Mr. Colson was doing."

It would not be surprising to discover that the White House tapes contain similar charades in which Nixon receives "repeated assurances" that no one from the White House was involved in Watergate.

Strachan would appear to have thrown off his ties to the Nixon gang, for he indirectly backed John Dean's testimony. Strachan said that Dean has "a remarkable facility . . . to remember facts and to keep track of which facts which staff members knew or should be informed about."

Senator Joseph Montoya asked if Dean was a "truthful man."

"Well," Strachan answered, "I don't think he ever lied to me."

"Now would it be your opinion," Montoya continued, "that if John Dean said he had told the president about Watergate and the cover-up, would you say that Dean was telling the

truth?"

Strachan replied, "Well, this is my opinion based on my experience with John Dean, and my opinion would be that John Dean would be telling the truth."

Opinion polls indicate that a big majority of the U.S. public share Strachan's opinion of Dean's testimony. As evidence of White House crimes continues to accumulate, Nixon's "last card" could turn out to be a loser. □

Demand End to Illegal Harassment

U.S. Trotskyists Sue Watergate Gang

[The following article is reprinted from the July 27 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*, published in New York.]

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NEW YORK, JULY 18— The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance filed suit here today in federal district court against Richard Nixon, John Mitchell, H. R. Halde- man, John Ehrlichman, and 15 other officials and former officials of the U. S. government.

Filed by Leonard Boudin, one of the most prominent constitutional lawyers in the country, the suit charges Nixon and the other defendants with "illegal acts of blacklisting, harassment, electronic surveillance, burglary, mail tampering, and terrorism" against the SWP and YSA, and their members and supporters. The suit was announced at a news conference today at Boudin's office.

Plaintiffs in the suit include the party's 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, and its 1973 mayoral candidates in Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, New York, Seattle, Minneapolis, and Houston.

The suit asks for a court injunction to halt all government harassment, intimidation, and illegal spying on the SWP and YSA. It also seeks to have the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations ruled unconstitutional. The SWP was placed on this list in 1948, without a hearing. The lawsuit charges that the decision to place the party on the list was part of a conspiracy to violate the constitutional rights of the SWP.

In addition, the plaintiffs are asking for damages totaling more than \$27-million for the numerous violations

of rights suffered by the SWP and YSA and by individual members of the two groups.

Linda Jenness, speaking to reporters at the news conference, said, "The Watergate revelations have laid bare a network of illegal undercover police operations and government secrecy. These methods of rule are not merely an aberration that can be attributed to one party, or one wing of one party. The secret police arms of the government, some of whose practices have been exposed by Watergate, have been maintained and expanded for decades under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

"The use of repressive measures, the infringement of democratic rights and the super-secrecy of government functioning are essential features of capitalist rule today. . . . The growing resort to authoritarian methods of rule by the capitalist government is a threat that must be combated. That is the objective of our suit and of the political campaign we are launching."

Andrew Pulley, who is now national secretary of the YSA, said that "a victory in this case will not only be a victory for the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party, but for all those who oppose the campaign of harassment directed at dissenters. The YSA will do everything possible to gain widespread support for this case."

The suit documents instances of wiretapping, tampering with mail, job discrimination, and harassment by government agencies, including the FBI. It also cites incidents of SWP headquarters being firebombed in Los Angeles in May 1970; bombed in Houston in March 1971; and burglarized in Detroit in October 1971.

The suit charges that these acts were

part of a conspiracy involving federal officials. Their actions violate the first, fourth and fifth amendments to the U.S. constitution. The government officials who planned and implemented these activities are also accused of conspiring to violate the civil rights of the SWP and the YSA.

Leonard Boudin told reporters that he hoped this case will pave the way for other suits by political parties and other groups who have been victimized by Watergate-style practices. "We learned in the Ellsberg and Berrigan cases," Boudin said, referring to his two most recent defense cases, "that the government takes extraordinary measures against those it views as threats to its policies.

"What is involved here," he said, "is the fight for the survival of democracy and the electoral process, which is in serious need of protection against the very people who have been elected to office."

Boudin estimated that the pretrial procedures of questioning and obtaining statements from the defendants would take about eight months. After that a federal judge will hold a trial on the charges. In response to a reporter's question about whether or not he expected to succeed with the suit, Boudin replied: "This office never takes cases of this kind unless we believe we can win. And our record will show that we rarely lose. This case is winnable."

Judy Baumann, the national secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, announced that her committee has established the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) specifically to build support and raise money for this case. She explained that the PRDF would seek to mobilize the broadest possible civil liberties support for the case and to raise funds to cover the expenses of the suit.

It Lights Up When Nixon Approaches

A British television station is planning an experiment to protect viewers who object to scenes of violence. Whenever such a scene is about to occur, a symbol is flashed on the screen, allowing viewers to turn off the set or close their eyes.

We don't want to minimize scientific advances, but we're really waiting for the day when scientists get to work on developing a similar device that works in real life.

Rising Bengali Movement in Indian State

[Bengali nationalism is on the rise in the Indian state of Assam. Cachar district, which is about 83 percent Bengali, is seeking separation from the state and status as an Indian union territory.

[The movement for economic, social, and cultural freedom for Cachar does not yet seek separation from India, although the movement is opposed by the Indian government. Cachar, which has a population of about 1,800,000, borders on Bangladesh.

[In the interview that follows, Paritos Pal Chowdhury describes the present national movement in Cachar. Chowdhury is a leading member of the Cachar Ganaparisad (People's Forum) Union Territory Demand Committee. The interview was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* by A. Haq.]

* * *

Question. Why do you call your organization Cachar Ganaparisad Union Territory Demand Committee?

Answer. It is an organization of the people. It is based on a program and certain demands. The major demand is to make Cachar a union territory. As soon as this major demand is realized, this organization will be called only Cachar Ganaparisad. The remaining part of the name will cease to have its validity, and so will be dropped.

Q. Is this a fight for the self-determination of the people of Cachar?

A. Yes, it is a fight for the right of self-determination of the people of Cachar. It is the genuine right of the people of Cachar.

Historically speaking, Cachar is not part of Assam. Geographically it is completely detached from the rest of Assam by the Surma Valley and by a mountainous region. This separation helped the people of Cachar to build up their own culture, that is, Bengali culture. About 83 percent speak Bengali.

Thus, historically, geographically, culturally, and from the linguistic

standpoint, Cachar has built up everything on its own and has nothing to do with Assam.

Economically it is exploited by the Assam government. Every year 14 crore [one crore is 10 million] of rupees [about US\$18,000,000] are collected by the Assam government and hardly 12 crore of rupees are spent for Cachar. Since independence Cachar has been ruthlessly exploited by the Assam government. And very little money has been spent [in Cachar] under the first four five-year plans of the Indian government.

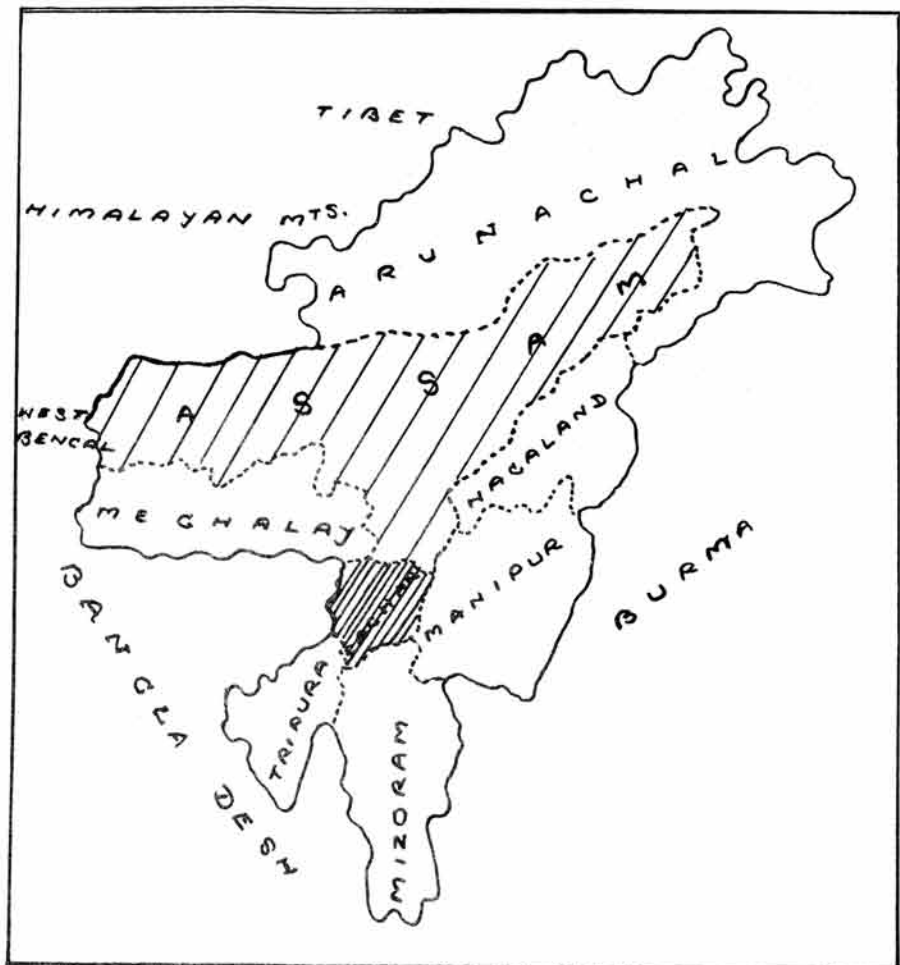
Now the Assam government has decided to impose the Assamese language on the people here. They were keen to impose it this year, but because of pressure from the people they were forced to defer it for one year.

All these basic causes are reasons that the people of Cachar are now desperate to realize their rights. It is true, of course, that a union territory does not have the status of a state under the Indian constitution. But this is the first step toward achieving our future demands.

Q. We have seen in the past some movements to make Cachar an independent state within the Indian Union. Where do you differ from those movements?

A. Since 1948 many demands have been pressed upon the Indian government to give Cachar an independent status [as a state]. Unfortunately, those demands were only on paper. Long discussion, negotiation, placing of lists of demands and memoranda in the usual so-called democratic forms—these were the characteristics of those movements.

No major upsurge or upheaval has been organized before. Only in 1961



CACHAR district of Assam is indicated by shading.

a tremendous upheaval took place in which eleven died, including one woman, in police firing. The crisis of leadership was deeply felt.

People's tolerance has now come to its last leg. They are prepared to build mass movements to advance their demands. On the question of an independent Cachar, people are determined to take part in all forms of struggle. Under no circumstances will they allow themselves to be suppressed and exploited by the government.

Q. Do you believe in a classless society?

A. I do believe in a classless society. I know that I am surrounded by class enemies and vested interest groups and people. I have to arrive at the classless society through struggle, this also I know.

I have observed the miserable plight of some revolutionary forces in India. On the basis of silly pretenses they usually try to remain outside the main current of the struggle. Now, if the

revolutionary forces in India help me, if I get active support from the revolutionaries of the world, I am sure we can set up a classless society in Cachar.

Q. To what extent does your movement differ from the call for a Greater Bengal or a United Red Bengal?

A. For obvious reasons, I am not going to give a detailed reply to this question now. But if the government of India goes on trifling with the life of the Bengalis, then whether the government wants it or not—even whether the Bengalis want it or not—history will surely lead forward to that goal, that is, United Red or Greater Bengal.

Undoubtedly, Cachar is the weakest link in Assam's or India's chain. It has the resources to stand independently. People are now ready to go to any lengths. Obstinacy and repression on the part of the Indian government, I am stressing again, will give us the handle for giving shape to the slogan of United Red Bengal. □

We can judge the political fortitude a worker has to have not to buckle, under the provocations of the Stalinists, but to continue upholding the principles of revolutionary trade unionism, because we have faced the same situation for many years.

[“For more than thirty years we shared his struggle and his ideas. In this period we had contact with many revolutionary leaders, intellectuals, and workers without finding anyone to equal him in self-sacrifice and loyalty to the ideals of working-class emancipation. At any time of the day or night, Mateo Fossa could be found fighting against the system that oppressed his class. He was an intransigent supporter of the class-struggle position against the ‘unionists’ who preach a ‘common interest’ between the exploited and the exploiters, and he never worried about the consequences of his revolutionary attitude. Although he was no great Marxist theoretician, he knew better than anyone how to interpret the aspirations of his class and to raise the demands that had the greatest concrete appeal to the workers, stimulating the fighting spirit of the workers by speaking to them in a simple and clear way. In the leadership of the old-age pensioners movement, he remained in the struggle to the end.”]

[The July 11 issue of *Avanzada Socialista* also contained the following appreciation by Nahuel Moreno, a veteran leader of the Argentine Trotskyist movement. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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In paying my final respects to Mateo Fossa on behalf of the party, I said that he was one of the greatest revolutionary leaders the Argentine working class has had and that when, after sixty years of struggle, he recently joined our party, it was a great honor for us and a responsibility.

For reasons of time I did not touch on two aspects that, combined with the others, fill out the picture of our old and beloved comrade. Although he never came to understand the crucial question of building the revolutionary party, we, and I personally, considered him our teacher.

In his memoirs, Mateo says that he remembers meeting me in short

Revolutionary Argentine Trade-Union Leader

Mateo Fossa—Veteran Argentine Trotskyist Dies

[In its July 11 issue, *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party) devoted a page to honoring the memory of Mateo Fossa, a revolutionary trade-union leader who played a major role in the development of Argentine Trotskyism. One of his comrades, Miguel Medunic Orza, offered the following brief history of Fossa's life.

[“Before he had reached the age of fifteen, he was already participating in the events of the *Semana Trágica* [Tragic Week]* and everywhere the working class was taking up the struggle against its oppressors to win better living and working conditions. In the ‘infamous decade’ he emerged as an

exceptional revolutionary trade-union leader. In the great strike of 1934, the sawmill workers, under Mateo Fossa's leadership as general secretary of the *Sindicato de Madera* [Sawmill Workers Union], won, among other improvements, a forty-hour week, the first such victory in our country. In these same years, Fossa went to the Latin-American union conference in Mexico representing more than thirty unions. But Lombardo Toledano, the head of the Mexican Federation of Labor and a Stalinist fellow traveler, prevented him from attending it, just because the Argentine trade unionist had had a conversation with Trotsky (which was published in a pamphlet).

[“Because of his class-struggle unionism, he had to face not only the reprisals and persecution of the bosses but also the most denigrating slanders by Communist party members when he objected to prostituting the principles of trade unionism and opposed the class collaboration of popular fronts.

*“La Semana Trágica” [The Tragic Week] refers to a strike led by anarchosyndicalists in 1919 that was savagely repressed. — IP

pants in the cellar of Medrano and Díaz Vélez, where the Trotskyists gathered in the 1940s. He must have gotten me mixed up with some other compañero. In reality, we met around 1942 in the Liga Obrera Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Workers League]. I had joined this group after being expelled from the PORS [Partido Obrero de la Revolución Socialista—Workers party of the Socialist Revolution], which embraced all the old Trotskyists. Liborio Justo and I were practically the only members.

Half deprecatingly and half affectionately, Liborio had nicknamed me "The Infant," because of my extreme youth. And Mateo, who was not a member but an active sympathizer of the Liga, must have associated my nickname in his memory with the short pants of some other comrade.

My first encounters with Mateo were not cordial. I was very sectarian and saw him only as a soft, undisciplined Trotskyist who came late to meetings. In fact, he was in a very difficult situation. Because of his widespread reputation as a revolutionist, no employer in Buenos Aires would give him a job.

A little later, Mateo, who was extremely fraternal, warm, and patient, confided in me that he walked to meetings because he didn't have the money for tram fare. I felt very bad.

I began to develop big differences with Liborio Justo mainly because of his habit of resorting to "ideological terrorism" and terrible personal attacks every time he got involved in a political debate. He had promised me that he would not fall back into using such methods. On May Day 1942, in a leaflet, he attacked Mecha, who at the time was Mateo Fossa's companion, as an "old witch." I complained strongly to Justo, and he responded with one of his classic intrigues. He denounced me to the left and to my own family as a police informer.

I was very pleasantly surprised when Mateo Fossa came to my defense against Justo. In any case, our regular relations broke off here.

So, why do I consider him our teacher and place him, along with Angel Bengochea and Luis Franco, among the three Argentines in this century that I most admire?

As I said before, I came to know him as a rather lax militant. Afterwards I was able to get a deeper

insight into this facet of his personality. To his credit, he saw that trade-union struggle alone was not enough and that a revolutionary workers party was needed to emancipate the workers and build socialism. But he was never able to understand that this kind of a party had to be built on the basis of cadres—cadres trained in Marxist theory, able to offer answers to the problems of the country and the world, whose first task was to educate themselves in internationalism as disciplined members of a world revolutionary party, the Fourth International. This softness on Mateo's part explained his hesitations about the work of training Trotskyist cadres and his weaknesses as a revolutionary militant in the Leninist sense of the term.

Mateo, however, was a contradictory personality. In everything that had to do with the tactical, strategic, and organizational problems in fighting the bosses he could set a line with enormous judgment, skill, and quick thinking.

I remember that late in 1942 very broad democracy reigned in the Argentine unions not controlled by the Stalinists. Ordinary members were allowed to speak at Executive Board meetings. We had formed the GOM [Grupo Obrero Marxista—Marxist Workers Group] and had begun to organize work in the Garment Workers, Printers, and Sawmill Workers unions. On Saturdays we went to the meetings of the Sindicato de la Madera, where Fossa spoke as an ordinary rank-and-filer. I remember that we were dumbfounded when we discovered his short contributions on how to carry forward struggles in a revolutionary way—or as we would say in Trotskyist terminology, how to apply the Transitional

Program in every concrete case. Every Saturday we went religiously to learn from him.

It was thanks to Mateo Fossa that in January 1945 our group was able to link up with the Packinghouse workers strike and put on its long pants as a working-class and revolutionary current. At the start, the strike was led by an anarchist strike committee, which operated clandestinely, moving from place to place, and was very difficult to find. In one of those lightning-fast-thinking, intuitive speeches of his that were always right on the button, Mateo proposed organizing financial support. We took on this task and raised monetary aid. In this way we were able to link up with, and lead, a gigantic strike that resulted in the organization of the Federación Obrera de la Carne [Federation of Packinghouse Workers] and made it possible to proletarianize the Argentine Trotskyist movement.

Another anecdote that shows his marvelous ability to find the correct objective for starting up a mobilization has to do with his defense of democratic rights. It was in the "infamous decade" [the period that ran roughly from the coup of General Uriburu in 1930 to the 1943 revolt], with its fraud and continual state of siege. We were in the Sindicato de la Madera. In front of other workers, Mateo gave us an extraordinary lecture. Holding out his voter's card, he said that there was no more important political demand than for respecting the constitution. With his usual simple good sense, he had offered the democratic political demand most important at the time for mobilizing the workers. In this he was a teacher whose equal I have never met.

Fourth Internationalist Killed in Plane Crash

Joe Baxter: Argentine Revolutionary Militant

The July 20 issue of *Rouge*, weekly paper of French Trotskyism, reported the following item:

"Among the passengers who perished in a crash July 10 near Orly Airport in Paris of a Brazilian jet airliner was Comrade Joe Baxter, an Argentine militant of the Fourth International. Comrade Baxter, 'El Gordo,' was known throughout Latin America and

beyond. Several times there had been a price on his head. Today it falls to us to make known his life, which was that of a revolutionary internationalist fighter.

"And that is the homage that we render him."

Rouge went on to explain Joe Baxter's political development:

"Born May 24, 1940, in Marcos Paz

(in the province of Buenos Aires), son of a manager of a big company, José 'Joe' Baxter was, for the bourgeois state, police, and press, as well as for the comrades who knew him as 'El Gordo,' an example of constant militancy, of clear, acute political thought in permanent evolution; a person who never confined his struggle to a single country, or even to the Latin American continent.

"When he was sixteen years old, he joined the Tacuara Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, a right-nationalist group. But later he became one of the main leaders of the Peronist resistance and initiated a leftist tendency. Arrested in 1959, he was imprisoned for several months before being amnestied under Frondizi.

"In 1963 he participated in the first widespread expropriation actions, the first big violent action claimed by an organization of the Peronist resistance.

"The expropriation of the 'Polyclinic Bank' had a huge impact, and touched off a repression that obliged him to leave Argentina.

"'El Gordo' continued his struggle in Uruguay. Along with Raúl Sendic and the other leaders, he took part in the development of the Tupamaros and in the politicization of the left wing of that movement. At the same time, the international ties of the Peronist resistance led him to travel, along with others, to North Vietnam and China, trips that broadened his horizons and contributed new experiences to his political acuteness.

"During a trip to Cuba in 1967 he met with part of the leadership of the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers party]; this was his first contact with Trotskyism. He then established especially close ties with the two leaders of the PRT, Luis Pujals and Ruben Pedro Bonet, who were later to fall in the struggle against the Lanusse dictatorship. Pujals was murdered in September 1971, and Bonet in August 1972, during the Trelew massacre.

In 1970 'El Gordo' joined the PRT-ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People]. He participated actively in the preparations for the PRT's Fifth Congress, held in July 1970. He was one of the firmest defenders of confirming the PRT's membership in the Fourth International. He was elected to the

Central Committee and was to play a decisive role in the development and building of the PRT-ERP.

"In the summer of 1972 political and ideological disagreements led him to leave the PRT and to form one of its factions, the Leninist Tendency."

Upon Joe Baxter's death, the Leninist Tendency released this press communiqué:

"It is our duty to inform you of the death of our comrade Joe Baxter on July 11 this year in an airplane accident near Orly; he was killed while carrying out tasks for the world revolution.

"We want on this occasion to point out that the world revolution has lost one of its most consistent fighters. He was a living expression of the highest level of class struggle in Latin America, of the deepened radicalization,

and of the moving of all parts of the revolutionary vanguard and the world proletariat from bourgeois nationalist positions to revolutionary-Marxist ones.

"We will not forget that it was he who taught us the necessity for the revolutionary world party, and that it was he who showed us that the basis for this party is the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

"He educated us in the Leninist method of political struggle and ideological discussion. Above all he showed us by his own militant example what it is to be a revolutionary Marxist.

"We, militants of the organization that he founded and that he led until his death, pledge ourselves publicly to continue the struggle for the world socialist revolution." □

Workers' Case Reaches Ten Thousand

British Strikers Put Out Newspaper

"Britain has a new newspaper," reported the July 15 Sunday *Observer*. "Its fourth edition will be on sale in the streets of Nottingham tomorrow. Begun last Monday by journalists and printers on official strike, it is simply called *The Press*."

The strikers' newspaper had appeared in a 6,000-copy six-page edition, on July 9, 11, and 13. By the third edition, *The Press* had gathered advertising from trade unions and local firms and was printing 10,000 copies of ten pages each.

The first three editions were sold out almost completely, and the strikers were surprised by the wide interest and support they received in the Nottingham area: "People have given us donations to the strike fund when they buy the paper, and the advertising has come to us. We haven't gone out and looked for it," said one journalist.

More than 200 journalists and printers in five unions are involved in producing or selling *The Press*, which is distributed largely through street sales. So far, the newspaper has more than covered printing costs. The strikers take no wages, but support themselves on union strike pay. Reporters work from home, photographers in borrowed darkrooms or blacked-out kitchens. There is no editor, and the printing press belongs

to a Nottingham commercial printer.

The appearance of *The Press* is the result of a dispute between the management and staff of T. Bailey Forman Ltd., proprietors of the *Nottingham Evening Post* and the *Nottingham Guardian Journal*. A majority of the staff of both newspapers had withdrawn their labor some four weeks earlier over disagreements on the manning of a new printing system. This dispute is now resolved, but conflict remains as a result of a management decision to close down the small-circulation *Guardian Journal*. The unions are demanding reemployment of all staff before a voluntary redundancy scheme is worked out, and insist on exercising their right to discipline strikebreakers. Meanwhile the *Evening Post* is reduced to one edition daily at half its usual size, selling 30,000 fewer copies, while *The Press* is gathering strength.

Other unions have urged their members not to buy the *Evening Post*. Several local councils have banned *Post* reporters from their meetings and press conferences. Daily picketing of the *Post's* offices is taking place.

The appearance of *The Press* has enabled the striking journalists and printers to explain their case to thousands of people in the Nottingham area, and to gain considerable support from the labor movement. □