

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 11, No. 46

© 1973 Intercontinental Press

December 24, 1973

50c

1973

U.S. OUT NOW!

Bloody Return of Juan Peron

The Chilean Miners' Strike and the 'Threat of Civil War'

U.S. Widens Terror-Bombing of Cambodia

More Nixon Aides Linked to Watergate

French Youth on the March

Why Argentine Bourgeoisie Backs Peronists

Tenth Chinese Party Congress
A Monument for Lin Biao

French Watch-Factory Workers Take Things Into Own Hand

Why Ligue Communiste Was Banned
Special Feature
Trotsky on Individual Terrorism

OUTLAWS FRENCH TROTSKYISTS

Brezhnev Rushes to Rescue Nixon From Watergate

Nixon Aids Israeli Aggression

Why Spiro Agnew 'Copped a Plea'

Why Nixon Rattled the H-Bomb

Nixon 'Twisting Slowly in the Wind'

Suez Pact Sets Stage for New Conflicts

Mass Demonstrations Shake Greek Dictators

First Days of the Coup: A Chilean Refugee Tells the Story

Israeli Courts Ban Marxism

Harold Wilson Blocks 'F'

Public Demands Impachment: Storm of Anger Over Watergate Shakes Washington

A Survivor's Account: Conditions Inside Santiago's Prison-Stadiums

Argentine CP: Will It Follow Chilean 'Model'?

The Downfall of Allende and the Return of Peron

By Gerry Foley

The crisis point in Latin America in 1973 was in the "Southern Cone" of the continent, comprising primarily Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.

In Chile, the right continued the offensive that it had begun in October 1972 and carried it to a conclusion, overthrowing the popular-front government of Salvador Allende. The workers parties supported by almost half the population were driven underground by a savage reign of terror.

In this same period, in combating the rightist offensive, the Chilean workers went to the brink of establishing their own direct control over society,

of replacing the apparatus of the bourgeois state with organs of workers and popular power.

Between October 1972 and September 1973, Chilean society became polarized between the two fundamental classes: the workers pressing to reorganize the economy in accordance with their interests, that is, to conduct a socialist revolution, and the bourgeoisie pressing to contain the labor movement and force it back into subordination.

The more inexorably this polarization developed, the more desperately the reformist leaderships of the

working-class parties tried to find ways of avoiding the essential choices, chasing after ever more elusive class-collaborationist deals. When the inevitable showdown came, the disoriented workers were left without leadership or direction in the face of a deadly military machine whose commanders were determined to "restore order" no matter what the cost.

The Allende regime was the latest of a series of bourgeois nationalist regimes toppled by U. S. imperialism and its native allies in the last two decades. Various factors gave it more staying power than most of its predecessors.

In the first place, Allende's accession to the presidency took place in the context of a powerful rise of the organized labor movement. Secondly, it came in the context of the political weakness of U. S. imperialism resulting

In This Issue

- 1474 The Downfall of Allende and the Return of Peron
—by Gerry Foley
- 1480 A Year of Class Confrontations in West Europe
—by Jon Rothschild
- 1486 The October War: Roots, Outbreak, Effects
—by Jon Rothschild
- 1490 Struggle for Democracy in the Soviet Union
—by Candida Barberena
- 1493 Watergate Scandal Dominated U. S. Politics
—by Allen Myers
- 1498 Detente and the Asian Revolution
—by Ernest Harsch
- 1503 Index—Volume XI—1973
- 1503 Authors
- 1507 Countries
- 1517 Subjects

1973 in Review

In this issue of *Intercontinental Press*, the last one of 1973, we present six articles summarizing the major events and trends that typified world politics throughout the year.

Within this context and the limited space available, it has been necessary to omit a resumé of some events that in themselves deserve extensive treatment: The struggle against colonialism in Africa, the experience of the labor party governments in Australia and New Zealand, the continuing rise of the Québécois national struggle, and the instability of capitalism's international monetary system are obvious examples.

In the coming year, *Intercontinental Press* will continue to report and analyze developments in these and all other areas of world politics. After a two-week break, we will resume publication with the issue dated January 14.

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Mai-tan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

COPY EDITOR: Lawrence Rand.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Candida Barberena, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Allen Myers, Jon Rothschild, George Saunders.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein.

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

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

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

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guemenee, 75004, Paris, France.

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

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

Copyright © 1973 by Intercontinental Press.

from its failure to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

Moreover, with the growing radicalization in Latin America and the experience of several moderately anti-imperialist regimes being overthrown with direct or indirect U. S. help in the previous period, both Washington and the Chilean left were more wary.

In this situation, influential currents developed to the left of the reformist leaderships and obstructed their attempts to demobilize the masses or to contain the mass mobilizations within narrow limits. The largest of these currents were the left wing of the Socialist party and the Castroist MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

As the strongest coherent center on the far left, the MIR exercised a major influence and effectively criticized and exposed many aspects of the reformism of Allende and the Communist party, on which the Socialist president came to base himself more and more.

But neither the SP left wing nor the MIR went beyond left centrism to build an effective alternative leadership based on a revolutionary program.

In a long series of articles, *Intercontinental Press* analyzed the development of the rightist offensive, pointing out the dangers of the class-collaborationist policy of Allende and the Communist party. Several articles explained why the workers had to be armed to defend themselves against attacks by the bourgeois military and the rightist goon squads.

Almost every major article warned that the military could not be trusted to defend the government, that only the independent organization of the working class and the poor masses could block a reactionary coup d'etat.

In this situation, the main workers organizations that arose were the cordones industriales (organs of workers management in local industrial concentrations). *Intercontinental Press* followed the development of these key formations step by step in reports from the exiled Peruvian revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco, who was active in one of the most important and politically advanced cordones, the Cordón Vicuña Mackenna in Santiago.

Blanco and Eduardo Gonzales, another exiled Trotskyist leader active

in the cordones, reported regularly on the development of the class confrontation in Chile.

Throughout 1973, moreover, *Intercontinental Press* published the key political statements of Chilean workers organizations and left forces. These statements included the manifesto issued by the Cordón Vicuña in the aftermath of the June 29 trial-run coup, as well as the declaration of representatives of all political ten-



SALVADOR ALLENDE

dencies present in the cordón in support of this program.

The manifesto projected a strategy for countering the rightist offensive that might have prevented the coup if it had been taken up more widely and if the leadership had existed to implement it:

"1. All plants will become part of the social sector of the economy; not one plant that is important for the workers will remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

"2. *Workers Leadership.* Production and distribution will remain in the hands of the workers, and the people will exercise complete control over community territory.

"3. *Popular Militia.* The organized people must protect their gains. Create a Defense Committee and arm it in every industry and neighborhood.

"4. The leadership of the defense, and the advance of the people will be assured only if they rest in the hands of the organized working class."

Intercontinental Press also published a declaration of the PSR (Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist party, the Chilean section of the Fourth International) explaining the need for developing the cordones into the basis of workers power.

Another important statement published in *Intercontinental Press* was the call of *Independencia Obrera*, the paper of the Trotskyist caucus in the Cordón Vicuña Mackenna, for organizing a defense for the sailors victimized in Valparaíso because they had opposed the putschist plans of their officers.

This affair was one of the last crucial tests of strength between the left and the right, whose plans for a military take-over were entering the final stage. When, instead of protecting its supporters in the ranks of the armed forces, the government backed their persecutors in an attempt to woo the top brass, the rightist officers' hand was immensely strengthened for suppressing all opposition from the enlisted men.

The accounts of the victimized sailors and their attorneys, which were first made public in *Chile Hoy* and the MIR press, were published in *Intercontinental Press*. At the same time, the strengths and weaknesses of the campaign the MIR tried to develop in defense of the anticoup sailors in the last weeks before September 11 were analyzed in this magazine.

In the wake of the coup, our correspondent in Chile, Hugo Blanco, became one of the junta's "most wanted Marxists." The reactionary press gave a falsified picture of the personal history of this Trotskyist leader and peasants union organizer, portraying him as the mastermind of the Chilean guerrilla groups. The September 30 issue of the right-wing Santiago daily *La Tercera de la Hora* ran Blanco's picture with the following caption:

"Hugo Blanco Galdós, the Peruvian activist who entered our country last October after escaping from a prison in his country [actually he was expelled by the Argentine government for criticizing the Peruvian regime in the Buenos Aires press], was chosen

in 1970 by the MIR as a leader and technical adviser.

"The political police report that there was a conspiracy last year to kidnap a Chilean diplomat in Lima to exchange for this guerrilla, who later escaped from the impregnable El Frontón prison. The activist is said to still be in Chile traveling with the fugitive Carlos Altamirano [the leader of the SP left wing]."

Fortunately Blanco and a couple of his closest associates had not been taken by surprise by the coup and had planned an escape route. In Mexico City at the end of September they talked to a correspondent of *Intercontinental Press*, giving a first analysis of the military take-over and its effects. (See "Eyewitness Account of Repression in Chile," *IP*, October 8, 1973.)

In Mexico City and later in Sweden, his new place of exile, Hugo Blanco has appealed for solidarity with the victims of the junta's terror.

The Swedish press, which has given extensive and prominent coverage to Blanco's escape from Chile and his arrival in Sweden and to his political analyses of the situation that led up to the coup, has been one of the best sources of information about the junta's atrocities.

The courageous Swedish journalist Bobi Sourander, correspondent for the Stockholm *Dagens Nyheter*, was jailed by the regime for a couple of weeks in the National Stadium in Chile, which the junta has used as an improvised prison camp.

Virtually all of Sourander's accounts of life in the concentration camps and in the terrorized workers neighborhoods have been reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*.

An interesting report by Sourander's replacement, Mats Holmberg, on the way the coup affected an important mining center was published in our December 10 issue. In addition, we have published the reports gathered by committees organizing protests against the repression, such as the Peruvian section of the Movimiento Latinoamericano para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (Latin American Movement for the Defense of Human Rights), as well as the statement of the political prisoners in Valdivia smuggled out by a Swedish technical aid worker.

In the wake of the coup and the mass roundups of socialist and trade-union activists in Chile, the grave problem of finding a country of asylum faces thousands of Chileans and Latin American political exiles who had been granted refuge by the Allende government. In the months since the military take-over, *Intercontinental Press* has reported the difficulties of the refugees from Chile in finding a place to settle, especially in Argen-



HUGO BLANCO

tina, which is the most convenient and accessible place of exile.

Despite its claims of sympathy for the fallen anti-imperialist government in Chile, the Peronist regime has not only failed to aid Chilean political refugees in securing asylum but it has held fugitives from the junta's terror in shameful conditions in the Argentine Embassy in Santiago and in special detention centers in Argentina itself. These conditions were graphically described in a letter from a young mother trapped in the Santiago embassy that we republished from an Argentine left magazine.

Less than four months after the coup, it is becoming clear that the junta is having serious difficulties in maintaining its middle-class social base and in "pacifying" the country.

In particular, the disastrous decline in the standard of living of the Chil-

ean masses since the take-over has begun to worry the junta and its backers in Washington and in international financial circles. A series of articles in *Intercontinental Press* have taken up the economic problems facing the junta.

There is less information about the processes that have been going on in the Chilean left parties that have been driven underground. But a reporter for the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* managed to get an interview in Chile with leaders of the MIR, which was published in translation in *Intercontinental Press*.

The defeat of the Chilean workers in the week of September 11 was a stunning blow for which the Communist party in Chile and its mentors in the Kremlin hold full responsibility. They betrayed the Chilean revolution by presenting Allende's popular-front government as a model of peaceful transition to socialism. Two long articles in *Intercontinental Press* dealt with the implications of the Chilean defeat for the CPs in the region as well as for Moscow and Stalinist parties around the world.

At the same time that the rightist offensive was gathering momentum in Chile, the military dictatorship in Argentina was completing its retreat in the face of a growing popular mobilization. The radicalization that erupted in May 1969 with the protests against higher prices in the University of Corrientes cafeteria and that peaked in the Córdoba uprisings of June 1969 and May 1971 forced the military and the Argentine bourgeoisie to try to find a political formula that could win some popular support for the regime.

The generals and their bourgeois backers came up with the GAN (Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Accord), a class-collaborationist scheme that involved bringing back the ousted populist caudillo Juan Perón and returning to a Bonapartist type of parliamentary rule.

The deal originally included the military sharing governmental power with the Peronists, but the minuscule vote for the candidates backed by the military in the March 11 general elections coupled with the gigantic popular upsurge in May when Cámpora, the Peronist candidate, was officially inaugurated forced the generals to give

up any hope of holding on to direct governmental power.

The popular pressure had become overwhelming. Although a series of assassinations of top military commanders by guerrilla groups before the elections had brought threats from right-wing officers of renewed repression, mass demonstrations in the aftermath of the inauguration forced an unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners, including guerrillas who had been held in Argentina's dungeons for years.

The jockeying for position between the military and the Peronists in this period was followed step by step by *Intercontinental Press*.

The shift in the methods of rule by the Argentine bourgeoisie presented a challenge to the left groups that had become accustomed to fighting an open military dictatorship.

In particular, the guerrilla groups underwent a number of changes in this period. In the first place, the united front of the guerrilla organizations that had developed under the dictatorship split up. The Peronist guerrillas of the Montoneros and the FAR (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces) and other groups gave political allegiance to the new government, although they declared their intention of maintaining their armed organization.

The Peronist organizations took a sharply critical, even threatening, attitude toward the guerrilla groups that refused to accept the political leadership of Perón.

In this period also, the main non-Peronist guerrilla organization, the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army) went through a series of splits. One split appeared when a section of the organization calling itself the ERP-22 (for August 22, 1972, the date of the massacre of the guerrillas recaptured after a break from the Rawson prison) came out in support of the Peronist candidates. It campaigned for them in its own way, by a commando raid on an anti-Peronist newspaper, among other things.

Although it did not become generally known until later, the Fracción Roja (Red Faction) also broke away from the ERP in this period. In the summer of 1973, the main body of the ERP led by Roberto Santucho for-

mally disaffiliated from the Fourth International, while the Fracción Roja continued to consider itself part of the international Trotskyist movement. The explanation that the Fracción Roja gave for its break with the ERP and its description of the incidents surrounding it were published in *Intercontinental Press*.

Two groupings proposed a left alternative to the Peronists in the March



PERON: Aging dictator brought out of retirement.

11 general elections. The Communist party was the central organizing force in the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria (APR—People's Revolutionary Alliance), a popular-front type combination composed primarily of bourgeois liberals, including the Christian Democrats who backed the rightist military coup of 1955.

The APR won about 7 percent of the vote but did not emerge as a coherent political force. Its program, as the Communist party leaders themselves proclaimed, repeated the promises of the Peronists. In the special presidential elections of September 20, which was in effect a second round of the March elections, the APR and the Communist party supported Perón.

The only clear alternative in the elections was offered by the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—

Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). As soon as the government opened the way for the elections, the PST mobilized to win ballot status. Once it won the status of a legal party by signing up 30,000 supporters, it offered its place on the ballot to independent workers candidates. It called for forming a "workers and socialist pole" to give political representation to the workers, who were mobilizing in militant trade-union struggles throughout the country, and to offer a leadership that genuinely represented the interests of these struggles and was not subordinated to Peron's bourgeois movement.

Some 2,200 candidates ran on the PST ticket, including various prominent strike leaders. A significant number of militant workers and youth assembled around its program of independent working-class political action and of fighting for a revolutionary workers government.

Although the PST ticket, headed by Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Chiapone, won, according to the official count, only a little more than half a percent of the vote, or about 80,000 votes, it brought more solid results and made a more lasting impact than the 7 percent won by the CP's coalition with the old proimperialist liberals.

The non-Peronist guerrillas and the ultraleft groups called for various forms of abstention.

In the period leading up to the September presidential elections, the PST called on Agustín Tosco, the country's best-known non-Peronist union leader, to head an independent workers ticket. When he refused under CP pressure, it ran José Páez, the leader of the 1971 Córdoba uprising, along with Coral. In the September elections, the PST vote rose to almost 200,000. Abstention dropped to a record low, and the right-wing direction of the Peronist leadership became clearer.

The contradictions in the Peronist movement took a spectacular turn when the old caudillo returned to the country. The mass rally organized to greet him at the Ezeiza airport broke up when right-wing Peronist goons opened fire on the left-wing contingents headed by the Peronist guerrilla groups.

Although Perón's statements in the

aftermath of the Ezeiza massacre were ambiguous, he implicitly put the blame for the incident on its principal victims, the left Peronists, not on the rightist goons organized by the Peronist political and trade-union bureaucracy. Almost immediately after this, the caudillo began to push into the background the liberal and leftist figures who had kept the Peronist movement going during the years of military repression. In their place the trade-union bureaucrats and right-wing notables whose opposition to the military dictatorship was less than intransigent were brought to the fore. It became obvious that Perón had not returned to realize the ideals of the Peronist resistance.

The shift to the right was bound up with the political operation by which Héctor Cámpora was persuaded to resign in order to allow Perón to take the presidency directly, with his wife as vice-president. The liberal minister of the interior, who had promised an end to repression, was removed. The right-wing Peronists started up an offensive against the liberal Peronist provincial governors, trying in particular to force them to purge their administrations of "leftists."

Within a few days after his election as president, Perón issued a circular declaring "war on Marxism" and calling for a ruthless purge of leftists from the Peronist movement. Taking the mysterious murder of the Peronist trade-union bureaucrat José Rucci as a pretext, right-wing Peronist goon squads began a series of terrorist attacks on the left both inside and outside of the Peronist movement.

Parallel to this, actions of the type associated with the guerrilla groups have continued and in the most recent period have even increased. Their political objectives and impact, however, remain unclear.

In the months since Perón's election, the PST has concentrated on giving orientation to the battles of the workers and students resisting the efforts by the Peronist authorities to clamp down on independent mobilizations and to isolate and victimize the activists.

The retreat of the military dictatorship and the maneuvers of Perón and the Argentine bourgeoisie to find political formulas for "pacifying" the country have been followed very close-

ly by *Intercontinental Press* in the past year. The campaign demanding the release of the Argentine political prisoners, in particular, was covered step by step.

The political platform and the main programmatic statements of the PST were presented, as well as the communiqués and declarations of the various guerrilla groups, including the statement by ERP-22 in support of the Peronists, and the Fracción Roja's explanation of its split from the



HECTOR CAMPORA

ERP. The statements of Roberto Santucho were also reported in detail.

Intercontinental Press paid particular attention to the wave of factory occupations and independent workers struggles that coincided with the retreat of the dictatorship. In this we relied heavily on the reports of the Argentine Trotskyists who were involved in leading many of the most important actions.

Nineteen seventy-three was also a crucial year in the third country of the Southern Cone, Uruguay. Uruguay's traditional parliamentary form of government, which had been decaying since the drop in the world price for the country's principal products in the 1960s, was finally abol-

ished by a military coup. A half-spontaneous general strike petered out while the Communist party-dominated union leadership waited for a "Peruvian" reformist current to appear among the putschist military officers.

Thus, only a few months before the only other mass CP in Latin America led the workers unarmed and unprepared into a slaughter, the Uruguayan CP presided over a humiliating surrender to the military government established in June.

Intercontinental Press covered the confrontation between the military and the workers and left parties as well as the repression that followed the military take-over in Uruguay.

In Peru and Bolivia, military governments established in the preceding period remained in power in 1973. These regimes were established by very different types of coups. The one in Bolivia was staged to repress the revolutionary process that had been developing since the failure of the reactionary coup d'état led by General Miranda in October 1970. On the other hand, the Peruvian coup represented a shift from the crude repression of the 1960s, and it ushered in a period of anti-imperialist demagoguery and reformist experimentation. Nonetheless, in 1973, both regimes underwent a similar process of erosion.

As the Banzer regime, after seizing power in the coup of August 1971, moved to impose an austerity policy, the labor movement reorganized and fought back. In October 1972, only a little more than a year after the coup, the regime was already forced to make concessions to the workers.

In 1973, splits began appearing in the junta. Colonel André Selich, who sported Che Guevara's watch as a trophy from the days when his Ranger unit hunted down, captured, and killed the heroic guerrilla leader, was himself murdered by the political police. He was beaten to death by cops investigating a plot against Banzer. ("We hope that the high authorities will be able to understand that if we displayed any excessive zeal in performing our duty," the police torturers said in their confession, "we ask God to forgive us. We did not mean to kill him.")

In the final months of 1973, under the pressure of the reviving labor movement and the sharpening com-

petition between Brazil and Argentina for access to Bolivian natural resources, the coalition backing the junta split. In November, the leaders of the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, an old populist party turned reactionary) announced that their party was withdrawing from the government and adopting a "critical" stance.

Only the FSB (Falange Socialista Boliviana—Bolivian Socialist Pha-

"peaceful change leading to socialism in Latin America."

In its reformist experiments, the demagogic military regime has benefited from the uncritical support of almost all the left and even from prominent former guerrilla leaders like Héctor Béjar. Only small far-left groups, including especially the Trotskyists led by Hugo Blanco, have opposed the junta's claims to represent the interests of the exploited masses in Peru.

The militant high-school teachers movement, closely linked with the radicalizing youth, has given the "progressive" junta its toughest opposition. In defiance of the government's class-collaborationist paternalism, it has waged an intransigent fight for recognition of its right to free collective bargaining.

The government succeeded in breaking the teachers' strike in September 1972 by heavy-handed repression, including deportation of the union leaders and of Hugo Blanco, who had spoken out in defense of the union. But within little more than a year, in November 1973, the militant teachers struck again, sparking a general strike in Arequipa, as well as other sympathy walkouts that paralyzed much of southern Peru.

With U.S. imperialism drawing a tighter rein on reformist experiments since the Chile coup and with the trade-union movement getting out of its control, the Peruvian junta seemed to be losing its equilibrium. At the same time, its "anti-imperialist" prestige was apparently beginning to wane.

In Colombia and Venezuela, conservative bourgeois parliamentary regimes remained relatively stable throughout 1973. However, the temperature of working-class and student struggles rose, in Venezuela in particular. In both countries, conservative parliamentary rule went hand in hand with considerable political repression, and the defense of political prisoners was an important part of left activity. The Colombian government claimed to have crushed the last guerrilla groups, and it staged a large trial of accused guerrilla activists.

At the same time, however, Colombian peasants carried out a wave of land occupations, and the powerful student struggles of last year were followed up by a major teachers' strike.

In Venezuela, illegal strikes rose from 1,000 to 38,000 in the past three years and there were signs of a deepening radicalization among the youth. Political life was dominated by preparations for the December general elections, which were touted by U.S. im-

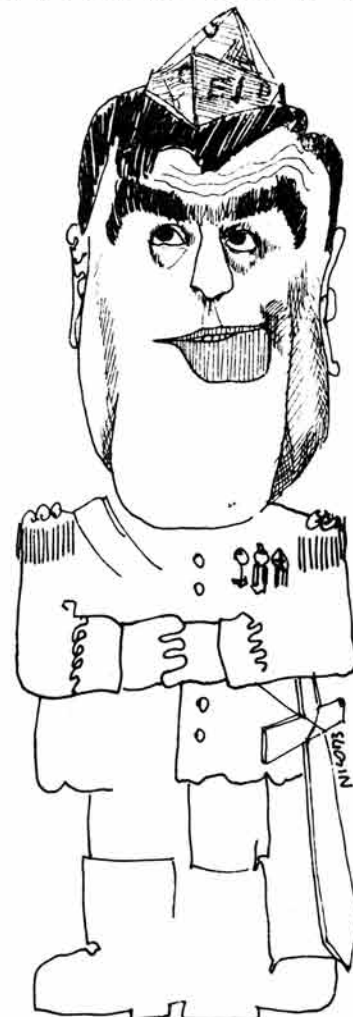


BANZER: Support dwindles.

lanx, a rightist, pro-Brazilian party based in the province of Santa Cruz, which borders Brazil) continued to support Banzer. In this situation the regime seems to be unable to find a political formula for broadening its support. And at the same time, the militancy of the labor movement continues to grow, along with uneasiness in the military.

During 1973 it became fully clear that the Banzer government has failed to stabilize the situation in the most volatile country in Latin America and that the chronic crisis in Bolivia threatens to erupt again in the near future in an acute form.

Next to the Chilean popular front, the reformist junta in Peru has been the Stalinist parties' brightest hope of



BORDABERRY: Uruguayan president abolished parliament.

perialism as a model of "two-party democracy" for Latin America.

In order to gain some credibility for their parliamentary maneuver, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie had to permit freer political activity than usual, and in this situation a bloc made up of left dissidents expelled from the Communist party and of former guerrillaists tried to put forward a socialist alternative in the elections. Their ticket won about 6 percent of the vote.

The Venezuelan Trotskyist organization, which grew rapidly in 1973, forming itself into the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party), gave critical

support to the socialist alternative.

In particular, the PST tried to offer a consistent program to the radicalizing elements drawn around the MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism) campaign and to combat the class-collaborationist theories of its centrist leaders, who have now begun to move rather rapidly to the right.

In Brazil, the keystone of U.S. imperialist policy in Latin America, the repressive military government appar-

ently retained firm control throughout 1973, and there was little news of struggles within the country. However, *Intercontinental Press* carried several articles reporting the continued international protests against the permanent repression on which the relative "prosperity" in Brazil is based. Other articles analyzed the contradictions of Brazilian economic development and trends, such as increased Japanese investment, that are likely to create problems for U.S. imperialism in the fu-

ture.

In all, despite the grave defeats of the workers movement in Uruguay and Chile, U.S. imperialism and its native allies did not succeed in 1973 in making any clear progress toward reversing the general radicalization in the Latin American region. And processes seemed to be developing in several countries that could lead in 1974 to important advances for the revolutionary organizations and the workers and peasants movements. □

Bureaucratic Leaders Unable to Stem Mass Mobilizations

A Year of Class Confrontations in West Europe

By Jon Rothschild

Early in the year Henry Kissinger declared that he and his discredited boss intended 1973 to be the "year of Europe." By that he meant that U.S. imperialism, faced with increased competition from its West European allies on both the diplomatic and economic fields, would move to "reshape" the Atlantic Alliance and establish a new, durable equilibrium.

For Washington the "year of Europe" counted as one more failure for the Nixon gang. By the end of 1973 the NATO alliance was more shaky than ever, as the interimperialist rivalries simmering within it rose to the surface after the October War in the Arab East.

The European capitalist classes, while somewhat cool to the Nixon-Kissinger "game plan," also had big plans for 1973. The Common Market was to take big steps forward toward unifying Western Europe; there was ever more talk about the need for the European powers to develop a common foreign policy and a united approach to the economic problems affecting the region.

But the schemes of the West European ruling classes fared little better than those of the Nixon gang. The central requirement of the capitalist plan was to make the workers pay for the measures necessary to deal with the deepening economic crisis, an exigency that in turn required political repression, derailing of the work-

ers movement, or both. It may be said that the Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders of the workers movement did their best to accommodate the ruling classes. But the deepening radicalization of young workers and students undercut the reformists' ability to keep the mass movement in check.

In France, the workers struggle was not halted by the March electoral campaign; French high schoolers, university students, and apprentices took to the streets in some of the largest demonstrations since May 1968, challenging the increased militarization of French society. December 6 saw a general strike against the Pompidou government's economic policies and a march of more than 400,000 workers through Paris.

In Britain large sections of the labor movement rejected the Heath government's attempts to make them absorb the costs caused by the antiquated structure of British industry and the unfavorable world position of British capitalism. The "energy crisis," combined with the refusal of the coal miners to capitulate to Tory blackmail, had plunged the country into one of the most serious social crises in its modern history.

In West Germany, the working class, which for so long had lagged behind its French, British, and Italian counterparts, began to show clear signs of

revitalization. In Italy, the ruling class had still not resolved its semipermanent governmental crisis, nor had it defused the militancy of the labor movement, particularly in the north.

Even in formerly relatively quiescent countries, such as Denmark and Finland, 1973 saw strike struggles of unprecedented scope and militancy.

But the workers movement took steps forward not only in a quantitative sense. New forms of struggle appeared that brought the demand for workers control of industry and for equalization of wage scales to the fore. The beacon light of this development was the fight of the workers at the Lip watchmaking plant in Besançon in eastern France, who proved that the workers could manage a factory as well as produce its goods, and that workers, given massive support on a national and international scale, could defy the very bases of bourgeois law and capitalist property.

But it was not only in the most advanced parts of Western Europe that the masses placed mounting strains on the bureaucratic leadership of the labor movement and challenged the rule of capital. In Spain the senile Franco dictatorship was beset by mobilizations of workers and students. One of the highlights of the struggle of the Spanish masses was the June general strike in Pamplona, an action that included occupation of factories and the emergence of new, demo-

cratic organizations to guide the workers struggles.

The social base of the Franco regime has badly eroded, and the aging butcher has been increasingly forced to rely on the military and the police to keep the masses in check. As the year ended, the government had initiated a fresh wave of repression, arresting more than 100 opposition leaders. But the day is past when Franco could count on repressive violence to keep the masses cowed.

In Ireland, where for the past several years the mass movement had been far in advance of most of Western Europe in militancy, the mass anti-imperialist movement suffered a decline in 1973. At the same time, to give some appearance of "normalization," the British army command permitted a wider range of political activities by militant nationalists.

As a result of their cool-headed tactics, the Official republican leaders were able to win an uneasy de facto legality. But because they lacked a consistent revolutionary method, they were able to gain little from the opportunities open to them.

Faced with increasing isolation from the masses, the Official republicans tried to widen their audience by participating in a series of elections in North and South.

The February general elections in the Irish republic reflected the decline of the anti-imperialist struggle. The question of resisting British imperialism and supporting the struggle in the North was hardly raised. The two bourgeois parties competed for the image of the most "peaceful" and "practical." The ruling party was ousted by a coalition of the historic pro-imperialist conservatives and the Labour party.

In this situation, the Official republicans proved unable to effectively tie the anti-imperialist struggle in the North to the problems facing the Southern workers and the poor. They ran a campaign essentially on narrow economic issues, although with a militant style.

Despite their fundamental weaknesses, the Official republicans spoke for the socialist alternative in the elections and were given critical support by the Irish Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, who supported other militant anti-imperialist candidates as well.

The Official republicans also intervened in the Northern local government and Assembly elections on a similar economist program. Since they were the only militant nationalist party participating, they won a substantial percentage of the traditional republican vote. But they were unable to offer an effective alternative to the reviving Catholic parliamentary party or to assemble and consolidate revolutionary cadres.

Although the Official republicans tried at the beginning of the year to change their course and extricate themselves from the centrist economism in which they had become entrapped, they did not succeed in their effort, and seemed at the end of the year to be falling into deeper and deeper difficulties.

At the same time, the Provisional republicans, as they lost more and more of their middle-class support, showed an apparently increasing interest in socialist ideas, but so far without abandoning their adventurist orientation.

With the decline in the mass struggle, the London and Dublin governments continued to step up the repression, cooperating with each other more and more openly. From time to time in 1973 there were significant civil-rights demonstrations. But the protests lacked a clear common focus and the leaders seemed unable to find an effective formula for unity.

By the end of the year the British and neocolonialist authorities seemed to have settled on a political formula for "pacifying" the country. The problem of countering it effectively is now the key question in Irish politics.

* * *

Since 1968 a general rise in working-class struggles has occurred throughout Western Europe. In 1973 some new elements emerged that lent special weight to the crisis of capitalism in the region. The most important of these were a sharpening combativity and optimism such as the spirit that fueled the uprising in Greece, a change in working-class consciousness as exemplified by the struggle of the Lip workers, a realignment of forces in the workers movement brought on by such mass mobili-

zations as the struggle against the Debré Law in France, and the entry into the field of struggle of the immigrant workers in several major Western European countries.

Revolutionary Explosion in Greece

The generally deepening crisis in capitalist Europe was perhaps most dramatically demonstrated by the November 14-17 worker and student uprising in Athens. The early parts of the year saw the first evidence that the Greek people had begun to recover from the defeat in 1967 when the military seized power. Students demonstrated against the Papadopoulos regime and resisted the police violence employed against them.

The regime tried to defuse the mounting discontent by conceding minor reforms such as proclaiming a "republic." But the masses were not taken in by the colonels' maneuvers. Rampant inflation, a wage freeze, lack of democratic rights, and repression in the educational system continued to sharpen popular opposition to the junta.

When martial law was lifted as part of Papadopoulos's attempt to give his dictatorship a democratic veneer, the student vanguard took advantage of the new conditions to intensify their political activities. Strikes by workers and a series of demonstrations could not be stopped by the regime, bringing the self-confidence of the workers and students to a new level.

The developing radicalization exploded in the November uprising. The masses moved into the streets, demonstrating a high degree of combativity, political consciousness, and democracy in organizing the mobilization.

The coup that then ousted the Papadopoulos gang has been unable to stabilize the situation or even to develop a coherent political and economic policy. As the year ended, there was hardly a political tendency—even among the bourgeoisie—that believed that the new junta would be able to extricate itself from its impasse without further revolutionary explosions.

The Challenge of Lip

Ebauches S. A. is a large Swiss multinational corporation that owns the

Longines watch company. Among its other possessions in the spring of 1973 was the watchmaking corporation previously owned by the Lip family. Lip operated a plant in Besançon, a small city in eastern France.

In April, Ebauches announced that it was planning to "restructure" the Lip operation in order to increase profits. The restructuring would involve laying off 200 of the 1,300 workers employed in the plant. No one in the company management expected the workers to do anything but what they usually do in such cases: file out of the plant quietly and sign up for unemployment compensation.

But the workers did not accept the company's decision. They stopped work and held general assemblies—on company premises and on company time—to discuss how they could prevent the layoffs. They sought support among the population of Besançon, holding rallies and marches to express their determination to hold their jobs. In May they sent a delegation of 534 workers to Paris to appeal for support from the working class on a national scale.

On June 12 the management responded. It announced that the company was applying for bankruptcy certification, that the workers would no longer be paid, and that workers who were owed vacation pay would not receive it. The workers decided to find out what was actually afoot. They held the managers in their offices and proceeded to search the company's secret records. It was the first move in what was to become a long series of workers' violations of the sanctity of bourgeois property.

The search was productive. The workers discovered that Ebauches intended to lay off nearly half the work force at Lip. Entire sections of the plant were to be dismantled. Other documents outlined company plans to chip away at wage gains and other benefits the workers had won in the past.

On the night of June 12, the government sent several hundred troops of the CRS (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Corps) to free the managers. The CRS squads injured several workers in the operation.

The workers responded by holding another general assembly, at which



Solidarity with struggle of Lip workers was organized by far left as reformist leaders defaulted.

they voted to continue the struggle to preserve their jobs despite the employers' insistence on layoffs. On June 18 a general assembly voted to retain a store of 65,000 watches that the workers had taken several days earlier as security for their employment and wages. The workers also decided that if they were to preserve their jobs they had to get the plant running again.

On June 19 they did just that. The plant in Besançon was occupied by the workers and one assembly line was set in motion. Six commissions were organized: a commission to oversee production, a popularization commission to spread the word of the struggle and organize support for it, a commission to organize sales of watches in order to pay the workers, a reception commission to show visitors around the plant, and a security and maintenance commission to defend the plant against police attempts to reoccupy it. The Lip factory had been taken away from its capitalist owners.

More importantly, the workers were not simply holding the plant, they were operating it, organizing and controlling production, and thus demonstrating in the sharpest possible way that the capitalist class is totally unnecessary to the functioning of a modern economy. The spirit of Lip was summed up in the giant banner that the workers placed in front of the factory: "It can be done: We are pro-

ducing and we are selling—The Workers."

The Lip workers were not aiming at setting up a little workers cooperative. They were waging a fundamentally political struggle for the right to employment, the right of workers to administer production and to determine the conditions of work, its pace, intensity, and methods. They were waging that struggle in complete defiance of bourgeois legality, according to which the watches that the workers had made were stolen property because they belonged to Ebauches. By the same token the plant had been stolen, and the whole Lip work force was a pack of thieves. The Lip workers were able to fight on because of the mass support they received from the workers throughout France, and later, throughout Western Europe.

The French government and ruling class recognized the implications of the Lip struggle at least as well as the workers themselves did. Pompidou appointed an "emissary" to negotiate with the workers, trying to get their agreement on various schemes involving limited layoffs and partial dismantling of the plant. But the workers held firm to their three main demands: no layoffs, no dismantling, maintenance of all gains won in the struggle.

On August 14, the French government moved to put an end to the Lip struggle. A force of 3,000 CRS goons staged a commandolike assault on the

factory. The workers defense guard inside was taken by surprise. Before the majority of the Lip workers even knew what was going on, the factory had been taken over by the riot police.

When word spread throughout Besançon about the CRS attack, a crowd of some 10,000 people gathered in front of the factory. The CRS troops inside and around the perimeter of the plant were treated as an occupation army. The clear sentiment of the workers and their supporters was to try to retake the plant. But in the absence of a competent leadership, they were unable to do so.

Despite loss of the factory, the Lip struggle continued. The workers set up a new shop in the gymnasium of a local school. There they continued to produce and sell watches. The commissions continued to function. "The factory," declared Charles Piaget, a local leader of the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT — French Democratic Confederation of Labor) and a main figure in the Lip strike, "is wherever the workers are."

The movement of solidarity with the Lip struggle took new steps forward after the police attack of August 14. Meetings, demonstrations, and rallies were organized in France and in other countries. The major limitation on the solidarity movement was the same as the one that had shackled the struggle in Besançon itself, that had allowed the workers to be taken by surprise and lose control of the factory: the default of the reformist leaderships of the workers organizations. The Communist party and the CP-controlled Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) refused to build a solidarity movement on a national (let alone international) scale. The CP did not produce even one national poster for Lip; it systematically sabotaged solidarity rallies. During crucial months of the struggle it threw all its efforts into municipal election campaigns, virtually ignoring the nonelectoral fight at Lip.

Worse still, the French Stalinist leaders finally *accepted* the substance of the Pompidou government's plan for restructuring Lip and laying off some workers, charging that those who rejected the plan were "irresponsible." In October, the CP leaders in Besançon began organizing Lip workers

to sign up for unemployment compensation.

The local leaders of the CFDT, who were more in touch with the rank-and-file workers, did not so openly sabotage the struggle. But they refrained from filling the leadership vacuum left by the CP and CGT. Under orders from the national CFDT leaders, who were increasingly orienting to the Union de la Gauche (Union of the Left) electoral bloc with the CP, the local CFDT leaders failed to organize a consistent solidarity campaign.

The burden of organizing solidarity thus fell on the far-left groups, and especially on the French Trotskyists supporting the newspaper *Rouge*. A high point of the campaign was the September 29 national Lip-support march on Besançon, in which more than 70,000 persons participated despite the almost total abstention of the reformist leaders of the workers movement.

As the year ended, the Lip workers were still holding out. While the lack of revolutionary leadership had seriously weakened the fight, the workers had not given up. In December they organized their fifth "wildcat payday," paying the workers from the proceeds of the watches sold.

The Lip struggle posed the fundamental issue of workers control and management of production, showing what could be done if the proletariat properly organizes itself. But the betrayal of the reformist leaders placed a question mark over the workers ability to carry the fight against layoffs and dismantlement to a successful conclusion. The Lip struggle thus demonstrated the essential contradiction in the West European workers movement: The high combativity of the working masses cannot be translated into victorious struggles so long as the Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders retain their stranglehold on the worker movement.

The March-April Youth Mobilization in France

But there were signs in 1973 that the bureaucratic hold on the mass movement was weakening. That was most clearly shown in the mobilizations of French youth—high schoolers, students, and apprentices—against the

increasing militarization of French society.

On the first day of 1973 a piece of legislation known as the Debré Law went into effect in France. The law, named after Minister of Defense Michel Debré, was a complicated reform of the military service system. Its most important feature was its abolition of student deferments. Under the new system, high schoolers would have to go directly into the army after graduation. The old system allowed for deferments for those students going on to universities. As early as February the Ligue Communiste, then the French section of the Fourth International, called for mass demonstrations and student strikes against the Debré Law. The Ligue proposed establishing action committees against the law organizing around the central slogans: Down with the Debré Law! Extend deferments to all youth!

At first, actions were only sporadic. The March legislative elections occupied central attention in France, and it was difficult to organize nonelectoral action on a mass scale. But after the elections, the anti-Debré mobilization began to develop. High-school strikes multiplied throughout the provinces and spread to Paris.

The Committees Against the Debré Law called for a national day of demonstrations on March 22. Until that time, the French Communist party had urged its members and supporters to stay away from the Debré demonstrations, denouncing them as ultraleft provocations. But the middle of March it had become obvious that the CP bureaucrats were being outflanked by a mass mobilization developing outside their control. They decided to intervene. That was the first big change.

But the CP's form of intervention was to call for a demonstration on March 21, the day before the actions called by the Committees Against the Debré Law. The CP action drew 20,000 participants in Paris. The march had been granted a permit by the police department and was therefore legal.

The Committees Against the Debré Law were denied a police permit for March 22. The cops announced on the radio that high schoolers should stay away from the "illegal" action, at which there might well be violence. But despite this, some 80,-



One of the demonstrations held by French youth during the March-April mobilizations against Debre Law.

000 youth came out to the March 22 demonstration. The police were afraid to initiate violence against such a crowd. The CP's legal action had been dwarfed by the "illegal" action of the committees elected by the high schoolers themselves.

The success of the high-school actions had two big effects. First, university students struggling against an educational reform bill and young apprentices protesting working conditions in the vocational training programs began to join in the demonstrations. The three struggles merged, the demands against militarization of youth unifying them all.

Second, the Communist party bureaucrats were forced by the radical layer that had mobilized independently of its control to enter the movement on a united-front basis.

On April 2 the youth held their second national day of action. This time, more than 300,000 people in France turned out to demonstrate. For the first time the marches began to take on a heavily working-class composition. General assemblies were held and strike committees were democratically elected in the high schools, universities, and technical schools.

The next target date for the mobilization was April 9. In Paris, the march was somewhat smaller than the April 2 action: about 100,000 participants. Even so, the April 9 demonstration was a major step forward. The leaders of the CP, Socialist party, CGT, and CFDT had not only endorsed the demonstration but had agreed to negotiate its logistics and slogans with the democratically elected representatives of the strike committees that had been built up against the will and outside the control of the reformist leaders.

The political relationship of forces in France had shifted to the point that the independent mobilization of the radicalized layers outside the CP's and SP's control had forced the Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders to enter a united front with the very political forces that they had not so long before denounced as ultraleftist traitors.

The Immigrant Workers Stir

The changing balance of forces between the reformist misleaders and the radicalizing students and workers manifested itself in other fields besides the mobilization of youth. One of the

most important new elements in the West European situation in 1973 was the increase in militancy among the millions of immigrant workers in France, West Germany, Switzerland, Britain, and several other countries.

The immigrant workers—from North Africa, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and Black Africa—constitute a growing component of the working class in the most developed capitalist countries of Western Europe. They are denied citizenship and most other democratic rights in the countries in which they work, they are assigned to the most menial jobs with the lowest pay, and they are the first to feel the burden of economic difficulties. Their miserable living conditions make them prey to all sorts of illnesses that have been largely brought under control in developed countries. In France, for example, 39 percent of all victims of tuberculosis are immigrants. In some predominantly Black African areas in France 15-20 percent of the population suffers from it. The rate of hospitalization among immigrant youth runs three to six times higher than among French youth.

The fact that the immigrants are not citizens makes them especially vulnerable to victimization by the employers. In Switzerland and West Germany, for example, they are issued "seasonal" residency permits that force them to leave the country for three months of the year. An additional law states that immigrants who leave the country for that length of time are not allowed to obtain permanent residency permits.

The conditions of repression and the failure of the leaders of the trade-union movement to defend the rights of the immigrants have made it virtually impossible for them to engage in effective struggle. But in 1973 that situation began to change.

In West Germany Turkish workers who were fired for returning late from their "vacations" in September touched off wildcat strikes that for the first time drew some support from German workers.

In Britain, representatives from the Indian, Pakistani, Bengali, and West Indian communities formed a national coordinating committee to combat racism and to urge the Trades Union Congress to take up the fight against racism. The British government, in

the meantime, passed a series of rulings tightening up restrictions on immigration as a means of counterattacking against the immigrants.

But the most dramatic developments among the immigrant workers during 1973 came in France. In the spring, unskilled immigrant workers went on



POMPIDOU: His ban on French Trotskyists failed.

strike against the giant Renault auto company, demanding that the wage structure that denies equal pay to the immigrants be abolished. The strike, which spread to include French workers as well, shut down the greater part of the French automobile industry.

In March the immigrant workers in France began organizing hunger strikes and other actions against a government memorandum that imposed still more restrictions on the immigrants.

But the immigrants in France had to contend with more than "official" government repression. The small fascist movement in France saw the immigrants as the only issue that had the potential of providing them an organizing point around which to extend their influence among the French population. In early spring the fascist organization *Ordre Nouveau* (New Order) began organizing a campaign against what they called "wildcat" (or clandestine) immigration.

The fascist campaign corresponded

to a desire on the part of the French bourgeoisie to use racism as a means of dividing the working class itself and of simultaneously intimidating the immigrant workers. Throughout the spring there were increasing incidents of gangster attacks on individual immigrant workers, firebombings of coffee houses patronized by Arabs, and other acts of racist violence.

On June 21 *Ordre Nouveau* scheduled a "mass" meeting in the *Mutualité* in Paris to organize against "wildcat immigration." Nine far-left groups, notably the *Ligue Communiste*, called for a counterdemonstration to confront the fascists and halt the meeting, if possible. The antifascist demonstration was attacked by police protecting the fascist meeting. Clashes took place during which members of the police force were injured, a few seriously.

On the morning of June 22 police ransacked the headquarters of the *Ligue Communiste* and arrested Pierre Rousset, a leader of the *Ligue*, charging him with responsibility for some weapons found in the headquarters.

On June 28 the Pompidou government used the June 21 clashes as an excuse to declare the *Ligue Communiste* dissolved. Alain Krivine, a central leader of the *Ligue*, was arrested on charges of having been responsible for the June 21 violence despite the fact that he had not been in Paris that night.

The regime also decreed a ban on the *Ordre Nouveau* in a hypocritical (and unsuccessful) attempt to appear "impartial."

But Pompidou's attempt to drive the French Trotskyists underground and

halt their political activity failed completely. A broad movement to defend the *Ligue* developed that included, for the first time, the Communist party leaders. The defense movement won the release of Krivine and Rousset and prevented the regime from stopping the sales of *Rouge*, the ex-*Ligue*'s newspaper.

At the same time, the movement to defend the ex-*Ligue* helped to bring the issue of the immigrant workers to the fore in France and contributed significantly to counteracting the government's intimidation of the immigrants.

In late August the far right tried to take advantage of a murder committed by an Algerian in Marseille to whip up a racist pogrom atmosphere. Fascist committees against the immigrants were organized in Marseille and other cities. More than a dozen Arab workers were murdered by mobs.

But the situation was no longer what it had been. The immigrants had developed a new sense of confidence and had drawn lessons from the struggles of the workers and youth and from the antiracist campaign that had become merged with the campaign in defense of the ex-*Ligue*.

This time the immigrants responded to the racist violence not with petitions and hunger strikes but with mass strikes. They were called by an organization known as the *Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes* (Movement of Arab Workers), an independent group composed of immigrants themselves. On September 3 thousands of



Immigrant workers march in France. 1973 saw big increase in militant activity of most exploited workers.

immigrants in cities in southern France went on strike. Important sections of industry employing immigrants ground to a halt. On September 14 the immigrants carried out the first general strike they had ever staged in Paris. Thousands of immigrants, as well as significant numbers of French workers, walked off their jobs.

Once again, a layer of the working class had mobilized massively, inde-

pendently of the reformist Stalinist and Social Democratic misleaders.

The unprecedented action of the immigrant workers, like the mobilization of the youth in March and April, and the seven-month battle of the Lip workers, illustrated the general processes affecting the West European countries: attempts by the governments and ruling classes to roll back the gains the workers had made in the

past, lack of action of inadequate action on the part of the reformist leaders of the workers movement, and independent action by advanced layers of the masses themselves. In 1973 the West European ruling classes failed to make any headway in resolving their economic, social, and political crises. Not a single Western European ruling class can face the new year with confidence. □

None of the Main Sources of Conflict Settled

The October War: Roots, Outbreak, and Effects

By Jon Rothschild

The Geneva conference, whose task is supposedly to find a "just" and "permanent" peace in the Arab East, was scheduled to open on December 21. But it was a measure of the uncertainty of the situation in the region after the October War that only five days before the meeting was supposed to convene it was not even known for sure who, if anyone, would show up. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had left on another hectic jaunt around Middle Eastern capitals in an apparent effort to get the conference under way. Nevertheless, the three-year-old stalemate that had given rise to the October War in the first place seemed almost certain to become the stalemate of the Geneva conference. None of the basic sources of conflict in the Arab East were settled by the October War. It will, however, have important long-run effects on the politics of the region. On balance, these will be positive for the revolutionary forces, both Arab and Israeli.

Origins of the October War

In the most general sense, the October War was made inevitable by the results of the June 1967 war. Since June 11, 1967, the Israeli army has occupied the Syrian Golan Heights, the Egyptian Sinai peninsula, and the West Bank of the Jordan River, which is actually eastern Palestine. By seizing and occupying large sections of Egyptian and Syrian territory, the Israeli regime placed itself in permanent military conflict with the Arab states sur-

rounding it. The Israeli state was born at the direct expense of the Arabs of Palestine and stood from the moment of its foundation in basic conflict with the Palestinians and by extension with the entire Arab world. But the 1967 war transformed that conflict. Where before there had been Palestinian refugees, now there were also Egyptian and Syrian refugees. Where before there was denial of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs, now there was also abrogation of Egyptian and Syrian sovereignty.

Because of the determination of the Egyptian and Syrian masses to recover the territories lost in the 1967 war, no regime in either country could have ceded the territories to Israel without risking being overthrown. Recovery of the territories thus became a central goal of the Egyptian and Syrian governments.

Ever since the declaration in 1970 of a cease-fire in the "war of attrition" on the Sinai front, the Egyptian regime had been trying to prod Washington and Moscow to make a concerted effort to impose a withdrawal on the Israeli rulers. In the summer of 1972 Sadat made a shift in policy. He expelled the Soviet military mission from Egypt, reorienting his diplomatic efforts toward U.S. imperialism rather than the Soviet bureaucracy.

But the overture to Nixon got no results. Even Sadat's next step—reopening Egypt to U.S. capital—failed to produce a shift in American policy.

By the middle of 1973 Sadat's posi-

tion was becoming desperate. The ranks of the army, permanently stationed along the Suez Canal but doing nothing, began to grow demoralized. At the same time, the Israeli army was bolstering its strength both with infusions of U.S. aid and with increased capital expenditures on a burgeoning arms industry.

As the Israeli state was boosting its military power it was also moving toward open annexation of greater and greater portions of the occupied territories. The Golan Heights were dotted with Jewish settlements. An urbanization program was under way at Sharm el-Sheikh at the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula. A city was being built in the Raffah area of northeast Sinai. Arab Jerusalem was overtly annexed and new Israeli settlements were proliferating in the West Bank of the Jordan.

In addition to Israeli expansionism and Washington's inaction, Sadat faced growing unrest among the Egyptian workers and students. A mass student strike in January 1973 drew some support from the workers in the Helwan steel industry. When Sadat repressed the student radicals, he found it necessary to imprison a number of trade-union activists as well.

By the middle of 1973 popular support for the Sadat government had declined to the point that Sadat himself had become widely regarded as little more than a buffoon. The workers and students demanded real action to recover the occupied territories; they demanded the elimination of the luxu-



SADAT: Tried to move diplomacy off "dead center."

ry economy under which the bourgeoisie enriched itself while the workers and peasants were called upon to make sacrifices for a nonexistent battle against Zionist occupation. Sadat was at the end of his rope. Inaction had become a greater risk than action. The order to cross the canal was given.

The Course of the Fighting

On the afternoon of October 6 the Egyptian army established eleven pontoon bridges over the Suez Canal and began pouring troops and tanks across to the east bank. Simultaneously a Syrian force numbering 850-1,000 tanks moved into the occupied Golan Heights. Within hours of the Arab military move, Dayan was boasting that a fourth Arab defeat was but days away. "There will be some Egyptian troops there [on the east side of the Suez Canal] tomorrow morning, I suppose," he said on October 7, "but it won't be very long, certainly not months or weeks, before we destroy them."

That Dayan's boast turned out to be hollow was the first Arab victory of the war. And it was seen as such by the Arabs themselves. "It's too good to be true," the October 10 *Le Monde* quoted an Egyptian intellectual as saying. "But it is true. After three days of war, not only are we still on the east bank of the canal, but our forces are still advancing into Sinai." The Beirut daily *an-Nahar*, the most pres-

tigious paper in the Arab East, gave feature coverage to the Tel Aviv press conference at which Chaim Herzog, former chief of Israeli intelligence, admitted that "for the first time" in twenty-five years, the Israeli army was on the defensive.

The Egyptian forces established an air-defense network based on the most modern Soviet-made anti-aircraft missile, the SAM-6. The SAMs not only prevented the Israeli air force from winning the absolute freedom of the skies it had commanded in 1967, but also demonstrated to Israeli intelligence that the Egyptian forces were now capable of handling effectively the most sophisticated military technology, a surprise to the Israeli command and, for that very reason, a psychological victory for the Arab masses.

An additional gain for the Arabs—one that became known only after the fighting had stopped—was that Israeli intelligence had apparently thoroughly misjudged Egyptian and Syrian intentions, realizing that an offensive was coming only hours before the shooting started.

On October 9 the Israeli forces were forced to abandon the Bar Lev line, the system of bunkers and encampments forming the first (supposedly impregnable) line of "defense" in the Sinai.

On the Syrian front, the Israeli occupiers in the Golan Heights were compelled initially to fall back, as Syrian tanks advanced cautiously and in an orderly manner across the Heights.

The Israeli armed forces began counterattacking only on October 10. The first priority for the Zionist command was the Syrian front, which was more fluid and closer to Israeli civilian areas.

The Israeli counteroffensive drove the Syrian tank force off most of the Golan Heights within several days. On October 11 the Israeli army struck out on the road to Damascus, which lies about thirty-eight miles from the 1967 cease-fire line.

The "march on Damascus" was accompanied by massive terror bombing of Syrian cities, an attempt by the Israeli command to foster panic among the Syrian populace. Tel Aviv's aim was to break the Syrian army, to turn its retreat into a rout, and to move at least to the outskirts of the Syrian capital in order to deliver "lessons" to the Syrians on the costs of opposing the Zionist armed forces.

The main targets of the Israeli bombers were the ports of Latakia and Tartus, the town of Baniyas (an important juncture on an oil pipeline running from Iraq to the Mediterranean Sea), and the industrial city of Homs, where the power plants generating a large portion of Syrian electric power were attacked. The bombing of Homs killed some 400 civilians, according to official Syrian statistics.

Despite the ferocity of the assault and despite the fact that the Israeli army was able to push about halfway down the road to Damascus, taking over a big new chunk of Syrian territory, the march on Damascus was not a success. The Syrian army and a contingent of Iraqi tanks that had entered the war on October 15 managed to set up a secondary line of defense that the Israeli officers apparently felt would have been too costly to pierce. After the Syrian front stabilized, the two sides continued to exchange sporadic fire, but the armies' positions remained unchanged.

The Israeli offensive on the Sinai front began in earnest on October 16, when a commando unit penetrated Egyptian lines on the east bank of the canal and crossed to the west bank, setting up an extensive bridgehead. By October 20 more than 10,000 troops and 200 tanks had crossed to the west bank. By October 21 the Israeli-held territory on the west bank measured about twenty miles by twenty-five miles.

The Israeli command was aiming at driving south to the city of Suez and cutting off the Egyptian III Corps on the canal's east bank. A large section of the Egyptian missile defense had been neutralized, and the combination of the elimination of the III Corps and the reestablishment of Israeli mastery of the skies would have been enough for the Zionist command to move to annihilate the Egyptian army, Tel Aviv's main aim on the Egyptian front.

But international diplomatic pressure temporarily stayed the hand of the Israeli rulers. Over the weekend of October 20-21, Henry Kissinger and Leonid Brezhnev agreed to co-sponsor a cease-fire resolution in the United Nations Security Council. The cease-fire was demanded in the first place by Sadat, who by that time had been informed of the perilous position of the III Corps.

The Israeli regime, bowing to U.S. pressure, agreed formally to observe the cease-fire. But in reality, the Israeli command had no intention of allowing the promising military situation to slip away unexploited. The Israeli army broke the October 22 cease-fire almost immediately after it was proclaimed. In the twenty-four hours after the cease-fire was broken, the Israeli troops on the west bank expanded their enclave, moved south and surrounded the city of Suez, and then moved still further south along the Gulf of Suez.

When the Israeli army reached Suez, the Egyptian III Corps, a force estimated at 20,000-30,000 men, was cut off from its supplies. As a military force the III Corps was finished. It was unable to advance, and the Israelis would allow it to retreat to the west bank only under a flag of surrender.

On October 23 the UN Security Council reconvened at Egyptian request. A second cease-fire was voted and took effect that evening. The Israeli command was content to observe the second cease-fire, hoping that the III Corps would try to fight its way out of encirclement. That would have allowed the Israeli forces to destroy the III Corps while simultaneously proclaiming their desire for peace.

At first it appeared that the Israeli tactic would work. The second cease-fire did break down, as the III Corps tried to avoid being forced to die of thirst. On October 24, as the Israelis moved to the offensive after the breakdown of the second cease-fire, Sadat called for another emergency meeting of the Security Council and asked that Washington and Moscow send troops to the Arab East to guarantee the cease-fire they had voted for in New York.

Moscow-Washington Confrontation

Sadat's appeal to Moscow and Washington led to the confrontation of October 25, which Nixon called the "most difficult crisis" since the Kennedy-Khrushchev showdown in October 1962. Because all U.S.-Soviet diplomacy takes place in absolute secrecy, it is still impossible to tell exactly how the crisis unfolded. What is certain, however, is that the clash was a real one, not a staged event invented to divert attention from Nixon's Watergate

difficulties. According to Nixon's version of the October 25 events, the Kremlin began taking steps to introduce its forces into Egypt on October 24, after the second cease-fire had broken down and Sadat had requested Soviet and U.S. troops. Brezhnev allegedly sent Nixon a "very firm note" that "left little to the imagination." The note is reported to have indicated that Moscow would not stand by while the Egyptian III Corps was annihilated and that if Washington did not call off its Israeli agents, Moscow would have to take appropriate steps.

Nixon claims he sent an equally firm note back to Brezhnev indicating that Washington would not stand for the introduction of Soviet troops. To give credence to his message, Nixon placed U.S. military forces on worldwide alert.

Whether or not Nixon is lying about the details, in broad outline the October 25 confrontation seems to have occurred roughly as described by Washington. The common liberal speculation that the crisis was a stage-managed affair is based on the erroneous notion that the Kremlin, which had stood by passively while North Vietnam was subjected to the most vicious bombing in the history of warfare, would not have risked a clash with Nixon by sticking its neck out for the non-Communist Egyptian regime. But the truth is that the Moscow bureaucracy has provided greater aid and taken more risks for Cairo than for Hanoi. The Kremlin left Hanoi alone to face the American imperialist assault because it saw no immediate threat to its narrow nationalist interests in the U.S. aggression against Indochina. It saw a greater threat in a victorious social revolution in Southeast Asia.

But the Moscow bureaucracy *does* have a national interest in the Arab East. It will defend friendly regimes in the region regardless of their class character. It will seek to maintain a military presence in the region in order to defend those regimes and to preserve their pro-Moscow orientation. Sadat's appeal of October 24 corresponded to the diplomatic interests of the Kremlin in two respects: It was an opportunity to regain a military presence in Egypt, a presence that had been ended during the summer of 1972, when Sadat expelled the Soviet military advisers. And it was an

opportunity to guarantee the survival of the III Corps, which was directly related to the survival of the Sadat regime.

In response to the Kremlin's attempt to alter the balance of forces in the Arab East against the Israeli regime, the Nixon government and the whole American ruling class was willing to risk nuclear war. Ordering the U.S. military alert posed exactly that risk. It was a statement to Moscow that any attempt to dispatch troops to Egypt would be answered in kind by U.S. imperialism.

The Kremlin backed down in face of the U.S. threat; no Soviet troops were sent. But Moscow had partially achieved its aims. The negotiations to end the confrontation gave rise to the third cease-fire on the Egyptian front. The Egyptian III Corps remained encircled, but it was still holding its position on the east bank. It had not surrendered.

The third cease-fire was followed by a week of frenzied diplomatic activity aimed at quickly initiating a negotiation process that could temporarily stabilize the Sinai front. The Israeli command insisted on maintaining its siege of the III Corps and Suez city, refusing to allow food, water, and medical supplies to pass through.

Finally, on November 11, a six-point agreement was signed by Israeli Major General Aharon Yariv and Egyptian Lieutenant General Muhammed Abdel Ghany el-Gamasy. The accord provided for the opening of a UN corridor to Suez city and the III Corps but allowed Israeli troops to search all vehicles passing through their lines. In effect, therefore, the November 11 agreement recognized Israeli occupation of the enclave on the west bank and granted Israeli officers veto power over what materials would pass through to the III Corps. The agreement also called for the opening of negotiations on the question of Israeli withdrawal to the October 22 cease-fire lines, that is, negotiations toward lifting the siege of the III Corps.

From Kilometer 101 to Geneva

The talks on Israeli withdrawal were held in a tent at the kilometer 101 marker on the Suez-Cairo road. These talks became especially crucial for Sadat. The Egyptian masses, mobilized and inspired by the initial suc-

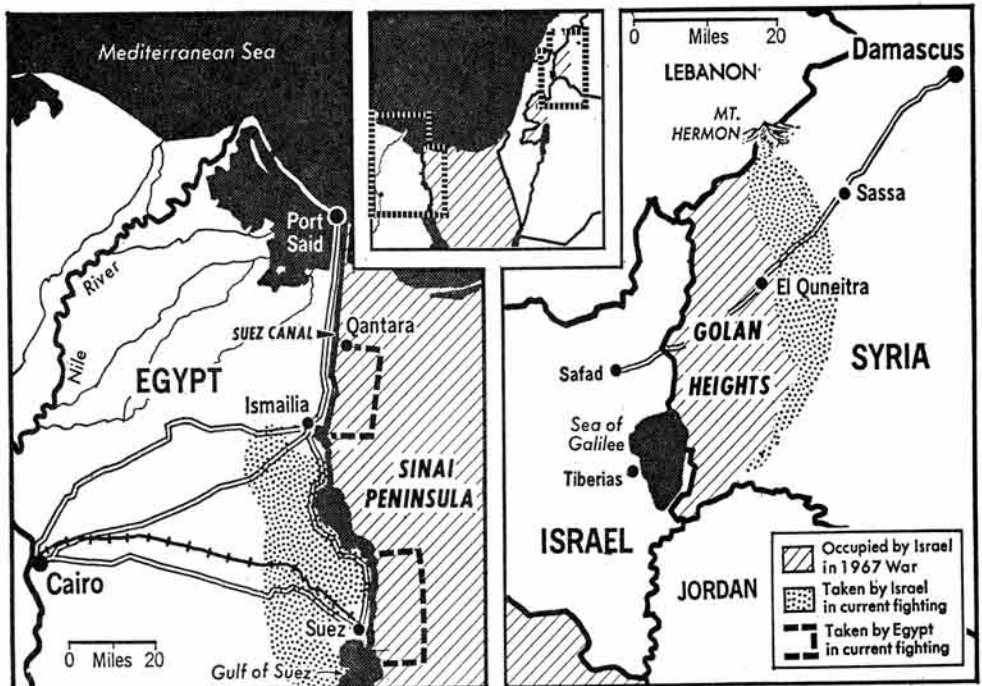
cesses of the October War, had accepted the cease-fire only reluctantly. Sadat presented the November 11 agreement to the Egyptian people as a means to win a rapid Israeli withdrawal to the October 22 lines. That withdrawal, he promised, would be but a prelude to Israeli withdrawal from all of occupied Sinai. It was therefore imperative for Sadat to produce some evidence that his diplomatic maneuvering had a chance of achieving progress toward Israeli withdrawal.

For the Israeli rulers, however, the indicated procedure was exactly the opposite. The longer the kilometer 101 talks dragged on, the more the Israeli occupation of the west bank of the Suez tended to evolve into yet another Zionist fait accompli. So long as the III Corps remained trapped on the east bank, Sadat would be in a difficult position, under increasing popular pressure to break the siege while at the same time lacking the military means to do so. Thus, the Israeli leaders stalled at the kilometer 101 talks, refusing to discuss the question of withdrawal to the October 22 lines and instead proposing various schemes to readjust the cease-fire lines in the Sinai.

On November 29 Sadat broke off the kilometer 101 talks. He threatened not to attend the Geneva conference unless the Israelis first withdrew to the October 22 lines. But it is hard to see how Sadat can stay away from the Geneva talks. The alternative—resuming military action—is equally as unpromising now as it was on November 29. The Egyptian regime, then, will doubtlessly show up in Geneva. The problem is that the impasse that led to the war in the first place is not likely to be resolved at the conference table.

What Next?

The heart of Sadat's policy at Geneva will be to seek the support of U. S. imperialism for his position that the Israeli army should be forced to vacate Sinai. But despite Arab use of the "oil weapon" and despite increasing speculation in the U. S. press about the possibility of Washington turning against its Israeli ally, the fundamental interests of the American ruling class tally too closely with those of the Israeli rulers for any major



New York Times map shows areas occupied by contending forces in October War at time of third cease-fire. Egyptian enclave at southern end of canal is the isolated III Corps.

shift in policy to be expected.

The October War surely should have proven that, if nothing else. In the early days of the war, when the Egyptian and Syrian armies were still making advances, Nixon ordered the Pentagon to see to it that the Israeli armed forces had access to virtually unlimited equipment. The American airlift to supply the Israeli war machine was one of the most massive in history.

It began in earnest on October 14. By October 19 at least twenty-five U. S. Phantom jets had been flown into Israel by American pilots who dropped off the planes, changed into civilian clothes, and boarded passenger planes out of Israel.

As of October 20 more than fifty A-4 Skyhawks were on the way to Israel. U. S. C-5As, the largest operational transport planes, were flying continual missions into Israel. The C-5As had delivered 150 M-60 tanks to Israel before the October War was one week old. Other weapons shipped by the Pentagon included electronic devices used to counter radar-guided missiles, air-to-air Sidewinder missiles, television-guided missiles, and Shrike missiles. An average of twenty cargo flights were being flown into Israel

each day, totalling 700-800 tons of material.

An even more substantial amount was sent by ship. Apart from the "emergency" aid intended to replace Israel's battlefield losses, the Nixon administration asked Congress October 19 to approve a \$2,200 million military assistance bill for Israel. On November 5 the Nixon gang reported to Congress that the aid bill would not only restore the Israeli armed forces to prewar strength, but would in the words of Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush, "give Israel greater strength than before the war."

The immensity of U.S. imperialism's support to the Zionist state flows from a commonality of interests. The Israeli state, a small implantation in the Arab East, maintains its dominant position only insofar as the Arab world remains backward, weak, and divided. The Israeli regime thus opposes any tendency toward modernization or unification in the Arab East.

U.S. imperialism, whose economic interests in the Arab East are enormous, shares the Israeli desire to maintain "stability" in the region. Until some other regime demonstrates sufficient power to be able to take on the job of policing the Middle East

for American imperialism, Washington will hold to its pro-Israeli policy. The U.S. ruling class, whatever its internal differences in regard to tone and appearances, is united in its determination to preserve Israeli military hegemony in the Arab East. So long as that is the case, there will be no pressure from Washington to force Tel Aviv to yield on any point the Zionist ruling class regards as decisive.

So Sadat's plan to recover occupied territory through relying on assistance from Washington and Wall Street is doomed to failure.

And as its failure becomes manifest, the position of the Arab regimes will further erode. The October War entailed a broad mobilization of Egyptian workers and students. The Arab masses have proven that they have the desire and capacity to fight seriously against Zionist domination. Whatever the subsequent course of the war, the initial gains of the Arab armies had an explosive effect on the Arab masses. The sentiments thus released will not be easy for the Arab

rulers to contain. Whatever temporary gains the Sadat regime may have made in initiating the war will thus be ephemeral. The Egyptian masses, whose determination forced Sadat to cross the canal, will not sit still indefinitely while his diplomats make futile overtures to Washington.

And the Israeli regime can also be expected to face serious and growing resistance to its policies from its own population. When the Israeli army won its crushing victory in the June 1967 war, the government assured the Israeli people that the result of the war would be permanent peace. The Arab armies were so badly beaten, the argument ran, that the governments had no choice but to capitulate.

The Israeli revolutionary anti-Zionists answered the government's promises, pointing out that the conflict between Israel and the Arab world was inherent in the very Zionist structure of the Israeli state. When the wartime chauvinism began to abate, the anti-Zionist movement experienced sig-

nificant growth.

The October War will have a far deeper effect in this respect. It has shown that no matter how badly the Arab armies may be defeated, the worker and peasant masses cannot be beaten into capitulation to the Zionist state. The real choice confronting the Israeli masses will become increasingly sharply posed: permanent warfare with the Arab world or revolutionary struggle for socialism with the Arab workers and peasants.

The Geneva conference, if it takes place at all, will be a meeting of the very forces that are responsible for the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of the Arab East: imperialism, Zionism, and the Arab ruling classes. The fraternal assistance of the Kremlin bureaucracy will not be able to mask the fact that the conference has little to do with the issues and problems facing the people of the region. The problem of bringing peace to the Arab East will not be settled by the conference or by any other form of diplomacy. That, in fact, is the central lesson of the October War. □

As the Kremlin Intensifies Its Repression

Struggle for Proletarian Democracy in the Soviet Union

By Candida Barberena

The Kremlin's open collaboration with Washington, as registered in the détente, cast a somber shadow on the struggle for proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union during 1973. The witch-hunt, intensified in 1972 against participants in the democratic opposition, continued throughout the past year. The repression was directed toward abolishing once and for all the network of underground writings—the samizdat—and silencing the flow of uncensored and uncontrolled discussion.

The campaign to obliterate the samizdat journal *The Chronicle of Current Events* succeeded to such a degree that none of the scheduled issues

was published in 1973. This result may have been achieved at least partially through the "hostage" tactic used by the political police (KGB). The KGB made it known that it had a list of the names of about thirty persons who would be faced with immediate arrest if *The Chronicle* were to reappear. For example, on January 3, Irina Belogorodskaya was arrested because, as the KGB put it, "issue No. 27 of *The Chronicle* had appeared."

Issue No. 27, dated October 1972, was the last number to be published. The journal had previously come out fairly regularly every two months since April 1968. The lists of arrests, searches, and interrogations reported

in issue No. 27 provide a graphic indication of the intensity of the Kremlin's efforts to stamp out political opposition.

The turn of the year marked the fiftieth anniversary of the formal founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (December 30, 1922). While the bureaucracy was proclaiming in commemorative articles and speeches that the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union has been solved, events testified to the contrary.

The Crimean Tatars utilized the celebration to issue a new appeal to the government and to the Communist party, demanding the right to return to their homeland in the Crimea. Dur-

ing World War II, Stalin deported the Crimean Tatars en masse to Central Asia, and abolished the Crimean Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which had been established by the Bolsheviks in 1923.

In January an official campaign was launched against two Kirgizian historians. Professors K. Nurbekov and R. Turgunbekov were charged with



ALEKSANDR GINZBURG

"nationalism." They were held at fault for praising an early attempt to establish a small Kirgiz province in the 1920s. The praise aroused suspicions that the historians favored setting up a special Kirgiz province now, within the Kirgiz republic, after the national question has presumably been solved.

The opposition to Russification, which is the Stalinist solution to the nationalities problem, continued to be most marked in the Ukraine, the largest of the non-Russian republics.

Scattered reports of trials of Ukrainian dissidents, apprehended during a 1972 crackdown, and reports of new waves of arrests continued to make their way abroad throughout 1973.

On January 30, by a decision of the Kiev Provisional Court, Leonid Plyushch, a mathematician and engineer at the Cybernetics Institute, was sent to a prison psychiatric hospital for an indefinite term of "treatment." Sentenced under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("agitation or propaganda carried on for

the purpose of subverting or weakening Soviet power"), Plyushch was accused of having signed appeals to the United Nations protesting the persecution of intellectuals in the USSR, and of having taken part in the allegedly illegal Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, which collected the signatures. He was also charged for writing a letter in 1968 to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, entitled "Lackeys and False Witnesses of Our Time," protesting against the injustices involved in the closed trial of Aleksandr Ginzburg and Yuri Galanskov in January 1968.

(Ginzburg received a seven-year sentence and Galanskov a five-year sentence in strict-regime labor camps for "anti-Soviet" activities, that is, for writing statements in defense of arrested dissidents that were circulated in samizdat. Galanskov died in November 1972 because of the harsh camp conditions.)

Plyushch answered by pointing out that the defendants were slandered in the Soviet press and that only in samizdat and samvydav (the Ukrainian term for underground writings) were the facts in the case available to Soviet citizens. KGB forensic medicine "specialists," including the notorious D. R. Lunts, diagnosed Professor Plyushch's case as one of "creeping schizophrenia with messianic and reformist ideas"—"*la nouvelle maladie mentale*"—politically known as the opposition. (In April, Plyushch was transferred from an ordinary psychiatric hospital under the Ministry of Health to a special-type psychiatric hospital under the authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.)

In February, Vyacheslav Chornovil, the Ukrainian journalist who first exposed the KGB witch-hunts and trials in the Ukraine in 1965-66, was sentenced to seven years at hard labor and five years exile by a court in Lviv. Chornovil drew the wrath of the Kremlin bureaucrats in 1967 for sending a letter and copies of documents to P. Yu. Shelest, then first secretary of the Communist party of the Ukraine. The enclosures protested closed trials of Ukrainian intellectuals. This collection was eventually published in English under the title *The Chornovil Papers*.

An untiring champion of and adherent to Lenin's principles of social-

ism and nationalism, Chornovil once wrote to a Soviet official in the Ukraine: "I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions . . . that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so. But not of that socialism that tries to regiment not merely the actions but also the thoughts of individuals. I cannot imagine true so-



PYOTR YAKIR

cialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest, without a real guarantee—and not merely a paper one—of the rights of all nations within a multinational state."

By the end of March it was clear that political persecution of oppositionists had taken on new dimensions. The Soviet secret police conducted new arrests and trials, some prisoners being resentenced, all behind closed doors.

In March, two other prominent Ukrainians, left-wing opponents of Russification, were sentenced. Ivan Svitlychny, a widely respected Ukrainian literary critic, received seven years in prison and five years exile. Yevhen Sverstyuk, a writer, was sentenced to five years in prison. In 1952 Svitlychny had opposed the limitations of "socialist realism" set for writers by official circles. Early in 1964 he was dismissed from his post at the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature.

Svitlychny has also written the introduction to a collection of documents on the closed trials of Ukrainian jurists in 1961 (available in English in *Ferment in the Ukraine*). Yevhen Sverstyuk's main work is *Cathedral in Scaffold*, a series of essays in defense of a novel by Ukrainian writer Oles Honchar. The novel, *Cathedral*, was severely criticized by officials for its glorification of Ukrainian history. Sverstyuk and Svitychny were both arrested in raids conducted in January 1972.

There were indications this year that the Ukraine party apparatus itself was feeling the effects of the resurgence of nationalism. This was one of the most vivid manifestations of the contradictions inherent in the Kremlin's Russification policies and Stalinist methods of bureaucratic rule. Pyotr Y. Shelest was removed from membership in the all-powerful Politburo of the CPSU in April 1973 and dumped as head of the Ukrainian Communist party in May.

The special pressures and problems flowing from Shelest's position as first secretary in the Ukraine were at the root of his downfall. While ensuring the implementation of the Kremlin's policies calculated to Russify Ukrainian educational, cultural, economic, and political institutions, Shelest, the Kremlin's chief errand boy, was compelled to render lip service to the massive Ukrainian national pressure from below, present even within the local party apparatus. This he attempted with his book *O Ukraine, Our Soviet Land*, for which the bureaucracy condemned him, falling just short of attaching to Shelest the label of "bourgeois nationalist" used by the Kremlin to designate its nationalist opponents, including left-wing critics of Russification, even those who base their criticisms on the writings of Lenin.

It is evident that Trotsky's explanation of the dynamics of the Ukrainian nationalist movement retain the validity in 1973 that they held in 1939:

"Do the broad masses of the Ukrainian people wish to separate from the USSR? It might at first sight appear difficult to answer this question, inasmuch as the Ukrainian people, like all other peoples in the USSR, are deprived of any opportunity to express their will. But the very genesis of the totalitarian regime and its ever more brutal intensification, especially

in the Ukraine, are proof that the real will of the Ukrainian masses is irreconcilably hostile to the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no lack of evidence that one of the primary sources of this hostility is the suppression of Ukrainian independence."

One of the major developments of the year was the Kremlin's resurrection of yet another legacy of Stalin, trial by "confession," the central feature of the notorious Moscow "show trials" of 1936-38.

In August, Pyotr Yakir and Viktor



PYOTR GRIGORENKO

Krasin, two prominent opposition activists, were sentenced to three years in prison and three years exile. Yakir is the son of Iona Yakir, a Soviet Army commander executed by Stalin in 1937. Pyotr spent his childhood in Stalin's prison camps and under police surveillance for being the son of an "enemy of the people." Since the late 1960s he has been a prominent defender of arrested dissidents and an opponent of "the revival of Stalinism," that is, the intensification of the repression. In 1969 he was instrumental in the formation of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in which Viktor Krasin participated.

The Yakir-Krasin "confessions" were calculated to conjure a picture of the defendants as the key figures in a foreign-inspired anti-Soviet conspiratorial and subversive network. The two activists were made to "admit" to having

been merely self-seeking, paid agents for anticommunist forces abroad. The real target of the trial was the democratic opposition movement itself. It should be noted that the American Communist party swallowed the recantation reports without the slightest signs of embarrassment, as was evident in one lurid *Daily World* headline, "Two on trial in Moscow admit ties with former Nazi killers."

According to recent reports both Yakir and Krasin have now been set free.

In November it was reported that a third prominent figure had recanted. The official Soviet news agency, TASS, claimed that Ivan Dzyuba, a leading Ukrainian oppositionist, had renounced his views. Detained since April 1972, Dzyuba was sentenced in mid-March to five years in prison. He is best known for his book *Internationalism or Russification?*, a Leninist critique of the Russification policy currently being carried out by the Kremlin in the Ukraine and in other non-Russian Soviet republics. The book denounces Stalin's labeling of the Bolshevik Ukrainization program as "bourgeois nationalism." (Originally written in 1965, Dzyuba's book circulated in samvydav and later was published in West Germany, Great Britain, and Canada.)

The "pardon" Dzyuba received in exchange for his recantation can probably be explained by his health. Dzyuba suffers from cirrhosis of the liver and an advanced case of tuberculosis. The notorious deprivation of adequate medical care in prison-hospitals and camps undoubtedly contributed to Dzyuba's already deteriorating health when he was detained in 1972.

Throughout the year reports continued to leak from sources inside the Soviet Union on the latest measures taken by Stalin's heirs to destroy Pyotr G. Grigorenko. A former Soviet army general and a prominent figure of the opposition movement, Grigorenko has been undergoing compulsory psychiatric treatment since 1970 because he dared to speak out in defense of arrested dissidents and oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union and against the bureaucracy's rule and its departures from Leninism. The Kremlin's determination to compel Grigorenko, by threat of physical destruction and indefinite confinement, to renounce his views have been of no avail.

While the Kremlin's continuing persecution of proponents of proletarian democracy remained the focal point of international attention in 1973, the possibility of the détente facilitating democratization was broached in Soviet intellectual circles. For example Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, a critic of the bureaucracy's economic and technological mismanagement, argued that Western imperialism should make its economic détente with the Soviet Union conditional on the bureaucracy taking steps to democratize Soviet society. Sakharov's mistaken confidence in Wall Street's appreciation of democracy contrasts with the position of Roy and Zhores Medvedev. They do not go further than to contend that over the long term improved relations with Western imperialism would help foster "socialist democratization" in the Soviet Union. Although the Medvedevs have acknowledged that so far the détente has had the opposite effect, ultimately their hope for liberalization lies in "initiative from the top"—a view shared by Sakharov and other members of the Soviet elite intelligentsia who have directed their efforts toward trying to persuade the bureaucrats to reform themselves.



ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

The official press attack launched against Sakharov in August 1973 for his apparent straying from the precepts of Stalinist "peaceful coexistence"

was extended to include Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. Solzhenitsyn is the Nobel prize-winning novelist who has been an outspoken critic of Stalinist methods of rule.

Solzhenitsyn has not only faced personal intimidation and harassment, but the Kremlin's sudden decision last year to join the Universal Copyright Agreement (UCA) ostensibly "in keeping with the current trend toward international relaxation of tensions," was a direct threat to the continued publication abroad of dissident literature that is forbidden publication in the Soviet Union. The provisions of the UCA would in effect make the Kremlin the automatic copyright holder of any published or unpublished manuscript by a Soviet writer, a convenient tool to sever even further the diminishing channels of communication between Soviet dissidents and the outside world.

It will require the perseverance of the movement for proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union together with solidarity from revolutionists around the world to dispel any remaining illusions that democratization can be realized in the USSR short of a political revolution. □

How the Cover-Up Unraveled

Watergate Scandal Dominated U.S. Politics

By Allen Myers

A Gallup poll conducted the weekend of January 26-28, one week after Richard Nixon was inaugurated for his second term, showed public approval of his performance in office at 68 percent—the highest level he had received in more than three years. Eleven months later, Nixon's rating in the polls hovered around 30 percent; nearly half the public favored his immediate resignation or impeachment, the overwhelming majority considered him guilty of common crimes, and members of Congress openly joked and speculated on the number of weeks left in the life of the Nixon administration.

The major cause for the abrupt political fall of Nixon was Watergate—

a scandal whose scope and depth surpassed anything previous in U.S. history. In the United States, 1973 was the year of Watergate, the year in which millions gained an unprecedented view of the real workings of capitalist government.

As the year opened, there was little indication of what was to come. Throughout the latter half of 1972, the *Washington Post* had pursued some of the leads pointing to ties between higher-ups in the White House or the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) and the June 17, 1972, burglary of the Democratic National Committee's offices in the Watergate apartment complex in Washington, D.C. But aside from the *Post*, the press

showed little interest in the affair. A poll conducted in October 1972 showed that only slightly more than half the public was even aware that the break-in had occurred.

Nixon and his staff therefore had some reason to hope that the trial of the seven defendants who had been indicted in the case would mark the end of Watergate. The trial, which opened January 8, saw five of the defendants plead guilty and deny that anyone beyond the original seven was involved.

Several staff members from CREEP perjured themselves in order to explain away the large sums of CREEP funds discovered on the burglars at the time of their arrest, and the ques-

tioning by government prosecutors was so studiously inept that presiding Judge John Sirica publicly rebuked them.

Sirica took over the questioning of several witnesses himself and managed to bring out some suspect facts: records of wiretaps on phones in the Democratic National Committee had been regularly delivered to CREEP; Gordon Liddy, the CREEP official who directed the burglars, had been hired on the recommendation of presidential special counsel John Dean and had been paid \$235,000 in campaign funds on the order of Maurice Stans and John Mitchell, respectively finance director and director of CREEP; shortly after the break-in, Liddy had referred to unnamed persons who might fire him because he had violated a "promise" not to use "people from this office" in the burglary.

But it became obvious that Nixon's Justice Department was not going to pursue these leads. At the conclusion of the trial February 2, Sirica complained that he was "not satisfied" that the truth had come out and expressed the hope that the Senate Watergate committee would "get to the bottom of what happened in this case."

The resolution establishing the committee was not formally adopted by the Senate until February 7, but such a body had been in the works for some time. Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina had agreed to chair it on January 11.

The creation of the Ervin committee was largely a routine matter. Democrats sensed an issue that might garner some votes in the 1974 elections. Republicans, lacking the votes to block the committee, had either acquiesced in its creation or appear to be joining in a cover-up.

No one in Congress could have seen where the investigation would eventually lead, and the resolution creating the committee was passed by a vote of 70 to 0.

The Ervin committee was in no hurry; it did not begin its public hearings until May. The unraveling of the cover-up began at Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on the nomination of L. Patrick Gray to be permanent director of the FBI. Gray had raised Democratic hackles by slipping out of his supposedly nonpartisan role to make speeches on Nixon's behalf during the 1972 campaign, and he

offered members of Congress the first opportunity to question one of the Nixon gang under oath about Watergate.

Gray began testifying February 28; he drew headlines with the admission that he had regularly turned over FBI files on the investigation to John Dean, even though Dean and the White House staff were prime suspects. Gray



MITCHELL: Early candidate for Nixon's scapegoat.

also admitted that Dean had been allowed to sit in on the questioning of witnesses, which gave him the opportunity to alert subsequent witnesses as to what had already been said.

On March 2, Nixon publicly tried to offset the effects of these disclosures by referring to the "Dean investigation," which he had invented the previous August. Although Dean had never conducted the supposed investigation, Nixon once again claimed that it had indicated "that no one on the White House staff . . . was involved or had knowledge of the Watergate matter. . . ."

The Judiciary Committee asked Dean to testify, indicating that Gray's nomination could not be approved if he refused. But the White House gang had already decided to invoke "executive privilege" to prevent questioning of Nixon's staff about Watergate. Nixon was not inclined to yield to the committee's request in order

to support an underling like Gray, who was careless enough to let some of the truth slip out. It was decided to let Gray be the scapegoat: On March 20, Gray informed the committee that Attorney General Richard Kleindienst had ordered him not to answer any more questions about Watergate.

McCord's Bomb

Sacrificing Gray soon proved insufficient to stop the spread of the scandal. When the seven Watergate defendants appeared for sentencing March 23, Judge Sirica had a surprise waiting: a letter to the court from James McCord Jr., one of the defendants, charging that the defendants had been pressured by higher-ups to maintain silence and that perjury had been committed during the trial.

McCord was interviewed by Ervin committee investigators, who leaked information to the effect that he had implicated Dean, Mitchell, White House chief of staff H.R. Haldeman, former Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian, and former presidential special counsel Charles Colson.

On March 26 Sirica reconvened the Watergate grand jury, which began hearing testimony from E. Howard Hunt, who was granted immunity from further prosecution.

McCord's revelations and the prospect of the other burglars testifying created something approaching panic in the Nixon gang. It was obvious that someone would have to be offered as a scapegoat, but there were no volunteers. Mitchell, who was no longer an official part of the "team," was most frequently mentioned in the press as the likely candidate, but others who felt that they might be the choice were under great pressure to be first to tell their stories to the prosecutors.

As early as April 2, Dean's lawyers promised the prosecutors that he would tell what he knew. Dean's negotiations to win immunity for himself were kept secret, but when Jeb Stuart Magruder, the former deputy director of CREEP, confessed his involvement on April 14, part of his story was leaked to the press.

By that time, it must already have been obvious to Nixon that the unfolding scandal threatened to expose his own role in the Watergate affair. Rather than defend the staff members who had covered up the scandal for

him, he decided to pose as an innocent who was determined to see aides punished if they had carried out "unauthorized" actions.

On April 17, Nixon read a brief statement to the press, retreating from his previous decision to prevent testimony by his aides. In his new role as the scourge of evil-doers, Nixon proclaimed:

"On March 21, as a result of serious charges which came to my attention, some of which were publicly reported, I began intensive new inquiries into this whole matter. . . .

"I can report today that there have been major developments in the case. . . .

"I have expressed to the appropriate authorities my view that no individual holding, in the past or present, a position of major importance in the administration should be given immunity from prosecution."

While the last-quoted paragraph was intended to convey the message "you can't be forced to testify," to most of the Nixon gang the statement meant that it was every man for himself.

John Dean issued his own public statement April 19, warning that he would not "become a scapegoat in the Watergate case." The *New York Times* reported that Dean was "ready to implicate other White House aides in testimony to the grand jury."

Mitchell testified before the grand jury April 20, admitting for the first time that he had attended meetings at which illegal activities were discussed, although he denied having approved them.

Patrick Gray, convinced that he had no future with the Nixon gang, then admitted that he had destroyed evidence taken from the White House safe of Watergater E. Howard Hunt after Dean and Nixon counselor John Ehrlichman handed him the documents with the warning that they should never see the light of day.

Meanwhile, several grand juries were uncovering the various secret funds used to finance the activities of the Nixon gang: \$500,000 held by Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal attorney; \$350,000 in Haldeman's White House safe; up to \$700,000 in the CREEP safe of Maurice Stans.

The scandal had escalated to the point that Nixon had little choice but to get rid of almost his entire top

staff. On April 30, the White House announced the firing or resignation of Dean, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Kalmbach, and Kleindienst.

In Dean's case, Nixon had delayed too long. Prior to his dismissal, Dean removed important papers documenting some of the White House under-



STANS: Indicted with Mitchell.

cover activities. The Dean papers were turned over to Sirica May 4.

Tables Turned

On April 27, the judge in the Pentagon Papers trial of Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo disclosed a Justice Department memorandum reporting that five members of the White House plumbers unit had been involved in the September 1971 burglary of the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Four of the five had been involved in the Watergate break-in.

On May 2, the judge revealed a further White House interest in the case. At the beginning of April, he said, he had twice met with Ehrlichman, once with Nixon present, and had been offered appointment as FBI director.

The obvious implication that Nixon was trying to bribe the judge to conceal the Fielding burglary was con-

firmed by subsequent developments. Although Nixon claimed in his May 22, 1973, statement on Watergate that he had not learned of the break-in until two days before it was revealed in court, he was later contradicted by the sworn testimony of Attorney General Elliot Richardson and of Ehrlichman, both of whom said they had discussed it with him in March. In August, Nixon himself said that he had learned of the burglary on March 17 — well before the offer to the Pentagon Papers trial judge.

On May 11, all charges against Ellsberg and Russo were dismissed because of the long record of government misconduct in the case. The final straw was the disappearance of records of illegal wiretaps in which Ellsberg had been overheard.

The day before, Stans and Mitchell (the latter had been attorney general when the Ellsberg and Russo case was taken to court) were indicted by a New York grand jury. Essentially, the two former cabinet officers were accused of stuffing the CREEP office safe with \$250,000 obtained in exchange for helping financier Robert Vesco overcome difficulties in a Securities and Exchange Commission investigation of his financial affairs.

As scandal after scandal hit the headlines, Nixon had no choice but to continue retreating. On May 7, Attorney General Richardson was allowed to announce that he would appoint a special Watergate prosecutor with "all the independence, authority, and staff support he needs."

The Senate Hearings

The public hearings of the Ervin committee, which began May 17, confirmed in sworn testimony and expanded before a nationwide television audience the stories that had earlier been leaked to the press.

As witness after witness testified over the next twelve weeks, it was revealed that the Watergate break-in had originated in a comprehensive espionage and sabotage plan developed for CREEP by Gordon Liddy. The plan had finally been approved in March 1972 after it had been discussed at three meetings of high White House and CREEP officials, including Dean, Mitchell, Magruder, and Frederick LaRue, a former Nixon adviser and



ROGUE'S GALLERY: NIXON . . .



EHRlichman



AGNEW

CREEP official.

After the burglars were arrested, officials in CREEP and in Haldeman's White House office had destroyed documents relating to the case. CREEP officials had, on request, perjured themselves before the grand jury and during the trial of the burglars in order to conceal the links to the Nixon campaign.

Dean, Ehrlichman, and Haldeman, acting in Nixon's name had pressured the CIA to provide the FBI with an excuse for not properly investigating the break-in. Former CIA Director Richard Helms indicated that he had been removed from his post because of his failure to cooperate completely with the cover-up.

The burglars themselves had been promised executive clemency and had been rewarded for their silence with \$450,000 raised secretly by Kalmbach and LaRue.

But by far the most damaging testimony was provided by Dean, who appeared before the committee June 25-29. Dean's charges against Nixon included the following:

● Egil Krogh, director of the plumbers, had told Dean that Nixon personally ordered the burglary of Dr. Fielding's office.

● In September 1972, Nixon congratulated Dean on his apparently successful cover-up efforts.

● Nixon knew of and approved illegal contacts between CREEP officials and the judge hearing a Democratic party lawsuit against CREEP.

● Nixon twice acknowledged having promised executive clemency to Hunt.

● Nixon approved the payment of hush money to the burglars, at one point saying there would be "no problem" in paying as much as \$1 million.

Moreover, Dean's testimony coincided with the release of many of the documents that he had earlier removed from his office. These included a Nixon "enemies list," various proposals to "use the available federal machinery to screw our enemies," and the notorious 1970 spy plan in which Nixon authorized a host of illegal activities against political opponents.

The impression of Nixon's guilt created by Dean and other witnesses was reinforced by Nixon's behavior. Rather than attempt to answer the charges, Nixon virtually went into hiding, announcing that he would have no comment until the committee finished the first phase of its hearings.

The White House Tapes

The belief in Nixon's guilt was strengthened July 16, when a witness disclosed the existence of secret White House tape recordings covering the entire period of the planning for Water-

gate and of the cover-up.

It was reasonable to suppose that if Nixon had been innocent, he would have offered the tapes in evidence as soon as Dean's charges had been made. Instead, Nixon concealed their existence and, after their existence became known, refused to allow the committee or special prosecutor Archibald Cox to hear them. Ervin expressed a widespread conclusion when he told the television audience tuned in to the Watergate hearings:

"John Dean has said he told the president about the Watergate cover-up, and an unaltered tape of that conversation would offer the best contemporary evidence that Dean was telling the truth. I can think of no rational reason for the president not turning over the tapes unless the evidence found in them would be against him. Those seeking the truth will draw the inference—and a justified inference—that the reason for not producing the tapes is because the evidence would be adverse to him."

Cox and the committee separately instituted court actions seeking to compel Nixon to hand over the secret tapes. But with or without the evidence on the tapes, for the majority of the U.S. population the verdict was inescapable: A poll taken after the Ervin committee recessed in August showed that 74 percent thought Nixon had



GRAY



HALDEMAN



DEAN

been involved in planning the break-in and/or the cover-up.

More Scandals, More Cover-Ups

The Ervin committee hearings were, for all practical purposes, over. They did not formally resume until September 24. Afraid of further shaking the credibility of the government, the committee concentrated on trivial or repetitious questioning of the lowest-ranking Nixon gangsters who could be found. Television coverage of the hearings was quickly brought to an end.

For more than two months after the committee's recess, Nixon was given a truce by his congressional critics, a breathing space in which he could try to repair the damage. Unable to answer the specific charges, he instead tried general assertions of innocence, and press conferences in which he evaded the more embarrassing questions or simply answered them with lies.

But this public relations effort produced no significant change, according to the polls, in the widespread belief in Nixon's guilt. And additional scandals continued to surface.

On August 6, the White House was compelled by persistent questions from the press to release a report showing that Nixon had benefited from the expenditure of \$10 million in govern-

ment funds for improvements, dictated by "security" needs, on his San Clemente and Key Biscayne homes.

The same day brought the first public disclosure that Spiro Agnew was under investigation for corruption in Maryland.

Under normal circumstances, the Baltimore grand jury would never have been permitted to hear accusations against the vice-president. But in the atmosphere created by the Watergate disclosures, Nixon was finding it difficult enough to conceal his own crimes without going out on a limb for Agnew. Lower-ranking officials were even less willing to take the risk involved in suppressing the investigation.

In this situation, Agnew had no chance. His October 10 resignation and sentencing demonstrated how far Nixon's authority had been eroded, while it pushed that erosion even further.

Confrontation With Cox

Agnew's resignation also removed one major obstacle that made the U. S. ruling class reluctant to get rid of Nixon: the problem of a suitable successor. On October 12, the same day that Nixon nominated Gerald Ford to replace Agnew, the federal appeals court in Washington put the Nixon

problem back in the center of the stage.

The appeals court upheld Judge Sirica's earlier ruling requiring Nixon to turn over the White House tapes. This forced Nixon to enter the inevitable confrontation with Cox from a position of weakness.

It had been known for months that Nixon was awaiting a suitable opportunity to get rid of Cox. The appointment of a special prosecutor in the first place was a concession forced on Nixon by the scandal. But any prosecutor who was not an active participant in the cover-up would sooner or later have come across leads pointing to evidence of Nixon's involvement. Nixon could not avoid a confrontation with Cox indefinitely; he could only hope for a public atmosphere that would allow him to get away with firing him.

Nixon's October 19 announcement of a phony "compromise" plan, which would have involved Nixon himself summarizing the evidence on the tapes, could not create that atmosphere. The next day, his firing of Cox—and of Richardson and Assistant Attorney General William Ruckelshaus when they refused to take responsibility for getting rid of Cox—underlined that what was involved was Nixon's admission that his only defense was to suppress the evidence

and prevent any real investigation whatsoever.

Within a week, the continuing flood of telegrams and letters demanding Nixon's impeachment had forced him to agree to hand over the tapes and to appoint a new special prosecutor, who retained Cox's entire staff and soon began asking for documents that Nixon had refused to give Cox.

Having been forced to back down here, Nixon had no choice but to destroy the evidence that he was not allowed to keep in his own possession. On October 31, two of the subpoenaed tapes were declared to be "nonexistent" — and by that time they probably were. Within days of this new admission of guilt, such ruling-class journals as the *New York Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Atlanta Journal*, *Denver Post*, *Detroit News* and *Time* magazine called for Nixon's resignation. The only "defense" of Nixon that was to gain a serious hearing was the argument that instead of resigning he should undergo impeachment and trial by Congress.

Nixon's attempt to do something on his own behalf—a new public relations offensive labeled "Operation



COX: Had Nixon in a corner.

Candor"—quickly foundered on the November 21 disclosure that on another of the subpoenaed tapes the

entire eighteen minutes dealing with Watergate had been mysteriously erased. Even one of Nixon's lawyers admitted that he could think of "no innocent explanation" of the erasure.

In the House of Representatives December 6, just before the vote confirming Ford as vice-president, Democrat Clarence Long of Maryland explained to the Republicans why the Republicans themselves would have to initiate any moves to force Nixon from office:

"Any partisan Democrat would have to be out of his mind to take that millstone of the back of you Republicans. If you keep the present incumbent in for three more years, the Democrats could win with the Boston strangler."

Long's remark, Marjorie Hunter reported in the *New York Times*, "was greeted by cheers and laughter from the Democrats and good-natured roars from the Republicans."

A year of Watergate had made Nixon into a butt of ridicule even to the members of his own party. The prevailing belief in Washington was that, whether through resignation or impeachment, Nixon would be removed before the end of the spring. □

The Year in Review

Detente and the Asian Revolution

By Ernest Harsch

The echoes of Nixon's 1972 trips to Moscow and Peking reverberated well into 1973, setting the tone for a flurry of meetings and conferences, agreements, and accords, all designed to stave off the advance of the Asian revolution. "The object is control, the enemy is the future," remarked Tom Engelhardt in the April 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "The US Government today is using a new instrument to do what empires have always done. It is taking out an insurance policy against its own demise." And the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking have agreed to help underwrite that insurance.

The year 1973 opened with the most graphic example yet of the serious consequences that this arrangement

can have on the maturation of the Asian revolution.

The Indochina Accords: Prelude to a New Counterrevolutionary Offensive

After the signing of the Paris accords on January 27, declarations about the "new era of peace" in Vietnam—albeit with a slight undertone of skepticism—blared over radios around the world. Movie theaters were silenced for one minute in commemoration of this "historic" event. Months later, U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger even received the Nobel "Peace" Prize for his role in the negotiations. Despite all the pomp and

wishful verbiage, the cease-fire remained an uneasy one, with Saigon still undertaking forays almost a year later.

What the accords represented, if not an end to the war, was an attempt by Washington to win through secret diplomacy what it was unable to win on the battlefield. In this respect, the failure of the U. S. imperialists to bomb the Vietnamese into submission was an important victory for the Vietnamese people and, in the final analysis, the world revolution—a victory toward which the antiwar movement made a significant contribution.

But the ultimate goal of the Vietnamese revolution—the overthrow of capitalism in the south—has yet to be achieved.

The accords, which recognize maintenance of the Saigon puppet regime, also register the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking. Should Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam prove incapable of overcoming the limitations imposed upon them by the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists, the Indochinese revolution would face a severe setback.

The signing of the accords also had immediate repercussions in the rest of Indochina. Before cease-fire agreements could be concluded in Laos and Cambodia, Washington sought to soften up the insurgents through massive terror bombing. In the first four months of the year, 265,658 tons of bombs were dropped on Indochina, mostly in Cambodia and Laos—a more intense level of bombing in those countries than during previous periods of the war.

In Laos, the moves toward a temporary settlement went further than in either Cambodia or South Vietnam. A cease-fire agreement was signed on February 22, and by September 14 an accord calling for a coalition government, the Provisional Government of National Union, had already been concluded. The Laotian agreement was much more favorable to the liberation forces than was the agreement in South Vietnam: It recognized the existence of the areas controlled by the Pathet Lao (about four fifths of the country) and gave them equal representation in the national government with the forces of the Vientiane administration. Should the agreement break down, however, the U.S.-backed forces in the coalition government, who control the instruments of repression, would be in position, with the aid of American air support, to attempt to drive the Pathet Lao out of the "neutralized" zones.

Also, in contrast to Cambodia and South Vietnam, the liberation forces in Laos appear to have stopped far short of what they were capable of. In January, Sot Pethrasy, the head of the Pathet Lao office in Vientiane, said, "We do not want any splitting up of Laos. Our unchanging position is that the Laotian problem must be resolved by peaceful means. We could take over the entire country, but we are not doing so. This is proof of our good-

will." In this light, the Pathet Lao's military actions were simply a way of exerting pressure on the negotiations.

The leadership of the Laotian liberation forces have apparently not learned the lessons of the two previous attempts to form coalition governments in Laos: Both in 1957 and in 1962, similar coalition governments were overthrown by rightist military coups.

While the insurgent forces in Cambodia have come under an extreme



SIHANOUK: Fifth wheel on carriage of detente.

amount of military pressure from the massive U.S. bombing and political pressure from Peking and Hanoi, no cease-fire has yet materialized there. In an interview in Algiers in September, Prince Norodom Sihanouk charged that Peking and Hanoi had stopped supplying materiel to the Khmer Rouge in the effort to live up to their obligations under the Paris accords.

While Sihanouk maintained an independent posture, he also gave indications to Washington that he would be willing to participate in a negotiated settlement that would allow him to return to power. But with the December defeat of the United Nations resolution calling for the recognition of Sihanouk's government in exile,

Washington decided to continue backing the Lon Nol regime. However, should the "mayor of Pnompenh" be toppled, Washington might be forced to accept Sihanouk's offer as a way of sidetracking the Cambodian revolution. Such a course, to say the least, would be extremely risky for U.S. imperialism, especially since Sihanouk's influence over the Khmer Rouge is dubious.

Washington, for its part, conceived of the January accords as a means of at least temporarily demobilizing the Vietnamese masses. Its strategy was twofold:

First of all it had to stabilize the highly vulnerable puppet regime in Saigon, which had survived only thanks to the Pentagon's massive air and ground support. The widespread antiwar sentiment in the United States made support on that scale no longer possible. Washington thus needed a breathing space in which to strengthen the Saigon regime to the point that it could defend imperialism's position in Indochina without the presence of U.S. pilots or ground troops.

This was what was behind the sections in the Paris accords legitimating the presence of U.S. "advisers" and the resupply of weapons and munitions used in "defensive" operations. The PRG has charged that 20,000 "advisers" remained in South Vietnam, training Saigon troops and in some instances leading operations. Washington has sent enough ammunition to Saigon to enable it to use up 8,000 tons monthly, and in October the Pentagon announced that Saigon would get new F-5E fighter-bombers as replacements for the older F-5s, a step that would increase Saigon's ability to bomb PRG positions.

From Saigon's—and Washington's—viewpoint, it would have been folly to release the 200,000 political prisoners being held in Thieu's jails. Any forces opposing Thieu, even those calling themselves "neutralist," would tend to weaken the puppet regime. So the stifling of dissent is a matter of importance to the White House. Fred Branfman, an expert on South Vietnam, recently told a U.S. congressional committee: "While in Saigon, I learned that the political prisoner problem has actually been increasing since the Paris Accords."

To achieve the necessary breathing space for strengthening the Saigon

regime, Nixon enlisted the aid of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats, who, in line with their own narrowly conceived national interests and their policy of peaceful coexistence, were willing to collaborate in such an operation.

The second immediate aim of U.S. imperialism was to roll back the gains made by the revolution in the south. While Washington was willing to accept, at least for the time being, the existence of a workers state in the north, the continued control by the liberation forces of extensive areas in the south posed too much of a threat to Saigon. Using the accords as a cover, Washington gave Thieu free rein to attack and weaken the PRG positions.

The June 10 *New York Times* noted: "Almost all of the 300 villages that the Communists took over at the end of January, shortly before and just after the peace agreement, have been recaptured by South Vietnamese Government troops." In October, the PRG accused the Saigon regime of having committed more than 240,000 ceasefire violations since January.

A report from Amnesty International in July observed that the CIA-organized Operation Phoenix, which was responsible for the assassination of more than 20,000 suspected cadres of the National Liberation Front (NLF), was still functioning: "Since the January Ceasefire the Phoenix Program has continued in operation while being adjusted to the political needs of the post-ceasefire period."

In September Nixon threatened to renew the bombing of North Vietnam if the SAM-2 missile sites at Khe-sanh were not moved north of the 17th Parallel. In mid-October, amid Saigon-inspired rumors of an impending North Vietnamese-PRG "offensive," Thieu began to escalate his "defensive" land-grabbing operations. By late November, this new counterrevolutionary offensive had already reached the stage where hundreds of bombing missions were being flown over NLF-controlled areas by the Saigon air force.

The PRG issued an order October 15 calling on its forces to defend themselves against "acts of war and sabotage" of the Paris accords. By December the clashes between the liberation forces and the puppet troops had

again reached a high pitch. Washington stationed the aircraft carrier *Midway* off the coast of North Vietnam, thus implying a renewal of the bombing of North Vietnam if the strife developed into a major threat to the Saigon regime.

This new imperialist aggression would have been impossible without



KIM: Extends detente to U.S. troops in South Korea.

the acquiescence of Moscow and Peking. The détente, rather than ushering in a "new era of peace," has served to reassure the White House. Throughout the course of the Vietnam war, Washington watched very closely the responses of Moscow and Peking to its aggressive moves. The renewal of the bombing of North Vietnam, then the bombing of Hanoi, then the mining of Haiphong harbor, all posed challenges to the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats. Their criminal refusal to provide adequate aid to the Vietnamese revolution made it possible for Washington to maintain its beachhead in the south and to escalate its genocidal war on the Vietnamese people.

Thus, on the basis of the past performances of the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking, Washington and Saigon felt secure in launching their current offensive. And they had no reason

to revise their calculations. In November Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the PRG, visited Peking in hope of getting at least some support, but speeches by Premier Chou En-lai were, according to the *New York Times*, relatively "moderate" and made no mention whatsoever of Washington's role in Thieu's land-grabbing operations.

The new aggression thus confronted the international antiwar and labor movements at the end of the year with a new challenge. It may again be necessary in 1974 to mobilize on an international scale to stay the hand of the U.S. imperialists and aid the Vietnamese revolution.

Washington, Moscow, and Peking Play Their Cards

The willingness of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats to collaborate with imperialism—and their ability to put pressure on liberation struggles—gives Washington much more flexibility in its attempts to safeguard the status quo in Asia. In particular, it opens the possibility of reducing its visible military presence in the area—a course that is especially useful in helping to undercut the widespread sentiment in the United States opposed to military intervention in the affairs of other countries. Such a "low profile" stance would, of course, be accompanied by stepped-up military and financial assistance to Washington's proxy regimes, and a readiness to intervene quickly in a more open way if developments prove too much for them to handle.

Following the Paris accords, preparations were made to apply a similar strategy to the rest of Asia. This involved a series of agreements and understandings among Washington, Moscow, Peking, Tokyo, and the other regimes in the area.

When Leonid Brezhnev visited India in November, he dropped a number of references to a "collective security plan" designed to safeguard the "independence" of Moscow's diplomatic allies in Asia. While no formal agreements were announced, the thrust of Brezhnev's trip was obvious: to assure New Delhi of Moscow's aid in stabilizing the Indian subcontinent and to strengthen Moscow's ties with the Gandhi regime as a diplomatic lever

in Moscow's interbureaucratic disputes with Peking.

Peking, for its part, has for years had diplomatic and trade agreements with the regimes in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. In 1973 there were also signs of a possible rapprochement with New Delhi and Dacca—despite Peking's opposition to the independence struggle of Bangladesh in 1971. In May, President Marcos of the Philippines announced that Chou En-lai had given him "assurances" that the token aid from Peking to the Muslim rebels in Mindanao would cease.

However much the diplomatic maneuverings of Moscow and Peking may be modified by their interbureaucratic rivalry, they are both interested in maintaining the status quo in Asia. This policy is highlighted most graphically when revolutionary developments actually challenge any of their "allies." In 1971, Washington, London, Moscow, and Peking, as well as the Egyptian, Pakistani, and Indian regimes, rushed arms to Bandaranaike's popular-front government in Sri Lanka to help put down a rebellion by young radicals.

Tokyo, Washington's chief imperialist competitor in Asia, is also pushing its own interests more openly, especially in South Korea and Southeast Asia. While its various attempts at détente with Moscow and Peking have so far resulted in little (not even the Siberian oil project has been consummated), diplomatic and trade agreements with the workers states would help Tokyo protect its own economic interests and strengthen its position in relation to U. S. imperialism.

Another outcome of the Washington-Peking détente has been the temporary settlement of the diplomatic dispute over Korea in the United Nations. The compromise agreement between Park Chung Hee of South Korea and Kim Il Sung of North Korea in effect sanctioned the status quo and dropped all mention of Kim's previous demand for the withdrawal of U. S. troops from the south—an arrangement that was also in the interests of Japanese imperialism, since the U. S. military presence in the south helps protect Tokyo's investments there.

While this series of agreements among the Stalinists and the imperialists may help "stabilize" Asia to a cer-

tain extent, Washington is still taking additional military precautions to ensure its control in that region.

A part of this military preparation is the arming and financing of Washington's proxies—the regimes in South Vietnam and Iran—which are militarily strong enough to intervene on their own in Washington's interests. In the past few years, the shah's re-



BANDARANAIKE: Worried by Tamil militancy.

gime has emerged as one of the strongest military powers in the Persian-Arab Gulf. More than 11,000 Iranian officers have received training in the United States and about 1,000 U. S. military personnel are stationed in Iran. In early 1973, Washington and Tehran arranged the biggest single arms deal ever made by the Pentagon: \$2-3 thousand million. Part of this military budget will go toward the building of two giant military bases on the Indian Ocean, at Chah Bahar and Jask. The shah has already intervened militarily to help crush revolutionary activity in the oil-fields of Oman and has announced his readiness to come to the aid of the Pakistani regime to aid its counter-insurgency actions against the rebels in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province.

In his wheeling and dealing, the shah does not confine himself to the imperialist powers. A \$600 million

contract to supply Moscow with natural gas was announced, and in June the Chinese foreign minister paid a visit to give his approval to Tehran's efforts at "safeguarding her defenses."

In the Philippines, Washington has helped organize the Philippines Internal Security Program and trained more than 10,000 police. U. S. "civilian" personnel are "advising" Marcos in his war with the Muslim insurgents.

In May, the U. S. undersecretary of defense told a group of Japanese businessmen that Washington "expects Japan to deploy its Self-Defense Forces overseas," and that the Japanese constitution "should be revised to enable the SDF to be so deployed." But whether all the legal niceties have been observed or not, Tokyo's military activity in Asia has been on the rise. In early 1973, there were joint U. S.-Japanese and Japanese-South Korean naval exercises carried out in the Pacific.

Another example of the growing military cooperation among the various Asian regimes was the joint naval and air force exercise held in Philippine waters by forces of Great Britain, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand. The April 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that "the US is helping to coordinate Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Britain and South Africa into a more cohesive 'reconnaissance' network, through which Washington can quietly work in the future."

Besides helping to organize the various local military forces, the Pentagon has also been greatly strengthening the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean. The *U.S.S. Midway* has already been home-ported in Yokosuka, Japan, and plans are being discussed for similar home ports in Guam, the Philippines, Australia, and Singapore. Admiral Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, explained the reasons for this strengthening of the U. S. naval presence: "As the number of our land-based forces deployed overseas declines, we will need to keep some evidence of power in sight. This will at the same time sustain our allies' confidence in us and demonstrate by our presence both our capability and our determination to protect our commerce and our sources of strategic materials from any interruption."

A Year of Struggle

But can this fragile network of inter-linking agreements successfully control the Asian revolution? If the events of 1973 are any indication, the answer is No. Not only do the inter-imperialist tensions between Washing-



MARCOS: "Assurances" from Peking and weapons from the Pentagon.

ton and Tokyo, and the interbureaucratic rivalries of Moscow and Peking threaten to strain the limits of these "understandings," but even old disputes, such as that between India and Pakistan over the status of Kashmir (revived in November after student demonstrations protesting India's rule over Kashmir), add an element of potential conflict.

The greatest danger to the continued rule of the imperialists and their puppet regimes—a danger they are fully aware of—comes not from their bickering over the spoils, but from the struggles of the students, workers, and peasants.

The severe famine that swept across the Indian subcontinent during the year has only added to the continued instability of the region. Hunger riots, strikes, student protests, sporadic rebellions, all were part of the turbulent

political atmosphere. The struggles for self-determination by the numerous oppressed nationalities in the subcontinent constantly raise the specter of a new Bangladesh: The Bengali-speaking population of Assam state in India has agitated for greater autonomy, and the Telugus in Andhra Pradesh called for the division of that state.

In Sri Lanka, the popular-front government of Bandaranaike announced in April that police had detected signs of guerrilla activity among the Tamils of the northern and eastern provinces. While this report may be nothing more than a cooked-up justification for a possible campaign of repression against the Tamils, it does reflect the regime's concern over their growing militancy.

The bourgeois-nationalist Awami League regime in Bangladesh, which was brought into power after the 1971 war of independence against Pakistan, has resorted to imprisonment, assassination, intimidation, and fraud to maintain its hold on the country. The extreme poverty, the shortages of rice, and the frustrated aspirations of the freedom fighters are reflected in the increased criticism of and opposition to the Awami League. Both bourgeois and revolutionary currents have emerged to challenge the regime of Mujibur Rahman. As Major Jalil, one of the leaders of the liberation forces in 1971, stated early this year: "The struggle ended too soon."

In Pakistan, the administration of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto again faces a possible repetition of the Bangladesh experience. The Baluchis and Pathans in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province, who first raised demands for greater autonomy, were met with a terror campaign on the part of the Bhutto regime. About 80,000 Pakistani soldiers were sent into the area, and the Baluchis, under the leadership of the bourgeois National Awami party, organized guerrilla bands in self-defense. Newspaper reports from Baluchistan describe the conflict as a "mini civil-war."

In March, President Marcos of the Philippines launched an offensive against the 3 million Muslims living on the island of Mindanao. Using ground troops, air power, and Pentagon-supplied weapons, he sought to crush the Muslim nationalist movement there. In a matter of weeks, 742,-

000 refugees began to flee the combat zone. Despite the state of martial law declared in 1972, a few voices have begun to be raised against the dictatorship, most notably from intellectuals and church leaders in Manila.

Nineteen seventy-three might also be called the year of the Asian student revolt. In October, student demonstra-



BHUTTO: Campaign of terror against Baluchis and Pathans.

tions in Bangkok sparked an uprising by students and workers that overthrew the U.S.-backed military regime in Thailand. The same month saw the first demonstrations by South Korean students since the imposition of martial law there in 1971.

Much of the bourgeois news coverage recognized the significance of these events and pointed out the potential danger they posed if students and workers in other Asian countries should take up the example of the Thai and South Korean students. Indeed, the reverberations were soon felt in Indonesia and Malaysia, as well as in the student struggles in Greece that broke out in November.

The lessons of the revolt in Thailand are of special importance for all Asian revolutionists. While the uprising managed to oust the widely hated military leaders, the new civilian regime quickly made efforts to contain

the student and worker upsurge. The dominant student organization, the National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT), was drawn into election maneuvers designed to channel the discontent into support of the new government. But the new regime's position is quite precarious: The more radical segment of the NSCT split away to form a new group and to continue its protests, and the labor movement started to add its weight to the mobilizations—sometimes staging up to twenty new strikes a day.

While the student actions in South Korea have not yet led to the overthrow of the Park regime, they have won important concessions. In early December, the much hated head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) was ousted and Park announced that KCIA agents would be removed from the campuses.

The Asian student movement received a further boost in November

when student representatives from Thailand, Australia, Hongkong, Cambodia, Laos, and Singapore met in Bangkok to map out plans for a continentwide campaign against Japanese imperialist domination.

The growing opposition to Japanese imperialism by Asian students is only one reflection of the problems that Tokyo will face in the near future. Japan's economic difficulties, which until November were chiefly characterized by skyrocketing inflation, were increased as a result of the reduction in Arab oil deliveries. Japan, which gets 83 percent of its oil from the Arab East, is particularly vulnerable to such a tactic. Some Japanese economists even predicted that Japan would face a severe recession as a result of the reduction. Labor unrest, which was highlighted in April by a strike of 3.5 million public service workers, could only increase in such an eventuality.

Whatever direction the events of 1974 take, the struggle for socialist revolution will require firm opposition not only against imperialism and its agents, but also against Moscow and Peking. In some cases, this lesson has already been drawn. An open letter by a group of ex-Naxalites (Maoists) in India is illustrative: "Moscow tells us Indira Gandhi is a 'socialist.' Thousands of revolutionaries have been killed by this 'socialist.' Peking tells us Bhutto is 'progressive.' We know how many workers died on the streets of Karachi and how many still languish in prison! Both Moscow and Peking tell us that Bandaranaike of Ceylon is an 'anti-imperialist.' She organized the murder of 8,000 comrades in one month alone in 1971!"

Recognition of the true nature of Stalinism in its various forms is an important prerequisite for the formation of a revolutionary Marxist leadership in Asia. □

Index--Volume XI

No. 1, January 15, through No. 46, December 24, 1973

Authors

| | | | |
|---|------|---|------|
| Achterberg, Herwart German Social Democrats at a Turning Point | 503 | Azad, Ibne Political Turmoil in Bangladesh | 139 |
| Allen, Naomi Footnotes to Wohlforth's Footnotes to Footnotes in Trotsky Volumes | 1402 | Barberena, Candida U. S. Supreme Court Decision on Abortion | 137 |
| Alvin, Milton Fifty Years of Stalinist Treachery | | Beiner, Alain Open Letter to Left Wing of Parti Quebecois | 315 |
| First Ventures as Gravedigger of Revolutions | 1035 | Blanco, Hugo | |
| How Stalin Paved the Way for German Invasion | 1071 | Why the Generals "Resigned" From the Chilean Cabinet | 426 |
| Watchdogs for Capitalism in Europe and U. S. | 1096 | Chilean Workers Organize Distribution | 464 |
| "Peaceful Coexistence"—An Obstacle to Revolution | 1132 | Right Wing in Popular Unity Consolidates | 492 |
| A Postscript—Chile | 1190 | Fascist Threat Mounting in Chile | 520 |
| Andersson, Kenth-Ake Spying Scandal Exposes Myth of Progressive Sweden | 1428 | The Sharpening Struggle in Chile | 620 |
| | | Fascist Provocations, Labor Unrest in Chile | 667 |
| | | "Workers Hold Key to Peru's Future"—Interview | 668 |
| | | Chilean Workers Meet Rightist Threat | 706 |
| | | New Workers Bodies Challenge Chilean Reformists | 732 |
| | | The Teniente Miners Strike and the "Threat of Civil War" | 798 |
| | | The Struggle in Chile Revives | 834 |
| | | | 1503 |

(BR) indicates a book review. (R) indicates other reviews.

December 24, 1973

| | | | |
|--|------|---|------|
| The Chilean Workers Against the Black Market | 862 | Peron Opens Attack on "Trotskyists" | 723 |
| Chile in the Aftermath of the Attempted Coup | 985 | Peronists Threaten Crackdown Against the Left | 756 |
| The Role of the Cordones Industriales | 1363 | Maoists Revive "Great Conspiracy" | 776 |
| Breheny, John | | Bullets Cut Into Throng Hailing Return of Peron | 789 |
| United Irish March in New York | 148 | Caamano's Views as Reported by the PCD | 810 |
| Brown, Howard | | The Elections in Northern Ireland | 832 |
| Tuition Hikes Spark Campus Protests in Canada | 174 | Counterrevolutionaries Step Up Pressure in Chile | 979 |
| Why Canada's Labor Party Needs Socialist Policies | 940 | Kenneth Littlejohn—Agent Provocateur in Ireland | 1024 |
| Burian, W. | | The Coup in Chile—What Happened and Why | 1043 |
| Viennese Journal Reviews "Land or Death" (BR) | 475 | Political Prisoners in Chile Fall Before Firing Squads | 1075 |
| Burton, David | | Peronist Regime Maneuvers to Repress the Left | 1118 |
| Trotsky's Program for Revolution (BR) | 409 | "Pools of Blood" on Sidewalks of Santiago | 1141 |
| Prince Norodom Sihanouk's Blunted Sword (BR) | 716 | Peron Launches Purge of His Movement | 1147 |
| Colt, Arthur | | Eyewitness Accounts of Raging Repression in Chile | 1225 |
| Has the French Communist Party Made a Basic Turn? | 454 | Chilean Junta Installs Officers in All Key Posts | 1254 |
| Conner, Cliff | | The Stand of Argentine Stalinism—"Chile Is Our Model" | 1329 |
| Evidence of Nationalistic Unrest in Kirgizia | 13 | Mass Demonstrations Shake Greek Dictatorship | 1347 |
| Conway, James | | Moscow's New Line on Struggle in Chile | 1366 |
| Why Britain's White Paper on Ireland Failed | 509 | "Obscure General" Ousts Papadopoulos in Athens | 1379 |
| Coral, Juan Carlos | | Coup | 1411 |
| General Peron's Striptease Act | 967 | New Greek Junta Flounders, Stalls for Time | 1411 |
| Cygielman, Victor | | MNR Leaves Banzer's Coalition | 1449 |
| The Government Plot Against the Israeli Left | 176 | Frank, Pierre | |
| Doughney, Jamie | | On the Coming Legislative Elections in France | 142 |
| Conference Sets Goals for Australian Socialist Youth | 634 | Ligue Communiste Holds Election Rally | 198 |
| Dworczak, Hermann | | General Tendencies in the First-Round Elections in France | 326 |
| Austrian Steelworkers Fight "Social Partnership" | 1027 | A Brief Analysis of the French Elections | 370 |
| Evans, Les | | The Lambertists and the Vargaites Fall Out | 406 |
| Teng Hsiao-ping Back in Circulation | 563 | France—After the Elections and the Spring | 807 |
| Tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party | 1016 | An Initial Analysis of the Ban on the Ligue Communiste | 947 |
| Feeley, Dianne | | Frankel, Dave | |
| Shah Sets Sights on Domination of Arab-Persian Gulf | 744 | Campaigning in the United States for the Arab Side | 1383 |
| Feldman, Fred | | Gans, Mark | |
| The Truth About Truman | 17 | Left Caucus Wins Support in Ontario's NDP | 22 |
| Debate on Philippine Constitution Canceled | 43 | Gonzales, Eduardo | |
| Nixon's War Against Freedom of the Press | 77 | Why the June 29 Coup Attempt in Chile Failed | 984 |
| The Role of the Antiwar Movement | 108 | Goodger, Kay | |
| How American Left Views Vietnam Cease-Fire | 135 | Support Builds for New Zealand Abortion March | 404 |
| U. S. Sectarians Weigh the Vietnam Agreement | 166 | Goodger, Mike | |
| Thieu's New Attacks Have U. S. Backing | 230 | Halfway Measures Fail to Slow Price Rises in New Zealand | 500 |
| U. S. Liberals Oppose Aid to North Vietnam | 295 | Haapakoski, Pekka | |
| 8 Antiwar POWs Threatened With Trials | 357 | The Class Struggle in Finland, 1968-72 | 83 |
| Watergate Stench Envelops Nixon Staff | 393 | Balance-Sheet of the Spring Strike Wave in Finland | 868 |
| U. S. Meat Boycott Protests Inflation | 431 | Halstead, Fred | |
| Fidler, Dick | | Lanusse Promises to Let Peronists Take Office | 323 |
| Trotskyists Hold Cross-Canada Convention | 602 | Workers Power Must Be Developed (Interview With Chilean Trotskyist) | 368 |
| Nationalist Vote Increases in Quebec Election | 1302 | Hansen, Joseph | |
| Hanoi, Havana Deplore Sino-Soviet Rift | 1343 | Introduction to "Ten Years—History and Principles of the Left Opposition," by Max Shachtman | 56 |
| Foley, Gerry | | The Generals Leave Allende's Cabinet | 396 |
| A Step Forward for the Irish Vanguard | 47 | "Great Conspiracy" of Sayers and Kahn | 778 |
| An Irish Mass Revolutionary Party? | 120 | Haq, A. | |
| The Debate on Women's Liberation at the Ard Fheis | 149 | Rahman Suppresses Opposition Newspaper | 469 |
| The Meaning of the One-Day Ulster Strike | 168 | Harding, Ted | |
| Irish Fighters Denounce U. S. Aid to Britain | 298 | Emerging Opposition Currents in the Soviet Union | 1030 |
| Local Issues Decisive in Irish Elections | 337 | Harsch, Ernest | |
| Cyprus Regime Reports Anti-Makarios Plot | 424 | Nixon Moves to Aid Israeli Aggression | 1178 |
| The Breakdown of Dutch "Confessional" Politics (BR) | 506 | Mass Student Upsurge Brings Down Thai Government | 1222 |
| New "State of Emergency" in Argentina | 550 | New Regime in Thailand Maneuvers for Stability | 1308 |
| Revolutionary Nationalism, Class Struggle, and Problems of Party Building in Ireland | 637 | The Students and the New Regime in Thailand | 1339 |
| Performing Artists on a Flying Trapeze | 679 | Baluchistan: The Next Bangladesh? | 1400 |
| Non-Peronist Guerrillas Threatened | 696 | Thai Students, Workers Continue Mobilization | 1416 |

| | | | |
|---|------|--|------|
| Hodges, Tony | | Nixon's Defenses Falling One by One | 738 |
| Wilson Heads Off Challenge From "Left" | 1197 | The First Years of the Fourth International (BR) | 750 |
| Heath Declares "State of Emergency" | 1434 | Two-Thirds of U. S. Think Nixon Guilty in Watergate | 762 |
| Hodgson, Geoff | | Nixon Planning "Last-Ditch" Watergate Defense | 802 |
| Bukharin-Luxemburg Debate Reprinted (BR) | 305 | How Nixon Made Millions in Four Years | 804 |
| Holms, Geoff | | Nixon Under Pressure to Testify on Watergate | 840 |
| British Demonstrators Score Chilean Coup | 1328 | Nixon in Seclusion as Scandals Mount | 858 |
| Jennings, Alf | | Nixon's Defense Team Fumbles Its Assignment | 897 |
| British Engineers Union Hit by Huge Fines (with Bob Williams) | 151 | Watergate Cover-Up Comes Further Unstuck | 932 |
| Johnson, George | | Behind the Rise of the Teamsters Union (BR) | 944 |
| Kim Threatens to Break Off Korean "Unification" Talks | 1121 | Nixon's Cover-Up Seen as "Desperate Gamble" | 969 |
| Students Stage Demonstration in Seoul | 1275 | Nixon Still Unable to Keep Lid on Watergate | 1003 |
| Krasny, Joseph | | Nixon Launches His Watergate "Counterattack" | 1037 |
| More Than 300 Oppositionists on Trial in Morocco | 1008 | Behind the Watergate Scandal | |
| Why Revolutionists Are Not Neutral in October War | 1289 | The Evidence So Far: Nixon's Undercover Gang — I | 1062 |
| Locke, Keith | | The Evidence So Far: Nixon's Undercover Gang — II | 1092 |
| How to Oppose Racist Sports Tour in New Zealand | 300 | What Nixon Contributors Got for Their | |
| New Zealand Labour Party Holds Conference | 714 | \$60 Million — I | 1125 |
| Loew, Raimund | | Correction | 1164 |
| On the History of Austrian Trotskyism | 252 | What Nixon Contributors Got for Their | |
| Lourson, Felix | | \$60 Million — II | 1159 |
| Lutte Ouvriere's Stand on the French CP | 182 | The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — I | 1250 |
| Volunteer Army or Struggle Against the Bourgeois Army? | 597 | The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — II | 1297 |
| French Communist League Holds Workers Conference | 806 | The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — III | 1322 |
| Lovell, Frank | | Plumbers and Presidents: The Roots of the | |
| Gus Hall Lays One on Harry Bridges | 117 | Crisis — I | 1352 |
| Lund, Caroline | | Plumbers and Presidents: The Roots of the | |
| The Lip Factory: Workers Control Challenges Capitalist Rule | 957 | Crisis — II | 1389 |
| Maitan, Livio | | What the Crisis Means for the Left | 1453 |
| The Stakes in Argentina | 698 | Why Spiro Agnew "Copped a Plea" | 1186 |
| Argentina in Neo-Peronism's Hour — Mass Struggles and Revolutionary Organization | 793 | Why Nixon Fired Watergate Prosecutor | 1218 |
| Mandel, Ernest | | Storm of Anger Over Watergate Shakes Washington | 1247 |
| After the International Recession | 88 | But Can They Find an "Alternative" to Nixon? | 1293 |
| Incomes Policy — A Weapon Against the Workers | 250 | Debate Continues: What Should Be Done With Nixon? | 1317 |
| The Second Fall of the Dollar | 302 | Nixon Caught in Watergate Minefield | 1387 |
| Correction | 474 | Ford's Stock Rises as "Operation Candor" Flops | 1423 |
| The Inflationary Boom and Its Coming End | 1000 | Nanhaya, Antero | |
| Mathews, Jeff | | Growing Anger at Marcos Dictatorship | 436 |
| Australian Opposition to French Bomb Tests Grows | 633 | Martial Law Regime in Philippines Fails to Crush Popular Resistance | 1405 |
| Miah, Malik | | Novack, George | |
| Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia (BR) | 1374 | A Travesty of Marxist Method | 14 |
| Myers, Allen | | The "Second Serfdom" in Central and Eastern Europe | 280 |
| B-52s Devastating Cambodian Villages | 356 | Havemann's Stand Against Stalinism (BR) | 440 |
| Nixon Renews Bombing Threat | 390 | Facts Are Stubborn Things | 909 |
| U. S., Iran Keep Watch on Pakistan "Crisis" | 402 | O'Brien, Fred Burns | |
| Nixon Escalates Bombing, Threatens Wider Raids | 421 | U. S. Irish Oppose Nixon's Support to Britain | 318 |
| Nixon Sends Saigon Army Into Cambodia | 461 | Peiris, Roshan | |
| U. S. Anti-Allende Plots Traced to 1964 | 471 | On the History of the Ceylon Mercantile Union | 478 |
| Report Nixon Aides May Be Indicted | 494 | Pennington, Bob | |
| More Nixon Aides Named in Watergate Scandal | 515 | Fresh Attempts to Intimidate Irish Prisoners | 709 |
| Dean Reported Ready to Testify Against Nixon | 547 | Correction | 867 |
| More Nixon Aides Caught Up in Watergate Flood | 579 | Pfister, Thierry | |
| Watergate Was Nothing Unusual for Nixon Gang | 611 | "Le Monde" Evaluates Forces in French Youth Movement | 456 |
| Kremlin Pours Oil on Nixon's Troubled Watergate | 614 | Purdie, Bob | |
| Nixon Outlines Watergate Whitewash Strategy | 659 | Provisional Sinn Fein Holds Conference | 1372 |
| White House Directs Secret "Watergate" Network | 700 | Quilico, Terry | |
| Greek Navy Fails in Try to Dump Colonels | 712 | U.S. Faces an "Energy Crisis" | 342 |
| December 24, 1973 | | Ramirez, Alfonso | |
| | | Venezuelan CP on Anti-Trotskyist Campaign | 1028 |
| | | Recanati, M. | |
| | | What Next in the French Youth Mobilization? | 485 |
| | | Roberts, Dick | |
| | | Behind the Latest Devaluation of the Dollar | 195 |
| | | Contradictory Nature of the Postwar Prosperity | 526 |

| | | | |
|--|------|--|------|
| Healyites Vs. Karl Marx on Gold and Inflation | 568 | The Break-Up of the Bloc Between the Right Wing and the Center and the Launching of the "Third Period" | 125 |
| Healyites Find That Capitalism Has Dropped Dead | 599 | The Dangers of Thermidor and Bonapartism | 158 |
| U. S. Capitalists Roll Out Red Carpet for Brezhnev | 760 | The International Left Opposition | 160 |
| Why Nixon's "Price Freeze" Won't Work | 800 | | |
| Behind the Expansion of Soviet-U. S. Trade | 903 | | |
| How the Healyites "Answer" a Polemic on Economics | 942 | | |
| The Global Struggle for Raw Materials | 1111 | | |
| Rothschild, Jon | | Smith, Ed | |
| Nixon Dropped Equivalent of Five Atomic Bombs | 5 | Phase 3 — More of the Same for the U. S. | 78 |
| Nixon Official Won't Rule Out A-Bomb Use | 35 | | |
| Sadat Ends Strike by Force | 45 | Smith, Joanne | |
| Meaning of the Vietnam Cease-Fire Agreement | 99 | More Evidence About Massacre of Civilians in Mozambique | 935 |
| Peking and Moscow Hail Vietnam Cease-Fire | 131 | | |
| Secret Clause in Viet Pact Revealed | 163 | Sullivan, Rosemary | |
| Sadat Tries to Whip Students Into Line | 172 | Joint Actions in Britain Support Irish Struggle | 178 |
| The Laos Cease-Fire and the Indochina Revolution | 227 | | |
| Zionism and the Libyan Airliner | 231 | Thomas, Tony | |
| Imperialist Envoys Executed in Khartoum | 261 | Two Angolan Groups Announce Unification | 50 |
| How the Awami League Rules Bangladesh | 268 | | |
| Nimeiry Launches Witch-Hunt Against Palestinians | 334 | Thorstad, David | |
| ITT Admits It Plotted Against Allende | 359 | Massive Antiwar Petition Drive in Sweden | 37 |
| French High-Schoolers Take to the Streets | 360 | Vietnam Accords Greeted With Relief, Skepticism | 106 |
| 80,000 Students Demonstrate in Paris Streets | 387 | Iceland Fighting Second "Codfish War" | 116 |
| French Youth Challenge Bourgeois Military, Education | 419 | Laos, Cambodia Feel Effect of Vietnam Pact | 134 |
| Why the "Stage of Total Confrontation" Was Launched | 428 | Balaguer Moves to Crush Opposition | 199 |
| Israeli Regime Assassinates Palestinians in Beirut | 458 | Coamano Reported Killed in Guerrilla Clash | 235 |
| Immigrant Workers Enter the Fray in France | 522 | Paris Conference "Approves" Vietnam Cease-Fire Pact | 259 |
| Lebanese Government Troops Open Fire on Fedayeen | 556 | Chile Election Reflects Increasing Polarization | 291 |
| Beirut Intensifies Repression of Fedayeen, Lebanese | 583 | Confusion Surrounds "Invasion" of Dominican Republic | 332 |
| Congress in New Blocks on Cambodia Bombing Funds | 616 | Panama Canal Issue Aired at UN Session | 364 |
| Accord Ends Fedayeen-Army Clashes in Lebanon | 625 | Balaguer Announces Defeat of Guerrillas | 463 |
| Cambodia Devastated by U. S. Bombing | 662 | Argentine Guerrillas Step Up Activity | 467 |
| Brezhnev's Pact With German Imperialism | 703 | ERP Assassinates Retired Admiral | 553 |
| Sadat's "Internal War" on Students, Workers | 742 | U. S. Diplomat in Mexico Kidnapped, Freed | 589 |
| Nixon, Thieu Press Attacks on Indochina Liberation Forces | 764 | Will Peronists Free All Political Prisoners? | 618 |
| Not All Horseplay in Nixon, Brezhnev's TV Show | 787 | Peronists Pardon 500 Political Prisoners | 664 |
| Pompidou Outlaws French Trotskyists | 819 | Mass Mobilizations, Prison Rebellions Force Campora to Free All Prisoners | 691 |
| Broad Campaign Under Way to Defend French Trotskyists | 851 | Iceland Uses NATO as Lever in Fishing Dispute | 768 |
| French Trotskyists Continue Fight for Legality | 919 | Miners Strike Poses Challenge to Allende | 799 |
| Alain Krivine Released — Challenges Marcellin to Debate | 987 | Attempted Coup in Chile Foiled | 835 |
| French Cops Oust Workers From Occupied Lip Factory | 1011 | Bordaberry Dissolves Uruguayan Congress, CNT | 838 |
| Immigrant Workers in France Fight Racism With Strikes | 1115 | Allende Names New, All-Civilian Cabinet | 863 |
| Israeli Regime Aims at "Inflicting Maximum Casualties" | 1139 | CNT Leadership Calls Off Uruguayan General Strike | 891 |
| 70,000 March on Besancon to Support Lip Workers | 1152 | Peron Forging "National Unity" Coalition | 915 |
| Israeli Regime Escalates Its Aggression | 1171 | Imperialism Voicing Open Support for Peron | 966 |
| Nixon Supplies and Guarantees Israeli Aggression | 1203 | Chilean Opposition Steps Up Offensive | 1019 |
| How the Arabs Were Driven Out of Palestine | 1206 | Reactions to the Chilean Coup | 1052 |
| How and Why the Zionist State Expanded Its Borders | 1237 | | |
| Israeli Regime Threatens to Reopen Fighting on Suez Front | 1283 | Triton, S. | |
| October War Puts Strains on "Atlantic Alliance" | 1286 | French Government Fails to Demoralize Lip Workers | 1084 |
| Suez Cease-Fire Pact Sets Stage for More Conflict | 1315 | | |
| Why Kissinger's "Rogers Plan" Won't Work | 1349 | Trotsky, Leon | |
| Why Suez Talks Broke Down | 1413 | The Marxist Position on Individual Terrorism | 955 |
| | | | |
| Salby, Sol | | Vallejo, A. | |
| Australian Boycott Shook Even State Department | 113 | What Kind of Revolution for Venezuela? | 1465 |
| Australian Regime Raids Its Own Spies | 437 | | |
| | | Vergeat, Gerard | |
| Shachtman, Max | | The Swiss LMR National Convention | 677 |
| Ten Years — History and Principles of the Left | | | |
| Opposition | 56 | Verla, C. | |
| Foreword | 58 | Repression Stepped Up in Yugoslavia | 773 |
| The Left Opposition and the Communist Movement | 58 | | |
| The Fight for Party Democracy | 59 | Vithana, Jaya | |
| The Lessons of October | 61 | Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification | 307 |
| The Theory of Socialism in One Country | 90 | | |
| The British General Strike of 1926 | 92 | Vogt, Marilyn | |
| The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution | 94 | A New Issue of "Chronicle of Current Events" (R) | 218 |
| Planned Economy: Industrialization and Collectivization of Agriculture | 124 | Dzyuba Sentenced to Five Years in Prison | 398 |
| | | Complete Edition of "Bulletin of the Opposition" Issued (BR) | 538 |
| | | Kremlin Pushing "Recantation" Stories | 594 |
| | | Kremlin Threatens Life of Imprisoned Dissident | 710 |
| | | "Confessions" Used in Frame-Up Trial of Yakir, Krasin | 991 |

| | | | |
|--|------|---|------|
| The Sakharov Case | | | |
| An Advocate of the "Cold War"? | 1157 | Weinstock, Nathan | |
| An Appeal to the Wrong Address | 1200 | On the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Zionist State | 585 |
| From "Convergence" to "State Capitalism" | 1231 | Why Every Socialist Should Support the Arab Liberation Struggle | 1243 |
| Waterson, Donald | | | |
| Britain's First Fireman's Strike | 1341 | Williams, Bob | |
| | | British Engineers Union Hit by Huge Fines (with Alf Jennings) | 151 |
| Weber, Henri | | | |
| The Far Left and the French Legislative Elections | 145 | Wilson, Mary | |
| Polls Register Shift to Left in France | 180 | Trotsky's Writings on Britain (BR) | 815 |
| After the French Legislative Elections | 238 | | |
| Struggle in France Will Go On After March 11 | 264 | Winnacker, Martha | |
| | | Japanese Rightists Linked to Kim Kidnapping | 1274 |
| Weinstein, Nat | | | |
| Bay Area Unions Call Mass Rally in Battle Against Food Price Gouge | 462 | Zadeh, Parsi | |
| | | Imperialist Capital's Penetration of Iran | 770 |

Countries

| | | | |
|---|------|---|------|
| Angola | | Argentine PST Position on Self-Determination in Palestine | 1311 |
| Two Groups Announce Unification | | Cease-Fire Pact Sets Stage for More Conflict | |
| —by Tony Thomas | 50 | —by Jon Rothschild | 1315 |
| The Struggle Against Portuguese Colonialism | 340 | Why Kissinger's "Rogers Plan" Won't Work | |
| | | —by Jon Rothschild | 1349 |
| Arab East | | Imperialist Oil Strategy | 1381 |
| Zionism and the Libyan Airliner—by Jon Rothschild | 231 | Campaigning in the United States for the Arab Side | |
| Another Day, Another Lie | 256 | —by Dave Frankel | 1383 |
| Imperialist Envoys Executed in Khartoum | | How Anti-Zionists Gained Hearing at Brooklyn College | 1386 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 261 | Why Suez Talks Broke Down—by Jon Rothschild | 1413 |
| Nimeiry Launches Witch-Hunt Against Palestinians | | | |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 334 | Argentina | |
| Why the "Stage of Total Confrontation" Was Launched in Egypt—by Jon Rothschild | 428 | Revolutionists Plan for Elections | 29 |
| Israeli Regime Assassinates Palestinians in Beirut | | Program of the Workers Front | 30 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 458 | A Revolutionary Alternative in the Elections | 30 |
| Lebanese Government Troops Open Fire on Fedayeen | | Protest Kidnapping of Peronist Youth | 51 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 556 | Socialist Electoral Campaign Gathers Momentum | 80 |
| Beirut Intensifies Repression of Fedayeen, Lebanese—by Jon Rothschild | 583 | A Slate of 2,200 Candidates in 12 Districts | 80 |
| Accord Ends Fedayeen-Army Clashes in Lebanon | | Two Union Leaders Head Cordoba Slate | 80 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 625 | Campaigners Seized by Police at Rally | 81 |
| Shah Sets Sights on Domination of Arab-Persian Gulf—by Dianne Feeley | 744 | New Forces Join Socialist Front Against Bourgeoisie | 81 |
| Israeli Regime Aims at "Inflicting Maximum Casualties"—by Jon Rothschild | 1139 | Communist Party Responds With Stab in the Back | 82 |
| Israeli Regime Escalates Its Aggression | | Campaign to Free All Political Prisoners | 83 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 1171 | Interview With Juan Carlos Coral | 155 |
| Nixon Moves to Aid Israeli Aggression | | Militants Head Workers Slate in Tucuman | 191 |
| —by Ernest Harsch | 1178 | CP Rejects Workers Front | 206 |
| Nixon Supplies and Guarantees Israeli Aggression | | PST Candidate Fights for Women's Rights | 207 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 1203 | Lanusse's Government at Crossroads | 208 |
| How the Arabs Were Driven Out of Palestine | | Lanusse Seeks to Ban Peronist Party | 244 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 1206 | Interview With PST Candidate | 272 |
| Arab Trotskyist Discusses the October War | | Lanusse Promises to Let Peronists Take Office | |
| Why Nixon Rattled the H-Bomb | 1213 | —by Fred Halstead | 323 |
| How and Why the Zionist State Expanded Its Borders—by Jon Rothschild | 1235 | ERP Carries Out Guerrilla Action in Cordoba | 325 |
| Why Every Socialist Should Support the Arab Liberation Struggle—by Nathan Weinstock | 1237 | "ERP 22" Supports Peronists | 348 |
| For the Defeat of Zionism and Imperialism (Statement of the Fourth International) | | Rucci Stung by Coral's Attack on Peronists | 349 |
| Israeli Regime Threatens to Reopen Fighting on Suez Front—by Jon Rothschild | 1243 | ERP Raid | 362 |
| October War Puts Strains on "Atlantic Alliance" | | PST Proposal on Political Prisoners | 366 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 1286 | Far-Left Vote in Argentine Election | 367 |
| Why Revolutionists Are Not Neutral in October War | | Peron Discusses Future of Argentina | 372 |
| —by Joseph Krasny | 1289 | Campora Acceptable to State Department | 397 |
| Israeli Trotskyists on October War | 1309 | Fourteen Sentenced in Sallustro Case | 401 |
| | | New Zealanders Demand: Free Argentine Prisoners | 403 |
| | | ERP Kidnaps Industrialist | 404 |
| | | ERP Raids Atomic Reactor | 405 |
| | | Free All the Political Prisoners in Argentina | 411 |
| | | Final Returns in Buenos Aires | 415 |

| | | | |
|--|-----|---|-----|
| Peronists Assail Fate of Political Prisoners | 422 | Massive Demonstration as Campora Is Sworn In | 693 |
| Lanusse Weighing Response to Guerrillas | 427 | Campora Seeks to Establish Leftist Image | 695 |
| PST's Declaration After March 11 Elections | 444 | Argentina Restores Diplomatic Relations With Cuba — U. S. Blockade Increasingly Shaky | 696 |
| PST Calls for Casting Blank Ballots in Second- Round Elections | 445 | Non-Peronist Guerrillas Threatened — by Gerry Foley | 698 |
| Campaign Mounts for Prisoners | 465 | The Stakes in Argentina — by Livio Maitan | 717 |
| Guerrillas Step Up Activity — by David Thorstad | 467 | ERP Statement on Campora's Appeal for a Truce | 718 |
| "La Opinion" Reports Montonero Statement | 476 | ERP Statement on Aleman Kidnapping | 723 |
| PST Statement on Kidnappings | 477 | Peron Opens Attack on "Trotskyists" | 725 |
| ERP Puts Retired Admiral on Trial | 493 | — by Gerry Foley | 726 |
| Peron Begins Series of International Trips | 502 | PST Opposes "Social Truce" | 727 |
| New "State of Emergency" — by Gerry Foley | 500 | Positions Taken by Political Parties During May 22 Meeting With Campora | 728 |
| ERP Assassinate Retired Admiral | 553 | Lessons of March on Villa Devoto Prison | 729 |
| — by David Thorstad | 555 | 20,000 Celebrate First Cordobazo | 729 |
| USLA Calls for Defense of Prisoners | 573 | May 25: Buenos Aires Took to Streets | 751 |
| ERP Offers "Conditional Support" to Peronist Regime | 617 | Press Conference of the ERP | 754 |
| Why Bourgeoisie Backs Campora | 618 | Campora Commutes All Prison Terms | 755 |
| Will Peronists Free All Political Prisoners? — by David Thorstad | 629 | Wave of Occupations Sweeps Argentina | 756 |
| PST Member Arrested in Police Raids | 649 | Peronists Threaten Crackdown Against the Left | 758 |
| For Unconditional Political Opposition to Campora (Statement of the Fourth International) Correction | 676 | — by Gerry Foley | 789 |
| ERP Offers to Hold Fire on Campora Regime | 676 | Santucho Denies Interview | |
| PST Statement on Execution of Quijada | 649 | Bullets Cut Into Throng Hailing Return of Peron | |
| Peronists Pardon 500 Political Prisoners | 691 | — by Gerry Foley | |
| — by David Thorstad | 653 | Argentina in Neo-Peronism's Hour — Mass Struggles and Revolutionary Organization — by Livio Maitan | 793 |
| Mass Mobilizations, Prison Rebellions Force Campora to Free All Prisoners | 664 | ERP, Split-Offs Take Stand on Government | 850 |
| — by David Thorstad | 664 | Argentina Swept by Prison Rebellions | 857 |
| | | Why Peron Returned | 866 |
| | | Don't Forget the Trelew Massacre | 867 |
| | | Peron's History of Holding Back the Masses | 894 |

Intercontinental Press is Available in MICROFORM

...from

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Xerox University Microfilms

35 Mobile Drive
Toronto, Ontario,
Canada M4A 1H6

University Microfilms Limited

St. John's Road,
Tyler's Green, Penn,
Buckinghamshire, England

PLEASE
WRITE FOR
COMPLETE
INFORMATION



| | | | |
|--|------|--|------|
| Peron Forging "National Unity" Coalition | | | 273 |
| —by David Thorstad | 915 | Dockers in Eight-Week Strike | 766 |
| Right-Wing Peronists Attack Cordoba Unions | 917 | Far-Left Group Backs Ligue Communiste | 852 |
| Imperialism Voicing Open Support for Peron | | Belgian Trotskyists Protest Ban on Ligue Communiste | 890 |
| —by David Thorstad | 966 | United-Front Meeting on Chile in Ghent | 1364 |
| General Peron's Striptease Act | | Maoists Try to Block Louvain Meeting | 1365 |
| —by Juan Carlos Coral | 967 | | |
| Mateo Fossa—Veteran Trotskyist Dies | 974 | Bolivia | |
| Joe Baxter: Revolutionary Militant | 975 | USLA Plans Campaign on Prisoners | 16 |
| PST Selects Presidential Ticket | 995 | Ex-Nun Freed | 40 |
| Why PST Is Participating in Election | 995 | New Repression Launched | 196 |
| CP Throws Support to Peron | 996 | Burgoa Deported | 201 |
| Rallies Commemorate Trelew Massacre | 997 | Banzer Predicts Merger of MNR and FSB | 499 |
| 4,000 Attend Meeting of Workers Front | 1021 | Inside Bolivia's Political Prisons | 626 |
| Coral Speaks to Workers Front | 1022 | Banzer Regime Shaken by Selich Murder | 665 |
| Cordoba Workers Occupy Fiat Plant | 1082 | Torres Forms New Exile Group | 782 |
| Peronist Regime Maneuvers to Repress the Left | | Four Exile Groups Issue Call for Struggle Against | |
| —by Gerry Foley | 1118 | "Fascist" Regime | 844 |
| Origin of "Fraccion Roja" of PRT | 1134 | Rifts Divide Military, Capitalists | 1426 |
| Peron Launches Purge of His Movement | | MNR Leaves Banzer's Coalition—by Gerry Foley | 1449 |
| —by Gerry Foley | 1147 | | |
| PST Assesses Election Results | 1150 | Brazil | |
| The Blueprint for Peron's Purge | 1167 | What It's Like in Brazil Today | 170 |
| PST Statement on Assassination of Rucci | 1168 | Brazilian Homeless Hold Congress | 179 |
| Peron Intensifies Antisocialist Witch-Hunt | 1227 | Peasant Leader's Life in Danger | 267 |
| ERP, MIR, Tupamaros Sign Joint Pledge | 1232 | Child Labor—A Lucrative Business | 372 |
| Class-Struggle Slate Makes Gains in Trade- | | Japan's Mounting Challenge to the U. S. in Brazil | 496 |
| Union Election | 1268 | Political Prisoner Commits "Suicide" | 576 |
| Peron Outlines Thinking on Various Topics | 1307 | U. S. Group Defends Brazilian Prisoners | 596 |
| PST Position on Self-Determination in Palestine | 1311 | Exiles Defend Ligue Communiste | 999 |
| The Stand of Argentine Stalinism—"Chile Is Our | | "Economic Miracle" for the Rich | 1266 |
| Model"—by Gerry Foley | 1329 | Brazilian Trotskyist Murdered by Chile Junta | 1427 |
| Imperialism and Argentine Bosses United Behind | | | |
| Peronist Regime | 1398 | Britain | |
| Students Resist Repression of Militants | 1464 | 700 in London March Against War | 10 |
| | | Fake Lefts Find Their Tongues on Vietnam | 40 |
| Australia | | "Welsh Nation" Reviews "Land or Death" | 51 |
| Dockers End Boycott of U. S. | 36 | Heath's Complicity in Bombing of Vietnam | 71 |
| Boycott Shook Even State Department—by Sol Salby | 113 | 12,000 March in London Against the War | 115 |
| Trotskyists Hold Conference | 212 | Iceland Fighting Second "Codfish War" | |
| Whitlam Visits Indonesia | 243 | —by David Thorstad | 116 |
| Australia Tries to Keep Singapore Spy Base | 301 | Engineers Union Hit by Huge Fines | |
| CP's Weekly Reviews Losey Film | 410 | —by Alf Jennings and Bob Williams | 151 |
| Regime Raids Its Own Spies—by Sol Salby | 437 | Joint Actions in Britain Support Irish Struggle | |
| Raids Carried Out on Ustasha Suspects | 439 | —by Rosemary Sullivan | 178 |
| Opposition to French Bomb Tests Grows | | 1972—Big Year for Strikes | 216 |
| —by Jeff Mathews | 633 | Irish Fighters Denounce U. S. Aid to Britain | |
| Conference Sets Goals for Socialist Youth | | —by Gerry Foley | 298 |
| —by Jamie Doughney | 634 | Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification | |
| Labor Youth Moves Left | 635 | —by Jaya Vithana | 307 |
| Protesters Picket French Offices in Protest of | | U. S. Irish Oppose Nixon's Support to Britain | |
| Ban on Ligue Communiste | 889 | —by Fred Burns O'Brien | 318 |
| | | Trade Unions Call General Strike | 343 |
| Austria | | Students Demand Rise in Government Aid | 344 |
| Workers Begin to Move | 11 | Protest Strike Set for May 1 | 365 |
| Vienna's Largest Antiwar Demonstration | 105 | Students Strike Against Grant System | 369 |
| On the History of Austrian Trotskyism | | Women Discuss "Sexism and Capitalism" | 403 |
| —by Raimund Loew | 252 | Women Win Low-Cost Contraception | 439 |
| Workers Resist "Stabilization" of Wages | 630 | Women Found Housewives Union | 468 |
| Protest at French Embassy in Vienna | 854 | Why White Paper on Ireland Failed—by James Conway | 509 |
| Steelworkers Fight "Social Partnership" | | Britain to Extradite Taiwanese to U. S. | 562 |
| —by Hermann Dworzak | 1027 | Millions Strike on May Day | 593 |
| | | Joint Declaration on Repression | 688 |
| Bangladesh | | Immigrant Workers Meet in London | 720 |
| Interview With Guerrilla Leader | 44 | Iceland Uses NATO as Lever in Fishing Dispute | |
| Political Turmoil in Bangladesh—by Ibne Azad | 139 | —by David Thorstad | 768 |
| How the Awami League Rules Bangladesh | | Wilson Challenges Labour Executive | 774 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 268 | Committee Formed to Defend "Belfast 10" | 809 |
| First National Elections in Bangladesh | 296 | Trotsky's Writings on Britain—by Mary Wilson (BR) | 815 |
| Rahman Suppresses Opposition Newspaper—by A. Haq | 469 | London Protest Against Ceylon Repression | 816 |
| Dacca Journalists Protest Closing of Paper | 469 | London Blacks Protest Police Assault | 839 |
| Mujib Retreats on Two Repressive Moves | 544 | African Liberation Day in Britain | 843 |
| | | Withdrawal From Ireland Campaign Launched in Britain | 847 |
| Belgium | | Trotskyists Condemn Ban on Ligue Communiste | 855 |
| The Case of Dr. William Peers | 137 | CP Seeks to Soften Grants Campaign | 869 |
| Students March Against Army Reform | 214 | Glasgow March Protests Cambodia Bombing | 872 |
| Medical Society Opposes Abortion | 224 | British Groups Wage Defense Campaign for Ligue | |
| Abortion Becomes an Issue | 256 | Communiste | 887 |

| | | | |
|--|------|---|------|
| Outcry Protests London-Lisbon Alliance | 900 | Fascist Provocations, Labor Unrest — by Hugo Blanco | 667 |
| London Tightens Immigration Restrictions | 901 | Workers Meet Rightist Threat — by Hugo Blanco | 706 |
| Trotskyists' Open Letter to SLL on Defense of Ligue Communiste | | New Workers Bodies Challenge Reformists — by Hugo Blanco | 732 |
| "New Statesman" Looks at Ban on Ligue Communiste | 927 | How Workers Organize Production | 733 |
| Ten Thousand Protest Lisbon's Wars in Africa | 951 | Latin Student Gathering Sets Revisionist Course | 734 |
| Strikers Put Out Newspaper | 964 | Copper Workers Strike in Second Month | 765 |
| Conference Calls Anticolonial Protest | 976 | The Teniente Miners Strike and the "Threat of Civil War" — by Hugo Blanco | 798 |
| Wilson Heads Off Challenge From "Left" — by Tony Hodges | 1138 | Miners Strike Poses Challenge to Allende — by David Thorstad | 799 |
| Study Women's History at London Workshop | 1234 | The Struggle Revives — by Hugo Blanco | 834 |
| Rally Solidarizes With Ligue Communiste | 1280 | Attempted Coup Foiled — by David Thorstad | 835 |
| Demonstrators Score Chilean Coup — by Geoff Holms | 1328 | The Workers Against the Black Market — by Hugo Blanco | 862 |
| First Firemen's Strike — by Donald Waterson | 1341 | Allende Names New, All-Civilian Cabinet — by David Thorstad | 863 |
| Heath Declares "State of Emergency" — by Tony Hodges | 1434 | Workers Respond to the Threat of a Coup Statement Signed by Representatives of Left Statement by Vicuna Mackenna Cordon | 929 |
| More on Chile Solidarity March in London | 1472 | Counterrevolutionaries Step Up Pressure — by Gerry Foley | 979 |
| Cambodia | | | |
| Laos, Cambodia Feel Effect of Vietnam Pact — by David Thorstad | | Why the June 29 Coup Attempt Failed — by Eduardo Gonzales | 984 |
| B-52s Devastating Cambodian Villages — by Allen Myers | 134 | In the Aftermath of the Attempted Coup — by Hugo Blanco | 985 |
| Prince Norodom Sihanouk's Blunted Sword — by David Burton (BR) | 356 | Opposition Steps Up Offensive — by David Thorstad | 1019 |
| Canada | | | |
| Left Caucus Wins Support in Ontario's NDP — by Mark Gans | | The Coup — What Happened and Why — by Gerry Foley | 1043 |
| Canada's Inferno | 66 | Reactions to the Coup — by David Thorstad | 1052 |
| Irish Demonstrations in U. S. and Canada | 147 | Nixon Regime Pleads Innocence | 1054 |
| Tuition Hikes Spark Campus Protests — by Howard Brown | | How U. S. Tightened Economic Screws on Allende | 1055 |
| Indians Challenge Trudeau | 174 | Salvador Allende — Bon Vivant With a Fatal Flaw | 1057 |
| Open Letter to Left Wing of Parti Quebecois — by Alain Beiner | 278 | How Sailors Reacted to Plans for a Coup | 1058 |
| Support Grows for Jailed Quebec Unionists | | The Chilean Showdown As It Unfolded | 1060 |
| Women's Coalition Sets Tribunal | | Political Prisoners Fall Before Firing Squads — by Gerry Foley | 1075 |
| Trotskyists Hold Cross-Canada Convention — by Dick Fidler | 315 | Hugo Blanco Reported Offered Asylum in Sweden | 1075 |
| Petition for Jailed Ukrainian Dissidents | 373 | World Protest Mounts Against Coup | 1080 |
| Quebed Groups Demand Ban on Ligue Communiste Be Lifted | 498 | Was Allende's Chile Socialist? | 1081 |
| Canadian Trotskyists Protest Ban on Ligue Communiste | 602 | "Workers in Front Lines in Latin America" — Interview With Hugo Blanco | 1089 |
| Why Labor Party Needs Socialist Policies — by Howard Brown | 844 | Solidarity With the Chilean Workers (Statement of the Fourth International) | 1099 |
| Scab Legislation Ends Rail Strike | 854 | Statement by Revolutionists Prior to Coup | 1102 |
| Nationalist Vote Increases in Quebec Election — by Dick Fidler | 856 | Growing Dual Power on Eve of Coup | 1103 |
| Morgentaler Acquitted on Abortion Charge | 940 | Eyewitness Account of Repression — Interview With Hugo Blanco, Eduardo Creus, and Juliao Bordao | 1107 |
| Chile | | | |
| An Open Letter to the Candidates | 153 | "Pools of Blood" on Sidewalks of Santiago — by Gerry Foley | 1141 |
| Army Strengthens Hand in Allende Regime | 167 | Refugees Face Police Interrogation | 1144 |
| Battle for Production or Battle for Power? | 245 | Two Swedish Citizens Tell of Torture | 1145 |
| Election Reflects Increasing Polarization — by David Thorstad | | "The Black Carnation" Saved Blanco | 1146 |
| Developing Situation of Dual Power | 291 | Fifty Years of Stalinist Treachery — A Postscript — by Milton Alvin | 1190 |
| Lessons of the October Crisis | 350 | MIR Plans Future Fight — Calls for Solidarity (Interview With Militant of MIR) | 1190 |
| ITT Admits It Plotted Against Allende — by Jon Rothschild | 351 | Workers Resisted Coup, But Leadership Was Lacking (Interview With a Refugee) | 1193 |
| Workers Power Must be Developed (Interview With Chilean Trotskyist) — by Fred Halstead | 359 | Why MIR Did Not Win Leadership of Workers | 1196 |
| The Generals Leave Allende's Cabinet — by Joseph Hansen | 368 | Eyewitness Accounts of Raging Repression — by Gerry Foley | 1225 |
| Why the Generals "Resigned" From the Cabinet — by Hugo Blanco | 396 | ERP, MIR, Tupamaros Sign Joint Pledge | 1232 |
| Workers Organize Distribution — by Hugo Blanco | 426 | Junta Installs Officers in All Key Posts — by Gerry Foley | 1254 |
| U. S. Anti-Allende Plots Traced to 1964 — by Allen Myers | 464 | Inside Santiago's Two Stadiums | 1255 |
| Allende Accuses Far Left of "Provocations" | 471 | Terror in National Stadium | 1258 |
| Right Wing in Popular Unity Consolidates — by Hugo Blanco | 472 | Exile Discusses Lessons of Coup | 1260 |
| Fascist Threat Mounting — by Hugo Blanco | 492 | Gus Hall, a Prophet Scorned: Why Didn't "Pravda" and Corvalan Listen? | 1263 |
| Right Wing Launches New Offensive | 520 | Peruvian Committee Calls for Solidarity With Victims of Junta | 1269 |
| The Sharpening Struggle — by Hugo Blanco | 559 | Correspondence: A Possible Misinterpretation Reply | 1279 |
| | 620 | "Dagens Nyheter" Reporter Tells of His Imprisonment | 1303 |
| | | Valdivia Political Prisoners' Declaration | 1306 |
| | | Left Militants Debate Lessons of Coup (Interview With a Trotskyist) | 1326 |

| | | | |
|--|------|---|------|
| Hugo Blanco Arrives in Sweden From Chile | 1327 | Crisis Hits Dominican Revolutionary Party | 564 |
| British Demonstrators Score Coup — by Geoff Holms | 1328 | Caamano's Views as Reported by the PCD | |
| Letter From Chilean Refugee | 1329 | —by Gerry Foley | 810 |
| The Stand of Argentine Stalinism — "Chile Is Our Model" — by Gerry Foley | | CP Might Back Balaguer Reelection | 908 |
| Luis Vitale Reported Held by Junta | 1329 | Police Sent Against Strikers | 1335 |
| Chile Stadium — The Junta's Charnel House | 1336 | | |
| The Role of the Cordones Industriales | 1362 | | |
| —by Hugo Blanco | | Egypt | |
| United-Front Meeting on Chile in Ghent | 1363 | Sadat Ends Strike by Force — by Jon Rothschild | 45 |
| Maoists Try to Block Louvain Meeting | 1364 | Sadat Tries to Whip Students Into Line | |
| Report From a Victim of the Junta | 1365 | —by Jon Rothschild | 172 |
| Moscow's New Line on Struggle in Chile | 1365 | Students Demand Democratic Rights | 220 |
| —by Gerry Foley | | Why the "Stage of Total Confrontation" Was Launched | |
| Imperialism and Allies Rushing Financial Aid to Junta | 1366 | —by Jon Rothschild | 428 |
| Daily Body Count Along the Avenida Departamental | 1395 | Leftist Workers, Intellectuals Arrested | 565 |
| Junta to Try Hector Gutierrez | 1396 | Sadat's "Internal War" on Students, Workers | |
| Junta Cautious in Mining Center | 1399 | —by Jon Rothschild | 742 |
| Demand Junta Release Luis Vitale | 1424 | Ethiopia | |
| Brazilian Trotskyist Murdered by Junta | 1425 | Famine Toll May Reach 100,000 | 1408 |
| Alberto Corvalan Reported Sentenced to Death | 1427 | | |
| Junta Faces Economic Disaster | 1442 | Finland | |
| Swedish Ambassador Expelled | 1451 | The Class Struggle in Finland 1968-72 | |
| More on Chile Solidarity March in London | 1452 | —by Pekka Haapakoski | 83 |
| | 1472 | Balance-Sheet of the Spring Strike Wave | |
| | | —by Pekka Haapakoski | 868 |
| China | | France | |
| Peking and Moscow Hail the Cease-Fire | | Ligue Communiste, Lutte Ouvriere to Present Joint | |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 131 | First-Round Candidacy | 12 |
| International Indochina Conference Opens — | | Communist League Holds Convention | 18 |
| U.S. and China Move Toward New Deals | 229 | The Communist League's Position on the Coming | |
| Savoir Faire in Peking | 482 | Elections | 19 |
| Teng Hsiao-ping Back in Circulation — by Les Evans | 563 | Strasbourg Abortion Trial | 137 |
| Signs of Detente Between Mao and Marcos | 843 | CP Seeking "Democratic Reforms" | 141 |
| Tenth Congress of the Communist Party | | On the Coming Legislative Elections | |
| —by Les Evans | 1016 | —by Pierre Frank | 142 |
| China Today — Report of a New Zealand Engineer | 1270 | The Far Left and the Legislative Elections | |
| | | —by Henri Weber | 145 |
| Colombia | | Polls Register Shift to Left — by Henri Weber | 180 |
| Wave of Land Occupations Sweeps Colombia | 285 | Stephane Just Lays His Proofs on the Table | 181 |
| 138 Tried for Guerrilla Activity | 501 | Lutte Ouvriere's Stand on the CP — by Felix Loursou | 182 |
| Teachers Strike Against Cutbacks | 1338 | Position of Ligue Communiste on Vietnam Accords | 188 |
| | | Correction | 234 |
| Cuba | | Ligue Communiste Holds Election Rally | |
| U.S. Blockade Increasingly Shaky — Argentina | | —by Pierre Frank | 198 |
| Restores Diplomatic Relations | 696 | Statement by Doctors on Abortion | 215 |
| Hanoi, Havana Deplore Sino-Soviet Rift | | After the Legislative Elections — by Henri Weber | 238 |
| —by Dick Fidler | 1343 | Ligue Communiste on the Campaign Trail | 240 |
| Cyprus | | Krivine on Speaking Tour of Martinique | 249 |
| Makarios Will Run Again | 52 | Struggle Will Go On After March 11 — by Henri Weber | 264 |
| Makarios Wins New Term | 205 | Ligue Communiste on the Campaign Trail | 266 |
| Regime Reports Anti-Makarios Plot — by Gerry Foley | 424 | First-Round Vote Sets Back Gaullists | 297 |
| | | General Tendencies in the First-Round Elections | |
| Czechoslovakia | | —by Pierre Frank | 326 |
| Pamphlet Scores U.S. CP on Czech Trials | 55 | Revolutionary Candidates in the Elections | 327 |
| Czech Writers Speak Up for Political Prisoners | 96 | Gaullists Squeak Through on Second Round | 329 |
| Appeal for Support to Victims of Witch-Hunt | 186 | Ligue Communiste's Position on Second-Round | |
| The Czech Political Trials and the Opposition | 221 | Elections | 347 |
| Czech Student Leader Speaks Out at Trial | 287 | High-Schoolers Take to the Streets | |
| Husak Tightens Up Penal Code | 564 | —by Jon Rothschild | 360 |
| For a Free and Socialist Czechoslovakia | 719 | A Brief Analysis of the Elections — by Pierre Frank | 370 |
| | | 80,000 Students Demonstrate in Paris Streets | |
| Denmark | | —by Jon Rothschild | 387 |
| Workers Go Out on Strike | 400 | The Lambertists and the Vargaites Fall Out | |
| Compromise Proposed in Strike | 423 | —by Pierre Frank | 406 |
| Workers End Three-Week Strike | 501 | Platform of the Committees Against the Debre Law | 415 |
| Parliament Votes Abortion Law | 786 | CP Lies About Student Movement | 416 |
| 20,000 March Against NATO Meeting | 872 | Youth Challenge Bourgeois Military, Education | |
| | | —by Jon Rothschild | 419 |
| Dominican Republic | | Youth Upsurge Continues to Gain Ground | 451 |
| Balaguer Moves to Crush Opposition | | Fascists, Cops Launch Attacks on Youth | 452 |
| —by David Thorstad | 199 | Has the Communist Party Made a Basic Turn? | |
| Caamano Reported Killed in Guerrilla Clash | | —by Arthur Colt | 454 |
| —by David Thorstad | 235 | "Le Monde" Evaluates Forces in Youth Movement | |
| Confusion Surrounds "Invasion" — by David Thorstad | 332 | —by Thierry Pfister | 456 |
| Balaguer Announces Defeat of Guerrillas | | What Next in the Youth Mobilization? | |
| —by David Thorstad | 463 | —by M. Recanati | 485 |

| | | | |
|--|-----|---|------|
| How the Negotiations With the Trade-Union Leadership Were Conducted | 486 | French Nuclear Tests Go On | 952 |
| The Unions, the Students, and the Current Mobilization | 489 | The Ban and the Solidarity Campaign (Interview With Ex-Ligue Leader) | 953 |
| Immigrant Workers Enter the Fray —by Jon Rothschild | 522 | The Lip Factory: Workers Control Challenges Capitalist Rule—by Caroline Lund | 957 |
| Workers at Peugeot Face Fascist Attack | 560 | Alain Krivine Released—Challenges Marcellin to Debate—by Jon Rothschild | 987 |
| Ligue Communiste Central Committee's Political Resolution | 574 | Growing International Support for Ligue | 989 |
| Volunteer Army or Struggle Against Bourgeois Army? —by Felix Lourson | 597 | Brazilian Exiles Defend Ligue Communiste | 999 |
| Struggle for Right to Abortion Grows | 621 | Cops Oust Workers From Occupied Lip Factory —by Jon Rothschild | 1011 |
| The Fight Against Wage Divisions at Renault | 622 | Pierre Rousset Released | 1011 |
| Red Circles Discuss Movement Against Debre Law | 624 | Government Fails to Demoralize Lip Workers —by S. Triton | 1084 |
| Australian Opposition to French Bomb Tests Grows —by Jeff Mathews | 633 | How Bureaucrats Sabotage Lip Solidarity | 1085 |
| Mobilize for Right to Abortion | 674 | Traditional Sex Roles Shaken by Lip Strike | 1086 |
| Workers Self-Defense on Agenda | 678 | Immigrant Workers Fight Racism With Strikes —by Jon Rothschild | 1115 |
| Communist League Holds Workers Conference —by Felix Lourson | 806 | 70,000 March on Besancon to Support Lip Workers —by Jon Rothschild | 1152 |
| After the Elections and the Spring —by Pierre Frank | 807 | Trotskyist Leader Imprisoned | 1154 |
| Pompidou Outlaws French Trotskyists —by Jon Rothschild | 819 | Employers Take Reprisals After Strikes Against Racism | 1155 |
| The "Antiwrecker Law"—A License for Frame-Ups | 824 | Bureaucrats "Support" Immigrant Workers | 1156 |
| Broad Meeting Called to Protest Ban | 825 | Rally in London Solidarizes With Ligue Communiste | 1280 |
| What Is the Ligue Communiste? | 827 | Trotskyist Released From Jail | 1292 |
| The Ordre Nouveau Fascists | 827 | Lip Workers Refuse to Give Up Their Struggle | 1359 |
| Ligue Communiste Open Letter to Secretary of Autonomous Federation of Police Unions | 828 | Abortion Group Holds Conference | 1404 |
| Press Interview With Alain Krivine | 829 | Fascists Step Up Action, Attack Student Militants | 1418 |
| Solidarity With the Ligue Communiste (Statement of Socialist Workers Party) | 831 | Government Stalls on Appeal Challenging Ban on Ligue Communiste | 1419 |
| Broad Campaign Under Way to Defend Trotskyists —by Jon Rothschild | 851 | Unions Call for 24-Hour General Strike December 6 | 1420 |
| Belgian Far-Left Group Backs Ligue | 852 | Trotskyists Discuss Shopkeepers' Strike | 1421 |
| International Actions Support Ligue | 853 | | |
| Appeal for Formation of Committee to Fight Ban on Ligue Communiste | 853 | Germany, Democratic Republic of (East) | |
| International Statements of Solidarity With Ligue Communiste | 854 | Shah Recognizes East Germany | 21 |
| Quebec Groups Demand Ban Be Lifted | 854 | Havemann's Stand Against Stalinism —by George Novack (BR) | 440 |
| Protest at French Embassy in Vienna | 854 | Wolf Biermann—Poet, Balladeer, Political Activist | 1467 |
| British Trotskyists Condemn Ban | 855 | | |
| Canadian Trotskyists Protest Ban | 856 | Germany, Federal Republic of (West) | |
| New Zealand Trotskyists Say Free Krivine | 856 | German Trotskyist Fusion Conference | 210 |
| Pompidou Flouts Order to Release Krivine | 883 | Behind the Turmoil in the Metal Union | 241 |
| "Rouge" Will Go On Despite Ban on Ligue Communiste | 883 | Social Democrats at a Turning Point —by Herwart Achterberg | 503 |
| Call for Commission to Investigate the Events of June 21 | 884 | Brezhnev's Pact With German Imperialism —by Jon Rothschild | 703 |
| Fascist Violence Goes On—Portuguese | 885 | Police Raid Maoist Group | 705 |
| Immigrant Worker Murdered | 886 | Bonn Marchers Demand Right to Abortion | 731 |
| Lessons of July 4 Solidarity Meeting | 887 | German Trotskyists Ask Solidarity With Ligue Communiste | 888 |
| International Campaign to Defend Ligue Communiste | 887 | Frankfurt Mass Meeting Protests Ban on Ligue Communiste | 888 |
| British Groups Wage Defense Campaign | 887 | | |
| German Trotskyists Ask Solidarity With Ligue | 888 | Greece | |
| Frankfurt Mass Meeting Protests Ban | 888 | Athens Police Attack Demonstrators | 204 |
| Australian Protesters Picket French Offices | 889 | Student Protests Continue | 237 |
| Belgian Trotskyists Protest Ban | 890 | Students Continue to Challenge Junta | 336 |
| "II Manifesto" in Solidarity With Ligue | 890 | Imprisoned Greek Trotskyists' Appeal | 384 |
| New Zealand Committee Demands End to Ban on Ligue | 918 | Trotskyist Prisoners in Appeal to Student Movement | 443 |
| Trotskyists Continue Fight for Legality —by Jon Rothschild | 919 | Junta Shuns Jurists' Commission | 491 |
| Behind Marcellin's Pressure on Court | 920 | Students Appeal for World Support | 656 |
| "Nouvel Observateur" Looks at Krivine Case | 921 | Navy Fails in Try to Dump Colonels—by Allen Myers | 712 |
| Why CP Defends Far-Left Groups | 922 | Junta Shaken by Extent of Navy Plot | 736 |
| "Rouge" Appeals to CP Members—United Front of Workers Must Answer Regime's Repression | 923 | Prisoners Call for Mobilization to Free Junta's Political Prisoners | 784 |
| Call for International United Front to Defend French Trotskyists (Statement of the Fourth International) | 925 | Dictator Seeks Support With Amnesty | 1002 |
| International Actions Defend Ligue | 928 | After the Junta's Amnesty (Interview With a Greek Trotskyist) | 1088 |
| An Initial Analysis of the Ban on the Ligue Communiste—by Pierre Frank | 947 | Correction | 1157 |
| Italian Petition for Ligue Communiste | 949 | Students Stage Demonstration in Athens | 1179 |
| Spanish Trotskyists Hail Ligue Communiste | 950 | Songfest Ends in Street Demonstration | 1180 |
| Japanese Trotskyists Protest Ban on Ligue | 950 | Fourth International Salutes Trotskyists Released From Prison (Statement of the Fourth International) | 1312 |
| "New Statesman" Looks at Ban on Ligue | 951 | Students Stage Demonstrations in Athens | 1338 |
| | | Mass Demonstrations Shake Dictatorship—by Gerry Foley | 1347 |

| | | | |
|--|------------|---|--------------|
| "Obscure General" Ousts Papadopoulos in Athens Coup — by Gerry Foley | 1379 | Sinn Fein's Program in Elections | 347 |
| New Junta Flounders, Stalls for Time — by Gerry Foley | 1411 | Mixed Response to British White Paper In Defense of the "Fort Worth 5" | 363 380 |
| The Revolutionary Explosion in Athens (Statement of the Fourth International) | 1439 | Officials Denounce Derry Repression Trotskyists Hold Conference | 448 480 |
| The Athens Revolt of November 14-17 | 1443 | Why Britain's White Paper Failed — by James Conway | 509 |
| Guinea | | United Action Defends U. S.-Irish Against Repression Revolutionary Nationalism, Class Struggle, and Problems of Party Building — by Gerry Foley | 588 637 |
| Amilcar Cabral Assassinated in Conakry | 119 | Official and Provisional Positions on Northern Irish Elections | 654 |
| Guinea-Bissau | | Performing Artists on a Flying Trapeze — by Gerry Foley | 679 |
| Amilcar Cabral Assassinated in Conakry | 119 | Fresh Attempts to Intimidate Prisoners — by Bob Pennington | 709 867 |
| Declaration of Independence | 1133 | Correction | 720 |
| London, Washington Keep Chains on Guinea | 1453 | Political Prisoners Quit Saor Eire Republican Found Dead in Long Kesh Cell Committee Formed to Defend "Belfast 10" | 752 809 |
| Iceland | | The Elections in Northern Ireland — by Gerry Foley | 832 |
| Iceland Fighting Second "Codfish War" — by David Thorstad | 116 | Withdrawal From Ireland Campaign Launched in Britain Kenneth Littlejohn — Agent Provocateur — by Gerry Foley | 847 1024 |
| Iceland Uses NATO as Lever in Fishing Dispute — by David Thorstad | 768 | Northern Irish Prisoners Appeal From Long Kesh | 1123 |
| India | | Prisoners Win in Hunger Strike | 1168 |
| Indian Militants' Letter to Pakistani Vanguard | 223 | 3,000 Commemorate First Derry March | 1180 |
| Rising Bengali Movement in Indian State | 973 | Republican Prisoners Fight for Political Status | 1370 |
| 20,000 "Naxalites" in Prisons | 1378 | Young Prisoners Are Treated Like Dirt | 1370 |
| Indonesia | | Dublin Regime Aids British Imperialism Provisional Sinn Fein Holds Conference — by Bob Purdie | 1371 1372 |
| Military Still Hunting Oppositionists | 1381 | Republicans Get Savage Sentences | 1437 |
| Iran | | Israel | |
| Shah Recognizes East Germany | 21 | Jewish and Arab Political Prisoners Tortured | 73 |
| U. S. Seeks to Deport Three Iranians | 53 | Matzpen-Marxist Answers Regime's Attacks Against the Government Repression! | 74 75 |
| Iranian Students in Germany Hit U. S. Bombing | 63 | We Accuse! Torture in Israeli Jails | 76 |
| Shah Executes Seven More Iranians | 89 | Indictments Issued in "Spy" Trial | 123 |
| Bahram Atai Wins Deportation Fight | 249 | The Government Plot Against the Left — by Victor Cygielman | 176 |
| Shah Gives Lawyer Royal Runaround | 345 | Israeli Human Rights League Demands Inquiry Into Charges of Torture | 201 |
| Students Reported Killed by Police | 346 | Zionism and the Libyan Airliner — by Jon Rothschild | 231 |
| U. S., Iran Keep Watch on Pakistan "Crisis" — by Allen Myers | 402 | Political Prisoners Tortured | 233 |
| Babak Zahraie Defeats Deportation Effort | 408 | Another Day, Another Lie | 256 |
| Shah's Courts Kill 8, Threaten 7 More | 408 | Nixon Promises Meir New U. S. Arms | 405 |
| Shah Sets Sights on Domination of Arab-Persian Gulf — by Dianne Feeley | 737 | On the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Zionist State — by Nathan Weinstock | 585 |
| Imperialist Capital's Penetration of Iran — by Parsi Zadeh | 744 | New Wave of Repression Launched by Regime Round One in the Haifa Trials | 671 671 |
| Iranian Students Protest Shah's Visit to U. S. | 770 | United Front Against Zionist Repression | 673 |
| Sociologist Tortured by Secret Police | 968 | Anti-Zionist Activist Before Israeli Court | 960 |
| Shah Arrests 12 in "Kidnap Plot" | 1010 | How Courts Declared Marxism Against the Law | 1181 |
| Two Kurdish Nationalists Executed | 1170 | Courts Declare Anti-Zionist Program Illegal | 1215 |
| Intellectual Arrested, Tortured | 1407 | Israeli Trotskyists on October War | 1309 |
| Iraq | | Italy | |
| Hundreds Died in Poisoning Epidemic | 1410 | The New Venice | 2 |
| Ireland | | Government Releases Valpreda | 50 |
| Under the British Occupation (Interview With Malachy McGurran) | 23 | 12,000 March in Rome Against Indochina War | 115 |
| A Step Forward for the Irish Vanguard — by Gerry Foley | 47 | Abortion Fight in Italy | 154 |
| Sinn Fein Leader Seized in Dublin | 53 | Behind the Valpreda Case | 202 |
| An Irish Mass Revolutionary Party? — by Gerry Foley | 120 | Fascists Burn Far-Left Printing House | 474 |
| Irish Demonstrations in U. S. and Canada | 147 | 30,000 in Milan March for Indochina | 629 |
| United Irish March in New York — by John Breheny | 148 | Reveal CIA Financing of Party | 636 |
| The Debate on Women's Liberation at the Ard Fheis — by Gerry Foley | 149 | Trotskyists Hold Meeting in Milan | 708 |
| The Meaning of the One-Day Ulster Strike — by Gerry Foley | 168 | Trotskyists Set National Conference | 870 |
| Joint Actions in Britain Support Irish Struggle — by Rosemary Sullivan | 178 | "II Manifesto" in Solidarity With Ligue Communiste | 890 |
| Exiled From Irish Politics, Culture | 251 | Petition for Ligue Communiste | 949 |
| Irish Trotskyists' Election Policy Correction | 286 371 | Maoists on Sex | 1282 |
| Irish Fighters Denounce U. S. Aid to Britain — by Gerry Foley | 298 | Japan | |
| U. S. Irish Oppose Nixon's Support to Britain — by Fred Burns O'Brien | 318 | Chisso "Compensates" Its Victims | 386 |
| Local Issues Decisive in Elections — by Gerry Foley | 337 | Japan's Mounting Challenge to the U. S. in Brazil | 496 |
| | | Trotskyists Protest Ban on Ligue Communiste | 950 |
| | | Rightists Linked to Kim Kidnapping — by Martha Winnacker | 1274 |
| | | | 1513 |

| | | |
|--|------|------|
| Soviet Union | | |
| Evidence of Nationalistic Unrest in Kirgizia | | |
| —by Cliff Conner | 13 | |
| Soviet Dissident Questions Yakir Rumor | 64 | |
| Peking and Moscow Hail the Cease-Fire | | |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 131 | |
| Dissident Ukrainian Poet Sentenced | 187 | |
| A New Issue of "Chronicle of Current Events" | | |
| —by Marilyn Vogt | 218 | |
| First Public Attack on Sakharov | 248 | |
| Soviet Political Prisoners in Tribute to Galanskov | 319 | |
| Ukrainian Dissident Framed by KGB | 374 | |
| Ask Red Cross to Aid Soviet Prisoners | 375 | |
| Chornovil Sentenced to Twelve Years | 376 | |
| First International Conference to Defend Soviet | | |
| Political Prisoners | 376 | |
| Dzyuba Sentenced to Five Years in Prison | | |
| —by Marilyn Vogt | 398 | |
| Kremlin Joins the Copyright Agreement | 399 | |
| Prisoner Writes on National Oppression in Ukraine | 413 | |
| Ukrainian CP's Denunciation of Former Top | | |
| Bureaucrat | 530 | |
| Complete Edition of "Bulletin of the Opposition" | | |
| Issued —by Marilyn Vogt (BR) | 538 | |
| Kremlin Pushing "Recantation" Stories | | |
| —by Marilyn Vogt | 594 | |
| Kremlin Pours Oil on Nixon's Troubled Watergate | | |
| —by Allen Myers | 614 | |
| Brezhnev's Pact With German Imperialism | | |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 703 | |
| Kremlin Threatens Life of Imprisoned Dissident | | |
| —by Marilyn Vogt | 710 | |
| Harsh Sentences for Ukrainian Dissidents | 715 | |
| U. S. Capitalists Roll Out Red Carpet for Brezhnev | | |
| —by Dick Roberts | 760 | |
| Not All Horseplay in Nixon, Brezhnev's TV Show | | |
| —by Jon Rothschild | 787 | |
| Riots and Strikes Reported in Ukraine | 814 | |
| Petition in Canada for Jailed Ukrainian Dissidents | 844 | |
| Behind the Expansion of Soviet-U. S. Trade | | |
| —by Dick Roberts | 903 | |
| "Confessions" Used in Frame-Up Trial of Yakir, | | |
| Krasin —by Marilyn Vogt | 991 | |
| Emerging Opposition Currents —by Ted Harding | 1030 | |
| The Sakharov Case —by Marilyn Vogt | | |
| An Advocate of the "Cold War"? | 1157 | |
| An Appeal to the Wrong Address | 1200 | |
| From "Convergence" to "State Capitalism" | 1231 | |
| Report Successful Strike in Ukraine | 1259 | |
| Kremlin Discovers Watergate | 1294 | |
| Moscow's New Line on Struggle in Chile | | |
| —by Gerry Foley | 1366 | |
| Kremlin Intensifies Repression of Dissent | 1406 | |
| Ivan Dzyuba's "Recantation" | 1471 | |
| Spain | | |
| Franco's Police Fire on Striking Workers | 473 | |
| April Events in Catalonia Show Broadening | | |
| Militancy (Interview With a Trotskyist Leader) | 591 | |
| Trotskyists Hail Ligue Communiste | 950 | |
| Franco's Police Arrest Opposition Leaders | 1292 | |
| Political Prisoners Face Death Penalty | 1337 | |
| Sri Lanka | | |
| Ceylon CP Expels Two Leaders | 64 | |
| Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification | | |
| —by Jaya Vithana | 307 | |
| A Big Business the Regime Tolerates | 345 | |
| Letter from Jailed Sri Lanka Women | 378 | |
| Ceylon Mercantile Union's "Demands in Defence of | | |
| the People" | 416 | |
| On the History of the Ceylon Mercantile Union | | |
| —by Roshan Peiris | 478 | |
| Moves to Heal CP Rift Still Unsuccessful | 497 | |
| Petition in Defense of Democracy in Ceylon | 751 | |
| London Protest Against Ceylon Repression | 816 | |
| Scholars Denounce Ceylon Repression | 882 | |
| CP Expels Two "Soft-Liners" | 1091 | |
| Sudan | | |
| Imperialist Envoys Executed in Khartoum | | 261 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | | |
| Nimeiry Launches Witch-Hunt Against Palestinians | | 334 |
| —by Jon Rothschild | | |
| Sweden | | |
| Thousands March Against War | | 8 |
| Massive Antiwar Petition Drive | | |
| —by David Thorstad | | 37 |
| "Terrorist Law" Proposed | | 209 |
| Lapps Sue Government | | 226 |
| Trotskyists Hold Third Convention | | 275 |
| Parliament Votes "Terrorist Law" | | 277 |
| Maoists Join Fourth International | | 535 |
| "Terrorist Law" to Take Effect May 1 | | 539 |
| Hugo Blanco Arrives in Sweden From Chile | | 1327 |
| Spying Scandal Exposes Myth of Progressive Sweden | | |
| —by Kenth-Ake Andersson | | 1428 |
| Switzerland | | |
| Switzerland Upholds Ban Against Mandel | | 304 |
| Court Rules Against "La Breche" | | 358 |
| Geneva SP Against Mandel Ban | | 397 |
| Trotskyists On Question of Abortion | | 433 |
| Trotskyists Thwart Bugging | | 632 |
| Bourgeoisie Violates Its Own Legality | | 676 |
| The LMR National Convention —by Gerard Vergeat | | 677 |
| Increased Exploitation of Immigrant Workers | | 1276 |
| Taiwan | | |
| Chiang Arrests Ten at Universities | | 344 |
| Britain to Extradite Taiwanese to U. S. | | 562 |
| Chang Tzu-tsai Given Prison Sentence | | 1005 |
| Thailand | | |
| Students Demand Closing of U. S. Bases | | 690 |
| Bangkok Students Make Regime Back Down | | 871 |
| Mass Student Upsurge Brings Down Government | | |
| —by Ernest Harsch | | 1222 |
| New Regime Maneuvers for Stability | | |
| —by Ernest Harsch | | 1308 |
| The Students and the New Regime —by Ernest Harsch | | 1339 |
| Students, Workers Continue Mobilization | | |
| —by Ernest Harsch | | 1416 |
| Turkey | | |
| Government Steps Up Repression | | 42 |
| Political Prisoners Tortured | | 138 |
| Parliament Balks at the Generals' Candidate | | 339 |
| Deadlock in Turkey | | 375 |
| Former Naval Chief Elected President | | 473 |
| Defendants Charge Torture | | 857 |
| Generals Continue Show Trials | | 1104 |
| Elections Reflect Continued Instability | | 1232 |
| United States | | |
| Antiwar Forces Respond to New Escalation | | 9 |
| Laird Says U. S. Navy Will Stay in Culebra | | 13 |
| USLA Plans Campaign on Bolivian Prisoners | | 16 |
| The Truth About Truman —by Fred Feldman | | 17 |
| A Tip on the Horses | | 34 |
| "Pentagon Papers" Case Is On Again | | 39 |
| U. S. Seeks to Deport Three Iranians | | 53 |
| Pamphlet Scores U. S. CP on Czech Trials (BR) | | 55 |
| 100,000 in Washington Roar Protest Against War | | 67 |
| Thousands Join Local Antiwar Protests | | 70 |
| Nixon's War Against Freedom of the Press | | |
| —by Fred Feldman | | 77 |
| Phase 3 —More of the Same —by Ed Smith | | 78 |
| Puerto Rican Nationalists Liven Things Up | | 86 |
| Banker Goes Honest | | 98 |
| The Role of the Antiwar Movement —by Fred Feldman | | 108 |
| Australian Boycott Shook Even State Department | | |
| —by Sol Salby | | 113 |
| Gus Hall Lays One on Harry Bridges | | |
| —by Frank Lovell | | 117 |
| The Heir | | 130 |

| | | | |
|--|-----|---|------|
| How U. S. Left Views Vietnam Cease-Fire — by Fred Feldman | 135 | White House Directs Secret "Watergate" Network — by Allen Myers | 700 |
| Supreme Court Decision on Abortion — by Candida Barberena | 137 | Nixon's Defenses Falling One by One — by Allen Myers | 738 |
| Irish Demonstrations in U. S. and Canada | 147 | U. S. Capitalists Roll Out Red Carpet for Brezhnev — by Dick Roberts | 760 |
| United Irish March in New York — by John Breheny | 148 | Two-Thirds Think Nixon Guilty in Watergate — by Allen Myers | 762 |
| Another U. S. Reporter Jailed | 160 | Not All Horseplay in Nixon, Brezhnev's TV Show — by Jon Rothschild | 787 |
| Disposal With Honor | 162 | Why Nixon's "Price Freeze" Won't Work — by Dick Roberts | 800 |
| Sectararians Weigh the Vietnam Agreement — by Fred Feldman | 166 | Nixon Planning "Last-Ditch" Watergate Defense — by Allen Myers | 802 |
| The Murky Watergate Case | 185 | How Nixon Made Millions in Four Years — by Allen Myers | 804 |
| U. S. Documents Prove Ellsberg Innocent | 192 | The Ideology of ITT | 818 |
| Antarctica Icebergs | 194 | Solidarity With the Ligue Communiste (Socialist Workers Party Statement) | 831 |
| Behind the Latest Devaluation of the Dollar — by Dick Roberts | 195 | Nixon Under Pressure to Testify on Watergate — by Allen Myers | 840 |
| U. S. Loses Case Against Reporter | 213 | FBI Helped Organize Terrorist Group | 842 |
| International Indochina Conference Opens — U. S. and China Move Toward New Deals | 229 | Nixon in Seclusion as Scandals Mount — by Allen Myers | 858 |
| Bahrain Atai Wins Deportation Fight | 249 | The Radicalization Then and Now (Interview With James P. Cannon) | 873 |
| Exiled From Irish Politics, Culture | 251 | Feliciano Frame-Up Trial Set for September 4 | 880 |
| Poisoned Atlantic | 258 | Scholars Denounce Ceylon Repression | 882 |
| You Can't Always Get What You Want | 294 | Nixon's Defense Team Fumbles Its Assignment — by Allen Myers | 897 |
| Liberals Oppose Aid to North Vietnam — by Fred Feldman | 295 | New Light Shed on Kent State Massacre | 898 |
| Irish Fighters Denounce U. S. Aid to Britain — by Gerry Foley | 298 | Behind the Expansion of Soviet-U. S. Trade — by Dick Roberts | 903 |
| Wounded Knee Seized by Indian Militants | 306 | Watergate Cover-Up Comes Further Unstuck — by Allen Myers | 932 |
| U. S. Irish Oppose Nixon's Support to Britain — by Fred Burns O'Brien | 318 | Behind the Rise of the Teamsters Union — by Allen Myers (BR) | 944 |
| Switch to Dogfood | 322 | Nixon Seen as Outstanding Example | 946 |
| U. S. Faces an "Energy Crisis" — by Terry Quilico | 342 | Iranian Students Protest Shah's U. S. Visit | 968 |
| Wounded Knee Occupation Goes On | 354 | Nixon's Cover-Up Seen as "Desperate Gamble" — by Allen Myers | 969 |
| 8 Antiwar POWs Threatened With Trials — by Fred Feldman | 357 | Trotskyists Sue Watergate Gang | 972 |
| ITT Admits It Plotted Against Allende — by Jon Rothschild | 359 | Vietnam Vets Acquitted in Gainesville Trial | 986 |
| First International Conference to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners | 376 | Nixon Still Unable to Keep Lid on Watergate — by Allen Myers | 1003 |
| In Defense of the "Fort Worth 5" | 380 | Trotskyist Convention Is Largest Ever | 1007 |
| Watergate Stench Envelops Nixon Staff — by Fred Feldman | 393 | Nixon Launches His Watergate "Counterattack" — by Allen Myers | 1037 |
| Nixon Promises Meir New U. S. Arms | 405 | Nixon Regime Pleads Innocence in Chile | 1054 |
| Babak Zahraie Defeats Deportation Effort | 408 | How U. S. Tightened Economic Screws on Allende | 1055 |
| Set Antiwar Actions in 20 U. S. Cities | 408 | Behind the Watergate Scandal — by Allen Myers | |
| Public Backs Indians | 408 | The Evidence So Far: Nixon's Undercover Gang — I | 1062 |
| Antiwar Protests Greet Thieu's Visit | 425 | The Evidence So Far: Nixon's Undercover Gang — II | 1092 |
| Meat Boycott Protests Inflation — by Fred Feldman | 431 | What Nixon Contributors Got for Their \$60 Million — I | 1125 |
| CREEP Rolls On | 450 | Correction | 1164 |
| Bay Area Unions Call Mass Rally in Battle Against Food Price Gouge — by Nat Weinstein | 462 | What Nixon Contributors Got for Their \$60 Million — II | 1159 |
| U. S. Anti-Allende Plots Traced to 1964 — by Allen Myers | 471 | The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — I | 1250 |
| Report Nixon Aides May Be Indicted — by Allen Myers | 494 | The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — II | 1297 |
| Japan's Mounting Challenge to the U. S. in Brazil | 496 | The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — III | 1322 |
| ITT Aided Both Sides in World War II | 514 | Plumbers and Presidents: The Roots of the Crisis — I | 1352 |
| More Nixon Aides Named in Watergate Scandal — by Allen Myers | 515 | Plumbers and Presidents: The Roots of the Crisis — II | 1389 |
| How Nixon Found His "Silent Majority" | 518 | What the Crisis Means for the Left | 1453 |
| Watergate Burglars Used Against Ellsberg | 518 | More Works by Trotsky to Be Published | 1165 |
| Dean Reported Ready to Testify Against Nixon — by Allen Myers | 547 | Why Spiro Agnew "Copped a Plea" — by Allen Myers | 1186 |
| USLA Calls for Defense of Argentine Prisoners | 555 | Kissinger Gets Prize — For Bombing? | 1202 |
| Britain to Extradite Taiwanese to U. S. | 562 | Why Nixon Fired Watergate Prosecutor — by Allen Myers | 1218 |
| Sectararians Attempt to "Bury" CP | 566 | Storm of Anger Over Watergate Shakes Washington — by Allen Myers | 1247 |
| Congress Asked to Set Start of War | 578 | Gus Hall, a Prophet Scorned | 1263 |
| More Nixon Aides Caught Up in Watergate Flood — by Allen Myers | 579 | But Can They Find an "Alternative" to Nixon? — by Allen Myers | 1293 |
| United Action Defends U. S.-Irish Against Repression | 588 | Kremlin Discovers Watergate | 1294 |
| Group Defends Brazilian Prisoners | 596 | SWP Says "No" to Healyites | 1310 |
| Wounded Knee Occupation Ends | 610 | | |
| Watergate Was Nothing Unusual for Nixon Gang — by Allen Myers | 611 | | |
| Kremlin Pours Oil on Nixon's Troubled Watergate — by Allen Myers | 614 | | |
| New Game Plans | 658 | | |
| Nixon Outlines Watergate Whitewash Strategy — by Allen Myers | 659 | | |
| Washington Antiwar March Set for June 16 | 688 | | |

| | | | |
|---|------|---|------|
| Kissinger Wingding | 1314 | Bourgeois Nationalism and the Elections | 813 |
| Debate Continues: What Should Be Done With Nixon? | | CP on Anti-Trotskyist Campaign — by Alfonso Ramirez | 1028 |
| —by Allen Myers | 1317 | Trotskyists Hold Congress | 1264 |
| Unions Launch Campaign to Impeach Nixon | 1321 | Trotskyists View Coming Elections | 1375 |
| Nixon's "Phase 8" Cover-Up Off to Wobbly Start | 1351 | What Kind of Revolution? — by A. Vallejo | 1465 |
| Campaigning for the Arab Side — by Dave Frankel | 1383 | | |
| How Anti-Zionists Gained Hearing at Brooklyn College | | Vietnam, North | |
| Nixon Caught in Watergate Minefield | 1386 | Life Under the Bombing | 69 |
| —by Allen Myers | 1387 | Hanoi, Havana Deplore Sino-Soviet Rift | |
| Footnotes to Wohlforth's Footnotes to Footnotes in Trotsky Volumes — by Naomi Allen | 1402 | —by Dick Fidler | 1343 |
| Ford's Stock Rises as "Operation Candor" Flops | | Vietnam, South | |
| —by Allen Myers | 1423 | Concern for Saigon Political Prisoners | 8 |
| Rightists Bomb New York USLA Office | 1445 | Thieu Prepares for "Free Elections" | 9 |
| Nixon "Buying Time" With Small Confessions | 1446 | Fear Liquidation of Thieu's Prisoners | 41 |
| | | Saigon's Prisoners Face Torture | 68 |
| | | Thieu Violates Accords on All Sides | 133 |
| | | Thieu Continues to Violate Cease-Fire | 165 |
| | | Thieu's Violations of Cease-Fire Mount | 197 |
| | | Thieu's New Attacks Have U. S. Backing | |
| | | —by Fred Feldman | 230 |
| | | Viet Prisoners Tell of Treatment | 260 |
| | | Yugoslavia | |
| Uruguay | | Raids Carried Out on Ustasha Suspects in Australia | 439 |
| Tupamaro Leader on Trial in Montevideo | 466 | Repression Stepped Up — by C. Verla | 773 |
| Military Puts Tupamaro Leader on Trial | 702 | | |
| Bordaberry Dissolves Congress, CNT | | Zambia | |
| —by David Thorstad | 838 | Rhodesia Imposes Blockade on Zambia | 52 |
| Bordaberry Fails to Halt General Strike | 864 | | |
| CNT Leadership Calls Off General Strike | | Zimbabwe | |
| —by David Thorstad | 891 | Rhodesia Imposes Blockade on Zambia | 52 |
| Class-Struggle Wing in CNT | 893 | | |
| ERP, MIR, Tupamaros Sign Joint Pledge | 1232 | | |
| Military Occupies University of Montevideo | 1373 | | |
| | | | |
| Venezuela | | | |
| Caracas Rally Backs Socialist Candidate | 346 | | |
| Warn of Mounting Repression | 767 | | |

Subjects

| | | | |
|--|------|---|------|
| Antiwar | | Documents — Statements of the Fourth International | |
| Thousands in Sweden March Against War | 8 | The Vietnamese Revolution, Cease-Fire Perspectives, and Tasks of the International Revolutionary Movement | 27 |
| Antiwar Forces Respond to New Escalation | 9 | No Truce in Support for the Vietnamese Revolution | 112 |
| 700 in London March Against War | 10 | May Day Manifesto | 571 |
| Australian Dockers End Boycott of U. S. | 36 | For Unconditional Political Opposition to Campora Correction | 649 |
| Massive Antiwar Petition Drive in Sweden | 37 | Call for International United Front to Defend French Trotskyists | 925 |
| —by David Thorstad | 67 | Solidarity With the Chilean Workers | 1099 |
| 100,000 in Washington Roar Protest Against War | 70 | For the Defeat of Zionism and Imperialism | 1246 |
| Thousands Join Local Protests in U. S. | 72 | Salute to Greek Trotskyists Released From Prison | 1312 |
| Thousands Throughout World Protest War | 105 | The Revolutionary Explosion in Athens | 1439 |
| Vienna's Largest Antiwar Demonstration | 108 | | |
| The Role of the Antiwar Movement — by Fred Feldman | 113 | Documents — General | |
| Australian Boycott Shook Even State Department | 115 | Iranian Students in Germany Hit U. S. Bombing | 63 |
| —by Sol Salby | 115 | Soviet Dissident Questions Yakir Rumor | 64 |
| Police Assault Protesters in Mexico City | 115 | An Open Letter to the Candidates in Chile | 153 |
| 12,000 March in Rome | 175 | Egyptian Students Demand Democratic Rights | 220 |
| 12,000 March in London | 408 | The Czech Political Trials and the Opposition | 221 |
| Call for War-Crimes Trial for Nixon | 425 | Indian Militants' Letter to Pakistani Vanguard | 223 |
| Set Antiwar Actions in 20 U. S. Cities | 432 | Czech Student Leader Speaks Out at Trial | 287 |
| Antiwar Protests Greet Thieu's U. S. Visit | 629 | U. S. Irish Oppose Nixon's Support to Britain | |
| European Groups in Vietnam Campaign | 688 | —by Fred Burns O'Brien | 318 |
| 30,000 in Milan March for Indochina | 872 | Soviet Political Prisoners in Tribute to Galanskov | 319 |
| Washington Antiwar March Set for June 16 | 943 | Sinn Fein's Program in Irish Elections | 347 |
| Glasgow March Protests Cambodia Bombing | | "ERP 22" Supports Peronists | 348 |
| Antiwar Actions Planned in New Zealand | | Rucci Stung by Coral's Attack on Peronists | 349 |
| | | Letter From Jailed Sri Lanka Women | 378 |
| | | In Defense of the "Fort Worth 5" | 380 |
| Correspondence | | | |
| On Chile—A Possible Misinterpretation | 1279 | | |
| Reply | 1280 | | |
| More on Chile Solidarity March in London | 1472 | | |

| | | | |
|--|------|---|--|
| Prisoner Writes on National Oppression in Ukraine | 413 | Argentine PST Statement on Kidnappings | 477 |
| Final Returns in Buenos Aires | 415 | Irish Trotskyists Hold Conference | 480 |
| Platform of the Committees Against the Debre Law in France | 415 | Why Britain's White Paper on Ireland Failed — by James Conway | 509 |
| Ceylon Mercantile Union's "Demands in Defence of the People" | 416 | New Zealand Socialists on New Rise of Feminism | 540 |
| Hanoi's Statement to Vietnamese People on Signing of Cease-Fire Agreement | 446 | Ligue Communiste Central Committee's Political Resolution | 574 |
| Officials Denounce Derry Repression | 448 | Argentine PST Statement on Execution of Quijada | 653 |
| "La Opinion" Reports Argentine Montonero Statement | 476 | Maoists Revive "Great Conspiracy" — by Gerry Foley | 776 |
| On the History of the Ceylon Mercantile Union — by Roshan Peiris | 478 | "Great Conspiracy" of Sayers and Kahn — by Joseph Hansen | 778 |
| ERP Offers "Conditional Support" to Peronist Regime | 573 | Greek Prisoners Call for Mobilization to Free Junta's Political Prisoners | 784 |
| ERP Offers to Hold Fire on Campora Regime | 649 | Solidarity With the Ligue Communiste (Statement of the Socialist Workers Party) | 831 |
| Official and Provisional Positions on Northern Irish Elections | 654 | Statement by Chilean Revolutionists Prior to Coup | 1102 |
| Greek Students Appeal for World Support | 656 | Growing Dual Power in Chile on Eve of Coup | 1103 |
| Joint Declaration on Repression in Britain | 688 | Origin of "Fraccion Roja" of Argentine PRT | 1134 |
| ERP Statement on Campora's Appeal for a Truce | 717 | Argentine PST Statement on Assassination of Rucci | 1168 |
| ERP Statement on Aleman Kidnapping | 718 | Israeli Trotskyists on October War | 1309 |
| For a Free and Socialist Czechoslovakia | 719 | SWP Says "No" to Healyites | 1310 |
| Irish Political Prisoners Quit Saor Eire | 720 | Argentine PST Position on Self-Determination in Palestine | 1311 |
| Petition in Defense of Democracy in Ceylon | 751 | Venezuelan Trotskyists View Coming Elections | 1375 |
| Press Conference of Argentine ERP | 751 | | |
| Irish Republican Found Dead in Long Kesh Cell | 752 | Drawings by Copain | |
| Torres Forms New Bolivian Exile Group | 782 | Agnew, Spiro | 390, 702, 1004, 1066, 1169, 1188, 1391 |
| Petition in Canada for Jailed Ukrainian Dissidents | 844 | Allende Gossens, Salvador | 396, 707, 732, 836, 930, 979, 1057, 1368 |
| Four Bolivian Exile Groups Issue Call for Struggle Against "Fascist" Regime | 844 | Allon, Yigal | 177 |
| Withdrawal From Ireland Campaign Launched in Britain | 847 | Almirante, Giorgio | 203 |
| The Blueprint for Peron's Purge | 1167 | Baker, Howard | 1220 |
| Ivan Dzyuba's "Recantation" | 1471 | Balaguer, Joaquin | 193 |
| | | Banzer Suarez, Hugo | 1427, 1441 |
| Documents — Trotskyist | | Barzel, Rainer | 705 |
| Argentine Revolutionists Plan for Elections | 29 | Berrigan, Philip | 1092 |
| Program of the Workers Front | 30 | Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali | 330, 402, 1400 |
| A Revolutionary Alternative in the Elections | 30 | Blanco, Hugo | 669, 1090, 1147 |
| Ten Years — History and Principles of the Left | | Bork, Robert | 1387 |
| Opposition — by Max Shachtman | 56 | Brandt, Willy | 703 |
| Introduction — by Joseph Hansen | 56 | Brezhnev, Leonid | 594, 761, 994, 1457 |
| Foreword | 58 | Bridges, Harry | 118 |
| The Left Opposition and the Communist Movement | 58 | Bukovsky, Vladimir | 1032 |
| The Fight for Party Democracy | 59 | Caamano, Francisco, | 225, 810 |
| The Lessons of October | 61 | Cabral, Amilcar | 119 |
| The Theory of Socialism in One Country | 90 | Caetano, Marcello | 901, 1040, 1453 |
| The British General Strike of 1926 | 92 | Caldera, Rafael | 813 |
| The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution | 94 | Campora, Hector | 444, 654, 691, 757, 1331 |
| Planned Economy: Industrialization and Collectivization of Agriculture | 124 | Castro, Fidel | 1344 |
| The Break-Up of the Bloc Between the Right Wing and the Center and the Launching of the "Third Period" | 125 | Chavez, Cesar | 1322 |
| The Dangers of Thermidor and Bonapartism | 158 | Colson, Charles | 1129, 1252 |
| The International Left Opposition | 160 | Connally, John | 1130, 1299 |
| Interview with Juan Carlos Coral on Argentina | 155 | Corvalan, Luis | 982, 1333 |
| Position of the Ligue Communiste on Vietnam | | Cox, Archibald | 740, 1218 |
| Accords | 188 | Craig, William | 832 |
| Correction | 234 | Dayan, Moshe | 176, 232, 405, 674, 963, 1137, 1171 |
| Militants Head Workers Slate in Tucuman | 191 | Dean, John | 841, 1159 |
| Irish Trotskyists' Election Policy | 286 | Duclos, Jacques | 949 |
| Correction | 371 | Echeverria, Luis | 590 |
| Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification — by Jaya Vithana | 307 | Ehrlichman, John | 969, 1038, 1094 |
| Open Letter to Left Wing of Parti Quebecois — by Alain Beiner | 315 | Ervin, Sam | 661, 898, 1220, 1354 |
| Ligue Communiste's Position on Second-Round Elections in France | 347 | Faisal | 1214, 1287, 1382 |
| Developing Situation of Dual Power in Chile | 350 | Ford, Gerald | 1248, 1296, 1423, 1446 |
| Lessons of the October Crisis in Chile | 351 | Frei, Eduardo | 471, 1056 |
| Imprisoned Greek Trotskyists' Appeal | 384 | Garrastazu Medici, Emilio | 1268 |
| Free All Political Prisoners in Argentina | 411 | Gierek, Edward | 247, 749 |
| French CP Lies About Student Movement | 416 | Goodwin, Guy | 1093 |
| Trotskyist Prisoners in Greece Appeal to Student Movement | 443 | Gray, L. Patrick | 516, 1127 |
| Argentine PST's Declaration after March 11 Elections | 444 | Grigorenko, Pyotr | 710, 1030 |
| Argentine PST Calls for Casting Blank Ballots in Second-Round Elections | 445 | Gromyko, Andrei | 532 |
| | | Haig, Alexander | 1460 |
| | | Haldeman, H. R. | 1065 |
| | | Harriman, Averell | 1458 |
| | | Hawatmeh, Nayef | 1184 |
| | | Heath, Edward | 1434 |
| | | Ho Chi Minh | 447 |
| | | Hoover, J. Edgar | 1069 |
| | | Humphrey, Hubert | 1253 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------|
| Hunt, Howard | 1129 | Drawings by David | |
| Husak, Gustav | 186, 565 | Allende Gossens, Salvador | 521, 864 |
| Hussein | 1213 | Balaguer, Joaquin | 200, 463 |
| Jaworski, Leon | 1318 | Brezhnev, Leonid | 375, 609 |
| Karamanlis, Constantine | 713 | Campora, Hector | 664, 916 |
| Kennedy, Edward | 1131 | Franco, Francisco | 592 |
| Kim Il Sung | 1122, 1463 | Garrastazu Medici, Emilio | 161 |
| Kirk, Norman | 714 | Heath, Edward | 343 |
| Kissinger, Henry | 612, 700, 764, 860, 1128, 1179, 1281, 1286, 1350 | Lanusse, Alejandro | 699 |
| Kleindienst, Richard | 858, 1125, 1295 | Lechin, Juan | 1450 |
| Krasin, Viktor | 992 | Peron, Juan | 650, 695, 785, 867, 968, 1464 |
| Krivine, Alain | 830 | Drawings by Ivan | |
| Laird, Melvin | 1063 | Agnew, Spiro | 1186 |
| Lanusse, Alejandro | 653 | Zahraie, Babak | 408 |
| LaRue, Frederick | 842 | Drawings by Luis | |
| Lin Piao | 1009 | Georges Pompidou | 180 |
| Lon Nol | 965 | Drawings by Sabat | |
| Machado, Gustavo | 1029 | Hector Jose Campora | 324 |
| Magruder, Jeb Stuart | 763, 1389 | Ecology | |
| Makarios, Archbishop | 205 | The New Venice | 2 |
| Mao Tsetung | 1017, 1270 | Canada's Inferno | 66 |
| Marcellin, Raymond | 919, 987 | Disposal With Honor | 162 |
| Marcos, Ferdinand | 43, 1405 | Grzimek Quits—Skippy Still at Large | 187 |
| Mardian, Robert | 934, 1095 | Antarctica Icebergs | 194 |
| McGovern, George | 295, 1459 | Poisoned Atlantic | 258 |
| Meany, George | 1324, 1461 | U. S. Faces an "Energy Crisis" — by Terry Quillico | 342 |
| Meir, Golda | 76, 231, 672, 1140, 1182, 1207 | Chisso "Compensates" Its Victims | 386 |
| Messmer, Pierre | 451, 575 | Poisoned Fish Found in Vietnam Waters | 421 |
| Mitchell, John | 494, 741, 859, 899, 933, 1068, 1161, 1301 | U. S. Cities Being Buried in Garbage | 722 |
| Mitterrand, Francois | 146, 181, 826 | Features | |
| Moore, Richard | 897 | A Travesty of Marxist Method — by George Novack | 14 |
| Muskie, Edmund | 1221 | After the International Recession | |
| Nasser, Gamal Abdel | 1241 | — by Ernest Mandel | 88 |
| El-Nimeiry, Gaafar | 321 | Incomes Policy — A Weapon Against the Workers | |
| Nixon, F. Donald | 1352 | — by Ernest Mandel | 250 |
| Nixon, Richard | 67, 385, 548, 613, 931, 1003, 1037, 1096, 1160, 1188, 1233, 1249, 1424, 1456 | The "Second Serfdom" in Central and Eastern Europe | |
| Paisley, Ian | 833 | — by George Novack | 280 |
| Papadopoulos, George | 336, 443, 656, 1347, 1377 | The Second Fall of the Dollar — by Ernest Mandel | 302 |
| Papandreu, George | 736 | Correction | 474 |
| Park Chung Hee | 1121, 1415 | The Lambertists and the Vargaites Fall Out | |
| Paz Estenssoro, Victor | 845 | — by Pierre Frank | 406 |
| Peron, Juan | 755, 1053, 1307 | Contradictory Nature of the Postwar Prosperity | |
| Petkoff, Teodoro | 1265, 1466 | — by Dick Roberts | 526 |
| Pinochet Ugarte, Augustin | 1304, 1452 | Healyites Vs. Karl Marx on Gold and Inflation | |
| Pompidou, Georges | 808, 948, 1288 | — by Dick Roberts | 568 |
| Prats Gonzalez, Carlos | 981, 1334 | Healyites Find That Capitalism Has Dropped Dead | |
| Rahman, Mujibur | 140, 257, 469 | — by Dick Roberts | 599 |
| Richardson, Elliot | 660, 1005, 1187, 1219 | Revolutionary Nationalism, Class Struggle, and Problems of Party Building: The Healyites on the Irish Question. I — by Gerry Foley | 637 |
| Rockefeller, Nelson | 1251, 1455 | Performing Artists on a Flying Trapeze: The Healyites on the Irish Question. II — by Gerry Foley | 679 |
| Rogers, William | 1067 | The Radicalization Then and Now (Interview With James P. Cannon) | 873 |
| Rucci, Jose | 350, 724, 1082, 1118 | Behind the Expansion of Soviet-U. S. Trade | |
| Ruckelshaus, William | 611, 1219 | — by Dick Roberts | 903 |
| El-Sadat, Anwar | 46, 565, 742, 1139 | Facts Are Stubborn Things — by George Novack | 909 |
| Saxbe, William | 1319 | On the History of the Trotskyist Movement | |
| Scott, Hugh | 616 | — Interview With George Novack | 937 |
| Segretti, Donald | 1454 | How the Healyites "Answer" a Polemic on Economics | |
| Seguy, Georges | 1361 | — by Dick Roberts | 942 |
| Shah Reza Pahlevi | 721, 1401, 1407 | The Marxist Position on Individual Terrorism | |
| Sihanouk, Norodom | 837 | — by Leon Trotsky | 955 |
| Sirik Matak | 483 | The Inflationary Boom and Its Coming End | |
| Solano Lima, Vicente | 693 | — by Ernest Mandel | 1000 |
| Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr | 993 | Trotsky's Coyoacan Home to Be Made Into Museum | 1006 |
| Souvanna Phouma | 1091 | Fifty Years of Stalinist Treachery — by Milton Alvin | |
| Stans, Maurice | 762 | First Ventures as Gravedigger of Revolutions | 1035 |
| Strachan, Gordon | 971 | How Stalin Paved the Way for German Invasion | 1071 |
| Suharto | 1381 | Watchdogs for Capitalism in Europe and the U. S. | 1096 |
| Tanaka, Kakuei | 496, 1274 | "Peaceful Coexistence" — An Obstacle to Revolution | 1132 |
| Thanom Kittikachorn | 871 | A Postscript — Chile | 1190 |
| Thieu, Nguyen Van | 421, 1164, 1417 | | |
| Torres, Juan Jose | 667 | | |
| Velasco Alvarado, Juan | 735, 1448 | | |
| Whitelaw, William | 1123 | | |
| Whitlam, Gough | 635 | | |
| Wilson, Harold | 775, 1199 | | |
| Wilson, John J. | 1357 | | |
| Yakir, Pyotr | 991 | | |

| | | | |
|--|------|--|------|
| Behind the Watergate Scandal — by Allen Myers | | 8 Antiwar POWs Threatened With Trials | |
| The Evidence So Far: Nixon's Undercover Gang — I | 1062 | — by Fred Feldman | 357 |
| The Evidence So Far: Nixon's Undercover Gang — II | 1092 | Nixon Renews Bombing Threat — by Allen Myers | 390 |
| What Nixon Contributors Got For Their | | Was Mylai Massacre an Army-CIA Plan? | 391 |
| \$60 Million — I | 1125 | Behind the Vietnam Cease-Fire Agreement (BR) | 410 |
| Correction | 1164 | Poisoned Fish Found in Vietnam Waters | 418 |
| What Nixon Contributors Got for Their | | Nixon Escalates Bombing, Threatens Wider Raids | |
| \$60 Million — II | 1159 | — by Allen Myers | 421 |
| The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — I | 1250 | Hanoi's Statement to Vietnamese People on Signing | |
| The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — II | 1297 | of Cease-Fire Agreement | 446 |
| The Nixon Gang and the Labor Fakers — III | 1322 | Nixon Sends Saigon Army Into Cambodia | |
| Plumbers and Presidents: The Roots of the | | — by Allen Myers | 461 |
| Crisis — I | 1352 | Nixon Threatens Hanoi to "Save" Laos, Cambodia | 483 |
| Plumbers and Presidents: The Roots of the | | Nixon Widens Terror-Bombing of Cambodia | 519 |
| Crisis — II | 1389 | Nixon's "Options": Bomb Cambodia or Vietnam | 558 |
| What the Crisis Means for the Left | 1453 | Congress Asked to Set Start of War | 578 |
| The Global Struggle for Raw Materials | | Vote to Block Funds for Cambodia Bombing | 582 |
| — by Dick Roberts | 1111 | Congress in New Blocks on Bombing Funds | |
| Footnotes to Wohlforth's Footnotes to Footnotes in | | — by Jon Rothschild | 616 |
| Trotsky's Volumes — by Naomi Allen | 1402 | Cambodia Devastated by U. S. Bombing | |
| | | — by Jon Rothschild | 662 |
| | | Senate Votes to Cut Off Bombing Funds | 707 |
| | | Prince Norodom Sihanouk's Blunted Sword | |
| | 3 | — by David Burton (BR) | 716 |
| | 5 | Indochina "Peace" Talks Bogged Down | 731 |
| | 8 | Nixon, Thieu Press Attacks on Liberation Forces | |
| | 9 | — by Jon Rothschild | 764 |
| | | Nixon Continues War Despite "Cease-Fire" | |
| | | Communique | 797 |
| | 27 | Nixon, Sihanouk Move Toward Agreement | 837 |
| | 35 | Sihanouk Stakes Out His "Independence" | 860 |
| | 38 | Ask Aid for Vietnamese Political Prisoners | 861 |
| | 40 | Sihanouk Asks for Ammunition for Rebels | 912 |
| | 41 | Officers Describe Nixon's Secret Air War | 931 |
| | 41 | Rising Pressure on Nixon to Dump Lon Nol | 932 |
| | 68 | Nixon Plans More War After Bombing "Halt" | 965 |
| | 69 | Nixon Threatens New Cambodia Bombing | 998 |
| | 71 | Washington Expecting Gains From Laos Agreement | 1090 |
| | 87 | Escalating U. S. Terror | 1163 |
| | 99 | Thieu Escalates "Land Grabbing" Operations | 1340 |
| | | Thieu Bombs PRG Positions | 1417 |
| | 106 | | |
| | 112 | Reviews | |
| | 131 | Dutch Reviewers Debate Trotsky Movie | 54 |
| | 133 | "The Czechoslovak Frame-Up Trials and the U. S. | |
| | 134 | Communist Party," by Caroline Lund | 55 |
| | 134 | A New Issue of "Chronicle of Current Events" | |
| | 135 | — reviewed by Marilyn Vogt | 218 |
| | 163 | "Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital," by | |
| | 165 | Rosa Luxemburg and Nikolai Bukharin | |
| | 166 | — reviewed by Geoff Hodgson | 305 |
| | 175 | "The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution," | |
| | 188 | by Leon Trotsky — reviewed by David Burton | 409 |
| | 234 | Australian CP's Weekly Reviews Losey Film | 410 |
| | 197 | "The Meaning of the Vietnam Accords," by Barry | |
| | 227 | Sheppard and Dick Roberts | 410 |
| | 229 | "Questions Answers Questions," by Robert Havemann | |
| | 230 | — reviewed by George Novack | 440 |
| | 259 | "Women and the Family," by Leon Trotsky | 442 |
| | 260 | "Land or Death," by Hugo Blanco | |
| | 293 | — reviewed by W. Burian | 475 |
| | 295 | "Land or Death" Selected by "Choice" | 475 |
| | 331 | "Tegen de Revolutie: Het Evangelie. Het Kerkvolk | |
| | 355 | in de Nederlandse Politiek of: Het Einde van een | |
| | 356 | Christelijke Natie," by Martin Van Amerongen and | |
| | | Igor Cornelissen — reviewed by Gerry Foley | 506 |
| | | "Bulletin of the Opposition," edited by Leon Trotsky | |
| | | — reviewed by Marilyn Vogt | 538 |
| | | "My War With the CIA," by Norodom Sihanouk as | |
| | | related to Wilfred Burchett — reviewed by David Burton | 716 |
| | | "Documents of the Fourth International: The Formative | |
| | | Years (1933-40)" — reviewed by Allen Myers | 750 |
| | | "Leon Trotsky on Britain" — reviewed by Mary Wilson | 815 |
| | | "Teamster Power," by Farrell Dobbs — reviewed by | |
| | | Allen Myers | 944 |
| | | "Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia," edited by | |
| | | Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma — reviewed by | |
| | | Malik Miah | 1374 |