

# After 14 months silence to Anglophones Levesque brands WMA political truncheon

By TRISH HARDMAN

The Parti Quebecois' Rene Levesque has come out of hiding for the first time in 14 months.

After the War Measures Act, he swore that "les maudits anglais" were beyond logical persuasion.

For the benefit of the Anglophones at Holy Blossom Temple two weekends ago, he branded the WMA totally unjustified. He was speaking at a conference, Canada and Quebec, One Year Later. Secretary of External Affairs Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State Gerard Pelletier, and Quebec Justice Minister Jerome Choquette were also present.

"The WMA was used basically as a political truncheon on people, especially opposition people. All kinds of public prejudices cropped up out of the condition of manipulation. It



was psychological warfare by a bunch of amateurs, with Pierre Elliot Trudeau as the commanding general, trying to break the back, not of Le Front de Liberation du Quebec, a few dozen jerks, but trying to break the back of any fundamental democratic opposition to present institutions."

"It was also a psychological operation, to establish the image of more or less inevitable calling out of troops — some sort of occupation if Quebec should ever decide to secede," Levesque said.

He said the mishandling of the October events exposed Quebec premier Robert Bourassa as a hack of Pierre Trudeau. The increase of social and economic problems, under the federal system and the Bourassa government, has strengthened his party's credibility as the next Government of Quebec. However he is still worried about reaction from English Canadians.

He contrasted the violent means of the FLQ and the violent means of the federal government to his own party's democratic position. If the people of Quebec, not the whole population of Canada, decide by democratic means — either by election on referendum — to become a separate nation, how can the rest of the Canadian population support violent means by the federal government to prevent this, he pleaded.

"Are they going to send in the army against 1,500,000 votes, by a national group that thinks of itself as a nation and the whole world is there to see it? I don't think so," he said.

Cabinet minister Gerard Pelletier said the government used the WMA to stabilize the political atmosphere against left and right extremism — a situation which neither the police nor the government knew how to handle.

Levesque felt the War Measures Act had contributed to political panic, rather than stabilization. He said the crisis situation was built up by the federal government which led directly both to LaPorte's death and the subsequent rightist reaction by the Canadian population.

Where was the apprehended question mark asked Levesque. What was this break down of the Quebec political situation? What proof, other than panic did you have?

Pelletier replied that other action was being prepared in the background. A general student strike was in the making, and three or four ugly labor relations cases were developing in the city of Montreal. Under other circumstances these events would not give him as much cause for alarm, he admitted. However the panic climate in Quebec at the time made for an explosive situation, which the government wanted to avoid.

Quebec's justice minister Jerome Choquette defended the concept of a more de-centralized federation. He felt that economically, being part of Canada gave Quebec a better fiscal bargaining position, but that culturally and socially Quebec perhaps even more than the other provinces needed autonomous control.

Choquette criticized the temporary War Measures Act as inefficient and confused. One day the FLQ was illegal, the next day legal. He did not envisage more permanent legal controls, but hoped to improve the efficiency of the police forces in dealing with subversive activities. Indeed, he does seem to be improving in this area. For, as one young man pointed out, two plain clothes RCMP policemen were

strategically placed near the exits during his talk.

Mitchell Sharp, speaking for the federal government claimed that although spiritually every Canadian is at heart un peu separatise, economically and politically the overwhelming majority of the people of Quebec are still Canadian, then Quebecois. He concluded by attributing the malaise in Quebec to rapid technical modernization and recent urbanization in the Province.

The FLQ represents the "extreme element that always appears in times of uncertainty and disruption of accepted ideas." Although the FLQ are symptoms rather than causes of social unrest, they are "nothing more or less than criminals" and must be controlled "with use of reasonable force if necessary to protect the will of the peaceful majority."



Canadian tour Dec. 14-18, at York Tuesday

## Mitchell keeps Mandel out of U.S.

Ernest Mandel is speaking in Room G of Lecture Hall 2, from 12 noon to 2 p m on Tuesday. A well-known Marxist lecturer, Mandel is touring Canada from Dec. 7 to 14.

Mandel was scheduled to speak at an all-day conference at Town Hall, New York City on Nov. 29, 1970.

But U.S. attorney general John Mitchell wouldn't let him. The audience of 1,200 listened to his speech through a tape recording. A trans-Atlantic telephone hook-up had been planned so that Mandel could participate in the discussion, but the circuit failed. The U.S. attorney general has blocked his entry again this year.

Mandel had been admitted to the United States in 1962 and 1968. The second time he spoke at 30 colleges and universities from coast to coast.

Nonetheless, the government refused to permit him to enter the country when he applied for a four-day visa to debate Harvard Professor John Kenneth Galbraith at Stanford University, Oct. 18. In his keynote address to that conference Professor Galbraith declared: "It seems to me that the failure to give Ernest Mandel a visa is silly, stupid, irrational and also grievously bad politics. It angers everyone involved. It angers the Belgians. It angers the Americans and so far as I can see doesn't please anybody." He called upon the audience to write the State Department condemning "this stupid action."

### Protests

In the following weeks the volume of protests mounted on a national scale. The New York Times editors declared on Oct. 28 that "the idiotic decision to bar Dr. Mandel must be reversed." Two Nobel Laureates, Salvador E. Luria of M.I.T. and George Wald of Harvard; a group of prominent intellectuals including Susan Sonlag, Noam Chomsky, Professor Arno Mayer of Princeton, and Richard Poirier, an editor of Partisan Review; the Presidents of Stanford, Princeton and Vassar; and faculty members of more than 50 universities condemned the administration's ban on Mandel as a violation of academic freedom and a reversion to McCarthyism.

This campaign had its effect in Washington. Secretary of state William Rogers and undersecretary Elliott L.

Richardson ordered a reconsideration of the case, and then recommended that Mandel be given a visa. But he didn't get it.

According to Newsweek of Dec. 8, secretary of state Rogers is said to have fumed to an aide, "Why should we be afraid of this man and his ideas?"

### McCarren-Walter Act

The 1952 McCarran-Walter Act technically excludes certain categories of foreigners who belong to "prescribed organizations" on a secret list compiled by the justice department. Only the attorney general has the statutory authority to grant exemptions from this ban. This was accorded Mandel under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, which had largely permitted the exclusion part of the act to lapse.

Attorney general Mitchell, Nixon's campaign manager in 1968 and chief political adviser today, is of a different mind. He and Vice-President Agnew have initiated a campaign of intimidation designed to curb dissent and consolidate the Republican constituency in the Southern states and Middle America. His decision to bar Mandel, an internationally known Trotskyist, coincides with this course. When Mandel toured the United States in 1968, his revolutionary positions were assailed by such right-wing voices as Barron's Business and Financial Weekly, the conservative columnist William Buckley, and the Hearst press, whose editor-in-chief, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., wrote front-page editorials on Mandel. Mitchell and his entourage incline in the same reactionary direction.

This deliberate revival of the closed-door provisions of the McCarran Act has been interpreted as a reversion to McCarthyism by the N.Y. Times, the N.Y. Post, Time, Newsweek, the Communist Daily World, the London Guardian and numerous other commentators.

Under the title, McCarranism Revisited, the Nov. 27 N.Y. Times stated: "The denial of the waiver that was necessary for issuance of a visa by the State Department assumes added significance because secretary Rogers himself is known to have recommended approval of Dr. Mandel's visa. While the battle of the visa began at low levels of routine bureaucratic hurdles, it has culminated in a contest of conflicting authority and ideology at the

highest stratum of the Administration. The plain fact is that the justice department, on attorney general Mitchell's orders, overruled a request which the state department considered in the national interest."

So far the attorney general has rejected all appeals to change his stand. The Washington authorities subsequently hardened their attitude by preventing Tariq Ali, editor of The Black Dwarf, who is a leader of the British antiwar movement and also a well-known Trotskyist, from speaking at a convention of the Arab-American University Graduates and a Young Socialist educational conference at Detroit in early December.

### Civil Liberties Committee

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and its chief counsel, Leonard Boudin, who won a reversal in the Dr. Spock conspiracy case and a court appeal which assured Julian Bond his seat in the Georgia legislature, are studying legal steps to challenge the constitutionality of the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act under which Ernest Mandel has been excluded.

Indeed, the Mandel case is far from closed.

Meanwhile Mark Publishers is issuing a pamphlet so that Americans may read what a man who is probably the most influential and authoritative exponent of Marxist ideas in the West today had to say, even though the president and attorney general barred the door against him. Mandel is best known for his two-volume work Marxist Economic Theory, which has been translated into many languages from German to Arabic. Among writings of his made available by Merit Publishers are the pamphlets An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, widely used in college courses, and the recently printed The Marxist Theory of the State.

Mandel's conception of revolutionary strategy for the advanced industrial countries stood out in sharp contrast with the more or less libertarian, semi-anarchist and purely spontaneist positions presented by several of the other participants in the Town Hall conference. As an orthodox Marxist of the Trotskyist school, he stressed the necessity of building revolutionary parties linked in an international organization to prepare the working class for the conquest of power.