

# Intercontinental Press

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## And the War Goes On

*Since Richard Nixon became president of the United States, more than 2,700,000 tons of bombs have been dropped on Indochina, more than the combined total of all bombs dropped during the second world war and the Korean war. . . . The Nixon administration admits more than sixty bombing raids on North Vietnam during 1971. . . . More than 1,000 tons of bombs per day are being dropped on Laos. . . . Large parts of the Laotian and Cambodian countryside have been covered with "wide-area antipersonnel mines," which do not explode until their trip wires are disturbed. . . . Another Pentagon favorite, the cluster bomb unit, sprays out 250,000 steel pellets. . . . Most of the Plain of Jars is considered a "free fire zone," where any type of ordnance may be used deliberately or simply jettisoned by planes overhead. . . . An analysis by the Asian Development Bank predicts that there will still be between 110,000 and 200,000 U.S. ground troops in Vietnam at the end of 1972. . . . The U.S. Army is increasing its procurement of ammunition by more than one-third in the year ending June 30, 1972. . . . Nixon spent an estimated \$15,000,000,000 on the war in fiscal year 1971. . . . The figure for fiscal 1972 may run as high as \$14,000,000,000.*

# Death Sentence for 18 Turkish Youths

On October 9, two days before the arrival in Turkey of U.S. Vice President Spiro Agnew, a military court in Ankara sentenced eighteen alleged members of the Turkish People's Liberation Army to death. The eighteen were accused of kidnapping four U.S. airmen last March (they were held for four days, then released), engaging in terrorist activity against the police, and attacking banks, all with the aim of overthrowing the government.

Besides those condemned to death, the only woman in the group received a five-year jail term and two years of travel restriction. Two others received the same sentence, for "complicity." Three persons were acquitted.

According to the October 10-11 *Le Monde*, most of the accused were students. Their average age was twenty-four.

The trial was one of several. In Istanbul twenty-seven young people are standing trial for allegedly kidnapping and killing Israeli diplomat Efraim Elrom last May. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 13, p. 766.)

In Ankara, twenty members of the outlawed Workers party, including the party's chairwoman Behice Boran, are accused of hatching "Communist plots" to overthrow the regime, inciting youth to violence, and supporting the struggle of the Kurdish national minority for self-determination.

In Istanbul eighty-three others, among them life-Senator Irfan Solmaz, are accused of creating a secret organization to destroy the regime.

Agnew stopped in Turkey for two days on his way to the shah's festivities commemorating 2,500 years of Persian monarchy. At the conclusion of his stay, he held a news conference (from which the *New York Times*, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the Voice of America were excluded) at which he praised the military-imposed regime of Nihat Erim: "The new Government of Prime Minister Erim seems to me a very firmly established one, in a very short period of time. The officials with whom I talked are very solidly pro-NATO, anti-Communist, pro-West." □

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## Antiwar Campaign Opens With Rallies in 16 Cities

By Jon Rothschild

The fall antiwar offensive in the United States began October 13 with demonstrations in more than sixty cities and on hundreds of college and high-school campuses.

The largest rally occurred in New York City's garment center, a midtown concentration of light industry and offices. More than 3,000 people, many of them workers in the area, attended an afternoon demonstration that had been endorsed by twenty-five trade unions, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

Among the speakers were Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, and New York Mayor John Lindsay. The theme of the rally, which was widely covered in the capitalist press, was "End the War! End the Freeze!"

In addition to the New York demonstration, actions took place in Boston, San Francisco, Berkeley, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Seattle, Denver, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Antonio and Austin (Texas), Providence (Rhode Island), and Athens (Georgia).

The October 13 activities were mounted as a prelude to the November 6 mass demonstrations, which will bring the fall offensive to its culmination.

The second major pre-November 6 action was officially launched at an October 14 news conference in New York called by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC). On November 3, students across the country will go on strike, transforming their universities into organizing centers to draw other sectors of the population into antiwar activity.

Called and endorsed by student leaders throughout the nation, the slogan of the strike will be "Open it up! No business as usual!" This is a reference to the concept of the antiwar university, developed during the May 1970 student response to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.

Elaine Morrison, SMC high-school coordinator for Brooklyn, New York, announced at the conference that high-school students will also participate in the November 3 strike.

The SMC, which has been a leading force in organizing student participation in previous antiwar actions, now claims 30,000 members in hundreds of colleges, high schools, and junior high schools.

Support for November 6 has continued to mount. Among the most recent endorsers is the 18,000-member Michigan Federation of Teachers. Its administrative board voted October 9 to build a statewide contingent of teachers in the Detroit demonstration.

The Berkeley Board of Education has endorsed the November 6 protest, and the City Council voted to allow employees to take the day off (without pay) to participate in it.

The number of trade-union leaders supporting the demonstrations exceeded 150 as of October 13.

In most cities, contingents of various constituencies have been established—trade unions, women, high-school students, Blacks, Latinos, etc.

As preparations proceeded for the November 6 demonstration, new instances of GI resistance to the war were reported.

U.S. soldiers defending Fire Base Pace near the Cambodian border northwest of Saigon refused to go out on a night ambush patrol the night of October 9. The U.S. Regional Third Assistance Command issued a statement on this: "Some of the members expressed a desire not to go. The infantry company commander repeated the order and the men prepared to move out when they learned that an ARVN [South Vietnamese army] element had already manned the ambush position."

"At this point the order was withdrawn and no further action was taken."

According to the October 13 *Washington Post*, more than sixty of the

ninety men at the base have signed a petition to Senator Edward Kennedy saying that the patrols were suicide missions.

The October 13 *Washington Post* reported that more than 1,000 of the 4,500-man crew of the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea*, docked at the Alameda Naval Air Station, have signed a petition asking Congress to halt the sailing of the ship for Vietnam on November 12.

"The ship will not go back," said Seaman Larry Harris, twenty, at a news conference held by the sailors. "If petition doesn't work, we have other means." The spokesman for SOS (Save Our Ship) did not elaborate.

Navy Chief of Information Rear Admiral William Thompson said in Washington that the Navy has no plans to change the scheduled redeployment of the vessel.

In Saigon a group of GIs affiliated to the Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Vietnam, the group that organized the dramatic protests in Washington last April, have collected more than 500 signatures, from all branches of the service, on a petition demanding an immediate halt to fighting in Indochina. According to the October 13 *Washington Post*, James Mohler, an enlisted man in the Navy, predicted that the petition would garner several thousand names.

Finally, John Isaacs, a twenty-six-year-old officer of the U.S. Foreign Service who was stationed in South Vietnam, quit his job and left the area without notifying his superiors. Isaacs said he had not given prior notice because that would have meant "two weeks of hassling." "They don't like anyone resigning, so I am leaving on my own terms, not on theirs."

Isaacs summed up the feeling of the majority of the U.S. population, saying, "The war in Vietnam has been lost and the continued participation of American forces under the guise of Vietnamization is a fraud being perpetrated on the American people to cover up the loss." □

## The Fraud of Nixon's 'Vietnamization' Policy

In "The Illusion of Withdrawal," an article published in both the October 2 issue of the liberal U. S. weekly *New Republic* and the October issue of the French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Gabriel Kolko, professor of history at Toronto's York University, exposes the fraud of Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy.

"In my judgment," Kolko writes, "the cultivated illusion that the President has a 'plan' for which he requires public and congressional patience is belied by what the record shows to be a quite deliberate policy of protracted US military activity in Indochina and a will to sustain the war and the US presence there indefinitely."

Kolko presents convincing evidence to support his judgment.

The "Vietnamization" policy was first enunciated by Nixon in 1969, less than two weeks before the massive November 15 marches on Washington and San Francisco demanded immediate and unconditional U. S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor acknowledged that the aim of the policy was to "make it clear to the enemy that we can reduce the level of the war to something that the American people will support for a significant period." The hope was that the liberation forces would thereupon surrender to the U. S. occupying force.

In November 1969 Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird explained that the new policy would have two phases. "Phase One" would consist of transferring the bulk of combat ground operations to the Saigon army, while the U. S. would continue to provide massive air and artillery support. During "Phase Two" the U. S. would function in advisory and training capacities, with the Saigon puppets assuming responsibility for their own air and artillery support.

The timetable for the two phases depended, according to Laird, on three factors: progress at the Paris talks, the level of activity of the Vietnamese revolutionists, and the improvement of Saigon's military capacity.

Since the U. S. never had any intention of really negotiating in Paris, since the Vietnamese were not about

to scale down their struggle, and since the Saigon army has always been noted for its concern to avoid fighting, Laird carefully avoided predicting rapid U. S. withdrawals, and even mentioned the possibility of further escalation of the war.

Budget statistics quoted by Kolko demonstrate that the Nixon government in fact had no intention of allowing the Saigon regime to assume the major burden of prosecuting the aggression. If the theoretical projections of "Vietnamization" called for a snail's pace de-escalation of U. S. military activity, its reality did not even go that far.

The projected expense for the war during fiscal 1970 (July 1, 1969, to June 30, 1970) was between \$23,200,000,000 and \$25,400,000,000, of which only \$2,200,000,000 was budgeted for aid to ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam, the Saigon puppet outfit). This was \$300,000,000 less than the maximum figure allowable.

Thus, approximately 90 percent of the war's cost that year was devoted to U. S. actions, not to developing the ARVN, a fact that indicates the U. S. government recognized, despite its rhetorical proclamations, that preparing ARVN to assume the burden of the fighting was a hopeless endeavor.

This reality was likewise reflected in the number of U. S. ground forces remaining in Vietnam. A "semi-official and restricted Asian Development Bank analysis" estimated that troop withdrawals would slow down toward the end of 1971, and there would still be 110,000 to 200,000 U. S. ground troops in Vietnam by the end of 1972.

At the end of 1970, the Pentagon admitted that ARVN could absorb less than one-sixth of the U. S. helicopters then in use against the Vietnamese, and that air and naval operations would remain in the hands of the U. S. "for the foreseeable future," as one admiral put it.

This would indicate that achievement of Phase Two remains a remote possibility at best. Phase One, Laird said March 4, would be completed by the summer of 1971. He added, however, that "American ground combat forces

will remain in a security role to protect US forces as Phase II progresses," and that Phase Two "will take longer to complete" than Phase One. (According to government claims, Phase One was a nearly two-year operation. Laird's assertion, if taken at face value, would mean that Phase Two would last at least until the autumn of 1973.)

In addition, for the first time, a "Phase Three" was projected, during which the U. S. would maintain "a military advisory mission, together with whatever small security forces are needed to protect this mission."

While Laird attempted to conceal the real plans of the Nixon administration with double-talk, the military budget requests for fiscal 1972 (which began in July 1971) revealed a hint of the destructive power the U. S. rulers intend to use against the Vietnamese in the coming months. The air force will enlarge its fleet of AC-130 gunships. "US Army ammunition procurement costs fell from \$1.73 billion in fiscal 1970 to almost \$600 million less the following year, but they are to leap back to \$1.57 billion in 1972," Kolko wrote.

Most budget data for the war is classified, since its revelation would expose the dishonesty of Nixon's claim that the war is winding down. But after carefully culling through House of Representatives testimony on Pentagon financial requests, Kolko found proof that the U. S. support for the Thieu clique continues to be massive.

The best estimate of the total cost of the war during fiscal 1971 was \$15,300,000,000. "But close reading of the shifts in military spending discussed in the Pentagon hearings, and additional estimates in usually informed US publications, suggests that the full costs of the war for the fiscal year 1972, ending next June 30, are projected for at least \$10 billion, and more probably at \$12 billion. Various offhand comments that [Secretary of State William] Rogers and other officials have made in recent months hint it may run as high as \$14 billion." Less than one-fifth of this amount will be spent by Saigon mili-

tary forces, indicating that the major role in the war will continue to be played by the Pentagon.

Despite 226,000 troops in Vietnam itself, 206,000 others in Southeast Asia and the western Pacific, a multibillion-dollar military budget for the coming year, and plans for a "residual force" to remain in Vietnam indefinitely, Nixon

on apparently thinks he can convince the U.S. population that "Vietnamization" will end the Indochina aggression.

As Kolko demonstrates, "Vietnamization" is a policy in which the administration itself does not believe. On November 6 the American people will manifest their attitude toward it. □

## And the War Goes On

# Nixon's Score: 2,700,000 Tons of Bombs on Indochina

"We are making unusual efforts to avoid having the American young man stand toe-to-toe, eyeball-to-eyeball or even rifle-to-rifle with the enemy."

With this statement, U.S. Army Chief of Staff William C. Westmoreland summed up the military implications of the Vietnamization policy. To reduce U.S. casualties to a level that would allow indefinite prolongation of the war, the Pentagon has shifted U.S. military operations from infantry actions to the most highly automated aggressive warfare in the history of the world. An additional aim of the new strategy is to reduce reliance on the strongly antiwar GIs.

In the October 16 *New Republic*, William Haseltine, graduate student in biophysics at Harvard University, provides a glimpse of the destructive power being employed by the Nixon regime against the Indochinese people. "The Automated Air War," as Haseltine calls it, absorbs the lion's share of the billions of dollars appropriated by the U.S. Congress for the war.

Since Nixon became president, the United States has dropped 2,700,000 tons of bombs on Indochina, more than was dropped on Asia and Europe during the Korean and second world wars combined.

Since April 1968 more than 1,000,000 tons of bombs have been dropped on Laos alone. In April 1971, according to a Senate report, 340 sorties were being flown per day over Laos. (A sortie is one bombing pass by one plane.) Adding the bombs dropped by B52s in secret flights over northern Laos, the total comes to more than 1,000 tons a day.

Despite the Pentagon claim that bombing of North Vietnam has been halted, sixty-four "protective reaction" strikes have been carried out against the North so far this year. Some have involved more than 250 planes. They continue at a rate of about two a week.

Haseltine lists some of the aircraft being utilized in the new air war:

"There are O1E, O2 and OV10 spotter planes at 2,000 feet; A1E, A26, T28 prop bombers, AC47, AC54, AC-119, AC130 gunships, flare ships, rescue and gunship helicopters at 5,000 feet; F4, F100, F105, A7, B57 jet bombers, jet reconnaissance, EC47 and EC119 electronic aircraft at 10,000; KC-135 super-tankers at 20,000; B52s at 30,000; EC130 command and control aircraft at 35,000; and SR71 reconnaissance aircraft at 70,000 feet."

But this is not all. The Electronic Systems Division at Hanscom Field, an air force base near Boston, specializes in developing new computerized weapons systems. Hanscom's pride and joy, Haseltine reports, are two projects code-named *Igloo White* and *Commando Hunt*.

The first became operational in November 1967, over Laos. It was expanded in 1970 to cover Cambodia, and today it directs much of the bombing of the "Ho Chi Minh trail."

The great virtue of *Igloo White* is that it requires no ground troops. Battery-operated acoustic and seismic detectors are dropped from the air. The acoustic devices, which float down to be caught in trees, transmit noises

in their vicinity. Others, partially buried, detect ground vibrations. (The air force is attempting to develop still other detectors that will be sensitive to metal and body heat.)

Detector signals are sent to planes, which retransmit the data to ground facilities. The planes were formerly converted super-constellations, manned by large crews, but are now being replaced by modified Beech Debonairs, which can be flown by remote control.

The data are processed by two IBM 360-65 computers in Nakhon Phanom, Thailand, some seventy-five miles west of the beginning of the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail. (The 360 system is the largest data processing machine now functional. It can retrieve information from its vast storage capacities, not in seconds but in billionths of a second.)

The computer lists the times and locations of the detector information, produces maps with targets indicated by blips, and sends the data to the Battlefield Control Center, from which attacking planes are dispatched.

At a cost of more than \$2,000,000,000 in the past five years, the air force has been refining the system, aiming at developing mobile communications centers to replace the bulky nontransportable 360s.

It should be added that the attacking planes often blanket large areas with missiles, since the exact locations of the sensors are not always known.

The *Commando Hunt* attack system, with which *Igloo White* is closely integrated, is a four-step operation. First, all distinguishable targets, that is, any form of construction, are attacked by bombers directed by TV cameras and laser beams. Next, anti-truck mines triggered by sound, pressure, metal objects, or vibrations, are dropped. Then, the area is saturated with antipersonnel bombs. Finally, air strikes on targets spotted by *Igloo White* are ordered. The most common antipersonnel device now in use is the CBU-24. Each of these, often dropped on heavily populated areas, sprays 250,000 pellets over a 45,000 square foot range.

Despite such genocidal projects as *Igloo White* and *Commando Hunt*, Senate reports indicate that supplies from the North continue to flow into occupied South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. □

## Sakharov Defends the Right of Emigration

[Andrei Sakharov, academician and member of the Committee of the Rights of Man, sent the following appeal, dated September 20, to the Supreme Soviet. We have taken the text from the October 7 *New York Times*.]

\* \* \*

MOSCOW—The trials of recent months have once again reminded us of the tragic conflicts faced by Soviet citizens who wish to emigrate and resettle in another country as well as the legal, social, psychological and political aspects of this problem.

Soviet citizens, both Jews and those of other nationalities—Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Meskhi Turks and others—who have sought to leave for personal, ethnic and other reasons, have found their lives transformed into constant torture by years of expectation only to receive unjustified refusals.

There is another side to this problem. Concern can only be caused by the fate of those who, having lost hope of satisfying their aspirations within the framework of the law, decided to break the law in one way or another.

Many of these people have been sentenced to long terms of detention in camps or prisons or have been doomed to the horror of forced psychiatric treatment in such strict-regimen hospitals as the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital and others.

The attempts made by these citizens, prompted by extreme necessity, have for the most part been categorized by the courts as betrayal of the motherland, and have resulted in most severe punishment.

In December, 1970, the world was stunned by the sentences in the so-called Leningrad case about an attempted hijacking. Two death sentences were commuted by an appeals court, but the extent of public punishment remained exceptionally strict for the sentenced.

In May, 1971, a Lithuanian, Sim Kudirka, whose only guilt was an at-

tempt to remain abroad during a voyage overseas, was sentenced to ten years detention by a court in Vilna. He was able to jump onto an American warship, but was returned and sentenced for "betrayal of the motherland."

Finally there is yet another side to the problem. Persons attempting to leave, usually without success, find themselves in doing so in the position of second-class citizens with regard to retaining a number of their rights—because of prejudices, traditions and conformism in our society.

This involves the opportunity of continuing with one's studies or with one's job, and may even result in judicial prosecution. The recent trials of Palatnik in Odessa and Kakut in Sverdlovsk are, in my opinion, examples of such preconceived and obviously unjust approaches.

Commenting on the above aspects of the problem as a whole, I would like to stress that a humane and just solution would be highly important to further democratization of our country, for the final overcoming of our international isolation, for an exchange of people and ideas and for the defense of the rights of man—that

## Japan

## Tokyo Airport Protesters Appeal for Aid

[In previous issues (March 29, p. 274 and October 4, p. 834) *Intercontinental Press* has reported the struggle of the peasants of Sanrizuka-Shibayama against the construction of the new Tokyo International Airport. Following the latest wave of police attacks on the peasants and their worker and student supporters, we received the following appeal from the Peasant League and the Red Help Center. It is dated September 21.]

\* \* \*

We, the Sanrizuka-Shibayama Kukohantai Domei [Sanrizuka-Shiba-

primary and basic value of a socio-political system.

The freedom to emigrate, which only a small number of people would in fact use, is an essential condition of spiritual freedom. A free country cannot resemble a cage, even if it is gilded and supplied with material things.

Respected members of the Supreme Soviet, I appeal to you, I appeal to anyone who wants the citizens of this country to be truly free, to contribute in every way possible to a solution of these problems. In particular, I appeal to you personally to take the initiative in the following:

- It is essential to adopt legislation that would resolve the problem of emigration in a democratic spirit so that anyone who desires to leave the country will be given the opportunity to do so and, if he then changes his mind, to return home without hindrance. This would be in keeping with the rights of man that are universally acknowledged.

- Further, it is essential that the section of the criminal code on high treason be amended so that it will no longer be interpreted as broadly as has been evident in recent trial practice.

- It is essential to grant an amnesty to all citizens sentenced in connection with attempts to leave the country and to release those who, for the same reason, are being subjected to forced treatment in special psychiatric hospitals. □

yama Peasant League Against the New Tokyo International Airport] and the Kyuen Center [Red Help Center], wish to inform you of our six-year-long struggle against the construction of a new military airport, and ask for your moral and material support.

The U. S.-Japanese imperialists, who already have the U. S. airbase of Yokota-Tachikawa (in the western suburbs of Tokyo) and presently utilize nearly half the facilities of the Tokyo International Airport for their unjust war against the Vietnamese people, have been expropriating the farms and fields of Sanrizuka-Shibayama to con-

struct still another military base in the Tokyo vicinity.

Realizing that the new airport would be used against the Vietnamese, the peasants of the area refused to sell their land to the Kodan [New Tokyo International Airport Public Corporation]. They formed the Sanrizuka-Shibayama Kukohantai Domei to actively oppose construction of the airbase.

During the struggle the peasants continued to farm their lands, creating a sort of commune—simultaneously an organ of struggle and production.

Twice this year—in February and September—Kodan forcibly seized peasant land, plundering the people's property in the name of the government. The expropriations were carried out by the clubs and poison gas of the Kidotai [specially armed police] and the power shovels and bulldozers of the government's corporation.

On September 20, 5,000 special police surrounded the house of the sixty-three-year-old peasant woman Yone Oki, bulldozed her house, and wounded her.

Prime Minister Sato and Kodan President Imai praised this cruel and brutal police action.

The peasants, students, and young workers fought the expropriations, building barricades, a sixteen-meter-high tower, and other towers on the farms to defend themselves against the police.

The riot police, armed with clubs and gas, attacked the defenders on the towers and barricades, wounding many of them. Eleven students were seriously injured when Kodan's power crane destroyed the tower they were standing on. One of them remains in critical condition one week after the battle.

About 2,000 were wounded and more than 980 arrested. Many are being hunted as "killers" of three cops who died in the fighting; about 100 are held by police on suspicion of arson.

The Kyuen Center, together with its nationally organized groups, is collecting money, medical supplies, etc., for the wounded and arrested. Many young lawyers have come to the aid of the Peasant League; young doctors have staffed the Sanrizuka-Shibayama Field Hospital. (The police even raided the hospital itself, wounding some doctors.)

The Sanrizuka-Shibayama Kukohantai Domei declares that the strug-

gle has just begun. We have already delayed construction of the airport for two years. The Hantai Domei [Protest Alliance] and the students and young workers supporting the peasants will continue to create a more and more difficult situation for the government and its corporation. Many more fighters may be wounded and arrested by the expropriators.

Dear comrades, brothers and sisters:

## Vorster Changes His Mind

# Zambia Charges South African Aggression

The government of Zambia on October 6 asked for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss South African border raids into Zambian territory.

As a result, South Africa's Prime Minister John Vorster has apparently had an attack of the Nixon foot-in-mouth disease.

On October 5, Vorster told a convention of the Transvaal organization of his Nationalist party that four South African police constables had been injured and an army officer killed when land mines exploded October 4 and 5 in the Caprivi Strip.

(The Strip is a narrow panhandle stretching from northernmost Namibia [South-West Africa], a disputed territory ruled by South Africa, eastward to the Zambezi River. Ranging in width from twenty to sixty miles, it separates Zambia from Botswana. The apartheid government of South Africa claims sovereignty over the Strip, and it is completely closed to outsiders. Sparsely populated by indigenous tribes, it is rigidly patrolled by South African police.)

Vorster claimed that the land mines had been placed by "Communist-trained terrorists" operating from Zambian territory.

According to a report by Stanley Uys published in the October 6 *Washington Post*, Vorster told the convention: "It will be remembered that I said at this congress last year that if terrorists come into our territory and attack our people, we reserve the right to pursue them wherever they might flee. . . .

"This is therefore being done in this case and if the pursuers are attacked, they will defend themselves. The re-

We ask your support in our fight against the New Tokyo International Airport—that base for the unjust U. S. war against the Vietnamese and Indo-Chinese people. We urgently request your moral and material support.

Correspondence should be addressed as follows: Mr. Gan Mito, Secretary, Kyuen Center, Asano Bldg., 2-6-8, Nishishinbashi, Minatoku, Tokyo, Japan. □

sponsibility in this case rests squarely on the shoulders of the country making available its territory for this sort of aggression." (Emphasis added.)

Moreover, after two South African cops had been killed by a land mine in the Strip last May, Vorster was quoted as having said that he would order "terrorists" pursued "all the way to Lusaka [the Zambian capital]" if necessary.

The South African press took Vorster at his word and reported that a police search party had entered Zambia. *Die Transvaaler*, the Nationalist party daily, for example, carried a page-one headline: "South African Police Shoot in Zambia."

On October 6, after Zambia had protested to the UN, and reports indicated that 100 Zambian military vehicles were on their way to the South African border, Vorster claimed the whole thing was a misunderstanding, which he blamed on the press.

"I never said that the police crossed the border," he declared. Then, he ordered newspaper publishers to meet with him late in October to discuss "information policy."

It is not clear whether Vorster was lying in his first or second version of the events, but perhaps the South African press will be more prudent in the future when quoting their prime minister. □

## New Land of Opportunity

New Zealand coffin-makers hope to increase sales through exports, according to the *Christchurch Star*. One entrepreneur was quoted as saying, "There's a fabulous market for coffins in Australia—they have about 100,000 deaths a year over there."



## Protest Against Alaska Nuclear Test

Thousands of residents of British Columbia have protested Nixon's plans to explode a five-megaton nuclear warhead beneath Amchitka Island in the Aleutians. The October 11 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge* reported that 10,000 high-school students in Vancouver walked out of classes October 6 to protest the scheduled test.

Opposition to "Cannikin," as the proposed explosion is called by the Pentagon, has been expressed not only by students, but also by labor organizations, community groups, environmental organizations, municipal bodies, and even the Vancouver Real Estate Board.

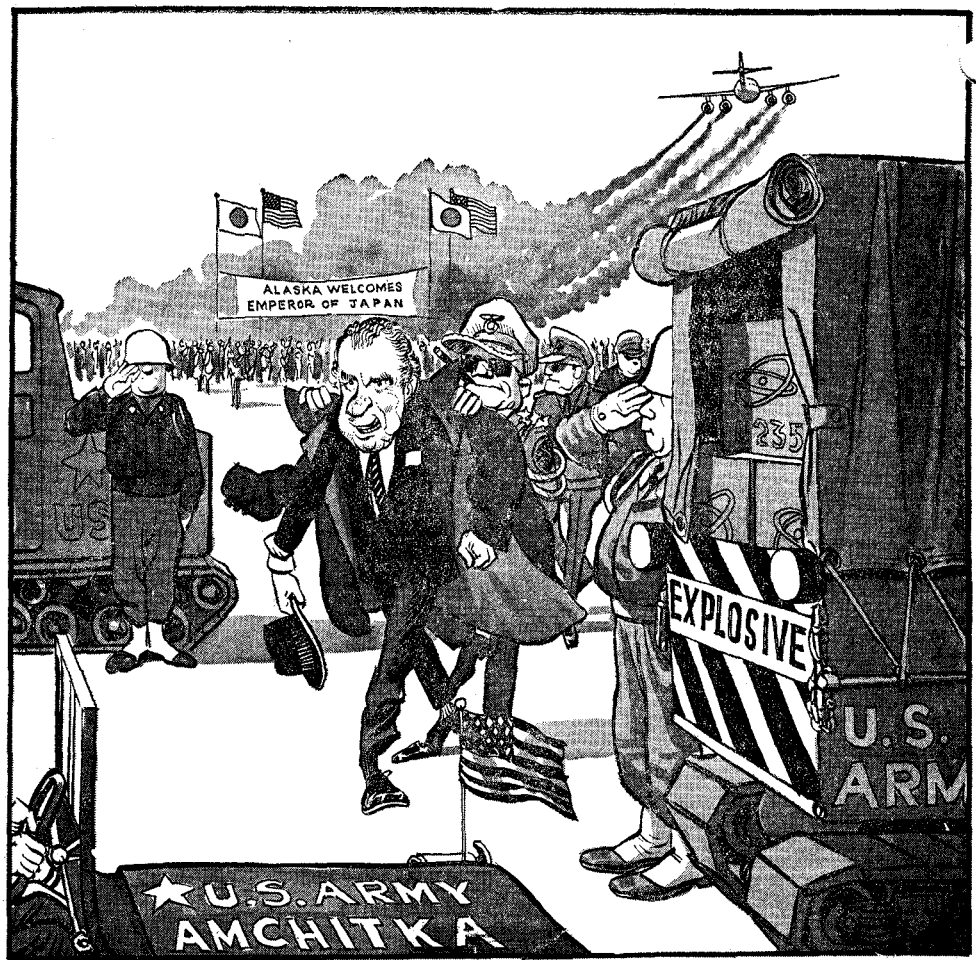
The blast area lies over an earthquake fault. One week after a similar nuclear explosion on Amchitka in 1969, there was a severe earthquake in Asia and a milder one in California. Residents of the Canadian west coast are also concerned about radiation from the explosion leaking into the atmosphere. Such leakage has occurred in one-fourth of all the underground tests conducted in Nevada.

A group of scientists and antiwar activists have sailed a ship named *Greenpeace* into the area near Amchitka Island to dramatize the widespread opposition to the blast.

"The ship had great difficulty getting under way," *Labor Challenge* reported. "Federal government officials threatened to cancel the vessel's insurance and used fishing license qualifications as another impediment. Now, of course, with public support for it so obvious, Trudeau expresses his sympathy for the expedition."

The *Greenpeace* was boarded by crewmen of the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Confidence*, according to an October 12 Associated Press dispatch quoting an Anchorage, Alaska, newspaper.

The paper said that while the captain of the *Confidence* was informing the group on the *Greenpeace* that they were violating "customs regulations," sailors aboard the *Confidence* passed a message to the peace activists.



MacPherson, in the Toronto Daily Star

'Okay, that's that— now let's blow the damned place up!'

Signed by eighteen members of the crew, the message read:

"Due to the situation we are in, we, the crew of the *Confidence*, feel that what you are doing is for the good

of all mankind. If our hands weren't tied by these military bonds, we would be in the same position you are in if it were at all possible. Good luck. We are behind you 100 percent." □

## Rising Unrest in British Prisons

The British Home Office, which is in charge of the country's prisons, is studying with considerable trepidation a letter that inmates of the 162-year-old Dartmoor prison wrote to the National Council for Civil Liberties, according to a report by Bernard Weinraub in the October 3 *New York Times*.

The letter, which arrived nearly simultaneously with the outbreak of the Attica rebellion in the United States, complained about conditions in the overcrowded institution.

There are now 111 prisons in England and Wales with 40,000 inmates. One-third of the prisoners live two or

three to a cell that was designed for a single inmate; half live in buildings that are more than 100 years old.

The consequent miserable conditions have led to protests and rebellions in Albany and Parkhurst prisons, in jails in Liverpool and Bristol, and on the Isle of Wight.

The Dartmoor letter, signed by forty-nine prisoners, said in part: "Many men after reading the latest accounts of incidents in prison and hearing them on the radio are ready for action. The situation is coming to a head as it seems only militant action can bring results." □



# The Shah Throws a Small Party for His Friends

By Allen Myers

The shah of Iran merely wanted to throw a little party, but everyone misunderstood his intentions. The "Light of the Aryans," Charlotte Curtis reported in the October 12 *New York Times*, was quite disturbed by criticism of the celebrations marking the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian empire.

"Why are we reproached for serving dinner to 50 heads of state?" he is said to have asked an interviewer recently. "What am I supposed to do, give them bread and radishes?"

As it turned out, not even the commoners among the 500 guests need have worried about being given such homely fare. The twenty-two tons of provisions were served by Maxim's of Paris, and included partridge stuffed with foie gras and truffles, and poached eggs with caviar. All the food, except for a ton of Persian caviar, was French.

One of the more elaborate dishes was not consumed at all, but used only for decoration at a formal dinner October 14. This consisted of ninety-two imperial peacocks, tail feathers spread, surrounded by a "court" of cold quail in jelly.

To quench the thirst of his guests, the shah imported 4,500 bottles of the best Bordeaux, Burgundies, and Champagnes, including Château Lafitte Rothschild 1945, which normally sells for \$100 a magnum.

Since the anniversary celebration came nine years late (the Persian empire is considered to have begun in 539 B. C., when Cyrus the Great conquered Babylon), the shah had plenty of time to make sure that his guests would be provided with every comfort.

Presumably because the festivities were scheduled to last only five days, the shah abandoned his original idea of building a grand deluxe hotel to house his guests. Instead, Jansen's of Paris was commissioned to set up fifty-four silk-lined tents in the desert near the ruins of the ancient capital of Persepolis.

These were a trifle more spacious

and well equipped than the tents to which the average camper is accustomed.

"Each of the circular blue and gold tents," the October 3 *New York Times* reported, "has a circular audience chamber with two bedrooms, two marble bathrooms, servants' quarters and kitchenettes. Inside, no two of the tents are alike."

Other conveniences include three telephones per tent, damask linen, Limoges plates by Ceralene, and glasses by Baccarat.

The price of the tents is reported to have been roughly equal to what the construction of a hotel would have cost.

There were a few other expenses involved as well. The cost of the airport constructed for the occasion has not been reported, nor has the price tag on the nine-hole golf course. But the October 11 issue of *Newsweek* put the cost of uniforms for the Royal Guards at \$1,200 apiece. It is possible that the shah may have received a discount when he purchased the 250 Mercedes-Benz automobiles that saved his guests the inconvenience of walking when they wanted to drop in on their neighbors.

The total bill for the celebrations is reportedly more than \$100,000,000. It would have been unreasonable, of course, to expect the shah to bear the cost out of his own pocket. Being a reasonable man, he didn't.

A deputy to the shah's hand-picked Majles (parliament) was quoted in the September 21 Teheran daily *Kayhan* as giving the following explanation of how part of the expenses were met:

"Concerning the street decorations, they ask where the money has come from. Sir, the expenses are paid by the merchants and shopkeepers."

The petty bourgeoisie is not the only sector of Iranian society that has expressed its devotion to the shah by kicking in the funds to pay for his party. The Iranian Students Association in the United States reports that schoolchildren, unions, government employees, homeowners, and anyone

who pays a public utilities bill are all being permitted to participate in this aspect of the celebration. This may be what David Lilienthal, one of the shah's American advisers, meant when he told *Newsweek*:

"Pride motivates people to better themselves. You have to show them some glamour, and you have to show them what you're bringing them into the modern world for."

Imagine the pride that must be felt by the Iranian people when they see that their average annual per capita income of \$350 does not prevent them from spending \$100,000,000 for the greater glory of their beloved monarch. Who can conceive of the glamour involved when people who consume an average of 2.7 pounds of meat per month present visiting royalty with a ton of caviar?

Of course, there were a few mean spirits who were unimpressed by the grandeur. As a considerate host, the shah took great pains to see that they would not be allowed to disturb his guests. Eric Rouleau reported in the October 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* that security was organized in three concentric circles.

The outer, "blue circle," more than seventy miles in diameter, was cleared of all suspicious elements—"sometimes including entire tribes." It was patrolled by several infantry companies.

The "green circle," some twelve miles in diameter, in which journalists and official delegations were housed, was protected by paratroopers.

Finally, the "red circle," some 150 acres containing the tents for the guests, was protected by the imperial guards and various special units.

Military airplanes flew overhead night and day, as a further precaution. These arrangements, John K. Cooley wrote in the October 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, were estimated to involve some two divisions of military personnel.

Rouleau added the following details about the impressive security measures:

"Hundreds—some say thousands—

of people have been arrested or placed under house arrest for the celebration period. Universities and secondary schools have been closed to foil the strike appeals launched by anonymous groups. All ministries, official buildings, and numerous public figures are being guarded by the forces of order. Parents of young militants who are in hiding or who have joined the underground are being held as hostages."

In such an elaborate production, a few mix-ups were inevitable. King Hussein's sister and her husband were forced to sleep on cots because of an insufficient number of beds in the Jordanians' tent. Maximilian Cardinal de Furstenburg, the pope's representative, found that he had not been assigned a tent. After lodging a protest, he finally received one, perhaps as a concession to the ecumenical spirit. Kai-Uwe von Hassel, president of the West German Bundestag, was unwilling or unable to pull the necessary strings and had to content himself with accommodations in a hotel.

Matters of protocol appear to have been settled in a straightforward manner, to judge from a report by Charlotte Curtis in the October 15 *New York Times*:

"Monarchs, whose families have been royal for centuries, didn't bother to bow to the Shah, whose father was little more than a peasant, but commoners did."

In the convivial atmosphere, most of the guests felt no need to put on airs. At the formal dinner, no more than twenty crowns and a dozen or so tiaras were visible. The fifteen-year-old daughter of Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos was content to display a modest diamond necklace across her forehead. The representatives from the East European workers states dressed in simple proletarian black silk suits with white shirts and ties.

The just-plain-folks mood of the gathering was perhaps best symbolized by Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, who was seen walking his pet chihuahua through Persepolis. The dog, of course, wore a diamond-studded collar. □

#### Makes It Easier for Nixon

The constitutional convention voted September 30 to write the Philippines' new constitution in English. Some bureau in Washington probably has a draft ready.

## Kidnapped by Buenos Aires Police

### An Argentine Woman Appeals for the Life of Luis Enrique Pujals

[Luis Enrique Pujals, said to have been wanted by the Argentinian police because of alleged membership in the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Army of the People), was kidnapped in Buenos Aires September 24 by unknown assailants.

[His companion, Emilia Susana Gaggero de Pujals, said that she had received an anonymous telephone call informing her that her husband was being held by the federal police. However, the police denied knowing anything about his whereabouts.

[In an open letter to President Lanusse, Emilia Susana Gaggero de Pujals appealed for information about her husband and for protection of his life.

[The following is a translation of her letter as published in the October 6 issue of *La Verdad*, a Buenos Aires weekly newspaper.]

\* \* \*

The federal police have held my husband for seven days. After taking all the steps called for by the law, I should like to draw some conclusions as to what has happened to my husband.

I believe that the way in which he has been dealt with is not something unique. It could occur to anyone in view of the fact that our country's repressive institutions act in general with complete impunity, all restraints having been removed by new laws giving the government life and death powers over individuals without being held accountable.

While I do not intend to deny the political course followed by my husband, it is also necessary to note that this is part of the reality of our country which witnesses conflicts every day in all areas—labor, culture, and politics.

My husband is the victim of the only answer your government has to these facts—arrest, kidnapping, and refusal to indicate his whereabouts, thereby prolonging the suffering of his family, who, in view of the prece-

dents that are publicly known (the Martins, Maestre, Verd cases) fear for his life or his being tortured.

According to the president of the nation, acts like these are justifiable inasmuch as a domestic war is being conducted against what he calls subversion. But I, like many Argentinians, wonder why the international Geneva conventions, which call for humane treatment and respect for the lives of prisoners of war, are not being observed.

As a psychologist it is a daily affair for me to encounter illness and in some instances death, but I have always tried to fight them. That is, my profession enables me to battle against them and draw human beings away from their influence. But on the other hand I have found that men exist whose profession it is to provoke them, and who even draw wages and support their families doing it.

Finally, Mr. President, I say to you: You are responsible before the law, before history, and before the people for the historical process our country is undergoing. You are also responsible for all the actions of the organs of power. You must guarantee the physical well-being and life of my husband. As a wife, as a mother, as an Argentine woman, I demand it.

*Emilia Susana Gaggero de Pujals*

### Yahya Khan Backed by Kim Il Sung?

Kim Il Sung has apparently joined Mao Tsetung as a supplier of arms to Yahya Khan's army. In the October 15 *New York Times* Benjamin Welles reported that according to "well informed" Washington sources, the *Sipsah*, an 8,000-ton Pakistani ship, arrived in Karachi from the North Korean port of Hungnam September 18. Its cargo consisted of crates of small arms and ammunition.

The same unnamed sources reported that Pakistan and North Korea had signed an agreement to open consulates in each other's countries.



BODIES OF TWO STUDENTS murdered by "La Banda" were discovered early on the morning of October 9. Activities of

the right-wing terrorist gang continue unabated in spite of Dominican President Balaguer's "suppression" of the group.

## 'La Banda' Slays Five More in Santo Domingo

By J. V. Hanley

The supposedly "dissolved" right-wing terrorist formation in the Dominican Republic known as "La Banda" has resumed its killings on an expanded scale, setting off a new political crisis for President Joaquín Balaguer.

Public opinion was shaken severely by the discovery October 9 of five new victims of the so-called Juventud Democrática Reformista Anticomunista (Democratic Reformist Anti-Communist Youth).

The five victims, whose bullet-ridden bodies were discovered in three separate parts of Santo Domingo, were identified by the press as Rubén Darío Sandoval, sixteen years of age; Víctor Fernando Checo and Gerardo Bautista Gómez, both eighteen; Reyes Florentino Santana, nineteen; and Rhadamés Peláez Tejada, twenty-one. They had all been threatened with death by La Banda members for having expressed satisfaction over the killing of La Banda leader Johnny Ba-

tista, also known as Johnny Vargas, on October 6.

The dead youths were identified by the Santo Domingo daily *El Nacional de Ahora!* of October 10 as members of the "Héctor J. Díaz Club" of the "27 de Febrero" slum district. Their group was not apparently affiliated with any political tendency, but its cultural activities had a strong element of nationalism.

The club issued a statement condemning the murders as aimed at "halting our work of community organizing and cultural development." The group characterized its general goals as "struggling on behalf of the native culture, against Yankee cultural penetration, and for national sovereignty," according to *El Nacional de Ahora!*

Sandoval and Florentino Santana, both students, were also involved with left-wing political groups. Sandoval was reportedly active in the Revolutionary Student Union (Unión de

Estudiantes Revolucionarios) at Juan Pablo Duarte Night School. Florentino Santana was identified as a member of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD—Dominican Revolutionary party).

The other slain youths had no apparent political affiliation outside of the neighborhood cultural club. Checo was identified simply as a "student," and Peláez Tejada and Bautista Gómez as "workers."

All of the victims, along with two fellow club-members who subsequently managed to escape, were seized by a group including known La Banda members at approximately 3:00 a.m., as they were leaving a wake for a club member who had been killed in a traffic accident. In full view of uniformed policemen, who were patrolling the neighborhood in unusual strength that evening, the kidnappers loaded the victims into two sedans and drove away. The police apparently

had instructions not to interfere with the raid.

This latest atrocity was the largest multiple murder in a long series of killings perpetrated by La Banda. The furious repression against the left has caused increasing public fear and concern.

The October 3 *El Nacional de Ahora!* published a list of questions it had submitted to the U.S. embassy in Santo Domingo on September 28 concerning North American complicity in the campaign of police repression against the left since 1966. "We are still awaiting the answers, so that we can bring them to the attention of our readers," the paper reported.

The questionnaire began by pointing out that the Agency for International Development (AID) had been carrying out a police training program in the Dominican Republic since 1966, and that a total of 3,700 agents were to have completed their studies by the end of 1972. It challenged the ambassador, Francis Edward Meloy, to confirm or deny that his embassy helped direct the capture and torture of major left-wing political figures such as Andrés Ramos Peguero, "a Dominican Communist leader" whose whereabouts are still not known.

AID was responsible for creating the "Special Operations" unit of the National Police, which on September 25 murdered two peasants in the vicinity of San José de Ocoa. The victims were apparently involved in a property dispute with local landlords.

Popular agitation against the terror campaign fostered by the Dominican and United States governments has spread to the most conservative circles. The Santo Domingo weekly *Ahora!* reported October 11 that the Catholic Church and the Dominican Bar Association have recently joined in the general outcry against the wave of repression and terror.

The Bar Association called on Balaguer early in October to send the National Congress a bill decreeing amnesty for all political prisoners. Following the October 9 murders, congressional representatives of Balaguer's own Partido Reformista (Reformist party) called on the administration to take firm measures against La Banda.

On October 11, "the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, Hugo Eduardo Polanco Brito, called for an end to

what he termed the 'river of blood running through our society,'" according to an Associated Press story in the October 12 issue of the New York daily *El Diario*.

The Balaguer government, which had proclaimed four weeks previously that it was launching a crackdown against La Banda,\* moved quickly to head off the mounting protests. On October 14, Balaguer appointed Brigadier General Neit Rafael Nivar Seijas as the new head of the National Police.

Nivar Seijas's predecessor, Major General Enrique Pérez y Pérez, had been implicated as an organizer and

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\* See *Intercontinental Press*, September 13, p. 764; September 20, p. 787; and October 11, p. 852 for background material.

key collaborator of La Banda. His hypocritical pronouncement on October 10 that the murderers would be punished "with all the force of the law" could be expected to carry little weight with the Dominican people—especially among Santo Domingo's slum dwellers, the most frequent targets of the vandalism and kidnappings perpetrated by La Banda.

Pérez y Pérez and Nivar Seijas, both close associates of Balaguer, have clashed frequently over the tactics to be used in repressing the Dominican left. Nivar Seijas went so far as to have fourteen La Banda members arrested last July by an army unit under his command, only to have his action repudiated by Balaguer shortly thereafter. □

## Florida's Hypocrisy in Abortion Case

Shirley Wheeler, a twenty-three-year-old Florida woman, was sentenced October 15 to two years probation for having an abortion. Convicted last July of abortion-manslaughter, she could have gotten twenty years in jail. According to one of her lawyers, Cyril Means, she is the first woman in U.S. history to be tried on such a charge.

"I was relieved," Wheeler commented, "but I still think that probation is totally unjust. The state is the criminal, not I, and I will fight it with WONAAC." WONAAC is the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, the organization planning nationwide demonstrations November 20 in San Francisco and Washington demanding repeal of all laws restricting women's rights to abortion.

The hypocrisy of the state of Florida's "concern" for human life is shown by reports from two countries indicating that legalization of abortion results in a dramatic decline in the maternal death rate. Dr. David Harris, speaking October 12 at the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, said that since New York State liberalized its abortion law in August 1970, the maternal death rate in New York City has declined by more than half. It now stands at two deaths per 10,000 live births, the lowest in the city's history.

Dr. Harris noted that abortion fa-

talities previously accounted for one-third of all pregnancy-related deaths.

On October 13 George Godber, Britain's chief medical officer, reported in his annual review "On the State of Public Health" that after abortions were legalized under the National Health Service in April 1968, the number of operations performed rose from 22,256 during the rest of 1968 to 54,158 in 1969 and 83,849 in 1970.

Despite the large increase in the number of abortions, fatalities have fallen "in striking fashion" from an average of 52 a year during 1964-66 to 40 a year during 1968-70. In 1970 there were 29 deaths, the lowest figure ever reported. □

### Correction

On page 880 of last week's issue, in the article "The Continuing Inhumanity of Attica Prison," the name of one of the victims of the Attica massacre was reported incorrectly. The Rochester, New York, funeral described in the last paragraph was that of Elliott James Barkley, not Richard Clark. As noted earlier in the article, Clark's fate has not been reported by the authorities.

### When You Move...

Don't count on the post office forwarding your *Intercontinental Press*! It's against their rules.

Send us your new address. And in plenty of time, please.

## Labour Party Deals Stab in Back to Irish in Concentration Camps

[At the annual conference of the British Labour party, held in Brighton October 4-8, the situation in Northern Ireland came up for sharp debate.

[Sean Vernals, representing the Wanstead and Woodford Constituency Labour party, moved a resolution demanding that victims thrown into concentration camps should either be brought to trial or released immediately. The resolution also proposed that a commission be set up composed of representatives of Westminster, Stormont, and the Irish Republic to consider ways of introducing a democratic structure at Stormont and at local government levels, and finding a peaceful and just method of removing the border.

[The resolution called for a pledge that the next Labour government would take such action. The resolution held that the pledge would do much to encourage a cooling of tempers and help to create an atmosphere conducive to arriving at a fair settlement, thereby ending "Britain's Vietnam" situation.

[Merlyn Rees, MP for South Leeds, said that he had returned from Northern Ireland the previous day after visiting the Crumlin Road prison and the Longkesh Internment camp. "I have an overriding feeling of shame that in the United Kingdom there should be camps like this."

"Internment has antagonised the entire Catholic Community," he said. "There is still a chance of a political settlement, but it is remote. The Protestants are organising. Paisleyism is growing. The trade unions are talking of sectarianism.

"It is the short term that is imperative to the Shankill and the Falls roads. There must be a last chance for Stormont to bring in reforms now, and there must be a massive injection of capital."

[Kevin McNamara, MP for Hull North, who went with Rees to Northern Ireland, said that both of them were particularly concerned because a third of the military casualties had been members of Yorkshire regiments.

"We visited a society visibly crum-

bling about us—a society of despair. Because of this, we have an extra duty not to allow ourselves to sink into the depths of despair."

[He said he had become convinced that nothing could be achieved without first ending internment, and there had to be a clear commitment from the platform on this.

"I want to see the evidence against these men. I want to know why they are in there. It was said that no British Minister was told of the names on the lists, or shown the evidence in advance, but British troops risked their lives to arrest these men and bolster up a reactionary, Fascist Government."

[James Callaghan, the Home Secretary under Wilson and now the Opposition spokesman on home affairs, was entrusted with the job of beating down the efforts to have the Labour party take a progressive position on the situation in Ireland. In a speech reeking with hypocrisy, Callaghan succeeded in his aim of having the resolution on Ireland "remitted" to the executive, i.e., killed in committee.

[The following extracts reporting Callaghan's speech are taken from the October 8 issue of the London *Guardian*.]

\* \* \*

There was no magic wand that could be waved to solve the problem, Mr James Callaghan said, replying to the debate on Northern Ireland. There was going to be a long and hard battle, and the elements of sanity were at the moment in retreat. . . .

It had been said that the case for a united Ireland was unanswerable. In logic, perhaps, that might be right. Yet there were a million answers to this unanswerable case, and they lay with the people who had said firmly and clearly that they were prepared to defend their position with guns, and that they would not be forced into a united Ireland.

There was more recognition of what such a proposal meant on the other side of the Channel than there was

among some elements here. Every party in Ireland, North or South, had gone on record against any attempt to remove the border except by agreement. To talk in terms of removing the border was simply to remove the violence from Belfast to Dublin.

He could not, therefore, agree to the resolution that had been moved. Yet some action had to be taken. He had bent over backwards to avoid criticising the present Government, but there was "no doubt that this Government has allowed the situation to deteriorate by failing to act as swiftly as it ought." It had been too slow and too slothful. It should have kept the situation in hand the whole of the time, and never let it out of its grip. . . .

"What can you do?" Mr Callaghan asked. "No great party like ours can fail to take steps that are necessary, or to propose them. Harold Wilson put forward a series of constructive proposals which, taken together, would do what Kevin McNamara asked, and would assert the continuing authority of Westminster." . . .

Mr Callaghan referred to internment, and said: "It is a loathsome weapon. It is sanctioned by no peaceful or just society. It is contrary to our sense of natural justice. It is forbidden under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 9 says that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile, and Article 10: 'Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal in the determination of his rights and obligations, and of any criminal charge against him.'

"There is no one can stand here and defend internment. But let us consider the practical problem. It is my judgment, based on quite accurate evidence, that there are many people interned who should not be interned. But when Merlyn Rees and Kevin McNamara, if I understand the position aright, went to one internment camp there was at least one section of the internees who drew themselves up in military formation, all standing in three ranks, with an officer in front of them, acting and behaving as though they were prisoners of war." There were interruptions from the hall, but Mr Callaghan continued:

"If you have got a body of 50 or 60 men who regard themselves as being prisoners of war, whether they

are or not, drawn up in ranks of this sort, speaking only when their officers tell them to, how do we get out of that situation? Do we release them immediately? I will come to the question of evidence later. I ask, do you release them immediately if there is evidence that they have been committing crimes? No. (Cries of "Why not?")

Of course, there should be trials, unless it could be shown to the satisfaction of an independent tribunal that to do so would endanger the lives of others who would have to give evidence. . . .

The National Executive Committee, at its meeting in September with the Northern Ireland Labour Party, the Irish Labour Party, and the Social

Democratic and Labour Party, agreed to set up a commission drawn from three parties (the Northern Ireland Labour Party, the SDLP, and the party in Britain) to meet again as early as possible.

On Wednesday, he said, the new National Executive Committee appointed the representatives to this commission. Its purpose would be to discuss with the Northern Ireland Labour Party, with the SDLP, and any others who could be brought in, what basis for the future there can be. The NEC representatives would be the incoming chairman, Mr Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Mr Joe Gormley, of the NUM, Mr John Chalmers, of the Boilermakers' Society, and Mr Callaghan himself. □

The delegates voted by 5,073,000 to 1,032,000 against supporting the terms accepted by the Tories for British entry into the Common Market. They then approved a resolution calling for a General Election after October 28, the day Parliament is to vote for or against the Tory position on entry.

A bloc of about sixty Labour Members of Parliament headed by Roy Jenkins, the Deputy Leader of the Labour party, talked of voting with the Tories in defiance of the position taken by the delegates on the Common Market.

A persistent rumor had it that Wilson had cooked up some kind of deal with these right-wing "pro-Marketters." According to the rumor, Wilson proposed that they vote with the Tories on October 28 as "a matter of conscience" but that in the subsequent voting—which may go on for many months—to implement the decision to enter the Common Market, they vote in every instance against the Tories.

Wilson went on TV to vehemently deny the rumor. It must be said that the rumor may have been initiated by the pro-Marketters as a trial balloon. The alleged deal hardly fits in with the new "left wing" image Wilson is trying to create for himself.

Ian Mikardo, this year's left-wing party chairman (the chairmanship rotates from year to year according to seniority in the NEC), said at a meeting organized by the *Tribune*, the left Labourite weekly:

"If . . . a squalid deal has been done to allow 60 pro-market MPs to eat their cake and have it, then . . . 60 constituency parties will have the right . . . to cast a verdict on this shabby manoeuvre."

On TV, Mikardo said that he believes that the Parliamentary Labour party should be brought under control of the party conference and the NEC.

In general the conference marked a shift to the left. The delegates, for instance, voted—in face of NEC opposition—for nationalization of the banks, insurance companies, and mortgage companies [building societies], and other "commanding heights" of the economy.

In contrast to this tendency, the conference took a shameful position on the struggle in Ireland, in effect backing British imperialism. □

## Labour Party Shifts to the Left

By T.J. O'Flaherty

London

The annual conference of the Labour party, held in Brighton October 4-8, concluded with a sight that "could make a cat laugh." There was the assemblage of rogues, knaves, and left-wingers that constitute the new National Executive Committee [NEC] holding hands on the platform and singing lustily the *Red Flag*.

Harold Wilson, too, joined in this end-of-the-conference tradition. Perhaps his voice was even louder than the others: "Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer, we'll keep the Red Flag flying here. . . ."

The former Prime Minister, now Leader of the Opposition, put his heart into it, no doubt. But what irony in the contrast between the words of that song and Wilson's deeds while in office!

He had hardly stood up bravely against the Swiss bankers and the City [London's Wall Street]. The workers had to bear the burden of those repeated confrontations. Even the viciously antilabor Industrial Relations Act, passed by the Tories after they were back in power, had its prototype in legislation submitted by Barbara Castle as a member of Wilson's Cabinet. It would have been enacted, too, had it not been for pressure

against it from the unions.

The Labour party lost the elections last year because of Wilson's sorry record in betraying his campaign promises and carrying out policies designed to bolster British capitalism. Prominent among the measures he took to help the bosses was the wage freeze he imposed on the workers. This was an issue at Brighton.

Barbara Castle, former Minister of Employment, and Roy Jenkins, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave assurances that there would be no return to "the old prices and incomes policy." But these public commitments were made reluctantly and only after strong warnings were given privately to the NEC by Hugh Scanlon, President of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers [skilled automobile and steel workers], and Jack Jones, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union—the two largest trade unions in the country.

The NEC document on this question states that "we would seek to establish some kind of permanent but flexible system of price controls." To this end a mobile "prices inspectorate" is to "tour the country to investigate price restraint at retail level." This weasel-worded document was adopted.



# Calley and His Protector

*The Court-Martial of Lt. Calley* by Richard Hammer. Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, New York, N. Y. 398 pp. \$7.95. 1971.

*Lieutenant Calley: His Own Story* as told to John Sack. The Viking Press, New York, N.Y. 181 pp. \$4.95. 1971.

As the Nixon administration continues to crank out its propaganda about "winding down the war," "Vietnamization," and its various other euphemisms for aggression, Hammer's book comes as a stark reminder of what the U.S. government has been doing and continues to do in Indochina.

"Did you ever hear of pacification?" one witness who was present during the Mylai massacre was asked.

"No."

"Did you ever hear of the saying, win their hearts and minds?" "No, I never heard that. But I heard that if you get them by the balls, the hearts and minds will follow."

Hammer, who covered Calley's court-martial for the *New York Times*, follows the case from beginning to end and, despite the fact that much of the material is a necessary repetition of what has already appeared in the press, manages at times to illuminate facts that tended to be glossed over when they occurred.

Certainly Captain William Ralph Hill has never been presented the medal he deserves for blocking the attempts by army higher-ups to allow Calley to escape prosecution.

Calley had been brought back from Vietnam on June 10, 1970, and informed that he might be court-martialed. But in the following weeks, the army simply dragged its feet. No move was made to begin prosecution. Calley was due to be discharged on September 6. If he had not been formally charged before that date, there would have been no legal way to bring him to trial.

Early in September, Hill and three other captains in the Fort Benning legal office—including Aubrey Daniel, who eventually prosecuted the case—

decided that they would file charges on their own authority if no one else would take the responsibility. Only after they had made this decision known did army higher-ups finally have Calley formally accused—two days before the deadline.

The highest of the higher-ups to intervene in the case was Richard Nixon. After one reads Hammer's account of the trial, in which Calley's participation in the massacre of scores of persons\* was clearly demonstrated, the cynical motivation of Nixon's announcement that he would serve as the final judge in the case stands out all the more sharply.

"This was . . ." Hammer writes, "the Richard Nixon who had declared over and over again that he was determined that justice and the law should be the rule in the United States and that he would never deviate from the course of law and justice no matter how loud the cries and demonstrations in the streets. But of course, when he said that, the demonstrators were from the left and were protesting the war in Viet-Nam."

Hammer, however, misjudges the nature of the protest that caused Nixon's intervention. At one point he writes, "Calley, the majority of Americans seemed to feel, was only a soldier doing his duty and obeying his orders, a soldier, an officer doing—as he himself maintained—his best to ensure the safety and welfare of his men." (Emphasis added.)

In reality, a Gallup poll conducted at the time showed that 71 percent of those who disapproved of the verdict did so because they believed that others shared responsibility for Cal-

\* Calley was convicted of murdering "not less than" twenty-two persons at three separate locations inside Mylai. In one case, where a photograph showed a large number of bodies, the jury could not agree on the exact number and decided to compromise on "not less than one." In another incident, various witnesses testified that Calley had participated in killing anywhere from twenty to seventy persons, and the jury settled for "not less than" the lowest number.

ley's crimes. Only 20 percent of those questioned excused his actions.

Among that minority, we may be sure, was John Sack. Hammer reports that Sack once told him, "I see Rusty [Calley] as Christ on the cross being crucified."

Sack interviewed Calley extensively, asking, he says, some 10,000 questions. He then put Calley's answers together to form a continuous narrative. It would be generous to describe the results as banal.

As Calley runs on through page after page of self-justifying drivel, he begins to look like a parody. The following passage by Sack's "Christ" is typical:

"I have pride in America, and I hate someone making a slant against it. Sure, it has many flaws. It has made boobos, if you would call them that: I prefer not to. Mistakes. There is too much poverty here. We have to have integration. This war in Vietnam is ridiculous: but I'm an American, and I won't curse it. I won't just say, 'It's horrible.' What we have in America with its horrors still is the best there is. For what would we have without it? Chaos."

Since he is a caricature, or has chosen to appear as one for his public defense, Calley at times does highlight some of the reality of Nixon's war. This is clearest when he speaks of the entire Vietnamese population as the enemy:

"I worry sometimes now. I lie awake, and I think of Mylai and say, *My God. Whatever inspired me to do it?* But truthfully: there was no other way. America's motto there was 'Win in Vietnam,' and in Mylai there was no other way to do it. . . ."

When he appears repulsive in this book—which is often—it is frequently because he so consistently and unquestioningly accepts what the U.S. government is doing. Even the murder of babies can be justified to Calley:

"On babies everyone's really hung up. 'But babies! The little innocent babies!' Of course, we've been in Vietnam for ten years now. If we're in Vietnam another ten, if your son is killed by those babies you'll cry at me, 'Why didn't you kill those babies that day?'"

Calley appears unaware of the fact that the vast majority of the American people already blame Nixon, not the Vietnamese, for the continuation of the war. More and more of them

are coming to realize one of Hammer's conclusions:

"And those who committed the greatest atrocity of them all—those, the Lyndon Johnsons and Richard Nixons, the Robert McNamaras and Melvin Lairds, the Dean Rusk and McGeorge Bundys and William Bundys and Henry Kissingers, the William Westmorelands and Creighton Abramses, who brought this country to this obscenity of a war, who developed the policies and the use of the weapons that have destroyed Viet-

Nam, that led inevitably to My Lai, that gave Calley and the other Calleys the weapons and the opportunity to vent what was in them upon the innocent, and who then sanctimoniously proclaimed their devotion to peace and democracy and freedom—will face no trial as war criminals, will face no Nuremberg for their crimes against peace and against humanity. They will go unpunished . . . and will end their careers honored and celebrated."

—David Burton

## How Did Hitler Triumph?

*The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* by Leon Trotsky. Introduction by Ernest Mandel. Pathfinder Press, New York, N.Y. 479 pp. \$3.95. 1971.

"Fascism," the Belgian Marxist scholar Ernest Mandel points out in his introduction to this book, "was able to develop successfully over two decades only because its real nature was not understood; because its opponents lacked a scientific theory of fascism; because the dominant theory was a false or incomplete one."

Unfortunately, the lessons to be derived from the German fascist experience remain unlearned by many on the left today. All too often, the epithet "fascist" is applied indiscriminately to repressive measures or regimes that are in fact only the "everyday" weapons of the ruling classes. Worse yet, some ultraleftists have even characterized one or another of the workers states as fascist.

This collection of Trotsky's writings on fascism is therefore particularly timely. Most of the material has been out of print in English since its original publication, and so becomes available for the first time now to activists in the developing mass movements for social change. They will find Trotsky's scientific analysis of fascism as informative today as it was when it was written. "The period of halfway measures has passed," Trotsky wrote in 1932. "In order to try to find a way out, the bourgeoisie must absolutely rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations; these must be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed.

"At this juncture, the historic role of fascism begins. It raises to their feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and that are ever in dread of being forced down into its ranks; it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government, and it directs them to the extirpation of proletarian organizations, from the most revolutionary to the most conservative."

In analyzing the rise of fascism, Trotsky dealt at length with its similarities to, and differences from, other forms of bourgeois rule, particularly the "strong government" of Bonapartism. The failure of the Stalinized Com-

munist International to understand the specific character of fascism made it incapable of finding a strategy that could stop Hitler.

"The strategic conception of the Communist International," Trotsky wrote not long after Hitler's triumph, "was false from beginning to end. The point of departure of the German Communist Party was that there is nothing but a mere division of labor between the Social Democracy and fascism; that their interests are similar, if not identical." ". . . the Communist International convinced the reformists and the fascists that they were twins; it predicted their conciliation, embittered and repulsed the Social Democratic workers, and consolidated their reformist leaders. . . . It displayed persistency and perseverance only in sabotaging the united front, from above as well as from below. All this it did, to be sure, with the best of intentions."

Trotsky's analysis can help arm the new generation of radicals with the theoretical understanding necessary to avoid the fatal errors committed by their predecessors in the 1930s.

The present edition has been extensively annotated and provided with an index of persons and a list of newspapers and journals cited in the text, all of which should make the book particularly useful in college classrooms.

—J. V. Hanley

## Demonstrators Gunned Down Near Manila

A demonstration of 800 youths in Caloocan, a suburb of Manila, was brutally attacked by hoodlums October 5, according to a dispatch from Manila in the following day's *New York Times*. The report said that two were killed and thirty-two taken to the hospital after the demonstrators, who had been refused a permit for their march, "were met by homemade bombs and by gunfire from masked men in civilian clothing." Many of the casualties were apparently high-school students in their early teens.

The march was organized by the Patriotic Youth and the Union of Democratic Youth to protest policies of the national and local government.

The report described the assault on the marchers:

"Waiting for them [the demonstrators] just beyond the Manila city limits were several jeeploads of burly men, some barefoot, armed with wooden clubs and gasoline bombs. Their leaders, wearing handkerchief masks and carrying automatic weapons, fired pointblank at the advancing demonstrators, felling the first wave and sending the rest scrambling for safety."

Macario Asistio, mayor of Caloocan, unhesitatingly supported the murderous attack. In a radio interview shortly after the incident, he said: "My instructions to my men this afternoon were for them to prevent violence. But if it happened, I am not responsible. These youths impose trouble on the citizens of Caloocan by insisting on demonstrating without a permit." □

## Pacheco -- the Beginning of the End

[The following article, which appeared under the title "Pacheco: al borde del túnel," has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the September 15 issue of *La Verdad*, a Trotskyist weekly published in Buenos Aires.]

\* \* \*

One of the most impressive operations in the history of urban guerrilla warfare must surely be counted as having dealt the *coup de grâce* to President Pacheco Areco and his chances of being reelected in the November [28] elections. The erosion of the government and the worsening general situation in Uruguay strengthen the Frente Amplio [Broad Front] objectively. The immediate strategy of the Tupamaros would itself seem to help open up and smooth the road to an electoral triumph for the popular front.

All of Montevideo is admiring and making jokes about the impeccable operation that freed 106 compañeros of the MLN [Movimiento de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Movement, the official name of the "Tupamaros"], including its main leaders, such as Sendic and Manera Lluveras, who were being held in prison. What was most appreciated was the engineering work (openings in walls, between floors, tunnels) required in the escape. Less commented on but just as notable was the cover provided for those who got out and for those who were cooperating from the outside. Not a single clue could be found. This part of the operation reveals most clearly the social base of the Tupamaros. It is fundamentally middle class.

It must also be pointed out that the fresh strengthening of the Tupamaros in the past year is to be explained by the rise in the mass movement in Uruguay. The capture of Sendic and other important leaders of the MLN marked a phase of defeats brought about by the decline in the 1968 upsurge of the workers and the people.

The subsequent upsurge of the Uruguayan masses culminated in the gigantic demonstration over the murder of the student Liber Arce by the police.

Some 200,000 persons, that is, a fourth of the population of Montevideo, marched through the streets, and they were passively supported by many more.

Unfortunately, this intense inclination to engage in struggle was tightly restrained by the leadership of the Communist party and the Convención Nacional de Trabajadores [CNT—National Workers Convention]. The Tupamaros, with neither a policy nor a program adequate to the circumstances, could not even attempt to challenge the CP for leadership of the upsurge, although the Tupamaros were nourished by it.

This situation discouraged the workers and made possible several victories for the reactionary government of Pacheco Areco—which further deepened a brief decline.

Thus the plans for a wage freeze and economic stability went ahead. But the structural weakness of the capitalist economy of Uruguay, and the historic crisis in the export of wool, limited the possibilities open to Pacheco from the word go. The bourgeois sectors and ministers utilized the governmental measures to carry on scandalous, big-scale operations through illegal manipulation of foreign exchange and "refunds" or subsidies for "nontraditional" exports.

Smuggling and the crisis of the meat-packing industry were likewise aggravating factors in a situation that continued to become transformed into unemployment and misery for the working class, increasing difficulties for the formerly stable Uruguayan middle class, and serious squabbles between Pacheco and the bourgeoisie engaged in agriculture and stock raising.

All this was intensified by the British ban on imports of Uruguayan meat, a ban that was maintained despite compliance by the meat-packing plants with the British sanitary regulations. This no doubt had a lot to do with Pacheco's refusal to negotiate with the Tupamaros for the release of Jackson, the British ambassador.

The resistance of the workers and students to Pacheco's plans and his methods of imposing "law and order"

kept mounting. Several conflicts in the plants ended in victories or semivictories for the workers. The radicalization of the students, particularly in the high schools, continued throughout the year. The upsurge in the mass struggle again reached a high point in the demonstrations over the death of the young student Heber Santos. The line of march of the not less than 150,000 participants stretched for twenty-five blocks.

The CNT called a twenty-four-hour strike for a wage increase of 25 percent and against the continuation of the repressive measures. The unanimous response was another indication of the popular offensive.

The system of Uruguayan bourgeois democracy, which traditionally rested on a strong sector involved in exports and a solid urban middle class, appeared to have been shattered by the new upsurge of the workers and the people. While this deterioration is not new, it is now to be seen at all levels. In a brief period, Pacheco vetoed five measures passed by the parliament. Repeated confrontations also occurred between the president and the courts.

An important part of this crisis is the breakup of the two-party system. This is shown not only by the obvious strengthening of the Frente Amplio, which bourgeois celebrities and wings of the Partido Colorado [Colorado party] have entered; it is also shown by the crisis within the sector of the Colorado party dominated by Pacheco. The president is running into resistance in his campaign for reelection. A wing of the Colorado party is advancing the candidacy of Jorge Battle. The same goes for the Colorado "opponent" Vasconcello. Both Battle and Vasconcello are opposing Pacheco.

A recent Gallup poll tends to reflect this situation. The results indicate that 25 percent of the voters favor the Frente Amplio, 24 percent the Colorado party, 17 percent the Partido Nacional [National party, also known as the "Blanco" party], while 25 percent are undecided.

Another indication of the crisis affecting the Uruguayan capitalist system is the talk about a coup to be heard among some sectors. While the domestic situation in Uruguay makes this improbable, it must nevertheless not be ruled out. Up to now it has not gone beyond the stage of rumors, remaining unassociated as yet with

any institution.

All the political forces are stepping up their efforts in the electoral struggle that will be decided next November. The parallel with the process in Chile that brought Allende to power is a close one, although the crisis in Uruguay is much graver. Also the Tupamaros are taking the election into account in their strategy. Along with their declaration of support to the Frente Amplio, they are altering their actions to fit in with this, or suspending them, according to knowledgeable commentators in the press. The freeing of the British ambassador, concerning which there are various vague versions of the negotiations, would appear to confirm this.

The current in the Colorado party that is pushing the candidacy of Jorge Battle has advanced a program with slogans imitative of those of the Frente Amplio. In addition to "revitalizing democracy," a key plank of all the bourgeois currents, it is for an agrarian reform (of the Frei type) and collective ownership of urban land (not urban reform).

Pacheco is also engaged in an electoral campaign. His coreligionists have gathered enough signatures to establish his candidacy.\* His concession on wage increases for the CNT (25 percent) and the textile workers (37 percent), aside from the attempt to avert a new general strike, had in mind the November elections. In any case, what is most probable is that Pacheco will resign himself to paving the way for another Colorado celebrity and opt for "renouncing" reelection.

Another notorious fact is that despite Pacheco's decree ordering the armed forces to take over the job of repressing the guerrillas, the army has not launched any operation equivalent to the blow dealt by the Tupamaros. This would indicate that the

officialdom is inclined to cut the repression to small doses, avoiding upsetting the election campaign, hoping at bottom that the election will restore the lost bourgeois equilibrium.

To complete the picture, the National party is presenting itself as the alternative that offers "peace" in the current crisis. However, it does not seem to have been able to turn the unpopularity of the Colorados much to its own advantage. Obviously what the two old parties are thinking about is utilizing the law providing for "lemas," which permits votes to be lumped together after the election, to work out a two-party candidacy to offset the Frente Amplio.

The Frente Amplio, controlled by the Communist party and dissident bourgeois currents, took another step in structuring itself as a variant of reformism, acceptable to the bourgeois system. As candidates for the vice-presidency and intendente [governor] of Montevideo, it named two figures without party connections. Bourgeois circles reacted favorably to the two nominations complementing the candidacy of General Liber Seregni for the presidency.

We believe that these methods are not the most apt to guarantee victory for the Frente Amplio. We share the position of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores del Uruguay [Revolutionary Workers party of Uruguay], which, from within the ranks of the Frente itself, poses the necessity of the central trade-union council joining in, and all the candidacies and decisions being voted on in assemblies of rank-and-file committees, with the slates being drawn up by them so as to include a majority of worker candidates.

To win popular support, the participation and leadership of the workers and the fullest internal democracy count much more than the candidacy of General Seregni, retired three years ago from the bourgeois army, no matter what his personal merits may be. This political course would not prevent the Frente from deciding, through the same public and democratic method, any agreements with bourgeois currents that might prove useful.

Up to now the CNT has not given so much as official support to the Frente, although the rank and file of the labor movement already view it as their electoral instrument. The major responsibility for this falls on

the Stalinist leaders and the Communist party. They are more concerned over being in the good graces of the bourgeoisie than over mobilizing the workers. In this way they stake the political advance represented by the formation of the Frente on its mere electoral fate. The PRT(U), in contrast, insists that this political advance must be consolidated by deepening the organizational base of the Frente, converting its committees into organs for mobilizing the workers and the people.

Without doubt, this is the best way to guarantee an electoral victory, and, what is more important, create an instrument through which the masses could conquer power. If the National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros) came to understand this possible dynamic of the Frente Amplio and decided to intervene in it, undertaking to form a united front with the revolutionary tendencies, this would constitute a truly explosive combination.

The political stand already taken by the Tupamaros toward the Frente Amplio is a big advance compared to the attitude of the guerrilla currents in the rest of Latin America and the Chilean MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario], before the elections, in relation to the Unidad Popular [the Popular Unity movement headed by Allende]. But we believe the Tupamaros are standing in the middle of the road, refusing to engage in direct participation in the Frente and wielding their influence there, while considering it to be a positive thing but not a place where it is important for the revolutionists to engage in struggle with the reformists for leadership of the masses.

Obviously, if the upsurge of the masses continues, after reaching such high points as the August 20 one-day strike, the huge march over the death of Santos, and, indirectly, the escape from Punta Carretas, then Uruguay will become transformed into one of the most important fronts of the Latin American revolution, a front where the revolutionists could establish a landmark in the march toward socialism.

The situation and the perspectives in Uruguay also prove that the general Latin American upsurge is continuing and that the imperialist victory in Bolivia is far from having reversed the direction of movement in the current stage. □

\* Uruguay's constitution bars a president from succeeding himself. However, the constitution can be amended by a simple majority vote. To place a proposed amendment on the ballot requires the signatures of 10 percent of the registered voters. Pacheco's followers estimated that they needed 183,000 signatures to meet the requirements. If the proposed amendment passes, Pacheco could legally succeed himself; but, under Uruguay's complicated electoral system, he might still lose out to the candidate of a different faction in his own party, even if his party as a whole gained more votes than the contending formations. — IP

# For a Workers' Slate in Uruguay's 'Frente Amplio'

[The following article has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the September 29 issue of *La Verdad*, a Trotskyist weekly newspaper published in Buenos Aires. The Spanish title of the article is "Lista Obrera en el Frente Amplio" (For a Workers' Slate in the Broad Front).]

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The winning of a general wage increase and, in particular, the great victory of the textile union, achieved through a strike and plant occupations, constitute a milestone in the rise of the working class now being witnessed in Uruguay. Those who belong to the genuine vanguard of the workers' movement had to devote virtually their entire efforts to these trade-union struggles. The textile victory provides a prime example of the importance of this activity carried on by the Uruguayan revolutionists.

The major preoccupation of the activists must now be how to bring the experience and the advances of the latest stage of workers' mobilizations into the Uruguayan political stream—the campaign leading up to the November elections.

A channel exists in these elections through which the mass movement can hit at the bourgeois regime: the Frente Amplio (Broad Front). Its main outlines are indicated by *Tendencia Revolucionario*: "(a) For the first time in the political history of the country, the bourgeois two-party system—one of the most solid bases of the existing bourgeois democratic regime—has been broken. (b) With the Frente Amplio, a great popular, nationalist, democratic, and anti-imperialist movement has arisen.

"But together with these positive aspects, we must also specify the dangers involved for the working class, namely, that it is the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois sectors that exercise leadership in the Frente Amplio. Because of this, since the beginning of its participation in the Front, our party has fought for the necessity of the workers' movement maintaining its complete independence, with the right to run its own candidates and to advance, alongside the common program of the Frente Amplio that con-

stitutes the 'option of broadest agreement,' its own anticapitalist and pro-socialist program."

What the compañeros of the PRT (Uruguayo) [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Uruguayo)—Uruguayan Revolutionary Workers party] are doing through their journal [*Tendencia Revolucionario*] is to warn about the contradictory character of the Frente Amplio. While this is not new, it is becoming ever more evident—as the crisis facing the Pacheco Areco regime grows sharper—that a widening sector of the Uruguayan bourgeoisie views the FA as the last card with which to save capitalism.

Parallel to this, the leaders of the FA, that is the bourgeois elements backing General Liber Seregni as their candidate, along with the Communist party, are increasing their efforts to display an image of bourgeois respectability. They are in the forefront proclaiming the FA as the best "peaceful solution" to the Uruguayan crisis.

This position of the leadership of the FA is not a mere tactical ruse, as some would like to believe. From the very moment the Frente Amplio was set up, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tendencies made it the main question.

With the Communist party as the clearest exponent of this view, the calling of a National Convention of the Workers was rejected. They continually pressed for an electoralist organization, dedicated to pure and simple vote-catching, instead of an organization that would seek to take up the needs of the people and root the Front in hundreds of rank-and-file committees, giving these democratic expression as the decision-making forces in the electoral struggle and opening up the possibility of mobilizing them both before and after the elections.

The Uruguayan electoral system was organized in such a way as to give the greatest possible effectiveness to the functioning of bourgeois democracy. But both bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois economy are undergoing a deep crisis in Uruguay.

The electoral law accords a "lema" to each recognized political party. Each party in turn can grant "sub-

lemas" to factions. How does this work out? For example, there have always been various sublemas in the Colorado party. [ . . . ]\* who obtains the higher total. Thus neither a party nor a faction can complain.

At present, the Frente Amplio is listed on the ballot thanks to the "lema" of the Christian Democracy. The PRT(U) is calling on those who claim to be part of the workers' movement to constitute a "sublema" called Lista Obrera [Workers' Slate].

This would not fill the vacuum caused by the failure to include the CNT [Convención Nacional de Trabajadores—National Convention of Workers], a result of the policies of both the Frente Amplio leadership and the trade-union bureaucracy.

But the Lista Obrera would make it possible to bring into political action the best activists of the recent mobilizations of the workers and other layers. It would make it possible to strengthen the most positive aspects of the FA, setting up within it a polarizing center along class lines. This working-class pole would carry on the most energetic and consistent struggle for the independence of the labor movement and the victory of an anticapitalist and anti-imperialist program.

The constitution of the Lista Obrera would signify the strengthening of the

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\*Owing to a typographical error, some lines detailing the unique provisions of the electoral law have been left out of the article at this point.

In the Uruguayan electoral system, each major political party is granted the right to use a "lema." A faction within a party is entitled to use a "sublema." And this extends to factions within factions. A "lema" or "sublema" is a short phrase expressing the particular aim or program of the group using it. The votes cast for "sublemas" within a party are tallied as being cast for the party. However, the candidate of a "sublema" who receives the most votes wins the election. The provisions may appear confusing to those outside the country accustomed to one faction of a party monopolizing the ballot. Thus in 1966, the Colorado party had two candidates for president while the Blanco party had three.

Despite the apparent concern to make it possible for factions to present their own candidates on the ballot, Uruguayan politics has traditionally been dominated by a two-party system. — IP

revolutionary current, the alternative political and union leadership that is becoming more and more indispensable to channelize the electoral battle and the struggle for structural changes toward the constitution of a government of the workers and the people.

The Lista Obrera would call on every sector of the FA that agrees on the necessity for working-class candidates to join its ranks. Naturally this would fall on deaf ears so far as the Communist party is concerned. It has taken on itself the task of deciding who should represent the Uruguayan workers, thus saving them the "bother" of deciding for themselves who should be their candidates.

But the appeal issued by the Lista Obrera could have an impact in sec-

tors of the Socialist party, laying bare the intention of the leaders of this party to imitate the CP by calling for a "Frente Socialista" sublema.

It would also affect the Movimiento 26 de Julio [July 26 Movement], this nucleus of sympathizers of the MLN Tupamaros [Movimiento de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Movement, i.e., the Tupamaros], and centrist elements who have held to an undefined position within the Front.

In the current continental scene, the Uruguayan revolutionists have the possibility of forging a genuine model in utilizing the electoral process to advance independent labor politics, something of utmost importance in the conquest of power. □

## Tupamaros Clarify Stand on Election

[When the Tupamaros released British Ambassador Geoffrey H. S. Jackson September 9, after holding him for eight months as a hostage, they gave him a statement to be delivered to the press explaining why they had decided to set him free.

[They included other material indicating their current stand on other questions, particularly the Frente Amplio, Uruguay's popular front, and the upcoming elections. The statement was distributed by the Cuban press service Prensa Latina. We are publishing below Prensa Latina's English version, which we have taken from the September 19 issue of *Granma*.]

\* \* \*

A year ago, we Tupamaros began a battle in behalf of political prisoners. We wanted the least painful battle that was possible. That is why we offered to exchange several personages with a record of shady activities and representatives of despotic regimes for our imprisoned comrades.

The Government, while engaging in secret negotiations with us without reaching an agreement, assumed a hypocritically tough public attitude expressed in the words "I will never negotiate with criminals."

Thus the battle for political prisoners began a year ago with its consequent bloodshed and times of anguish for the nation. Why?

Today, a year later, we can say with true satisfaction that we have won that battle in the field chosen by the Government.

Almirati regained his freedom and so did Bidegain. Then 38 women comrades and now 111 more social fighters and sons of the people rejoined the most active ranks of the struggle.

Many were the sacrifices demanded by victory in this battle—hundreds, thousands of Tupamaros took part in it one way or another.

The gauntlet the Government threw in our face when it said it wouldn't negotiate was taken up in the only manner befitting an indomitable people. "There will be a homeland for all or there will not be a homeland for anybody," was our reply.

We have lived up to that watchword which we inherited from our past: the National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros) is an organization of the people and the people of Uruguay cannot be kicked around.

Because of these circumstances, we decided to free Mr. Geoffrey Jackson. The battle having been won, there was no reason to hold him any longer in the People's Jail. We released him in an act of people's sovereignty notwithstanding the fact that we had begun negotiations aimed at his liberation—negotiations which had been prompted by the concern made public by Salvador Allende, the President of Chile, and which were highly advantageous to us.

We also want to point out—so there will remain no shadow of a doubt—that our decision ties in with other circumstances and reasons, to wit:

1) We won a battle in behalf of political prisoners, but we have not won the war. Many Uruguayans are still held in jails and garrisons. Our struggle will continue. As long as a single one remains in prison we will fight for his freedom in all fields. We call on all people's organizations not to relent in this urgent and unshirkable fight.

2) With this position we are reaffirming our aim of avoiding fruitless sufferings. In this connection it is worth remembering that lately we have been made

the direct or indirect victims of a series of attacks and lies:

We were blamed for the death of agent Kaulaskas, which was demonstrated to be a falsehood.

We were blamed for the death of two members of the Republican Guard at Pedro Visca Hospital, which is also false.

We are being accused of trying to prevent, through our action, the November elections, which is also false.

At the same time, Ramos Filippini, Nieto and Sposito were murdered in cold blood. Castagneto and Ayala were kidnapped. Attacks, threats and attempted assassinations are being committed against persons and places of the people.

As is well known, these acts are being committed by the JUP [Juventud Uruguaya de Pie—Uruguayan Youth on the Alert, an anticommunist goon squad] and police elements of the Information and Intelligence departments (headed by Lucas, Macchi and Castiglioni) and the Metropolitan Guard, all instigated and financed by the Government.

The idea is to frighten the people and thus create a climate favorable for another swindle. Therefore, it is they who are responsible for the most cruel and wanton violence; it is they who want to prevent a more or less formal electoral process.

3) It is necessary for us to insist on our position with regard to the elections: We do not believe they will offer the solution to the nation's problems. Nonetheless, we believe the elections should be held, but with guarantees, which are nonexistent today. This is because an electoral process with political prisoners, press censorship, closed-down newspapers, systematic persecution of popular militants, without individual rights and guarantees, with rampant repression in the streets and right-wing violence instigated from above would be a monstrous swindle, which is already being prepared.

The people, united in the antioligarchic coalition of the Broad Front, have taken up the banner of the fight for the reestablishment of rights and guarantees. The period of time over which this fight is to be waged is indefinite. Our support of the Broad Front includes a positive attitude regarding the elections. Consequently, we are not guilty of conspiring to vitiate or make void the elections. Those who maintain the state of siege, who hold that their voice and their reason are the only valid ones, who club, torture, kill, close down newspapers and organize repression squads are the only ones who are conspiring against the elections.

4) The oligarchy—using the repressive apparatus and the press that was not closed down—organize the squads that kidnap the families of prisoners, murder students, torture and throw bombs against social militants and locales of the Broad Front. We have abstained from replying to these stupid provocations in an effort to keep the climate of this period from worsening further.

But there is a limit to this. These murders cannot continue indefinitely. If this path is pursued, our answer—which they know we can give—will be a telling one.



We will hit with the full power of the people against all those who are responsible and whose names and addresses we have: the oligarch who institutes this policy from his government post or behind the scenes, the hack writer who is collaborating in the campaign of slander and lies, the police bosses who organize and head repression squads, the members of the DAN

and the FLYs — new names for new squadrons made up of old police agents trained by Mitrione's successors. We are telling them in plain words: If they continue on this path, our reply will be implacable. They should bear this in mind. We never indulge in idle threats.

For the freedom of all political prisoners. There will be a homeland for all or

there will not be a homeland for anybody.

We are sending this political statement via Mr. Jackson, who is being freed today by the National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros).

*National Liberation Movement  
(Tupamaros)*

Montevideo, September 8, 1971

## Conditions in the Prison Camps of Ceylon

[A brief item in the September 30 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that Lord Avebury, a British representative of Amnesty International, had been expelled from Ceylon, allegedly for attempting to visit youthful prisoners arrested by the government since the outbreak of last April's uprising.

[*Le Monde's* account was apparently based on a government communique that was described at greater length in the September 29 *Times of Ceylon*. As will be seen from the material below, this communique contained a number of distortions and misrepresentations, indicating that the Bandaranaike government feels some embarrassment at public attention being directed to its treatment of the prisoners. The first item below is the complete text of the report that appeared in the *Times of Ceylon*.

[The second item is a September 24 letter from Avebury to Prime Minister Bandaranaike. In addition to the information it provides on the treatment of prisoners, it is remarkable for its previously unpublished report on the control of some prison camps by the young rebels.

[The third item is the text of a letter sent October 4 by P. Bala Tampoe to the *Times of Ceylon* and three other papers that published accounts of the government communique on Avebury's expulsion. Tampoe is the General Secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) and secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylon section of the Fourth International. The CMU has been among the most prominent of mass organizations in Ceylon in demanding an end to the state of emergency.]

quite clear that there were no persons of the category of 'prisoners of conscience' who were being held in prisons in Ceylon. It was difficult to describe the April insurgency as a 'nonviolent' happening.

"Mr. Jayawickrema said that he had informed Lord Avebury of this fact at an interview in the Ministry of Justice on September 22 and expressed surprise that Amnesty International should have sent a representative here.

"Lord Avebury had replied that he was in Ceylon really for the purpose of writing an article on insurgent activities for 'The Guardian.'

"In that connection he had met Mr. Bala Tampoe, Mr. Prins Gunasekera and Mr. Edmund Samarakkody and they had, in turn, requested him to speak to certain persons now being held in prison. Lord Avebury requested permission to meet these persons at any place. This was, naturally, a request that could not be granted and he was so informed.

"Mr. Jayawickrema said that from his discussions with Lord Avebury it seemed clear that he was not anxious to obtain the official version of several rumours and misrepresentations he had picked up. From the moment of his arrival until his departure, Lord Avebury was in close contact with several persons who appeared to be anxious to embarrass and discredit the Government and to smear the image of Ceylon abroad. Mr. Jayawickrema said that it was unfortunate that Amnesty International should have become involved in this fashion in the present situation in Ceylon."

Lord Avebury, who left by BOAC plane at 11.30 a.m. yesterday, was seen off at the Bandaranaike International Airport, Katunayake by friends including Mr. Prins Gunasekera, MP for Habaraduwa, and Mr. Bala Tampoe.

### The 'Times of Ceylon' Gives Government's Version

The Government on Monday night [September 27] cancelled the visa issued to Lord Avebury and ordered him to leave the island within 24 hours. This directive was communicated to him by Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe, Controller of Immigration and Emigration. It is learnt that Lord Avebury left Ceylon early yesterday morning [September 28], states a Press communique issued by the Department of Information yesterday.

The communique adds:

"Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Justice, in a statement to the Information Department said that this action was taken because Lord Avebury had made three attempts to gain admission to insurgent prisons contrary to clear instructions issued to him.

"Mr. Jayawickrema said that he had informed Lord Avebury that not even journalists from Ceylon are permitted to enter these prisons and that an exception could not be made in his case. His application was therefore refused.

"However, on Friday, September 24 he attempted to enter Kelaniya Prison (Vidyalankara) in the company of Mr. Prins Gunasekera, MP. On the night of September 26, Sunday, Lord Avebury attempted to enter the Koggala Prison Camp along with Mr. Bala Tampoe and Mr. Prins Gunasekera. On the afternoon of September 27 he made yet another attempt, this

time to enter the Welikada Prison with Mrs. S. D. Bandaranayake, and Mr. Prins Gunasekera.

"Mr. Jayawickrema said that Lord Avebury had, prior to leaving London, represented to the Ceylon High Commission in London that he had with him credentials issued by Amnesty International. Mr. Jayawickrema added that Amnesty International was an organisation concerned with the detention of 'prisoners of conscience' — i.e. persons who had never used or advocated the use of violence, but were imprisoned because of the political and religious views they held.

"He said that he himself was a member of Amnesty International and it was

### Lord Avebury: 'Some Extremely Disturbing Allegations . . .'

Dear Prime Minister,

I see in this morning's "Daily News" that you did me the honour of referring to my presence in Ceylon during the adjournment debate yesterday evening [September 23], even though I gather your remarks were not intended to be complimentary. This report is very brief, but I understand you made a comparison be-

tween the Emergency regulations in force here and the ordinary law in Britain. I am aware of no law in England, other than the Official Secrets Act, which relates purely to military secrets, permitting the censorship of court proceedings in criminal cases brought against police or army officers. You may not be aware that I was for six years Chairman of the Parliamentary Civil Liberties Group in

my country and was constantly fighting against the encroachments of Government, the Police and other authorities on the liberties of the people. In particular, I have always been critical of the handling of affairs in Northern Ireland, where, as you know, we have serious disturbances going on at the moment.

This is *not* to say, as I believe you have assumed, that I have come here for the express purpose of criticising your Government. I arrived with a completely open mind, fully sympathetic to the difficulties facing your country in the aftermath of the disturbances of last April.

It is, however, my duty to inform you that some extremely disturbing allegations have been made to me during my stay here by responsible people, and that since I have met a blank wall of non-cooperation from official sources, I have been unable to get any explanation or refutation of these allegations. To be precise, your Private Secretary shunted me off on to your Permanent Secretary and when I finally contacted him after some difficulty, he informed me that it was impossible for you to grant me an interview, neither could he give me any answer to the requests I made for permission to visit individual detainees whose names I would have given to him. The Private Secretary to the Minister of Home Affairs after promising to telephone me back, in response to my requests for an interview with him, did not even have the courtesy to let me have his blank refusal direct, but sent it in a message through a third party. The Minister of Justice has been equally unhelpful in spite of an approach to him on my behalf by Mr. E. A. de Silva, the Secretary of Amnesty Ceylon.

I did succeed in obtaining an interview with the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, who was extremely courteous and gave me a certain amount of information. He promised to see what could be done about interviews with ministers and visits to detainees. He explained, however, that as far as these visits were concerned, there was the practical difficulty that the Colombo remand jail and Vidyodaya and Vidyalkara prison camps were entirely under the control of the detainees and therefore no visits even of relatives were possible for the time being. Since my interview with the Permanent Secretary on Wednesday [September 22], I have been told that Kandy prison has also been taken over by the detainees.

Having heard nothing from the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Justice since I saw him on Wednesday morning (September 22), I rang him again this morning and he now tells me that it is not possible for me to see any minister, nor to visit any of the camps, even those which are still in the hands of the authorities.

In the circumstances, I have had to obtain as much information as possible from unofficial sources, some of them not wholly in tune with the Government's point of view. I have obtained evidence of the conditions in the camps from ex-detainees; I have discussed the Emergency regulations with a number of experts, both in

the legal and journalistic professions, and I have heard of the Government's plans for the future from a variety of sources.

Since I have been unable to talk to you in person, I hope you will allow me to address a number of questions to you in writing concerning these matters, and since I have to return to England next Tuesday, the 28th of September, I should be extremely obliged if you could send the information to me c/o Amnesty International. For your information, I attach a copy of the terms of reference of the study I have been asked to undertake by Amnesty International, and their address appears on this document.

First, as to the conditions in the camps. I am told that responsibility for Vidyalkara was handed over by the prison authorities to the military on Wednesday, the 22nd September, and that they only enter the camp for the purpose of taking a count of the prisoners and of handing over to the prisoners' group leaders any parcels sent in by their relatives. As far as all other administration is concerned, the camp is still under the control of the detainees. Will you please let me know why the Army has taken over and whether the same steps have been taken in all the other camps. I was told that on Wednesday the Cabinet decided that the detainees should be treated as prisoners of war, and I am wondering whether there is any connection between this decision and the handing over of responsibility by the prison authorities to the Army. If this is true, may I please be assured that all the provisions of the Geneva Convention will be applied, including full rights of access by the International Red Cross to the prisoners.

Next, may I inquire about your Government's plans for either releasing detainees or bringing them to trial. Mr. Jayawickrema told me that by the end of this week 2,100 would have been released as compared with 1,651 at the time of the last official statement on September 9th. At the same time, I hear that arrests are continuing, so that the net total in detention may not have been reduced from the figure again given me on September 9th of 14,744. I shall be grateful if you will let me know what is the net total now remaining in custody, and the number of arrests and releases respectively since the statement of September 9th.

Mr. Jayawickrema told me that an analysis had been made of the social, educational and employment backgrounds of all detainees and that the data had been processed by computer. This study has shown, *inter alia*, that 83 percent of the detainees had been in employment at the time of their arrest. Please will you let me know all the other information which is being derived from this computer analysis.

As you will see from the terms of reference I am enclosing, I have been asked to inquire about the legal rights of detainees. So far, I am informed, no lawyer has been permitted to visit clients who are held in custody, even though 16 files which may lead to prosecution are already in the hands of the Attorney-General. May I suggest, with great re-

spect, that at least in these cases access by lawyers should be permitted so that due time is given to prepare the defence. At the very least, the individuals whose files are with the Attorney-General should be so informed in order that they may begin to prepare instructions for their lawyers.

Under the heading (6) of my terms of reference—the conditions of detention—I should like to know what medical facilities have been provided in camps. Were prisoners examined by doctors at the time of their remand, and if so what analysis has been made of any injuries reported, and the circumstances in which those injuries were sustained. I have to ask this question because I have been told by a good many people that their relatives were brutally treated by police officers at the time of their arrest and that some sustained very serious injuries indeed. I have first-hand accounts from ex-detainees, and not just reports from their friends and relations. I do not wish to go into great detail but I might just mention the case of two people who had sulphuric acid poured on them, and others who had limbs amputated as a result of injuries inflicted upon them by the police. Regarding the health of the detainees at present, there might be the opportunity of suggesting to the representative of the International Red Cross, Mr. Roger Du Pasquier, who is now in Ceylon, that medical assistance could be provided through their good offices. Mr. Roger Du Pasquier told me that when he previously visited Ceylon in May, he recommended the establishment of a bureau for the tracing of missing persons, but this recommendation has not been implemented. I have met the parents of persons taken into custody during the Emergency who say that they can obtain no information concerning the present whereabouts of their sons and daughters. I have personally met the mother of three sons who witnessed the arrest of one of them and saw him being taken into the local police station. She has sought the assistance of both members of Parliament representing her area, one the Leader of the Opposition, and the other the Acting Minister of Finance. Neither has been able to give her any information about the present whereabouts of her sons, or indeed whether they are still alive. The Government has not even released any information about the total number of persons reported as missing, or of the number of those whom it is impossible to trace. I am wondering whether the recommendation of the International Red Cross, which could give reassurance to thousands of anxious parents and relatives, might be implemented even at this late stage.

Mr. Jayawickrema informed me that under the regulations for the camps, visiting magistrates have to go to each one of them at least once a fortnight and listen to any complaints which may be laid before them by the prisoners. But a former detainee told me that although magistrates did visit the camps, only persons selected by the authorities were allowed to appear before them. Furthermore, in the case of four camps now stated to be administered

by the detainees themselves, if no visits at all are permitted, then presumably the magistrates themselves cannot enter.

Under the Emergency Regulations (Essential Services Order), any person not appearing at his place of work is deemed to have vacated his employment, and this means that detainees automatically lose their jobs. Those who are subsequently released and who are completely innocent of any offence may thus be deprived of their livelihood. Although former employees of Government departments and public corporations are reinstated, I am told that these bodies will not take on any former detainee not previously employed by them. Furthermore, in the private sector, employers have refused to re-engage ex-detainees, pleading the excuse of the Emergency regulations. There is much talk of the rehabilitation scheme, but a man will not become a responsible citizen if he is forced into permanent unemployment, when there is no evidence whatsoever that he has been implicated in any offence and when he may already have suffered great hardship during his unjustified imprisonment.

This brings me to the question of rehabilitation itself. It was originally stated that detainees would be classified according to whether they were innocent, "moderately" guilty or "seriously" guilty. I am not a lawyer, but every single advocate with whom I have discussed this procedure has told me that there can be no such thing as "moderately guilty". However, leaving the question of semantics aside, the rehabilitation of those who are said to be moderately guilty is presumably a process which takes place within a plan you have already determined in accordance with a definite time scale. Could I please have the details of this plan and when you expect that it will have been fully implemented. Some prisoners have been offered the chance to work, I am told, on a purely voluntary basis. I shall be grateful for your assurance that no prisoner will be compelled to work, bearing in mind that none of these people has been convicted of any offence. In the case of those who voluntarily agree to work, I suggest that some payment be made in order that prisoners who are the breadwinners of their family can make some contribution to their support. I could quote to you some tragic cases of families left entirely destitute because the breadwinners have been taken into custody, and I am concerned to find that no provision is made by the Ministry of Social Security for helping in these cases. There is not even any help given to relatives in meeting the costs of journeys to visit detainees in camps far away from their homes. Of course, one appreciates the grave economic difficulties facing your Government, but I believe that with encouragement, voluntary bodies, both in Ceylon and overseas, would be prepared to assist financially in meeting the needs I have described. Amnesty International itself would I think be glad to know whether such assistance would be welcome to you.

In your statement of the 20th July, you said that 2,500 people (out of 7,000 cases processed up to that date) had been rec-

ommended for release, but I wonder whether there has been any hitch in the arrangements when I compare this with the figure of 2,100 quoted earlier from my interview with Mr. Jayawickrema. I am sure that it would be valuable if you were to make a fresh statement indicating not only the position to date but your expectations for the future regarding the work of the Special Investigations Unit, that is to say by what date it is anticipated they will have examined all the cases and the number expected to be released. If 7,000 had already been examined at the time of your statement of last July 20, it might have been expected that in the intervening two months they would almost have completed their work. In other words, if they had worked at the same speed, they should by now have conducted 14,000 examinations; and if the proportion of innocent persons were the same, it would be reasonable to assume that 5,000 would have now been recommended for release. I should add, however, that I have had instances quoted to me where recommendations have been made by the Committee for release, and yet the persons still remain in custody.

Finally, may I deal with the question of trials. I have heard estimates varying between 200 and 2,000 of the number who will ultimately be charged, and I should be grateful for at least some rough indication of the total you would expect to be charged and the dates when the courts will begin to hear the cases. Some of the detainees have been in custody for over six months and yet not one trial has begun. Whilst I reiterate that I fully understand that your first task was to deal with the Emergency, the Minister of Home Affairs did say (Hansard, 4th May 1971, column 581) that he looked forward "to the restoring of total order throughout the length and breadth of this

country" during May. Four months have elapsed since then, and I would have thought this gave adequate time to prepare the cases against the alleged criminals or insurgents.

My visit to Ceylon has necessarily been limited to only nine days, and as you will gather from the questions I am posing in this letter, there are many aspects on which I would like to have acquired further information. I am, therefore, sending copies of this letter to those who have been good enough to help me during my stay here in the hope that they can also add details which will be helpful in reaching a fair and balanced picture of the present situation. Furthermore, in view of the fact that your own newspapers are censored and that there is world-wide concern about the continuance of the Emergency in Ceylon, I shall release a copy of this letter to the World Press on my return to Britain.

Yours sincerely,  
*Avebury*

P. S.  
Bandaranaike Airport  
1971 September 28, 10.35 a.m.

I am writing this P. S. from the Airport named in memory of your late husband, who was noted for his liberal views. I was informed this morning as I was about to leave the hotel for the Airport, that I was to leave the country immediately as my "Visa" had been cancelled, even though no visa is required for U. K. citizens to enter Ceylon. I wonder whether those with liberal views from outside Ceylon are now no longer welcome in your country if they act in pursuance of them. As a matter of interest, would you please let me know what act of mine has occasioned your Ministry's displeasure.

*Avebury*

### Tampoe Corrects the Government's Distortions

The Editor,  
The "Ceylon Daily News", The "Ceylon Daily Mirror", The "Times of Ceylon", The "Sun".

Dear Sir,

I refer to the report published on the front page of the issue of your newspaper of 29th September, which refers to Lord Avebury, who left Ceylon on the morning of 28th September, after a 10-day stay in this Island. This report contains the text of a communique said to have been issued in the evening of 28th September, giving reasons for the Government action in ordering Lord Avebury to leave the Island, when he was about to return to London in accordance with travel arrangements that he had made before his arrival in Ceylon.

Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, has been quoted in the communique as having alleged that Lord Avebury "had made three attempts to gain admission to insurgent prisons". In that context, my name has been mentioned in the following statement

attributed to Mr. Jayawickrema:

"On Sunday, 26th night, Lord Avebury attempted to enter the Koggala Prison Camp along with Mr. Bala Tampoe and Mr. Prins Gunasekera".

In point of fact, I was in the company of Lord Avebury and Mr. Prins Gunasekera on the night of Sunday, 26th September, at Koggala, and I can state categorically that Lord Avebury made no attempt to enter Koggala prison camp as alleged. What did happen was as follows:

I was driving back to Colombo in my car on 26th September at about 6.30 in the evening, together with Lord Avebury and Mr. Prins Gunasekera (M. P. for Habaraduwa), on the return from a trip that we had made to places that Lord Avebury had desired to visit in the South of Ceylon. When we were passing through the Habaraduwa constituency, Mr. Gunasekera requested me to turn off the main road to the former Home for the Aged at Koggala, which is in his constituency, and which he said had been converted into a prison camp while he was abroad recently. He mentioned that

he wished to meet a detainee who was said to be in that camp. Having turned off the Galle Road accordingly, I halted my car at a barrier, at which there was an army sentry. Mr. Gunasekera got down, spoke to the sentry and went into the office of the army post that was outside the prison camp. Lord Avebury and I remained seated in my car for some time, after which an army officer came up to the car at the barrier with Mr. Gunasekera, and invited us to come in to a room outside the entrance to the prison camp itself, a short distance away from the barrier. Mr. Gunasekera told us that he was waiting to meet the superintendent of the prison camp. Whilst we were waiting, an army officer served us with some mineral-water refreshment. A little later, Mr. Gunasekera was informed that the superintendent of the prison camp had gone to Galle and that an effort was being made to contact one of his subordinates by the army officers. As it was 7 o'clock by that time, and as we had to be back in Colombo, over 80 miles away, before the curfew, I suggested that we should leave. Mr. Gunasekera agreed, and informed the army officers that he would call over on some other occasion when he visited his constituency. We then left for Colombo.

A second direct reference to me has been made in the communique you have published, following a statement that Lord Avebury had told Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema that he was in Ceylon "really for the purpose of writing an article for 'The Guardian'". This reference to me is as follows:—

"In that connection, he had met Mr. Bala Tampoe, Mr. Prins Gunasekera and Mr. Edmund Samarakkody and they had, in turn, requested him to speak to certain persons now being held in prison."

I must say that Lord Avebury did not meet me for the purpose of writing an article for "The Guardian", but as a representative of Amnesty International, and that I know for a fact that his main pre-occupation whilst he was in Ceylon was to carry out the mission that had been assigned to him by Amnesty International. I am sure that other persons whom he met here will bear out this fact.

I was first informed, in the middle of September, that Amnesty International was sending Lord Avebury to Ceylon, and that he was expected to arrive in Ceylon towards the end of September. This intimation was given me by a Committee consisting of several persons of international repute, that had been set up in London in the first week of September, including the Venerable Dr. Rahu-la (Ceylon), Professor Rene Dumont (France), Professor E.F.C. Ludowyck (Ceylon), Peggy Duff (International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace), C.R. Hensman (Ceylon), Dr. Malcolm Caldwell (Britain), Tamara Deutscher (Britain), Chris Farley (Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation), Rosemary Adams (Britain), Stephan Feuchtwang (Britain), Michael Walsh (Britain), Bernard Lambert (Parti Socialiste Unifie, Leader of the Peasant Unions, France), Jean-Marie Domenach (Editor *Esprit*, France),

Claude Bourdet (French journalist and President of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace), Father P. Blanquart (leading Dominican priest, France), Father Rozueplo (leading Dominican priest), A.P. Lentin (journalist, Editor of *Politique Hebdo*, independent Left newspaper, France). The Committee is called the Ceylon Committee.

I was informed that the Ceylon Committee had been set up

"1. to arouse world attention to the state of affairs in Ceylon;

"2. to assist in the setting up of an independent Committee of Enquiry into the uprising in April and the following months and into the atrocities said to have been committed by the police and/or the armed forces;

"3. to direct world attention to any forthcoming trials of the detainees in order to ensure that such trials will be fair, and to provide legal and other assistance where necessary;

"4. to assist in the rehabilitation of families reduced to paupery and to provide financial and other assistance to families whose breadwinners have been interned without trial;

"5. to support all resistance to the suppression of political freedom in Ceylon."

I was advised that the Committee hoped that I would do everything I could to assist Lord Avebury.

When Lord Avebury arrived on 18th September, I was introduced to him by Mr. Prins Gunasekera; and, in his very first discussion with me, Lord Avebury handed me a photostat copy of a letter dated 16th September 1971, written by Martin Ennals, Secretary-General of Amnesty International, addressed "TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN", and reading as follows:

"Lord Avebury (Mr. Eric Lubbock) has been asked by Amnesty International to visit Ceylon from 17th to 28th September to discuss Government plans for the release, trial, or rehabilitation of those detained during the present State of Emergency. He will make inquiries into:

"1) the emergency legislation in regard to political detention;

"2) the possibility of release of those detainees against whom no criminal charges have been, or can be, made;

"3) the provisions for trying the remaining prisoners at the earliest opportunity;

"4) the legal rights of the detainees;

"5) the position of the families of the detainees and the social services at their disposal;

"6) the conditions of detention;

"7) the possibility of cooperation, by Amnesty International or some other international organisation, in a programme of rehabilitation of the detainees.

"Any assistance or co-operation which can be given to Lord Avebury in his mission will be greatly appreciated."

In view of my Union's well-known concern with the matters covered by Lord Avebury's terms of reference, and in consideration of the request already conveyed to me by the Committee I have mentioned above, of which I informed him, I agreed to give Lord Avebury whatever assistance I could in his mission. None of the in-

formation I gave him or assisted him to secure, at first hand, from an ex-detainee, and from the mothers of missing persons, as well as from documents of the Ceylon Mercantile Union, can correctly be described as "rumours and misrepresentations", as has been insinuated in the communique you have published.

Though Lord Avebury was unable to meet any Cabinet minister, he did meet several other persons who have not been mentioned in the communique. They included Mr. H.W.R. Weerasooriya, Q.C. — Chairman, Amnesty Ceylon, Senator S. Nadesan, Q.C. — President, Bar Council, Mr. Victor Tennekoon, Q.C. — Attorney General, Mr. E.A.G. de Silva — Secretary, Amnesty Ceylon, Arch-Bishop Lakdasa de Mel — Metropolitan of India and Ceylon, Mr. J.R. Jayawardene, M.P. — Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Reggie Michael — Editor, "Ceylon Daily Mirror", Mr. Mervy de Silva — Editor, "Ceylon Daily News", Mr. H.G.S. Ratnaweera — Editor, "Aththa", Mr. Walter Jayawardena, Q.C. — Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Constitutional Affairs and Ambassador Designate to Czechoslovakia, Mr. W. Dahanayake, M.P., Mr. S. Canagarayar — Former Commissioner of Prisons, and Mr. Daya Perera — Advocate.

In the context of the omission of any mention of these persons, and the specific references made to me in the communique, the statement contained in its concluding paragraph that, "from the moment of his arrival until his departure, Lord Avebury was in close contact with several persons who appeared to be anxious to embarrass and discredit the Government and to smear the image of Ceylon abroad", is a clear imputation against me, amongst other persons mentioned in the communique, which is false. Furthermore, irrespective of whether embarrassment was caused or may be caused to the Government, in consequence of Lord Avebury's contact with me during his stay in Ceylon, or not, the insinuation that I was one of several persons who "appeared to be anxious . . . to smear the image of Ceylon abroad" is not only false but obviously malicious. Never in my life have I said or done anything to smear the image of Ceylon, in this Island or abroad. Whatever discredit the Government may suffer due to Lord Avebury's visit can hardly be attributed to me.

I request that you give as much publicity to this statement of mine as you have given to the communique to which it refers.

Yours faithfully,  
P.B. Tampoe

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