

# Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

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## Civil War Deepens in Cambodia



HABASH: Rejects funds tainted with oil. (See page 631.)

### Unrest Mounts in Saigon

China:

Trotskyists in Mao's Jails

Jordan:

Fedayeen Score Victory

Solzhenitsyn Assails

Detention of Medvedev

# How Wilson Did It

### Atlantic Polluted

Explorer Thor Heyerdahl has radioed a message to Norway's Ambassador to the United Nations Edward Hambro reporting that a continuous stretch "of at least 1,400 miles of the open Atlantic" is polluted by "floating lumps of solidified, asphalt-like oil."

Heyerdahl is leading an eight-man international crew in an attempt to cross the Atlantic on the papyrus boat *Ra II*.

The message from *Ra II* was received by an amateur radio operator and reported by the Associated Press June 18. A member of the boat's crew made a "day-to-day survey of oil pollution" from the time *Ra II* left Morocco May 17.

Heyerdahl said the oil chunks had been seen "in varying quantities . . . uninterruptedly every day . . . the black flotsam varies in size from tiny particles to lumps as big as potatoes."

In some areas the lumps were so numerous as "to make ocean baths unpleasant."

There is evidence that the pollution has been going on for some time:

"In many areas, the pieces are spongy and entirely covered by small barnacles and sometimes by tiny crabs and crustaceans. In other areas, the lumps are smooth, shiny black and seem quite fresh. Areas have been passed in which the water surrounding them is discolored and unclear."

The Norwegian explorer observed similar evidence of widespread ocean pollution during an unsuccessful attempt to cross the Atlantic in another papyrus boat in 1969.

In a report on his 1969 voyage in the April, 1970, issue of *Biological Conservation* he said the oil lumps appeared to be the size of "fine gravel."

### Summer Schedule

With this issue Intercontinental Press goes on its summer schedule. We will publish biweekly in July and will not publish in August. We will resume on a weekly basis in September.

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# Trotskyists in Mao Tsetung's Jails

By Li Fu-jeu

[First of three articles.]

*Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession and freedom of demonstration. The state guarantees to citizens enjoyment of these freedoms by providing the necessary material facilities.* — Article 87, Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1954.

\* \* \*

In December-January of 1952-53, in sweeping raids conducted by secret police agents of the People's Republic of China, all known Trotskyists were arrested and held for investigation. The nationwide operation had been well prepared. It was directed from the seat of power in Peking. Not only were known Trotskyists arrested, but also their friends and relatives. The police raids took place in the southwestern provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung, the central Yangtze provinces (particularly the Wuhan area) and extended northward to Peking and the northeastern provinces (Manchuria).

Because of the secretiveness of the Mao Tsetung regime where it concerns political opposition, I do not have complete and detailed information regarding the arrests and subsequent developments. However, friends close to the scene have reported that about 200 persons, men and women, were arrested. The prisoners were concentrated at three points: Shanghai, Wuhan and Peking. (Wuhan is the tri-city complex of Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang, at the confluence of the Yangtze and Han rivers, 600 miles west of Shanghai, and is now an important center of China's burgeoning heavy industry.)

What were the charges against the arrested Trotskyists and their friends? It is impossible to say, for there were no indictments, no public trials and no publicity in the Chinese press. Word reaching the outer world indicated that

at closed hearings some of the arrestees were sentenced to hard-labor terms of five to ten years for "counter-revolutionary activities." No specific sentences were imposed on those considered the leaders. Their fate was to stay in prison indefinitely until they "reformed" — meaning until they renounced their political views and agreed to sing hosannahs to the genius of Mao Tsetung.

But whatever the charges may have been, I know quite positively what the Trotskyists stood for and what they were against. They were unconditionally FOR the revolution that ended the era of Kuomintang-imperialist domination. They did NOT accept the Communist party regime of bureaucratic commandism and privilege masquerading in the guise of "people's democracy." They also rejected the type of policy that gave China's backing to the opportunism of Aidit in Indonesia — as if China's own tragic experience with this political poison in 1925-27 had never taken place. They wanted and they demanded a genuine people's democracy, with the right of political minorities to exist openly and legally.

For the Chinese Trotskyists none of this was new. Their leaders were seasoned revolutionary fighters, Marxist-Leninists. Some had served in Chiang Kai-shek's prisons before they came to know the jail cells of the People's Republic of China. Some of these comrades are known to me personally. To speak of them as "counter-revolutionaries" is to do violence to truth and reason.

What did they really do, these graduates of the school of revolution? Following the takeover of the country by the Communists, they continued to maintain, as far as possible, a group activity. They met together. They propagated their political ideas by word of mouth and the printed word. They committed no acts that could reasonably be construed as counterrevolutionary. In fact, there was no hint that the new regime con-

sidered their activity illegal until the sudden mass arrests in 1952-53.

The Constitution of the People's Republic was adopted at the First National People's Congress, September 20, 1954. As I noted at the beginning of this article, the Constitution guaranteed the broadest democratic rights to the people. Why, then, were the Trotskyists, who had then been behind bars more than one and a half years, not set free? Their offense was only the exercise of precisely those rights that Article 87 presumably vouchsafed to all citizens.

Sixteen years have passed since the adoption of China's "democratic" constitution. Fragmentary and often uncertain information from time to time had told of the death of some of the Trotskyist political prisoners. The survivors still languish in prison. Their continued incarceration is a stain on the Chinese revolution and a standing reproach to the government at Peking.

[In the second article, Li Fu-jeu will list the names of some of the outstanding Trotskyist prisoners, with background information about their careers as veterans of the Chinese revolution.]

## Nixon's Secret Weapon

The June 15 *New York Post* reports that Nixon watched the film *Patton* at least twice before launching the invasion of Cambodia and has referred to it several times in defending his decision. What was the particular piece of military strategy that impressed Nixon in the biography of the World War II American general?

"One of the best parts of the movie," Nixon reportedly said, "was when Patton said they needed good weather so that they could use their air power. The general sent for the chaplain. A prayer was written asking for good weather. Patton prayed bareheaded in the snow. When the weather cleared the next day, the general sent for the chaplain and decorated him.

"Now," Nixon continued, "we have every chaplain in Vietnam praying for early rain. You have to have the determination to go out and do what is right for America."

# Wilson Leads Labour Party to Bitter Defeat at Polls

By Gerry Foley

In an extraordinary upset of the forecasts of the pollsters, the Conservative party won the June 18 British general election by a margin of thirty seats in the 630-member House of Commons. Nearly all the preelection public opinion polls had indicated that Labour would win by from 2 to 8.7 percent.

Voter apathy was the apparent cause of the Labour defeat. Despite the fact that young people from eighteen to twenty were given the vote for the first time, the percentage of abstentions was estimated to be as high as 31 percent, instead of the 25 percent that had been expected. Lack of interest in the election issues seems, as usual, to have cut most deeply into the working-class vote.

All of the press accounts during the campaign reported a climate of indifference among the workers, and especially among the youth.

"Perhaps the largest and most ambivalent group of young voters," Anthony Weinraub wrote in the June 12 issue of the *New York Times*, "consists of the sons and daughters of the traditionally Socialist miners, factory workers and urban employees."

Ironically, Wilson's Social Democratic advisers thought that a dull campaign would favor Labour. "The campaign has been marked by large amounts of apathy," Anthony Lewis wrote in the *New York Times* magazine of June 14. "With Mr. Heath [the Conservative leader] railing at high prices but not saying what he would do about them, and Mr. Wilson puffing his pipe into the cameras, public indifference is not too surprising. Labour strategists figure that should help them, in the light of Mr. Wilson's personal hold on the voters: if unaroused by issues, they should vote for him."

Wilson's smoothness and polished platform presence were admired by nearly all the bourgeois commentators.

"Paradoxically, the Labor Party—socialist in origin and supposedly still socialist in theory—has emerged as



WILSON: Succeeds in snatching defeat from the jaws of victory.

the party of the status quo, heralding no drastic changes, planning no innovations, threatening no upsets to what, on the surface at least seems like a placid, demi-prosperous, no venturesome society," Alfred Friendly wrote in the June 18 issue of the *Washington Post*.

Neither Wilson's pointing to Britain's improved trade balance—the result of devaluation of the pound and austerity policies—nor Heath's warnings about inflation and an economic decline around the corner seem to have gone over with the voters.

"He [the British voter] has become rather cynical, for both parties have records of stodgy [economic] growth, sharp inflation, crisis and restraint [a euphemism for austerity]," correspondent John M. Lee wrote in the June 15 issue of the *New York Times*.

Wilson timed the election to coincide with a high point in the economic

cycle and a mood of complacency. For the first time since 1967 the polls showed a lead for Labour. The devaluation of the pound, cuts in social benefits, and attempts to limit the right to strike had previously produced a strong tide against the Wilson government.

A year ago the pollsters gave the Conservatives a 12 percent lead. The swing to the Tories was still 8.6 percent in the Bridgwater by-election on March 12 of this year. Such a margin would have given Heath's party a parliamentary majority of 150 seats.

The Social Democratic strategists must have assumed that the workers had been mollified by the upturn and forgotten the earlier attacks on their standard of living. In the absence of a political alternative, it could be expected that after a time the working-class vote would return to Labour.

Despite this, the sudden improvement of the outlook for Wilson in polls puzzled many observers. Some attributed this upswing to the increase in the young electorate produced by the reduction of the legal voting age. The stodgy Conservatives and their lackluster leader Edward Heath had no attraction for the youth, despite their claim to be the party of "strenuous action." But neither could Harold Wilson's party of the status quo inspire enthusiasm in this particularly dissatisfied sector of the electorate.

The timing of the election must be seen in terms of Wilson's long-term objective. Like other Social Democratic leaderships, the Labour politicians are concerned about maintaining their reputation as trustworthy managers of the governmental affairs of the capitalist class. At the same time, the Social Democrats must retain their working-class support in order to maintain their usefulness to the ruling class.

"Mr. Wilson's fundamental objective all along has been to make Labor seem the natural governing party. He is certainly on the way to achieving

that—as hard as it would have been to imagine a year ago," Anthony Lewis wrote in the *New York Times* magazine June 14.

The Social Democrats' ability to achieve both aspects of their contradictory objective depends primarily on the economic cycle and the speed with which economic changes are reflected in the popular mood. Wilson relied on the bourgeois pollsters to determine the right time for going to the people.

The results of the elections show that class-collaborationist fakers do not yet have the benefit of exact science for executing their maneuvers. The bourgeois "technology" of opinion sampling, apparently, does not take into consideration the dynamics of social classes—namely that workers are reluctant to take the trouble of voting unless they think they have a material interest in the outcome.

Wilson did succeed in convincing the bourgeoisie of his reliability. The most intelligent capitalist organ, *The Economist*, was not disturbed at the prospect of a continuation of the Labour regime. In its preelection issue this magazine wrote: "That Mr Wilson is likely to stay in No. 10 Downing Street, especially on the terms, or rather the absence of them, on which he is offering himself, is a disappointment. It is not a disaster. Mr Wilson and his senior ministers, especially Mr Jenkins [the finance minister] and Mr Healey have major achievements to their credit."

The price of this grudging bourgeois approval, the election results indicate, was a loss of interest in politics by the workers.

A significant increase in racist demagoguery was registered in the election.

When Enoch Powell began making racist speeches two years ago, Heath considered it necessary to dismiss him from the Tory leadership. In the present election, although Powell escalated his demagoguery, Heath refused to disavow him: "The overwhelming impression of observers is that the Conservative leadership has deliberately decided not to offend supporters of Mr. Powell in this election," Anthony Lewis wrote in the June 12 issue of the *New York Times*.

Powell seemed to reach his peak in Birmingham June 13: "Britain at this moment is under attack," he said.

"It is not surprising if many people still find that difficult to realise . . . When we think of an enemy, we still visualise him in the shape of armoured divisions or squadrons of aircraft, or packs of submarines.

"But a nation's existence is not always threatened in the same way. . . .

"This country is today under attack by forces which aim at the actual destruction of our nation and society as we know or can imagine them."

Powell did not name the "enemy," but he gave examples of the enemy's supposed activity: "We have seen the universities of America being destroyed. These institutions . . . only exist and are administered upon terms dictated by the enemy . . . we have seen the same enemy in his student manifestation not only terrorise one European city after another, but bring down one of the strongest European governments. . . .

"Civil government itself has been made to tremble by the mob—in its modern form, the demonstration. The actual policy and administration of the United States has been altered, and altered again by the fact or the fear of crowd behaviour."

The key force in the "enemy's" strategy, according to Powell, is the non-white population of Britain: "'Race' is billed to play a major, perhaps a decisive, part in the battle of Britain, whose enemies must have been unable to believe their good fortune as they watched the numbers of West Indians, Africans, and Asians concentrated in her major cities mount toward the two million mark, and no diminution of the increase yet in sight."

In listing the "enemy" forces, Powell did not fail to include what the bard of British imperialism, Rudyard Kipling, once called "England's oldest enemy"—the nationalist population of Ireland. "In Ulster we are told that the deliberate destruction by fire and riot of areas of ordinary property is due to dissatisfaction over allocation of council houses and opportunities for employment. It is nonsense—manifest arrant nonsense; but that has not prevented the Parliament and government of the United Kingdom from undermining the morale of civil government in Northern Ireland by imputing to it the blame for anarchy and violence."

The Tory victory will probably mean a further spread of Powellism.



POWELL: Racist demagogue sees "enemy" advancing everywhere.

Most of the Western bourgeoisies have felt it necessary to attempt reactionary offensives. The rightward shift of the ruling-class orientation requires politically disarming and disorienting the working class. Therefore, appeals to the prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers are now an increasingly important feature in the political life of Italy, France, and the United States, as well as Great Britain.

However, in order not to assist the bourgeoisie's attempt to disorient the workers it is important to avoid exaggerating the role of Powellism in Tory strategy. The ultraleft sectarian Socialist Labour League (SLL) fell into this trap in the June 13 issue of its organ *Workers Press*. "It is now very evident," an anonymous SLL "theoretician" wrote, "that as a certain liberal observer remarked:

"Mr Heath might control the forms, but it is Powell who articulates the substantive beliefs and emotions . . . of the Tory Party."

If the reactionary racist demagoguery of Powell represented the "substantive beliefs" of the party of the British big bourgeoisie, it is hard to see how this class could have survived comfortably

into the second half of the twentieth century, or maintained the relative social peace that reigns in Britain.

After accepting this "liberal observer's" assertion that Powellite racism is the basic ideology of the Tories, the SLL "theoretician" went on to predict that if the Conservatives won, Heath would play a bonapartist role, balancing between Powell and the working-class bureaucracies. And "If the right majority is a small one, he [Heath] will be forced to dispense with the niceties of parliamentary forms

of rule earlier than some people expect."

The SLL's analysis seemed to be based on the expectation of an imminent fascist development. But this perspective has been advanced by the SLL at various times over the years, only to be dropped as hastily as it was projected.

The Tory victory inspired joy in British financial circles. "Champagne corks popped in some London brokerage offices today as financial markets gave Britain's new Conservative

Government a huge vote of confidence," John M. Lee wrote from London in the June 20 issue of the *New York Times*.

The *Financial Times* industrial share index scored an almost unprecedented rise of 22.6 points in the first hour of trading.

"Let's face it," one dealer told Lee, "The City [London's financial market] likes the Tories a lot better than the Socialists. . . . Harold Wilson improved, but he was never really trusted."

## Unrest Mounts in Saigon

# Students Demand: 'Bunker, Go Home!'

The Thieu dictatorship is facing the most serious opposition from its erstwhile supporters in "pacified" Saigon since it consolidated power in the 1967 "elections." Buddhists, students, disabled veterans, and even unions are demonstrating or striking against the government and its American patrons.

On June 11 a seventy-four-year-old Buddhist monk, Thich Thien Lai, burned himself to death in Saigon as an antigovernment protest. This was the first self-immolation in the capital since 1967 and newspapers were quick to recall the effect of similar actions in bringing down the Diem regime.

Some 5,000 Buddhists staged a funeral procession for Thich Thien Lai June 14. About 100 of the marchers carried signs demanding, "Americans Go Home."

A twenty-four-year-old Buddhist nun burned herself to death in central Vietnam on June 4.

A group of disabled veterans marched on the national assembly June 10 to protest a bill granting them inadequate compensation.

Students have been increasingly militant since March. They fought police in Saigon June 13 and 15, demanding release of several of their leaders who have been held without trial since March. The students also wanted to show solidarity with a one-day general strike called for June 15 by sixty of Saigon's 124 unions in sympathy with several hundred Vietnamese em-

ployees who were fired at a government warehouse for lack of work.

James P. Sterba reported from Saigon in the June 16 *New York Times*:

"Sporadic clashes between policemen and about 200 high school and university students began at about 10:30 A. M. [June 15] when, after a meeting at Saigon University's School of Agriculture, about two blocks from the [U.S.] Embassy, the students decided to attempt to march to the headquarters of the Federation of Saigon Unions. . . .

"The students were turned back, however, by policemen wearing helmets, carrying wicker shields and shooting tear-gas grenades.

"During the demonstrations, a United States military police jeep was set ablaze with gasoline, and its occupant, a sergeant, was clubbed and kicked by several young Vietnamese men as he fled the burning vehicle. . . .

"Scrawled on the macadam half a block from the embassy were freshly painted pronouncements in both English and Vietnamese, reading: 'Down with the country-selling clique,' 'Peace now' and 'Bunker, go home.'"

The June 16 *Washington Post* said that at least two Americans and three Vietnamese students were injured in the clashes: "The Jeep the MP was driving was destroyed by fire, and it was presumed that the guard dog accompanying him had died in the fire.

"Other reports indicated that a sec-

ond Jeep — variously described as civilian and as belonging to Vietnamese police — was also burned.

"Meanwhile, hundreds of students were besieged by police in Saigon University, about 100 yards away from the heavily guarded U.S. Embassy.

"The MP, Sgt. Maurice King, 20, of Tacoma, Wash., was burned on his right arm and suffered a bump on the head when his Jeep was attacked by students and burned. . . .

"He was able to break away from the students when a security guard at an American radio network compound, 100 yards away, fired a shot in the air and called to him to make for the compound. . . .

"At dusk Monday, students from Saigon University and high schools in the city remained barricaded in buildings housing the university's faculties of agriculture and pharmacy, near the American Embassy.

"They threw firebombs across a barbed-wire barricade at government police, and the police responded by firing tear-gas cannisters into the midst of the students."

## Opportunities for Women in Cuba

In 1969 women comprised 22 percent of all employed Cubans. Before the revolution the figure was less than 10 percent. Women are 49 percent of the work force in light industry, 68 percent in education and culture, 52 percent in service occupations, and 34 percent in communications.



# King Hussein Forced to Yield to Fedayeen Fighters

By Allen Myers

After a week of fighting in and around Amman between Palestinian commandos and Jordanian government troops, King Hussein was forced to make concessions to the guerrillas, including dismissing two members of the royal family from their military posts. The concessions registered the growing strength of the liberation organizations.

Hussein has a long history of opposition to the activities of the Palestinian guerrillas, an opposition encouraged by United States imperialism, which always has a kind word to say for the king's "moderation." Two previous confrontations with the commandos have taken place in the last year and a half.

In November, 1968, Hussein was forced to grant official recognition of the guerrillas' special status in Jordan. In February of this year, an attempt to bring the guerrillas under government control was defeated and discipline over the commandos was yielded to the Palestinian organizations.

The latest crisis began with an attack June 9 by the Jordanian army on a unit of one of the fedayeen groups, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP). The attack occurred shortly after the meeting of the Palestine National Council<sup>1</sup> in Cairo May 29-June 4.

At that meeting, the council had refused to seat the official Jordanian delegation and had recognized an opposition group, the Jordanian National Union. The council also called for the formation of joint Palestinian-Jordanian committees.<sup>2</sup>

1. The Palestinian National Council is considered by the Arab nations to represent the Palestinian people. It is composed of figures prominent in Arab politics, representatives of the guerrilla fronts, and some legally recognized Jordanian Palestinian organizations.

2. The nature of the councils was not spelled out. Presumably those already set up are primarily made up of peasants and workers.



HUSSEIN: Kicks two relatives off payroll.

This latter decision in effect sanctioned a policy which the DPFLP had been carrying out since April: the setting up of joint councils of Palestinians and Jordanians. The DPFLP views these councils as a means of overcoming antagonisms between the two populations, but also and more importantly, as embryos of organs of democratic self-government by and for the masses.

Hussein, who has long attempted to maintain a base of support among the non-Palestinian, primarily Bedouin, Jordanians by stirring up hostility toward the refugees, thus has good reason to fear the DPFLP and other fedayeen groups, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), that see the fight against reactionary Arab governments as an inseparable part of the fight against Zionism.

Hussein must have calculated that political differences among the guerrilla groups would make it possible for him to destroy them one at a time, starting with the left. This proved to be a costly error.

As news of the attack on the DPFLP reached the various fedayeen groups, they began sending their forces into Amman. The largest numbers sent into the capital were from the PFLP.

Hussein reacted by withdrawing army units from the Israeli front and rushing them back to Amman. At the same time, Jordanian artillery began bombarding refugee camps, particularly the one at Al Wahdat which houses the headquarters of the PFLP and other guerrilla groups. On June 9 a convoy escorting Hussein into the capital was ambushed in an Amman suburb and at least one guard was reported killed.

The fighting immediately threatened to involve other governments. Baghdad radio warned that the Iraqi government "would not stand idly by if Iraq's border with Jordan and Syria were endangered." This was an allusion to frequent statements by Israeli leaders in the past that they might intervene with troops if Hussein's regime were threatened.

Iraq has between 12,000 and 15,000 troops stationed in Jordan. The Syrian government, which has 2,000 troops in Jordan, announced on June 11 that it would support the fedayeen "all the way and at all cost."

On the other side, the commander of Saudi Arabian troops in southern Jordan pledged his support to the Jordanian army.

The Nixon administration also attempted to exert its influence on the outcome of the crisis. As early as June 9, according to Reuters, Secretary of State William Rogers "expressed concern today about the fighting . . . and stressed Washington's friendship for King Hussein."

Washington's friendship for King Hussein was expressed more concretely when the White House announced that the U. S. Sixth Fleet and the 82nd Airborne Division had been alerted for possible intervention.

The pretext for the threat of intervention was the old standby, the alleged need to protect American citi-

zens. On June 10 Major Robert Perry, military attaché of the U. S. embassy in Amman, was killed by fedayeen. American officials said that Perry had been shot, for no apparent reason, through the locked door of his home. A spokesman for El Fateh, the largest of the guerrilla groups, said however that Perry had been killed after sniping at members of Fateh.

On the same day, a cease-fire agreement was worked out between Hussein and Yasir Arafat, the leader of Fateh and chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Fateh has a position of nonintervention in the Arab states and says that its sole concern is the destruction of Zionism and the return of the Palestinians to their homeland. In an interview reported in the June 14 *New York Times*, a spokesman for the group commented on the fighting in Jordan:

"As a revolutionary movement we do not want to be encumbered with the tasks of administration. Our policy is not to interfere in the affairs of Jordan. The only condition is that the Government should not interfere in our affairs to organize and arm ourselves. The only government we aspire to is the government of Palestine."

The Democratic Popular Front and the Popular Front, on the other hand, believe that socialist revolution in the Arab states is part and parcel of the struggle to reclaim Palestine. Consequently, they have been involved in the political life of countries such as Jordan and Lebanon. Hussein's attempt to suppress the fedayeen in February was touched off by the PFLP's intervention in a labor dispute on the side of the workers.

The leader of the PFLP is Dr. George Habash, a forty-four-year-old Palestinian. Unlike many of the guerrilla groups, the PFLP accepts no financial support from the Arab governments which in Habash's words "stink of American oil."

Habash defines the struggle as an attempt to rid Palestine of Zionism and to rid the other Arab countries, from Saudi Arabia to Egypt, of their bourgeois governments. During 1968 the Syrian government held him in prison for six months on a charge of attempting to overthrow it. Members of the PFLP organized his escape.

When the announcement of the cease-fire worked out between Arafat and Hussein was made, the PFLP refused to accept it, declaring that the Jordanian government had done nothing to remove the causes which led to the fighting.

The PFLP seized some sixty to seventy hostages, most of them American or British, as guarantees against further government assaults on the refugee camps. As the fighting continued, Habash announced that a cease-fire could take place only if the king granted three demands: release of all captured guerrillas, the dismissal of Major General Nasser Ben Jamil, the army commander in chief, and Major General Zaid Ben Shaker, commander of the Third Armored Division (Hussein's uncle and cousin, respectively), and the dissolution of the army's Saiqah special forces units.

Habash charged that Ben Jamil and Ben Shaker headed a conspiracy of government figures directed against the fedayeen. Saiqah units had been involved in the June 9 attack on the Democratic Popular Front.

John K. Cooley, one of the hostages seized by the PFLP, reported in the June 15 *Christian Science Monitor* that by June 12 Habash's forces "were in complete physical control of all central Amman. The Army and King Hussein's Bedouin guard controlled only the royal palace, on its huge fortified hill, and the summits of two of the seven hills ringing Amman."

Late on the night of June 11, Hussein announced his acceptance of the PFLP's demands. A cease-fire went into effect the next morning. It has been enforced since then by joint patrols of fedayeen and Jordanian troops.

With the cease-fire and the release of hostages on June 12, a tense quiet returned to Amman. The situation is clearly unstable and new fighting could erupt at any moment.

The week of fighting has shown that Hussein is even weaker than he had previously appeared. His army is unreliable, badly split, and opposed to him from two directions. On the right are officers who would risk a full-scale civil war in order to destroy the guerrilla movement. On June 13, for example, officers loyal to General Ben Jamil attempted to move tanks into the capital and had to be dis-

suaed by guerrilla leaders and officers loyal to Hussein.

On the other side, a large part of the Bedouin forces in the army are no longer willing to fight the fedayeen, who have been able to win increasing sympathy from the Jordanian population. In the June 17 *Christian Science Monitor*, John Cooley reported:

"Contrary to the earlier belief of this and other reporters, few Bedouin tribal forces, if any, actually fought the Palestinians last week.

"They stayed in their barracks and villages and played no part in the fighting, which was done on the government side by black-bereted military police and commando troops of the palace 'special forces.'"

Thus the Bedouin population is displaying increasing sympathy with the Palestinians, who make up the majority of the population of Jordan. Hussein's future looks increasingly bleak.

The Palestinian revolution, on the other hand, has taken a tremendous step forward. The gain consists of more than the establishment of a certain check on the policies of the Jordanian government now exercised by the guerrillas, important as that is.

The masses of the Arab population cannot help but be inspired elsewhere by this defeat of Hussein.

As the pro-Zionist *New York Times* wailed in an editorial June 11, "The guerrilla uprising in Jordan foreshadows more trouble in Lebanon, where a new showdown with the Palestinian activists is due shortly. Lebanon, like Jordan, may be pushed farther down the road toward becoming a guerrilla state."

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#### Victoria Labor Backs Draft Resisters

Delegates to the conference of the Victoria state Australian Labor party defied the Federal Crimes Act June 14 to call on young men to refuse to fight in Vietnam. "Cheering broke out among the 400 delegates at Collingwood town hall as the amended motion was carried," the Melbourne daily *Age* reported the following day.

The motion included a demand for the immediate withdrawal of all Australian and foreign troops from Vietnam and repeal of the conscription act. "The conference said it considered conscription in any form—civil or military—a violation of the basic rights of the individual," the *Age* account said.



## Civil War Deepens in Cambodia

By Les Evans

The Nixon administration has abandoned the pretext that the invasion of Cambodia was merely to attack North Vietnamese "sanctuaries." The June 19 *New York Times* reported:

"Urgent meetings are being held [in Washington] to weigh courses of United States action to help save the regime of Premier Lon Nol. Discussions are also being held with the South Vietnamese in Saigon and with Thai leaders in Bangkok."

It remains to be seen if Nixon's puppets, even with U.S. support, can turn back the revolutionary wave precipitated by the imposition of the pro-American military regime March 18.

On June 18, just three months after the coup, the insurgents cut the last major highway linking Pnompenh with the outside world. Highway 1, the road to Saigon, was closed by the Khmer Rouge and the National Liberation Front some thirty miles southeast of the capital. All routes to provincial capitals to the northwest and to Thailand were also severed, as was the crucial Highway 4, the route to Kompong Som (Sihanoukville), Cambodia's only deep-water port and the site of its only oil refinery.

All major rail lines to Pnompenh have also been cut, including the link to the major rice-growing region in the northwest.

The revolutionary forces reportedly control at least half of the country and are moving rapidly to surround Pnompenh, the most important stronghold of the U.S.-backed government. Sydney H. Schanberg, the *New York Times* correspondent in Cambodia, wrote June 18:

"Though Government troops, with the help of South Vietnamese forces, may be able to reopen the newly severed roads—and perhaps some of the other major road and rail routes—there is little optimism here that they can keep them open for very long."

The following day Schanberg visited Sisophon, thirty miles from the border with Thailand in western Cam-

bodia. "The situation at the Sisophon garrison," he said, "is indicative of the Cambodian Army's condition throughout this area. It is weak, unprepared and highly vulnerable to enemy assault."

"An 800-mile drive through the western part of the country revealed key bridges unguarded. New troops sent out on operations against the North Vietnamese and Vietcong enemy sometimes do little more than march up and down the main road."

As the June 30 deadline for the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Cambodia approaches, Lon Nol's situation continues to deteriorate. It seems dubious that Thai and Saigon troops can accomplish by proxy what the U.S. forces have been unable to accomplish even in the areas they have occupied.

Thailand, which has 11,000 troops in Vietnam under a lucrative contract with Washington, has been reluctant to commit any substantial forces to Cambodia until it is clear that the U.S. will pick up the tab. The request for Thai troops to defend Pnompenh has revealed that even the Cambodian army is not regarded as loyal to Nixon's strongman. The June 15 *New York Times* reported:

"According to well-informed sources, Cambodia's Premier, Lieut. Gen. Lon Nol, has asked the Thais for regular troops to defend Pnompenh because he suspects that Cambodian commanders now guarding the capital may be sympathetic to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the former Chief of State . . ."

There are also problems in keeping large numbers of Saigon troops in Cambodia. The *New York Times* commented June 19: "Concern seems to be increasing that if too many South Vietnamese troops stay in Cambodia after the American withdrawal . . . the Vietnamization program may be jeopardized."

The reasons for such concern were made more explicit in a report from Danang, South Vietnam, by Laurence

Stern in the June 19 *Washington Post*:

"While Cambodia has preempted the world headlines, the Communists in South Vietnam have mounted a fierce and determined guerrilla-style military campaign. . . ."

"Whatever the motive, the current Communist offensive has sent pacification scores—the elaborate accounting system used here for measuring government security—tumbling in numerous South Vietnamese provinces since the onset of spring."

"It has also exposed gaping weaknesses in the ability of South Vietnamese territorial forces to defend civilian populations in the so-called pacified areas from Communist attack."

It seems clear that the North Vietnamese have decided to meet Nixon's escalation of the war by linking the insurgent movements in all Indochina under a joint military command. General Vo Nguyen Giap, North Vietnamese defense minister and the architect of the victory over the French at Dienbienphu in 1954, published two major articles on current strategy in the May 31 and June 1 issues of *Nhan Dan*, the organ of the North Vietnamese Workers party. "We pledge to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia for genuine independence and freedom," Giap said, "and to lead the national liberation undertaking of the Indochinese peoples to complete victory."

A major part of southern Laos has fallen to the Pathet Lao since Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. The most spectacular success of the rebels was the seizure of Saravane June 9.

In his May 8 news conference Nixon said: "The great majority of all American units will be out by the second week of June." The Defense Department has said that U.S. troop levels in Cambodia reached 20,000 at their height. As of June 17 there were still 10,000 American GIs in the country.

Nixon is under heavy pressure from the growing antiwar forces at home as well as from the deteriorating mili-

tary situation in Indochina. But there is no indication that he has any intention of ending the war. The "South Vietnamese," who take their orders from the American command in Saigon, are building a permanent base at Neak Luong. This will constitute, in effect, an American military foothold on Cambodian soil.

The Saigon generals openly model their intervention on the tactics used (unsuccessfully) by the French against Vietnamese prior to the rout at Dien-bienphu.

"South Vietnamese military authorities are counting heavily on what they believe to be their superior capacity to move major units quickly to block any Communist moves," the *New York Times* reported June 16. "They think of their mission as the French

thought of theirs in the wars against insurgents in Indochina and Algeria. In the language of the French experts, they refer to Neak Luong as the principal 'oilspot' from which their troops could spread rapidly when needed."

This shows why Nixon is opposed to even the most minimal congressional restriction on U.S. operations in Cambodia. The "oilspot" technique allows temporary "withdrawals," as long as firm bases or enclaves remain. But to be successful, the "oilspots" have to spread until they cover the whole country. This requires a massive army of occupation. It might be pointed out that this technique has not worked in Vietnam, and its originators, the French, were defeated in both Algeria and Indochina.

In expanding the war, however,

Nixon has destroyed the credibility of his own demagoguery that he was slowly bringing the conflict to an end. A Gallup poll published June 14 showed 48 percent of those questioned in favor of either immediate withdrawal or withdrawal within a year of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. Some 31 percent of those polled favored Nixon's plan to "withdraw troops but take as many years to do this as are needed to turn the war over to the South Vietnamese." Only 13 percent voted to expand the war by sending more troops. Even these figures are understated. Only people over twenty-one years old were questioned. But 50 percent of the American population is under twenty-five and youth have been consistently more antiwar than their elders.

## Kidnap German Ambassador to Brazil

# Guerrillas Win Release of 44 Political Prisoners

The West German ambassador to Brazil, Ehrenfried von Holleben, was kidnapped by guerrillas June 11 and released five days later after forty-four political prisoners of the Brazilian dictatorship had been flown to asylum in Algeria.

The abduction was carried out by members of the *Acção Libertadora Nacional* [ALN — National Liberation Action] and the *Vanguarda Popular Revolucionaria* [VPR — People's Revolutionary Vanguard].

As von Holleben was being driven home from the embassy, the guerrillas drove a pickup truck across the road, blocking the ambassador's car. They used machine-gun fire to hold off police assigned to protect von Holleben, killing one policeman and wounding two.

Leaflets left at the scene warned the government not to attempt to capture the guerrillas while negotiations for release of the ambassador were being made. The leaflets also said:

"We regret that again we have to resort to methods that we seek to avoid. However while patriots are being tortured or killed in prisons we have no choice."

Last April 5 Bonn's ambassador to Guatemala was executed by guer-

rillas after the Guatemalan dictatorship refused to exchange political prisoners for him. Following that incident, the West German Foreign Ministry issued strict and detailed instructions, designed to prevent future kidnappings, to its personnel in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Although von Holleben followed these instructions religiously and was closely guarded by Brazilian police, the guerrillas were able to carry out the abduction without a hitch. (The newspaper *O Globo* reported that an earlier plan to kidnap von Holleben had been broken up by police in April.)

Brazilian dictator Emilio Médici flew from Brasilia to Rio de Janeiro, allegedly to supervise a search for the ambassador, but more probably to oversee negotiations with the ALN and VPR.

On June 15 the dictatorship granted the guerrillas' demands, which in addition to the release of forty-four prisoners, also included the publication of a guerrilla manifesto in the Brazilian press. The manifesto named nine men who had been tortured to death in prison.

The prisoners arrived in Algiers on June 15 and were granted asylum. Under a law decreed last year, all

the prisoners were deprived of their Brazilian citizenship.

Von Holleben was released the next day. He reported that he had been well-treated by his captors.

The forty-four political prisoners — thirty-four men, six women, and four children — had clearly not been treated well. One of the women had been crippled by torture and was taken from the plane in a wheelchair. Others described systematic tortures with water and electrical shocks carried out in the Brazilian prisons. One estimated that there are still 12,000 to 15,000 political prisoners in the country's jails.

The abduction of von Holleben was the third carried out successfully by the Brazilian guerrillas. Last September they exchanged the United States ambassador, Burke Elbrick, for twenty-eight political prisoners. In March of this year, Japanese consul Nobuo Okuchi was exchanged for five prisoners. The U. S. consul in Pôrto Alegre escaped a kidnap attempt in April.

On June 18 Brazilian police told reporters that "some arrests" had been made in the von Holleben case. The day after the ambassador's abduction, the army released pictures of twelve men it said were suspects.

# 'We Should Stop the War in Southeast Asia'

"We need to end the war before we can meaningfully tackle our social problems. . . . We are not only absolutely opposed to the war, but also to the widening of the war. I am mystified why the President of the most powerful nation in the world can be vetoed by the President of South Vietnam on the question of moving out of Cambodia."

That paragraph, which was inserted into the June 16 *Congressional Record* by Senator Church of Idaho, was made by Leonard Woodcock, the new president of the United Auto Workers union (UAW). Since his election following the death of Walter Reuther, Woodcock has spoken out more strongly against the war than his predecessor had done.

Woodcock has been expressing his views in the context of the Nixon administration's attempts to halt inflation by reducing the real wages of American workers, including auto workers. Woodcock clearly believes that the rank and file of the UAW are in no mood to accept the argument that their attempts to earn a decent wage are responsible for inflation — particularly when negotiations for a new contract with the owners are due to begin in July.

Thus Woodcock has been laying the blame for inflation where it really belongs: on profit-gouging by industry and on the Indochina war.

Testifying before the House Banking and Currency Committee on June 18, he charged that unit labor costs in the auto industry were declining in the 1960s at the same time that General Motors and Ford were raising their prices.

"Although the workers are not responsible for the inflation," he continued, "they are now having imposed on them in unemployment and short work weeks the cost of misguided and ineffectual economic policies adopted in the vain hope that they would end the inflation. The same workers who have borne the brunt of the inflation and the mistaken efforts to halt it are now being asked to sacrifice fur-

ther by foregoing efforts to correct the inequities that inflation has inflicted upon them."

Two days earlier, on June 16, the UAW president told the Joint Economic Committee: "We should stop the war in Southeast Asia and failing that at least get out ourselves, financially as well as militarily." Woodcock gave the committee a ninety-one page manifesto which traced most of the nation's problems to "creeping militarism."

"The fact remains," he said, "that we have squandered at least \$150 billion in Vietnam, that this has been a major cause of the inflation which erodes the living standards of every

American family and that it has also been a major cause for the neglect of our more pressing domestic needs."

Woodcock also attacked the Pentagon proposal that the government should loan money to the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation to help it out of financial difficulties:

"Once Lockheed's hand got into the cash register, the lineup of contractors demanding similar handouts would be long indeed. The impact on defense costs now and in the future would be staggering and . . . [money would be] dissipated in military waste, mismanagement, and downright fraud."

## Two Workers Killed by Police

# Martial Law Proclaimed in Istanbul

Martial law was proclaimed in Istanbul June 16 after a day of militant workers' demonstrations protesting proposed changes in labor legislation. Premier Suleyman Demirel ordered the martial law to last at least a month. All trials are to be handled by courts-martial. Three persons — two demonstrators and a policeman — were killed during clashes with the police. Many more were injured. Similar actions were reported in Ankara and Izmit.

The demonstrations were called by the Confederation of Workers' Syndicates, which claims a membership of 30,000. The confederation charged that proposed amendments to the trade-union law favored a conservative labor organization.

In Ankara radical students supported the workers with demonstrations of their own. The June 17 *New York Times* said sixty-one persons were injured in that city.

Troops and tanks were moved into Istanbul and soldiers fired into the air to disperse crowds. According to the *Times*, the troops "were answered by sporadic shots, showers of rocks, iron bolts and other missiles. Sheer

weight of numbers swept police and troop cordons aside."

Even before the workers entered the fight, the growth of the radical student movement had posed a serious problem for the Demirel regime. New repressive legislation aimed at restricting student political rights is being debated by the Turkish parliament. At least fifteen students have been killed in clashes with police and with right-wing groups in the last two years.

The student movement, which began over demands for university reform, has moved sharply to the left. Some 10,000 radical students and professors took part in a demonstration in Ankara June 1 condemning the Demirel government and American imperialism. The immediate cause of that protest was a series of police searches of university buildings on the pretext that students had been collecting arms.

Alfred Friendly Jr., writing from Istanbul in the June 15 *New York Times*, suggested, even before the workers' demonstrations began, that the military might be planning a coup to suppress the student unrest.

## Athena Panaghoulis Recounts Heroism of Her Sons

[On August 13, 1968, Greek revolutionist Alexandros Panaghoulis was arrested after an unsuccessful attempt to blow up an automobile in which dictator George Papadopoulos was riding.

[A special tribunal sentenced Panaghoulis to death on November 15, 1968, but a worldwide campaign forced the Greek dictatorship to grant a stay of execution. The sentence has never been revoked.

[It soon became apparent that the police were systematically mistreating Panaghoulis in prison. His brother charged in May 1969 that Panaghoulis was being kept in handcuffs almost continuously and that he was near death.

[With the help of a military guard, Panaghoulis escaped on June 6, 1969. Recaptured three days later, he disappeared from sight until April of this year, when Agence France-Presse reported that he had been hospitalized for burns suffered from a fire in his bedding.

[The interview with the prisoner's mother, Athena Panaghoulis, which we reprint below, was obtained in April 1970 by three Italian television correspondents who traveled to Greece for the purpose of interviewing her.]

\* \* \*

*Question. Mrs. Panaghoulis, do you have any information regarding living conditions of your son Alexandros?*

*Answer.* On April 14 I went to visit my son in the Bogiati military prison, with parcels of food and drugs. The prison authorities did not allow me to see him, justifying their action as a two-month penalty against Alexandros. The prison authorities returned those parcels I took with me on April 14; they also returned those parcels I took with me two and three months ago. When I asked them why all this, they replied again that he is being penalized; when I persisted in trying to learn why he is being penalized, they did not give me any answer.

A few days ago I read in the newspapers that Alexandros has been trans-

ferred to a hospital. I called the authorities of the prison asking for information; they claimed that they did not know anything. I called again; this time I spoke with the officer in charge of the prison and he said, "Alexandros set the place on fire, and when we discovered the fire we took



ALEXANDROS PANAGHOULIS

him away. I do not know where he is right now." I asked him where I could get more information and he replied: "From the same place you were getting it before." I called CASDEN (Military Police) where I was asking visiting rights. On April 16 I called the commander of the Military Police, but he was not available. I called the next day and they told me to call back after Easter (April 26).

*Q. Do you have information on the tortures inflicted on your son?*

A. For ten months he was continuously tied down. He was eating and sleeping with his hands tied. The com-

mander of the prison admitted that my son was sleeping on the ground.

*Q. When did you see him last?*

A. I saw him for the last time on March 31. His cell was like a small grave, very damp, with a small window—just enough to get a little fresh air. His cell was locked with a heavy iron door. The door had a small porthole which was opened by the guards only when they wanted to see him. The cell window was open only for two hours a day. On Sundays and holidays the window was always closed. Last time I visited him (March 31), for the first time I saw a small bed and two blankets. But his cell was always like an icebox. The walls are made of thick cement. He told me that his life in that cell is extremely difficult—a slow death.

*Q. Mrs. Panaghoulis, in what sort of condition was Alexandros after he was moved to the hospital?*

A. I asked repeatedly for information about his whereabouts and the condition of his health; I asked the prison authorities to permit me to see him, but they rejected my request. They did not tell me anything about his present location or whether he is dead or alive. I have heard rumors that right now he is in the Athens Military Hospital 401 in very serious condition; I asked the Red Cross, but they also said they did not know anything.

*Q. Mrs. Panaghoulis, besides Alexandros you have two more sons. What do you know about them?*

A. I receive news from Stathis. But from George I have heard nothing and I do not know whether he is alive or dead.

*Q. Could you talk about them?*

A. The story of George is the following. He was born in 1938. He graduated from the Greek Military

Academy with many diplomas. He was also a good athlete. He received a scholarship for the United States, but because Stathis was a member of the youth organization of the Papandreou party [the Center Union—a liberal party] at that time, after the dictatorship was installed, George was removed from his post and was sent to Rhodes in a minor post of treasurer.

George was a paratrooper and a frogman (commando). On August 31 he was going to leave for Rhodes, but he did not go; he deserted his post from the army because he believed that this way he honored the oath as a Greek officer. I heard later on that he went to the River Euros and swam across into Turkey. He did not want to ask the Turkish authorities for political asylum. He went to Damascus and from there to Beirut and then he went to Israel. The authorities in Israel caught him; they did not give him political asylum and turned him over to the Greek authorities. He was put on board the ship *Anna-Maria* on its way from Haifa to Piraeus.

When the ship neared the island of Aegina, he broke the porthole of his cabin where he was locked in. He tied together blankets and jumped into the sea. I have not heard anything since that time whether he is dead or alive or whether this story was made up to cover his murder.

Alexandros was in the military service in Veria. After the dictatorship of April 21, 1967, he also deserted from the army, lived in hiding for a little while in Greece, and then went to Cyprus. From Cyprus he went to Europe and then reentered Greece and took part in the Resistance. He was caught during the attempt on Papadopoulos's life. He was sentenced to death for deserting the army, but was not executed because of the pressure from international public opinion. From then on and until today he has been tortured continuously, more than any other political prisoner.

He was able to escape in June 1969 and was caught once again after he remained in hiding for a few days. After that he went on a forty-day hunger strike. After his escape, the prison authorities made a special cell for him which is a real grave.

Stathis was caught on June 17, 1967, for distributing leaflets. For three months he suffered in various prisons and finally they freed him because

there was not enough evidence regarding his actions. Then he left for Italy with a passport he had before the dictatorship.

*Q. Where did you stay during these tragic days?*

A. On August 13, 1967, I was arrested along with my husband without knowing why. They transported us to the police station. There, they put me in an isolated underground cell with a wet mattress even though I was very ill, suffering from a severe intestinal disease. Two days later I became unconscious and they took me to a military hospital where a policeman was always close to my bed during my detention in the hospital.

When on September 23 I felt better they transferred me again to the same place. They locked me up again in the same cell which was always damp with the same wet mattress. About 11 p.m. they asked me who was home who could bring me clothes. I replied that there was no one because the keys of the house were taken by the police. Then some policemen went home and brought me two blankets they found, full of moth killers. They threw them in my cell and I became ill almost immediately from poisoning. The next day I was vomiting.

Once again they transferred me to a hospital where I stayed until November 23. My health condition was very bad. Also my husband's. He was transferred to the police station of Petroupolis. He was suffering from a heart ailment; during his detention he was afflicted with amnesia.

*Q. Mrs. Panaghoulis, the entire world knows your son Alexandros as a fighter against fascism. Could you talk of him as a human being?*

A. Alexandros was very intelligent, an outstanding student. At the Polytechnic Institute he was one of the top students. He got involved with politics because he could not accept injustice. He never asked from anyone anything for himself and he was always interested in other people. He always wanted to help other people. He did not have economic difficulties and what he did, he did from love of freedom, democracy, and human dignity. He did not do it in order to gain

economically or to advance his political career. He also wrote poetry.

*Q. Mrs. Panaghoulis, the entire world watches with agony the fate of your son. Do you want to make an appeal to international public opinion?*

A. I thank all the people for their support—all the people who intervened on his behalf. I beg also all the world to continue showing their interest in his life because his life is in danger. He does not have strength any longer. He had once, but due to the continuous torture he has lost it. And he could not continue on living for too long because psychologically they kill him. His nails and teeth are rotting. I took some vitamins to him but they never allowed them to be given to him. They feed him once a day. For me it is better that he dies than to continue living this way.

I beg all the free people to do all they can for a mother who had three sons and now has none.

### **Ask Passport for Fugard**

Five prominent writers have called on the South African government to restore the passport of playwright Athol Fugard. The five, all of whom write in Afrikaans, are W. A. de Klerk, Andre Brink, Etienne Leroux, Jan Rabie, and Uys Krige.

In a letter to the *Rand Daily Mail* they protested against the withholding of Fugard's passport and demanded that the government state its reasons.

Fugard's passport was withdrawn in 1967. No reason for the action was ever given.

On June 6 of this year, Fugard applied for a new passport so that he could attend the opening of his play, *Boesman and Lena*, in New York.

The playwright has never been involved in politics, but he appears to have angered the Vorster government by his association with African theatrical groups and his open friendship with a number of exiles.

He has also been active in Defence and Aid, a group which organizes legal defense for political prisoners.

Petitions in support of Fugard, who is considered South Africa's leading playwright, have been circulating in literary circles in Capetown.

# Twenty Years of Escalation in Southeast Asia

By Allen Myers

"Our artillery and our tactical air force in the Pacific are now equipped with atomic explosives which can and will be used on military targets with precision and effectiveness. It is foolish to talk about the possibility that the weapons which might be used in the event war breaks out in the Pacific would be limited to the conventional Korean and World War II types of explosives. Our forces could not fight an effective war in the Pacific with those types of explosives if they wanted to. Tactical atomic explosives are now conventional and will be used against the military targets of any aggressive force."

These remarks, reminiscent of Dr. Strangelove, were made in March 1955 by the vice-president of the United States, Richard Nixon. They are quoted in an article in the June 18 issue of the *New York Review of Books* by Peter Dale Scott. Scott, with Franz Schurmann and Reginald Zelnik, is the author of *The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam*.

The title of Scott's article, "Cambodia: Why the Generals Won," is misleading, for although Scott at times appears to share the liberal illusion that American imperialism consists of nothing but a few evil military men frustrating the good intentions of civilian leaders, he presents a well-documented account of the U. S. government's twenty-year effort to reverse the tide of revolution in Asia and eventually reclaim China for capitalism. Nixon's remarks in 1955 are quoted as a warning of where this policy can lead.

"It must be clearly understood," Scott says, "that since 1950, the year of the Korean War and the China Lobby, there has never been a genuine U. S. de-escalation in Southeast Asia. Every apparent de-escalation of the fighting, such as in Vietnam in 1954 and Laos in 1961-62, has been balanced by an escalation, either covert or structural, whose long-range result overshadowed America's previous war effort."

Scott cites the creation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) following the Geneva Agreement which ended the French Indochina War. "SEATO soon became a cover for U. S. 'limited war' games in Southeast Asia, which in turn grew into the first covert U. S. military involvement in Laos in 1959—the start of the Second Indochina War."

Similarly, the Laotian cease-fire of May 3, 1961, was followed within two days by the announcement of an increase of the U. S. military commitment in South Vietnam. "In like manner the final conclusion of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos came only after the United States had satisfied Asian and domestic hawks by its first commitment of U. S. combat troops to the area, in Thailand."

A more recent example of apparent de-escalation masking a real escalation was the bombing "halt" of 1968, in

which the targets were simply switched from North Vietnam to Laos and the number of raids increased.

Scott details a similar history in Washington's relations with Peking. Virtually every hint of a willingness on the part of China to improve relations has been met with a provocation from the United States. These have included the bombing and strafing of Chinese ships in the Tonkin Gulf, reconnaissance flights by pilotless drone planes—which are pointless from an "intelligence" standpoint since better information is provided by surveillance satellites—and commando raids by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. Scott cites as an example the following report which appeared in the April 13, 1970, *Dallas Morning News*:

"American pilots working with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) are making low-level, night-time flights over Communist China to further dissension and eventual revolution, the Dallas News has been told by a former government flier. 'Our boys are doing quite a bit of flying into China,' said John Wiren in an interview. 'They fly upriver at night in old PBYS. They drop guerrillas and supplies put in there to stir things up.' Wiren . . . who spent much of the 1960s flying for the CIA-sponsored airline 'Air America' in Laos . . . said the clandestine flights are made into China as part of a long-range strategic plan. 'The big plan is for revolution in China,' he said."

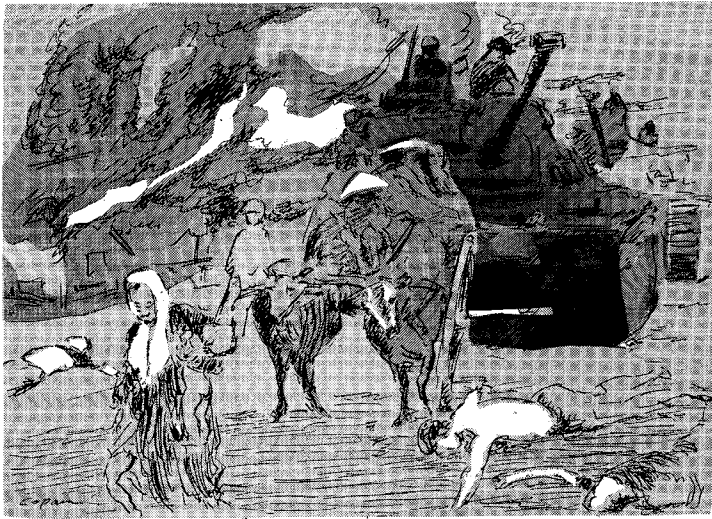
What this history clearly demonstrates is that the invasion of Cambodia was merely the next logical step in a policy that has been carried out over two decades, not, as Nixon tried to claim, a special response to special circumstances.

"For though the invasion itself was unprecedented,\* all of the prior elements in the scenario were often repeated clichés, from the initial military overthrow of a popular leader by a right-wing pro-American clique, to the announced response to an enemy 'invasion' at a time when the prospects for ending the war seemed to be increasing."

This time-tested "scenario" also provides an explanation for some of the otherwise absurd actions of the Cambodian generals, such as "Lon Nol's deliberate breach of the accommodation hitherto established between the NLF troops in Cambodia and the troops of Pnompenh, followed by a precipitous retreat, in the face of what seem to have been only light enemy probes, back to the outskirts of Pnompenh itself. This gratuitous provocation of a much stronger enemy . . . will be seen to have its own Machiavellian logic when compared to similar events in the Second Indochina War. By the same combination of absurd provocations and precipitous withdrawal in pre-

\*"Unprecedented"? Has Scott forgotten the marines storming ashore in South Vietnam in August 1965?





vious springs, Laotian troops (and/or their American advisers) secured the first commitment of U.S. combat troops to Thailand . . . in May 1962, and the first bombings of Laos . . . in May 1964."

Scott argues that the Cambodian invasion was essentially an element of an air-war strategy, an attempt to drive NLF forces from their "sanctuaries" and thus expose them to the might of American air power.

Scott quotes Townsend Hoopes in *The Limits of Intervention* on the use of American air power during the siege of Khe Sanh in 1968:

"In about six weeks, U.S. aircraft had dropped 100,000 tons of bombs (i.e., some five times the equivalent of the device exploded over Hiroshima) and fired 700,000 rounds of machine gun fire into a circular area roughly five miles in diameter. . . . An Air Force colonel . . . said, 'The tonnage of ordnance placed in that circle is unbelievable. In mid-February, the area looked like the rest of South Vietnam, mountainous and heavily jungled with very little visibility through the jungle canopy. Five weeks later, the jungle had become literally a desert—vast stretches of scarred, bare earth with hardly a tree standing, a landscape of splinters and bomb craters.'"

This kind of devastation has become a daily fact of life for millions of people. Scott notes that although details of the air war in Laos are kept secret, the air force flies some 20,000 to 27,000 sorties per month over that country.

"For an indication of what this means, it is important to remember that in early 1968 there were roughly between 1,000 and 3,500 sorties over Laos per month, yet at that time we had already generated several hundred thousand refugees in a nation of some four million inhabitants, and almost all the Pathet Lao villages which Jacques DeCorney of *Le Monde* visited at that time were already flattened."

This genocidal air war is at the very heart of Nixon's "Vietnamization" plans. The reduction of troop levels is made possible by substituting for their firepower the firepower of B-52 bombers.

Scott says that already "the role of ground troops is now less to destroy the enemy than to locate him. Those who believe that major ground actions can be 'won en-

tirely or almost entirely by air power' can doubtless argue that Asian troops will suffice for this reduced role, while the U.S. can continue its air actions from Vietnam enclaves, from Thailand, or conceivably even from aircraft carriers."

The generals who hold this view appear not to have noticed the contradiction involved in the fact that a massive invasion of ground troops into Cambodia—which at least temporarily *increased* American troop levels—was necessary to give the air strategy a chance to work.

There is as well a limit, however high, to the amount of destruction that can be accomplished by "conventional" weapons. As this limit is approached without destroying the resistance of the Indochinese peoples, the Pentagon and the White House become more and more tempted to try more desperate measures, including nuclear weapons and war with China.

The U.S. operations in Southeast Asia, Scott says, "have in their intensity already reached the upper limits of what can reasonably be called a 'limited war,' so that Washington's increasing hints and rumors about tactical nuclear weapons no longer seem fantastic."

## Students Demonstrate in Bolivia

### Protest Killing of Two Leftists

Violent protests have been spreading in Bolivia since the discovery June 13 of the battered corpses of militant left student leader Jenny Koeler and her husband, Chilean journalist Elmo Catalán Aviles. Catalán was said to be a leader in the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army, the guerrilla force led in 1967 by Che Guevara].

The couple, whose bodies were found near Cochabamba, had evidently been tortured, according to Agence France-Presse.

In the mining town of Potosí, one student protesting the murders was reported killed. Three policemen were injured by a dynamite explosion. In Cochabamba, eighteen persons were wounded, some of them by gunfire. After a series of violent clashes that resulted in several injuries, the army occupied the city of Sucre.

Following a peaceful march by 2,000 persons in La Paz, demonstrators reportedly set fire to a car belonging to the American embassy information services and threw Molotov cocktails at the American-Bolivian center.

General Ovando, chief of the ruling military junta, went on the radio June 17 to deny that his regime was responsible for the brutal slaying of the two revolutionists. Ovando claimed that the killers were either members of a rival faction in the ELN or of an "unknown right-wing group."

Rightist terrorists, acting in coordination with the police and army, have carried out hundreds of assassinations of left activists in the recent period in a number of Latin-American countries. Ovando's claim that a right-wing gang might have committed the murders cannot have been very reassuring to the protesters.

## How Student Action Triggered Black Power Revolt

By John Riddell

[The following article is reprinted from the June issue of *Young Socialist Forum*, a revolutionary-socialist monthly published in Toronto. The author recently completed a tour of the Caribbean area.]

\* \* \*

The islands of Trinidad and Tobago were in the grip of the six-day-old state of emergency, brutally enforced by police and army, when we arrived on April 27. Police and soldiers, armed with rifles and submachine guns, were stationed on every downtown street, as we hurried to get indoors before the 6:30 p.m. curfew. As night fell the shots of trigger-happy cops began to crack intermittently across the city.

The Trinidadian government had declared the state of emergency April 21 in an attempt to block the massive uprising that had seen mobilizations of up to 30,000 of the islands' scattered population of one million. Over fifty black-power leaders were now in jail, along with hundreds rounded up for "curfew violations." American and Venezuelan warships were patrolling close offshore.

The university campus was sealed off by armed guards. A friend on the university staff "smuggled" us through the next morning with elaborate explanations to suspicious guards. Inside, hand-painted signs on a wall read "Liberated territory" and "Power!"

We met a student just released from jail, and he wrote down his experiences. Arrested without explanation, he had been thrown into a small 14 by 16 foot cell. He was to share it for five days with no less than 26 other prisoners: political leaders, rebel soldiers and ordinary citizens seized and brutally beaten for imaginary offenses against curfew laws. Subjected to these deplorable conditions and repeated beatings, two of the prisoners had lost their sanity. All whom he met were only waiting to get out to pick

up the struggle. He concluded, "The revolution, far from over, has only just begun."

We found Lloyd Best, a prominent radical leader, in an office being used by the newly formed committee to defend democratic freedoms. He explained the origins of this movement which had so nearly toppled the government and provoked such vicious repression.

"There has been discussion of black power, and small mobilizations, for about a year and a half," he told us. The most striking of these early actions occurred when Trinidadian students blocked a planned visit by Canada's governor-general Roland Michener to their campus. They were protesting the legal persecution of Trinidadian students arrested while occupying the computer center at Sir George Williams University in protest against Canadian racism.

"By eight weeks ago demonstrations had become routine. One of them, a demonstration in solidarity with the Sir George students then coming to trial in Montreal, triggered off the mass movement. The demonstration was held February 26. They entered the Royal Bank of Canada, only to be attacked by police. They then occupied the Cathedral. The next day the leaders were arrested, and in a few days ten thousand demonstrated in their defense."

The struggle of the black students at Sir George was symbolic to Trinidadians of their people's resistance to the arrogant racist domination of their country by Canadian imperialism, together with its U. S. and British partners. Total investment of Canadian capitalists in the Caribbean was estimated by Trinidadian militant Dave Darbeau at \$900 million. In Trinidad the oil is mainly U. S. owned, the sugar British, and the banks chiefly Canadian.

One look inside a Canadian bank showed the racist character of foreign investment. On one side of the counter

would be the long lineup of customers, overwhelmingly blacks. On the other side was the array of employees, all either white or very light-skinned.

No wonder the protest movement was directed in large part against foreign business. The best part of the economy's profits are shipped abroad each year. The banks control most of local savings, and their policies ensure that these savings are not used to stimulate local economic growth. As a result, despite the islands' great potential riches, unemployment has risen since 1956 from 6 percent to an estimated 20 percent, with another 20 percent working less than 30 hours a week.

This protest was made explicit by the speakers on the February 26 demonstration. "Canadian interests in the Caribbean are really imperialist interests," they said. "And they are aided and abetted by our government which seeks to barter our newly won freedom."

The gathering protest movement put forward the demand for black power. But what does black power mean in Trinidad? The slogan, reflecting the inspiration of the U. S. black struggle, takes on a different meaning in a country where the government is black. Furthermore, it has been independent, formally, for eight years. And while half of its population is of African origin, another 37 percent are East Indians—chiefly rural workers and poor farmers.

Nonetheless Trinidad is a thoroughly racist society both economically and culturally, dominated by white imperialism. Black power spoke to the need to establish a black cultural identity as opposed to the "Afro-Saxon" cultural outlook of Trinidad's establishment. But further, people saw that political independence was not enough; they needed economic independence from white big business that still runs the Caribbean.

The movement redefined "black" to encompass all nonwhite peoples, and

aimed to unify in action the African and East Indian populations. The chief slogan of the movement became "Power! Power to the people!" The Eric Williams government was denounced, in the words of the Oilfield Workers Union, as "pawns and playthings in the hands of the white foreign imperialist robbers and local capitalist swindlers." The union's statement continued by explaining the real significance of black power in Trinidad: "The call for Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago is the same as the call for Proletarian Power. . . . Power to the people! Black proletarians and peasant farmers — On with the Revolution!"

These underlying themes enabled the movement launched around the black power concept to escalate into a massive popular confrontation against the Williams government, against the whole system. Huge demonstrations occurred March 4 and 5 in defense of the arrested, and they became militant antigovernment protests. On March 6, 20,000 persons marched five miles to San Juan. An Indian store had been burnt there; the march was a demonstration of solidarity with the Indian people. On March 12 there was a gigantic march for unity of Africans and Indians; at least 2,500 walked 28 miles through the blazing sun through the heart of an Indian-inhabited sugar estate. Meetings and demonstrations continued daily. On April 6 a black-power activist was murdered by police; three days later some 20,000 to 30,000 participated in the largest funeral in Trinidad's history. The actions were tightly disciplined, and cohesive, and this usually won them freedom from violence and police attacks.

"Power" and the black-power salute had now become the normal popular form of greeting. Black-power agitation gripped the army. A strike wave swept the islands. The government seemed paralyzed.

On April 21, a new mass action was planned which would unite with groups of African and East Indian unionists. Panicked by these upsurges, the government declared a state of emergency. But that same day a group of soldiers refused to obey the new orders, and gained control of the army base, in essence going on strike against the emergency law. The isolation of the

government was now complete—opposed by the immense majority of the population and now, too, by the majority of its army. The most profound revolutionary upsurge in this hemisphere since the Cuban revolution now seemed able to topple the government and institute a workers and farmers regime.

Thanks to a quick shipment of U. S. and Venezuelan arms, the government was able to re-establish its control. Most Trinidadian militants we met feel it was in large part the unpreparedness of the "black power" movement which enabled the government to survive. The mass demonstrations had caught everyone by surprise, we were told, and the leaders of the movement had to improvise to keep pace. In short the movement had not built a revolutionary party that proved so necessary to lead the revolution to victory. The movement did not develop either a concrete program or a strong organizational base, and was unprepared to resist the emergency

## Argentina

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### Junta Picks Military Attache for President

On June 14 Argentina's military junta announced the name of the man it had picked as president to replace General Juan Onganía, deposed six days earlier.

Their new president came as a shock to Argentinians, most of whom had never heard of him before. He is Brigadier General Roberto Marcelo Levingston, who for the past year has been Argentina's military attaché in Washington.

According to the June 15 *New York Times*, one government official commented on the new president: "He has an English name and has lived in Washington for the past year. I wonder whether this appointment was made by the Pentagon or by our own generals."

It seems likely that the Pentagon and the junta had every reason to agree on Levingston's appointment. Presumably Washington has assured itself of his reliability and devotion to stability, while for the junta Lev-

ingston's colorlessness and lack of popularity are positive virtues.

Levingston is outranked by all three officers of the junta, has no political base whatsoever, and therefore is not likely to suffer any delusions as to the real extent of his power. Onganía, it will be remembered, went so far as to try to fire army commander in chief General Alejandro Lanusse, the most powerful figure in the junta that deposed him.

According to the *Times*, Levingston's acquaintances describe him as "very austere." Argentina got a look at this austerity as soon as the new president and his cabinet were sworn in June 18.

On that day, the central bank devalued the peso by 12.5 percent. The move is intended to permit nominal wage increases while forcing down the real wages of workers. This is the sort of austerity appreciated by both the junta and the Pentagon.

## Limbourg Miners Win Gains in New Strike

By Eric Corijn

### Ghent

On June 4 the coal miners of the Limbourg region of Belgium went out on strike for the second time in less than six months. A six-week wildcat strike ended in late February with an indecisive settlement. The miners at that time warned the government and the mine bosses that they would strike again by June 1 if their demands were not satisfied. The second strike lasted only four days and the miners won their demands.

The first miners' strike began January 6 [see *Intercontinental Press*, February 16 and 23, and March 2, 9, and 16]. As the union bureaucrats had just signed a new two-year collective agreement, they refused to recognize the strike. In this situation the student movement under the leadership of vanguard organizations played a key role.

The Jeune Garde Socialiste/Socialistische Jonge Wacht [JGS-SJW — Socialist Young Guards — the Belgium-wide Trotskyist youth organization, which has ties with the Fourth International] supported the Permanent Committee, the rank-and-file strike leadership. The JGS-SJW had a real influence on the course of the strike. It proposed demonstrations and the democratic organization of elected strike councils in each mine. It stood for the organization of an antibureaucratic opposition in the unions and was the first to introduce the tactic of occupation of the mines.

The JGS-SJW also distributed propaganda for its revolutionary-socialist program. (This concentrated on the need for workers control, the necessity of a revolutionary party, the nature of the capitalist state, the integration of the unions in the system, etc.) It proposed a clear alternative to the degenerated working-class parties — the Social Democrats and the Stalinists — as well as to the Mao-spontanéist tendency.

The six-week strike marked the revival of the Belgian class struggle —

a development that was an integral part of the new increase of struggle in the whole of Europe since May 1968 in France. The majority of miners ran out of money, as they received virtually nothing from the unions, and the strike was ended. A new contract was signed and the government promised to complete a study of miners' wages by May. A wage increase based on the study was promised by June 1.

By the end of May nothing more had been heard of the study. The unions, under pressure from the rank and file, asked the government to publish the results by June 1 and threatened a strike for June 8.

The Maoist-controlled Miners Force called for an immediate strike, but no one responded.

The Permanent Committee, which continues to exist but which has become polarized into different tendencies, gave no precise direction, but promised support to any action initiated by the ranks.

On Monday, June 1, Louis Major, the minister of labor (a former top bureaucrat in the Social Democratic union), went on TV to tell the miners they must wait for a while, but everything would be all right. Any immediate action, he said, would be useless. The miners spontaneously went out on strike. The same evening four of the five mines were closed (Zolder, Winterslag, Waterschei, and Beringen). Eisden followed a few days later.

Now the union bureaucrats, having in mind the lessons of January-February, recognized the strike right away. The JGS-SJW immediately issued a leaflet supporting the action.

A special meeting of the JGS-SJW Political Bureau decided to again organize a national support campaign. We called for the strikers to organize themselves in democratically elected committees and to force the union bureaucrats to hold out for the full wage demands in the negotiations with the government and the bosses.

The workers were demanding a 10 percent increase. The demand of the January strike was 15 percent. The settlement in February gave the workers an immediate increase of 6 percent with another 4 percent to be added March 1, 1971.

Meeting under pressure of the strike, the National Mines Commission — an official institution with representation from the government, the mine owners, and the unions — voted on June 4 to grant a wage increase of 7 percent immediately with another 3 percent by September. The 4 percent from the old contract will still be paid next March. The miners accepted the settlement and went back to work June 8.

The JGS-SJW issued a series of leaflets. It explained the importance of the struggle at the beginning of the year; it called for a united struggle of the different organizations involved, under the control of the rank and file; and it warned that any collective agreement depended for its enforcement on the mass struggle of the workers, not on "social peace."

The JGS-SJW also issued two national leaflets that were distributed at factories all over the country explaining the importance of the strike to workers in other industries.

The second strike was a big success. The demand the miners raised at the beginning of the year, for a 15 percent raise, will be more than realized by September. In March of next year the total will go to 20 percent for the fourteen-month period.

This success is of great importance for the whole of the Belgian working class. First, the miners have shown that struggle pays; they have proved that their six-week wildcat strike was worthwhile. There is an alteration in the relationship of power between the rank and file and the union bureaucrats. The miners not only forced the union to recognize their strike immediately this time, but in doing so, they forced the bureaucrats to support a strike that was not announced in ad-

vance (the "leaders" had called it for June 8, not June 4).

Second, the miners proved that their demand for a 15 percent wage increase was realizable, and that the students who supported them were right while the bureaucrats who said it was impossible were wrong. The alliance with the students forged at the beginning of the year is seen as a wholly successful tactic by the entire working class now.

Third, the miners obtained results by ignoring the existing contract, and so showed other layers of the class that by fighting militantly, collective bargaining agreements can be revised without waiting for them to expire.

This second general miners strike in less than six months, involving at least 23,000 miners, will have considerable impact on the course of the class struggle in Belgium. The Social Democratic party, which is in the government, was forced to defend bourgeois profits. The union bureaucrats were forced to support the strike this time. The Mao-spontanéists will have to explain the total failure of their approach to the unions.

The revolutionary Marxists proved the correctness of their tactics, using the student radicalization to forge an alternative to reformism. The question of workers control now becomes central for the next stage of the struggle.

## Documents

### Imperialist Plots in Cyprus

[The following statement was issued in English by the Cyprus section of the Fourth International April 15.]

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As we have repeatedly declared in the past, the solution of the Cyprus problem is prevented by international imperialism by its interference in the Cyprus dispute, through its agents, in an effort to create a communal strife or civil war, slaughter and chaos, so that it may find the pretext of invading Cyprus ostensibly for the "restoration of peace and order," but in reality for the purpose of establishing a military base for the NATO in case international imperialism finds it necessary to attack the Arab peoples and suppress their revolution.

International imperialism covets Cyprus for use as a military base because of its geographical position, being only forty-five miles from the coast of Egypt, and the other Arab countries, and because the revolution is spreading and developing rapidly, threatening to sweep away not only international imperialism and its servant Zionism, but also all the reactionary states of the area.

This is the reason for which Nasser and King Hussein are on the move seeking to find mediators for the settlement of the dispute even at the expense of the Palestinian people. These states, fearing that the situation is escaping their control and going into the hands of the guerrilla organizations, have started imposing limitations and restrictions on the activities of the guerrillas, which has compelled the guerrilla organizations to turn against these reactionary states, which,

in the face of the indignation of the broad masses of the Arab world, have had to put their tails between their legs and retreat.

We have explained above the reasons for which imperialism covets Cyprus for use as a base of sallies against the Arab peoples. Imperialism knows that it cannot occupy Cyprus and use it arbitrarily as a military base, and for this reason it has decided to find a pretext. Peace and order in Cyprus cannot be used as a pretext for an intervention on the part of imperialism, but a state of internal strife, slaughter, and chaos does give imperialism such a pretext. For this reason imperialism has assigned the work of creating trouble to its agents, who, after collecting all kinds of weapons, prepared to create an internal strife. To start such a trouble it would first be necessary to assassinate the president of the republic, and then, after seizing the government, to start their attacks on the masses of the people who aspire to a peaceful settlement of the dispute with the Turks. The attempt was made, but it failed.

As international imperialism failed in its efforts to create chaos in Cyprus, and find the necessary pretext of intervening, imperialism has turned for assistance to its old watchdog General Grivas, a reactionary anti-Communist, who is just barking at Makarios, accusing him that he is betraying the cause of Cyprus, on the ground that he does not declare war against the Turks, and unite Cyprus with Greece. We are sure that even this trick will not catch on, as the people in Cyprus have now acquired an unerring criterion enabling it to sense all the maneuvers, tricks, and traps of imperialism.

## Japan

### Antitreaty Marches

More than 35,000 persons marched in Tokyo June 13, opening the first round of demonstrations against renewal of the U. S.-Japan security treaty. The demonstrators faced 20,000 riot police.

"Tight police precautions kept demonstrators away from key targets such as the American embassy and stifled any disturbances before they got out of hand," Reuters reported June 14.

About 29,000 demonstrators came onto the streets nationwide for the second day of protests June 14. A steady downpour both days kept the march from being larger. The weekend of demonstrations came to a climax with a rally of more than 50,000 at the University of Tokyo.

Thirty-eight colleges and universities were shut down or disrupted by student strikes against continuation of the treaty. "The strike is expected to last on most campuses through June 23. Student leaders predicted that it would spread to more than 100 institutions by the end of the week, embracing 'at least' 25 per cent of the four-year colleges and universities in the country," Selig S. Harrison wrote from Tokyo in the June 16 *Washington Post*.

A number of violent clashes occurred: "The quiet is only relative," Takashi Oka wrote in the *New York Times* of June 16. "A total of 172 students were arrested today in Tokyo, most of them near the busy Shibuya Railroad Station, when they threw gasoline bombs at a police patrol post. The young people were part of a group of about 500 adherents of a group called the Anti-Imperialist Student League, which attempted to throw the Shibuya Station area into confusion."

About 300 marchers were reported arrested throughout Japan by the close of the demonstrations. Twenty-seven police and fifteen protesters were injured.

The second round of demonstrations beginning June 20 is expected to show whether the antitreaty protests will build up like those in 1960 that forced Eisenhower to cancel his visit to Japan.

# Iniziativa Operaia Weighs Struggle in Italy

[The following is the text of a resolution on the current situation in Italy adopted May 28 by Iniziativa Operaia (Workers Initiative), a national caucus of plant activists. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The most recent developments and tendencies in the Italian political struggle must be considered with the utmost seriousness by vanguard activists. We have, in fact, reached an extremely delicate phase which could be the prelude to dangerous divisions and a shifting of the tide, if so far only in some individual sectors.

The events of 1969, especially the big struggles in the fall, mobilized a very broad front, forcing the enemy onto the defensive and throwing him into a crisis on every level. But precisely because of the depth of the movement and the level of consciousness attained by continually broader masses, the achievement of sectional objectives — which were in fact attained within certain limits — was not enough. A politicalization of the movement with the consequent selection of new goals which could give it a broader perspective was necessary. This required the adoption of an overall strategy.

The organizations and groups of the revolutionary left made a basic contribution to the ripening of the new rise of workers struggles and to the development of its initial phases. But for a whole series of objective and subjective reasons, which it is impossible to list here, no sooner did entire categories of workers enter into a national struggle than the militant left groups found their influence reduced to a purely subordinate role (although their presence represented a strong element of pressure on the bureaucratic organizations).

For this reason it was the unions that tried to satisfy the demand for a general political orientation. They tried to present themselves to the ruling groups and the government (their

board of trustees) as the real interlocutor. The working class and the working people in general feel an acute need in this phase — above and beyond the question of higher wages and better working conditions — for attacking broader economic problems: prices, housing, health, taxes, etc. This need clearly forced the battle to be fought at the political level.

It goes without saying, in view of the nature of the unions and the parties to which, despite their denials, they remain linked, that their approach could only be a reformist one. The unions tried to win reforms within the framework of the existing system, of the constitution, and therefore by negotiating with the representatives of the ruling forces.

This is precisely where the basic contradiction in this phase lies. While an objectively revolutionary situation developed in Italy in 1969, the only leaderships capable of initiatives on a national scale sought reformist solutions. This, in the last analysis, is the fundamental cause of the sterility of the methods adopted, of oscillations between myopic reformism and demagogic maximalism, the cause of the first symptoms of uncertainty that have appeared in recent weeks.

The phase following the signing of contracts in the big industries has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that, overall, the combativity of the working class has not diminished in any way. From FIAT [in Turin] to Italsider in Taranto, all the signs indicate this.

In short, the workers are by no means inclined to give up anything they have won — to accept any violating or weakening of their contracts, to submit passively to a further speed-up, to let themselves be worn out by overtime, to give up contracts based on equal benefits for all, or to accept as a fact of life the splitting up of workers by categories, differing pay scales according to class, job, etc.

The workers are still less ready to let the bosses reestablish their despotic

authority in the plants or to let the new representative combat organizations that emerged in the battles of the fall be destroyed.

As a result, struggles have multiplied and agitation and strikes have resumed even in plants where battles occurred throughout 1969, both before and during the fall. Moreover, successful strikes by various categories of workers — from railroad men to teachers — confirm the fact that the movement is continuing to embrace ever broader strata.

All this indicates that the central problem today is not that of promoting struggles, of stimulating mobilizations by every means. The problem is to choose objectives that can broaden the struggle. The problem is to avoid dispersive, fragmented struggles, or those with schedules worked out in advance and initiated on orders from above without the participants always being clear on what the objectives are.

We must realize that the enemy is now developing a very clear line of action and has more ample room to maneuver than he did a few months ago. Once the struggle for reforms shifted to the area of negotiations with the government, the unions were subjected to increasingly powerful pressures to water down their demands, to lose them in generalities.

The union leaders linked with government parties inevitably began to take their distance from those with ties to the opposition parties (serious tensions already appeared at the top levels of the federations after the meetings with the government, coming close to producing a break).

Unification itself has now come under open attack and there is no doubt that if it takes place the Social Democrats of the UIL [Ufficio Internazionale del Lavoro — International Labour Office] and groups in the CISL [Confederazione Italiana Sindacati Liberi — Italian Confederation of Free Trade Unions, officially independent but Catholic in origin] will move to found another federation, which would enjoy considerable support.



The method of conducting strikes for reforms — regional-scale organization, dispersion in time, indefiniteness in program, symbolic abstentions from work that are not turned into real days of struggle — have not only aroused perplexity and open criticism in the most combative strata. This method has caused real demobilizations.

These are symptoms which must not be ignored or underestimated. The enemy is clearly going to try to exploit them. In the same way he will try to foster the resentment and recriminations of certain petty-bourgeois groups, whose activity is being increasingly hampered by strikes in the public services and who thus become susceptible to appeals for "restoration of order." The fact that the rumors of a coup d'etat circulating in recent days struck a certain sympathetic chord and to some did not seem entirely implausible could be another symptom that should not be underestimated.

The factors we have pointed to will be, and in part already have been, exploited by the reformist leaderships of various stripe as a basis for calling for more moderation and for limiting the movements (for electoral purposes also). But if the reformists get their way, the dangers will increase. The enemy will step up his attacks and his margin for maneuver will expand. In reality the essential thing is for the mass movement to continue to develop in the most effective way possible. As long as the mobilization remains at a high level, conservative counterattacks, and Greek-type coups all the more, are destined to fail miserably.

However, we must work to make the movement as broad as possible; the vanguard groups must not isolate themselves with actions which may be important in their own right but which are not capable of broadening the movement. It is necessary also for all agitation and strikes to be linked up as much as possible and synchronized in order to put the maximum pressure on the enemy with the least strain on the working-class front.

The task of the vanguard groups in this context is first of all to make it clear to the workers that if they want to move toward solving the fundamental problems and to restructure Italian society, they must strike at the roots of the economic and political

power of the big capitalist combines. It must be made clear to the masses that all the pronouncements about the need for "correcting the mechanism of capital accumulation," making different economic choices, solving the problems of prices, housing, transportation, etc., are just phrasemongering unless the system is attacked at its base. It must be demonstrated clearly to the masses that all this is empty rhetoric so long as, for example, groups like FIAT, which in practice exert a powerful influence on the direction of economic policy, are not expropriated; so long as land is not expropriated, thus cutting out the roots of the cancer of real-estate speculation.

In reality, in a phase of profound social and political crisis like the present one, it is on the basis of such objectives that the working class must be mobilized.

We by no means deny the value of immediate and partial objectives — such as perhaps exemption from taxes of all earned income below a certain level — so long as such reforms are won by struggle and thus serve to increase the workers' confidence in their own strength and to organize them more effectively for subsequent struggles. But it is indispensable to set unifying objectives which can correspond to the needs and present levels of consciousness of the broadest masses and thus make possible a convergence of as many different categories of workers as possible.

Without pretending to provide an exhaustive answer to this problem, we believe that struggles should be centered on the following objectives:

— Defense of last fall's wage gains; keeping the workers from being the main victims of rising prices; imposing a new mechanism for determining a sliding scale of wages applicable to all categories of workers, one which would respond quickly enough to changes and be based on a price index really representative of what working-class families must spend. (Establishing the indexes must be removed from the manipulations of so-called specialists and put under the supervision of workers and competent technicians, beginning with those who work in IStat. [Istituto Centrale di Statistica — Central Institute of Statistics].

— Against the speedup and increased physical and psychological wear and

tear on the workers (the system of incentives has this result but it must be dealt with in a specific way). For further reductions in the workweek (including corresponding increases in the number of workers employed) with the immediate institution of a thirty-six-hour week in certain big assembly-line plants and the imposition of substantial rest breaks for workers performing heavy or unhealthful work. Rejection of overtime, which a great many plants continue to resort to in order to exploit the employed workers more and avoid hiring others — and this in a phase in which the levels of employment continue to decline.

— Against the splitting up of workers, rejection of any agreement which entails increasing differences in wage levels and working conditions and the endless crystallization of categories, positions, posts, etc. Simplification of the wage system. Elimination of the lowest categories. Elimination of pay grades. Rigorous maintenance of the principle of equal wage increases for all, and maintenance of this principle as well when wages are brought into conformity on an industrywide basis.

The methods by which the struggles are organized will be of decisive importance. We repeat again — it is essential to avoid any dispersion, to aim for linking up and unifying struggles, for striking combined blows.

This means rejecting the forms of mobilization imposed in recent weeks by the union tops. Above all in strikes for reforms and in some strikes of state workers, we must force a close coordination of the struggles, seeking to achieve the maximum homogeneity and coordination by means of contracts providing for equal benefits for all (to this end the development of any kind of demands limited to sectors must be avoided). This means also imposing the practice of making decisions in general assemblies of workers rather than having them come down from above. It means imposing the election, where possible, of representative committees to lead the struggle.

But this course also demands that the vanguard groups be able to oppose and not promote episodic expressions of discontent, impromptu local outbursts, isolated actions of small sectors.

At the time when the problem was

to stimulate a revival, it was indispensable to encourage every ferment. Our primary concern then was to unfreeze a stagnant situation, to begin to set even modest forces in motion. But now the problem is to prevent any dispersion, any useless wear and tear, which, in advance of the first stirrings of a broad movement, would tend to isolate the vanguard groups and encourage repression against them.

More than ever, it is necessary in this phase to struggle for the election of shop delegates and the establishment of councils of delegates. These organs were born in the 1969 struggle and hark back to the best revolutionary traditions of the Italian and international working class. Such organs must serve to concretize and consolidate the new relationship of forces that has developed in the factories. They must provide the workers with an instrument of struggle and control, constitute homogeneous and united nuclei to lead the fight against capitalism and bureaucracy.

The delegates must be elected from the shops in a proportion of no more than thirty to fifty workers per delegate, without any preestablished lists, and without regard to party or union membership. Those elected must be subject to constant control by the workers and to recall at any moment without any formal requirement. The councils of delegates must establish minimum norms of work and be completely independent of the unions. If they are too large to function collaboratively on a permanent basis they must elect a coordinating committee charged with carrying out the decisions made, calling regular meetings, and proposing the agenda in full meetings.

The members of Iniziativa Operaia will promote these orientations in their places of work and activity, inside and outside the factories, inside and outside of the union organizations and the new organs of workers democracy. The coming congress of FIOM [Federazione Impiegati e Operai Metallurgici—Federation of Metal Employees and Workers], the strongest union in the country, offers an opportunity for intervening and testing our ideas. This is all the more true because the union tops themselves have declared that they want an "open" debate.

While taking a position on all the questions raised by the pre-congress discussion, activists must focus their

criticism on the essential points, that is, on setting objectives which unite the workers, on the methods of struggle required in this phase, on the idea of delegates and councils of delegates.

## Venice

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# City of Water and Light—and Strikes

By Della Rossa

### Venice

MAY 21—Italy is in the midst of a general strike with government ministries, post offices, schools, and most newspapers responding to the call of *sciopero* [strike]. Tourists are inconvenienced by closed museums and a twenty-four-hour railroad strike, but this beautiful city of water and light has not lost its sense of well-being.

The strikes are usually announced ahead of time, making them less inconvenient to the public and less effective. Meanwhile, workers sing at six in the morning as they push carts over the bridges, and "Bandiera Rossa" is sung loud and clear by an art student as it rains in San Marco Square.

I bought a ticket for a *vaporetto*, the transportation on the Grand Canal, but before my Venetian companions could buy theirs, the clerk said "sciopero," banged down his window and excitedly returned my fare. This demonstrative strike lasted about an hour.

At the Academy of Fine Arts a wall poster called for a *manifestazione* [demonstration] against capitalism and imperialism and for socialism. The call, from a political collective of architectural students, was also against American aggression in Cambodia and the killing of U. S. students.

At a classroom at the academy the thigh of a larger-than-life statue of Venus was decorated with a hammer and sickle and the word "Mao."

Riziero Giunti, a graduate student and instructor in sculpture, said that the workers' demands for wages, housing, and lower taxes were more important than the demands of the students and instructors. However, many university professors walked out to enforce long-standing demands for

Moreover, these delegates and councils must not be seen as elements in a restructuring of the unions but as independent organs of the working class as such.

reforms of the educational system and better pay.

Thousands of students will be unable to take end-of-the-term examinations because of the strike. Demands of students and professors include scholarships for children of workers, encompassing living expenses.

There was a fascist rally here tonight in Campo San Stefano, with the national leader of the MSI [Movimento Sociale Italiano] speaking and attracting about 1,000 people in the square. An honor guard of teen-age boys stood in front of the speaker with Italian flags. Pairs of men in fancy uniforms were spotted around the crowd. A detachment of about fifty army men, plastic shields over their faces, stood on the side. A large detachment of police moved in.

The speaker denounced communism and the strike. He was quietly applauded by about a fourth of the crowd.

When the police arrived, my companions from the art academy ducked into an ally for fear of being arrested without provocation. After the rally, radical young men and women began taunting the police with chants of "Al, Al, Al Fatah!" and "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!"

As the police detachment moved toward them they ran up the big wooden Academy Bridge crossing the Grand Canal. I was caught in the crowd and ran with them. They continued their taunts for an hour as the police remained in formation at the foot of the bridge.

"Our problems are not so much student problems as the problems of capitalism," one of the art students told me. "For instance, the academy means nothing to the capitalist system be-

cause it doesn't produce for profit. We learned from the May 1968 student and worker movement in Paris, and the great strength of the combination of students and workers. The present student movement in Italy developed after that experience."

Across the Rialto Bridge there is the centuries-old fish market where men and women work in wooden shoes as protection against the water that washes down the stalls.

## Great Britain

### Appeal for Imprisoned Irish Republicans

The Political Prisoners Release Committee in Dublin has appealed for aid for six supporters of the Republican Movement sentenced to long prison terms in England for allegedly attempting to procure weapons for use in the struggle against British domination in Ireland.

A report from Ireland in the June 1-15 issue of the London biweekly *Red Mole* describes the trial of two of the prisoners, Patrick O'Sullivan, 25, and Conor Lynch, 19, both of whom are presently serving seven-year terms at Wormwood Scrubs prison. "They are there as a result of what Paddy O'Sullivan so accurately described as 'a showpiece of British justice,' which took place between September 8 and September 25, 1969," reports the *Red Mole*.

"Previous to that so-called trial, they had been held in custody for well over four months, on the basis of a hearing which was as much a sham as the trial itself."

The two were accused of participating in a raid on an arms factory in Dagenham, Essex, on May 7, 1969, in which a watchman was severely injured but no arms were actually taken. The attackers wore stockings over their faces. The only "evidence" to link O'Sullivan and Lynch with the crime was that one of the attackers was said to have spoken with an Irish accent! The clincher for the jury was the "discovery" of a pistol "dropped" near the arms factory with a picture of the Virgin Mary tied to it. As the *Red Mole* commented, "With regard to the pistol, it was made quite obvious to the jury that no one but an

On the wall a poster issued by the trade unions—the CISL [Confederazione Italiana dei Sindacati Liberi—Confederation of Free Italian Trade Unions], CGIL [Confederazione Generale Italiana dei Lavoratori—Italian General Confederation of Workers], and UIL [Unione Italiana dei Lavoratori—Italian Workers Union]—called for a national strike demanding a unified national salary, a forty-hour week, elimination of apprentices, and training for women workers.

Irish worker would be equipped with such a thing."

Based entirely on such circumstantial evidence, the conviction really hinged on O'Sullivan's admission that he was a member of the Irish Republican Army, and on Lynch's membership in Sinn Fein, the political organization of the Republican Movement. When arrested, O'Sullivan, following traditional IRA practice, refused to give any information to the police. This was pictured to the jury as proof that he lacked a convincing "alibi."

Sixteen hours after the raid, O'Sullivan and Lynch were put in a police

lineup and the injured night watchman was brought in to identify his assailants. He pointed to two other men, saying "that's them, I would know them anywhere."

Four weeks later the watchman "identified" O'Sullivan as his assailant. In a letter from prison in the May issue of the Dublin monthly *United Irishman*, O'Sullivan described an interchange between his defense counsel and the watchman during the trial:

"QC [Queen's Counsel—the defense attorney]: 'How do you know he is O'Sullivan?' ANSWER: 'I just know'. QC: 'You were told that the one with the red hair is O'Sullivan by someone, is that not true?' ANSWER: 'I don't know, I forget'. QC: 'Was it a police officer?'. ANSWER: 'Yes'. . . .

"QC: 'I say now to you, you are a liar, you do not know O'Sullivan, you never did. You were told who he was by a police officer, you then rushed into court . . . and picked out a man you did not know, is that true?'. ANSWER: 'Yes'!!"

The Political Prisoners Release Campaign has asked that trade union, cultural, religious, and other organizations adopt resolutions demanding immediate freedom for the prisoners. These should be sent to the British Home Secretary, c/o the Home Office, London S.W.1, with copies to the committee, c/o 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1, Ireland.

### Frank Keane Fighting Deportation Threat

An Irish militant, Frank Keane, is being held at Brixton jail in London. He is charged with murder of a Dublin policeman and complicity in an armed bank robbery at Rathdrum, February 20. He is threatened with deportation to Ireland, where he faces a possible death sentence if convicted.

Keane is a supporter of a militant republican group, Saor Eire [Free Ireland]. Under English law he cannot be extradited for political offenses, but an affidavit from the Irish police declaring that he is to be tried for a crime is usually sufficient to secure a deportation. In a letter from prison to a friend in England, Keane explained his case:

"The Free State police are intent on getting me back into their jurisdiction,

and it looks as if they are even going to the extent of fabricating evidence to do so. Now I know for a fact that they couldn't possibly convict me for Fallon's death [the policeman], simply because I wasn't there. However, they think they have a trump card by accusing me of murder—any other charge under the present circumstances could be fought off fairly confidently.

"My solicitor—Mr. Birmberg, 89 Borough High Street, London Bridge, London E.C.1—says that if I am to have any chance of beating this extradition thing then I must have evidence to the effect that I am and have been active in political circles in Ireland."

A Frank Keane Defence Fund has been established, c/o Joe Quinn, 4 Nightingale Lane, London, N.8.

## Solzhenitsyn Assails Detention for 'Mental Illness'

[The following statement by Soviet dissident author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was translated by the *New York Times* and printed in that paper on June 17.

[Solzhenitsyn, the author of the novels *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, *The First Circle*, and *Cancer Ward*, wrote the statement on June 15 to protest the confinement of geneticist Jaurès Medvedev in a mental institution.

[Solzhenitsyn has had personal experience of official suppression of heretical views. For several years he has been unable to have his work published in the Soviet Union and last November he was expelled from the writers' union.]

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Without any warrant for arrest or any medical justification, four policemen and two doctors come to a healthy man's house. The doctors declare that he is crazy; the police officer shouts, We are the organ of force! Get up! They bend his arms back and take him to the madhouse.

This can happen tomorrow to any of us. It has happened to Zhores Medvedev, a scientist, geneticist, and publicist, a man of subtle, precise and brilliant intellect, a man of good heart. (I personally know of his disinterested help to unknown dying sick people.)

It is precisely for the diversity of his gifts that he has been charged with abnormality: a split personality. It is precisely his sensitivity to injustice, to stupidity, that are made to seem a sick deviation: poor adaptation to the social milieu. Once you don't think as you are ordered to think, you are abnormal! And well-adapted people—they must all think alike.

And there is no restraint of law; even the appeals of our best scientists and writers are bounced back like peas off a wall.

If only this were the first case! But it has become a fashion, a devious method of reprisal without searching

for a fault, when the real cause is too shameful to be stated. Some of the victims are widely known; many more are unknown. Obsequious, perjuring psychiatrists put on the label of mental illness.

They said he had concern for social problems, excessive ardor and excessive sangfroid, too brilliant abilities and lack of them.

But even simple common sense should act as a restraint. Remember that Chaadayev in his time was not even touched. [The nineteenth century Russian philosopher Pyotr Chaadayev was declared insane, but was confined to his home rather than to a mental hospital.] Yet we are still, more than a hundred years later, cursing the hangmen who did that.

It is time to think clearly. The incarceration of freethinking healthy people in madhouses is spiritual murder. It is a variant of the gas chamber, and even more cruel; it is a fiendish and prolonged torture of those who are to be killed. Like the gas chamber, these crimes will never be forgotten, and all those who take part in them will be condemned endlessly, while they live and after they're dead.

Even in lawlessness, in crime, one must remember the line beyond which a man becomes a cannibal.

It is shortsighted to think that you can live, constantly relying on force alone, constantly scorning the objections of conscience.

## Kremlin Releases Medvedev 'Temporarily'

Soviet geneticist and molecular biologist Jaurès A. Medvedev was released from a mental hospital in Kaluga on June 17. He had been held there since May 30 as an alleged schizophrenic. [See the June 22 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, page 598.]

The release of Medvedev, who had aroused the wrath of the authorities because of his appeal for greater scientific freedom and his samizdat book on the charlatan T. D. Lysenko, represented a retreat by the bureaucracy in face of widespread protest from leading Soviet scientists and writers.

The *New York Times* reported on June 18 that the decision to free Medvedev was made June 11 in Moscow at a meeting chaired by the Minister of Public Health, Dr. Boris Petrovsky. Present at the meeting as supporters of Medvedev were such leading scientists as Mstislav Keldysh, president of the Academy of Sciences, physicists Andrei Sakharov and Mikhail Leontovich, and geneticist Boris Astaurov.

But in yielding to the demand for Medvedev's release, the bureaucracy refused to make a complete retreat.

His discharge from the hospital was made "provisional," which means that he could be recommitted at any time. This seems intended not only to save face for the top bureaucrats and the psychiatrists who did their bidding by declaring Medvedev insane, but also to serve as a continuing threat against him and other scientists who might step out of line.

### Echeverria Finally Admits It

A Mexican government leader has made the first admission that political prisoners are being held in his country's jails, according to the June 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

"At the insistence" of a Swedish television team, the ruling party's presidential candidate, Luis Echeverria, "acknowledged that 'naturally' persons were still in prison as a result of the 1968 events."

As the candidate of the dominant party in a de facto one-party system, Echeverria is sure to be the next president of Mexico.

Many persons were jailed in the suppression of the 1968 student movement and previous red scares. But the government always insisted that these individuals were "criminals."