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Guerrillas being interviewed at Trelew airport after they surrendered. The woman at the left is Maria Antonia Berger. The two men speaking into the microphone are Mariano Pujada Badell (left)

and Humberto Segundo Suarez. A police official (wearing glasses) stands in the center. The three guerrillas were among those later slain by the army.

Widespread Protests

Argentine Army Guns Down Guerrillas in Prison Break

In Japan It's 'Kogai'

"Kogai"—environmental pollution—has become a widely discussed topic in Japan. Jun Ui, writing in the July 1 issue of the Osaka periodical *Shin-sayoku*, states, "We Japanese are living in the most heavily polluted country in the world." He charges that the growing economic power of Japan's ruling class is costing the Japanese people a heavy price in illness and lowered quality of life.

In recent years, new fatal diseases have appeared, stemming from the pollution of Japan's waters by giant corporations. Minamata disease (a nervous ailment caused by methyl mercury), Itai-Itai disease (cadmium poisoning), and the Kanemi Rice Oil disease have already claimed many lives. The demands by victims and their families for compensation are having repercussions in Japanese politics.

Ui points out that Japan's favorable position in the world market and the profits raked in by the capitalists depend on low wages, protectionist policies, and "kogai." The minimally effective waste treatment processes used in the United States are only beginning to be introduced in Japan.

Ui takes a dim view of the government's new pollution control legislation, drafted in response to widespread protest demonstrations. "The processes involved in the preparation of pollution control laws indicate that the major aim of these laws is simply to control the antipollution movement."

That this skepticism is well founded is indicated by the response of one government official to a group of Minamata victims who had come to Tokyo to demand action. Pointing out the window, he said, "In that five-story building over there many doctors from Tokyo University are doing research and they say that your claim about the waste from the factory is groundless." The doctors, the research, and their findings were all fictional. As Ui notes, "This shows that our bureaucrats are easy liars, when they think that the victims do not know the truth." □

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Mass Murder of Escaped Guerrillas in Argentina

By Gerry Foley

"I am disappointed," the August 22 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Primera Plana* quoted an Argentinian marine officer as saying. "We were going to liquidate them all. If they had dared fire one shot we would not have left one of them alive. . . ."

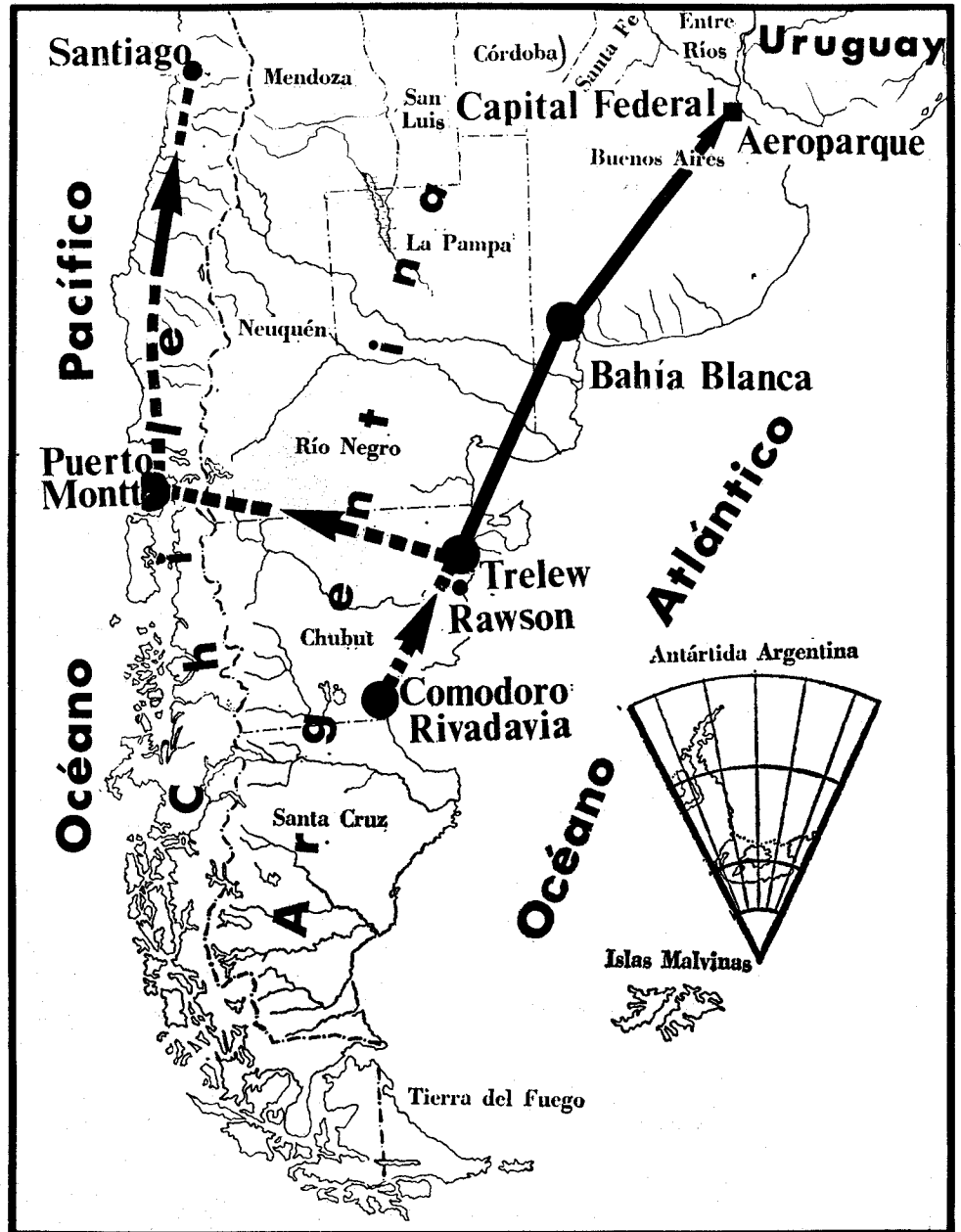
This officer from the Argentinian Eighth Marine Regiment was reacting to the fact that nineteen escaped political prisoners surrendered without resistance August 15 to troops at the Trelew airport in Patagonia. The area had been surrounded by overwhelming military forces after twenty-five guerrilla fighters of the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army], the Montoneros [a Peronista comando group], and the FAP [Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas—Peronista Armed Forces] staged a mass breakout from the federal penitentiary in nearby Rawson.

"The officer had arrived . . . the day before with the intention of putting his counterinsurgency training to use," *Primera Plana* explained. "He felt frustrated."

Within a week, the military had its satisfaction. But it does not seem to have needed to use any of its special counterinsurgency training:

"The echo of the gunbursts at Trelew reached Buenos Aires on the morning of August 22, as the sun was already high in the sky," the Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama* reported. "Then came the first brief dramatic news. Thirteen of the nineteen guerrillas held at the Trelew airport had been executed and the other six were wavering between life and death."

"The first reports said that the nineteen detainees made a second attempt to escape, taking a guard as hostage. Carrying the guard's gun, the guerrilla group began running through the corridors of the airport. They ran into Captain Sosa, the No. 2 commander of the Fourth Battalion of Marines, who a few minutes after 4:00 in the morning was making a patrol through the area. According to official reports from Trelew, Captain



Map of area where prison break occurred. Heavy line indicates route of skyjacked plane and its detour to Chile.

Sosa was captured by the guerrillas but despite the danger to himself he ordered his group to fire on the prisoners. The soldiers obeyed the orders and while Sosa hugged the ground, the guerrillas fell in a bloody heap,

mowed down by the guns of the military."

If the prestige of the Argentine armed forces had suffered as a result of the successful flight of six political prisoners to Chile and the near escape of

nineteen more on August 15, presumably the face of the military was restored by the "marksmanship" of the marine unit in the Trelew base. Killing thirteen guerrillas outright and seriously wounding six others in one quick burst of fire would, of course, do credit to the training and alertness of any guard unit. And this is to say nothing of the resoluteness of Captain Sosa, who reportedly risked his life to exterminate the "subversives." He had already shown his zeal when the guerrillas were captured. According to the August 22 issue of *Primera Plana*, published before the massacre, he had a bitter clash in public with his commanding officer, who he thought was being too indulgent with the recaptured prisoners.

In a number of statements and communiqués, the repressive forces stressed how dangerous the young revolutionists were: "Maybe they aren't common criminals, but they're not political prisoners either," one military officer told the weekly magazine *Gente*. "They are like shell-shocked soldiers — there have been many such in Europe and the United States. In peacetime they become criminals. These people cannot stop killing, and they end up by forgetting even their political principles. In this sense, the women are more ruthless than the men, perhaps because they are more passionate. Remember how Santucho's wife gave poor Valenzuela the coup de grace while he was lying wounded on the floor."

Ana Maria Villarreal de Santucho, the wife of Mario Roberto Santucho, a well-known leader of the ERP and the apparent leader of the break, was one of the political prisoners killed in the Trelew massacre.

On August 23, a group of lawyers in the city of Bahía Blanca, the metropolitan area nearest Patagonia, appealed to the district court on behalf of the four prisoners who were thought at that time to be still surviving. In their brief, they noted: "There is not the slightest guarantee, in our opinion, of the lives of the citizens presently being held in the Puerto Belgrano Hospital in this city. More than a day has passed since the shooting and the naval authorities have refused to give any information on the condition of the persons in their custody, limiting themselves to announcing one death after another."

In the day following the massacre, two more prisoners were pronounced dead. A third was reported dead before the lawyers could present their brief.

According to the August 24 Argentinian papers, the political prisoners killed outright in the massacre were: Mariano Pujada Badell, Jorge Alejandro Ulla, Humberto Adrián Toschi, Carlos Heriberto Astudillo, Adolfo Eduardo Capello, Humberto Suárez, Emilio Mario Delfino, José Ricardo Mena, Carlos Alberto del Rey, Clarisa Rosa Lea Place, Susana Lescart, Ana María Villarreal de Santucho, and María Angelica Sabelli.

Within less than a day, Miguel Angel Polti and Pedro Rubén Bonet died, followed shortly afterward by Alfredo Elías Kohon.

The three political prisoners still alive as of August 24 were reportedly in serious condition. René Haidar was said to have been hit in the side by a heavy caliber bullet, which damaged one of his lungs. María Antonia Berger's lower jaw was shattered by a bullet that continued down into her throat. Another bullet hit her in the stomach, leaving through her shoulder.

"A tracheotomy was performed on the woman extremist to enable her to breathe," the Buenos Aires daily *La Razón* reported August 24. "But her situation took a dangerous turn for the worse when she suffered postoperative shock."

There were no details about the condition of the third surviving political prisoner, Miguel Alberto Camps.

In the area where the escape had taken place, the military launched a carnival of repression. "Rawson could easily be compared to Vietnam," the August 22 *Primera Plana* wrote. "But despite the enormous raids (going as far as the Río Colorado), and dozens of arrests, only two guerrillas have been spotted — the FAR fighter Jorge Omar Lewinger (ex-editor of *Primera Plana*) and Antonio Marcos of the ERP." At the same time, the repressive forces threatened reprisals against the remaining political prisoners in the Patagonian penitentiary:

"Now we are definitely going to take the offensive," one of the officers in charge of prison security told a reporter from the magazine *Gente*. "These prisoners have privileges others don't because they have a lot

of lawyers and a lot of statements, pressures in their favor. They don't even wear the prison uniform, and they play chess and get the papers every day. If we don't allow this, they call us harsh and repressive. But they killed Valenzuela and they are plotting in the shadows."

On August 22, the government issued a decree imposing jail sentences of six months to three years for "publishing, spreading, or propagating communiqués or materials coming from, attributed to, or attributable to, illegal associations or persons or groups notoriously dedicated to subversive activities or terrorism."

The tragic slaughter of at least sixteen young revolutionists and stepped-up repression followed an extensive guerrilla operation designed to free all 120 political prisoners in the Rawson penitentiary. Although one guard was killed in the escape, none of the others were harmed during the period of several hours when the prisoners were in complete control of the institution. Moreover, only twenty-five of the prisoners apparently joined in the escape attempt. About twenty men jailed for trade-union activities reportedly refused to take part in the guerrilla action. On the other hand, the authorities themselves suggested that some of the guards helped the escapees. A prison official told *Gente*:

"You see, security is very difficult when there is intimidation. I know of many cases of guards being persecuted, persecuted psychologically. Individuals may go up to a guard and say — 'Get out of here, you hired thug,' or something worse. 'Your little girl goes to such and such a school, huh? Watch out, somebody might throw a bomb at her.' Some of these prisoners are so pitiless and fanaticized that they hesitate at nothing."

In the wake of the Trelew massacre, it would seem that most of the points for ruthlessness should go to the government. In fact, in the Latin American countries ruled by discredited repressive regimes, officials in various levels of the state apparatus have often been willing to help opponents of the government. This has played an important role, for instance, in many of the successful operations of the Tupamaros in Uruguay.

According to the August 23 *Panorama*, a truck arrived at the prison early on the morning of the fifteenth,

carrying the weapons the prisoners used in the escape. The other accounts, however, do not mention this truck. *Gente* gave one of the most complete narratives of the escape.

The escape supposedly began when two prisoners in the men's cell on the first floor of the Rawson penitentiary asked to talk to the head guard. When the guard came over, they pointed weapons at him. Then they handcuffed him and pushed him ahead of them through the corridors of the cellblock. As they ran into other guards, they forced them to surrender by threatening to shoot their hostage. In the meantime, they opened the cells of all the political prisoners, who took control of every cellblock.

Next, one of the prisoners forced the duty officer to walk ahead of him up the stairs to the second floor, where the guardroom was located. To distract attention, the prisoner made the officer talk to him. By this means, the escapee was able to overpower ten more guards. Another seven guards were taken prisoner in their dormitory, as they were preparing to go on duty.

Wearing guard uniforms, the escaped prisoners seized the watchtowers one by one. The changing of the guard was a critical moment in the escape, but the political prisoners managed to capture the new shift. The first slip-up reportedly came as three prisoners approached Guard Post No. 1 at the outside gate of the prison.

"Now the guerrillas had to go through a door and advance out into the open for about a hundred meters . . . before coming to the final gate of the prison, where Juan Gregorio Valenzuela and Justino Ramón Galarraga were on duty," *Gente* reported. "The guerrilla Vaca Narvaja put on an army lieutenant's uniform. Roberto Santucho put on a guard's uniform. His wife dressed as a matron. They passed through the first gate and started to walk on with their FAL machine guns in their hands. When Valenzuela and Galarraga saw them, they came out of their guardroom. But the guards could not see clearly the faces of the persons approaching them. When the guerrillas were within about twelve meters, Valenzuela realized that they were not colleagues.

"Galarraga had time to shout: 'Look out, they are prisoners!' He tried to draw his gun and run back into the

guardroom to sound the alarm, but they didn't give him time. Santucho and Vaca Narvaja raised their machine guns and opened fire.

"Valenzuela fell mortally wounded and Galarraga was left with several bullets in his shoulder."

At this point, *Gente* notes, "the versions differ." Some of the authorities claim that Ana María de Santucho put a bullet into Valenzuela's head while he was lying wounded on the ground.

After the crossfire, "the three extremists immediately opened the outer doors of the prison and brought in the hardtop Falcon convertible that was waiting outside."

Another failure in the guerrilla operation had become evident by this time, according to *Gente*. Instead of the twenty vehicles that were expected to transport the 120 political prisoners, only one Ford Falcon showed up. It had been expropriated in the nearby town of San Isidro.

"The six ringleaders headed by Santucho and Quieto got in the Falcon and took off," *Gente* continued. "The rest were left presumably under the command of Mariano Pujada [of the Montoneros]. And he was the one who called the Rawson taxi company, ordering three cars."

At this point, the guerrillas became separated into two groups, the six led by Santucho and the nineteen led by Pujada. They lost touch with each other. According to the August 22 *Primera Plana*, the guerrillas' network had failed to supply walkie-talkies. This slip-up was to have grave consequences for the second group of escapees.

The group in the Falcon hardtop left the prison at 6:30 p.m. At 7:00 p.m. they reached the Trelew airport. At 7:10 an Austral airliner, stopping en route from Comodoro Rivadavia to Buenos Aires, was starting down the takeoff runway. When the plane was half way down the concrete strip, the captain got a call on his radio: "Stop, stop, there is a bomb on board."

As the plane ground to a halt, Antonio Da Cruz, the commanding officer of the airport, ran out to see what was happening. "A 'lieutenant' who I later found out was the guerrilla Vaca Narvaja told me that there was a bomb on board the plane," he told reporters after the incident.

Along with two other men, one of

whom was Santucho, Da Cruz ran toward the plane. Right behind them were two airport workers. They all knocked on the cabin, calling on the crew to open up. When a door opened in the rear and they started to go up, the base commander and the airport workers found themselves looking into the barrels of two pistols held by a man and a woman. Four guerrillas had boarded the plane in Rivadavia.

The ten guerrillas now on the plane were in a quandary. How long did they dare wait for their comrades? They had no idea where they were, and the timing was very tight.

The second group of guerrillas were on their way in three taxis, two Falcons and a red Valiant. This is how one of the kidnapped taxi drivers, Eduardo Baqué, described the ride:

"They didn't let us talk. They forced us to go more than a hundred kilometers an hour. Can you imagine? We drove twenty-five kilometers in twelve minutes. We stopped only once and that was because the Valiant got too far ahead and stopped to wait for us. I think we were all afraid at that point. We thought that if we ran into a military or police car, there was going to be a terrible gunfight and that we would get wiped out."

The three taxis took the same route as the Falcon hardtop, down the "Old Road," where there were no police patrols. They arrived just as the plane carrying their comrades was taking off. According to various press reports, they were from two to five minutes too late.

At the same time, an Aerolíneas plane was landing. The contingent could still hope to get away on it. Just then the authorities at the naval-air base bordering the civilian terminal ordered the runways closed. They had received an alarm after the seizure of the Austral liner. Three minutes before it would have touched down, the Aerolíneas plane started to regain height. The guerrillas were trapped. They decided to occupy the airport restaurant.

The guerrillas chatted with the wife of John Sturdee Rogers,* the proprietor of the restaurant. "Seventy

* The valley of Chubut where Trelew is located was settled by Welsh immigrants seeking a refuge for their national culture. Welsh is still spoken there. This is why many of the local names are non-Spanish.

pesos for an Aero," one asked her. "How expensive!"

"How long have you been in prison?" Mrs. Rogers asked the young woman revolutionist.

"Six months . . ."

"Well," the restaurant owner's wife replied, "prices have gone up like crazy in that time."

Later Mrs. Rogers recalled: "They were very nice; the argument about the chocolate made me laugh out loud. They paid for everything they ate."

As military units surrounded the airport, the trapped guerrillas held a press conference, which was described this way by Rogers:

"Pujada led the chorus. They chanted several extremist slogans but one most of all—'First Aramburo, then Sánchez, and we'll soon see who's next.'" (Pedro Aramburo, the head of the military junta that took over after the ouster of Perón; and Sánchez, the Córdoba chief of police, were assassinated by guerrillas in the recent period.)

The press conference lasted for fifty minutes. The August 22 *Primera Plana* quoted some passages from it: "'There are comrades here from three organizations,' said the Montonero leader Mariano Pujada. 'This action thus illustrates our desire for unity. We are united in this and we are going to fight for the liberation of our people. We still have some political differences among ourselves. But we are sure that these will be overcome in the heat of the struggle. Two of the organizations here are Peronist; the other is not [Pujada was apparently referring to the ERP, which is led by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party)]."

"'The Peronist comrades here have already said, and we repeat, we are not the ones who have chosen the path of violence. If the regime were willing to hold genuinely honest elections, we would accept this. But in fact the hot air about honest elections is just a result of a lack of will to pacify the country. Until the regime releases the political prisoners, and there are thousands of them, until it stops its torture, kidnapping, and its keeping the people from expressing their will, we will continue our fight against it.'"

As the military closed in, the guerrillas "embraced each other, sang something, and lay down their weap-

ons," the August 21 weekly selection of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* reported. The August 23 *Panorama* carried a picture of the surrender—nineteen smiling young people with a variety of weapons at their feet.

The commander of the government forces, Colonel Perlinguer, praised the discipline of the guerrillas: "They are professionals. . . . They know when they must kill, when to attack, ad-

vance, retreat, or surrender unconditionally."

He told one of the captured guerrillas, according to the August 22 *Primera Plana*, "Sir, I disagree totally with your ideology but I have the same respect for you as a Roman would have for a Christian who was able to give the sign of the cross while he was being thrown to the lions."

Police Seize Bodies for Secret Burial

Widespread Protest Over Massacre

"Minutes before the broadcast during which President Lanusse voiced assurances that there would be free elections next March," a London *Times* reporter cabled from Buenos Aires August 24, "Argentine paramilitary policemen had smashed their way into the Peronist headquarters in this capital and seized the coffins containing the bodies of three of the guerrilla suspects killed in an attempted escape from a naval base on Tuesday [August 22] in southern Argentina.

"Policemen then rushed the coffins off for immediate night burial. . . . An official army statement asserted that the relatives of the three guerrillas, two of them women, had agreed to 'maximum swiftness of burial to avoid public disturbances.'"

The bodies of the young revolutionists killed in Trelew August 22 became focuses of public protest against the government massacre, as they were sent back to cities all over Argentina.

The remains of Mariano Pujada Badell and Humberto Adrián Toschi arrived in Córdoba on August 23.

"In the regional headquarters of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo] mourning candles were lit at 7:00 p.m. in a room where it was announced the bodies of the guerrillas from this city would lie in state," a UPI dispatch from Córdoba reported in the August 24 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación*.

"Although the coffins had not arrived, many persons tried to come to the CGT headquarters. They were stopped by an iron ring of police."

The body of Carlos Alberto del Rey was returned to his native city of Rosario to lie in state at Gaboto 945. "A heavy police guard was established to prevent any attempt to create a disturbance," *La Nación* reported.

The body of Jorge Alejandro Ulla was returned to Santa Fe to lie in his parents' home. *La Nación* noted: "A heavy guard was set up around the area."

The bodies of other unnamed guerrillas were flown to Pergamino, Rosario, Concordia, and Tucumán.

Student demonstrations broke out in almost every major Argentinian city as soon as the news of the massacre became known. The military regime clamped down to try to prevent the protest from escalating.

A mass assembly was called for 6:00 p.m. August 22 in the School of Architecture at the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba. Shortly after the meeting began, "ten assault cars, two trucks, and a van from the explosives brigade arrived," the August 23 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Prensa* reported. The area was sealed off and hundreds were arrested. In its August 24 issue, *La Prensa* said 673 persons had been picked up. According to the daily *Clarín*, also published in Buenos Aires, all those who could prove that they were students at the university were released. Some 474 nonstudents were reportedly held.

Students held lightning street rallies in La Plata, following a mass assembly in the School of Physics. "The disorderly persons tried unsuccessfully to build a barricade at the corner

of Forty-Seventh and Forty-Eighth streets," the August 23 *La Nación* reported. "Finally they smashed windows in a Peugeot salesroom."

Assemblies and demonstrations were held by students in several schools of the University of Buenos Aires.

On August 23, the protests mounted rapidly. About 1,500 students marched from a rally in the Buenos Aires branch of the Universidad Tecnológica Nacional.

In Corrientes, students held a rally in the university cafeteria and tried to start a march. They were dispersed by the police.

In Santa Fe, students built barricades on several streets and set them on fire. Barricades also went up in Tucumán. In San Luis, police dispersed a demonstration, provoking violent clashes.

In Rosario, the university was closed and the commander of the Second Army Corps, General Jorge Estabán Cáceres Monié, issued a severe warning to the populace. He called on residents to: "(1) remain absolutely calm and pay no attention to the appeals of various elements to assemble for the purpose of creating provocations and disorders; (2) drive at a prudent speed and obey whatever directions are given; (3) insofar as possible stay away from the vicinity of military and police installations or agitated sectors."

Prevented from holding mass protests, students made sporadic attacks on property in the business section of Rosario. Shop windows were broken and a few Molotov cocktails were thrown. The press noted scattered acts of violence by students and guerrillas in a number of areas.

Despite the repression, the protests quickly assumed a very broad character. The national leadership of the CGT sent a telegram to General Lanusse demanding an accounting for the deaths of the sixteen young revolutionists: "In view of the grave and shocking event that has horrified the people of the entire country, this confederation of labor finds it necessary to demand that the government investigate and clarify the incidents that cost this nation so many lives in Trelew. For such a tragedy, which is what it must be called by the citizens of this country, God, the nation, and human rights demand an accounting."

In Córdoba, the local CGT called

a protest strike for the morning of August 23:

"In accordance with the decision of the plenary meeting of the Córdoba district council of the CGT, a work stoppage was carried out yesterday from 10:00 to 12:00 in the morning," the August 24 *La Nación* reported. "Work continued as usual in the government offices, but activity was suspended in the banking sector. Most of the stores stayed open. Business was more or less normal in the center of the city and entirely normal in the outlying areas. An impromptu protest by workers at the Empresa Provincial de Energía did not disturb the tranquility of the day. On the other hand, strong forces were posted in the strategic places.

"The workers at IKA-Renault walked out en masse from their plant in the Santa Isabel neighborhood. . . . More than 2,000 workers downed tools at the FIAT-Concord complex in Ferreyra, while 3,500 workers at Concord continued working as usual. In the meantime, about 500 workers at Grandes Motores Diesel downed tools but without incident.

"In accordance with a resolution of the Asociación Gremial de Empleados del Poder Judicial [Union of Workers in the Judicial Branch of Government], a work stoppage was decided for 11:00 to 12:00 a.m."

The government responded to the trade-union protests, as it had done to the student actions, with calculated doses of repression. At 5:00 a.m. August 24, police raided the headquarters of the CGT in Córdoba and closed the building. The home of the acting general secretary, Felipe Alberti, was also raided. Orders went out for the arrest of all members of the district governing board.

The Third Army Corps issued the following statement: "The government of the province of Córdoba has ordered the seizure of the CGT headquarters and the arrest of its leaders, who are to be handed over to the district federal criminal court. The CGT had institutionalized violence in Córdoba, where the people suffered thirteen strikes last year and six this year. Moreover, the presumption of this organization led it to depart entirely from the proper functions of a trade union and to devote itself entirely to political activity. This activity reached its culmination yesterday

when the CGT general secretary signed a statement making an incendiary apology for crime [presumably the protest of the massacre of the guerrillas], issuing an invitation to subversion, and offering to hold a ceremony of mourning over the remains of one of the persons killed in Trelew. Some of these persons participated in criminal actions in this city that cost the life of one policeman and resulted in grave injuries to two others. One of the wounded policemen was crippled. To this must be added the CGT's posture of open opposition to the institutional normalization of the country, which is an unalterable aspiration of the Argentine people."

The last passage of the army statement indicated that the repression was aimed at least partially at pressuring the CGT to cooperate more readily with the electoralist maneuvers of the military government. Simultaneously with the protests against the Trelew massacre, Juan Perón, the long-time hero of the Argentine labor movement, refused to comply with Lanusse's demand that he return to the country by August 25 in order to qualify to participate in the elections scheduled for next March.

Without Perón's participation, Lanusse's electoralist maneuver cannot achieve its objective of defusing the popular hatred of the military regime and shifting the conflicts within the ruling class back into the parliamentary arena. At the same time, Lanusse is supposed to be under pressure from a hard right wing of the military opposed to his electoral tactic.

Although they probably reflect the misgivings of some sections of the ruling class about any loosening of the military dictatorship, the rightist officers do not constitute a fundamental social force. On the other hand, the breadth of the popular protests against the Trelew massacre seems to indicate that the Lanusse government will be forced to make further concessions to the Peronists in order to retain any reformist credibility.

The Peronist CGT leadership and the heads of the Peronist Partido Justicialista have associated themselves strongly with the protests over Trelew. Perón's personal representative, Héctor J. Cámpora, sent the Justicialist leader Julian Francisco Licastro to Trelew to assemble the facts on the massacre. At 5:15 in the mor-

ning of August 24, Licastro was arrested by the military. A committee of lawyers also in the city to conduct an investigation of the Trelew slaughter filed a brief of habeas corpus on his behalf.

But when a Peronist youth leader managed to visit Licastro in the city jail, he was told that the Justicialist chief had not been arrested but only "held, in his capacity as a retired officer."

Whatever the effect of the Trelew case on the behind-the-scenes tug-of-war between the Peronists and the various factions of the military, the pro-

tests against the slaughter seemed on the last weekend in August to be assuming more and more of a massive character.

"This industrial city of nearly a million people was crippled today by a 14-hour general strike protesting the slaying of the 16 guerrillas and supporting a demand for higher wages," an August 25 AP dispatch reported.

"Banks, businesses, and schools were closed and public transportation halted. Union leaders who called the strike were in hiding and sought by the police." □

Allende Straddles on Granting Asylum

Argentine Guerrillas Arrive in Havana

By David Thorstad

The ten Argentine guerrillas who hijacked an airliner to Chile on August 15 left the Chilean capital of Santiago ten days later for Cuba. According to a Reuters dispatch from Santiago August 25, President Salvador Allende announced in a nationwide broadcast that his government "had granted them political asylum but had also taken steps to insure they left Chile as quickly as possible."

Chilean police authorities identified the guerrillas as Ana Wiesen Miklavsky, 23, a teacher; Mario Roberto Santucho Juárez, 36, public accountant; Carlos Goldenberg Fernández, 19, agronomy student; Roberto Jorge Quieto Argañaras, 34, lawyer; Domingo Menna Ferrara, 25, medical student; Víctor José Fernández Palmeiro, 27, a Spaniard and a medical student; Enrique Haroldo Gorriarán Merlo, 30, trade expert; Fernando Vaca Naraja, 24, student of chemical engineering; Alejandro Enrique Ferreyra Beltrán, 23, medical student; and Marcos Osatinsky Schlosberg, 38, office worker.

The arrival of the guerrillas in Chile placed Allende in an embarrassing position. If he refused to grant them asylum and allowed them to be extradited back to Argentine, where they would quite likely have been executed, not only would the left-wing image of his regime have emerged badly

tarnished but the refusal would have met with considerable opposition inside Chile, even within his Popular Unity coalition. On the other hand, Allende has committed his government to a strict observance of bourgeois legality and has been cultivating friendly relations with the Argentine military dictatorship.

"It is not a simple situation for the government, but on the contrary, an extremely delicate one that must be handled with the utmost care," observed Arsenio Poupin, the deputy director of investigations, whom Allende placed in charge of communications with the guerrillas.

About the same time that Allende was informed that the hijacked plane had made an emergency landing in Puerto Montt to take on fuel, he received a telephone call from Argentine President Alejandro Lanusse. "The Argentine president told me that he was calling me to let me know what had happened," Allende told a news conference August 16 during which he gave a blow-by-blow account of his government's response to the presence of the guerrillas on Chilean soil. He said the Argentine dictator was "very worried about the fate of the people who were traveling in the plane, which arrived nearly full.

"I told him that the plane had reached Puerto Montt, that it was re-

questing fuel so that it could continue to Santiago, and that I had given authorization for it to be supplied with the necessary fuel. I added that any steps we took would be taken within the framework of Chilean laws.

"He thanked me for the information, but did not make any definite request. And at this point our conversation ended."

Calls to several officials and to Pudahuel airport in Santiago followed. Allende learned that the guerrillas were asking that they be met at the airport by the minister of the interior and the chancellor or the secretary-general of the government. He turned down the request.

More calls followed: to the minister of foreign affairs, with whom Allende discussed "the alternatives that might be open to us"; to Poupin, who was instructed to find out the identities of the guerrillas; to the guerrillas to ask that the children on the flight, as well as their relatives, be allowed to get off the plane and finally that the remaining passengers also be allowed to deplane. The guerrillas agreed to the former but denied the last request, and asked that they be granted immediate political asylum.

"We told them that we could not give them asylum without knowing who they were," Allende explained. "We asked that they identify themselves. They did not do so. So we told them that under these circumstances we could only tell them that this is a constitutional country and that they would have to submit to Chilean laws. They said no and that they were going to continue their journey. Through Arsenio Poupin, I told them that we were not going to give them fuel if they did not leave the passengers here. The truth is that around nineteen persons had already gotten off the plane. Within moments they said that a sizable number, approximately fifty percent of those still on the plane, would be getting off. But after consulting with each other, they once again insisted that they be granted asylum. We again explained to them that we could not grant them asylum as long as they did not identify themselves: We did not know their records, we did not know who they were, what they had been found guilty of, or what crimes they had committed."

Subsequently, Allende reported, the

identities of the guerrillas were obtained and they indicated that they had decided that they "would remain in Chile and obey Chilean law."

Allende was asked just what the guerrillas' submitting to Chilean law might mean in view of the fact that the Argentine government had decided to press for their extradition and had officially asked the Allende regime to hold them in preventive detention until they could be extradited. Allende appeared to hedge in his reply, and said he was looking into the matter. He added, however, that "Chilean law implies that the matter must be submitted to the courts, since granting extradition is their responsibility." International law is quite unclear in this regard, he stated, and the problem is complicated by the fact that sky-jacking is a phenomenon of relatively recent origin.

The prospect that the fate of the guerrillas would be placed in the hands of the ultraconservative bourgeois courts stirred the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) to call a series of street demonstrations, including one in downtown Santiago on August 17, which police attempted to break up with tear gas. The purpose of the demonstrations was to demand that the guerrillas be granted political asylum in Chile or safe transit to another country. The MIR also issued a statement to the press in which it denounced the Allende government's decision to turn the guerrillas over to the courts. It called for further mass demonstrations to thwart implementation of this decision.

The same day, according to the August 14-20 international edition of the Santiago newspaper *El Mercurio*, the political committee of the Popular Unity coalition sent a delegation of legislators and leaders of the various parties in the coalition to meet with the guerrillas in the office of police investigations. The purpose of the meeting was not divulged.

For a "leftist" government that has consistently maintained that it would respect existing bourgeois legality, the guerrillas posed an embarrassing problem. For Chile and Argentina are not only both signatories to a treaty on extradition, but also to a treaty on air piracy. In the context of the former, it would be up to the bourgeois

courts to rule on Argentina's plea for extradition, while under the terms of the latter, the hijackers would have to be placed on trial in Puerto Montt, the point where they first landed in Chile. Either of these two courses would have plainly entailed a high political cost for the Allende regime.

Still, according to *El Mercurio*, as late as August 18, Minister of Foreign Affairs Clodomiro Almeyda declined to comment when asked if his government would refuse to extradite the guerrillas if it felt that to do so would place their lives in jeopardy. And when asked whether they would be granted political asylum after all, he replied, "I would say that it does not apply. In this case the right of asylum

does not apply, but—there are other possibilities."

Nevertheless, after one more week of juggling this political hot potato, the Allende government announced that it was both granting the guerrillas the status of political refugees and arranging for them to leave Chile as soon as possible. On August 26, they arrived in Havana on a Cubana de Aviación flight.

"In an airport news conference," reported Reuters from Havana, "Mario Roberto Santucho—considered one of the leaders of the guerrilla group—accused President Alejandro A. Lanusse of Argentina of having deliberately ordered the assassination of guerrillas who had helped organize his escape." □

Defense Groups Mobilize in France, U.S.

As the Allende regime was deliberating over what to do with the ten Argentine guerrillas who hijacked a plane to Chile, defense groups in Europe and the United States began to mount pressure on the Chilean authorities to grant them political asylum.

In Paris, for instance, the Committee to Defend Argentine Political Prisoners sent a delegation to the Chilean embassy on August 21. Among those who were received by chargé d'affaires Jorge Edwards were Alain Krivine of the Political Bureau of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, and the publisher François Maspéro. "Mr. Edwards explained that the Chilean authorities were concerned about respecting the country's laws, which recognize the right of asylum on political grounds," according to *Le Monde* August 24. "He expressed optimism as to the solution the Allende government might adopt."

On August 23, the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) sponsored a picket of the Chilean embassy in Washington, D. C., and a demonstration in New York City. The latter began with a picket line in front of the offices of Aerolíneas Argentinas, which was followed by a march to the Chilean mission to the United Nations. There a delegation delivered a letter addressed to Allende demanding that

the guerrillas not be extradited to Argentina.

The letter stated, in part: "It is known throughout the world that there is no possibility for just treatment in Argentine jails. Prisoners in Argentina are routinely subjected to humiliation and vicious physical attacks, often resulting in death. . . .

"In the name of the most elemental and universal human rights, we urge you to save these refugees from certain brutal reprisal by 1) rejecting any attempt by the Argentine military to extradite them to that country, and 2) granting them political asylum in Chile."

Among those who signed the letter were the following: the Rev. William Wipfler, executive director, Latin American section, National Council of Churches; Frederick McGuire, C. M., director, Latin American division, U. S. Catholic Conference; Richard Garza, assistant executive secretary, USLA; Paul Sweezy; Ramón Arbona, general coordinator, Puerto Rican Socialist party, New York; Paul Massas, president, student government, Brooklyn College; Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano; Susan Sontag; Felipe Luciano, Puerto Rican poet; James Petras, author; Hugo Massor, Argentine sociologist; Living Theater Collective; Casa Betances, a Puerto Rican cultural center in New York; and Rassemblement Démocratique des Forces Progressistes Haïtiennes. □

Army Occupies Universities, Trade Unions



Troops in San Salvador haul truckload of students to jail after raiding university campus July 19.

After being in power for less than a month, the government of Colonel Arturo Molina in El Salvador ordered the army to invade the university premises in the capital of San Salvador and in the cities of San Miguel and Santa Ana. Tanks were used in the operation July 19. Dozens of students, a large number of professors, the university rector, vice rector, and secretary general, the university's counsel, and the head of the Faculty of Humanities and Sciences were seized.

"The intervention of the army into the university took place minutes after the Legislative Assembly, which is controlled by the ruling party, issued a decree stating its agreement that the university authorities should be dismissed," reported the Managua, Ni-

caragua, daily *La Prensa* July 21.

The decree followed a decision by the Supreme Court of Justice in favor of a challenge to the constitutionality of the election of the university authorities last year. According to the July 28 issue of the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*, the court also charged the authorities with "promoting social instability and Communist indoctrination."

Teaching functions were suspended for approximately two months.

One of the worst "crimes" of the university leadership, Colonel Molina stated on radio and television, was allegedly to have used "state money" to publish material that "insults free enterprise." According to *Bohemia*, he also accused the imprisoned professors

of "distributing training manuals on urban guerrilla warfare."

The day after troops invaded the university, the army occupied several trade-union headquarters, including that of the left-leaning *Federación Unitaria Sindical* (United Trade-Union Federation). Salvadorian newspapers provided few details. The official government explanation for the action was that it was dealing with a "Communist conspiracy."

The violation of university autonomy, which the ruling junta has stated that it will no longer guarantee, sparked a sharp reaction in intellectual circles. Eight students took over a radio station in an unsuccessful attempt to broadcast a denunciation of the attack against university auton-

my. In some cases, students barricaded themselves inside university buildings.

The well-orchestrated invasion of the university "crushed a process of demo-

cratic reforms within education that would make study accessible to popular sectors by opposing the age-old discrimination that is economic in origin," observed *Bohemia*. "A considera-

ble broadening of the registration in the Faculty of Medicine—traditionally the exclusive reserve of the oligarchy—had already been achieved along these lines." □

Defense Campaign Launched

Hugo Blanco Fights to Remain in Argentina

The Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, who was arrested in Buenos Aires on July 12 and held without charge, remains in the city's Villa Devoto prison while the fight to prevent his deportation from Argentina continues. The government order expelling him was issued on July 19, but Blanco is appealing it in the courts.

The law on which the expulsion order is based was promulgated by the military dictatorship that came to power in the June 28, 1966, coup. It provides for deporting within five days any foreigner who is held to be a threat to "national security." It places foreigners in Argentina under a kind of permanent state of siege.

Blanco's lawyer has appealed the deportation order on the grounds that it is arbitrary, since Blanco has done nothing to interfere with social peace, national security, or public order, as the law on aliens stipulates; and on the grounds that banishment constitutes a form of punishment, something the president is explicitly denied the right to impose by the Argentine constitution.

Since his arrival in Argentina on June 12 from his previous place of exile in Mexico, Blanco has limited his pronouncements on politics to Peru. "His words irritated Peru's ambassador," observed the July 26 issue of the weekly *Avanzada Socialista*, published by the Argentine Socialist party (PSA—Partido Socialista Argentino).

"Hugo Blanco is in prison and is going to be deported," the newspaper charged, "because his presence continues to spur the combativity of those whom we are increasingly winning away from the trap of the Great Agreement that the bourgeoisie is setting for us.

"Hugo Blanco is in prison because his words, his life, and his teachings

by themselves point to the true path that will lead the people to power and to the building of socialism.

"Hugo Blanco is in prison because his experiences indicate the genuine path of struggle and because, by pointing up the errors of *foquismo* and guerrilla struggle in isolation from the mass movement through his own experience as an armed fighter, he is helping to strengthen the workers and socialist pole and mass mobilizations as the road to victory for the workers and the exploited."

Following his arrest, Blanco was placed in a tiny cell at the headquarters of the DIPA (División de Investigaciones Policiales Antidemocráticas—Division of Police Investigations into Antidemocratic Activities). The light in the cell was left on day and night and Blanco could not even use his handkerchief to cover his eyes without permission from the guards. Later he was transferred to Villa Devoto. Although physical conditions are reported to be better there, *Avanzada Socialista* indicated that Blanco's supporters were not able to see him for more than a week, in spite of the fact that they had been granted permission to visit him freely.

The Argentine Socialist party immediately launched a campaign for the release of Blanco and permission for him to remain in Argentina. The campaign has now taken on new urgency. According to the August 2 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, Blanco will not be allowed to go to Chile if he is deported from Argentina because it borders on Peru. Blanco had indicated that he preferred to remain in Argentina, but that if that was not possible he would choose to go to Chile.

The same issue of *Avanzada Socialista* reported that more than one hundred working-class leaders, intel-

lectuals, and artists have backed the defense effort. Among these it listed the following: Alicia Moreau de Justo and Jorge Selser (right-wing Partido Socialista Popular—Popular Socialist party); Jorge Mackarz (Frente de Izquierda Popular—Front of the Popular Left); Luis Segovia (Unión del Pueblo Argentino—Union of the Argentine People); Norma Kennedy (Partido Justicialista—Justicialista party, the Peronist party); Felipe Alberti and Luis Narice (Light and Power Union of Córdoba); Carlos Mugica (a priest).

As a sign of the mounting international support, *Avanzada Socialista* noted the campaign has received the backing of two Uruguayan deputies, Zelmor Michelini and Alberto Foro, as well as the periodicals *Marcha*, *El Oriental*, and *Tendencia Revolucionaria*.

On August 7, Argentina's trade union federation, the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor), also called on the government to allow Blanco to stay in Argentina. □

Bank Wins Perera's Praise

Dr. N.M. Perera, minister of finance in the "socialist" cabinet of Prime Minister Bandaranaike, has offered hearty congratulations to the directors of the Bank of Ceylon, according to the August 3 *Ceylon Times*. Perera's praise was well earned, since the bank raked in record-breaking profits of Rs19.8 million in 1971.

In the face of rising living costs, the Bandaranaike regime has barred workers in most of the industries from striking. This is one of the reasons why the banking business is in the chips in Sri Lanka.

This is also why the bank's directors were first in line to taste the benefits of Sri Lanka's ever-so-gradual transition to socialism.

Vietnam Bombing Reaches New Heights in Savagery

By Jon Rothschild

The U. S. press informed the American public on August 12 that the Indochina war had become completely "Vietnamized." On that day, the Third Battalion of the 21st Infantry was deactivated at Danang Air Force Base. The Third Battalion, according to the Pentagon, was the last active U. S. ground-combat outfit in Vietnam. There are, according to government statements, no more U. S. soldiers involved in the ground fighting in South Vietnam.

Yet on August 11 B-52 bombers carried out what the U. S. command described as the heaviest raids of the war. Some 3,000 tons of explosives were dropped by the giant planes on targets in both North and South Vietnam. Also on August 11, U. S. fighter-bombers launched more than 200 strikes against targets in North Vietnam.

Such records are now short-lived. Exactly one week later, within twenty-four hours of Henry Kissinger's arrival in Paris, allegedly to conduct secret "peace" talks with Vietnamese leaders, more than 370 strikes were flown against North Vietnam. This was two days before the opening of the Republican party national convention at which Richard Nixon was renominated for president amid claims by party leaders that he had brought peace to Vietnam.

On August 26, less than one week after the convention, U. S. officials in Saigon announced that since the start of the newly intensified U. S. bombing of South Vietnam, civilian casualties had increased 100 percent. An average of 6,197 civilians were wounded each month during April, May, June, and July, compared with a 2,700 monthly average for the six months preceding the offensive of the liberation forces.

No statistics were released on the number of civilians killed, but U. S. Senator Edward Kennedy, who chairs a Senate subcommittee on refugees, has estimated that at least 15,000 died during the first five weeks of the U. S. escalation after the offensive began.

The continued U. S. air attacks on

North Vietnam's system of dikes was not mentioned in the Republican convention's peace rhetoric—and for good reason. State Department denials that the dikes are being deliberately targeted sound increasingly lame. On July 24 Kurt Waldheim, secretary general of the United Nations, said he had "private and unofficial" information that the dikes were being hit.

He appealed to Washington to stop it. During the first week of August, a six-member group representing the Stockholm-based International Commission of Enquiry into U. S. Crimes in Indochina visited North Vietnam to investigate the effects of U. S. bombing. Among the team was Ramsey Clark, who was attorney general during the Johnson administration.



Clark reported he had seen a dike, a sluice gate, a hospital for lepers, and a children's school that had been destroyed by U. S. bombs. U. S. Secretary of State William Rogers made no attempt to answer Clark's charges, but simply denounced him as a "dupe" of Hanoi.

But the "dupes" are beginning to extend into the upper echelons of U. S. elected officialdom. On August 6 ten Senators declared that the United States was in fact deliberately bombing dikes. They sponsored a resolution against it.

Despite the genocidal U. S. bombing, the liberation forces are fighting on with the greatest determination. In the battle for Quangtri, North Vietnamese troops have still not been dislodged from the ancient citadel in the interior of the city. "Even the country's two elite units, the marine and air force divisions," Sydney Schanberg wrote in the August 27 *New York Times*, "are now being chewed up, slowly but inexorably, in an attempt to retake Quangtri town and its fortress-like walled citadel."

During the weekend of August 19-20, as the battle for Quangtri raged, North Vietnamese troops overran Queson, the central town of a valley lying along the approach to Danang. Schanberg described Saigon's defeat at Queson as "only slightly less ignominious than the abandonment of Quangtri province by the Third Division on May 1. The South Vietnamese troops at Queson, though under orders from corps headquarters to hold on, because reinforcements were arriving in a few hours, were inexplicably told by their local commander to abandon their positions. They fled precipitously, leaving behind dozens of artillery guns, tanks, armored personnel carriers and other heavy weapons and equipment. Hundreds of troops are still missing in the rout, presumably either having deserted or been killed. Many officers have been sacked and are under investigation, including the commander who was leading the units at Queson. Some are also under arrest."

The immediate aftermath of the fall of Queson showed that the Saigon command had learned nothing from its previous defeats. By August 26, Saigon announced that South Vietnamese Rangers had retaken the town, fulfilling Thieu's boast that "every inch" of territory captured by the liberation forces would be recaptured within three months of the opening of the offensive.

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But the Rangers, to their consternation, found the town abandoned. Two miles outside of Queson, the 10,000-man counteroffensive was stalled by heavy North Vietnamese resistance, and the Saigon forces "were said to be taking many casualties from enemy gun positions on high ground along the valley." Again they had been led by their commanders into what has become known in Indochina as the "meatgrinder."

The effectiveness of the liberation forces' strategy of luring the puppet troops into indefensible positions and then mauling the trapped infantry was shown by the casualty report released August 24 by the Saigon command. During the twenty weeks since the offensive began, the Saigon army has lost 15,610 dead and 50,909 wounded. This exceeds 10 percent of the acknowledged toll for more than ten years of the war.

In reporting the Saigon figures, the Associated Press wrote that "authoritative American sources have estimated the death toll in the offensive to be at least 3,000 higher than the official figures."

But even more disastrous for Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy than the massive losses sustained by the Saigon forces has been the political damage to the "pacification" program. The Mekong Delta, most populous region of South Vietnam and for years the showcase of pacification efforts, offers the clearest evidence of this.

A pharmacist from the delta town of Caibe told Sydney Schanberg, "I don't go one mile out of town. It's too dangerous. The Communists control that area." He paused a moment and added, "I should correct that. I am a timid man. The brave ones go maybe a mile and a quarter."

An article entitled "Back to the Big Muddy" in the August 21 *Newsweek* gave more information about the situation in the delta: "This sense of shock at the Communist revival in the delta is also felt . . . in Chuong Thien. Of the province's 218 govern-

ment outposts, 22 were overrun by the Communists and 58 abandoned to them when fighting broke out four months ago. In one particularly nasty incident, an ARVN [Army of the Republic of Viet Nam] battalion of the Ninth Infantry Division walked into an ambush and was annihilated. The battalion's commander, fleeing for his life, dashed up to a farmer's house and asked to be hidden. The farmer, however, was evidently aware of the Ninth Division's reputation for looting and raping the civilians of the area. He took one look at the officer's shoulder patch and shot him dead."

In the context of the Saigon regime's demonstrated inability not only to effectively resist the advance of the liberation forces but even to maintain positions previously believed to be secure, Nixon has shown no sign of significantly reducing the U. S. military presence in Vietnam. In an article discussing the "end" of U. S. participation in the ground fighting printed in the August 27 *New York Times*, Craig R. Whitney wrote, "American soldiers in various roles can be found in all 44 provinces, and it is impossible to drive on any of the main highways without running across a jeep full of advisers or 'support troops' taking supplies to a South Vietnamese base."

There are still 39,000 U. S. troops in South Vietnam, 12,000 of whom work on air force bases where bombing operations are organized. Another 39,000 troops are stationed on aircraft carriers and other vessels in the Tonkin Gulf; 40,000 to 50,000 more are based in Thailand, for a total of about 120,000 still directly involved in the fighting.

Specialist 4 John Walling, a U. S. infantryman stationed in Saigon, got a letter from his mother that seemed much more to the point than Nixon's reelection rhetoric. "If you ain't over there," she wrote, "why aren't you here?" Walling himself is a little confused. Somewhat plaintively he told Whitney, "I still can't see where they can say we aren't here." □

China Slips Minesweeper into Haiphong

In its first challenge to the Pentagon's blockade of North Vietnam, China sent a 136-foot minesweeper into Haiphong harbor about August 21.

Pentagon officials said that before this move, neither Peking nor Moscow had made any effort to provide North Vietnam with even the most rudimentary capability

of sweeping the mines sown by the United States beginning May 8. They dismissed the new move as a "symbolic token."

"Even if the vessel attempts to sweep some mines," a Pentagon official said, "we could simply drop new ones behind it. Militarily, it can play no significant role in breaking up the mine barrier."

27,000 Demonstrate in New Zealand Against War



Part of crowd at 12,000-strong antiwar rally in Auckland. Action was part of national mobilization.

By George Fyson

On July 14 more than 27,000 New Zealanders marched in the streets of the main cities throughout the country to demand that the United States get out of South East Asia immediately and stop the bombing of Indochina. The demonstrators also demanded a total end to New Zealand support for the war.

The turnout was not far behind the 1971 demonstrations in which 35,000 on April 30 and 32,000 on July 30 marched against the war. Twelve days after the July 30 demonstrations, New Zealand's token force of a few hundred combat troops was withdrawn, leaving an N. Z. army team of fifty men who have been engaged in training Cambodian soldiers in South Vietnam.

Partly because of the N. Z. troop withdrawal, and also because of Nixon's "winding down the war" propaganda, some forces formerly active

in the antiwar movement had doubted that there was a continuing potential for organising massive antiwar demonstrations. In fact, this was one reason for the slightly smaller turnout — in a few smaller towns where former antiwar coalitions had dissolved no activity took place. Numbers marching in the larger centres were about the same as before, however. About 12,000 marched in Auckland, 4,000 in Wellington, 8,000 in Christchurch, and 2,000 in Dunedin.

Trade unionists; Labour party MPs, branches, and supporters; Christian antiwar groups; and university and high-school students participated in the same numbers as they have in the past. Successful "Women Against the War" contingents were organised in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch.

A new feature in Auckland and Wellington was the organisation of

Polynesian contingents who marched under banners bearing slogans such as "Polynesians against racist wars," "No Vietcong ever called me a coconut" and "No Vietnamese ever called me a Hori." ("Hori" and "coconut" are derogatory racist terms for Maoris and Polynesians, the equivalent of "nigger.") The Polynesians, in their speeches, publicity, and placards, pointed out that a very high proportion of New Zealand's armed forces are Polynesian, and that out of thirty-five New Zealanders killed in Vietnam, twenty-nine were Polynesians. Only about ten percent of New Zealanders are Polynesian.

In Christchurch a lively and vociferous Gay contingent took part in the march, organised by the recently formed Gay Liberation Movement in that city.

The July 14 mobilisation was called by a National Antiwar Conference,

held in Auckland April 22-23, which was attended by 400 persons from all over the country, from different sectors of society, and from various political groups.

The delegates debated what course the antiwar movement ought to take in 1972. The conference decided in favour of a mass mobilisation built around the following demands: (a) All U. S. and allied forces out of S. E. Asia immediately; (b) An immediate end to the bombing of Indochina; (c) An end to all forms of N. Z. support for the war, and N. Z. withdrawal from the aggressive military alliances with the United States (SEATO and ANZUS); (d) Self-determination for the Indochinese peoples.

Before the April 22-23 conference, some groups, in particular the Maoist N. Z. Communist party and a split-off from it, the "Wellington District Communist party," as well as some ultraleft forces in the student movement, had opposed a mobilisation altogether. However, they changed their position around the time of the conference and advocated slogans calling for "victory to the NLF" as "more advanced" than "Out Now." They also favoured calling for "support to the seven-point peace proposals of the PRG of South Vietnam," and for collecting money for medical aid to North Vietnam and NLF areas as part of the mobilisation. The conference rejected the proposals on the ground that they did not add anything to the "Out Now" demand directed against the N. Z. and U. S. governments, yet placed unnecessary barriers in the way of the tens of thousands of New Zealanders who support the antiwar movement on the basis of "Out Now," while not favouring explicit support to the revolutionists in Indochina.

After the April conference, the "Victory for the NLF" forces, who are strongest in Wellington (the capital city), forced their views on the Wellington Committee on Vietnam (COV — to that date the only antiwar coalition in the city). Those who insisted on building the mobilisation around "Out Now" left the COV to set up the new Wellington Mobilisation Committee, which will continue to develop a mass antiwar movement in that city.

On July 14 the perspective adopted by the conference was completely vindicated by the massive and enthusiastic turnout and by the most popular chant of the marchers: "Out Now! Out Now!"

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Nixon's 'Peace' Budget

\$20 Billion for War This Year in Indochina

[In a letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, published in the August 27 issue of that paper, Gabriel Kolko, a professor of history at York University, Toronto, and a specialist on U. S. foreign policy, estimated that the Nixon administration will spend more than \$20,000,000,000 on the war in Indochina this year.

[The text of the letter is as follows.]

* * *

The real significance of the Indochina war has never been a question of money, as the Pentagon's "The Economics of Defense Spending" now implies (news story Aug. 11), for even if the Nixon Administration could gratuitously inflict the misery it has visited on the Indochinese people it could not make the war one iota less abominable. But the Pentagon's release of highly dubious figures it insisted on classifying "secret" until now smacks of the crudest election-year politics.

The Administration classified the fiscal 1973 (which begins July 1, 1972) war budget because it was aware, even before its April escalation, that any objective accounting would reveal that its budgeted costs had to increase. The best index of war expenses and intentions are total munitions outlays, and the Nixon Administration last January asked Congress for \$1.18 billion (an amount greater than fiscal 1971 or 1972) for Navy and Air Force munitions.

Its Army munitions request for 1973 fell only about one-third from the preceding year, and in the case of all the service munitions appropriations we know from the pre-Vietnam war data that the immense firepower deluged on Indochina accounts for about three-quarters of this crucial indicator.

Another index proving that the Nixon Administration did not plan significantly to lower war outlays was its request to the House Appropriations Committee last February to increase substantially over 1972 the allocations for B-52 sorties, which Pentagon spokesmen feebly justified as necessary to back the U. S. negotiating posture. In fact, only \$700

million of the \$6.3-billion increase in the 1973 Pentagon total budget request was accounted for by new outlays, inflation alone making all expenses—including that of the war—necessarily higher given the relative constancy of firepower and the cost of the technologically most advanced and expensive services to deliver it.

The Administration has computed the price of the war to suit its political objectives by virtually excluding the base operating costs involved in the vast war-related service, reserve, and coordinating bases outside Indochina, today numbering 200,000 men in Thailand, Okinawa, the Philippines, the Seventh Fleet, Taiwan, Guam and Hawaii.

The operating costs of the considerably smaller Thai, Okinawa, Seventh Fleet and Philippines activities alone in fiscal 1971 were \$1.5 billion, and they are much higher today. All forms of direct aid to the dependent regimes in Indochina now exceed \$3.5 billion.

Without these surrounding Pacific bases and client governments the Indochina war would end quickly, perhaps immediately. Yet the Administration now assumes that the costs of these main pillars of the war can be ignored to create the illusion of withdrawal from a conflict that has grown only bloodier with time.

The precise economic data on the war cannot be known without full access to the Pentagon's records, and the human costs to the Indochinese people are incalculable and will remain so until the U. S. entirely ceases its intervention in Indochina.

But it is more accurate to estimate the total, direct expenses of the war to the U. S. at this time to be at least twice the specious \$7.1 billion Pentagon figure. The present level of munitions firepower and air-sea delivery systems greatly exceeds the 1968-69 peak, when the war cost \$28.8 billion. If this destruction is continued until late fall, the full cost of the war will exceed \$20 billion this current year. □

Stretches Better?

Brazil has authorized a study on the feasibility of using plastic money.

Where Communist Party Goes Wrong on Vietnam

By Carl Fleming

[The following article is republished from the July 31 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

The June 28 issue of *Canadian Tribune*, which carries the line of the Communist party, contains an article by Alf Dewhurst entitled "How Trotskyists serve foes of peace." Dewhurst's attack on "Trotskyism" is designed to silence criticism from CP members and sympathizers who are critical of the CP split from the antiwar movement and Soviet policy regarding Vietnam.

Dewhurst aims his attack at two articles that appeared in the June 5 *Labor Challenge*, one by George Addison, the other by Carl Fleming. These articles, he says, "expose the counterrevolutionary nature of Trotskyism."

He brands Trotskyists as being against peaceful coexistence and negotiations to end the war. Thus, Dewhurst says, "genuine peace forces find it impossible to work together with Trotskyists in the peace movement."

Under the cover of an attack on Trotskyism, Dewhurst is trying to explain why, after years of trying to derail the antiwar movement from its principled positions of demanding immediate unconditional withdrawal of U. S. troops and materiel from Indochina and an end to Canada's complicity, the CP suddenly split from the Vietnam Mobilization Committee last spring. Now they are trying to regroup forces in the decrepit Canadian Peace Congress, which is committed to the CP line.

He makes his arguments only by distorting and lying about the real positions of Trotskyism. The international Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, has repeatedly declared that building actions in defense of the Vietnamese is a prime responsibility for all socialists. In Canada, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes So-

cialistes have been the most consistent defenders of the mass actions and demands of the antiwar movement in face of constant attacks from the CP.

The Trotskyists do not, as Dewhurst claims, oppose the Vietnamese negotiating with Washington. Trotskyists have defended the right of the Vietnamese to negotiate, against the charges of ultralefts like the Canadian Party of Labor, which claims the Vietnamese leadership "sold out" by entering the Paris peace talks. Demands must be placed on U. S. imperialism, not on the Vietnamese.

The alternative to "peaceful coexistence" posed by the Trotskyists is not "permanent war," as Dewhurst slanderously presents it, but rather a campaign of international solidarity that will help the Vietnamese achieve victory over U. S. aggression, and thereby further the cause of socialism.

The Communist party does not support such an international campaign. Tied to all the twists and turns of the Soviet bureaucrats, the CP subordinates the long-term interests of the world revolutionary struggle (and, in so doing, the defense of the Soviet Union itself) to the short-term interests of Soviet diplomacy.

Just who is playing a counterrevolutionary role on the question of Vietnam? Rather than provide the best weaponry to help the Vietnamese resist U. S. aggression, the Soviet Union gives only minimal aid, amounting to only one-tenth of its aid to capitalist Egypt. Rather than call for, and form, a united front in defense of the Vietnamese with China and the other workers states, the Soviet Union instead condemns China for carrying out the same "peaceful coexistence" policies it is practicing, and threatens China with armed attack. Rather than declaring North Vietnam an inviolable part of the "socialist camp," to be defended by all means necessary against U. S. bombers, the Soviet leaders clink glasses with Nixon in the Kremlin while his bombers continue

to rain incredible destruction on Vietnam.

And the Communist parties around the world back the Soviet betrayal to the hilt.

In order to justify Soviet policy, and force the antiwar movement to revert to demanding "negotiations" rather than withdrawal of U. S. forces, the CP makes the seven-point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam its central demand. Rather than demand "Out Now," Dewhurst says the antiwar movement must "compel Nixon to return to the Paris negotiations on the terms of the 7 points. . ."

The Vietnamese are under considerable pressure to modify their demands and accept a settlement that would seriously undermine their victory. This pressure comes mainly from the devastating U. S. bombing, which has reached unprecedented levels. But pressure also comes from the Soviet Union and China, which, in search of a "peaceful coexistence" deal with U. S. imperialism, are more than willing to see a stalemate in Vietnam.

The seven-point proposal of the PRG, which calls on the U. S. to cease supporting the Thieu dictatorship in Saigon, to allow a coalition government to be set up in the South, and to set the date for withdrawal of U. S. troops, is clearly less than what the Vietnamese want or need to unify their country and dispossess the landlords and capitalists.

What then should be the attitude of antiwar forces to the seven points and other peace proposals of the Vietnamese? It cannot be other than a clear defense of the right of self-determination. The antiwar movement should not judge the merits of the specific negotiating points of the Vietnamese. That would only confuse and derail the mass sentiment for U. S. withdrawal—forcing the movement to change its demands every time the Vietnamese

adopt a new stance at the bargaining table.

Stalinists like Alf Dewhurst have no confidence in the masses. They orient not to the struggle in Vietnam and the international antiwar movement—but to the high-level diplomacy of the Soviet bureaucracy. They put their trust in maneuvers and deals—not on mass actions.

The antiwar movement, on the other hand, bases its activities and its demands on what is happening in the war. It was the battlefield struggle of the Vietnamese and the international mass actions against U.S. aggression, not Soviet diplomacy, that repeatedly forced the U.S. to pull back,

both in Indochina and at the Paris peace talks. It is this force that Nixon must take into account.

The principled demands of the antiwar movement put the onus for the war on the U.S. and put forward the only solution (which the Vietnamese would undoubtedly prefer)—the immediate and total withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

Today the Vietnamese revolution is under a greater threat than ever before, both from U.S. bombs and Stalinist treachery. Thus the mass actions and principled demands of the antiwar movement must be maintained.

That is the best aid we can give to Vietnam. □

king regime of following an "obstructionist policy" with regard to Bangladesh. "Other Soviet media contended that this stand showed China's claim of support in third-world countries was a false one," wrote *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith from Moscow August 26.

While the Kremlin is trying to take advantage of China's veto to discredit it in the "third world," an intensification of polemics against the policies of the Peking regime has been underway for several weeks in Moscow. "Peking has also come under fire here in the last 10 days," Smith reported, "for allegedly putting financial profit ahead of political principles by letting the British retain control of Hong Kong, which, the Soviet press contend, is a major headquarters for Asia for Asia for the United States Central Intelligence agency."

According to Smith, a "particular target" of Soviet attacks was the recent visit to Peking of Gerhard Schröder, vice chairman of the West German Christian Democratic party. The trip was described in *Pravda* as evidence of Peking's willingness to cooperate with "the most reactionary" elements in Western Europe.

Such a charge is hypocritical, of course, coming as it does on the heels of the spectacle of the archreactionary Richard Nixon being wined and dined in both Moscow and Peking while he was subjecting Vietnam to the heaviest bombing of the Indochina war. The Kremlin's criticisms of Peking are hardly persuasive in view of the fact that it is no more committed to the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism than is the Mao regime.

Peking's veto clearly violated Bangladesh's right to self-determination. For while it might be asked what workers states like China and the Soviet Union are doing in the imperialist-dominated United Nations in the first place, any country that wants to join it should be allowed to do so.

This point was not overlooked by the editors of the *New York Times*, who wrote August 26 that "the self-styled champion of the 'Third World' betrayed the principles of self-determination and independence that Peking professes to support. Ironically, the veto rejects the concept of universality of U.N. membership which was a principal argument in favor of China's own belated admission to the world organization last year." □

Peking Denies Bangladesh Seat in UN

China, in its first use of its Security Council veto, voted against a resolution to admit Bangladesh to the United Nations on August 25. The resolution, which was submitted by the Soviet Union, India, Yugoslavia, and Great Britain, was supported by eleven of the fifteen members, with three abstentions. Although only China voted to oppose the entry of the new country, its vote constitutes a veto since it is a permanent member of the Security Council.

"My delegation cannot compromise on important questions of principle," explained Huang Hua, chief delegate of a regime that supported Yahya Khan's brutal efforts to suppress the revolt that led to the creation of Bangladesh, a regime that chose, in the midst of the savage bombing raids against North Vietnam last June, to begin to deliver \$300,000,000 in economic and military aid to Pakistan, including sixty MIG-19 jet fighters badly needed in Vietnam for use against American B-52s.

The formal reasons that Huang gave for his government's action were that Bangladesh was defying two United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Bangladesh and for the repatriation of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva conventions.

"Empty promises are not enough. Applicants for membership have to show their willingness to abide by the

obligations contained in the charter," Huang asserted the day before the vote, suggesting that more stringent rules hold for applicants than for a member like the United States that regularly violates the charter of an outfit that it helped create and that it dominates.

Huang preceded his veto with a bitter attack on the Soviet Union. He charged that "the sole purpose of Soviet socialist imperialism is to further control India and Bangladesh, to expand the spheres of her influence and to bully Pakistan at will." He accused the Kremlin of following a policy of "honey in mouth and dagger in heart" in its aggressive designs on many countries, "including those in Africa and the Middle East." Some of these aggressions were "about to be revealed," he predicted.

Bangladesh's foreign minister, Abdus Samad Azad, responded to the veto by describing the Peking regime's role as that of "a preacher of hatred and confrontation." "It is obvious," he charged, "that China is following a deliberate policy calculated to create tension and instability in the subcontinent."

Soviet UN representative Viktor Issraelyan sharply denounced the Chinese veto and accused Huang of "repeating the approach by the late John Foster Dulles, who also saw Soviet influence everywhere." The Soviet press agency, TASS, accused the Pe-

Dockers Touch Off Biggest Crisis Since 1926

London

The Dockers' Delegate Conference decided by fifty-three votes to thirty August 16 to call off the official dock strike. The conference voted to accept the recommendations of a committee of inquiry into the ports industry presided over by Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), and Lord Aldington, chairman of the Port of London Authority.

Several hundred dockers, lobbying to continue the strike—some arriving early in the morning from Liverpool—scuffled with a cordon of about 300 police, who had ringed the TGWU headquarters where the delegates' conference met. The decision to end the strike was met by cries of "sellout" by some delegates and by the lobbying dockers.

At one point dockers broke through the police line and interrupted a press conference being held inside by Jack Jones. Scenes of anger occurred again as union officials and delegates left the headquarters. Police reinforcements from coaches nearby, along with mounted police, were used to disperse the angry dockers.

The decision by the Dockers' Delegate Conference to end the strike was followed immediately by a meeting of the National Shop Stewards Liaison Committee, which voted to continue with unofficial action.

The official docks strike, which began July 28, was only a continuation of the unofficial action that had paralyzed ports during the previous week. The unofficial action was organized by port shop stewards in response to the jailing of five dockers' leaders. The five were imprisoned for "contempt" of a court order to end the "blacking" of a container-lorry firm employing cheap labour to do dockers' work at a private depot near the docks.

One of the dockers' grievances is that there are about 1,650 men (mainly in London and Hull) on the Temporary Unattached Register—registered dockers for whom there is no regular work. The size of this TUR is partly a consequence of redundancies brought about by changes in car-

go handling methods in the last decade. But the present level of unemployment exists despite the fact that containerization has reduced the total register from about 65,000 to 41,000 in seven years.

Of more immediate concern to the dockers is the fact that a substantial proportion of work on containers is not being done by registered dock workers. Private companies with depots outside the dockland, established for the purpose of packing and unpacking containers, are employing unregistered labour at lower wages for this purpose. The threat these companies pose to dockers' employment, already considerably eroded, has been the focus of the current dispute.

The jailing on July 21 followed months of court proceedings that were boycotted by dockers who do not recognize the government's National Industrial Relations Court. Earlier, on June 16, the dockers had forced the government to retreat from arresting three docker leaders who picketed the East London Chobham Farm depot in defiance of a court order. In a situation that could have brought down the Tory government, the Official Solicitor intervened after the deadline to stop the arrest of the three dockers. This was seen by trade unionists as an important victory for the dockers and the labour movement as a whole.

The decision this time to go ahead with arrest proceedings against five dockers came after an application brought by the Hackney-based firm, Midland Coal Storage, for action against dockers' "blacking" of the firm's lorries.

The jailing of dockers' leaders on July 21 again brought the docks to a virtual standstill. Picketing switched to Pentonville Prison where the men were held, and many other trade unionists joined dockers there to demonstrate their opposition to the Tory antiunion law. An immediate effect of the government's action was to bring lorry drivers, who were receiving the brunt of the dockers' picketing, into immediate support for their fellow trade unionists under attack.

A great wave of national and international solidarity actions followed the jailings, forcing the government to free the dockers seven days later. Writing in *The Observer* of July 30, David Wilson and Robert Chesshyre tried to sum up the week's events:

"In the space of seven days, before the men were freed again, five dockers were imprisoned and 170,000 walked out in protest—not a large proportion of Britain's 24 million working force, but enough perhaps to register the most significant challenge to the authority of any Government since the General Strike of 1926.

"With the ports and newspapers shut down, Scottish, Welsh and Yorkshire miners, Heathrow airport workers, London busmen, and market workers at Covent Garden and Smithfield on strike for the Pentonville Five—plus the TUC's call for a 24-hour strike (later rescinded but not completely abandoned by the rank-and-file)—there was more than a whiff of grapeshot in the air."

The jailing also resulted in a split in the parliamentary Labour party on the question. Mr Reg Prentice, shadow Secretary of Employment, made a public statement condemning the dockers for refusing to obey the court order, while fifty-four Labour MPs signed a Commons' motion in their support. None, however, showed any lead in mobilizing the labour movement to bring down the government.

Realizing the gravity of the situation for the government, the Official Solicitor again intervened, and the dockers were released on July 26 to cries of "victory" by the dockers. They were under no illusion that what had forced the government and the court to back down was the massive solidarity strikes sweeping the country.

The House of Lords by then had reversed an earlier Appeals Court ruling, and it was on this change in the situation—as well as the Dockers' Delegate Conference to be held the next day—that the Official Solicitor based his case to the court for releasing the jailed dockers.

The next day hundreds of dockers outside the headquarters of the Trans-

port and General Workers Union greeted the strike call of the Delegate Conference with jubilation. Dockers' delegates had rejected by thirty-eight votes to twenty-eight the recommendations to accept the interim report of the Jones-Aldington Committee. All the report offered was proposals for increasing voluntary severance pay and for absorbing unemployed dockers into the private firms.

On the dockers' release, Trades Union Congress leaders, unwilling to lead a major fight against the Industrial Relations Act and the government, called off the proposed one-day general stoppage scheduled for July 31.

Since the official strike began, British ports have been completely closed down by the dockers' pickets. International support was readily forthcoming from the International Transport Workers Federation, representing 6,000,000 workers in eighty countries, which requested affiliates not to handle ships diverted from British ports.

On August 3, the government de-

clared a state of emergency—the fourth since it took office in June, 1970. The state of emergency gave the government sweeping powers to deal with the docks crisis, including the use of troops to move cargo on the docks. The press and government mooted this latter possibility seriously.

During the strike, police were injured and many dockers arrested in violent encounters at several ports where police were used to enable lorries to cross picket lines. Dockers have been sending "flying squads" to picket private depots in various parts of the country. This was the tactic employed so successfully by the miners early in the year.

The Delegate Conference decision to end the official strike now goes to mass meetings of dockers throughout the country. Even if it is accepted there, prolonged and continuing unofficial action will almost certainly occur—especially in the main ports of London, Liverpool, and Hull where support for continuing the strike is strongest. □

concepts were fruits of the rare political insights of this comrade.

Thus from his experience in one of our most important areas of work among the masses—the ABC industrial region of São Paulo—he drew up the basic outline of the "ABC Theses" in October, 1970. Later he deepened his conclusions in "Organizational and Programmatic Questions in the Struggles of the Labor Movement," which he wrote in June, 1971.

In a similar way he drew the key ideas of the document "Against the Current—Notes for a Tactic of Fronts" from his analyses and his political discernment in face of the tremendous complexity of the ebb and the self-criticism being made in the Brazilian revolutionary left after a period of great combativeness, but also of many errors. This constitutes one of our main documents.

As Brazilian revolutionists, we know that death can come at any time. It must be taken into all our calculations; and in the most serious way. But the promising life of Comrade Nicolau was cut off very early, before the most important battles had begun. Our organization lost its best leader; the revolution lost a great fighter.

We don't want to mourn his death here. We want only to reaffirm our unbreakable determination to continue on. We want to follow his example, picking up his gun and his banners, and maintaining, as he did, complete confidence in the victory of the Brazilian proletariat. The revolution will go forward.

Comrade Nicolau, we salute you.
Forward to the final victory.

Lay Bombings to Fascists

After holding Pietro Valpreda and eleven other anarchists in prison two and a half years on "suspicion" of planting a bomb in the Banco Nazionale d'Agricoltura in Milan that killed seventeen persons on December 12, 1969, the Italian authorities have finally charged two neofascists with the terrorist act, according to an AP dispatch in the August 28 New York *Post*. The two neofascists have already served six months in jail for other bombings in Milan in late 1969. Shortly after Valpreda's arrest, the anarchist Giuseppe Pinelli jumped to his death from police headquarters, allegedly out of guilt.

Brazil

In Memory of Comrade Nicolau

[The following press release was issued by the Partido Operario Comunista (Communist Workers party) of Brazil. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The month of July was particularly tragic for our organization. A large number of comrades were imprisoned and savagely tortured. Among them was Comrade Luis Eduardo Merlino, whom we knew as "Nicolau." A few days later he was brutally murdered in the torture chambers of the Brazilian fascist police. And Nicolau was the most valiant of our cadres.

The extremely difficult conditions now reigning in Brazil, the climate of terror and oppression, the terrible institutionalized violence are well known. There are few parallels in the world today. And a militant battler must have the very best revolutionary qualities to work in such a situation.

Nicolau was a shining example of the kind of rounded fighter that our revolution demands and that unfortunately is rarely to be found in these times of ebb, in which the immense potential power of the working class still remains dormant after years of ferocious oppression.

Nicolau's tireless fighting spirit and his dedication made him an exemplary revolutionist, a leader who neither vacillated nor lost his political lucidity in the most difficult days met by our organization. Not a few times he was almost alone in combativeness and revolutionary will, heartening and inspiring his comrades in the entire organization.

Comrade Nicolau was very young in years. Politically, however, he was quite mature. Many of the most significant advances made by our organization and many of the political acquisitions marking its present basic

Rising Protest Over Witch-Hunt Trial

By Fred Feldman

The trial of forty-one Sri Lanka youths accused of participating in the April 1971 uprising is continuing despite protests by defense attorneys and growing opposition by trade unions and civil libertarians to the United Front government's effort to railroad them to prison. The forty-one are the first contingent to be singled out for public trial. Of the 18,000 youths who were seized for allegedly engaging in the uprising, at least 10,000 are still in jails and detention camps.

Among those now on trial for conspiring to "wage war against the queen" (Ceylon's "socialist" government remains in the British Commonwealth) is Rohana Wijeweera, leader of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the radical youth group that headed the uprising.

According to the August 17 *Ceylon Times*, only three of the thirty-two prisoners who appeared for trial (nine are reportedly still "at large") pleaded guilty to the charges. Attorney General Victor Tennekoon charged in his opening argument at a hearing August 10 that the youths were responsible for civilian deaths during the uprising. The government apparently hopes to use the trial to shift the blame for the massacres committed by Bandaranaike's security forces on to the young rebels.

At the August 10 session, H. N. G. Fernando, president of the Criminal Justice Commission, specially set up to try these cases, overruled defense objections that the act creating the commission was illegal, that the alleged offenses are not now punishable by law, that the suspects should not be required to plead, and that evidence should not be heard regarding suspects who are missing or dead. Fernando refused to hear any defense arguments in support of these objections.

In protest against Fernando's arbitrary rulings, five defense attorneys (G. D. C. Weerasinghe, Edmund Samarakkody, Lakshman Guruswamy, M. B. Ratnayake, and Harischandra Mendis) withdrew from the trial. This

act, plus efforts by defendants to make statements in their own defense, led Attorney General Tennekoon to directly threaten defendants and attorneys who oppose the procedures of the commission.

According to the *Ceylon Times*, Tennekoon said:

"While we pay all respect to the presumption of the innocence of the accused until they have been proven guilty, these very incidents are proof of their guilt. . . . I should not be surprised if last night they conspired to do this."

The *Ceylon Times* report continued: "He added that it might be well to remember that some of the lawyers who appeared for them were themselves declared revolutionaries without revolutionary parties and they would very willingly join this kind of conspiracy."

The *Ceylon Times* of August 24 indicated further difficulties faced by defense attorneys. Viraj Fernando, a defendant, requested that the court "leave sufficient room at the front of the dock to enable lawyers to consult with the suspects, have some officers posted to take notes from suspects to their lawyers, provide them with chairs with arm boards . . . so that they could take notes. . . ."

Commission President Fernando told the defendant that his requests would be brought to the full commission and that "he hoped they could agree to many of them."

Wijeweera charged that he had not been permitted to see a lawyer who attempted to visit him.

Although Fernando promised shortly after the defense attorneys' walkout that "in the interest of justice we will permit them [defendants] to cross-examine witnesses, to call evidence and to address when necessary," it remains to be seen whether these concessions will prove real. Only prosecution arguments and witnesses have been heard so far. The attorney general's threats against attorneys and defendants justify skepticism about

the reliability of Fernando's promises.

The increasingly isolated United Front Government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike is seeking to placate opposition by promising large-scale releases of detainees in the near future. Felix Dias Bandaranaike told a gathering that 7,000 will be released "very soon." A later statement from the Justice Ministry asserted that 4,000 would be released by mid-October. Those released would be "required to report to Rehabilitation Committees regularly."

Despite such promises, Prime Minister Bandaranaike has been making frequent speeches denouncing the island's young people and blaming them for many of the economic and political troubles faced by her government. According to the *Ceylon Times* of August 10, in one such oration Bandaranaike "appealed to youth to change their values and attitudes. . . . Referring to the insurrection she said a band of impatient men who were misguided wanted instant socialism. All they did was to put the clock back and wreck what was already achieved."

"Don't keep blaming the government and attempt revolution," she warned. "We admit our failings but we expect you to point it out to us through your MP's." To make certain that the MP's jobs would not be threatened by such "pointing out," Bandaranaike's parliament recently extended its term of office until 1978.

Bandaranaike, who has usually relied heavily on pro-Buddhist demagoguery, had some unusual words of praise for the role of the Catholic church as a mainstay of her "socialist" regime. The *Ceylon News* paraphrased her remarks: ". . . it was unfortunate that 95 per cent of youth caught up in the movement [the April 1971 insurrection] were Sinhala Buddhists. Those caught up from Catholic areas were far fewer largely because of a more organized religious system in those areas."

A recent indication of rising opposition to the seventeen-month-old state of emergency is a leaflet issued July 20 entitled "Against Repression!" The statement is signed by Prins Gunasekera, general secretary of the Human and Democratic Rights Organisation, Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (Tampoe is also the attorney for several defendants in the current trial), Keerthie

Seneviratne, president of the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union, Leslie Fernando, joint secretary of the Central Council of Ceylon Trade Unions, and M. S. Sellasamy, general secretary of the Ceylon Workers' Congress.

The leaflet calls for a one-day hunger strike to demand repeal of the Public Security and Criminal Justice Commission Acts, and the end of repression against dissenters. It represents the first such call for mass protest action issued by prominent political figures since the state of emergency was instituted in March, 1971.

The leaflet also informs readers of the July 7, 1972, resolution passed by the General Council of Advocates of Sri Lanka denouncing the Criminal Justice Commission Act, under which the current trials are taking place. □

Canada Eyes Cuba Trade

Canada appears to be moving toward increasing its trade with Cuba. Although it never acceded to the diplomatic and commercial embargo on the vulnerable island nation imposed upon nearly all of the Western Hemisphere countries by the U. S. State Department, working through the Organization of American States, Ottawa has consistently avoided any public clash with Washington over these policies.

Today, however, with the United States bogged down in the Vietnam war, Canadian officials seem ready to move a bit more boldly. As one Canadian Trade Department official told the Associated Press, "The entire global situation is beginning to loosen up."

Ottawa's heightened interest in trade with Cuba was indicated by the appointment of two trade officers to the Canadian embassy in Havana. Stuart McDowall and Gregory Darychuk will become first and third commercial secretaries. They will also hold the titles of consul and vice consul.

The two replace John Hill, who reopened the Havana trade office two years ago, following an eight-year shutdown. Hill had been listed simply as a second secretary with no reference to his commercial activities.

Canada sold \$56 million worth of goods to Cuba last year, only a fraction of its \$20 billion trade with the United States. □

Name of 'Mandel' Dragged In

Yugoslav Students Sentenced to Prison

By C. Malagnou

Miko Tripalo, the former leader of the League of Communists in Croatia who was deposed for having permitted and fostered the nationalist explosion of last November-December, has asked that he be retired at the age of forty-five. It is not likely that he will be brought to trial.

But other trials have taken place recently, several of them aimed at leftist opponents or critics of the Yugoslav political system.

Mihailo Djuric, professor of law in Belgrade, was sentenced to two years in prison for having stated—a year ago—that the new constitutional reform threatened to reshape the country along simple geographical lines. At that time *Annals*, the law faculty review, published his remarks, and this was enough for the magazine to be seized. Today Djuric has been sentenced, even though events in Croatia have proved him correct.

This sentencing, in Serbia, of an internationalist Communist militant and editor of the magazine *Praxis* on charges of Serbian "nationalism" is no doubt intended as pressure on the authorities in Zagreb to deal severely with "their" nationalists.

Around the same time, three Belgrade students accused of reconstituting the Fourth International in Yugoslavia were also brought to trial. But in large part the trial had already taken place. For all practical purposes, the press had already found the defendants guilty. This was so flagrant that the Belgrade newspaper *Student* protested against the way the weekly *Nin* had printed, in its March 5 issue, "the secrets of 'our' Trotskyists."

According to the indictment, the defendants had written a call for an "initiative group for the creation of a revolutionary party" whose principles were set down in an article (unpublished) on "the political system of a completely self-managing society."

The defense tried to explain that mere possession of books or pamphlets proves nothing, that the accusation was based on allegations and not on proof. But in vain.

The defense tried—also without success—to get the trial postponed so as to be able to hear testimony from Predrag Vranicki, newly elected rector of the University of Zagreb, a member of the *Praxis* editorial board, and an expert on questions of Trotskyism. (Vranicki published a six-volume set of works by Trotsky in Yugoslavia.) When the attorneys for the nationalist students in Zagreb requested a postponement of their trial, it was granted.

The question of Ernest Mandel came up during the trial. In November 1971 he had been invited to speak on the subject of Trotskyism at the "Red Horse" student forum in Belgrade. Through some curious mistake, the press had earlier implicated one Heinrich Mandel, who does not exist.* The advantage of this was that a "subversive" Mandel was dragged in without naming *the* Mandel, who is well known in Yugoslavia since he has been invited there officially on several occasions. In the trial, of course, such an "insertion" could not be upheld.

In his last speech to the court the defendant Pavel Imsirovic said, "Power in Yugoslavia is not in the hands of the working people . . . It is not a government of the working class." The prosecutor took this opportunity to file a new charge against him.

Two of the defendants, Milan Nikolic and P. Imsirovic, were sentenced to two years in prison. The third, Jelka Kljajic, got a year and a half.

They listened in silence to the pronouncement of the sentences, holding in their hands red carnations, the symbol of the June 1968 student revolt, the first mass protest against social inequalities and the tendencies toward capitalist restoration in Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav bureaucracy is hitting at the right and the left. It does not want any force to appear further left than itself. But through the trials of the leftists, the Yugoslav leadership's struggle against the right is shown up for what it is—a sham battle. □

* Ernest Mandel's father, long dead, was named Henri.

Solzhenitsyn Scores Soviet Bureaucracy

A lecture by Aleksander Solzhenitsyn, accepting the 1970 Nobel Prize for Literature, was published August 24 in Stockholm by the Nobel Foundation. The lecture was never delivered since Solzhenitsyn feared that he would not be permitted to return to the Soviet Union if he journeyed to Stockholm for the award ceremony.

An effort to present the Nobel medal in Moscow to the author of *Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle* broke down when Dr. Karl Ragnar Gierow, permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy (which selects the Nobel recipient), was denied an entrance visa by Soviet authorities.

In the lecture, which was submitted to the Swedish Academy for publication in its yearbook, the author describes the destruction of a generation of Soviet writers in Stalin's purges:

"Of them, I myself met but a few on the archipelago of GULAG [the central administration of the Stalinist labor camps], shattered into its fractionary multitude of islands. And beneath the millstone of shadowing and mistrust I did not talk to them all, of some I only heard, of others still I only guessed. Those who fell into that abyss already bearing a literary name are at least known, but how many were never recognized, never once mentioned in public?"

"And virtually no one managed to return. A whole national literature remained there, cast into oblivion not only without a grave, but without even underclothes, naked, with a number tagged onto its toe. Russian literature did not cease for a moment, but from the outside it appeared a wasteland. Where a peaceful forest could have grown, there remained, after all the felling, two or three trees overlooked by chance."

Decrying the continued suppression of dissent by the Soviet bureaucrats, Solzhenitsyn points to "prison sentences of 25 years, isolation cells where the walls are covered in ice and the prisoners stripped to the underclothes, lunatic asylums for the sane, and countless unreasonable people, who for some reason will keep running away, shot on the frontiers—all this is common and accepted."



ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

"But woe to that nation," Solzhenitsyn warns, "whose literature is disturbed by the intervention of power. Because that is not just a violation against 'freedom of print,' it is the closing down of the heart of the nation, a slashing to pieces of its memory."

He bitterly criticizes the refusal of the United Nations to hear the appeals of Soviet citizens protesting such treatment:

"A quarter of a century ago, in the great hopes of mankind, the United Nations Organization was born. Alas, in an immoral world, this, too, grew up to be immoral. It is not a United Nations organization but a united governments organization where all governments stand equal: Those which are freely elected, those imposed forcibly and those who have seized power with weapons."

"Relying on the mercenary partiality of the majority, the U. N. jealously guards the freedom of some nations and neglects the freedom of others. As a result of an obedient vote, it declines to undertake the investigation of private appeals—the groans, screams and beseechings of humble individual plain people—not large

enough a catch for such a great organization."

The novelist expresses gratitude for the international support he has received:

"Today, between the writers of one country and the writers and readers of another, there is a reciprocity, if not instantaneous, then almost so. I experience this with myself. All these last years, when my work and freedom have not come crashing down, when contrary to the laws of gravity they have hung suspended as though on air, as though on nothing—on the invisible dumb tension of a sympathetic public membrane—then it was with grateful warmth, and quite unexpectedly for me, that I learned of the further support of the international brotherhood of writers."

"No pressure on me came to pass by unnoticed. During my dangerous weeks of exclusion from the Writers Union, the wall of defense advanced by the world's prominent writers protected me from worse persecutions. And Norwegian writers and artists hospitably prepared a roof for me in the event of my threatened exile being put into effect."

Solzhenitsyn concludes by asking for continued support for the struggle of Soviet writers for freedom of expression:

"But writers and artists can conquer falsehood. In the struggle with falsehood, art always did win and it always will win! One word of truth shall outweigh the whole world. And it is here, on an imaginary fantasy, a breach of the principle of the conservation of mass and energy, that I base both my own activity and my appeal to the writers of the whole world." □

Correction

In the article "NPAC Issues Call for Emergency Antiwar Actions" in our July 31 issue, the date of the upcoming picket lines at federal buildings was erroneously reported as Saturday, October 28. The correct date for the picket lines is Thursday, October 26.

Jiri Pelikan's Appeal to Angela Davis

[The following open letter by Jiri Pelikan appeared in the August 31 issue of the left-liberal weekly *New York Review of Books*.

[Pelikan, as director of Czechoslovak TV, was a prominent figure in the struggle for proletarian democracy in Prague that was suppressed by Moscow in 1968.]

* * *

Dear Angela Davis,

You will perhaps be surprised that a Czechoslovak political exile should feel the need to write to you. You must have had many messages from Czechoslovakia, but you missed those from the people who would have liked to express their solidarity but could not do so because their voices are stifled, because they are in prison, condemned or awaiting trial.

I am sending you this letter in their names. I can speak and write because I have chosen, like many of my compatriots, to continue the struggle in exile.

But I'm also writing to you because, in spite of our different experiences, we have a lot in common and I think that you will understand me. You say that you became a communist because after seeing the people suffer you understood that society must be changed. So did I. I joined the Communist party in September, 1939. I was a student and I had seen my country occupied by the German Nazis. I wanted to fight for freedom and to change a system which produces wars and oppression.

You have lived through the painful experience of prison. So have I. While the Gestapo hunted me, my parents were taken as hostages: and my mother never came back from prison. I know as well as you what is meant by repression, discrimination, and suffering. Like you, I went into the revolutionary movement convinced that socialism can create a more just society for the majority of men.

The difference between us consists only in the fact that after thirty years as a militant, in October, 1969, I was expelled from the party along with some half million Czech and Slovak communists simply because we refused to consider the occupation of our small socialist country by a foreign power, itself "socialist," as "fraternal aid."

You may say that there is a big difference between American military aggression in Vietnam and the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. I agree, and that is why our people did not defend itself in arms. But the substance of the two interventions is the same: to prevent people from deciding their own destiny. You are for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. So am I. But why, four years after the intervention, are there still 80,000 Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia, in spite of the agreements between Bonn and Moscow and Warsaw, in spite of the "consolidation" many times proclaimed by Husak and Brezhnev?

I was delighted to read that after your release you said you would fight for the freedom of all the political

prisoners in the world. I hope you will do so for political prisoners in capitalist countries, but also in East European countries, especially Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

You may object that here too there is a difference: that in the United States and other Western countries it is "progressives" who are persecuted, whereas in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia it is mainly "antisocialist" elements, to use the language of official propaganda. But, Angela, ask for the list of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia and read their biographies: you'll find the overwhelming majority of them are communists or socialists.

I should like to recall a few, mostly veteran communists: Milan Hubl, rector of the party university and member of the Central Committee; Jaroslav Sabata, psychologist and member of the Central Committee; Alfred Cerny, worker, regional party secretary in Brno and member of the Central Committee; Jaroslav Litera, worker and secretary of the Prague city party committee; General Vaclav Prchlik, member of the Central Committee and of Parliament; Karel Bartosek, historian; Petr Uhl, teacher; Jiri Lederer and Vladimir Nepras, journalists; Ota Krizanovski, teacher in the party school; and hundreds of lesser-known names—intellectuals, students, workers, priests, and trade unionists.

Among the prisoners are two communist journalists who worked for a long time as correspondents in your country: Karel Kyncl for the radio and Jiri Hochman for the party daily *Rudi pravo*. From them we learned to know and to support the struggle of the American progressives against racism, McCarthyism, and the Vietnam war.

Today they have both been in prison for six months, and both are ill: Hochman with a serious form of tuberculosis and Kyncl with an ulcer. They have no contact with the outside world, inadequate medical care, no chance to choose or to consult their lawyers, no knowledge of when they will be tried. Their families, like those of most other political prisoners, are in a particularly difficult situation because their wives are prevented from working. Moreover, to collect money for the families of prisoners is considered "approval of criminal acts" and is therefore punishable by imprisonment.

Do you, Angela, consider this situation normal in a country that calls itself "socialist"? I have read about and seen on television the many messages of solidarity you received in prison and after your release. I was proud to think that there were people who were not indifferent to the fate of others; at the same time I had to think with sadness and bitterness about my friends imprisoned in Prague who cannot receive expressions of solidarity and are deprived of moral encouragement.

But, Angela, you above all have the moral right to demand of the Czech authorities what has been until now denied to journalists—permission to visit the Ruzyn Prison in Prague and to interview Karel Kyncl and Jiri Hoch-

man, both of whom speak English. Listen to them and draw your own conclusions; but above all try to help them so they can defend themselves against their accusers as you have been able to do in your own country.

But among the Czech political prisoners there are also noncommunists; you will find Catholics, Evangelists, Jews, and also those opposed to socialism. This must not be a pretext for indifference to their fate. In Czechoslovakia we have paid dearly for our failure to understand that liberty is not divisible and that injustice toward opponents will in the end turn itself back on those who commit injustice. If liberty is taken away from some of the people, it will soon die for the rest.

But prison is not the only or the main form of repression in Czechoslovakia. Tens of thousands of communists

"That is precisely why you, Angela, and the millions of people who supported you and believe in a more just socialist society with more freedom, can no longer be silent. . . ."

and other citizens have nothing to live on, being deprived of work for their political convictions. The best writers are condemned to silence, theaters that disobey are closed, the directors who made the fame of the new Czechoslovak cinema are out of work or are forced to leave the country. The theaters do not know what to put on apart from the classics and escapist comedies; the Ministry of Culture does not recommend antifascist works because the public might find "dangerous parallels" which would lead to "provocative applause."

Hundreds of thousands of citizens have been eliminated from public life. For the "sins" of their parents children may no longer study, and parents are punished for the negative attitudes of their children. Investigations are carried out as far as three generations back, to encourage denunciations.

Some people are overcome by fear and resignation. Not all have the will and the courage to defend themselves as you have done. But we too have many Angela Davises and Soledad Brothers, though they remain unknown. The best Czech writers have refused to serve the regime; after they were forbidden to publish their books in Czechoslovakia they published abroad. Now the government has applied to them taxes and regulations that allow them only 5 percent of their royalties—less than is sufficient to live on for a month. The regime hopes that they will stop writing, become tired, give in. And if a writer tells a foreign journalist what is happening he can be condemned to three years in prison for spreading information abroad that is "damaging to the interests of the State"!

The government statement announcing these measures makes it clear that they are directed against such writers as Ludvik Vaculik, Milan Kundera, Pavel Kohout, Vaclav Havel, and Ivan Klima, against the Marxist philosopher Karel Kosik (with whom you would, I think, quickly arrive at mutual understanding), against the historian Robert Kalivoda, and even against Jean [Jan] Prochaka, a writer now dead. We are one of the special countries

in which writers cannot join the Union of Writers and all literary journals have been suppressed. And what a rich and progressive literature we once had!

Hundreds of professors and teaching assistants have been fired from the University because of their political attitudes and today are working as laborers, taxi drivers, porters. Eighteen hundred journalists have been excluded from their union and prevented from working as journalists. The Student Union has been dissolved and most of its leaders condemned or forbidden to carry on studies. And most of them, Angela, are like you, communists.

It is not only a revolt of intellectuals or young people, as is sometimes asserted by Western left-wingers to justify their silence or hesitation. Four weeks ago in Prague the congress of the "normalized" trade unions (purged of more than 50,000 cadres since 1969) annulled the decisions of the preceding congress, including the right to strike. The workers are not allowed to have independent trade unions or to fight for their demands or to protest against the dismissal of comrades, against production schedules and bad working conditions. The Workers' Councils, formed in 1968 and dissolved in 1969, have been defined by the party leadership as "instruments of counterrevolution." Isn't that absurd for a so-called "working-class" state?

When I describe all that, without the slightest pleasure but with shame and sorrow, to my Western friends, they reply that of course it's a disagreeable situation but that one mustn't say so too openly so as not to "play into the hands of socialism's enemies," and that one must start from "a class position." But what "class" can benefit if people are arrested without trial, if trade unions are enslaved, if all free discussion is suppressed, if socialist countries accuse each other of imperialism, betrayal, revisionism, and invade each other by turns?

If they mean the working class, then that of Czechoslovakia has made it clear that it does not consider the present regime socialist.

That is precisely why you, Angela, and the millions of people who supported you and believe in a more just socialist society with more freedom, can no longer be silent about the violation of human rights in the countries that call themselves "socialist" and by their behavior discredit socialism more than any reactionary propaganda.

That is why I suggest to you and to those who supported you sincerely, not just for easy demagogic propaganda:

1) demand the release of all political prisoners in the world, in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Iran, the United States, and also in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union;

2) protest against the violation of human rights—especially the right to freedom of expression and organization, to strike, to emigrate, to work and to study without discrimination throughout the world;

3) demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

I assure you, Angela, that not only I but many other people are waiting for a reply, or better still for you to act. I don't say that on it depends the fate of our imprisoned comrades and the struggle for freedom and independence of our people. We learned in 1938 that at the moment of foreign aggression we are always alone and must count above all on our own strength. But we should be happy to have you with us, as we have been with you. □