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Aftermath of the Trelew Massacre



Mario Roberto Santucho, leader of the Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP) and organizer of recent prison break in Argentina. He was among guerrillas who fled to Chile and then went on to Havana, where they received a warm welcome.

***U.S. Officials
Foresee
'Unending War'***

***Is Chile
Heading Toward
a Showdown?***

***More Proof
of Systematic
Bombing of Dikes***

***Communist Parties
Split on
Czech Witch-Hunt***

Go for Their Eyeballs

When it comes to inventing mechanical devices, few are ahead of the Yankees at the patent office.

This has been demonstrated over and over in the Vietnam war. The use of napalm to roast babies is an example. Needle bombs can be cited. White phosphorous, too. And "smart bombs."

All these may soon be eclipsed, however, by a device on which research is being done for the 6570th Aerospace Medical Research Laboratory at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. It involves "giant pulse lasers."

According to Washington columnist Jack Anderson laboratory models have already been used "to bring rabbit and monkey eyes to the boiling point, causing bleeding and an actual explosion in the eye."

In his August 5 column, Anderson quotes from a classified research document: "Retinal exposures to unattenuated Q-switch laser beams resulted in vaporization of . . . tissue with the production of relatively massive blast and hemorrhagic effects in addition to extensive retinal burns . . ."

"This is important in considering the anti-personnel weapon applications of the lasers . . . It would not matter upon which portion of the retina the image was formed because the resulting micro-explosion of the tissue would lead to blindness."

Military scientists told Anderson that the "weapons could be reduced to backpack size and aimed at enemy officers by use of high-power telescopic lenses. The beam would cover a circle with a diameter of several feet.

"Any eye in that area would be destroyed if it was exposed to the ray for even a split instant . . ."

For U. S. taxpayers who might demur at the cost of producing such a weapon, the Pentagon's thinking might prove persuasive: "By blinding instead of killing, the weapons would cause endless grief not only to the victim, but to the authorities who would have to take care of blinded soldiers."

Asked for comment, a Pentagon "expert" told Anderson that the material remained "classified."

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Bombing of Dikes 'Systematic and Deliberate'

Not only are U.S. bombing raids on North Vietnam deliberately directed against that country's intricate hydraulic system, but the bombs are aimed specifically at those sections of the dikes, sluice-gates, and dams that are most vulnerable and whose destruction would lead to the greatest possible number of deaths on the plains surrounding the Red River delta.

This was the conclusion of Yves Lacoste, one of the members—along with former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and former Irish Foreign Minister Sean McBride—of an investigative team sent in August to North Vietnam by the International Commission of Inquiry into U.S. Crimes in Indochina.

Lacoste is specially qualified to assess the potential effects of the U.S. bombings. He is a professor of geography at the University of Paris. The August 16 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* published Lacoste's account of what he saw in Vietnam.

He first described the magnitude of the U.S. attacks on the dikes: "From April 16 to July 31 (and the bombings are continuing in the month of August as well), the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's hydraulic system was subjected to more than 150 attacks. It was seriously hit in ninety-six different areas.

"The International Commission of Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes studied in particular the effects of these bombings on the dikes in the Red River delta. This region, in fact, encompasses a majority of the country's population and also suffered the greatest number of hits—fifty-eight out of the ninety-six attacks."

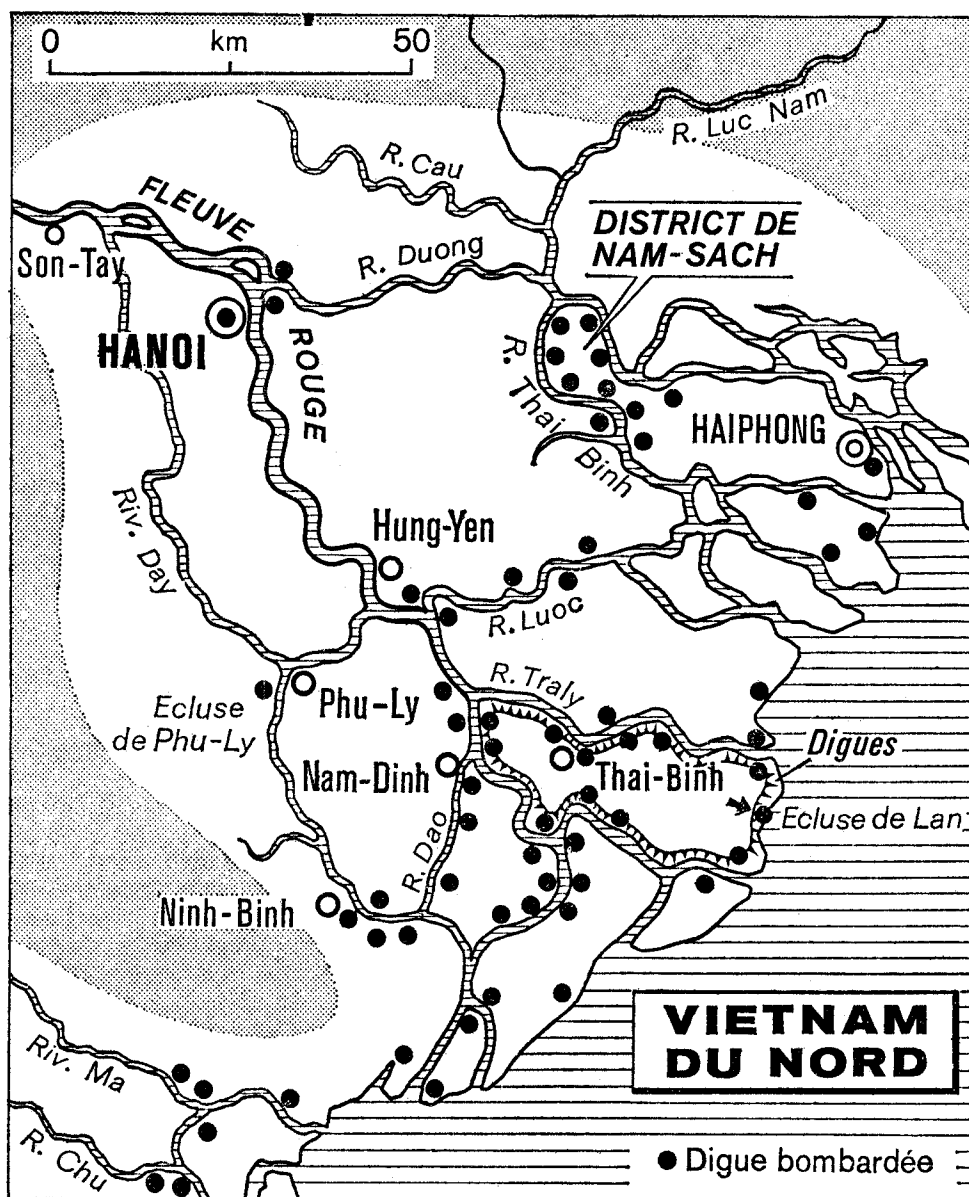
Lacoste notes that Nixon's claim that some dikes may have been hit accidentally because of their "immediate proximity" to military targets is untenable: "If one carefully examines a map of the points where dikes have been hit, one conclusion is inescapable: with only four exceptions (two near Hanoi and two on the sluice-gate at Phully on the Day River), all the points hit, that is, fifty-four of the fifty-eight, are in the eastern part of the delta, from the Nam Sach

district of Tai Binh province in the north to the Nam Dinh and Ninh Binh districts in the south. Moreover, the American administration recognizes this fact and, in seeking arguments in its own defense, claims that bombings aimed at provoking serious floods would have to be directed against the western section of the delta, which is exactly the part that has been spared. But an examination of the geographical conditions dictates the opposite conclusion."

Lacoste divides the Red River delta into two parts—the western, high delta, where the rivers flowing directly

out of mountains subjected to severe erosion have created numerous alluvial deposits, and the eastern, low delta, where the rivers and streams, which have deposited their alluvium in the headwaters, flow along natural levees that are not as high and are separated by wide, more or less flat areas whose elevation is extremely low.

"As the waters of the various branches of the Red River meander toward the sea," Lacoste writes, "it is in the eastern delta that one finds the greater part of the submergible areas. In the high [western] delta, most of the vil-



Le Monde

lages are located on the heights of alluvial deposits that clearly dominate the lower regions. But in the low [eastern] delta most of the villages are beneath the elevation of the rivers, in areas that would be flooded if the dikes burst. It is just this area that has been hit the most. If the bombs were aimed not at dikes but at military targets, they would have to fall throughout the whole delta. The high delta, the area around Hanoi, has been the object of many bombings which curiously have not touched the dikes."

But the regions in which the bombs have fallen is not the only indication that the attacks on dikes are deliberate. A more detailed examination of the structure of North Vietnam's hydraulic system provides clearer proof.

"One of the most striking examples," Lacoste notes, "is provided by the southern part of Thai Binh province, between the Red River itself in the south and one of its tributaries (which forms the Traly River) in the north. These two rivers, both of which flow on alluvial deposits, form a sort of long drain opening toward the sea in the east. The agricultural development of this "bin," in which more than 600,000 persons live today, was made possible by building both the river dikes and the coastal dikes, which prevent the area from being inundated by sea water. But to maintain the system, the rain waters that fall on this vast drain must be drawn off at low tide. This is the important role of the sluice-gate at Lan.

"The bombings have been aimed at the critical points of this complex hydraulic system, and in the first place at the Lan sluice-gate. Between May 24 and July 29, this gate was attacked nine times. Despite this destruction, three new raids were carried out during the first week of August on this gate, which is far from any other target. No doubt the new raids were an attempt to make repair of the gate impossible. So the rain waters, no longer able to be drained off to the sea, are beginning to accumulate in the rice paddies where a good part of the harvest can be written off as a loss."

Lacoste reports that there have been four bombing attacks on the Traly River dikes in the north and three on the Red River dikes in the south, most of them directed against the lowest

points, where the water pressure is greatest. In several of these cases, the bombs were of the delayed-action type. Of the fourteen bombs dropped July 14 on the Red River dike near the village of Tan Lap, thirteen exploded at delayed intervals ranging from six hours to three weeks. The effect on repair operations of lacing attacked dikes with bombs that may go off at any moment without warning needs little comment.

The U. S. "operation" in the southern part of Thai Binh province, Lacoste concludes, "can be summed up as follows: On the one hand, to provoke breaks in the dikes at their most sensitive points—breaks which, in spite of repairs, threaten to reopen when the big swells come. (It is in fact very difficult to compact the earth for repairs. The ground is already waterlogged from the summer rains, and repaired areas of the dikes therefore remain quite fragile.) On the other hand, to block off the sluice-gates so as to hinder the drainage of water to the sea. Thus, at the very least,

part of the rice crop is ruined and the food supply for 600,000 people is reduced. At the most, if rises in the river are very great, many villages that are below the elevation of the alluvial deposits threaten to be quickly submerged in case of a severe rupture of the dikes. These villages are in areas where the dikes have been imperfectly repaired because of the new bombings."

To top off the "operation," the coastal dikes are continually bombarded by Seventh Fleet artillery.

One thing that can be said for Richard Nixon and the U. S. ruling class is that they are thorough. Lacoste concludes his report by advancing one more piece of evidence of the "total and systematic character" of the bombing of the dikes. The "Nha May Gho Khi factory near Hanoi, which manufactures equipment necessary for repairing sluice-gates and other hydraulic installations, was razed on August 5 by an especially intense (2,000-pound bombs) and precise bombing attack." □

Thieu Cracks Down on Saigon Press

American Officials Foresee 'Unending War'

By David Thorstad

"It has been five months since the North Vietnamese offensive began, and the fighting is now looking increasingly like a draw. The battles ignited by North Vietnam's Easter offensive are still raging, and others are likely before this phase of the war is ended."

This observation by *New York Times* analyst Malcolm Browne, writing from Saigon August 30, is not only an admission of the failure of the Nixon administration to crush the Vietnamese revolution under the most intensive bombing in the history of warfare, it is also a prediction of an indefinite continuation of the imperialist assault on Indochina. According to Browne, "almost all South Vietnamese and American military planners" are in agreement that "the end of the war is nowhere in sight. . . ."

This forecast of continued bloodletting was being made by officials in Saigon at the end of August shortly

after two days of talks between presidential adviser Kissinger and South Vietnamese puppet President Nguyen Van Thieu. "Two weeks after Henry A. Kissinger's surprise visit to Saigon," reported *New York Times* correspondent Craig Whitney from Saigon August 31, "high-ranking American officials here are talking privately not of a breakthrough in the peace talks, but, rather, of the possibility of unending war." The South Vietnamese dictator, he said, "has never seemed more confident of continued American backing of his policy of 'four nos'—one of which is no imposition of a coalition government with the Communists in the south."

Predictions of continued war by U. S. officials in Saigon followed on the heels of President Nixon's August 29 news conference in San Clemente, California, during which he declared he had no intention of halting the murderous bombing of Vietnam be-

fore a negotiated end of the war. "Unless there is progress on the negotiating front which is substantial there will be no reduction of the bombing of North Vietnam and there will be no lifting of the mining," he asserted. He replied "absolutely not" when asked if he might "call off the bombing or slacken it" in the absence of "substantial" progress. He refused to put any time limit on U.S. involvement in the war.

Nixon attempted to help blur the arrogance of his statement by having his presidential press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, announce just prior to his news conference that American troops in Vietnam would be reduced by 12,000 over the next three months. The reality, of course, is that in the five months of the current offensive, Nixon has not only vastly escalated the air war over Indochina, but he has increased the number of troops involved in the imperialist assault.

"The number of uniformed Americans waging air-sea war in Indochina from Thailand, Guam and ships of the Seventh Fleet has been virtually doubled since March to a current total of about 100,000, noted the *New York Times* in an editorial August 30.

In reply to questions, the newspaper reported the same day, Ziegler conceded that there are now between 77,000 and 83,000 American personnel in Thailand and in ships off Vietnam engaged in the air attacks on North Vietnam. This represents a commitment of more than 30,000 additional men since March 30, when the Vietnamese offensive began.

The North Vietnamese denounced Nixon's troop withdrawal announcement as nothing more than an attempt to deceive world opinion. "The decision by Mr. Nixon to withdraw a small number of soldiers is insignificant, when one sees that during the last months he has thrown massively into the Vietnam war of aggression more than 100,000 soldiers," they declared.

Two days before Nixon's news conference, U.S. fighter-bombers stepped up their attacks in the Hanoi and Haiphong region, reported the Associated Press from Saigon August 28. The U.S. Command claimed that the raids were the heaviest in the area in four and a half years, and that 174 buildings were destroyed or damaged in attacks on twenty targets. The

"prime target" was the Xombai army barracks northwest of Hanoi, "hit for the first time in the war."

On September 2, U.S. Air Force jets reportedly "wrecked" the Phucyen airfield, one of North Vietnam's biggest air bases, ten miles north of Hanoi. According to Associated Press, the strikes against the base "were the first attacks on that base in four and a half years."

Pilots involved in the raid "reported that their 2,000-pound laser-guided bombs and 500-pound general-purpose bombs left craters in the 9,000-foot concrete runway at the North Vietnamese base.

"The bombs, the pilots added, also wrecked the control tower, operations center, a hangar and more than eight support and maintenance buildings and set fire to underground jet-fuel storage depots."

Even as Nixon was attempting to project a tone of optimism despite the transparent failure of imperialist policy in Vietnam, there were several signs of further deterioration of the situation in the South. On August 30, for instance, the puppet government announced the seizure of three daily newspapers accused of criticizing the government, and pointed out that a court had sentenced the alleged perpetrators of sixty other press violations.

One of the newspapers, *Dien Tin*, was seized because of an article "the content of which was considered slanderous to the executive branch," according to the Information Ministry.

The other two, *Dong Nai* and *Thach Do*, were seized for printing articles "the contents of which were harmful to the national security [and] likely to sow confusion among the masses."

The government has also given Saigon's approximately forty-five newspapers one week to comply with a new rule that they put up large bonds against possible future fines for violations. The bond — about \$47,000 for each publication — is considered to be so large that only a handful of publishers will be able to pay it.

A dramatic indication that all is not well in South Vietnam is the revelation that a senior colonel in possession of valuable information, Colonel Nguyen Quoc Tuan, has deserted the South Vietnamese army and is now residing in France. *Christian Sci-*

ence Monitor correspondent Daniel Southerland reported September 1 that "it now has been learned from reliable sources that the colonel left with a briefcase full of valuable papers. He was an officer of wide experience and considerable knowledge about the South Vietnamese armed forces." "Expert observers" do not expect the colonel to keep the information to himself.

"I think he figured the GVN [Government of Vietnam] was a sinking ship and decided to get out," an unnamed American source told Southerland.

On August 31, Southerland reported a "highly unusual" investigation of Lieutenant General Nguyen Van Vy for alleged manipulations of a multi-million dollar army savings fund. It is "unusual" because generals are assumed to be corrupt in South Vietnam; this leads some army officers to charge that if General Vy, whom American officials used to describe as "one of the most honest generals" in the South Vietnamese army, is being investigated, it is to make him a scapegoat for top government officials, including Thieu.

"After years of hoping for a determined battle against corruption," Southerland wrote, "most experienced observers here, including quite a few American officials, have concluded that corruption is so 'systematic' among many high-ranking Vietnamese officers that a drastic change can only come with a complete change of government." □

21-Gun Salute Outmoded

"Several years ago . . . General Moshe Dayan, during a visit to Vietnam, was given a complimentary demonstration of US firepower. When it was finished, he commented to his American hosts: 'In a 500-metre square, in the space of 20 minutes, you have detonated more explosives than Israel used in the Six-Day War, the Suez Campaign and the War of Independence combined.'" — *Far Eastern Economic Review*, August 19.

Chemicals Draw Lightning?

Fifty-four caribou were found dead last June at a former site of a U.S. army chemical, biological, and radiological laboratory south of Fort Greely, Alaska. Many Alaskans believe the cause of death may have been nerve gas or something similar.

Biologists are not ruling this out. However, they are weighing the army's claim that it was lightning bolts that did it.

Toward a Confrontation in Chile?

By Gerry Foley

"This mass of people has gathered together to tell the president of the republic that nothing and nobody can divide the democrats of Chile. We want to tell the president and the Unidad Popular party that we are going to win two thirds of the congressional seats in the next elections so that we can take power and tie the hands of the individuals who are destroying the Chilean nation. We will use all our legal rights to fight the government because it is incapable of giving us bread and it is incapable of giving us peace. Let this mass rally be a gigantic cry of warning to the Marxist spiders that are weaving their webs with the idea of dominating the people, let them know that we will regain power for liberty, for bread, for justice, and for the freedom of Chile."

In its August 27 issue, the reactionary Chilean weekly *El Mercurio* quoted this passage from the speech of the rightist congressman Sergio Diez. Diez was speaking at a rally in Valparaiso sponsored to express "an energetic condemnation of the government and its economic policy that is producing scarcity."

In another passage, Diez denounced the popular front government in even more provocative terms:

"You can't play games with the patience of the people or with their hunger by subjecting them to ration cards and the dictates of the Communist party."

Immediately below its report on the Valparaiso rally, *El Mercurio* published the answer of the Political Committee of Unidad Popular to the wave of reactionary agitation that has been sweeping Chile:

"We are duty bound to advise the public that the country is experiencing moments of the most extreme gravity in which not only its institutions are in danger but even the lives of its citizens. The activity of the right and in general of all the opposition parties has reached such extremes that we can no longer have any doubt that they are seeking a real confrontation.

"Parliamentary obstruction, insults, slander, and distortion of the facts in all the news media, the incitement to violence of the rightist armed groups continually in action on the streets and in the rural areas throughout the country, and the sabotage of the government's measures are designed to produce chaos to enable the social classes that have traditionally exploited the national wealth in open partnership with imperialism to regain power. . . .

"We have avoided violence and we will not permit the right to use it with impunity. As we have repeatedly stated, the people will support revolutionary violence against reactionary violence. We condemn the Phariseism of the right which makes democratic declarations while it organizes armed groups.

"The government and the people cannot tolerate any more murders of worker compañeros. We will repel outrages and assaults against our ministers. We will confront the struggle on all levels because we are sick of the cynicism and arrogance of the enemies of the people."

The events of the past weeks seem dramatic enough to justify a strong response from the popular front regime. Under the fire of imperialist reprisals and capitalist economic pressures, the government of Salvador Allende is facing a serious campaign of sabotage by the local business community as well as attempts to organize reactionary mass campaigns against the regime that could pave the way for a military coup or civil war. In an editorial August 23, the authoritative Paris daily *Le Monde* commented:

"The present situation should worry the ruling left coalition. Right-wing commandos have seized on the general strike of the shopkeepers—who have mobilized in protest against tax agents and police searching determinedly for hoarded goods and professional black marketeers—as a pretext for going into the streets.

"The authorities cannot avoid trying to impose this kind of controls, since they are faced with a growing scarcity of foodstuffs. But besides generally proving futile, these controls have shown that the government is increasingly losing its grip on the economy of the country."

With a galloping inflation following on the heels of the major wage increases won by the workers in the upsurge that brought the Unidad Popular to power and impelled the early nationalizations, the cost of living has increased by 33 percent in the past year. In order to limit the erosion of the workers' wages, the regime has tried to impose price controls. The shopkeepers have resisted, backed by the right-wing parties and their supporters in the state bureaucracy.

The shopkeepers' associations seized on the death of a store owner, who died of a heart attack while his store was being searched, to declare a national strike of retailers. In answer to this call, most shops reportedly closed throughout the country on August 21. In retaliation, the government ordered the police to open the shops by force. Right-wing groups took advantage of these incidents to create disturbances:

"The public reacted violently against the agents sent to open the doors of closed shops," *El Mercurio* wrote, "and they were prevented from carrying out their task, being forced to flee despite police protection. . . .

"The public almost unanimously condemned the order to open the stores as unreasonable. Because of the late hour, they said, no one could buy anything, and the situation, moreover, threatened to provoke worse disorders than those that caused the storekeepers' strike."

Violent incidents continued through the night of August 21-22, resulting in 300 arrests and the declaration of a state of emergency in the Chilean capital of Santiago. A dispatch in the August 23 *Le Monde* gave this description of how the fighting started:

"It was toward midnight when groups of young people belonging to the extreme rightist organization Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Liberty] came onto the streets of the capital, armed with clubs and iron bars, and tried to block traffic. Shortly afterward, groups of women and young girls from the residential areas

gathered at corners beating rhythmically on pots and pans to protest against rising prices and the lack of certain consumer goods on the market."

A UP dispatch in the August 23 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Prensa* gave some additional details:

"Groups of demonstrators built barricades in some streets and lit bonfires to block traffic. Frenzied individuals tried to burn two trolley-buses; they took the seats out of one and burned them in the middle of the street."

Other groups of demonstrators tried to get at members of the government:

"During the clashes, the groups roaming the streets tried to get to the homes of the minister of the economy, Carlos Matus, and the minister of labor, Mireya Baltra, but were halted by the police."

The sole woman member of Allende's cabinet, Mireya Baltra, complained, however, that the rightist mob had stoned her car.

At the same time as the apparently coordinated actions of the women protesters and the rightist goon squads, the Christian Democratic dominated student government of the University of Santiago called a strike over a campus issue.

In the meantime, farm owners, rightists, and police seemed to be stepping up their violent attacks on workers, peasants, and homeless people who have been pressing their demands by direct action. In Puerto Montt in the far south of the country two farm owners and a bailiff invaded a peasant settlement on August 25 to take back an expropriated pump and other agricultural implements. In the course of the operation they killed a sixteen-year-old boy, Luis Hernán Rivas González, as well as a forty-seven-year-old peasant, Alberto Rivas González. Six other peasants were wounded. "The farm owners were unhurt," the August 27 *El Mercurio* reported.

In Los Angeles, another town in the south, one peasant was killed and four wounded on August 23 when rightists attacked the office of MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Unitaria—United Action Movement, one of the far left parties in the UP].

"The violence unleashed last Monday [August 21] following a national storekeepers' strike . . . has spread to the provinces, where the opposi-

tion has been organizing 'hunger' marches and clashes between peasants and farm owners have taken the lives of three agricultural workers," a UPI dispatch reported in the August 28 issue of *El Diario-La Prensa*, a Spanish-language daily published in New York.

More violence in the Chilean capital was reported September 2 in a UPI dispatch from Santiago:

"Communist and Socialist militants fought rightist elements with flaming gasoline bombs, bamboo poles, rocks and fists . . . and dozens of storefronts were smashed."

In reporting the events of the fourth week in August, *El Mercurio* made it clear that the right intended to defend its interests by paramilitary force. It defended the ultrarightist goon squads in almost the same language that was used to justify the activity of the Brown Shirts and the Black Shirts during the rise of fascism in Europe: "These organizations arose precisely at a time when the streets were completely dominated by the extreme left and the countryside was at the mercy of land seizures organized by the revolutionary groups of the ultraleft."

The right was clearly defying the authority of the government. And on August 25, Allende's minister of the interior, Jaime Suárez, threatened to outlaw the Patria y Libertad organization and the Comando Rolando Matus of the Partido Nacional [National party, the main far-right formation] as paramilitary groups. Thus, at the end of August the arena of political and social conflict in Chile seemed to be shifting rapidly from the parliament to the streets.

Unfortunately, the left government's strong words about suppressing ultrarightist provocations and paramilitary activity were contradicted by its actions. It was ironic, for example, and probably did not go unnoticed by the right, that in the very same issue in which *El Mercurio* reported the Unidad Popular's ringing evocation of "revolutionary violence," the article directly above on the reactionary rally in Valparaíso ended with this succinct note:

"As the rally ended, sections of the left provoked disturbances in the Plaza Victoria sector and the Barrio del Puerto.

"Large numbers of riot police acted

promptly and cleared the areas where incidents occurred with tear gas and mobile water cannon."

In its August 15 issue, the far left biweekly *Punto Final* asked a pertinent question: "Who Controls the Police?"

"The events in the 'Moncada Attack' camp of homeless people have gravely disturbed the working class, showing dramatically the contradiction that exists when a government proposes to begin building socialism and at the same time retains the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. This repressive apparatus moves by its own weight. It was created to intimidate the dispossessed classes. Only a little push is needed, a judicial or administrative order, for its ferocity to be unleashed against the working people.

"In fact, this tendency inherent in the police apparatus operates without regard for the desires of any authorities in the government. This tendency of the police forces aggravates the dangerous deviation affecting the entire process. We are referring to the counterrevolutionary factor of reformism. Those who want to put a bit and bridle on the working class to prevent it from moving forward have made a dogma of the need for repressing what they disparagingly call the 'ultraleft.'

"Alien to the process of class struggle, the reformists who occupy high positions in the government rage against anything that constitutes a defiance of their policy of imposing their authority over everything and conciliating the bourgeoisie.

"In May, for example, they unleashed a repression in Concepción, killing one student, when the mass organizations of almost the entire left mobilized against the reaction. The pretext was the need to smash the 'ultraleft.' Today in Santiago, fired up by their main preoccupation, their desire to physically combat the revolutionary sectors inside and outside the UP, they have murdered a worker in a fascistlike police raid."

The police raid on the 'Moncada Attack' camp in the district of Lo Hermina in Santiago occurred August 5. *Punto Final* described the events on the basis of accounts by the people living in the area.

"It was not yet 6:00 in the morning when René Saravia [the peasant who

was killed] left his hut in the 'Lulo Pinochet' camp to go to work. He washed himself at the pump. He had 2,500 escudos [200 escudos equal US\$1.00 on the black market]. 'He was thinking about asking permission to get off early because he had just gotten paid and was going to get married on the eighteenth,' his cousin said.

"He was walking along the rubbish-strewn streets which were still in semi-darkness.

"It was 6:00 in the morning when we heard the loudspeakers,' Carlos Sánchez, the delegate for Block No. 9, explained. 'They said that as an organized camp of homeless people we should go out to defend the government, which was in danger, and that we had to line up outside. And so the compañeros started to leave their houses, and as they were going out the police started shooting.'

"Machine-gun bursts were sharpened by the crack of exploding tear-gas grenades. With flares, the police lit up the streets to invade the homes of the squatters, while they arrested those who had gone out into the road." The police said that they were looking for stolen property and weapons.

Sánchez commented: "They fired a grenade at my hut, it broke through the roof, and the liquid fell inside. They didn't pay any attention to the fact that there are infants only a few months old in some of those huts. If the people are the government and the privileged ones are the children [as the UP slogans claim], then they [the police] don't know about it."

The August 15 *Punto Final* carried the following headline on its cover: "Only the Communist Party Approved the Atrocity in Lo Hermina." In an article entitled "Reformism Stymies the UP," the editors explained:

"Reformism needs not only to assure the bourgeoisie an acceptable rate of profit and to hold off the imperialists by giving them concessions. It also needs to hold back the classes that historically are struggling for socialism, that is, the exploited. Therefore, the reformists have invented the derogatory term of 'ultraleft' for those sectors that are fighting to go forward. . . .

"It has become sufficiently clear after the tragic incident in the 'Moncada Attack' camp that reformism engen-

ders repression, that it is capable, as a result of this, of dragging the government into the most complete isolation and leaving it at the mercy of its enemies.

"On the other hand, the peasants of Lautaro and the workers of Concepción, rising above the sorrow and rage inspired by repression under a people's government, have shown the way forward clearly—revolutionary unity. President Allende's government has legitimate claims for remaining at the head of the masses. But it must see the lesson of its errors in time. It must acknowledge that conciliating the enemies of the workers is leading it to a break with the workers themselves."

To prove their point about the logic of class collaborationism, the editors of *Punto Final* pointed to the police attack on a revolutionary demonstration in Concepción on May 12.

The Christian Democrats got permission from the Communist party governor of Concepción Province, Vladimir Chávez, to hold an opposition rally. At the same time the governor refused a permit for a rally by the revolutionary left. Then Chávez canceled the Christian Democrats' permit, seeing the provocative intent of the rally. But they went ahead, arguing that they wanted to "enrich Chilean democracy by forms of civil disobedience." When all the UP parties except the CP joined in a united front that included a number of trade unions, and tried to stage a counterdemonstration rather than let the right take the streets without opposition, Chávez turned the police against the counterdemonstrators. A student was killed.

The rightist offensive has come at a time when it is clear that the UP government is losing popular support. It has done badly in recent legislative by-elections, and the Christian Democrats and rightists have succeeded even in winning a third of the votes in the elections in the country's largest union, the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Workers' Federation].

In answer to arguments from the CP and other reformists about the need for conciliating the 'middle strata,' *Punto Final* wrote in its June 6 issue: "The so-called 'middle strata,' where the Christian Democrats and its right-wing allies get most of their

electoral strength, tend to support the forces that hold the power. In the last period the firmest political line presented to the masses has come from the conservative opposition led by the Christian Democrats.

"In the period from September 1970 to April 1971, when the UP was moving ahead, taking over industries, banks, ranches, nationalizing copper, nitrates, etc., these social sectors gave their support to the government. The main beneficiary of the elections was the Socialist party. The Radical party, a reliable political barometer, did not hesitate to call itself Marxist. The Christian Democrats suffered a new split, with the formation of the Izquierda Cristiana [Christian Left]. In a nutshell, new contingents coming from the 'middle strata' joined a current that seemed irresistible."

The main result of the government's increasingly conciliatory line, according to *Punto Final*, was that now not only had the "middle classes" moved away from the UP government but "the opposition grouped behind the Christian Democrats has shown important strength among the workers. There could not be a graver symptom of the way the reactionary strategy is winning the masses."

In the July 18 issue of *Punto Final*, Pedro Felipe Ramírez, the deputy secretary of the Izquierda Cristiana, argued that the UP leadership's course of trying to reach an agreement on a common program with the Christian Democrats was increasing the strength of the right:

"Thus far the UP has wavered between the masses and the superstructure in seeking the political strength that it needs to carry the process of change forward. Many of the enterprises today in the hands of the workers were won fundamentally by appealing for the support of the masses. The institutional conflicts with the parliament, the courts, and the supervisory agency have tended, however, to lead to confrontations in which the government has not based itself on the masses but has sought a superstructural solution. In general this confuses the masses. They can't understand why the right-wing liberals are friends one day and enemies the next.

"One day they attack the Christian Democrats and the next day they praise them. One day they say that the Chilean courts defend the interests

of the ruling class and the next day they condemn the peasants who rebel against a rightist, provocative judge. How can the people know who their friends are and who their enemies are? And if the most conscious sectors of the masses are confused, what can you expect of the peasants, the shantytown dwellers, and the workers who, victims of their alienation, support the Christian Democrats and even the Partido Nacional?"

A sharp demarcation in political lines, thus, seems to be developing in the UP and among its supporters. The left forces in the coalition are calling for mobilizing the people and forming organizations directly representative of the masses to combat the rightist offensive. The Communist party opposes this. One of its most sophisticated spokesmen has argued, for example, that "dual power exists in the form of a dividing line in the

state apparatus." That is, the executive branch (that must mean Allende, since it obviously does not include the police) is revolutionary, while the other branches are counter-revolutionary. (Cf. *Chile: Una Economía de Transición?* by Sergio Ramos Córdova.)

For his part, Allende has denounced the attempt to form a mass revolutionary united-front organization in Concepción as "divisive." The solution, he says, is a big vote for the UP in the 1973 congressional elections:

"To overcome the roots of this political conflict, the most important thing is to win the general parliamentary elections in 1973. A popular majority in congress will make it possible to give impetus to the institutional and legal changes necessary for freeing the country from underdevelopment and ending the power of the revanchist opposition to engage in obstruction." □

munique does not say so, this is the only way the approximately thirty shots could be fired one by one).

As for the officer, by providentially escaping from the grip of Pujadas and lying flat on the ground he saved himself completely from the rain of lead that struck the presumably fleeing prisoners. How would President Lanusse explain this difference in assessment? As the psychological workings of "conscious or unconscious allies"?

But there is something that neither of the military sources has said anything about. How did it happen that such "dangerous" elements, whose military talents and discipline were deemed excellent by Colonel Luis María Perlinger, lost their heads to such an extent that they attacked the guards when they had nothing but the one weapon previously wrested from its owner? Moreover, had not the guerrillas traveled the road to the base so that they knew that the only cover they could find for at least three kilometers was low bushes? Or could the same people who had surrendered in the Trelew airport, even though they then held innumerable hostages, have come to think that they could overpower all the personnel on the base?

However, aside from all speculation, it would be interesting to know in what manual the guard officer learned to make patrols between a double line of prisoners, carrying his weapon. Any ordinary prison guard knows that that is absurd. Even in military prisons they observe the custom of not carrying arms while checking on prisoners, lest these weapons fall into the inmates' hands. But besides this, was the passageway so wide that the marine did not think he had to worry about having his machine gun taken away from him? □

From Issue of Magazine Seized by Police

Some Pertinent Questions for Lanusse

[In their August 29 issue, the editors of the Buenos Aires magazine *Primera Plana* raised some questions for consideration by the military government of President Alejandro Lanusse and his commanders. Since this issue was seized by the police, the questions were evidently highly embarrassing to the governing cabal. Some copies of the banned magazine were nevertheless missed by the censors. The following translation of a section of the banned article is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

After listening to Vice Admiral Hermes Quijada on Friday night [August 25], Argentines were left a little confused. If the explanation of the head of the joint chiefs was intended to clarify some of the murky aspects of the episode in the Trelew naval air base, it clearly did not succeed. On the contrary, it created some additional doubts.

The account of the events, accompanied by excellent sketches illustrating the settings and the action, began

by contradicting the version of the Emergency Zone Command that was made public by the Télam agency at noon on Tuesday itself [August 22].

On that occasion, the military communiqué stated that after the guerrilla Mariano Pujadas had overpowered the guard officer, the prisoners tried to use him as a hostage to cover their escape. But the "officer managed to break free and was fired on and wounded. In these circumstances, the guards returned the fire of the prisoners, who rushed toward the exit, headed by Pujadas." The weapon Pujadas was using was the one he had taken from the officer—a machine pistol.

The report of the Joint Chiefs of Staff differed. Quijada, who must not be a very avid newspaper reader, assured us with the greatest equanimity that Pujadas did not fire his weapon at the officer but at the guards who were covering the only exit. And what is more, he did this on two occasions, making use of the mechanism that machine pistols have for firing one shot at a time (although the com-

New and Improved Hot Dog

The pink in the famed American hot dog has been obtained up to now by adding sodium nitrate and sodium nitrite. Beginning September 12, the U.S. Agriculture Department has authorized—despite the protests of representatives of consumers—the addition of sodium acid pyrophosphate, making it possible to add the pink at a 25 percent faster rate.

Bacterial counts may well rise as a result of the speedup; but this will be more than outweighed by the rise in profits.

Aftermath of the Trelew Massacre

By Gerry Foley

"The Shortland tank struck once against the iron gate of the national headquarters of the Peronist movement. Once was enough. Next came the gas, and a dozen police pounced on the people who had retreated into the interior. The coffins had to come out. On the street, 3,000 people were defending themselves against the charges of the cavalry. Having no particular Christian feelings, the horses trampled again and again on the funeral wreaths. Their riders, totally out of control, screamed obscenities. Suddenly some of those who had been seeking refuge returned, faced the soldiers, and began singing, 'We swear to die gloriously' [a verse from the Argentine national anthem]."

This is how the August 29 issue of the Argentine weekly *Primera Plana* reported the funeral ceremonies for three of the young revolutionists gunned down August 22 at the Trelew airport in Patagonia.

The coffins the repressive forces were after contained the bodies of Eduardo Adolfo Cappello, twenty-eight, of the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army]; Ana Villarreal de Santucho, thirty-six, of the ERP; and Maria Angélica Sabelli, twenty-three, of the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces]. The army ordered the dead guerrillas to be buried immediately. Protests by lawyers were to no avail. Two court orders were ignored and a third came too late. "The bodies were already in the cemeteries—Santucho in Boulogne, and the others in Chacarita," *Primera Plana* reported.

"On this Friday, August 25, the old people wept, the others shook with indignation," the Buenos Aires magazine continued. "Shock. A feeling of powerlessness. . . . But there was also anger for another reason. In the morning . . . in the presence of a doctor someone had opened two of the coffins. Some journalists looked also. Cappello had at least fifteen bullet

holes in his back; Sabelli had marks on her throat (was she strangled with a cloth?) and the back of her head was smashed in by blows."

The first two pages of the August 29 *Primera Plana* were almost blank, bordered in black, carrying only pictures of a censorship order and the text of the new government decree banning the press from reporting statements of guerrilla groups. The military government decided, however, to blank out the entire magazine. The police seized the August 29 issue, missing only a few copies.

Besides reporting new evidence that two of the guerrillas killed in Trelew were deliberately and savagely murdered, the banned issue included an article questioning the military's story about the way the alleged shootings took place, as well as militant statements by members and leaders of the Peronist movement condemning the massacre. Perón himself contributed a statement expressing sympathy with the idealistic youth of Argentina and especially those that have fallen in the struggle against "ignominy."

"Providence," Perón said, "has granted me the privilege in the last days of my life of making contact with the enlightened youth of the fatherland, who not only think and feel but are capable of fighting bravely to assure the future of our nation, which belongs by right to them."

At a time when the military is particularly unpopular, one passage of Perón's message might have rung rather harshly on the ears of the ruling junta:

"This youth, which has learned to die for its ideals, is the only force that can safeguard the country in a future full of pitfalls and dangers. Those idiots who still think that they can impose outdated schemes and systems can do nothing but play with power, which is the prerogative of beasts."

Some passages sounded like trumpet calls: "Beloved compañeros of the Peronist youth, we have reached the

very threshold of great decisions. Everything depends on our persevering in the task in which we are engaged. The citizens of Argentina, who understand the meaning of sacrifice better than anyone, will not fail to give the support that the youth deserve. We are in the right and we are defending a truth that is known to all. Let us put all our strength into the struggle and fight with a firm will to win, and the future will be ours."

In the next breath, however, Perón urged caution: "But let us not forget that success does not depend on chance or come easily. Success must be planned for, prepared for, in order to be exploited at a later time. Let us devote a firm will and clear thought to achieving success, and the rest is just a technical problem."

The exiled leader identified himself in a rather vague and ambiguous way with the wave of revulsion at the massacre at Trelew:

"I want my first words to be a tribute to the memory of the comrades who fell in the struggle we are waging against the ignominy that has cast its shadow over our fatherland. All of these comrades deserve our most profound and sincere gratitude. All of them fell in defense of the fatherland and their people. Many of them have fallen victim to cowardly murders perpetrated by gangsters working with the police, gangsters who, bereft of all human decency, engage in the most revolting crimes with an impunity that dishonors the institutions for which they work.

"I do not know if it is stupidity or ignorance that so blinds the usurpers of power that they cannot understand a young generation who do not want to be mere numbers in the commercial calculations of the foreign monopolies. It is unfortunate that these young people have begun to express this feeling with guns, but it is also a grave warning. It is a curious thing when these shootings and bombings begin to reinforce the mild words of the Pope, who said, as he addressed the pilgrims at Castel Gandolfo: 'The youth feel the sterility of a life devoted to consumption.'"

In its introduction to Perón's message, *Primera Plana* notes that "El Lider" wrote this address to the young people of the nation at the urging of heads of the Peronist youth. Two of the urban guerrilla organizations ac-

tive in the country—the Montoneros and the FAR—define themselves as supporters of Perón, and members of these groups were among those slaughtered at Trelew. The official Peronist movement needs revolutionary credibility in order to attract the radicalizing sectors of the population, and the youth in particular.

Thus, there was undoubtedly very strong pressure on the reformist general, the traditional hero of the anti-imperialist and labor movement in his country, to make a statement sympathizing with the victims of the Trelew massacre and condemning the savagery of the government. Perón's statement contains some strong-sounding phrases. But he does not even refer specifically to the August 22 atrocity or its victims, or any specific victims of the regime, or even the regime as such. Coming at this time, the declaration will inevitably be interpreted as referring primarily to the slaughter in Patagonia, but the wily caudillo has committed himself to nothing. If he should return to Argentina, he could not be prosecuted for "apologizing for a crime" as other courageous defenders of the slain revolutionists have been. In fact, most importantly, although Perón seems to summon the youth of Argentina to a redoubled struggle against the dictatorship, he does not offer to return to the country to lead them.

From the standpoint of the strategists of Peronism, the uproar over the slaughtered young people may well be just another pressure on the military chiefs to choose the option of making a deal with Perón as the best way of pacifying the country, or of offering him better terms. In a press conference in San Sebastian, Spain, on August 28, the exiled general put his cards on the table once again: It was "absolutely impossible," he said, "to govern without the Peronists. We are a majority and elections without the Peronists would be like giving the vote to only 10 percent of the population."

However, the Peronists seem to be playing a dangerous game, made doubly dangerous, no doubt, by the fact that many Peronists have genuinely revolutionary aspirations. In the same issue of *Primera Plana* that carried Perón's deftly worded message to the youth, a columnist based in Spain

reported some statements by the prominent poet Alicia Eguren that were far from cautious:

"Peronism, a mass movement of singular longevity and force in the third world, is at a crossroads. It will either make a qualitative leap forward or go bust. This is because Peronism is a multiclass movement with a broad working-class base. It has both reformist and revolutionary tendencies, one in the bureaucratic leadership and another in the ranks, because it is a movement involved in an innumerable series of growing mass struggles, with the tragic corollary of innumerable betrayals of the rank and file by the leadership.

"Peronism is a movement enriched in recent years by a large number of revolutionary militants coming from the petty bourgeoisie who are fervently trying to take up the struggle for liberation and socialism based on the revolutionary class par excellence. And they are advancing in the vanguard that has arisen, opening the breaches through which the people will pass. . . . The seventeen years during which the conditions in the country have matured for revolution and the bureaucratic leadership has gotten worse show us very clearly that the movement faces the need for some essential definitions.

"The internal struggle must not only not be silenced, it must be deepened without any concessions, without any quarter, and without any pseudo-tactical vacillations. 'Transforming a bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution—that is what making the revolution is,' Lenin said.

"The revolutionary leadership, the revolutionary vanguard of Peronism, forged and enriched theoretically and practically in the intense struggle of anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchical, anti-monopolistic, and anticapitalist masses, as well as ruthlessly advancing the struggle against bureaucratism, is not a narrow channel but a broad and solid river bed for the Argentine and continental revolution. We will either set the clock of the people forward or backward; we are very conscious of this. When revolutionary Peronism fully accepts the strategy of people's war, there will be no stopping the victory of revolutionary, creative, democratic socialism in Argentina and the continent, which will continue and

extend the best popular traditions of our country."

This statement, in its way, is as expansive as Perón's message to the youth, but it makes one crucial, concrete point:

"We don't ask Perón to take the leadership of the guerrilla struggle. We ask him, the human symbol, with the immense power invested in him by the people over seventeen years' time, to return to confront the enemies of the Argentine people. We don't want fraudulent elections. We want Perón to expose the elections.

"Lanusse fears nothing more than Perón returning with a revolutionary posture and will. This and only this is what Perón's return means to us, the answer of the people to the oligarchy, the clear determination to struggle. . . .

"The massacre of our compañeros opens an unbridgeable gap between the people and their jailers, between the exploiters and the ordinary people, between the bureaucracy and the workers, between the crooked politicians licking the boots of the 'gorillas' and the masses whose interest these tinhorns do not represent. The history of our revolution will be divided into the period before and after the escape from the Rawson prison [which ended for nineteen of the twenty-five escapees at the Trelew airport]."

In its August 23 issue, *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly organ of the PSA [Partido Socialista Argentina—Argentine Socialist Party] also urged Perón to return to the country.

"Perón considers that the conditions do not exist today for his return. But the military dictatorship is experiencing its worst moments since 1966. It is being battered without respite by popular uprisings. An unprecedented crisis is dividing the capitalists and preventing their parties—including the Peronists—from coming to a political agreement. Splits are showing up in the ranks of the armed forces to such an extent that a phrase about economic philosophy from the chief of the air force can cause a national scandal.

"The most carefully guarded political hostages of the regime have managed to make an escape from the country's maximum-security military prison [Rawson]. The president and his favorite minister fight it out bitterly in the presence of the scandalized

ladies of Olivos. The government cannot establish an economic policy and stick to it for more than two weeks. . . .

"And this is the situation that Perón considers unfavorable for his return. The only meaning this statement can have is that if he returned now his presence would serve to give new impetus to the popular struggles against the regime. By failing to return, he is showing once again that he still thinks along the same lines as in 1955 when he refused to arm the workers 'in order to prevent bloodshed.' His retreat then and his failure to return now are similar as to their effects—holding back the struggles of the masses and salvaging the position of the discredited armed forces."

One of the effects of the emotional and moral reaction of the Argentine people to the atrocious murder of the sixteen guerrilla fighters has been to complicate the jockeying between the military government and the Peronists, whose support it needs to put a damper on the rising social conflicts in the country.

Since the massacre, a number of incidents, including the banning of an issue of the Peronist magazine *Primera Plana*, have increased the tensions between the armed forces and the followers of Perón. Francisco Julián Licastro, a member of the exiled Caudillo's bodyguard sent to Trelew to investigate the killings, has been arrested. An order has reportedly gone out for the arrest of the Peronist youth leader Rodolfo Galimberti. When the police and army attacked the Peronist headquarters in Buenos Aires August 24 to seize the bodies of three victims of the Trelew massacre, the tension had clearly reached a high point.

Divisions in the armed forces themselves may be a factor in the sharpening conflict between the dictatorship and the Peronists. Captain Sosa, the commander of the marine unit that carried out the Trelew massacre on August 22, was seen by reporters berating his commander, Colonel Perlinguer, for being too soft on the guerrillas when they were captured on August 15.

In its story on the assault on the Buenos Aires Peronist headquarters, the August 29 *Primera Plana* quoted the chief of police in charge of the

operation, Jorge Colloto, as saying: "There could have been many more dead today. These people don't realize the way the hand has changed."

Thus, the magazine seemed to be suggesting that the influence of the "hard" anticonciliatory faction of the officer caste is on the rise at the moment. There have been repeated reports of opposition in the military to Lanusse's reformist course and even of plans for a coup to block any concessions to the Peronists or parliamentary politicians. On August 27 the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* published a strange story claiming that the government had thwarted a coup planned for the twenty-fifth by "prominent rightist figures" in alliance with the "ultraleft." At least some people in the Argentine capital, it seems, have coups on the mind.

The political complications caused by the massacre and its aftermath were most spectacular on the international level, leading apparently to Lanusse threatening to break diplomatic relations with Chile. In this sphere, the complications of the affair were compounded by the combined contradictions of two regimes delicately balanced on political tightropes. The arrival of ten guerrillas in Chile, the comrades of the escapees captured in Trelew, seriously embarrassed Chilean President Allende. This was evident in the way he handled the problem, under pressure from an increasingly aggressive right wing, and from revolutionary currents in his own Unidad Popular [People's Unity] coalition.

In answer to the demand from the Argentine authorities for extradition of the escaped revolutionists, the Chilean foreign ministry explained in a diplomatic note:

"The conclusions reached by this ministry are quite clearly in harmony with the legal and moral considerations which underlie the right of asylum and with the tradition that Chile has faithfully followed in this regard of granting asylum. . . .

"In virtue of this, and awaiting the establishment of international conventions and national legislation regulating this matter, this ministry has decided to grant asylum to the aforesaid persons.

"In conformity with this decision, the government of Chile has decided that these political refugees must leave

the national territory within the briefest possible period."

The Argentine government responded with a "severe, formal protest." It also withdrew its ambassador, Doctor Teodoro Gallac, from Santiago, ostensibly for consultations. The Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* noted August 28 that Lanusse had called Gallac home "without setting a date for his return to the Chilean capital but without this meaning a break in relations."

Like Allende, Lanusse seemed to be responding to contradictory pressures in an equivocal way. Strong measures to prevent guerrillas from finding asylum in the neighboring country and "severe" words for the "Marxist government on the other side of the Andes" can be expected to gratify the right wing of the army. On the other hand, Lanusse has sought to maintain good relations with Allende's reformist regime.

The expulsion of the escaped guerrillas from Chile did not save the head of the Unidad Popular government from sharp attacks by the more and more aggressive right, which drew encouragement from the pressure exerted by the Argentine regime.

The right-wing Santiago daily *El Mercurio* wrote, according to an AP dispatch in the August 28 *La Nación*: "President Allende realizes the profound blow his solution has meant for his own policy. It would be sad to see a cooling of relations with Argentina, which the president has tried by every means to avoid." The Santiago paper objected to the guerrillas not being turned over to the notoriously rightist courts. It denounced the refusal to turn the escaped revolutionists over to the Argentine dictatorship as "a triumph for the extremists."

Another Santiago daily, *La Tercera*, attacked Allende in these terms: "This is unquestionably a delicate phase in the excellent relations we have traditionally maintained with Argentina. Even the most objective observer could not fail to be worried by the rapid and strong reaction of President Lanusse to these developments.

"Those who think that all the problems were solved by the departure of the extremists are mistaken. Clearly it is up to President Lanusse and his collaborators to evaluate the exact ramifications of the position Chile has taken. We think we express the will

of the nation in expressing the hope that relations with Argentina remain as correct and positive as they have been up till now."

It is hard to predict what further effects the bloody episode in Patagonia will have on the complex political situation in the southern part of Latin America. But one thing is certain. The Argentine military dictatorship is determined to suppress the facts about the massacre in Trelew. And the three surviving revolutionists (René Haidar, María Antonia Berger, and Miguel Alberto Camps), if they recover, can tell the whole truth about what happened to them and their slaughtered comrades.

Unconfirmed reports (the survivors

of the massacre are still being held incommunicado) indicate that these three young freedom fighters are gravely injured. It would be a simple matter for the military to do away with them and claim they died of their wounds. Thus, the first duty of all those who have spoken out against the atrocity in Trelew is to concentrate on safeguarding the lives of the survivors.

Perón and Allende in particular could probably protect the lives of the wounded guerrillas by demanding that they be examined and watched over by politically independent doctors and that their relatives be allowed to see them and be kept informed of their condition. □

Forty-Six Sentenced in Three Weeks of Trials

CPs Split on Czech Witch-Hunt

By Jon Rothschild

In "normalized" Czechoslovakia the economy may be slowing down, but political trials are running at break-neck speed. From July 17 to August 11, the regime headed by Communist party General Secretary Gustav Husak conducted nine witch-hunt trials, most of them directed against supporters of the Prague Spring policies of the Dubcek regime. A total of forty-six persons were sentenced to prison terms of up to six and a half years.

Reports of the proceedings are not easily obtained, as the Czechoslovak government violated its own laws by barring the public and the press from attending. The first trial, held in Prague July 17-20, resulted in six sentences ranging from one to two and a half years. The major defendants were Jiri Litera, former secretary of the Prague committee of the Communist party; Jiri Muller, a former student leader; Jan Tesar, a historian; and Rudolf Battek, a sociologist. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 31, p. 888.)

On July 26 six persons were sentenced by a regional court in Brno. A Ministry of Justice communiqué claimed that the defendants, "inspired by hostility to the socialist regime, had founded an illegal group at the

end of 1970." In the absence of any description of the activities, statements, or for that matter even the existence of this "group," it must be assumed that the accused were jailed to correct their backward "inspiration." Sentenced were: Milan Silhan, five years; Zdenek Pokorny, an engineer, four years; Jaroslav Meznic, a doctor of philosophy, three and a half years; Petr Wurm, an engineer, three years; Alois Vyroubal and Jan Schopf, both engineers, two and a half years and twenty-six months respectively.

On the same day the Brno sentences were announced, the regime revealed that Milan Hubl, Karel Kyncl, and Karel Bartosek, three well-known intellectuals arrested late in 1971, would be brought to trial on July 31.

After a trial lasting less than forty-eight hours, Hubl, director of a party cadre school under the Dubcek regime, was sentenced to six and a half years in prison on charges of "subversion." Kyncl, a journalist during the Dubcek era, got twenty months in jail, and Bartosek, a historian, one year.

A Ministry of Justice communiqué, again the sole source of official information about the trial, claimed that the defendants, "inspired by hostility to the socialist regime, had, from 1970

to January 1972, prepared illegal leaflets in which they gave false information about the situation in Czechoslovakia and its allied countries. These lying leaflets were distributed and sent abroad with the aim of helping to weaken the social regime and the state."

It should be noted that the only "illegal" written material thus far referred to by the Czechoslovak regime has been a tract handed out in Prague prior to the November 1971 elections reminding Czechoslovak citizens of their constitutional right not to vote.

By August 1, the Husak regime had, in two weeks time, sentenced nineteen persons in seven separate trials to a total of fifty-eight and a half years in prison for political crimes.

Trial number eight began two days later, August 3, in Brno. The chief defendant in that proceeding was Jaroslav Sabata, former head of the Brno Communist party committee and widely regarded as a central leader in the movement against Kremlin-imposed "normalization." Sabata's two sons, nineteen-year-old Jan and twenty-six-year-old Vaclac, had been sentenced (two years and two and a half years respectively) in an earlier trial.

Sabata had been asked to testify at the Hubl trial, but refused. The Paris daily *Le Monde* of August 3 reported that persons who had been able to get into the courtroom for that trial said Sabata based his refusal on the grounds that all the charges were "fabricated and invented out of whole cloth." He was asked by the prosecutor whether he was aware of the seriousness of his allegations and their implications about Czechoslovak justice. He replied that he was.

If he was not, he found out soon enough. On August 8 Sabata was sentenced to six and a half years in jail. A Ministry of Justice communiqué listed the following additional sentences: Antonin Rusek, engineer, five years; Zdenek Prikryl, doctor of sciences, four years; Alfred Cerny, former regional secretary of the CP committee in South Moravia, three years; Karel Cejka, engineer, two years; Karel Fridrich, engineer, eighteen months. Jiri Zaoral received an eighteen-month suspended sentence and three years' probation.

The communiqué added that the defendants had "constituted an illegal antistate group during 1970 which

carried out hostile activities up to January 1972. The aim of the group was to create conditions for the overthrow of the social regime and the state of the Republic."

The ninth trial, another forty-eight-hour affair, resulted in eight more sentences which were announced August 10 in Brno. The ever-present Ministry of Justice communiqué claimed that the defendants "in the period 1970-1971 distributed pamphlets and leaflets hostile to the socialist state and social system," and that some of the accused "had produced or helped to produce these materials."

The chief defendant, Vlastimila Tesarova, received four years in jail. Kveta Markova and Zdenek Vasicek got three years each. The other sentences were: Ladislav Zadina, two and a half years; Anna Kautna, two years; Karel Kautny, one year; Stanislav Tesar, fifteen months, Hana Sabata, Jaroslav Sabata's daughter, was also a defendant in the ninth trial. She was sentenced to three and a half years, making four members of the Sabata family serving a total of fourteen and a half years in prison.

When the results of the ninth trial were announced, it was also reported that the supreme court in Bohemia-Moravia had rejected the appeals of Litera and Stehlik, both of whom had been convicted in the first trial.

On August 17, according to a report in the *Washington Post*, the Communist party newspaper *Rude Pravo* announced that President Josef Svoboda had canceled a previously scheduled tenth trial in which the defendants were to have been a group of young people, allegedly associates of Jaroslav Sabata. *Rude Pravo* claimed that Svoboda's action came after the defendants had requested pardons on the grounds that they had been "seduced" into "irresponsible and punishable activities" by Sabata. If the report was accurate, this is the only case in the current wave of trials in which the defendants refused to defend their political activities.

In the article announcing the halt in the tenth trial, *Rude Pravo* summarized, for the first time, the results of the preceding trials. Some observers therefore concluded that, at least for the time being, the trials were ended.

That remains to be seen. The rapid-fire trials of July-August are part

of an intensified general repression launched by the Husak regime at the end of 1971. Theaters have been closed, trade unions have been purged, intellectuals deprived of their right to make a living in their fields. Some 30,000 intellectuals have been



HUSAK: Tells French CP political trials are not political trials.

fired from their jobs in the Husak crackdown; two-thirds of them are now doing manual labor, another 10,000 drift from job to job.

The increasing number of references in the Czechoslovak press to the "counterrevolutionary policies" of the Dubcek regime are an ominous sign. Thus far, the top leaders of the Prague Spring have not been tried, but the political climate for such trials is being prepared.

At the same time, Husak has been unable to go quite as far as his Kremlin mentors would obviously like. The movement of opposition to "normalization" has been witch-hunted, but not crushed. The defendants in the latest trials, unlike those in the dock during the purges of the 1950s, have not confessed, but have asserted their adherence to socialism and their right to conduct political activity. The persistent challenge to "normalization" within Czechoslovakia has been par-

alleled by opposition to the trials from the Communist parties of the West, especially in France and Italy. In France, in fact, the question of the Czechoslovak trials has become a hot domestic political issue.

Last February, as news of the wave of arrests began to reach the West, the French Communist party, which, under pressure both from its own membership and from the growing far left, had opposed the 1968 Soviet invasion, sent Roland Leroy, a member of the Political Bureau, to Prague. In reply to a series of questions from Leroy, Husak said, "The time of pre-fabricated frame-up trials has definitively passed." He promised that there would be no "show trials," that no one would be prosecuted for his political beliefs or for his activity during the Prague Spring.

L'Humanité, the French Communist party's newspaper, reprinted Husak's comments to that effect.

Since that time, the French CP has established an electoral alliance with the Socialist party. When the latest trials began in Prague, the Gaullists saw an issue that could drive a wedge between the CP and the SP. The SP leadership, already under pressure from the party's right wing which is uneasy about the alliance with the Communist party, hastened to reassure the French public and condemned the trials. On July 27, SP First Secretary François Mitterrand issued a statement against the trials and asserted that in view of the Communist party's stand against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the CP in France could not be held accountable for what was happening in Prague.

The pro-Gaullist magazine *La Nation* immediately attacked Mitterrand, accusing the SP leaders of being "prisoners of their allies."

Twenty-four hours after Mitterrand's statement was made public, *L'Humanité* published the text of a declaration it said had been approved three days earlier on July 25 by the CP Political Bureau. The declaration recalled Husak's pledge to Leroy and affirmed the CP's alleged commitment to socialist democracy. It then noted that the bourgeoisie carries out various kinds of sabotage and subversion against "socialist" regimes, giving as an example the current rightist attack on the Allende government in Chile.

"What worker," the statement rhetorically asked, "what democrat could reproach him [Allende] for taking the measures he did to put a stop to their intrigues?"

Then came the key paragraph:

"That said, it is evident from the information we have that the trials under way in Czechoslovakia are not directed against this sort of activity. Now, since it is a question of political and ideological opposition, we consider that it is by means of an intense political and ideological struggle, waged with the support of the workers and the popular masses, that the opponents of socialism must be fought and isolated."

Lest anybody fail to get the point, the declaration went on to quote large sections from a 1969 CP statement on "advanced democracy" (the CP's latest formulation of the popular front) to the effect that all democratic rights will be rigorously guaranteed in a socialist France—that is, if the CP-SP coalition is elected to governmental power.

Mitterrand announced his satisfaction with the CP declaration. Having expressed themselves against the trials in a rather half-hearted manner (there is no evidence—on the contrary—that the defendants are "opponents of socialism"), the CP bureaucrats would doubtless have preferred to forget the issue. But the Gaullists counter-attacked, saying Mitterrand was either "naive" or "a liar" for believing the CP.

The Communist party was compelled to reiterate its opposition to the trials. And on August 2, the Executive Committee of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union formation, which is dominated by the CP) released a communiqué recalling Husak's assurances about trials and stating: "The current trials, whose political character is obvious, contradict these assurances. The CGT vigorously deplores the trials."

The Italian Communist party found itself in a position similar to that of the French CP. Facing opposition to the trials in their own ranks and concerned about their political fortunes in the Italian electoral arena, the Italian CP leaders expressed their disagreement with the trials more forthrightly than their French counterparts.

On August 10 *l'Unità*, the party's newspaper, published the text of a resolution approved August 8 by the Political Bureau. It said in part:

"The recent recourse to judicial prosecutions against men who, up to 1968, were qualified representatives of the Communist party and of Czechoslovak culture and who, moreover, had already been deprived of any possibility of participating in public life, and even had been removed from their professional duties, draws attention to the persistence of the grave situation in Czechoslovakia. It is especially serious to see the unfolding of a logic of revenge, on all levels and to such an extent, in regard to representatives of the 'new political course' that was affirmed in Czechoslovakia in 1968. In view of all this, the Political Bureau of the Italian Communist party intends to demonstrate its reprobation and renewed disagreement."

Even the relatively docile British Communist party felt compelled to disassociate itself from the trials. The *Morning Star*, official CP paper, said editorially that the charges against the defendants arose from political differences and "should be dealt with by

political means and not by trials and imprisonment."

On August 12 the Czechoslovak government finally responded publicly to the statements of the Western CPs. The answer was hardly designed to smooth over the dispute.

"What does bourgeois propaganda seek?" *Rude Pravo* wrote. "It wants above all . . . to present our efforts, which are devoid of perversity and animated by strict respect for socialist legality, as violations of legality in general. It is not at all astonishing that anti-Czechoslovak bourgeois propaganda should succeed in duping bourgeois and naive persons. But it becomes serious when the tendencies to place confidence in the arguments of this enemy propaganda manifest themselves in such quantity among honest and progressive people in the West and when it leads certain Communists to feel some doubt."

On August 19 *Rude Pravo* quoted Husak's explanation of why the current trials were not in violation of his pledge to Leroy. While not likely to convince anyone whose cogitative faculties are up to par, the explana-

Angela Davis's Stand —According to Pravda

[Several journals, including the London *Sunday Times*, have reported that Angela Davis has rejected Jiri Pelikan's appeal that she speak out in defense of the rights of Communist political oppositionists who are being imprisoned on false charges by the Husak regime.

[It is to be noted, however, that not one of these publications has quoted Angela Davis *directly*. Perhaps the most authoritative report is the one translated below by *Intercontinental Press*, which appeared in the August 14 *Pravda*, the newspaper of the Soviet Communist party. Surprisingly, this account likewise fails to quote Angela Davis *directly*. Is the famed victim of a frame-up trial in the United States unhappy over the pressure being placed on her not to respond to the appeal addressed to her? If, on the other hand, the editor of *Pravda* has correctly reported her stand, why doesn't she denounce the Italian, French, and British Communist parties for criticizing the Prague witch-hunt trials?]

* * *

The present slander campaign, planned according to all the rules of "psychologi-

cal war," is distinguished perhaps by one special feature — the reactionaries are making a stepped-up effort to use fabrications about "Czechoslovak political trials" to sow dissension among the progressive forces and create friction within the Communist and workers' movement.

We see evidence of these fabrications in the Voice of America broadcasts. They are revealed also by the political diversions undertaken by the Czechoslovak emigrant Pelikan, obviously with the prompting of certain imperialist intelligence agencies. Pelikan addressed an "open letter" to Angela Davis which was immediately published in the pages of such bourgeois papers as the Hamburg *Die Zeit* and others of the same ilk. Pelikan proposed to the courageous American Communist, to this fighter for social justice, to take up the defense of figures condemned by the Czechoslovak courts. In essence this meant asking the Communist to enter into an alliance with anti-Communists to defend anti-Communists. The idea of such an unholy alliance was naturally rejected with indignation by Angela Davis, and this has been made public at her request.

tion was characteristic of CP logic. Husak, *Rude Pravo* wrote, "informed the French comrades of the fact that his party had conducted, conducts, and will conduct the struggle against the right wing by political means, but no one will be tried for his opinions and activities during the 1968-1969 years of crisis. . . . The people who were sentenced, in perfect accord with existing laws, were not sentenced for their opinions and their activity in the 1968-1969 period, but for having engaged in activity that the law qualifies as antistate in 1970-1971 and even in 1972.

"The attitude of the party as expressed by Comrade Husak to Comrade Leroy has not changed. Such is the truth that the bourgeois media distort. Sooner or later, those among our friends and companions in struggle who are presently disoriented will certainly call themselves to account."

As for the American Communist party, for five weeks it said not a word about the trials. On August 23 the *Daily World* broke the silence in an article titled "Czechoslovakia CP hails anniversary of 1968 aid." The New York Stalinist newspaper said, "A total of 46 persons have been convicted during the past several weeks for attempting to take up where the counter-revolutionary movement around Alexander Dubcek left off in 1969."

This toadying is all the worse because the American CP is in position to help the Czechoslovak victims despite the party's small size and lack of social base.

Angela Davis is a prominent member of the American CP. Up to now she has not responded to the appeal of Jiri Pelikan, the Czech Communist oppositionist, that she fulfill her pledge to defend all political prisoners and call for the release of the Czechoslovak victims.

On the anniversary of the "1968 aid," Davis happened to be in the Soviet Union. Known throughout the world as a courageous fighter against capitalist repression, she is in position to make a unique contribution to the defense of the Czechoslovak opposition. But not a word!

Perhaps the U. S. Communist party, investing much time and energy in running a presidential candidate as a stalking-horse for George McGov-

ern, is just too busy to read Pelikan's appeal. In any case, the *Daily World's* enthusiasm for the 1968 "aid" given by the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia is well answered by an anecdote now circulating in Prague. "Is it true," a listener asks of a Prague

radio commentator, "that the Czechoslovak people appealed to the valiant Soviet Red Army for help?"

"Yes," answers the radio commentator. "The appeal was issued in 1938 and the Red Army was able to positively respond to it in August 1968." □

Demand Amnesty for Figueroa Cordero

Andres Figueroa Cordero, a Puerto Rican political prisoner who was sentenced to more than eighty years in a United States federal penitentiary for participating in an attack on Congress in 1954, was recently found to be suffering from cancer in the intestinal tract.

He was transferred from Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas to the hospital prison of Springfield, Missouri, during the middle of August and was later operated.

Figueroa Cordero is one of the many who were sentenced for their activities during the 1950s in the intense struggle of the Nationalist party to win Puerto Rico's independence. Both in the United States and in Puerto Rico,

these political prisoners are serving inhumanely long terms.

When news of Figueroa's illness reached his hometown of Aguada, Puerto Rico, demonstrations were staged demanding that he be granted amnesty.

In New York the United Front for the Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners is campaigning for his immediate release. The campaign includes a projected series of demonstrations to be held before the Federal Court Building at 40 Foley Square.

Further information can be obtained by writing the Frente Unido Pro Defensa Presos Politicos Puertorriqueños, Box 3, Planetarium Station, New York, N. Y. 10024.

Superchickens—the Coming Thing?

A seventeen-year-old high-school senior, Grant Sullivan of West Point, California, who describes himself as a "patriotic nut," has developed a new breed of chickens of giant size, having the strength and stamina of an ostrich.

His No. 1 rooster, named Weirido, weighs twenty-two pounds, which is four or five times larger than the average rooster. The hens, too, are huge.

According to the August 17 *Wall Street Journal*, which considered the commercial possibilities, the super-

chickens lay jumbo eggs about two and a half inches long by two inches in diameter.

Not much may come of the breakthrough, however, because the U. S. poultry industry is suffering from overproduction at present.

Sullivan suggests that the new breed might be valuable as watch-chickens. They are quite mean. Weirido has pecked chunks of metal from his feed bucket; and the hens have killed three cats that wandered into the coop.

Amchitka Report

Despite all the reassuring statements by U. S. government officials last November that the five-megaton nuclear test at Amchitka Island had done little more than kill a few seals and birds, it now turns out that something bigger happened.

Twenty-two "small earthquakes and hundreds of blast after-shocks" were registered in the three months following the test, according to Dr. E. Engdahl, a research geophysicist with the National Oce-

anic and Atmospheric Administration at Boulder, Colorado.

The first quake, seven days after the test, measured 3.5 on the Richter scale.

Dr. Engdahl nevertheless minimized the results. They were "minor structural adjustments in the earth's crust" comparable generally to the effects of underground tests in Nevada, "except that Amchitka activity was of significantly lower level."

That ought to encourage another try by the Pentagon.

Nottingham Women Stage Feminist Rally

Nottingham

About 1,000 persons attended a women's rally in the centre of Nottingham July 23. This was the final event of an arts festival that ran for two weeks.

Nottingham, which is a centre for the hosiery and lace industry, has been known traditionally as a woman's town because of the high percentage of women workers here. The Nottingham Women's Liberation Group suggested to the Festival Committee that it should become a women's town in reality. So, under the slogan "The Last Day is Women's Day," a women's rally was organized.

The city square was packed all afternoon with people who had come to look at book stalls, stalls run by the Family Planning Association and the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign, and stalls selling artwork by women.

Even though the all-female platform contained a majority of speakers not representing the women's movement, the mood was one of militant feminism. The crowd cheered women trade unionists, strikers, and a representative of the Black movement in the city.

Audrey Wise, a shop steward in the shopworkers union, described what she called the "man-made world" of war, want, and inequality. She called for a change in society so that women could play a full and equal role in every aspect of life. She called for a society of human values rather than competition and greed.

Sister Maxine of the Black People's Freedom Movement gave a forceful description of the oppression of Black people in white society, and of the determination of Black women to end this.

She talked of the ways in which racism and inequality are perpetuated in Britain, with Black children being pronounced "educationally subnormal" and sent to schools that fitted them for only menial and badly paid jobs.

The rally opened with two high-school students singing women's

songs. A section of the crowd—male and middle-aged—thought that by heckling they could disrupt the rally. But the first speaker, May Hobbs, the leader of the Night Cleaner's Campaign in London, proved to be too much for them. She addressed them as a working woman, told them to save their enmity for their bosses, and reminded them that over and over again it was male workers who had black-legged [scabbed] or backed down in strikes.

The crowd cheered and applauded as she gave the history of the way in which women office cleaners unionized themselves and won better conditions last year.

Mrs Annie Salmons, a recent recruit to the Nottingham Women's Liberation Group, also directed her remarks to the hecklers.

"I am seventy-seven, a Nottingham miner's widow and a pensioner," she said, "and now I'm going to tell you why I joined the women's movement."

She described her activities in the hunger marches of the 1930s, how she cycled all over Britain ahead of the marchers to arrange food and accommodations for them. Her message was that women have always been active and militant in the fight for equality and freedom and that the women's liberation movement is a continuation of this tradition.

Nancy Magraith, leader of one of the most exciting industrial struggles of the moment, described how she and other women had taken over their factory in Fakenham rather than accept redundancy. After nearly a year, they were still in business and had expanded production. The crowd responded warmly to these women who had taken such positive action against their employers and proved that redundancy and unemployment are in fact unnecessary.

The economic and sexual oppression of women in this society were discussed by speakers from the London Socialist Women's Group and the Glasgow group Women in Action.

Jo O'Brien of the Nottingham Women's Liberation Group challenged the

idea of Nottingham really being a woman's town when women in local industries do not get equal pay, and when the city authorities provide totally inadequate nursery and contraceptive facilities.

She described how consistently the Nottingham hospitals refuse to help women get abortions and how this leads to large numbers of back-street abortions.

As national convenor of the Women's Abortion and Contraception Campaign, Rose Knight, also of Nottingham, dwelt on the condition of women in the town. She pointed out that the city authorities spent only £410 last year on helping the 40,000 women who needed contraceptive advice.

"There are still at least 300,000 unwanted pregnancies in Britain each year. Half result in abortions. But at least 150,000 children are born each year to end up as battered babies, neglected children, who perhaps have to go to children's homes because their parents can't cope financially. Every child should be a wanted child; every mother a willing mother."

Although the majority of the audience were not in the women's movement, their attitude was extremely encouraging by the end of the afternoon. Never before had the calls for feminism and socialism met with such a response in Nottingham. □

Correction

In the caption to the photograph on the cover of last week's issue, María Antonia Berger was identified as among those slain at Trelew. Actually she was among the three still alive after the slaughter. According to the Argentine press, her lower jaw was shattered by a bullet that continued down into her throat. Another bullet hit her in the stomach, leaving through her shoulder. The August 24 daily *La Razón* said that a tracheotomy was performed on her to enable her to breathe. "But her situation took a dangerous turn for the worse when she suffered postoperative shock."

The Lanusse regime has issued no further report on her condition. Like the two other wounded survivors, she is being held incommunicado and denied visits by either relatives or independent doctors. □

Campaigning Against Twin Parties of Big Business

By Fred Feldman

To revolutionists looking at the American political scene from other countries, utilization of the electoral arena in the United States to advance the program of revolutionary socialism may appear an easy task. It is not.

First of all, there are no nationwide federal regulations providing for representation on the ballot. Each of the fifty states has its own laws. About all they have in common is automatic ballot status for the Republicans and Democrats. The provisions for minority parties are in most cases quite difficult to meet. Some are so arbitrary as to virtually exclude minority parties from the ballot.

One of the most prominent aspects of the campaigning of a minority party is thus the effort devoted to struggling to meet technical requirements and to battling in the courts for the most elementary democratic rights of a political party—the right to be heard and the right to appear on the ballot.

Even worse in the United States is the imbalance in finances. The government grants nothing to help present the positions of the candidates to the public. Even the "equal time" provision on radio and television has been seriously eroded. ("Equal time" means merely that if a station or network grants free time to one candidate, it must grant the same amount of time to opposing candidates.)

At the same time there is no legal limit on what a party or candidate may spend in campaigning for office. The twin capitalist parties regularly lay out colossal sums in their efforts to sway the voters. The Republican party, for instance, this year has a fund of \$10,000,000 given by undisclosed backers besides other funds at its disposal.

In addition the two big parties virtually monopolize the press, radio, and television, since these are privately owned by their partisans. Through the communications media, campaign propaganda pours out in a great flood in the form of "news."

Despite these difficult handicaps, the candidates of the Socialist Workers party have succeeded in making an impact in the presidential elections this year.

With two months of campaigning still ahead, Linda Jenness, the SWP candidate for president, and Andrew Pulley, the SWP candidate for vice president, have spoken at nearly 500 campaign meetings and rallies.

In addition to the presidential ticket, 100 local candidates are being fielded by the SWP. They are campaigning as intensively on a local scale as Jenness and Pulley are on a national scale.

More than 2,500,000 pieces of literature have been distributed, publicizing the revolutionary-socialist position on labor, women, Blacks, Chicanos, other minorities, and the youth. This is twice the amount of material issued in the SWP's 1968 campaign, headed by Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, which was the biggest one up to then.

Despite its bias, the press has not been able to totally exclude news about the campaign. During the first three weeks of August, with most campuses closed and radical activity at a relatively low ebb, the national campaign headquarters in New York reported that articles about Jenness and Pulley appeared in sixty-seven newspapers in twenty-three states.

More than 12,000 persons have signed statements endorsing the SWP ticket as a positive alternative to the Republican and Democratic slates. This is four times the number who endorsed the 1968 campaign.

Although highly reluctant to do so, some of the capitalist candidates had to debate Jenness, Pulley, and other SWP candidates during the primaries. On January 15, Jenness debated Representative Paul McCloskey before 300 students at Colby Junior College in New Hampshire. McCloskey was a Republican "peace" candidate who opposed Nixon in several state presidential primaries.

The Jenness-Pulley campaign has

sold over 30,000 copies of "Everything You Always Wanted to Know About George McGovern," a pamphlet detailing the prowar, antilabor, racist, and sexist record of the "radical" Democratic candidate who has been appealing for the support of antiwar, labor, Black, and feminist activists. The South Dakota senator was so nettled by the effect of the pamphlet on some of the youth who had been campaigning for him that he sent an irate letter to Jenness, accusing her and her supporters of making him a "special target" and charging them with "irrational and unwise argumentativeness."

Jenness's persistent demand that McGovern debate her has met with a favorable response from many of the senator's youthful campaign workers. His refusal to do so and his recent maneuvers to change the "equal time" laws so as to bar minority party candidates from getting free time on TV and radio in the event he and Nixon get free time for a debate have injured his carefully cultivated image as a practitioner of "honesty" and "fair play."

The center of public attention in the election campaign thus far has been the Republican and Democratic conventions. Rules changes assured the inclusion of a higher percentage than in previous years of youths, women, Blacks, Chicanos, and members of other minorities as delegates at the Democratic gathering. As a result thousands of anti-establishment young people flocked to Miami. They believed that the nomination of McGovern would open the door to a real transformation of American politics.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party also went to Miami. They set up literature tables outside the convention hall and distributed 5,000 copies of an "Open Letter from Linda Jenness to Supporters of George McGovern." In hundreds of conversations with McGovern supporters, they got a vivid picture of the views and attitudes of these young activists.

Tom Vernier, national coordinator

of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, described his impressions of the convention:

"People came to our table early in the week and listened to what we had to say about McGovern and the Democratic party. They thought we were idealists and sectarians, asking too much of politicians and the system.

"Later in the week, after McGovern had sewed up the nomination, after he had retreated from the promises he had made on welfare for the unemployed and those unable to work, the rights of gays, and the right of women to legal abortions—and especially after his sinister promise to keep a residual force in Thailand after American 'withdrawal' from Vietnam—they came back to talk to us again.

"They were genuinely shocked and disappointed. Some of them threw away their McGovern buttons. They would say, 'You were right. He's just another politician.' It's important to remember that many of these people weren't hardened reformists. They really believed that McGovern was different.

"They were very honestly expressing their discovery that all of these capitalist politicians represent the system these young people are trying to fight. By the end of the week, we had fifty new campaign endorsers."

When the Republican convention took place in Miami, McGovern's shift to the right—most evident in the stridency of his pro-Israel statements—began to look like an undignified scramble. This had an impact on many young radicals who returned to Miami for antiwar protests at the GOP gathering.

"You know," said Vernier, "before the Democratic convention, pro-McGovern radicals were not apologetic about their views. They were certain that they were doing the right thing. Now many of them are bitter and cynical about McGovern. They no longer believe, as they once did, that he is a 'good man.'"

"Those who still support him cling to the illusion that he is more likely to end the war or that the Vietnamese people will somehow be better off if McGovern wins."

Vernier said that radical youth were viewing the SWP campaign more seriously than in previous election years.

"They see us as a campaign of the young, a part of the movement that

radicalized them. Some are beginning to see the need for revolutionary change such as we propose. The campaign has given revolutionary socialism a lot of legitimacy in their eyes."

Two other groups on the left are campaigning this year. The People's party ticket of Dr. Benjamin Spock and Julius Hobson will be on the ballot in several states. The People's party is a middle-class formation with a program calling for some radical reforms. It is a remnant of the somewhat larger "Peace and Freedom party" campaign of 1968. The nomination of McGovern has taken most of the steam out of the People's party effort. Dr. Spock himself has emphasized the "desirability" of a McGovern victory in November.

The Communist party is also running its own candidates, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, in 1972. The CP effort is a response to the growing impact of the SWP on radical youth. Despite this "independent" campaign, the Communist party press and its representatives are quite openly supporting the Democratic contender, arguing that he represents a "lesser evil."

A major objective of the SWP campaign is to win ballot status in as many as thirty states, and to challenge undemocratic state election laws. As part of this effort, the SWP helped initiate the Committee for Democratic Election Laws. This is an independent organization devoted to battling for more democracy in the electoral process. Sponsors of the committee include José Angel Gutiérrez of the Texas La Raza Unida party, Benjamin Spock of the People's party, Linda Jenness, and former Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy.

SWP candidates are currently involved in nineteen challenges to state election laws. Of eight that have been decided so far, the SWP candidates have won six. These cases resulted in court decisions declaring several state loyalty oaths aimed at radicals unconstitutional, and removing filing fee requirements that restricted the ballot to the wealthy.

The most important legal challenge currently pending is in Ohio where Secretary of State Ted Brown refused to certify Jenness and Pulley for the ballot, asserting that they were too young to hold office. Jenness is thirty-one and Pulley is twenty-one. While the U.S. constitution sets thirty-five as the minimum age for the president

and vice president, the twentieth amendment to the constitution empowers Congress to take whatever action is necessary when a technically unqualified person is elected.

The case is an important test of the political rights of young people. It has attracted broad support. Recently, two members of Congress, Bella Abzug and Charles Rangel, both Democrats from New York, wrote to Brown asking that he reverse his decision.

"Your action," Rangel told the Ohio official, "cuts off the free choice of political leadership to the citizens of Ohio who are entitled to elect their president from the full range of candidates."

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws has also actively supported ballot cases involving the People's party, the Raza Unida parties, and the Communist party.

The SWP has thus far won a place on the ballot in eleven states (Texas, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, South Dakota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Idaho, Massachusetts, Colorado, and Michigan).

Many states require that independent candidates obtain tens of thousands of signatures in order to qualify for the ballot. To date, Socialist Workers party campaign supporters have collected more than 450,000 signatures in twenty-seven states. About 90,000 were collected in Massachusetts, 70,000 in New York, and 50,000 each in Florida and Pennsylvania.

SWP campaigners have no illusions about the likelihood of rolling up a big vote in November. Restrictive ballot laws, the capitalist monopoly of the media, and the continuing illusions most Americans have about the bourgeois parties rule out such a possibility. So tight is the control of the electoral apparatus by the defenders of the status quo, that anticapitalist votes more often than not go uncounted.

The SWP candidates and supporters will be well satisfied if their election campaign makes it possible to reach more people than ever before with the ideas of revolutionary socialism. □

Rise in Hong Kong Refugees

Hong Kong officials reported that in July 1,000 persons entered the British colony illegally from China. This was the highest monthly total since 1962 when 60,000 Chinese fled across the border because of famine on the mainland.

American Trotskyists Hold Educational Conference

By Jon Rothschild

The Socialist Activists and Educational Conference, held in Oberlin, Ohio, August 13-20, which was attended by 1,150 members of the Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, and invited guests, was the first national gathering of revolutionary socialists in the United States since the SWP national convention last year. The theme of the conference was the education of party activists and the sharpening of the organization of the party's practical activity.

The conference was divided into three parts—a series of classes of two or three sessions each on specific facets of Marxist theory and areas of current revolutionary struggle; a series of lectures attended by all conference participants dealing with broader areas of activity; and a large number of panels and workshops on arenas of party intervention.

The educational classes centered on international topics. They included a series on the history of the First and Second Internationals taught by George Novack; a three-part series on the Chinese revolution given by Les Evans, editor of the *International Socialist Review*; a two-part discussion of the permanent revolution in Indochina by Fred Halstead, SWP National Committee member and leading activist in the antiwar movement; a three-part series on the history of the Irish revolution by *Intercontinental Press* staff writer Gerry Foley.

In addition, there were classes on the origins of the Fourth International, on Marxist economic theory, the class nature of the Soviet Union, the origins of the deformed workers states in East Europe, Marxism and anthropology, the history of the U.S. Communist party, and the development of the revolution in Québec. One class featured a presentation on the current political situation in France and the work of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, given by two visiting members of the Ligue.

Halstead's classes dealt with the history of the Vietnamese struggle against imperialist domination. The first class concentrated on an analysis of the interrelationship between events in Vietnam and major happenings in the world arena during World War II. The second class was devoted to a detailed analysis and critique of the seven-point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in its negotiations with the Nixon administration.

The classes on China concentrated on a social analysis of Maoism, its historical roots and peculiarities. Special attention was paid to the process by which China was transformed into a deformed workers state after the Communist party's seizure of power and the evolution of Maoism as a Stalinist current with a national base distinct from the Soviet bureaucracy. Included was an extensive discussion of the "cultural revolution," its roots in the disastrous "great leap forward" period, and the evolution of both the Mao faction and its chief intrabureaucratic opposition.

The main lecture series opened with a talk by Peter Camejo, a member of the SWP National Committee, on Guevarism and the Latin American revolution. Camejo discussed Guevara's conception of the revolutionary struggle on that continent, and why it has been unable to win any fresh victories in Latin America since the victory in Cuba.

Caroline Lund, a staff member of *The Militant*, the weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the SWP, presented a talk on current trends in the youth radicalization. She summarized the discussion at the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International, held in April 1969, describing the political and social roots of the youth radicalization of the 1960s.

A section of the talk was devoted to a discussion of the role played by students in past revolutionary

struggles, specifically the 1905 Russian revolution and the anti-imperialist May 4 Movement in China. The role of the student movement in those events was seen as a precursor to the detonative and organizational power that students have demonstrated more recently.

The main lines of the 1969 World Congress document, Lund said, have been confirmed by the continued student unrest in the advanced capitalist countries. But in the last several years, she said, the power of the student movement has also been seen in the underdeveloped countries. Lund specifically discussed the 1971 war of independence in Bangladesh, the January 1972 student strike in Cairo, which raised the most serious challenge to the Sadat regime since it came to power, and the defensive insurrection led by the rebel youth of Sri Lanka (Ceylon).

In the workers states also, Lund said, the universities have been centers of oppositional organization, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia being the clearest examples.

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *The Militant*, delivered a talk on the history of the Marxist role in the women's movement, from the time of the First International to the present, with special stress on the resolutions passed at the first four congresses (prior to the Stalinist degeneration) of the Communist International. Waters dealt with the revolutionary-Marxist participation in the women's rights movement in prerevolutionary China, the suffrage movement in the United States and Europe during the early part of the twentieth century, and the policies of the Bolshevik party both before and after its coming to power.

The major idea of Waters's presentation was to refute the claim of anti-Marxists that the revolutionary movement has ignored the oppression of women and abstained from the movement against that oppression. She pointed to the fact that the Com-

munist International devoted special attention to the question of women's role in society and urged all national sections to participate consistently in the struggles launched by women. The most detailed section of the talk was on the suffrage movement and how revolutionists actively supported and built the struggle as well as how they politically fought those sections of it that based the call for women's right to vote on reactionary, racist appeals.

Tony Thomas, staff writer for *The Militant*, gave a presentation on the permanent revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, centering on the necessity of the socialist transformation of those continents in order to solve the problems of agrarian reform and national independence. He stressed the continuing centrality of the Vietnamese revolution and attacked the "complete betrayal" of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats, who are "trying to force the Vietnamese into a compromise settlement with the Saigon militarists and Nixon."

Gus Horowitz reported on the "Prospects for Political Revolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe." The talk outlined the growing opposition to bureaucratic rule in the workers states, especially in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

Horowitz described the central role of the national question in the anti-bureaucratic movement, as well as the demands for freedom of speech and expression and for workers' control of industry that have been raised by the oppositionists.

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, speaking on the "World Revolution and the Fourth International," discussed the process of building an international revolutionary party to lead the new wave of struggle on a world scale. "It's clear that in view of the way the radicalization is sweeping the world, and in view of the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism, and the incapacity of Castroism to lead another revolution through to success, new forces by the thousands are looking for new leadership and are open to being won to our international movement," he said.

Barnes's report was marked by an optimistic, though realistic, view of the recent growth of the Fourth International. Specifically mentioned were Canada, where Trotskyists "have been

deeply involved in the massive struggles in Québec," and Spain, where "hardly a month goes by without struggle in the labor movement and in the student movement . . . and the role of the Trotskyist nucleus as one of the small but vanguard forces being identified and spoken about."

Barnes delineated some of the questions now being discussed within the international Trotskyist movement and pointed to the necessity of the membership of each party becoming familiar with the issues involved.

The concluding presentation of the main lecture series was a report by SWP national organizational secretary Barry Sheppard on "Building the Revolutionary Party in the United States Today."

The conference's educational activities were integrated with panels, workshops, and meetings on the day-to-day work of the party. The SWP's efforts in helping to build the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners was the subject of one workshop. Another dealt with the campaign in defense of the thousands of political prisoners still interned in Ceylon's concentration camps; another with U.S. work in defense of the Irish revolution, an expanding arena of activity for U.S. revolutionists.

Other panels and workshops were held to discuss the regional expansion of the SWP and YSA (conference participants came from twenty-nine states), university and high-school activity, building the SWP election campaigns, expansion of the party's press, and the fight against undemocratic election laws.

One of the more exciting panels dealt with the activities of the SWP members in the teachers' union. The party now has a significant membership in this union, a relatively newly developed one in which the contradiction between the reactionary, bureaucratized leadership and the militant rank-and-file is especially acute.

The SWP's general trade-union work was the subject of a much larger panel. The summary report, given by national committee member Frank Lovell, described the new situation confronting the U.S. Trotskyist movement in this area:

"I can confidently state now that all the reports from every section of

the country confirm what we have believed to be the case for the past several months: namely, that there is a growing ferment in the working class and in the ranks of the union movement.

"This is a welcome change for us—one that we *must* now plan to take full advantage of."

Lovell outlined the perspective of the National Committee on the extension of the SWP's activities in the trade-union movement: "1. Sustained and consistent sales of *The Militant* at plant gates. 2. We suggested use of the national and local election campaigns to reach workers. 3. We even dared hope for some consistent work in unions, wherever we have members, to promote our programmatic proposals against the wage freeze and against the war—and to propagandize for a Congress of Labor and for the idea of a labor party."

Lovell reported that headway had been made in this project in a number of areas and predicted that the growing number of high-school and college graduates in the party who would be getting jobs in industry would enable the SWP to accelerate this activity. He described the "very carefully planned attack" by the capitalist class against the union movement and raised the possibility of larger numbers of party members doing their most important political work on the job.

There were, in addition to the panels, national reports on the antiwar movement, the women's movement, and the Black struggle. These reports, attended by all conference participants, dealt with the present state of these movements and the SWP's tasks in coming months.

The intense pace of activity at the conference did not prevent participants from making use of the marginally less polluted rural air for a wide range of recreational activities. An organizational step forward was taken—no doubt in the spirit of Reykjavik—when the usual run of spare-time chess games were organized into a formal tournament. □

China's Population

China's population in 1970 was 697,000,000, according to an atlas placed on sale in Peking at the beginning of August. Specialists abroad had estimated it to be around 800,000,000.

The Pangu Pati

By Ray Slobodniuk

[The following article is reprinted from the July 14 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney.]

* * *

"The Pangu Pati has emerged unmistakably as the Territory's dominant political force." And, continued the *Sunday Australian's* editorial of April 23, it is "the first successful attempt to give expression to the independence movement in one of the last surviving colonies in the world."

The same editorial went on to paint a picture of bourgeois respectability about the Pangu Pati. It was not full of "hot heads and revolutionaries" but on the contrary, "the Australian government should be thankful that when the time comes to hand over power to the Territory's own people, it will be dealing with a moderate, responsible and popularly elected body that respects the procedures of democratic rule and parliamentary government."

Such is the attitude not only of the *Sunday Australian* but of nearly all sections of the Australian ruling class.¹ It may be said by some that the Australian bourgeoisie was presented with a fait accompli and could do little but accept the Pangu Pati. But as we shall see, such a view, which implies that Australia saw its interests allied to those of the white expatriates in PNG does not stand up to scrutiny.

Even the most cursory glance at the evolution of Australian government policy in PNG [Papua and New Guinea] over the past ten years shows that this argument is untenable. If we accept that up to the mid-1960s the Australian bourgeoisie relied upon the expatriate elite to care for its in-

terests, it is clear that after this time the situation changed very significantly. In response to imperialist pressure, both in terms of a demand to open PNG to foreign investment (i.e., exploitation) and in terms of imperialist activity within Australia (which forced the Australian bourgeoisie to start, at least, a token struggle for its own survival), we have witnessed the spectacle of the Australian ruling class turning against its expatriate ally in PNG. The existence of the white expatriate bourgeoisie in PNG, as a component of imperialist domination, was no longer essential nor in fact advisable.

Therefore it is not surprising that the Australian establishment no longer saw the United Party—the political expression of the expatriates—as its natural ally in PNG. In spite of the attitude of the Liberal-Country Party [LCP] government, there is no evidence to suggest that the vast bulk of the bourgeoisie in Australia saw any potential in the United Party (UP). Long before the results of the 1972 elections were known, bourgeois commentators, whilst predicting a UP victory, were concluding that even with a huge majority, the UP would be unable to "rule."²

As the already quoted Australian editorial intimated, the formation of the Pangu-led *National Coalition*³ was greeted enthusiastically in Australia. A *Sydney Morning Herald*⁴ editorial, dated April 21, stated bluntly that the defeat of the UP was not surprising and that, following upon this defeat, the UP "had retreated into formless conservatism, losing both its vigour and determination." But perhaps the most illuminating evidence about

the attitude of former allies is to be found in an article by Vincent Smith in the *National Times* (April 24-29, 1972). Headlined "Pangu and Peacock—coming to a pati on self government," the article discusses Peacock's attitude to Pangu. Smith is careful to distinguish clearly between the priorities of Peacock and his predecessor, Barnes, in the role as minister for Territories and implies very openly that with Peacock's appointment, the LCP government has stepped into line with the ALP [Australian Labor Party] and developed a "realistic" policy towards PNG. According to Smith: "The Pangu Pati with its desire for early self government, and the obvious ability of its leaders to govern and organize politically, was the obvious group towards which Mr. Peacock would gravitate."

Even more revealing is the description of how Peacock, and "his old friend, the administrator Mr. Johnson," "together . . . anxiously followed the fluctuating fortunes of Pangu."⁵

The overall tone of this article and its obvious attempt to link the interests of the Australian bourgeoisie with the Pangu well reflects the attitude of the bourgeois mass media and shows very clearly who they see to be Australia's ally in PNG.

And where does this leave the Aus-

3. The National Coalition, formed and led by Michael Somare's Pangu Pati, consists of (1) Pangu Pati—which contributes thirty-one members and holds the portfolios of Lands, Mines, Health and Education, (2) the Peoples Progressive Party—a breakaway from the United Party led by Julius Chan (a company director) which contributes ten members and holds the most important economic portfolios of Finance and Business Development, (3) the National Party—which also has contributed ten members (largely renegades from the UP) and holds the Public Works and Agriculture portfolios, (4) five Independents—led by John Guise, Minister of the Interior, and (5) three Ma-taungan Association members.

Thus, when formed, the National Coalition had fifty-eight members against the UP's forty-two.

4. For the past 3-4 years the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *National Times* (since it was formed) have represented in the most logical manner the interests of the Australian bourgeoisie. Articles, especially by Peter Hastings, contain invaluable material for those interested in the logic behind the new turn in Australia's attitude towards PNG.

2. Such suggestions have been scattered widely throughout the Australian press, in the immediate period after the elections; however, it is interesting to note that the *Pacific Islands Monthly* (an Australian based journal) in its February 1972 number raised this very issue before the election had even started.

1. Just as an indication of how wide the acceptance of Pangu is at present, the DLP's [Democratic Labor Party] *News-weekly* (10/5/72) wrote, "If they continue to move cautiously . . . they could turn out to be the best possible government for the country."

tralian left, sections of which have been counterposing the Pangu Pati against the expatriate elite and imperialism in general? It is a truism to state that the Pangu Pati and the embryonic nationalist struggle, of which it is but a facet, cannot be viewed in isolation or statically. But it is worth repeating, for it seems a difficult concept for some to grasp.

We unconditionally support the struggle of oppressed nations against imperialist domination. But socialists have one point of departure in an analysis of the struggle against imperialism: The historic weapon of national liberation can only be class struggle. We must decisively support the right of Black Niuginians to national independence. For it is only on the basis of a mutual struggle against domination by the same exploiter that the solidarity of black and white workers will be cultivated and strengthened. It is only on this basis that the struggle against capitalist oppression (in all its forms) can be fought on all fronts, attacked at every opportunity, in the process activating and cementing the international solidarity of the toiling masses. Upon the basis of this historic solidarity, humanity will be introduced to a new era of experience, an era in which human labour is seen in terms of human needs, not the profit of the individual.

So when we are assessing the struggle in PNG we must use the historic and international experience of the revolutionary movement as a tool and establish a meaningful, revolutionary relationship between the Australian working class and the weak but ever strengthening working class in PNG. Such an outlook is important even in the rather modest task of assessing the Pangu Pati. We must not jump to conclusions, condemning or rejoic-

ing in some particular aspect of Pangu activity.

As already pointed out there can be no doubt that the Australian bourgeoisie is trying to link its interests with those of [Michael] Somare's National Coalition. What we must determine is on what basis this fusion is taking place and what will be its effect upon the struggle for national liberation in PNG. Most evidence points to Somare being very amenable to incorporating the interests of imperialism into his own priorities. On a whole number of issues Somare lines up against the interests of the bulk of Niuginians. In fact, to examine his National Coalition in terms of social reality in Niugini makes it very difficult not to conclude that Somare and his friends are largely aliens in their own country.

Naturally enough the most obvious social division in PNG is the one between white expatriates on the one hand and the Niuginians on the other. And it is this division from which Pangu, and now its National Coalition, operate. Revolutionaries must support unconditionally the slogan which Somare was so fond of shouting — "Niugini for the Niuginians." But this does not mean that we support Somare unconditionally. Our attitude to Somare and the National Coalition will depend on what they mean by "Niugini for the Niuginians." Who does Somare mean when he talks of Niuginians—the bulk of the population which still lives in traditional tribal societies; the landless urban proletariat; the plantation labourers or perhaps the rapidly growing working class? Does Somare's National Coalition see the need to unite all these oppressed sectors in struggle, under the leadership of the working class, a fusion of interests which in a country at PNG's stage of development would *not* be as difficult as some imagine? Does Somare see the struggle for national liberation as a struggle against imperialism? Is there any indication that anyone in Somare's "radical" movement sees any relationship *between* the explosive land crisis in PNG, the demands of certain ethnic groups for the right of secession, the crying need to gear industrialisation to the needs of the people, *and* the historic reality that such problems will never be resolved as long as imperialism dominates the entire political

and economic life of a country? Has Somare ever indicated that his interests lie with those of the monstrously oppressed and swindled Niuginians?

Such questions are best answered by the Pangu itself. It will be seen that its current role in the National Coalition is the logical conclusion of its development since it was formed in 1966. And it is important to realise this point. The Pangu Pati is not betraying its principles in any way whatsoever. When Somare assures local private enterprise that the National Coalition will care for its interests, he is absolutely consistent. When Somare welcomes foreign investment and plans to prevent foreign domination by acquiring a 20% equity in all foreign ventures, again he is absolutely consistent. And when Somare sees Australia as the dominant influence in PNG after independence, but suggests that this will be offset by closer ties with Japanese capitalism and with the most reactionary elements in South East Asia (e.g., Indonesia and Malaysia), can there be any doubt whatsoever as to whom the National Coalition represents? What role has Somare, other than saving a piece of the cake for the local bourgeoisie? What possible contact can there be between the components of the National Coalition and the mass of Niuginians when the Coalition sees its priorities in terms of containing the imperialist plunder in PNG?

Socialists must distinguish between the interests of the oppressed and the oppressor. On present indications one can do little but conclude that the Pangu and the National Coalition belong to the oppressor, and as such constitute a stumbling block to the struggle for national liberation, social reform and industrial progress in PNG.

But as already pointed out the Pangu is almost as alien to PNG as the ridiculous attempts of imperialism to foist bourgeois institutions on that country. Pangu is "alien" because it is part of this "imperialist illusion" and because its political orientation is based upon the weakest and smallest class in PNG. So weak is this base that imperialism has set as a major priority, in the next four years before independence, the construction of a national petty bourgeoisie, which shall be able to accept the handouts which

5. Investment Corporation of Papua-New Guinea was established by the Australian government to acquire, on behalf of the Niuginians, 20% equities in selected foreign ventures. As Somare has pointed out, it will continue to do this until the Niuginian bourgeoisie has developed sufficiently to take over from it. It is interesting to note that such concerns as Burns Philip and Bougainville Copper have actually offered the Investment Corporation shares, even before the latter had approached them.

are being offered through the Investment Corporation.

So when Somare bewails the difficulty of solving the problems faced by PNG and how his National Coalition plans to grapple with them, we may well sympathise with him. But not only are the problems difficult, but within the framework in which Somare works, they're absolutely insoluble. It is nothing short of lunacy for Somare to talk of solving the land and national problems, of uniting the country in the face of growing separatist movements in Bougainville, Papua and the Gazelle, when all he has to offer is more, *and only more*, imperialist plunder in PNG.

Out of necessity we can draw but one conclusion, and that is that the Pangu and its National Coalition are but a passing phenomenon in PNG. The most likely fate of the National Coalition is not its destruction by the masses, unfortunately, but its evolution along the path taken by most colonial associates of imperialism. Already Somare and Guise (his deputy) are stressing the need to adopt and alter Westminster parliamentarianism to the conditions in PNG. What this means, only time will tell. Perhaps a semipresidential system as suggested by Guise or the establishment of what the Indonesian butchers call an anti-communist democracy—an alliance of the military, political parties and professionals.

History has taught us that the last option is the most likely to be chosen. Not because Somare or anyone else in the National Coalition is particularly naive or unscrupulous, but simply because to survive within PNG they have no other way to go.

Therefore in returning to the significance of the Pangu to the national liberation struggle we see how precarious its position is. Its connection with most Niuginians is of a most tenuous nature. And, there being no tradition of parliamentarianism in PNG, no institutionalized means of diffusing struggle between the oppressor and oppressed, the tendency of such struggles would be simply to bypass the Pangu. For in such situations, the natural inclination of people is to take what is theirs rather than ask for it. It is the mass movement, not the Pan-

gu, which shows the way forward in PNG.

The fate of PNG does not depend upon what Michael Somare and his coalition desire, but upon the ability of the mass movements to develop a conscious, socialist leadership, a leadership which can unite the struggle of the oppressed under the banner

Sri Lanka

Political Prisoners in Jailbreak

According to the June 22 *Ceylon News*, eighty-eight "suspected insurgents" have escaped from various detention centers in Sri Lanka in recent weeks.

"The most spectacular jailbreak, was from the Vidyalankara detention centre where a tunnel had been dug from a kitchen store to a point outside the heavily guarded barbed wire barricades surrounding the camp.

"Twenty-seven detainees, many of whom were due for release this week, had crawled through this tunnel, which extended 86 feet and at a depth of some 26 feet. Available evidence indicated that the tunneling had been done at night with improvised implements including kitchen knives.

"Engineers estimate that the job would have taken four months to complete. The earth dug out had been strewn under firewood piles. A total of 34 insurgents and 4 remand pris-

oners escaped from the Anuradhapura jail, 23 from Polonnaruwa, and 27 from Vidyalankara."

Army units combing the North Central Province reported capturing two of the young political prisoners.

The *Ceylon News*' attempt to make it appear that some of the prisoners were soon to be released is typical of the government's propaganda campaign against "impatient" youths. They had been held illegally as "suspects" for more than a year. Why weren't they released long ago?

The truth is that the government is only now beginning to hold trials for some of these victims. Even acquitted of all charges, the prisoners have no guarantee of being freed. The trial process itself may last for some time since the Bandaranaike regime is holding about 11,000 political prisoners in the jails and concentration camps of Sri Lanka. □

Punishment Fit for a General

U. S. General John D. Lavelle, who engaged in "unauthorized" bombing of North Vietnam, is alive and doing well.

Nixon was very angry, it will be recalled, when the scandal broke in the press. The president relieved Lavelle of his command and retired him. At a monthly pension of only \$2,500, it was not known how the general would be able to make ends meet.

The July 29 *Washington Star* reported what has happened recently to the target of Nixon's wrath. He managed to land a job with the Bat-

telle Memorial Institute of Columbus, Ohio.

This is not a cloister of higher learning but a Pentagon "think tank," the recipient of \$18,700,000 in war contracts in the past two years.

As a journeyman in the think-tank trade, the general finds that he needn't push himself too hard. He told the *Washington Star* that he spends only "a few hours a week" on the job.

When he broke General Lavelle, Nixon was of the opinion that the punishment "will assure that kind of activity may not occur in the future."

At such a price to pay, who would risk it? □

Permanent Inflation—Symptom of Capitalist Decline

By Ernest Mandel

[The following article appeared in the July 4 issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Translation is by Garret Ormiston.]

* * *

Prior to the second world war, inflation usually took the form of an excess issuing of paper money. It corresponded to large budgetary deficits, which the state covered by running the printing presses. It therefore usually went together with political disturbances: wars, foreign occupations, civil wars, accelerated rearming, payment of war reparations, etc.

In the epoch of the decline of capitalism (called by some the epoch of neocapitalism and by others the epoch of state monopoly capitalism), the phenomenon no longer takes chiefly the form of an excess issuing of paper money, but rather of a mushrooming of bank credit, that is, an inflation of checkbook money. Its origins no longer lie only in budgetary deficits or the unproductive spending of the central government. They are rooted in the very functioning of the economy—the efforts of the monopolies to assure themselves sufficient liquidity to be able both to carry through their investment projects and to make possible a rapid turnover of their goods, to "realize surplus value."

It would be useless to attempt to place the main responsibility for inflation on either the monopolies, their state, or the banks.* These are merely three different aspects of the same complex whole and are inseparably linked to each other. The essential point to understand is that inflation has become institutionalized during the epoch of the decline of capitalism—

without permanent inflation, the system could no longer avoid a rapid succession of catastrophic crises of the 1929-1932 type; in short, it could no longer survive, even on a short-term basis.

As a result, the basic cause of inflation is not to be found in expanding military budgets. To be sure, budgetary deficits and the weight of arms expenditures constitute an important source of inflation; but these are neither the only source nor even the main source.

To understand this it is necessary only to look at the inflationary trend in countries like Japan, where military spending represents a much smaller part of the gross national product than in the United States or France. Note must also be taken of the differences in the evolution of the ratio between the public debt and the gross national product on the one hand, and private debt and the gross national product on the other. While the first ratio has diminished by more than half in the United States since the end of the second world war, the second ratio has more than doubled.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that twenty-five years of "neocapitalist prosperity" in the United States (interrupted by six recessions) can be explained in large measure by the extraordinary increase in private debt. In 1946, payments on the private debts of the average American household amounted to six percent of its monthly income; by 1970, these payments reached nearly twenty-five percent of its monthly income. One need not be a great genius to understand that this skyrocketing rate cannot continue forever.

As long as paper currencies were only a monetary symbol based on precious metals, the automatic mechanism of the foreign exchange market and of gold shipments imposed a strict limit on credit. Once currencies are "managed," the limits on credit expansion no longer depend on anything but the policy of the monopolies and

their governments. Essentially, the "Keynesian revolution" boils down to this: Put off economic crises that would be too explosive and transform them into more "moderate" recessions by opening wide the floodgates of credit and inflation.

Is this to say that thanks to inflation capitalism has discovered the secret of avoiding serious economic crises for good? No. First of all because inflation fails in its aims when payments on debts end up by reducing, rather than increasing, current spending. Second, "managed currencies" come into conflict with the requirements of international competition, that is, with the logic of private property.

Since each capitalist government applies a credit policy that best corresponds to the interests of its bourgeois class, and since this policy also serves as an instrument of international competition, rates of inflation vary from one imperialist power to another. Under these circumstances, "managed" national currencies are less and less suited to play the role of world currency, of a universally recognized means of exchange and payment.

Each time a country has a rate of inflation greater than that of its principal competitors, the laws of the market take their revenge upon the "management" through a balance of payments deficit, and the expansion of credit then has to be checked. Thus, during the epoch of the decline of capitalism, the classical industrial cycle overlaps into a "credit cycle," of which the dismal "stop-go" policy of the Tory governments in Great Britain has been a typical example. □

French Riviera Going, Too

The French Riviera, famed for its beaches and crystalline water, is no longer what it was. The international jet set find the pollution so obnoxious that they must hold their bronzed noses. Despite the complaints by local officials no one seems able to do anything about it. The entire Mediterranean is becoming one vast cesspool.

* It clearly proceeds from this analysis that wage increases are a secondary phenomenon that can in no way be said to be a cause of inflation. Assuming that the amount of money in circulation remains stable, an increase in wages would result in a decrease in profits and not at all in inflation.

REVIEWS

'Woman's Estate'

[The following review is from the July 31 issue of the Canadian fortnightly *Labour Challenge*.]

* * *

British feminist Juliet Mitchell was one of the first writers to emerge in the wave of radicalization among women in the 1960s; her article "Women—The Longest Revolution," published in *New Left Review* in 1966, won her international respect as a leader and theorist of the women's liberation movement.

Her recent book, *Woman's Estate*,* has therefore been greeted with considerable interest by feminists.

The strength of this book is that it deals not only with women's oppression, but with the movement which is growing to combat that oppression. Mitchell describes the growth of the feminist movement in England, Holland, Sweden, France, and the U. S. A.

Although *Woman's Estate* is in many places somewhat academic, rambling, and theoretically vague, it is permeated with a profound sense of the historic importance and revolutionary potential of the women's movement.

Mitchell describes the factors that led to the resurgence of feminism in the middle and late sixties. In this period, many women—particularly young, university-educated women—began to realize the contradictions between the equality and freedom promised them and the restrictions they faced in reality. With the benefit of experiences and lessons already learned from other movements, such as the Black, student, and antiwar movements, women began to organize to struggle against their oppression.

Mitchell recognizes that women's oppression is closely linked with the division of society into classes, and that the struggle for women's liberation and the struggle for socialism are intertwined. She rejects the view—put

forward by writers like Shulamith Firestone in *The Dialectic of Sex*—that women can create a feminist revolution separate from the revolutionary activities of other oppressed groups.

At the same time, she rejects any suggestion that women's struggle should be postponed until "after the revolution" or that women's demands to win reforms do not fundamentally challenge the capitalist system. She comes out in strong support of an independent women's movement and conveys a real sense of the revolutionary dynamism of such a movement.

But in spite of such forceful arguments for the existence of a strong and active women's liberation movement now, Mitchell fails to make any proposals for strategy. She gives no indications of how to build the movement or what its tasks must be—of how to bridge the gap between the present small movement and its potential to unite masses of women in struggle against their oppression.

This is a serious omission in a book written by a woman who has been considered a leader of the movement. By abdicating the responsibilities of leadership, Mitchell does women a disservice.

In the late sixties, it may have been enough for a serious feminist book to simply pose problems and state the need for developing theory, building a movement, etc., in general terms.

But that time has passed. The movement today—not just in Britain, where Mitchell is writing, but on an international scale—is facing unprecedented challenges. The focus of these challenges, in country after country, is around the issue of women's right to abortion.

In 1971, the year *Woman's Estate* was published, some 8,000 anti-abortion demonstrators marched in Britain. By April 1972, 50,000 marched in Liverpool. This massive campaign against the women's movement, backed with immense resources, poses a challenge to women which must be met: the challenge of building a mass

movement of women—of organizing the millions of women who in every country are beginning to realize that we desperately need to win the right to control our bodies.

The direction in which the women's movement will—and must—be built is no longer a vague conjecture. Already the movement is moving internationally to meet these challenges.

But Mitchell does not even mention the abortion law repeal movement. Instead, what she calls for is "a specific theory of women's oppression"—out of which presumably a program of action would flow. The last half of *Woman's Estate* appears to be an attempt to begin such an analysis. As such, however, it is confusing, contradictory, and inadequate.

Mitchell concedes that a recognition of the necessity for women's liberation has been "part of the heritage of the revolutionary movement"; but she dismisses Marxist theory as inadequate for the needs of the feminist movement today.

This dismissal handicaps her analysis from the outset. It is Marxist theory which has made the fundamental contributions to our understanding of women's oppression; Marx and Engels, and Marxist writers since them, cut across bourgeois myths of the "natural inferiority" of women to expose the roots of women's oppression in class society, and to show that women's liberation requires the elimination of class society.

The Russian revolution, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, took immediate steps to lessen the burdens on women—particularly those of women's role within the family—through such measures as making abortion freely available to all, introducing simple procedures for marriage and divorce, establishing day-care centers and communal kitchens, etc.

But this record is clouded not only in Mitchell's mind but in many feminists' minds, because of the betrayals of Stalinism, which attempted to reverse the steps towards women's liberation taken by the young revolution, and to justify this reversal. The fine traditions of Marxism and the revolutionary movement are confused with Stalinism's distortions of Marxist theory and practice.

Mitchell has also confused Marxism with the sectarian approach which many of the socialist groups in En-

* *Woman's Estate* by Juliet Mitchell. Penguin Books, Baltimore, Md. 182 pp. \$1.15. 1971.

gland have shown to the developing women's movement. But the rigidity of their approach flows not out of inadequacies in Marxist theory, but out of their lack of understanding of that theory, and their inability to put it into practice.

Mitchell's dismissal of the richness of Marxist theory underlies the theoretical weaknesses of *Woman's Estate*.

In particular, she underestimates the importance of the family and its historical evolution to women's oppression. She tends to contradict herself. On the one hand, she feels the family is central to women's oppression: "The family and the psychology of femininity are clearly crucial . . . it is within the development of her feminine psyche and her . . . role as mother and housekeeper that woman finds the oppression that is hers alone."

At the same time she subscribes to the common myth that the family plays no crucial function in capitalist society at present. "As an organization it is not a significant unit in the political power system, it plays little part in economic production, and it is rarely the sole agency of integration into the larger society: thus at the macroscopic level it serves very little purpose."

But Marxists recognize that capitalism doesn't rule simply through the state apparatus. The family is one of the basic social institutions of capitalist society and plays a crucial role in maintaining the social and economic inequities of that society.

Each individual family bears the often overwhelming burden of providing for the welfare of its members, old and young. The family also is crucial in inculcating the norms and values of the private property system, in training children in submissiveness to authority, and in implanting in infants and children the character structure without which no one could accept the hierarchical social relations intrinsic to capitalism.

Women are the backbone of the family and they are trained from birth to provide the unpaid labor that is essential to the carrying out of the tasks class society has assigned to the family. Women's role in the family serves as the chief rationalization for their oppression in all other spheres.

Bourgeois social scientists would have us believe that the family has

always existed and that women have always been oppressed. Mitchell appears to give in to this false theory, saying that perhaps women have always been oppressed because they are physically inferior.

But all the evidence we have points to the fact that in primitive societies women were not an oppressed sex. The basic economic unit was not the family, but rather the maternal clan. Women were the economic and social leaders in a society based on communal property relations and egalitarianism.

This period ended with the rise of private property and the division of society into economic and social classes, and the birth of the patriarchal family. These changes were brought about by a social revolution which overthrew the egalitarian matriarchal society which had existed for hundreds of thousands of years.

The importance of this understanding of the origin and role of the family is that it describes the social basis for women's oppression and offers a perspective for ending it.

It shows that all women are oppressed *as women* through their special role in the family—this is the basis for the potential of a mass independent feminist movement.

This analysis indicates the key strategic importance of uniting women in

a mass movement around issues which can mobilize them in struggle. Issues which attack the underpinnings of women's oppression in the family, such as abortion and day care, have already emerged as key to building such a movement. In particular, the issue of abortion law repeal—the demand of women to control their own bodies—has become the battleground for international attacks on the women's movement.

We can hope that Mitchell, in the time since this book was published, has developed along with the movement which is moving to meet these challenges. It is not enough to say we need analysis—that analysis must be developed, tested, and matured within a living, fighting movement.

Woman's Estate is an attempt to come to grips with the nature and tasks of the women's movement. Its serious weakness is that it fails to do what the title seems to promise: it does not indicate how women will come into their long-lost "estate." Yet this book was not written in a vacuum, but on the basis of a living women's liberation movement. And that movement is in the process of creating out of itself the means to win back for all women their inheritance: a proud and equal place in human history.

—Lis Angus

Pamphlet on Chicano Liberation Movement

The Struggle for Chicano Liberation, Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 30 pp. \$.60, £.25. 1972

This pamphlet is the text of a resolution on the Chicano struggle adopted by the 1971 convention of the Socialist Workers party. It has been reprinted by Pathfinder Press from the November 1971 *International Socialist Review*.

The Struggle for Chicano Liberation describes the rise of the Chicano movement from its beginnings in the struggle of California farm workers led by Cesar Chavez, and the New Mexico land-grant campaign organized by Reies Lopez Tijerina, to the emergence of La Raza Unida parties, nationalist formations that are challenging the Democratic and Republican parties.

The pamphlet offers a concrete evaluation of the movement of this oppressed nationality and proposes a

revolutionary socialist strategy for mobilizing the masses of La Raza in independent struggle.

The Struggle for Chicano Liberation describes the impact of the antiwar movement on the Chicano community. Moratoriums and other protests against the U.S. government's genocidal war have been among the largest and most consistent expressions of nationalist sentiment. The appearance of Chicana feminist organizations indicates the role of nationalism in stirring Chicanas to assert their humanity both as La Raza and as women.

The pamphlet lists the key transitional and democratic demands produced by this young movement for self-determination up to now. It puts special emphasis on the key role revolutionary socialists can play as defenders of the oppressed nationalities and consistent opponents of the racist capitalist system. □

PSA Asks Asylum in Chile for Guerrillas

[The following petition demanding that the Chilean government grant asylum to the ten Argentine guerrillas who hijacked a plane to that country on August 15 was presented to the Chilean embassy in Buenos Aires on August 21 by a delegation of the Argentine Socialist party. The delegation consisted of Juan Carlos Coral, Arturo C. Gómez, Enrique G. Broquen, and Mario S. Doglio. The petition was addressed to the Chilean ambassador. *Intercontinental Press* has translated the text from the August 23 issue of the PSA's weekly, *Avanzada Socialista*.]

The Socialist party (Coral Secretariat) would like to present the following statement to the ambassador:

The Socialist party (Coral Secretariat) states emphatically that the ten compañeros who have arrived in Chile must be given political asylum. There can be no doubt that these compañeros were brought to trial for their political activities and that the alleged common crimes the Argentine government is attributing to them must be viewed in terms of two considerations: first, the aim and purpose for which they were committed, and second, the fact that even if a so-called common crime were committed, it would be related to political activity. And in addition, their sentences were handed down by the special criminal tribunal, which has legalized violation of the law and the use of torture in this country.

The Chilean government must confront and overcome any obstacle standing in the way of a decision to grant political asylum. It must take into account the fact that the majority of the Chilean people have already granted it in their own minds, and it can have no doubt that the vanguard of the Argentine people, consisting of those political parties fighting for the interests of the working class and for national and social liberation, is demanding this asylum, or at least that the refugees be allowed to reside in some socialist country. There can be no legal obstacle that overrules or distorts the popular will, for in that

case it would immediately lose its legal character. The Chilean Supreme Court must not be allowed to intervene if there is the slightest chance that it will rule in favor of extradition.

The Socialist party is in complete solidarity with the resolution of the Central Committee of the Chilean Socialist party, released by Compañero Senator Carlos Altamirano and especially with the words of Compañero Deputy Erich Schnake: "The ten Argentinians are revolutionists who rose up against institutions in their country that they do not accept, and for this reason they deserve our solidarity, as political refugees always have." Especially since this solidarity has been repeatedly demonstrated in the past. In 1956, the Chilean government admitted Cámpora, Jorge Antonio, Kelly, and Cooke, well-known Peronist leaders who were being held prisoner by the Aramburu

regime during the "Freedom Revolution," and who were also accused of having committed common crimes. And Compañero President Salvador Allende himself in 1968 accompanied the Bolivian and Cuban guerrillas who had been fighting in Bolivia with Compañero Che Guevara.

The Socialist party (Coral Secretariat) thus clearly states that its position is strongly in favor of granting asylum because it considers the compañeros who have fled to be revolutionists, although it openly disagrees with the revolutionary strategy they and the organizations to which they belong are following.

The Secretariat of the Socialist party salutes the ambassador by joining the Chilean people in the words of their hymn, today more appropriate than ever: "Chile will be either the grave of the free or a refuge against oppression." □

Call for Investigation of Trelew Murders

[The following front-page editorial on the August 16 murder of the guerrillas in Trelew by the Argentine military appeared in the August 23 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, published weekly by the Partido Socialista Argentino (Argentine Socialist party). It was entitled "Repudiate the Massacre: We demand an investigation and punishment of those responsible." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Our party, which has stated its opposition to the mistaken methods of the guerrillas, shares the angry suspicion of the workers and the people that the fifteen* revolutionists killed in the Almirante Zar Base were viciously murdered by the navy, which was responsible for guarding them. The official explanation is full of un-

answered questions and points that need clarification, yet the bloody repressive and political meaning of this deed is clear. The armed forces and the government cannot expect the country and the people to be satisfied with the explanation that has been offered.

This explanation raises certain questions that are today being asked by the entire country. How did the officer on duty and in charge of guarding the nineteen most important politico-military prisoners in the country come to find himself alone with them, in a corridor, at 3:40 a.m. with a machine gun in his hands? How did the guerrillas manage to get weapons for the subsequent shootout? How did it happen that all of the prisoners and none of the jailers were killed or wounded in the shootout and that the hostage emerged alive and unhurt? What could have driven the prisoners to such a preposterous act as that of confronting 400 watchful soldiers, on a military base in the middle of the desert, with no hope of escaping, when just

* This was the number at the time the editorial was written. Later, another of those wounded died, bringing the total to sixteen. Whether the other three who were wounded survived remains to be seen.

a few days earlier, in circumstances where the possibilities for escaping were better, they surrendered unconditionally?

The fraudulent nature of the official version in face of these basic questions is obvious. No decree or clampdown can overcome the suspicion that this was a premeditated massacre—a massacre that could have expressed the military's hatred for the guerrillas and its thirst for vengeance against them, or that could in addition have had a coup d'etat as an ultimate political objective.

It is the government itself that is attempting to cover up these doubts by limiting itself, late on Bloody Tuesday and then in a lengthy session of the military chiefs, to placing a ban on any information from the guerrilla groups and stating that the process of democratic normalization leading up to elections [next year] would continue its course.

If the hunger and poverty of the workers, together with the biased and repressive character of the military government, were decisive obstacles, limiting the process of restoring civil institutions, the unexplained killing of fifteen revolutionists on a naval military base can end the government's control over this process.

The Argentine Socialist party will continue its stubborn struggle to defend even the most minor vestige of constitutional political rights and the most modest civil rights won by the working-class and popular masses. In defending them, we call for denunciation of the Trelew massacre and for its investigation by a commission consisting of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and the working-class and popular political parties. We call for punishment of those responsible to the full extent of the law.

This is the way to halt the sinister escalation that the repressive forces are embarking on, and to block success for any attempt at a military coup by the far right against the masses. We must alert the working people, and especially the workers' movement and its class organizations, to the need to compel trade-union and political leaders to speak out against the Trelew massacre and call for a clarification of the matter and the punishment of those responsible; to denounce any attempt at an ultrareactionary military coup; and to place no confidence in the present military government, which must be replaced by a workers' and popular government.

Regardless of what comes out of this necessary investigation, the Argentine Socialist party repudiates the bloodbath, the responsibility for which lies with the military dictatorship that took power six years ago. □

Protest the Repressive Measures in Sri Lanka!

[The following statement denouncing the Bandaranaike government's growing use of repressive measures was issued July 20. It was signed by Prins Gunasekera, general secretary of the Human and Democratic Rights Organisation; P. B. Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union; 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.]

* * *

There is no indication as yet of any intention on the part of the Government to end the State of Emergency proclaimed on 16th March 1971 and extended from month to month up to now.

The suppression or restriction of democratic rights and civil liberties under the Emergency has been accompanied by a series of financial measures which have resulted in increasing economic hardships for the people.

In this situation, a most disturbing feature of the Government's policy is its increasing expenditures upon the

expansion of the police and the armed forces and the supply of all kinds of new arms and equipment to them. Even more sinister is the fact that several foreign governments have given considerable *military* aid to the Government of Sri Lanka, even though most of them have granted very little *economic* aid.

Essential Services Orders made under the Emergency regulations have made it illegal for workers in most establishments to strike. Trade Unions of workers are thus seriously handicapped in bargaining with employers or with the Government for adequate wage increases to meet rising living costs. Unorganised workers, small producers and the masses of unemployed, on the other hand, are in any case defenceless against the rise in the cost of living.

Whilst maintaining the State of Emergency, the Government has used its majority in Parliament to enact the Criminal Justice Commissions Act. This law will enable it to continue to keep thousands of persons in custody indefinitely, without trial, even if the Emergency is ended. At the same time, it will enable the Government to give the appearance of resorting to some form of judicial process in respect of

persons in custody. It is for this purpose that a new device, called a Criminal Justice Commission, has been provided for under the law.

Forty-one persons have been named in the first of the inquiries that the Commission already set up will hold. How many more such inquiries the Commission will have to hold, and how many persons will be brought before it in each inquiry still remains to be seen. How long each inquiry will take is also quite uncertain.

What is certain is that even if a few hundreds out of the thousands of persons now in custody are to be brought up for inquiries before the Commission, it will take several years before the Commission will be able to complete its task. Meanwhile, thousands of persons will continue to languish in prison, and thousands of others may be taken into custody. Public attention, naturally, will be focussed on the few persons facing each inquiry, and thus be diverted from the plight of the thousands of prisoners who will continue to be held in prison, without even the pretence of a trial under this law.

A Criminal Justice Commission is given wide powers of inquiry under the Act. It may convict any person



Pickets march outside the Sri Lanka embassy in Tokyo. They demanded restoration of democratic rights in Sri Lanka, the repeal of all undemocratic laws in that country, and the im-

mediate release of some 11,000 political prisoners held by the Bandaranaike government. The Tokyo demonstration was sponsored by the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign in Japan.

brought before it and sentence such person to any punishment, other than death. At the same time, even though Supreme Court Judges are appointed to the Commission, they have no power to order the release of any person held in custody, even if that person is acquitted by them. Furthermore, a person can be charged in the Supreme Court with an offence punishable with death, after having been brought before a Commission, but before it concludes its inquiry. Such a person may then be convicted and even be sentenced to death on evidence that may have been obtained from that person before the Commission, or on the evidence of other persons charged before the Commission and pardoned after giving evidence against this person.

Confessions obtained from persons in police or military custody, even under torture or threat of death, can be used as evidence against them un-

der the Act. Such statements can also be used against other persons who may be incriminated by them. A Commission may also compel a suspect to give evidence and answer any questions put to him before the Commission.

This law has been declared in a resolution adopted by the General Council of Advocates of Sri Lanka, on 7th July 1972, to be one which "precludes the application of the principles of justice towards persons against whom proceedings may be taken" under the Act. There have been protests against this infamous law even in other countries. In England, this law was denounced in the House of Lords, on 13th June 1972.

The General Council of Advocates and many other organizations in this country have demanded the repeal of the Criminal Justice Commissions Act. Whilst we fully endorse this demand,

we think that a suitable form of mass protest is necessary against this law and the Public Security Act, as well as the repressive policy that the Government is carrying out by the use of these laws. This policy is being pursued in direct violation of the undertaking given by the United Front of the SLFP, LSSP and CP [Sri Lanka Freedom party, Lanka Sama Samaja party, Communist party] at the general election of May 1970 to repeal all repressive legislation and to guarantee fundamental democratic freedoms, in law and in practice.

We consider that the most suitable form of protest to adopt, in the first instance, under the conditions now prevailing in this country, would be a one-day hunger strike from dawn to dusk, on whatever day that may be decided for it. This is a form of protest that can be implemented on a nation-wide basis, in town and village—in private homes, in schools,

in the fields, in plantations, in factories, in shops and offices, in ports, and in various other types of establishments, such as hospitals and courts of law, and even in the prisons. In

fact it can be implemented anywhere. Anybody in this country, whether young or old, male or female, rich or poor, employed or unemployed, healthy or sick, free or unfree, can

join on that day in this conscious act of protest against injustice in this country, and in personal dedication to the defence of human liberty and the democratic rights of our people. □

Text of Anonymous Leaflet Distributed in Moscow

[In the latter part of June, it was widely reported in the international press that leaflets had appeared in Moscow calling on Soviet workers to engage in strikes and demonstrations. (See the report and commentary in *Intercontinental Press*, July 3, p. 763.) The brief excerpts or summaries indicating the contents of these leaflets have led to the most varied assessments of the significance of their appearance, ranging from their designation as "revolutionary" to their dismissal as CIA or KGB (Soviet secret police) forgeries.

[The full text of the original Russian has now become available and we are printing an English translation, done by *Intercontinental Press*. The leaflets appeared in three versions—a full statement, a more condensed one, and a very brief one. The present text is of the longest leaflet.

[By acquainting themselves with the exact contents of the leaflets readers can better form their own opinion as to the political character of the "Citizens' Committee" that produced them.

[One recent report may shed some further light on the possible source or character of the leaflet: the leading Soviet dissident Pyotr Yakir, arrested in late June and now facing trial, may be charged with complicity in producing these leaflets. He almost certainly had no connection with it.

[This points more strongly toward the possibility that the KGB itself was responsible for the leaflets' appearing—to serve as a provocation against the democratic movement. At any rate, the reactionary features of the text—its uncritical picture of workers' conditions in advanced capitalist countries, and its anti-Vietnam, anti-Cuba, and anti-Arab stance—lend themselves to use by the Stalinists, who are past masters in the frame-up technique of equating pro-Soviet critics of the bureaucracy from the *left*, like Yakir, with procapitalist and anti-Soviet opponents from the *right*. That was, of course, the central technique used in the bloody purge trials of 1936-38.]

* * *

Respected Citizens!

On July 1, 1972, a decade will have passed since the day that prices on the most essential food items were increased. Ten years ago the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union stated in a decree: "The price increase on meat, meat products, and butter is a temporary measure. The implementation of the measures projected by the March (1962) Plenum of the Central Committee will make it possible for the prices of agricultural products to be lowered in the not too distant

future. There is no doubt that it will be possible to lower various prices in the very near future."

It is now clear to everyone that this was a routine "promise," a routine unscrupulous lie of the Kremlin leaders. According to information in the press, the Soviet people succeeded during the past ten years in implementing the decisions of ten plenums and two five-year plans. But prices, far from going down, have in fact continued to rise. There are concealed price increases on foodstuffs and industrial products through changes in the grading of products, lowering of the quality of goods, and re-labeling of old products, and so on.

Remember all the ballyhoo in connection with the "Program for Building Communism" adopted by the Twenty-second Congress in 1961. The authors of that miraculous pseudo program promised that "within the first ten years, that is by 1970, every sector of Soviet society will have all that is needed, will be sufficiently provided for . . ." There were unending columns of figures to prove that at the present time we would be standing on the threshold of a paradise of material abundance. But instead of the falsely promised rising standard of living it is only the cost of living that has risen in our country. During the past ten years prices of almost all goods rose by 20-30 percent, housing construction has declined by 20 percent, and more and more there is a shift to co-operative apartments.

Respected citizens! Our country is the world's richest in natural resources. It is the second greatest industrial power. But in terms of living standards, the workers of the Soviet Union rank twenty-sixth, the lowest of all the developed countries. The wages of a Soviet worker purchase from seven to twelve times less than those of an American, English, or West German worker. The average dwelling space of our workers is two to five times less than that of the workers in those countries. Eighty percent of American families have automobiles, sixty percent of English, and fifty percent of German. But in the USSR the figure is less than one percent. The size of retirement or invalids' benefits, and of medical or maternal benefits in the USSR is insignificant in comparison with Western countries. Of all these countries, the workers in the USSR have the shortest paid vacation time.

An unemployed worker in the West can buy from two to four times more goods with his or her unemployment benefits than our laborers and office workers can buy with their wages. Furthermore, the number of unemployed in the West does not exceed from two to four percent of the labor force. No wonder the Kremlin rulers jam foreign radio broadcasts. Even *Hitler* did not do that in peacetime.

Respected Citizens! Few know that the overwhelming majority of goods in our country are sold for two to four times more than the cost of state production and sale "including profits allowed to the enterprises." According to the calculations of our . . . [omission in original—*IP*] economists the wages of Soviet workers amount to about one third of the real value of their labor. And in addition to these open withholdings and deductions our workers must still pay taxes.

Where do these colossal hidden profits from our labor go?

They are appropriated both secretly and openly by the Kremlin leaders and their faithful servitors—the upper- and middle-level party bureaucrats, apparatchiks, and the like. These profits go to support their luxurious living standards, their country homes, villas, limousines, and their huge salaries and bonuses, the secret "extra rations" they take behind the people's backs, and their exclusively restricted health resorts, hospitals, and sanatoriums!! . . .

The Kremlin leaders and their friends live better and more luxuriously than many tsarist noblemen lived before the revolution, and they call themselves the "vanguard of the people," public servants.

Fine servants they are! They are robbing the skin off the backs of their "masters"—three times over. . .

And the "masters of the country"—the workers, the laboring masses—hardly make ends meet.

A second way in which the people's wealth is squandered is when it is sent abroad. The Kremlin rulers engage in trade not in the people's interests, but in the interests of their own political adventures, in the interest of gaining world domination for themselves. In return for their "disinterested aid," gained at the cost of their own people's backbreaking toil, they try to introduce the same kind of enslavement in other countries that exists in their own.

By robbing their own people, the Kremlin masters export an enormous quantity of the highest-quality goods—meat, butter, fish, caviar, grain, woolen fabrics, leather, valuable raw materials, and other goods in short supply at home. At the same time they are forced to import grain from abroad (Canada), depleting the already meager national gold reserves.

Enormous resources are thrown away by the Kremlin rulers on arms supplied to so-called "freedom fighters," on the support of dictators who provide military bases for the USSR ("Egypt, Syria, and others"), on the maintenance of an enormous spy network abroad, and on buying up the services of foreigners "useful" to our rulers. Great amounts are spent on the upkeep of foreign Communist parties. Tens of billions were poured out on the Mao Tse-tung regime—"Now that regime is our deadly enemy"; three million rubles a day are spent on arms to the DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] in support of its effort to take over South Vietnam; one million a day goes to Cuba; a million and a half a day on the Arabs.

The Kremlin rulers have no pity. There is wealth enough in Russia to last them indefinitely.

Respected citizens! There is no socialism in our country! It isn't socialism when the country has twenty times more

parasites and bosses of every kind than there were in tsarist Russia! It isn't socialism when the average worker's wage is a hundred rubles per month, while some big leader has a monthly income of several thousand! It isn't socialism when the people are effectively deprived of the most elementary rights: freedom of speech and the press, the right to strike, and so on. It is precisely the lack of these rights, in practice as opposed to on paper, that leaves our people to be ruthlessly robbed and oppressed, overtly and covertly, by the Kremlin rulers.

And it is not toward communism that we are heading—that is all lies. Our system is state capitalism, the worst and most rapacious system of government, which allows the rulers, free of any control, to dispose of all income and wealth in the country and to commit acts of coercion and arbitrariness. This kind of uncontrolled and ruthlessly rapacious government was what Germany had under Hitler's "socialism."

Respected citizens! Our rulers are ruining the country. They are destroying the economy and creating dangerous international tensions.

Dear citizens! The workers in Western countries have won their high standard of living and wide-ranging political freedoms through struggle. Strikes and demonstrations are tried and true weapons of struggle. When a rise in prices was announced in Poland in December 1970, the workers in Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin, and other cities set up strike committees, announced they were on strike, and came out in street demonstrations. As a result Gomułka was removed and nearly all of the Central Committee and top government leadership was replaced. The new Central Committee secretary, Gierek, canceled the price increases, raised wages and pensions, and eased the censorship.

The people of our country have already begun to rise up in struggle. Over the past ten years strikes, demonstrations, and other actions have occurred in a number of cities—in Novocherkassk, Temir Tau, Chirchik, and Leningrad; there have been strikes in Moscow factories. And within the past few days demonstrations involving a great many workers took place in Kaunas. More and more of our writers and well-known scientists as well as plain officeworkers and ordinary workers are coming out with protests. They are demanding freedom of speech, of the press, of association, improvement in the people's living conditions; they are demanding that the authorities be accountable to the people. They are persecuted, denounced as "renegades," and thrown in prison. They are jailed because they protest. Almost every last one of them is jailed.

Respected citizens! Fight for your rights, for a better life. Defend one another: one for all and all for one. Only through struggle can we win a change for the better. If we do not struggle, we will more and more be turned into slaves for the CPSU upper crust, into draft animals—toiling cattle. Long live freedom and democracy!

* * *

Make this leaflet known to as many people as possible.
Citizens' Committee

Intercontinental Press