

Intercontinental Press

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New Blows Aimed at Vietnamese

**French Students
Take to Streets
to Protest
Militarization**

**ITT Heads Admit
Plot to Block
Election of
Salvador Allende**

Ukrainian Dissidents Jailed

Wounded Knee Occupation Goes On

Supporters of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO), aided by leaders of the American Indian Movement, have continued to hold the small town of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, despite government efforts to wear down the militants by cutting off food supplies and reinforcements. Although the Nixon administration still hesitates to launch a full-scale assault on the Indians, heavily armed FBI agents who surround the town have occasionally fired on isolated groups of Indian protesters.

OSCRO is demanding the removal of the corrupt and undemocratic "tribal" government of Richard Wilson, revocation of the tribal constitution imposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the convening of a popular convention to establish a new system of tribal government.

To justify refusal to accede to the demands of the Oglala Sioux, the federal government, backed by the capitalist press, has portrayed the protesters as "outside agitators" and "young revolutionary hotheads." Wilson's so-called tribal government added its voice to this chorus March 13 by demanding that "all non-Oglala" leave the reservation. Included in this category were observers from the National Council of Churches but apparently not the FBI agents.

In reality, the majority of Oglala Sioux who live on the Pine Ridge Reservation are backing the demands put forward by OSCRO. A petition to revoke the old tribal constitution circulated on the reservation has been signed by more than 1,300 persons. On March 11, district chairmen representing six of the reservation's eight districts announced they were withdrawing from the "tribal" government. Their statement repudiated the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which established the current system of Indian government, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the Oglala Sioux nation.

Demonstrations in solidarity with the occupiers of Wounded Knee have taken place in Boston, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and many other cities. □

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Nixon Aims New Blows at Vietnamese

Only three days before the deadline for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam, Nixon suspended withdrawals indefinitely in an attempt to extract further concessions from the Vietnamese liberation forces. In a statement released March 25, Nixon announced that U.S. forces would remain in the country until he won compliance with a demand first raised by U.S. negotiators on March 22.

On that date, Brigadier General John Wickham Jr., the deputy chief of the U.S. delegation to the four-power Joint Military Commission (JMC) sent a letter to the North Vietnamese and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) delegations announcing that the U.S. troop withdrawals would be suspended until "after the United States has been provided with a complete list of all U.S. P.O.W.'s including those held by the Pathet Lao, as well as the date, time and place of release, and after the first group of P.O.W.'s has been physically transferred to United States custody" (emphasis added).

Both the timing and content of Wickham's letter seemed deliberately designed to disrupt the release of U.S. prisoners. Only one day earlier, the Hanoi and PRG delegations had announced that they would release all U.S. prisoners in their custody by March 25—three days before the date specified in the cease-fire agreement—if Washington agreed to complete its troop withdrawals by the same date. The chief of the U.S. delegation replied by letter, accepting this proposal.

Wickham's letter the next day was the first time since the signing of the cease-fire agreement that Nixon had demanded that the Vietnamese arrange the release of the ten U.S. prisoners held in Laos. A PRG spokesman immediately rejected this demand, pointing out that it constituted "a most serious violation of the Paris agreement and its protocols."

The agreement of course contains no mention of U.S. prisoners in Laos. In the hope of obscuring this embarrassing detail, the Nixon administration immediately began claiming that there had been a "private understanding" between Kissinger and Le Duc

Tho that Hanoi would see to the release of prisoners held by the Pathet Lao. This claim is denied by the North Vietnamese.

Nixon carefully refrained from calling attention to the *real* agreement on the release of prisoners in Laos. This is the Laotian cease-fire signed February 21.

That agreement called for the release of all prisoners within sixty days of the formation of a provisional coalition government. Negotiations over the composition of that government have made no progress, however. Therefore Nixon is demanding of the North Vietnamese and PRG that they improve his bargaining position in Laos by securing the release of American prisoners there. A Vietnamese refusal, he must hope, can be sold to the U.S. public as sufficient pretext for keeping troops in South Vietnam.

In order to obscure still further what it is up to in Vietnam, the U.S. government on March 24 suddenly claimed that not the United States but the PRG had raised new obstacles to carrying out the provisions of the cease-fire. In this task of mystification, Nixon received the unstinting aid of the U.S. capitalist press.

The March 25 *New York Times*, for example, carried the headline "Vietcong Impose 2 New Demands in P.O.W. Impasse."

In fact, however, the "new demands" were an insistence that Nixon live up to the terms of the Paris agreement. The PRG demanded that Nixon withdraw the 825 U.S. members of the four-party JMC after that body ceases to exist on March 28 and that he likewise remove the 159 marine "security guards" of the U.S. embassy in Saigon.

Washington's outrage over this demand, and its cynical manipulation of the remaining prisoners—coming on the heels of Nixon's March 15 threat to resume the bombing of North Vietnam—indicate how little U.S. imperialism intends to allow the cease-fire agreement to interfere with its counterrevolutionary goals in South Vietnam. And if any additional evidence were needed, it was provided

March 20 by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson.

While Washington was loudly complaining of alleged violations of the cease-fire by the liberation forces, Anderson reported that the Pentagon was recruiting 20,000 "civilian experts" to replace "military advisers" withdrawn under the terms of the Paris agreement.

"Most of the new advisers," Anderson wrote, "will be recruited from the armed forces but will go to Saigon as employes of such corporations as ITT, Sperry-Rand, Lear-Siegler, Northrop and NHA, Inc. Some advisers, however, will actually remain on the Pentagon payroll" (emphasis added).

"A Navy memo explains," Anderson continued, ". . . that civilians are being recruited 'to assist in winding down the U.S. involvement in South Vietnam'—as if sending more Americans will somehow decrease the 'involvement.'"

"The Navy's idea of 'winding down' the U.S. role, according to the memo, is to recruit civilians to assist the Vietnamese to run their Navy, handle their military supplies and equip their warships. . . ."

"An Air Force memo appeals for civilian volunteers to go to Vietnam as 'ammunition' experts, 'military personnel' managers and aircraft specialists."

It should be emphasized that these violations of the cease-fire agreement are only the beginning of a new counterrevolutionary offensive in South Vietnam. Nixon has in no way abandoned the goal of maintaining a puppet regime securely in power in Saigon. Administration officials are admitting this with surprising candor, as Dana Adams Schmidt reported in a Washington dispatch printed in the March 23 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"The highest level of officials at the Pentagon is defining a post-Vietnam United States strategy in the Pacific that is anchored by three main points:

"First, a revised but still strong United States presence in the Pacific; second, a strong and stable South Vietnam; and third, increased conventional strengths of friendly countries in the area such as Japan, Indonesia, and Australia. . . ."

"The second anchor of American strategy, a stable Vietnam, has already been underwritten by the massive 'Vietnamization' program which has aimed to make South Vietnam a military

force of major importance in Southeast Asia, Pentagon sources say. The U. S. military is counting on South Vietnam as its most reliable partner in the area."

South Vietnam can be neither "sta-

ble" nor "reliable" for U. S. imperialism without the smashing of the liberation forces. It is to be hoped that this fact is as clear to the Vietnamese fighters and their supporters around the world as it is to Richard Nixon. □

To Defend 'Diems' of Pnompenh

B-52s Devastating Cambodian Villages

By Allen Myers

Two months after the signing of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement, U. S. air attacks in Cambodia have reached a new peak of intensity. Descriptions of the bombing in the bourgeois press recall earlier accounts of the massive raids that for years devastated North and South Vietnam.

Writing from Pnompenh in the March 19 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Elizabeth Becker reported: ". . . the US Command has dramatically increased tactical air raids over Cambodia. Government troops are countering the present communist offensive with saturation bombing missions by American fighters. The result is that devastation of the countryside and the movement of refugees have reached unprecedented proportions."

Becker provided a graphic description of some of the destruction visited on the southeastern region of the country by this saturation bombing:

"Villages barely scarred in three years of conflict were levelled. Rice paddies bordering strategic highways were charred and pocked.

"The fighting continues to plague these densely populated regions and the tactical air support has become more lethal. Refugees are pouring into Phnom Penh, leaving their homes in the lush Mekong River region to escape the raids. Captains of river convoys from South Vietnam report that villages along the Mekong are deserted, on both the east and the west banks. Around Neak Luong, the last government defence position on the east bank, the bombing has been especially heavy, increasing ferry traffic as refugees cross to the west bank and head for the capital."

The current bombing offensive re-

calls other infamous aspects of the U. S. aggression in Vietnam, such as destroying towns in order to "save" them. Becker reported that Banam, a village north of Neak Luong, had been recaptured by Lon Nol's troops February 28 after massive bombings. She described the town as "deserted and in ruins. Its factories and markets were obliterated by US napalm and bombs. Banam had been captured and recaptured previously in the war, with little damage to the town; this reoccupation destroyed it."

U. S. military officers have provided no details on the number of raids in Cambodia, but almost daily dispatches describe the attacks as "heavy" and involving the use of giant B-52 bombers, which carry up to thirty tons of bombs.



LON NOL: Is he the "Diem" of Pnompenh?

The escalation of the bombing has been directly proportional to the decline of Lon Nol's political and military fortunes. This decline was symbolized March 17 when a dissident air force captain flew over the presidential palace and dropped two bombs, killing forty-three persons.

The puppet regime reacted to the incident in a manner betraying a deep feeling of insecurity. A state of emergency and state of siege were immediately declared, and the next day all newspapers and periodicals except those published by the puppet regime itself were banned. Police immediately began rounding up any figures thought to be hostile to the rule of Lon Nol.

The first persons arrested were relatives of deposed Prince Norodom Sihanouk (the dissident captain was reported to be Sihanouk's son-in-law), but the list of those held was quickly expanded.

"Opposition politicians, student leaders and journalists were also under house arrest or filled the cells at military police headquarters, where they were being held without formal charges, according to informed sources," reported a March 20 Reuters dispatch.

On the same day the presidential palace was bombed, two persons were killed at a meeting of striking teachers when someone threw two grenades into their midst. The regime promptly announced that the grenades had been thrown by "enemy agents." But students supporting the strike who witnessed the attack said that the "enemy agents" were in fact soldiers of Lon Nol's army.

Certainly Lon Nol lost no time in using the events of March 17 as a convenient tool for attacking the strike. The teachers were ordered to return to work immediately under the state of emergency regulations.

Among those arrested were a number of teachers, including the dean of the teachers' college that was the site of the grenade attack.

The wave of repression following March 17 reached even into the military clique that rules Pnompenh for the CIA. General Sirik Matak, one of the leaders of the coup that overthrew Sihanouk three years ago, was placed under house arrest, allegedly for his own "protection."

Sirik Matak is the Nixon admin-

istration's favorite candidate as de facto replacement for Lon Nol and his brother General Lon Non, who are considered less than successful at defending U.S. interests. Lon Nol has been under considerable U.S. pressure to appoint Sirik Matak vice president, but so far this plan has been blocked by Lon Non.

It will be recalled that this is not the first time in the history of Indochina that a puppet has thumbed his nose at the Washington puppeteers. The parallel with the Diem brothers in Saigon ten years ago has already caught the attention of the U.S. press.

"Military failure, official corruption and runaway inflation," the *New York Times* observed in a March 21 editorial, "have all contributed to the growing disaffection with the ailing Lon Nol. He is reported to be increasingly isolated from the public and under the domination of an ambitious younger brother in a way painfully reminiscent of South Vietnam's late President Diem. As with Diem, the United States Government continues to lavish on the Lon Nol regime economic and military support, including daily B-52 bombings of Communist forces, while pressing ineffectually for reforms needed to broaden popular support."

It must remain a matter of speculation as to whether the Lon brothers are merely poor students of history or whether they believe that Washington has concluded from the Diem experience that it is counterproductive to change puppets in the middle of a performance. In any case, if he is unable to arrange a cease-fire protecting U.S. interests in Cambodia, Nixon will be faced with a dilemma remarkably similar to that confronted by Kennedy and Johnson in 1963-64.

"The present policy," Henry Kamm wrote in the March 10 *New York Times*, "has succeeded in maintaining Cambodia at the edge of military disaster while keeping her from totally succumbing. The Cambodian Army with all its superior equipment supplied by the United States has been outmaneuvered and outfought by its combined Vietnamese and Cambodian foes at every point. Military experts, including Cambodians, believe that it would collapse without American bombing support. . . ."

"Well-placed Cambodian and diplomatic sources believe that the demor-

alizing effect of the continuation of the regime is as much a peril to the survival of a Cambodia not domi-

nated by the Communists as the military superiority of the guerrilla forces." □

Deviated From Nixon's Game Plan

8 Antiwar POWs Threatened With Trials

By Fred Feldman

Eight recently released U.S. prisoners of war who allegedly formed a "peace committee" during their incarceration in North Vietnam are being threatened with courts-martial for their antiwar views, according to a report by Seymour Hersh in the March 16 *New York Times*. Military sources told Hersh they expect charges to be filed against the soldiers by officers who were imprisoned with them.

The eight reportedly signed statements and made broadcasts opposing U.S. policy and tried to discuss their opinions with other prisoners. "The G.I.s were advised to knock it off," an officer told Hersh, adding that the eight had rejected the "order."

One unnamed official told the *New York Times* correspondent, "None of them [the "peace committee"] are officers, and some of them are black, so the club [the officers] is going after them."

One of the eight, Air Force Staff Sergeant John Young, allegedly denounced U.S. aggression in a tape-recorded message while he was a prisoner in Hanoi: "I no longer want to fight for you or anyone like you," Young was quoted as saying of Nixon. "In fact, I won't ever fight for your kind of American people."

The tape reportedly continued, "I cannot support the killing of innocent Vietnamese men, women and children, or the destruction of their beautiful country."

Hersh reported that telephone calls to the eight men have been intercepted by military information officials. In all but name, the eight are still prisoners.

Although the accusations against the former POWs are being attributed to their superior officers, it is safe to assume that the latter are being strongly encouraged by the Pentagon brass. Hersh's anonymous source noted that

supposedly classified details about the eight "are coming out awfully easy all of a sudden."

The threatened courts-martial are the latest step in the administration's carefully coordinated campaign to pressure released POWs into presenting a public image of nearly unanimous approbation of The President and his war policies.

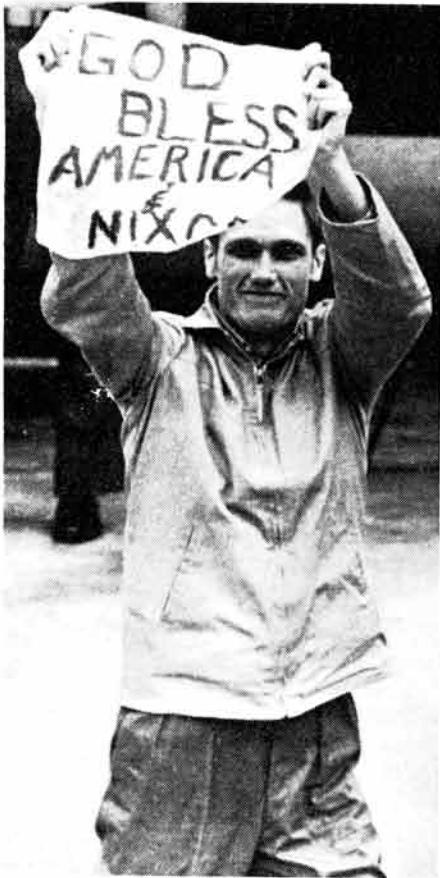
Urged on by Defense Department public relations operatives, returning POWs have waved signs reading "God Bless President Nixon" and have endorsed the U.S. carpet bombing raids on Hanoi. Their almost identical speeches have been given front-page treatment in the capitalist press as examples of what "real Americans" think about the war in Indochina.

The administration's task has been made easier by the fact that most of the prisoners were highly paid pilots shot down while dropping bombs on the people of Vietnam. Most are career officers, with a pronounced right-wing bias. Further, the returnees are well aware that the promotions, lucrative jobs, and other benefits being dangled before their eyes would be endangered by antiwar statements.

Perhaps the most cooperative of the ex-prisoners was 48-year-old Air Force Colonel Robinson Risner. On arriving in the United States, he "spontaneously" telephoned President Nixon. Claiming to speak for "virtually all of the prisoners," he wanted to assure Nixon that "you would have our support for as long as you live."

In addition to swearing eternal fealty to Nixon, Risner denounced critics of the war: "I feel beyond any doubt that those people kept us in prison an extra year or two, not just the people demonstrating, but the people who were downing or badmouthing our government and its policies."

During an interview on February



This POW followed the script. But not all of them have.

15, Risner declined to deny that he had made a statement attributed to him that appeared in *Nhan Dan*, North Vietnamese newspaper, on the eve of his release.

"Please, gentlemen, sympathize with me," the daily quoted Risner assaying. "Once I am released, I become again a man of the American armed forces, of the American administration. And naturally, I will have to say what the American government directs me to say."

The adaptable Colonel Risner is being rewarded for his cooperation with the Pentagon's propagandists by a promotion to brigadier general.

Although the social composition of the returnees as a group was conducive to a prowar stand, antiwar sentiment was widespread among them, and there have been expressions of resentment about the Pentagon's assiduous efforts to silence such views.

In the February 23 *New York Times*, Hersh wrote that "there was a wide diversity of opinion about the war and how it should be ended among the pilots returning home af-

ter up to nine years in captivity. One former prisoner complained about what he termed strong psychological and military pressure to conform."

Although none of the ex-prisoners of war has yet been released from military custody and surveillance, some have insisted on asserting their opposition to the war. On February 23, Chief Warrant Officer Second Class Daniel F. Maslowski told a news

conference in Denver that he made two radio broadcasts while a prisoner of the NLF in an effort "to help end the war." He added, "We should be able to say what we believe."

Major Hubert K. Flesher told reporters March 8 that "many of us came to believe that possibly we had asserted our noses into somebody else's business" by intervening in Indo-China. □

Labor Theory of Value Still Stands Convicted

Swiss Court Rules Against 'La Breche'

The Supreme Court of Appeal of the Swiss Cantonal Tribunal on March 5 upheld a previous ruling against the revolutionary-socialist semimonthly *La Brèche*. On October 25, a criminal court in Lucerne had found the paper guilty of an assault on the "honor" of individual members of the bourgeoisie and of "defamation and calumny" for asserting that employers enrich themselves through exploiting their workers. Three companies in the French-speaking section of Switzerland—Bobst and Son, Les Cables de Cortaillod, and Les Ateliers de Vevey—brought suit against *La Brèche*, charging that the management had been defamed (see *Intercontinental Press*, November 27, 1972, p. 1311).

In the October ruling, Judge Vodoz violated the procedures laid down in the penal code by waiting six days after the end of proceedings before rendering his verdict. A maximum time lapse of five days is stipulated. In the past, where this procedure has been violated, the court's ruling has often been canceled, according to a report in the March 8 issue of *La Brèche*. In handing down their ruling on the appeal, Judges Cuénod, Tailens, and Cornaz said the rule should be interpreted on a "case by case" basis. The violation in the case of *La Brèche* was not felt to be serious enough to warrant canceling the verdict.

In his verdict, Judge Vodoz found *La Brèche* guilty of "in fact arousing in the reader the image of heads of factories, very clearly and personally singled out, who enrich themselves at

the expense of exploited and scorned workers."

By upholding Vodoz's verdict, the judges have dealt a serious blow to the right of the workers to freedom of speech and organization. "From now on," wrote *La Brèche*, "all those who state that the bosses attempt to increase the exploitation of the workers through various means are liable to be found guilty. For having denounced capitalist exploitation, *we will be fined several thousand francs. Organize repression and dig into the cash register—that is the motivation behind this trial of public opinion, which is what the trial of La Brèche was.*"

La Brèche appealed for increased support for the newspaper as an essential step toward fighting the court ruling. □

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ITT Admits It Plotted Against Allende

By Jon Rothschild

"No Marxist critics," the *New York Times* complained in a March 22 editorial, "whether at home, in Chile, or elsewhere, could inflict half as much damage on the standing of American international corporations or half as much discredit on the free enterprise system as has I. T. T.'s own behavior. Ironically, its antics have helped Dr. Allende enormously rather than hurting him."

The *Times*'s concern for the free enterprise system's image stems not so much from any new revelation about what the giant International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation has actually done—most of the details on ITT's plotting against the Allende government in Chile were disclosed last year by columnist Jack Anderson (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 3, 1972, p. 356; April 17, 1972, p. 428; and July 17, 1972, p. 839). The problem is that several top ITT officials have been brazen enough to admit their misdeeds and stupid enough to claim that what they did wasn't so bad anyway.

The setting is a series of public hearings being held by a subcommittee of the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The subcommittee, headed by Senator Frank Church, is conducting what is expected to be a two-year investigation into the actions of U. S. multinationals, the huge, far-flung corporations that constitute virtual governments unto themselves. The subcommittee started with ITT—not a bad choice, considering the contempt in which the telephone ripoff artists are held by the world's population from downtown New York City to the empty quarter of the Arabian desert.

The first public witness at the hearings (March 20) was William R. Merriam, an ITT vice-president. Everyone should remember Mr. Merriam. Bill used to be the head of ITT's Washington office. In that capacity he was involved in that \$400,000 payoff to the Republican party in exchange for the Nixon administration's favorably settling an antitrust suit against ITT (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 20, 1972, p. 287).

Merriam testified that he and ITT President and Chairman Harold Geneen had met William Broe, head of the CIA's clandestine operations bureau for Latin America, in 1970 to discuss ways of blocking the election of Salvador Allende. Merriam said he was instructed by his boss to "keep in touch" with Broe and that he did just that, meeting "many times" with the CIA agent throughout 1970.

The purpose of the meetings, Merriam admitted, was to discuss contingency plans for Chile. These included fomenting violence that would provoke a military coup, using U. S. government agencies to supply anti-Allende propaganda, financing the opposition to Allende, and combinations of these. The only hard data Merriam provided that had not been revealed before was the fact that the ITT-government contact had expanded to include conversations with State Department officials and with Henry Kissinger; and also that the ITT-administration collaboration was rather protracted—Merriam admitted making "25 visits" to the State Department.

Merriam also said that ITT had played a leading role in assembling an ad hoc committee of other U. S. companies in February 1971 to work out a cohesive anti-Allende strategy. A meeting was held in Merriam's office; it was attended by delegates from the Anaconda and Kennecott copper corporations, the Bank of America, and a few other firms.

Washington Post correspondent Laurence Stern observed that Merriam's testimony was "halting" and "punctuated by frequent lapses of memory," which is a shame, for when the executive got it all together, he afforded the audience some fascinating glimpses into the workings of the corporate mind. For example, in explaining the company meeting in his office, Merriam said, "We have these ad hoc committees all the time in Washington. It's just a form of life." When he was confronted with Broe's role in the CIA's secret operations, Merriam explained, "I had no idea he was clandestine. We

had lunches in places where 300 or 400 people were present."

Merriam's testimony was followed by a similar performance from John McCone, an ITT director who received job training as head of the CIA. McCone's testimony dealt mainly with a fund of \$1 million or more that ITT offered the CIA and the State Department to help finance an anti-Allende coalition, and with ITT's attempts to dispose of Allende after he had won the election despite ITT's interference.

McCone said he had been instructed by Geneen to propose the fund and that he personally conveyed the offer to Kissinger and Richard Helms, who was then head of the CIA (McCone's own successor). McCone just couldn't see why anyone was bothered by the idea of such a fund. "International Communism has said time and again that its objective is the destruction of the Free World, economically, politically and militarily," he told the senators. Besides, the six-figure slush fund was not supposed to be used destructively. It was, he explained, "constructive"—in principle no different from U. S. aid programs to Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan, and the Berlin Airlift.

After less than a week of hearings, the Senate subcommittee had come up with enough information to make sections of the capitalist press a little nervous about the official confirmation of what most people already knew ITT had been doing. Some newspapers suggested implicitly that ITT had performed some kind of public service by having its officials testify openly. And actually, that was a bit perplexing—until the *Wall Street Journal* explained the matter.

It seems that ITT has filed a \$92 million claim with the U. S. government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which insures American companies against expropriation by foreign governments. The claim is for properties Allende nationalized last year when ITT's anti-Popular Unity plots were first revealed. The problem is that the OPIC has a rule that states that if a U. S. company precipitates a nationalization through "provocation or instigation," its claims for compensation are void—unless it can show that its actions only followed plans initiated by the U. S. regime.

ITT is thus trying to convince the Senate subcommittee that the CIA or the State Department had started the

anti-Allende plotting and that the company was simply offering to foot part of the bill.

In the course of this effort, however, ITT officialdom may wind up annoying other sections of the American ruling class. Testimony on March 22, for example, turned up an instance of shocking lack of class solidarity on ITT's part. A company memorandum authored after Allende's election proposed preserving ITT's Chilean hold-

ings by offering Allende a deal. "The idea," wrote Eileen Shanahan in the March 23 *New York Times*, "was to persuade President Allende that he could win world opinion to his side by making a 'fair deal' with I. T. T. and that he would then be able to confiscate the properties of the Kennecott and Anaconda mining companies with impunity, using the argument that copper was a basic national resource and in a different category from a telephone company." □

by unnoticed. The date it went into effect . . . three months before the legislative elections, was no accident. Who would dare react and threaten to throw the smoothly running electoral machine out of kilter? . . . Debré must have felt all the more confident in that the other aspects of his law had already been adopted without having touched off any mobilization. . . ."

Enter the High-Schoolers

Debré and the French bourgeoisie calculated wrongly. They reckoned without the intervention of the French high-school students, who, for the first time in two years, have taken to the streets in massive numbers, organized in a national movement to roll back the Debré law and extend, rather than eliminate, the deferments.

By March 22, the date of a national action called by the leadership of the high-school movement, the Ministry of Education had to admit that between 70 and 80 percent of all high-schoolers were staying away from class to protest the Debré law. And the movement was showing no signs of letting up. In fact, support for the high-schoolers seemed to be spreading into the universities and the trade unions.

Some alert bourgeois journalists observed that the national actions fell five years to "the day after the student antiwar actions that finally triggered the May 1968 upheavals.

The March 16 *Rouge* explained the extent the movement had reached in the previous weeks of activity:

"In the provinces, the mobilization has already seen considerable development. Marseille high schools were struck as long as a month ago; two demonstrations have already taken place in Aix and Marseille. At Clermont 3,000 high-schoolers marched in the streets on March 13. In Lille more than 2,000 demonstrators were attacked by police. Strikes and demonstrations are on in Toulouse, Dijon, Tarbes, Morlaix, Tours. . . ."

"In Paris, the pace of development has been noticeably different. Caught between the end of academic vacations and the election period, the Paris high-schoolers have had to put the emphasis on preliminary structuring of the movement before unleashing strikes or organizing demonstrations.

Against Militarization and Stratification

French High-Schoolers Take to the Streets

By Jon Rothschild

"Today the family and church are failing to bring the leavening of moral and civic necessities to our youth. The schools will have to make an effort to again become places of education in the full sense of the word. The schools must be associated with the army, which, because of the age of the youth it takes in, must become the place where the man and the citizen are definitively formed in the totality of their responsibility. The army and the school must be linked. The interval between the two must be cut as short as possible, and the army must be reshaped to deal with this problem; youths should be inducted on the average toward the end of their eighteenth year, thus allowing the adolescents to pass from school to the army with no difficulties of transition and thus avoiding certain disastrous complications."

One General Vanuxem, a French far-right militarist, offered these observations on character formation in September 1969, a little more than a year after the May 1968 explosions.

The French bourgeoisie had been playing around with "reforming" its national service system for some time. As early as April 1968 a joint "army-youth" advisory committee had suggested abolishing deferments by which students could postpone their military service (obligatory for all men in France) until their studies were completed.

The commission met in several ses-

sions during 1969 and 1970, and in the middle of 1970 a law was proposed that eliminated the student deferments. According to the proposal, youth would be forced to enter military service before the end of their twenty-first year, thus fulfilling the regime's desire to lower the average age of soldiers.

On June 10, 1970, the proposed law was adopted nearly unanimously by the National Assembly. The Gaullists, the center reformers, and the Socialists voted for it (439 votes). The only negative vote came from Michel Rocard of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party). Three deputies abstained; the thirty-four Communist party deputies did not participate in the voting.

The resulting legislation, which has since become known as the Debré law (after Michel Debré, the minister of national defense), was altered several times in 1971 and 1972. But its most critical provision—abolition of the deferments—remained. That aspect of the law took effect on January 1, 1973.

"Theoretically, everything was to be carried out with the greatest discretion," commented the March 16 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. "Voted on piecemeal over three years, the reform of the national service system decided on by Debré was supposed to slip

There are now more than forty committees in the Paris area, each including between thirty and eighty students. Some schools are already on strike: Diderot, Turgot, Condorcet."

The Paris students were not long in catching up. "In Paris," the March 21 *Le Monde* reported, "the high-school strike, already significant by Monday morning [March 19], spread still further during the afternoon and during the morning of March 20; practically all institutions were affected by the movement, even a good number of the girls' schools (girls are not affected by the deferment question). . . ."

Le Monde reported that several locally organized demonstrations had occurred around Paris on March 19. And the strike was still growing in the provinces, the Paris daily reported, noting that in the North and in Pas-de-Calais about a dozen high schools were hit by strikes, "notably in Denain, Cambrai, Condé-sur-Escaut, Hazebrouck, Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, Le Cateau, Armentières, and Arras."

Role of the Ligue Communiste

In many areas, the actions against the Debré law broke out spontaneously; in others, conscious intervention by revolutionists was required. The ferment started in early February, but did not immediately grow to massive proportions for two basic reasons. First, most high schools have a vacation period in February; the exact dates vary from school to school, a factor that made coordination and sustained struggle difficult.

Second, the pressure of the election campaign, and especially the Communist party's call to abandon mass actions in favor of participation in the Union of the Left's campaign took its toll, particularly in the Paris area. Nevertheless, at many schools, general assemblies or smaller meetings were held to plan out actions against the Debré law even before the vacation period.

The spark plug of the mobilization has been the Ligue Communiste, one of the only far-left groups to have urged action against the Debré law before the current outbreak. On February 10-11, the Front des Cercles Rouge Lycéens (FCR—Front of High-school Red Circles), a group in sol-

idarity with the Ligue, held a national convention attended by more than 300 delegates from thirty-three French cities. High on the convention's agenda was discussion of action against the Debré law. The convention adopted a communiqué that noted that small-scale struggles had already broken out at some schools and recommended the extension of the struggle:

"Following the example of the Belgian high-school students, the FCR proposes holding a national day of action and information for the reestablishment of deferments and their extension to all youth sometime before the March draft calls, without waiting for the elections. We propose that Committees Against the Debré Law be set up to prepare for the day and to plan further mobilization."

The convention also proposed setting up committees to aid victims of repression within the armed forces and to denounce the bourgeois army as a whole.

The February 24 issue of *Rouge* noted that struggles were continuing in the high schools, but still at an uneven pace. It called for the holding of general assemblies in the schools to organize the struggle and raised the two slogans that were to become the major watchwords of the Committees of Struggle Against the Debré Law (CSADL): Down with the Debré law! Reestablish the deferment and extend it to all youth!

Slogans and Strategy

The latter slogan became especially important. The regime has attempted to gain support for the law on the grounds that the old deferment system favored upper-class youth who could afford to go to universities. The reform, the Gaullists claimed, would have the effect of decreasing social inequality.

The reality is the opposite, as the CSADLs have stressed. Upper-class students can afford to take a year off to do their army service, and then go right back to school. But for less affluent students, especially workers, simply getting through high-school is difficult. If they are forced to go directly into the army after graduation, thus losing a full year of earnings and having their studies disrupted, the likelihood is that few, if any, will be able to return to the university



L'Express

POMPIDOU: May take a worse beating now that elections are over.

after their military service. They will be compelled to enter the job market immediately. The Debré law, apart from intensifying the militarization of youth, would in fact *reduce* the number of workers able to get a higher education.

Exposing the government's demagoguery on this point has become a crucial aspect of the struggle. "This mobilization must also in its content clearly affirm that it is not aiming at maintaining the privileges of the high-school and university students, who come mostly from bourgeois layers," wrote *Rouge* in its March 16 issue. "We demand the deferments be retained and extended to all youth undergoing professional training of any sort in order to unify the youth against all bourgeois measures of segregation and selection."

"All the conditions exist today for the movement to really break out," *Rouge* wrote. "The national coordinating meeting of the committees, planned for March 14, must set national objectives for the movement and thus allow it to overcome the unequal development that still exists between

various schools and cities. The perspective of a national day of mobilization at the end of March must be the occasion to unleash strikes in areas where they have not yet taken place. It must also be the occasion to organize, all over France, street demonstrations, the only way to effect a show of force against the state apparatus."

The Ligue's strategy seems to have worked well. When the struggle first broke out, the Communist party tried to block any mass mobilization. On March 2, for example, the Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lycéens (UNCAL—National Union of High-School Action Committees, the CP's "mass" high-school union) issued a statement denouncing the anti-Debré-law movement as "manipulated by the regime" and urged that "everything be done to bring about the victory of the Union of the Left and the Common Program," that victory allegedly to ensure the repeal of the Debré law.

The Red Circles answered that "only struggle is effective, the more so since it may be observed on the eve of these elections that draftable youth [eighteen to twenty-one years old] are not even allowed to vote. The youth struggling against the Debré law have confidence in their own action and not in a simple parliamentary switch. The FCR calls for continuing and extending the mobilization in the high schools under all possible forms."

The CP Jumps In

With the elections over, the CP bureaucrats were completely outflanked by the student upsurge. The March 21 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported what had happened in Toulouse, one of the cities where big actions occurred:

"Seven thousand five hundred persons, according to the police, 13,000 according to the organizers, marched through the streets of the city on March 16: adolescents, high-schoolers, vocational-school students, college students. Some young workers too. And a not inconsiderable number of young girls also participated in the action to protest the Debré law." *Le Monde's* correspondent noted that the demonstration was one of the largest Toulouse had seen in a long time.

"Pressure had been mounting very quickly in Toulouse during the past

week. The first school where pupils went on strike, March 13, was the huge coeducational Raymond-Naves school. . . . Why there? Everyone knows in Toulouse that the Ligue Communiste—the Trotskyist movement that is sparking and directing the high-school protests on a national scale—has very strong influence there."

Another article in the March 21 *Le Monde* described the Ligue's impact on the struggles in more general terms. It noted that UNCAL had waged a petition campaign against the Debré law, but that the "intervention in February of young Trotskyists of the 'Red Circles' or the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme [Alliance of Youth for Socialism, a Lambertist group] accelerated the movement.

"The method of these groups is simple and effective. General Assemblies [of the students] are convoked, at which they lay out their positions. A strike is voted. . . . As in the Guiot affair, the leaders of the Ligue Communiste have been themselves surprised at the result: After three weeks of intensive militant 'work,' the movement has become generalized almost completely. In most cases, the 'Committees Against the Debré Law' that they set up are now controlled only partially by the 'politicos.' The high schools previously unaffected have joined in."

As the CP stood in danger of becoming totally outflanked, its leaders decided that an intervention was called for. *Le Monde* noted:

"Although before the legislative elections UNCAL (many of whose members are young Communists) declared that the high-school demonstrations organized at the urging of the Trotskyists were 'inopportune,' after the success scored by these demonstrations, the left [Stalinist and Social Democratic] organizations are now calling for a general meeting Wednesday March 21, on the eve of the 'national day' called by the 'Committees Against the Debré Law.' *L'Humanité* [the CP newspaper], whose discretion at the beginning of the movement was remarkable, is now making itself 'one' with it and is taking care to state that its meeting has 'the support of many trade-union and teachers' organizations.'"

It is significant that the CP-called

meeting for March 21—which seems to have been a deliberate attempt by the Stalinists to undermine the authority of the CSADLs, which had been leading the struggle all along—was much smaller than the March 22 demonstrations that had been previously called by the CSADL. According to the March 23 *New York Times*, the March 21 action was 20,000-strong; the March 22 demonstration brought out 50,000.

March 22, the first day of nationally coordinated actions against the Debré law, thus marked the opening of full-fledged postelection struggle in France. The high-schoolers, like the university students before them, have by-passed the bureaucratic, Stalinist leadership of the Communist party. "By means of electoral tricks, the blackmail of fear, and thanks to the mechanism of elections themselves," wrote *Rouge*, "the bourgeoisie managed to squeak by, after having felt the chill of fear. It is up to us to wipe out their taste of victory (even if bitter) and to show them that things are not about to quiet down." □

ERP Raid

Three policemen were killed March 6 in a raid by guerrillas in José C. Paz, a locality twenty-five kilometers west of Buenos Aires, according to a UPI dispatch.

The assailants, the police told the press, identified themselves as members of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People). Witnesses said that the commando group was composed of six men and two women.

They attacked the police, who were guarding a carnival celebration at a local dance hall. One of the women suddenly hauled out a machine gun and began firing.

The witnesses said that she shouted, "Arms belong to the people and must be handed over to the people."

With cries of "Long live the ERP," the guerrillas took the pistols of the three policemen and fled. □

Oversensitive

"The President [Nixon] is understood to believe that [Swedish Premier] Mr. Palme, by likening the intensive bombing of Hanoi in December to Nazi atrocities, was in effect labeling him a mass murderer."—*New York Times*, March 22.

You can trust Dick to catch the subtle nuances.

Mixed Response to British White Paper

"We need the good will of everyone to make it work," William Whitelaw, the British viceroy of Northern Ireland, commented on the government's March 20 white paper. "We knew we couldn't please everyone. But it is a reasonable deal for reasonable people. The unreasonable will always find reasons why it will fail. They will say that the power-sharing won't work. I say that it must work."

The rather plaintive tone of Whitelaw's remarks may be seen as a reflection of the dilemma of British imperialism as it tries to stabilize its hegemony over the Six Counties. On the one hand, it must make concessions to the nationalist population if it hopes to isolate the republican movement from mass support. On the other hand, these concessions must be sufficiently limited to avoid arousing the active opposition of the proimperialist Protestant population on which British rule is based.

Not surprisingly in this situation, the March 20 white paper "relies heavily on ambiguity," as Alvin Shuster put it in the March 22 *New York Times*.

The greatest ambiguity is in the area of "power sharing" by the oppressed Catholic minority. The white paper calls for an assembly of eighty members elected on the basis of proportional representation, thus supposedly guaranteeing the nationalist population a "voice" in government. The assembly will then form committees covering as yet unspecified areas, and the heads of these committees—who are to be chosen in an unspecified manner but subject to the approval of the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland—will form the executive of the Northern Ireland government.

The division of powers between the assembly, the executive, and Westminster is also not spelled out except that certain areas, such as control of the police and electoral laws, are to remain within the jurisdiction of the British Parliament. Both assembly and executive are to be barred from passing discriminatory legislation.

None of these provisions by themselves determine the "share" of government to be granted the nationalist minority. That is left for the assembly itself to decide in consultation with Whitelaw.

While the proimperialist organiza-



WHITELAW: Pleads for "goodwill" to make the "white paper" work.

tions in Northern Ireland would undoubtedly have preferred a return to the Stormont parliament with its unchallenged domination by the Unionist party, their reactions to the white paper seemed conditioned by the recognition that the proposals leave room for chipping away the few concessions that they contain.

The Unionist party of former Prime Minister Brian Faulkner called the white paper "constructive" but indicated it would try to revise certain "unacceptable" provisions.

The extreme right wing of the loyalists organized almost immediately to overturn any semblance of concessions to the Catholic population. On March 21, the United Loyalist Action Group was established with the support of Ian Paisley, the Van-

guard Movement of William Craig, the Orange Order, the paramilitary Ulster Defense Association, and the Loyalist Workers' Association. Richard Eder reported from Belfast in the March 22 *New York Times*:

"Both the Rev. Ian Paisley, who will be one of the committee's chairmen, and William Craig . . . said the committee was certain its candidates would be solidly backed by the Protestant community, win a majority and then force the British to amend their plans."

Reaction in the Catholic community was more varied. The Social Democratic and Labor party, while condemning the failure to end internment without trial, announced that it would participate in the assembly elections. A stronger endorsement came from Thomas Conaty, chairman of the Belfast Central Citizens Defense Committee, who reportedly called the white paper "the first chance for Catholics in fifty years."

The Official Irish Republican Army was reported to have rejected the British plan, but announced that it would continue to observe a ceasefire.

The Provisional IRA likewise rejected the white paper. It said it would continue its military operations.

"The [Provisional] I. R. A. announcement," Eder wrote in the March 24 *New York Times*, ". . . came after three days of discussions by political and military officials of the Provisionals. There were reliable reports that many members of the Provisional Sinn Fein, the militants' political group, and the military faction favored a truce. These differences may be further thrashed out at a Provisional Sinn Fein gathering to be held next week."

"In fact," Eder added, "though the Provisionals' statement totally rejected the white paper proposals, it hinted that the truce decision might be changed if the present ban on the Sinn Fein were lifted."

A few hours after the Provisional announcement, three British soldiers were shot dead and a fourth was wounded in a Belfast apartment. The British army indicated they had been shot by the Provisional IRA, but there was no immediate comment from the group itself. □

"This opens the nuthouse."—New York City Mayor John Lindsay presenting a key to the city to Soviet gymnasts.

Panama Canal Issue Aired at UN Session

By David Thorstad

As participants in the special United Nations Security Council session in Panama City arrived to open deliberations on March 15, they were greeted by several gigantic signs placed on buildings facing their meeting hall. In the five official languages of the UN, the signs proclaimed such thoughts as "Sovereignty is not negotiable," "Panamanians are united by one religion: Regaining the Canal," "In our negotiation with the United States, we will always remain standing and will never get down on our knees," and "What nation of the world can withstand the humiliation of a foreign flag piercing its own heart?"

The signs were not the only reminder of the Panama Canal Zone issue that was to dominate the five-day gathering even though it was not officially on the agenda. For just across the street from the refurbished Legislative Palace, where the delegates were meeting, was the Canal Zone itself. During the month prior to the opening of the conference, the United States had added a cosmetic touch to its colonial holding—it had torn down the nine-foot-high fence on Kennedy Avenue that separated parts of the Zone from Panama. The fence was replaced with less offensive hand-railings.

Panama's strong man, Brigadier General Omar Torrijos Herrera, leveled a stinging attack on the United States in his speech opening the gathering. He denounced U. S. control over the zone as "colonialist." "We ask the world represented here to give us your moral support in this struggle, since our people is reaching the limit of its patience," he said.

Panama, he added, "has not been, is not, and will never be an associated state, a colony or a protectorate. Nor will we add another star to the flag of the United States."

Torrijos also touched on another question, notably the blockade of Cuba. "Blockades and pressures must shame those who resort to them more than those they are aimed against. Every hour of isolation suffered by the

brother people of Cuba constitutes sixty minutes of hemispheric shame."

In the afternoon session of the first day, the foreign ministers of Peru and Cuba—two of ten Latin American states that sent foreign ministers to the gathering—supported Panama's position. Cuban minister Raúl Roa backed the right of Panama to nationalize the canal and called on the



As long ago as 1959, when this photograph was taken, U.S. troops were used against Panamanians demanding their rights. Here, a youth is barred from planting Panama's flag in "U. S. zone."

United States to return Guantánamo base, which the imperialists have "occupied by force, against the will of the Cuban people."

Torrijos's aim in inviting the Security Council to come to Panama for its second session outside New York was twofold: to gain international moral support for Panama's claims to sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Canal Zone, and to reach the American public with Panama's case.

By both measures, the conference was a success for Panama. The United States was clearly isolated, and ended up casting a veto to thwart the resolution dealing with the Canal Zone. And considerable attention was focused on the issue, even in the United States, where previously awareness of the issues involved had been practically nonexistent.

Negotiations between the Panamanian and U. S. governments on a new treaty on the Canal Zone began in June 1971 but reached a stalemate in December 1972. Panama, fed up with the slow pace and lack of progress, decided to take its case to the world.

The 1903 canal treaty grants the United States rights to it "in perpetuity." Panama wants this treaty, which was imposed upon it by the United States, abrogated and replaced with a new one. "We want the new treaty to recognize our sovereignty and our jurisdiction over the canal zone," explained Panamanian Foreign Minister Juan Antonio Tack in an interview in the March 16 *Le Monde*. "We also want to be able to effectively participate in the administration of the canal and we are calling

for the withdrawal of the Southern Command [U. S. military forces] from our territory.

"We intend, moreover, to neutralize the canal with United Nations guarantees, and the United States will have to commit itself to respecting this neutrality."

The United States government has agreed that the "in perpetuity" clause can be sacrificed, and it has offered to increase its yearly payment to Panama from \$2 million to \$25 million. It wants any new treaty to give it jurisdiction for fifty years, extendable to eighty-five years if a third set of locks is built and to ninety years if a two-level canal is built.

"Another 90 years of this is absurd," Torrijos told *New York Times* correspondent Richard Severo March 14. "We are running out of patience."

Torrijos described the Southern Command, with its more than 11,000 U. S. military men (among them no fewer than twelve generals), as "a command of repression."

When the resolution on the Panama Canal came up for a vote March 21, U. S. Ambassador John Scali cast the veto, calling the resolution "unbalanced and incomplete and therefore subject to serious misinterpretation." The vote was 13-1, with Great Britain abstaining. Britain's reason for abstaining echoed Washington's claim that the canal question was of a bilateral nature and of no relevance to the world body.

By vetoing the measure, the United States came out clearly against the right of a nation to control the resources that exist on its own national territory. "The vetoed resolution seemed, on the surface, at least, innocent enough," wrote Severo in the March 25 *New York Times*. "It noted that the United Nations had the mission of entering into international situations 'which might lead to a breach of the peace.' It went on to 'take note' of the 'willingness shown by the Governments of the United States of America and the Republic of Panama' to abrogate the 1903 treaty 'and to conclude a new, just and fair treaty . . .' But it also included a phrase that the proposed treaty should 'guarantee full respect for Panama's effective sovereignty, over all its territory.'" That mention of sovereignty was too big a bone for Scali to swallow.

The imperialists were most ungracious about their failure to suffocate the canal issue behind closed doors. Two days after the end of the session, unnamed officials in Washington floated a story to the effect that Torrijos had threatened Scali with physical

violence if he vetoed the resolution. The imperialist ambassador remained undaunted, however, and presumably armed with the knowledge of the nearness of thousands of friendly Southern Command forces, found the courage to cast his veto. □

Against Wage Control

British Protest Strike Set for May 1

On March 22, after a delay of more than two weeks, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) set May 1 as the date for a day of nationwide strikes and protests against the Tory government's Phase Two limits on wages. The TUC had called the protest March 5, but had not set a date at that time.

Under Phase Two, the government will attempt to prevent any pay raises exceeding the formula of £1 plus 4 percent a week. After April 1, when the wage-control legislation goes into effect, unions will be subject to fining for encouraging strikes that seek to surpass the government's formula.

On March 23, some 47,000 gas workers voted to end six weeks of token strikes and slowdowns. The settlement accepted by the gas workers keeps their wages within the government-imposed limit but increases their take-home pay somewhat more by reducing their share of the contribution to fringe benefit programs.

A week earlier, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF) executive voted by a five-to-four margin to suspend a strike by the union's 29,000 members, who are demanding pay increases of about 12.5 percent. The government, according to the *Financial Times*, is willing to grant increases of only 8 percent. ". . . there can be no guarantee," the paper warned March 19, "that the vote will not be reversed if, for one reason or another, the renewed talks with the British Rail board go badly."

The gas workers' vote left 220,000 hospital workers as the only group presently conducting a nationwide strike. The hospital workers are among the worst paid in Britain and

perform some of the most unpleasant jobs.

Their tasks include such things as scrubbing floors, washing bed pans and toilets, mortuary work, polishing furniture, and laundering soiled linen. Their basic wage rates range from £17.48 to £21.32 a week. Under the government formula, they would be held to increases of only £1.88 to £2.00.

Approximately 70 percent of the hospital workers are women and many of them are immigrants. One hospital in London employs workers of thirty-five different nationalities.

The TUC national leadership's support for the hospital workers has so far consisted solely of one letter to the government, but mine workers, who may shortly call their own strike, are showing their solidarity with the hospital workers. In Yorkshire, for example, members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) were expected to leave their jobs March 23 to join a protest in behalf of the hospital workers.

It was the miners who last February smashed the government's 7 percent wage norm by winning an 18 percent increase after a six-week strike. During the week ending March 24 the NUM began sending ballots to its 241,000 members, asking endorsement of the national executive's rejection of the National Coal Board's latest offer and asking authorization for the executive to call a nationwide strike. The board has offered an increase of £2.29 weekly, while the NUM is demanding hikes of £5.50 to £7.00.

Meetings of miners' representatives in Yorkshire and in South Wales have already unanimously rejected the National Coal Board's offer. □

PST Proposal on Political Prisoners

[The following is a reply by the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) to an appeal from the Comisión de los Familiares de los Presos (Committee of Relatives of Prisoners). It was published in the February 22 issue of the PST's weekly, *Avanzada Socialista* under the title "Only Popular Mobilization Will Free the Prisoners." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Compañeros:

We have just received your request that our party make a material contribution to helping organize the meeting that you are scheduling for the 22nd.

While not declining to make this contribution, we feel obliged to state our political position regarding your struggle in defense of the political prisoners because we believe that up to now it has been poorly directed.

When we speak of the tragic problem of your relatives who are prisoners and of our participation in the struggle to free them, what we mean is precisely this: In the case of our brothers in jail, there can be no scheming, no sectarian plotting, no propaganda actions on behalf of any particular group, sect, or party; rather, there must be an implacable struggle to win their release. Our participation in the defense of the prisoners has only one aim—to free them from the clutches of the regime.

Only Popular Mobilizations Will Free Them

There is no other way to achieve this goal than to bring about a mass mobilization of the people—a task that, unfortunately, you are not carrying out.

One of the conditions that the military junta has laid down for the next government is that the political prisoners must remain in the jails. The statements and deeds of the dictatorship daily bear this out. If the savage bloodbath at Trelew was not

enough, then the maximum security regulation and the behavior of the military during the hunger strike confirm this. No party in the parliamentary opposition, nor even in the government, will be able to impose and make the armed forces go along with any amnesty without the backing of a popular mobilization.

But the situation is even more serious than this. The leaderships of the parties that have a chance of winning the elections do not have a position that openly favors freedom for all prisoners, including those found guilty of armed actions. Balbín, one of those who might become president after May 25, has repeated to the point of monotony that he is "against indiscriminate amnesties." Cámpora has said publicly that "this question will be resolved by the future congress."

The fact that these leaders hold this position does not mean that it is shared by the millions of citizens who will vote for them. Every day we hear statements from the Radical youth or sections of the Peronist movement that specifically come out in favor of freeing all political prisoners. We believe that sentiment in favor of a general amnesty exists among broad layers of the people.

Your Position Strikes Us As Sectarian

Your call for a meeting on the 22nd, which we have supported, does not seek to provide for the thousands and thousands of Peronists and Radicals who want amnesty a way to express their feeling. It does not make it possible for the rank and file of these parties to apply pressure on their leaders and force them to modify their position. Nor does it make it possible to involve other political forces.

Compañeros: The head of the Peronists is not Ongaro, nor is it the third-world priests. It is Cámpora whom you should invite. He is the one who would then have to give an explanation to his rank and file if he turned down the invitation. It is he who might become the next president and from

whom a commitment must be sought; if he refuses, he must be unmasked in front of his followers. The same goes for Balbín and all the other candidates. Your approach, by not involving the leadership of the Peronist movement, allows it to send some respectable figure as its representative who does not have the authority to commit it as a party.

Your call does not make possible wide participation either. You are inviting Tosco [leader of the Córdoba electrical workers, who was freed from jail in September 1972 after serving a year and a half for "subversive" activities]. We propose that you also invite Luis Gómez, leader of the SOMISA strike by 8,000 steelworkers in San Nicolás. You are inviting Salamanca, leader of the Córdoba SMATA [Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor del Automóvil—Union of Mechanics and Related Transport Workers in the Automobile Industry]. We propose that you also invite Páez, leader of SITRAC [Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord—Concord Workers Union] and the second Cordobazo. If we want this to be a big meeting, room must be made for all currents that call for freeing the prisoners.

When the bullets of the military put an end to the lives of sixteen political prisoners six months ago, no ideological distinctions were made. Nor was any made by the 150 Rawson prisoners who signed an appeal to "the organizations of the people and public opinion" on May 25, 1972, in which they expressed the hope that "by achieving close unity in the face of our common enemy, the way we are doing inside the prisons, you will not be tacitly allowing such outrages to be committed."

There is a lesson to be learned in the success of the Mar del Plata mobilization, which forced all the political parties to take a stand and the leaders of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] to call a strike. In only two days, we won the release of five compañeros who had already been turned over to the antisubversion authorities.

We think that you have to ask yourselves: Do you want a massive meeting, involving the political parties, or do you want a small one with the usual speakers and the same people in attendance? Do you want

to launch a bold campaign that will reach public opinion and force the parties to take a stand, or do you want a campaign that will go unnoticed? For us, the answer is clear. If we want the release of the prisoners, there is no other way than to organize a broad, massive campaign. The al-

ternative will be to waste our efforts.

If you should decide on the former path, our party will place all our help and facilities at your disposal. If not, you will still be able to count on our support, but we will not commit ourselves to an effort that we consider useless. □

A Bourgeois Journalist's View

Far-Left Vote in Argentine Election

"There were three choices in the electoral spectrum Sunday [March 11] that expressed a clearly left-wing vote: the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers party] (Coral-Ciapponi); the Frente de Izquierda Popular [FIP—Popular Left Front] (Ramos-Silvetti); and the blank ballot. These won the vote of the anti-parliamentary left," wrote Carlos Sommi in the March 13 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*.

His analysis is limited, as might be expected from a bourgeois journalist, to a discussion of the number of votes the left received and ignores other achievements of a revolutionary election campaign that might not be clearly reflected in a vote total. While this limitation makes his analysis superficial, it is nonetheless significant that a major bourgeois daily devoted space to a separate analysis of the far-left vote.

"Obviously," Sommi wrote, "the left also gave a lot of votes to the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria [APR—Revolutionary People's Alliance, led by Oscar Alende] (which had the official support of the Communist party) and the Frente Justicialista de Liberación [FREJULI—Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist coalition]; but in both these cases, the vote was not entirely an expression of left-wing sentiment, at least not from the ideological point of view. Leftists who voted for the APR were essentially voting for an antimonopoly program; those who voted for the FREJULI supported the most important alternative for change—more for what Peronism represents than for its ideological positions."

The three left options, Sommi noted,

received some 2.5% of the vote, or about 300,000 votes.*

"Coral, who got around 100,000 votes, based his preelection campaign on a point of principle: He presented himself as the only antiboss and anti-bourgeois alternative and promised a social revolution if he should win control of the government. He backed up this thesis by including workers as candidates for numerous elective posts and a woman on his presidential ticket.

"It is obvious that this strategy did not catch on in the working class—not even in a minority layer of it—and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores received the traditional support of intellectual groups or of long-time socialists who remain loyal to the old party, and in this case were opting for one of its many offshoots.

"The electoral experience of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores clearly indicates that the Argentine working class continues to remain completely unresponsive to the awe-inspiring plans that the intellectual Marxist sectors might offer them—all the more so in an electoral conjuncture that by its very nature represents the opposite of their apocalyptic proposals. This explains why the PST did not even get the votes of the nuclei of workers who at this stage of

*Sommi's vote totals for the PST and the FIP are somewhat higher and his total of blank ballots somewhat lower than subsequently announced by the board of elections, which indicated that a large error had been discovered in the earlier computations. The revised total for the three options Sommi is considering would be just over 260,000. For a complete breakdown, see *Intercontinental Press*, March 26, p. 323.

the process are not very enthusiastic about Peronism.

"The Frente de Izquierda Popular, for its part, received barely more than 70,000 votes for its presidential ticket and was one of the great losers of the election. Its scant showing is much more telling than that of the PST, since it demonstrated that it had a broader party apparatus than the group led by Coral. But unlike the latter, the FIP did not try to offer any kind of clear alternative that could catch on in the electorate, especially among the working class.

"It ran as a pro-Perón but anti-Cámpora force—a completely unrealistic approach since the public has not seen even the slightest hint of a split between the former president and his candidate. . . .

"The total number of blank ballots was also a surprise: around 120,000, which is much lower than usual. Since this kind of category includes votes



JUAN CARLOS CORAL

coming from various sources, we can be sure that the antiparliamentary left's call for a blank vote was not observed even by sectors belonging to it; by themselves, they make up a larger number than this figure. . . ."

The left, Sommi said, "speculated on possible popular disillusionment" with FREJULI and APR tickets that appeared to be substitutes for one an-

other. "Nothing like this happened, and it was precisely these two sectors—especially the Justicialist move-

ment—that took in the votes of sectors of the population around the anti-parliamentary left." □

distributing consumer goods. Until that time the JAP had been watchdog bodies, but Flores told the workers: "You distribute."

From that time on the JAP undertook the storage and distribution of goods, more extensively in some places than in others. The JAP developed characteristics of an embryonic dual power of the rank and file. To some extent the black market and other forms of capitalist sabotage were overcome by these activities. And while shortages continued in places where the petty bourgeoisie were strong, in a working-class area with an efficient JAP, at least the basic necessities were available. This stopped the swing to the right among sections of the workers. Indeed, it swung them even further left, for now the workers were beginning to feel their own power in the field of distribution, as well as in the field of production (the latter having been gained as a result of the October experience).

All this was reflected in the March 4 election results. The Unidad Popular (Popular Unity, the electoral front of the Socialist party, the Communist party, the Radical party, MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action], IC [Izquierda Cristiana—Christian Left], and API [Acción Popular Independiente—Independent Popular Action]) at one time had influence in middle-class sectors, but has been fast losing this support because of the lack of consumer goods. This has been offset by the increased activity of the workers, who solidly voted with the UP parties this time.

Both the UP and the right claimed victory in the March 4 election. In different senses, both are correct. The right got the largest vote and still controls both houses of the national congress. But it fell short of its goal: to win control of two-thirds of the congress. It has thus lost its chance to dump the government legally before the 1976 presidential elections. In short, the petty bourgeoisie, including the Radical party, has deserted the UP, but the workers' support has been hardened up.

What's more, the workers' offensive is characterized by socialist projections. In the last three months their demands have not been reformist: They have not simply demanded in-

Interview With Chilean Trotskyist

Workers' Power Must Be Developed

By Fred Halstead

Santiago, Chile

MARCH 18—The following evaluation of the meaning of the March 4 elections and subsequent developments in Chile is based on an interview with E. Montes, general secretary of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist party), Chilean section of the Fourth International.

* * *

To understand the process now unfolding you must go back to the situation in the country just before the capitalist stoppage last October. There had been an inflation of 180 percent in the year preceding the "strike of the bourgeoisie." There were shortages of many kinds of consumer goods. As a result there was discontent among petty-bourgeois strata, which moved to the right. Last October's capitalist stoppage, or employers' strike, was an offensive by the right that stopped business nationally for twenty-five days in an attempt to bring about the fall of the government.

While it took root in the petty-bourgeois strata of the population, this stoppage, or lockout, failed. It not only failed; its effect was the opposite of what its sponsors intended: The workers' movement sought to defend the government and the economy against the lockout. The workers kept production going without the boss. In a number of industries the workers took over, kept production going, set up a management. This, of course, posed very basic questions. Also, the government had to set up a requisition system to distribute the products and to keep production supplied with raw materials. Thus, by the time the bosses called off their "strike," the "social sector" of the economy (nationalized industry) had expanded.

Ever since, the workers have been struggling against giving these enterprises back to the capitalists.

Thus, the bourgeois offensive did not provoke a fall of the government,



ALLENDE: Wants to give back the factories taken over in October.

but rather a radicalization and a mobilization of the workers' movement.

From October until now the economic deterioration caused by the imperialist boycott and sabotage by local capitalists has continued—inflation, shortages, black-market operations, and so on. In November and December, the situation got worse, affecting even some layers of the workers. In this situation, the government took a turn to the left. It was of short duration, but it had profound effects. It was expressed in a speech by Minister of Housing Fernando Flores, who called on the workers and peasants to strengthen and enlarge the functions of the JAP (Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios—Supply and Price Control Boards), mass organizations for policing prices and

creased wages and social services, but have called for nationalization, for keeping the factories taken over in October, for workers' control of distribution, for further expropriations, and so on. The Allende government wants to give back the factories taken over in October, but the workers are saying No.

The outcome of the elections has strengthened the hand of the left within the UP, which is seriously divided by differences over basic questions. Generally these differences take form around the counterposed positions of the CP—with whom Allende now sides—and the SP, whose general secretary, Carlos Altamirano, is leader of the party's left wing.

The CP stands for conciliation with the national bourgeoisie, supports the Millas plan for returning the taken-over industries, and discourages the development of the JAP and other forms of workers' control, such as the *cordones industriales* [bodies of representatives of workers in a particular industrial strip, or area]. These cordones industriales are now initiating many actions and making many proposals of a socialist character.

The dominant wing of the SP takes the opposite view, encouraging these developments and advocating that all industries be taken over.

This struggle has now taken the peculiar form of a fight within one of the small parties of the UP—MAPU, which originated as a left-wing split from Frei's Christian Democrats. The left wing of MAPU won the leadership at the last party congress (November 1972), and passed a resolution opposing the theory of the revolution by stages and advocating instead permanent revolution, continuing the uninterrupted collectivization and socialization of the country. The congress removed Jaime Gazmuri, a representative of the party's right wing, as general secretary and replaced him with Oscar Garretón.

Three days after the March 4 election (in which MAPU got 100,000 votes), the right-wing minority carried out a coup against the party leadership, forcibly occupying the three main offices, including the MAPU radio station, in Santiago. There is no doubt that this coup had not only the support, but active participation, of the CP.

The right wing declared Gazmuri

general secretary and expelled the left wing, including Garretón, the elected general secretary. The left wing replied by expelling Gazmuri and those who participated in the coup. Since then the two wings have competed with each other in seeking Allende's recognition as the UP member.

The debate around this matter has something of the character of the Albania-Yugoslavia polemics. Just as Albania and Yugoslavia were not really the main protagonists in that dispute, but were stand-ins for the Soviet Union and China, the opposed wings of MAPU are not the main protagonists in the current Chilean debate.

The CP seeks an accommodation with the national capitalists and ar-

gues that this is the only way to regain the support of the middle classes. But it is the capitalists' sabotage of the economy that has produced the consumer goods shortages, the economic deterioration, and the runaway black-market operations.

The capitalists are selling machinery, not replacing it, not maintaining plants, etc. The indemnification sums paid for nationalized property, including land, almost immediately end up in black-market operations. In this situation, planning must be introduced into distribution, factories must be nationalized before they are drained of value, and the forms of workers' control and power that have appeared but are as yet embryonic and decentralized must be developed. □

Great Britain

Students Strike Against Grant System

London

Resentment over continuing government refusal to provide an adequate grant for students erupted March 14 into Britain's first national student strike. The strike was called by the 500,000-strong National Union of Students (NUS).

The national student strike was part of the continuing NUS campaign against the present system of student grants. British students are faced with massive cutbacks in higher education and mounting inflation that has considerably eroded the real value of their grants.

Since the November NUS conference the grants campaign has involved cafeteria boycotts, rent strikes in the residence halls, and a national mobilisation on February 21 totaling about 60,000 in various cities. The national student strike culminates the action to date on the grants campaign.

The progress and future perspectives of the campaign will be the main item on the agenda of the tenth semi-annual NUS conference in April. The debate there will centre on the handling of the grants campaign by the NUS executive, which is led by the Communist party.

The national student strike affected most universities, colleges, and poly-

technics around the country as students became involved in boycotts of lectures, occupations, demonstrations, marches, and rallies. Many of the actions were organised by students dissatisfied that the NUS executive had not organised massive demonstrations in London and other cities rather than concentrate on poorly organised local activities.

Lack of local leadership and the upcoming spring break probably meant that fewer students were actively involved than in the big mobilisations on February 21. But large numbers of students did not go to their schools for the day, and a number of cities saw large actions.

In London about 2,000 students, virtually without any overall organisation, marched to Parliament buildings to give backing to student representatives who were lobbying Members of Parliament. Some of the biggest turnouts of the day were 6,000 in Glasgow; 3,000 in Brighton; 3,000 in Oxford; 5,000 in Liverpool; 2,500 in Nottingham; and 3,000 in Leeds. □

Strict Enforcement

The Environmental Protection Agency announced March 25 that thallium sulfate, a dangerous poison used as a pesticide, is still being sold seven years after it was banned.

A Brief Analysis of the French Elections

By Pierre Frank

For revolutionary Marxists it is a well-established truth that elections that take place in a bourgeois-democratic framework give a distorted picture of the real class relationships and their evolution. There has hardly ever been a better illustration of this than the French elections of March 4 and 11.

Social tensions in France have remained very high since May 1968. There is no social layer that has put its hopes in parliament or in the other elected assemblies. Each has resorted to street demonstrations, not all of them peaceful. Strikes have nearly always been accompanied by factory occupations and more than once by the workers' locking up the management or the foremen. Some have openly flouted the law (like the doctors who declared that they performed abortions, and got away with it).

It was to channel the push to the left and the revolutionary upsurge that the leaders of the Communist party and the Socialist party formed the Union of the Left and drew up the Common Program, hoping in this way to avert revolutionary explosions and to achieve social transformation solely by parliamentary means. But the elections make it look as though nothing had changed for years, and even as though things had gone back to what they were like before 1967. The majority lined up around Pompidou remained the majority in these elections, even though the country is generally sick of it.

To pull it off, the majority had to resort to a combination of devices: a fraudulent electoral law (unequal districting, some deputies in the countryside being elected with one-fifth as many votes as those in the cities), fake votes in what is left of the colonial empire, shameless horse-trading among the bourgeois parties between the first and second rounds, and finally a really crass campaign even including participation by the president of the republic.

Arguments were put forward reminiscent of those of the last century lining up the peasantry against the

"commies"; it wasn't a question of "convincing," but rather of finding a few dozen thousand imbeciles, since the outcome would depend on some 200 votes in some 150 districts. Remember also that the outgoing majority refused to lower the voting age to eighteen, thus eliminating the votes of several hundred thousand youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one.

The table on the opposite page shows the vote results in the two rounds.

The Majority's Pyrrhic Victory

That's what Mitterrand called the majority's victory, and he's right. For one thing, the majority suffered big setbacks in the industrial centers (where de Gaulle personally had some support), in the developing regions, and among the youth. Within the majority the real Gaullists, the UDR [Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the Republic], suffered the greatest losses (in the old National Assembly they had an absolute majority; they lost about 100 seats this time).

Their partners (the Independent Republicans and the Democracy and Progress Center), whose losses were not so great, secretly rejoiced, because they hope to be better off in the altered majority. They also hope that a new parliamentary majority that includes the reformers will be formed. It is possible that the latter will be handed a few ministries in exchange for withdrawing their candidates on the second round; but in the most general sense, this has its disadvantages: It is not good for the bourgeoisie that it is not publicly putting forward an alternative solution within its own ranks, that it constitutes a bloc confronting the parties that claim to represent socialism and the working class, and that cannot themselves come up with any alternative except in a situation that would be almost desperate for the bourgeoisie.

Further, the majority felt the wind of defeat; it knows it survived only through trickery. Disagreements and friction within it are inevitable. Pompidou is not de Gaulle, who even in May 1968 did not suffer a single defection by a Gaullist deputy, whereas since Pompidou became president, several defections have taken place and several divergent factions have appeared.

Since there will be many national and international problems, the coming government will inevitably be torn between a certain necessity to make concessions to the masses, and the strongly reactionary tendency that dominates the majority. We won't have to wait long to see that—except on the question of repression—the regime will not be the "strong state" it aspires to be.

The Left Vote

The Union of the Left made unquestionable electoral progress, but not as much as its leaders had hoped for. They thought they would return to an assembly something like the one that came out of the 1967 elections. But a comparison with that year is not really accurate. In 1967 there was no Common Program between the CP and the SP; there was just a vague declaration, to which the then unsplit Radical party adhered, that committed itself to nothing. That is why on the second round in 1967 many center-bourgeois voters voted for the SP candidates.

This time, to the overwhelming majority of the bourgeoisie the five-year pact signed between the SP and the CP appeared as a mortal danger. It seemed to them that voting Socialist was the same thing as voting Communist. The Union of the Left was not a popular front.¹ By its class nature.

1. To claim, as some do, that the Union of the Left is a new popular front on the pretext that the "Left Radicals" are in it, is to confound words with real substance. In 1936 the Radical party, even if in decline, was still the *main* party of the French bourgeoisie. The Popular Front was also openly supported by important sectors of French capitalism, for both national and international reasons.

On the other hand, the "Left Radicals" today do not represent a social force and do not constitute a political force: they

The same goes for the Socialist voter. The meaning of this vote was not the same in 1967 and 1973. Except in a few areas, the Socialist voters followed directives to shift to the CP candidates to a much greater extent than in the past.

The SP made gains above all at the expense of the Gaullists and the reformers, only slightly at the expense of the CP and the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party] (PSU lost to SP especially in the Paris area). While the SP was the big beneficiary of the rise of the masses, the CP marked time. That will pose a serious political problem to the CP members, beginning with its leadership. For years now the CP has had the strategic perspective of establishing "advanced democracy" by parliamentary means, through a duly arrived-at agreement with the SP. Now, with this accord signed and with the masses moving to the left, it is not the CP but the hitherto anemic SP that got the benefits and all but overtook the CP.

This is a problem that we ourselves must study because there are many elements to it, but the basic thing that gives rise to it is quite clear. That 46 percent of the vote in elections to a bourgeois parliament went to candidates claiming to be for socialism testifies to the strong pressure that exists among the masses, but also to the limitations of an electoralist policy. Faced with all the pressures of capitalist society, it is nearly impossible to win the missing few percentage points electorally. In fact, it is necessary to take power by extra-parliamentary means in order to convince this lacking percentage. But the Socialist and Stalinist leaders, imbued with parliamentary cretinism, are incapable of understanding this.

The Far Left

The PSU definitely got some votes

are parasites, freeloaders. In 1936 the votes were divided this way: Radical party, 14.4%; Socialist party, 18.6%; Communist party, 12.7%. Today, the "Left Radicals" get only 1.43% of the vote. Moreover, it must be taken into account that the Radicals did not run their own candidates against the CP and SP, as they did in 1936, but ran on forty slots the SP leaders gave them. By themselves, they definitely would have gotten less than 1 percent.

April 2, 1973

FIRST ROUND			
PARTY	VOTES	PERCENT	
Communist Party	5,026,417	21.28	
Socialist Party and Left Radicals	4,523,399	19.16*	
PSU and Far Left	776,717	3.29	
Reformers	2,965,947	12.56	
Various Center-Left	649,855	2.75	
URP (UDR, Independent Republicans, CDP)	8,224,193	35.54†	
Various Majority	779,259	3.30	
Various Right	660,186	2.79	
SECOND ROUND			
PARTY	PERCENT	SEATS	
CP, SP, PSU, Left Radicals	45.3	176	
UDR, Independ. Rep., CDP, Various Right	46.1	275	
*Of which the Left Radicals received 1.43%			
†Of which the UDR received 24%; Independent Republicans, 7.01%; CDP, 3.81%.			

from supporters of the far left in places where the far left was not running candidates. But there can be no confusion about the politics of this organization. During the campaign, the PSU showed itself to be nothing but an adjunct of the Union of the Left. This was especially clear in what Rocard said after the first round.² Compared with its past performance, the PSU lost votes both to the SP and to the far left; during the campaign it showed itself to be a greatly weakened force in comparison to years gone by, but it remains and will remain as an element of confusion that will not fail to be harmful for building the mass revolutionary party at a later stage in the radicalization of the workers.

The candidates of the Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière got about 300,000 votes, about 1.5% to 2.5% generally, with a few exceptions going as high as 3% or 4%, and even, in one case, 5%. The campaigns waged by the Ligue and Lutte Ouvrière were in no sense electoralist and ran up against many impediments. (By an administrative maneuver the Ligue was denied the right to go on television; Lutte Ouvrière was not allowed

to hold a meeting in the Palais des Sports; in some districts, there was no listing on the ballot.)

Over and above the Ligue's important meetings in many cities, there were also small meetings all over the country and many actions linking the electoral campaign to various struggles that arose. Obviously, the numerical score is not the important thing. That does not express the politicization that could be observed among the audiences we do not usually run into in the activity of our organization.

Apart from the youth—our daily milieu—there were older workers, including members of the CP, who had no illusions about the Union of the Left and its program and asked questions about how to achieve socialism, on what a socialist society would be like, and so on. This never happened in the election campaigns of the past.

In the coming weeks we will find out what Pompidou will do in the aftermath of these elections and also what the political and trade-union organizations will do. All the problems of class struggle, centered for months around the electoral questions, will now assert themselves much more clearly. □

Correction

Our March 12 issue contained two documents on the Irish elections reprinted from the Irish Trotskyist paper *The Plough*, published by the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The RMG informs us that the last paragraph on page 287 inaccurately identified Dr. Thornley as a "Republican-Labour candidate" when "Irish Labour party candidate with Republican pretensions" would have been more correct.

2. The CP leadership withdrew on the second round in favor of Rocard. They did this only in self-defense, because they consider the small formations bothersome elements in the control the big organizations exercise over the masses. But they did it to show that they would play the "democratic" game, in order to avoid the risk of losing second-round votes from Socialists who would have been offended by the CP running against Rocard.

Child Labor in Brazil—A Lucrative Business

They work between six and twenty-two hours at a stretch, as warehouse watchmen, office boys, or elevator operators. They have no vacation and receive no tips and no social security. They must keep their hair close-cropped like soldiers and during working hours they wear blue uniforms that they themselves have bought. They are fined fifteen cruzeiros (approximately US\$2.50) if their shoes are dirty, their shirt unbuttoned, or their hair too long. They earn between \$12 and \$30 a month.

They are *guardinhas* or *guarda-mirim*—Brazilian boys ranging in age from eleven to eighteen, employed by the Associação Protectora de Guarda-mirim de Belo Horizonte (Protective Association for Guarda-mirim of Belo Horizonte). According to a report in the March 10 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, theirs is a life of superexploitation by corrupt authorities and enterprising businessmen.

There are presently some 1,700 boys working for the association, which was founded in October 1966 by businessmen in the capital of Minas Gerais province, Belo Horizonte. The group is run by Edson Pereira, a rancher, and officials of the Military Police in their spare time. It has become a very lucrative undertaking thanks to the ten percent it deducts from the wages of each of the boys it "protects." It is spreading throughout the entire country and expects to have 3,000 boys in its employ by the end of the year, giving it a monthly take of \$9,000—virtually all of which is a clear profit for the eighteen members of the board.

The source of income is not limited to the ten percent rake-off. In addition to the fines that are levied, the association runs a shoe-shine and barber shop "service." Patronage is obligatory and must be paid for by the employees themselves.

The child labor is profitable not only to the directors of the association, but also to the businessmen who avail themselves of its services. By hiring the boys, their labor costs take a considerable plunge, as one of the

administrators of the Belo Horizonte train depot, Osmar Pires, explained: "In our case, if we were to hire somebody [who is adult], we would have to allow him into the civil service system. This would cost us around \$50 a month, plus social security costs. With the association's kids we don't have any of this and we pay less than half the salary."

'There Will Be No Need for Guerrillas'

Peron Discusses Future of Argentina

Shortly after the March 11 elections in Argentina, from which the Peronist movement emerged the winner, former general Juan Perón was interviewed in Madrid. The interview, granted to Emilio Abras and published in the March 15 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, contained for the most part general observations on the military dictatorship and the future of Argentina under a Peronist government. On two points—the guerrilla movement and the character of a Peronist government—his comments were nevertheless worth noting.

A government of the FREJULI (Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist coalition) would, he said, attempt to achieve "national unity." This goal can only be achieved through involving in the government "all political forces," including the military: "The problem created for the country by the military dictatorship is so serious, on the economic as well as on the political and social level, that any single party would not be strong enough to solve it. As a result, we think that the task that needs to be carried out is one for all Argentines; the problem facing the country must be resolved with the assistance of everyone or there will be no solution."

The Justicialist movement, he went on, wants a government of "national unity" capable of "achieving liberation and beginning national reconstruc-

The minors who work for the association are not represented by any labor organization. Their relationship to both their boss and the association is purely administrative. It is the high rate of unemployment and the threat of starvation that drive them to put up with it all.

When they reach the age of eighteen, they must leave the association. In essence, this throws them out onto the streets with little or no chance of finding work. One eighteen-year-old put it simply: "Where am I going to find a job if there are so many minors taking jobs away from adults?" □

tion. In this regard, the armed forces, as well as the other institutions of the Argentine state, have a mission to carry out that is explicitly set down in the national constitution and in the national laws. . . ."

Perón was quite specific on the guerrilla movement, which includes Peronist forces: He said that now that the Peronists have won the election, the causes that gave rise to the guerrilla struggle no longer exist and the guerrillas should disband: "I think that, looking at the question rationally, the problem of the guerrilla movement cannot escape from a natural law that states that once the causes disappear, the effects also have to disappear," he said.

"Popular violence in Argentina has been the result of the governmental violence of the military dictatorship and everything leads us to believe that with the disappearance of the systems of violent repression and the deformations this has caused, such as criminality even on the official governmental level, there will no longer be any reason for the violent methods that the people resorted to in the elementary defense of their trampled rights and guarantees." □

Revelation

"Christian principles have been behind most of our social programs but it has reached the point where it has gotten out of hand."—Nelson Rockefeller

Support Grows for Jailed Quebec Unionists

[The following article is reprinted from the March 19 issue of the revolutionary-socialist fortnightly, *Labor Challenge*, published in Toronto.]

* * *

Campaigns are beginning to develop in both Québec and English Canada for the immediate, unconditional release of the three Québec labor leaders now in jail.

Marcel Pépin, Louis Laberge, and Yvon Charbonneau, presidents of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Québec Federation of Labor (FTQ), and the Québec Teachers Federation (CEQ), were recently imprisoned in Orsainville Jail because they advised striking public sector workers last spring to ignore court injunctions brought against them by the Bourassa [provincial] government.

The newly formed Action Committee for the Unconditional Release of the Trade Union Prisoners at Orsainville (CALIPSO—Comité d'action pour la libération inconditionnelle des prisonniers syndicaux d'Orsainville) met at CSN headquarters in Montréal March 11. Present were FTQ Secretary General Fernand Daoust, political action staffers of the three labor federations, other union militants, as well as representatives of left-wing organizations like the NDP [New Democratic Party], the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO), and the Communist party.

The meeting adopted a vigorous plan of action aimed at mobilizing the population. It includes regional information meetings to be held across Québec, benefits featuring leading entertainers, showings of political and labor films, panels with representatives of the international labor movement, and a mass benefit in Montréal at the end of April. A vast publicity campaign is envisaged, including leaflets, stickers, posters, petitions, and a special newspaper.

In recent days resolutions of support for the labor leaders have begun to flood in on the Bourassa government from local unions and region-

al labor councils across Québec. Among those demanding immediate release of the three leaders and denouncing the current repression against the unions are the FTQ labor councils in Baie-Comeau and Lower Gaspé, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and locals of the Steelworkers, Paper Workers, Machinists, Chemical Workers, NABET [National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians], the Bakery Workers Union, and the Graphic Arts Union.

CSN and CEQ locals have responded similarly. In the Saguenay region, teachers voted to stop work and hold a day of "reflection on justice and democracy in Québec" on March 9.

The prestigious Ligue des Droits de l'Homme has added its voice to those of other organizations demanding pardon for the three unionists.

In English Canada, a Canadian Committee to Defend Québec Trade Unionists has been formed. In a letter to labor, student, and radical organizations calling for opposition to the

jailings, the committee encloses an appeal "to trade unionists and supporters of trade union rights across Canada" from the FTQ's Fernand Daoust, who states: "The jailings of the three trade union presidents at this time can only be seen as a means to intimidate all working people in Québec who now face the threat of more severe anti-labor legislation and are engaged in a struggle to oppose and defeat Bill 89. [Bill 89, now before the National Assembly, would empower the government to ban strikes in "essential services."]

"We appeal to our brothers and sisters across Canada and to all those who value and support basic trade union rights to add their voices to the demand for the immediate, unconditional release of Brothers Charbonneau, Laberge, and Pépin."

The campaign is only beginning. As it builds, it can develop a momentum that can serve to rebuild the militancy of the labor movement in Québec, now in retreat before the blows of repression and disunity.

To help build the campaign in English Canada, contact the Canadian Committee to Defend Québec Trade Unionists, c/o Gustavo Tolentino, MD, secretary, 3 Ozark Crescent, Toronto, Ontario. □

Stroessner Steps Up Repression

Peasant Leader Imprisoned in Paraguay

For five months, the Paraguayan peasant leader, Victoriano Centurión, has been imprisoned in the town of Caaguazú, reported the March 15 issue of the Argentine daily *La Opinión*. Centurión is a leader of the Ligas Agrarias Cristianas (Christian Agrarian Leagues).

"The growing confrontation between the Paraguayan peasants and the Stroessner regime has resulted in the increase in repression that is going on in Pirbebay, Eusebio Ayala, Coronel Oviedo, Caaguazú, Pastoreo, and other regions where the Christian Agrarian Leagues are active," noted *La Opinión*.

The Movimiento Argentino de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Paraguayo (Argentine Movement of Solidarity

with the Paraguayan People) issued a statement denouncing Centurión's treatment. It recalled that he has headed up the Leagues since 1971, when 300 peasants occupied the Caaguazú church for five days "to protest abuses by the Stroessner authorities." The peasant leader had gained considerable popularity a few months earlier by organizing a large demonstration that won freedom for an imprisoned member of the League.

"The Paraguayan peasantry, deprived of its land, has begun to make its voice heard," the Argentine group stated. "This is the explanation for the brutal persecution of the Christian Agrarian Leagues, which aims to destroy them, and the cruelty to which one of their members, Victoriano Centurión, is being subjected." □

Ukrainian Dissident Framed by KGB

News continues to reach the West of trials of dissidents arrested in the Soviet Union during last year's KGB crackdown on the opposition movement.

The repression is particularly intense in the Ukraine, where opposition to Russification has led to the growth of a movement of workers, students, and intellectuals and to the emergence of the Ukrainian samvydav (samizdat) journal *Ukrainsky Vysnyk*. Of the more than 100 dissidents arrested in the Ukraine in January 1972, dozens have already been tried and sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to fifteen years.

One of these activists, Leonid Plyushch, was a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. A Kievan mathematician and engineer, he was dismissed from his post at the Cybernetics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in 1968 for signing a statement in defense of Aleksandr Ginzburg, Yuri Galanskov, Aleksei Dobrovolsky, and Vera Lashkova. At the time of Plyushch's dismissal the director of the institute accused him of "behaving like Dubcek!" He has since played an active role in defending arrested activists.

His 1968 letter to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*—"Lackeys and False Witnesses of Our Time"—was in protest against the closed trial in the Ginzburg-Galanskov-Dobrovolsky-Lashkova case, the slander of these defendants in the Soviet press, and the failure of the press to publish information supporting the defendants—information which was available to Soviet citizens only in samizdat and samvydav.

In his letter Plyushch stated: "But—alas!—the times have passed when Bolsheviks proudly proclaimed: 'We don't fear the truth, as the truth works for us!' Their indirect heirs (the direct ones were destroyed in Stalin's torture chambers by Beria), the Thermidoreans of October, fear the truth. The most they can rise to is stereotyped and distorted quotations, thrown together at random."

Plyushch's home was searched and

he was arrested January 14, 1972, in Kiev. One of the appeals, from the Initiative Group, provided an indication of the fate awaiting Plyushch. It stated that one of the people who had been summoned as a witness had been told by an investigator, "Plyushch is just as crazy as Grigorenko." Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, a dissident communist, has been confined in a psychiatric prison hospital since October 1969.

The following report of Plyushch's trial and sentence was released by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. The translation from the Ukrainian is by Marilyn Vogt.

* * *

On January 30, 1973, by a decision of the Kiev Provisional Court, Leonid Plyushch, a worker at the Cybernetics Institute, was sent for an indefinite term of "treatment" in a prison psychiatric hospital. It is now known that Plyushch was sentenced under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ["agitation or propaganda carried on for the purpose of subverting or weakening Soviet power"]. He was accused of having signed appeals to the United Nations on the persecution of intellectuals in the USSR and of taking part in the allegedly illegal Initiative Group, which collected the signatures. He was also charged for an old letter—an article from 1968, "Lackeys and False Witnesses of Our Time," for the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*—and for manuscripts of other articles found at his apartment. . . .

The Kiev Provisional Court, which was headed by a judge named Dishel, also decided to make use of the first [of two] evaluations by a commission of psychiatric "specialists," to find Plyushch not accountable for his actions, and thus to send him to a psychiatric hospital of a special type.

Professor Plyushch underwent two such psychiatric examinations, both in Moscow. The first evaluation commission was composed of the notorious KGB psychiatrist, forensic-medi-

cine "specialist" D. R. Lunts, and of Morozov, Kachev, and others. It "established" that Plyushch showed signs of "creeping schizophrenia with messianic and reformist ideas," and recommended treatment in a psychiatric clinic of a special type.

The other commission, under the direction of Professor Snezhnevsky, affirmed that Plyushch's state at the time of the investigation had improved and that there had been some "transformation" in his reformist ideas. But the commission recommended confining Plyushch in a psychiatric hospital of a general type.

At the instruction of the KGB, the court took into consideration only the first evaluation even though the defense attorney pointed out the disparity between the two.

Plyushch was not allowed in the courtroom and was sentenced by default. He made no statement to the court. When asked why the defendant was not allowed into the courtroom, the judge responded that "the court does not consider it necessary. . . ." The administration of justice depended on witnesses that were handpicked by the prosecutor and, more precisely, by the KGB.

The witnesses testified that they had known Plyushch over the past five-to-ten-year period, and that in their "considered" judgment he was not accountable for his actions.

A good deal of attention was also devoted to an examination by handwriting experts of manuscripts found at Plyushch's apartment that established that the manuscripts were in fact written by Plyushch. The court could not prove, however, that Plyushch had engaged in their distribution.

. . . Plyushch's wife and sister were not allowed at the trial. On the instruction of the KGB, presiding judge Dishel advised the defendant's wife even before the trial that although the case of Plyushch itself did not concern anything that could be considered a security matter, still the *examination* of the case included such matters and, consequently, no one would be allowed into the courtroom. Only after the conclusion of the trial were his wife and sister allowed to be present, for the reading of the sentence.

The appeals court will examine the Plyushch case in the beginning of

March 1973. Until now, his wife has not been allowed to visit him on the pretext of a "quarantine." On matters concerning the appeal and other as-

pects of his case, his wife and friends are being referred by the court to the KGB. They are told: "The KGB will tell you everything." □

Letter From Mordavian Camp

Ask Red Cross to Aid Soviet Prisoners

Nine Soviet political prisoners have appealed for aid to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland.

In a long letter dated December 1971, the prisoners detailed the inhuman conditions prevailing in the Mordovia special camp complex, located approximately 400 miles southeast of Moscow. The full text of the letter was published in a German translation in issue Number 34 for 1973 of the Würzburg daily *Student*. The paper did not indicate whether the delay in publication was caused by difficulty in sending the letter to Geneva or by a failure of the Red Cross to release it earlier.

The nine signers of the letter accuse Soviet authorities of violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and ask the Red Cross to forward their complaint to "appropriate places at the United Nations and other public and religious organizations"—a request refused by the Red Cross on the grounds that it could not interfere in "internal" Soviet affairs.

The letter lists specific violations of the rights of the prisoners, including refusal to acknowledge their political status, denial of sufficient food and proper medical care, imposition of forced labor, arbitrary punishment, denial of freedom of thought and religion, and vicious reprisals against attempts to improve their plight or bring it to public attention.

The Soviet authorities, they write, "attempt to break our wills and spirits by means of spiritual disturbance and physical exhaustion. The entire manner of treating prisoners in the camps is directed toward transforming human beings into unthinking, frightened, and obedient animals who will say Yes and Amen to anything."

The motive force of the "reeducation" of prisoners is malnutrition and

the threat of starvation: "Of the officially granted daily ration of 2,413 calories, we receive scarcely a half. . . . The insufficient and bad food,



BREZHNEV: His camps for political prisoners violate human rights.

the lack of vitamins for years on end, have catastrophic consequences for health. There are never fresh vegetables. Day after day we receive a pap of chaff, oats, and occasionally millet. Its nutritional value is well known. But even the calory-rich thin oatmeal so disgusts one over a period of time that the body can no longer accept it. Within a few years a person is transformed into a weak, sickness-prone creature."

The half-starved prisoners are then driven to forced labor in mines by "continual fear of all sorts of punishments, deprivations, and complete denial of food."

The writers note that the camps hold

members of "national, democratic, Christian, Marxist, and other organizations and groups," but that most prisoners were "participants in national movements who dared . . . to oppose the party's nationality policy."

The letter describes several protest hunger strikes, including a three-day strike by thirty prisoners December 9-11, 1971. It concludes with the appeal: "We ask for help; we ask for support; we ask that our testimony be brought to the attention of world public opinion."

The signers were: Jonas Silinskas, a Lithuanian student serving a five-year sentence; Simas Kudirka, a Lithuanian telegraphist serving ten years; Oleg Frolov, Jewish, five years; Paruir Khairikian, Armenian, four years; Sergei Ponomarov, Russian linguist, five years; A.A. Jastrauskas, Lithuanian worker, twelve years; Sergei Maltshesky, Russian officer, seven years; Vyacheslav Platonov, Russian specialist on the West, seven years; Vyacheslav Rodionov, Russian worker, three years. □

Deadlock in Turkey

The political crisis set off March 13 by the refusal of the leading parties in Turkey's Grand National Assembly to accept a military-dictated candidate for the presidency has continued unabated. After six inconclusive ballotings Tekin Arıburun, nominee of the Justice party, had received a maximum of 293 votes; General Faruk Gürler, backed by the armed forces, never won more than 200 votes. Representatives belonging to the Republican People's party (RPP) abstained, preventing any candidate from obtaining the majority needed for election.

The generals, who have been the real rulers of Turkey since they toppled Premier Suleyman Demirel's Justice party regime on March 13, 1971, offered the parliamentarians a choice: Elect Gürler or extend for two years the term of outgoing President Cevdet Sunay, a former chief of staff of the armed forces. Implicit in this "choice" was the threat that the generals might move to establish direct military rule if the assembly were recalcitrant.

Leaders of both the Justice party and the RPP expressed approval of the proposal to extend Sunay's term until 1975, and a constitutional amendment to that effect was proposed in the Grand National Assembly on March 19. However, that body torpedoed this attempt at a "compromise" by rejecting the amendment on March 22.

Chornovil Sentenced to Twelve Years

[The following press release was issued March 20 by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.]

* * *

Vyacheslav Chornovil, a 35-year-old Ukrainian journalist, who was the first to expose the KGB [Soviet secret police] witch-hunts and trials in Ukraine in 1965-66, has been sentenced to seven years at hard labor and five years exile by a court in Lviv. Chornovil was tried under Article 62 of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Penal Code, which makes it a crime to "spread anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

According to reliable sources, the trial took place in February 1973, and one of the witnesses at the trial was Valentyn Moroz, a 36-year-old historian who is presently serving a nine-year term of imprisonment. Moroz refused to testify, claiming that the trial was invalid since the accused was kept under pretrial detention for more than one year. The trial was held behind closed doors.

Chornovil was born in the Cherkasy region of Ukraine in 1938, graduated from Kiev State University, and worked on the editorial board of the newspaper *Kiev Komsomolets*. He was secretary of the Komsomol [Young Communist League] committee during the construction of the Kiev hydroelectric station and worked in the editorial office of the Komsomol newspaper *Moloda Guardia*.

Dismissed from his job in April 1966 for refusing to testify at a political trial, he was sentenced on July 8, 1966, to three months forced labor for this offense. On August 3, 1967, he was arrested a second time for "spreading anti-Soviet propaganda" and was sentenced to three years in jail. This sentence was reduced to eighteen months by an amnesty.

In 1967 Chornovil sent a letter and copies of documents to P. Yu. Shelest, then first secretary of the Communist party of Ukraine, protesting closed trials of Ukrainian intellectuals. This collection was eventually published in English under the title *The*

Chornovil Papers [New York: McGraw Hill, 1968, \$6.95].

Chornovil was also the author of numerous petitions and letters to Soviet authorities in Ukraine, in which he constantly brought up the fact that he was not in any way antisocialist. This is illustrated by the following quotation: "I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions . . . that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so. But not of that socialism that tries to regiment not mere-

Three-Day Meeting in New York City

First International Conference to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners

[The following press release was issued by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, P. O. Box 1294, Woodhaven Station, Woodhaven, New York 11421, USA.]

* * *

On March 2-4, 1973, at Columbia University in New York City, the first international conference in defense of Soviet political prisoners was held. Taking part were the "Set Them Free" Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, from Toronto and Montreal, Canada; the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners (New York, Boston, Chicago, in the United States); representatives from Great Britain; members of the Czech left opposition presently in the U. S.; and a representative of the Lithuanian struggle for independence.

On Friday, March 2, the conference heard a report on the current struggle for human rights within the USSR by Alexander S. Yesenin-Volpin, formerly a consulting member of the Human Rights Committee in Moscow. Volpin gave examples of the current struggle and some personal observations on the situation in Ukraine.

Conference participants listened to a number of analyses of the Soviet Union and the nature of the struggle

ly the actions but also the thoughts of individuals. I cannot imagine true socialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest, without a real guarantee—and not merely a paper one—of the rights of all nations within a multinational state."

In January 1972 Chornovil was arrested along with hundreds of other Ukrainian oppositionists, some of whom have already been sentenced to harsh terms of imprisonment and exile. Among those still awaiting trial are several leading figures of the post-Stalin Ukrainian dissident movement, including Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlychniy, and Yevhen Sverstyuk. □

of the various political and national oppositions. Discussion centered on the nature of Soviet society, the position of the left on the national question, and the varying strategic approaches to defending political prisoners.

On Saturday, March 3, the various committees and individuals presented position papers and proposals for international defense. There were disagreements among the various committees on certain ideological and tactical questions. However, a genuine consensus was reached on the following points:

1. The need to work together for the defense of Soviet political prisoners.

2. A broad formulation on the questions of social justice, democracy, and national self-determination.

3. The need for continuing and intensifying study of the various social systems and ideologies in the world today, as well as of particular situations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The conference agreed that the following projects be continued or initiated: (1) to continue gathering signatures for a petition in defense of political prisoners in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—thus far petition endorsers have included the Rev.

Daniel Berrigan, Prof. Noam Chomsky, Prof. Erich Fromm, the Rev. Paul Mayer, journalist Nat Hentoff, and Prof. Yesenin-Volpin; (2) to distribute a paperback edition of the collection of opposition documents entitled *Ferment in the Ukraine*; (3) to build an international defense campaign to free Ivan Dzyuba, a currently imprisoned political activist in Ukraine.

[Dzyuba is the author of *Internationalism or Russification?*, which has circulated privately in the Soviet Union and been published in a number of Western languages. It is a documentation and critique of the Stalinist Russification policies, written from the standpoint of Lenin's nationalities policy. Dzyuba was arrested in Kiev

in early 1972 and has been held with no public trial long beyond the Soviet legal time limits for pre-trial detention—*IP*.]

The participants also agreed to publish a booklet on the national question in the Soviet Union in the coming year. And it was agreed, another conference would be held within the year, to continue discussion on the various issues encountered in defense work.

A regularly published bulletin, supported by those who attended the conference, is available from the "Set Them Free" Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, P. O. Box 294, Station "M," Toronto, 21, Ontario, Canada. Subscriptions are \$2.50 annually. □

nouncing his opponents as "communist terrorists" and "foreign agents." Press Secretary Francisco S. Tatad charged that the Muslim insurgents were "outlaws, pirates, and secessionists led by a young Maoist leadership." A government report claimed that one of the Muslim leaders was Nuraladji Misuari, a former instructor at the State University of the Philippines. True to form, the report described him as "a known Communist Maoist."

The March 16 *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that the Philippine government had formally notified members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) that foreign troops, "some of them in uniform," are participating in the fighting on the side of the insurgents. Such notification is the first step in requesting "joint defense" under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty.

Philippine officials have refused to name the "foreign power" whose troops are supposedly involved in the fighting, but they have dropped hints that the charge is aimed at Libya. A Libyan member of an Arab delegation that visited the Philippines in 1972 irked Marcos by accusing the regime of genocide against the Muslim population. □

742,000 Are left Homeless

Marcos's Troops Attack Mindanao Muslims

In the months since Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines, one of his preoccupations has been to tighten the central government's control over the 3 million Muslims who live on the island of Mindanao. At the beginning of March, Marcos's troops began a fresh offensive aimed at disarming antigovernment Muslim rebels.

The offensive ended a two-month truce Marcos had declared January 3 after his troops met unexpectedly stiff resistance to an earlier campaign. At that time, Marcos offered a "selective amnesty" to Muslim rebels who turned themselves in and gave up their arms. Only 242 persons took advantage of this offer.

After two weeks of fighting triggered by the current government offensive, military authorities claimed on March 14 that 187 Muslim rebels and thirty government soldiers had been killed. Twenty-one government soldiers were said to have been taken prisoner.

Thus far, the main result of Marcos's military campaign has been a massive escalation in the misery of the southern population. In an interview published in the March 13 *New York Times*, Dr. Estefania Aldaba-Lim, Philippine secretary of social welfare, reported that 742,000 residents of the Moro Gulf area in western Min-



MARCOS

danao had become refugees since the recent fighting began. They are "running from the fighting, looking for food," Aldaba-Lim said.

Marcos accompanied the new assault on Muslim-controlled areas with the usual barrage of propaganda de-

International Body Asks End to Brazil Torture

The International League for the Rights of Man has accused the Brazilian government of widespread use of torture against "suspects and prisoners by members of the police and military force during interrogation and imprisonment."

In letters addressed to the Brazilian minister of justice and ambassadors to the United States and the United Nations, League Chairman Jerome J. Shestack charged that there is abundant evidence "regarding alleged torture in Brazilian prisons, in some instances the actual killing of prisoners, incidents of police brutality against students, professors, priests, journalists and opposition politicians, as well as other repressive measures."

The League, a nongovernmental body that has consultative status with the UN, the Organization of American States, and the Council of Europe, accused the Brazilian government of violating the charters of the UN and OAS and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It called on the government to end its "standard method of treating both political and nonpolitical prisoners." □

Letter From Jailed Sri Lanka Women

[The following letter, written by young women arrested during the Bandaranaike regime's repression of rebel youth in 1971, was smuggled out of a Sri Lanka prison camp in September 1972.

[Many of these women, who are accused of having hatched an elaborate "conspiracy" to overthrow the government, were in their early teens or even younger when they were arrested. The letter describes the brutality and mistreatment they have been subjected to.

[The translation from Sinhalese is by a member of the London-based Ceylon Solidarity Campaign (No. 9, Dennington Park Mansions, London, NW 6, Great Britain).]

* * *

Conditions in the Women's Section, Welikede Jail

All the women taken into custody as suspected insurgents were stripped of their clothes and inspected. When we expressed our embarrassment, we were abused in filthy language. Suspects were not allowed to obtain extra clothes from their parents and so could not wash the ones they were wearing. When we complained, we were given the white cloths and jackets normally worn by prisoners who have been convicted. We could not obtain the items which are essential for women; as a result we went through untold suffering.

We were addressed as "terrorist women" and constantly ordered about—"get out!" etc. From dawn to dusk and dusk to dawn we were locked inside, and even the windows were closed. Speaking aloud as well as laughing was prohibited. We were let out to queue up for food, and only then could we even drink water. Once most of us contracted diarrhoea; as they did not open the doors at night, we could not get water to wash ourselves after going to the toilet. . .

The rooms were crowded and some had to sleep near the toilets. There

were no facilities to brush our teeth or wash our faces; when we were let out to wash, we cleaned our teeth with powdered pieces of brick. To bathe, we had to use dirty water left by other prisoners and to bathe very quickly, starting at the first bell and finishing the moment the second bell rang. We bathed from a tank with the aid of a tin smaller than a Lakspray [powdered milk] tin. By the time we had each poured two tins of water over our bodies the second bell rang and we had to finish. We could only go back to the cells with tears in our eyes; sometimes, we had to return without bathing at all.

Later, we were allowed to send letters to our parents asking them to bring our clothes. We were not permitted to ask about their health, but had to confine ourselves to listing the two or three things we needed. . .

Everyone had to go to sleep by 7:30 p.m. Once the matron heard someone laughing and began to hurl insults and filthy abuses: "The things you were up to in the jungles, like cats and dogs!" was among her statements. We had never heard such abuse even from a drunkard in the village.

One day two prostitutes were brought into our hall. They had been arrested for violating the curfew. They were chronically ill and suffering from venereal diseases. All of us objected to their admission. A girl who dared to say so openly was assaulted that night by the matron and five others who surrounded and beat her; she was then put in solitary confinement. We became very scared and we screamed. The matron lodged a complaint that we had hooted.

After a long delay we met the superintendent and then things were relaxed a little . . . As the number of detainees increased, we were let out at 5 a.m. and allowed to stay out until 5 p.m.

Our food was brought in large, dirty buckets. It was mixed with rust, and the gravy tasted of rust. The food was unpalatable, containing neither coconut milk nor chillies [essential in Ceylonese cooking]. Sometimes there were maggots in the rice and some

girls vomited the food; others, who refrained from eating it, fell ill. When we could no longer bear our hunger, we separated the maggots from the rice and ate the rice. Sometimes some of the girls received no food and had to share in the meals of others. For about a week the rice was so full of sand and pebbles we could not eat it. Even a woman who had had a baby a week earlier was given this food . . .

After all this, we demanded better food. A jail guard came to see us and we showed him the filthy buckets and bad condition of the food. When he scraped the top of a bucket with his finger, a whole layer of dirt came off on it. He admitted that the food and the bucket were unclean, but said the other prisoners ate such food. One day the commissioner of prisons came to see us and we again complained. After that, the situation improved somewhat; the food was brought in clean buckets.

In the dispensary there were three bottles of medicine and a few tablets of Disprin and vitamins. For every ailment these were what they prescribed. If someone suddenly fell ill in the night, it was not possible to obtain treatment without screaming a long time for help, as the officers in charge were all sleeping. When the guards woke and we appealed to them, they would promise to telephone. The guard responsible for giving the medicine usually came near the cell window and looked at the patient; if she was unable to walk, we had to carry her to the window, for they were not allowed to open the door after 5 p.m. When a doctor did arrive, he would sometimes fail to examine the patient; he would ask her name, age, and the nature of her illness, and then prescribe medicine. The divisional medical officer examined only those patients who were seriously ill, and then rushed off.

When anyone contracted an infectious disease, she was placed in a solitary cell where there was hardly any fresh air and where her condition would grow worse. People with chicken pox or skin diseases could not even obtain a glass of milk [required by native medicine to cool the system] without screaming repeatedly. As the number of people arrested was so great and as all of us were housed in two or three small halls, there was not enough room for us. We had to

sleep in discomfort, packed together and sweating in the heat. That was why there were so many illnesses.

Removal to Mirigama

We learned from the newspapers that there was a camp for about 500 women at Mirigama. We waited impatiently, hoping they would transfer us there so that we would at least have sufficient room. In August 1971 some women were transferred. Those transferred were chosen arbitrarily by the officers, (so that) sisters, daughters and mothers were separated from one another. This caused much inconvenience to their relatives, who were later allowed to visit, and added to their anxiety.

The camp at Mirigama was big enough to hold more than 500 persons, so we wondered why all 400 of us were not brought there. Instead, small groups were taken from time to time. When we asked the officer in charge why all of us were not transferred, she said it was done to tame us. None of us knew why we had to be tamed, for there were no headstrong girls among us. Most of the girls left behind were those who had protested against various injustices perpetrated by the officials . . .

At Mirigama

In the beginning there was unity among the prisoners and no one kowtowed to the officials. Later the officers persuaded some girls to become informers and to do menial work for them such as sewing their clothes, by promising these girls an early release. As a result disunity developed, and the officials took the opportunity to institute tyrannical regulations.

Although it was hard to take united action, a small group of prisoners was prepared to raise certain issues with the authorities. But when they went to see them, they were intimidated and marked down as instigators and troublemakers. At the same time the informers, the rich, and those who meekly obeyed the officers' whims received special treatment. The administrators acted on what the informers told them, while other girls were forbidden to go near the office. When one of us did find a chance to speak to the superintendent, he would threaten and try to terrorize her by banging his feet on the floor. He would speak

in a manner quite inappropriate for women.

"Do you know who I am?" he would ask. "Who do you think I am?" or "Do you know what I can do?" He would threaten, "I can annul your liberty even for ten years," or "I will send you to Jaffna" [the northernmost town in Sri Lanka, the capital of the Tamil-speaking region, considered strange and frightening by Sinhalese].

He never allowed us to explain that we were innocent. But whenever the informers went to see him, they got smiles and privileges. When we went to discuss our release, the superintendent would tell us to inform our parents to see him privately; it is rumored that the authorities extracted bribes from innocent parents in return for false promises. When even trivial rules were broken, severe punishment would follow: Three girls who bathed at a pipe near the dining room, not allocated for bathing, had their parents' visits cancelled without their even being informed.

At Mirigama we are allowed to use the waterpipes from 7:00 to 8:30 a.m., 11:00 to 1:30 p.m., and 4:00 to 5:30 p.m. In the whole camp there are forty water taps. Apart from those in the kitchen and office only twenty-three are in working order, and of those, only six are for bathing and washing clothes. The other thirty-four are reserved for the authorities . . . The toilets have been blocked now for over four months, and in the whole camp there are only four. The stench is unbearable.

Parents' Visits

There is a special rule peculiar to this camp: If their visiting card is lost or forgotten, parents are not allowed to see their children even if they have journeyed from afar. Several times mothers who came without their cards because their handbags had been stolen on the way were turned back without seeing their daughters. Even the food they brought was refused. Once a mother who was visiting after an interval of six months was not allowed to see her daughter because she brought her old card by mistake.

The officials behave in a very intimidating manner. They do not treat us as human beings. Because she made an error in sending a telegram announcing her release to her par-

ents, a girl who had been released from custody is still with us; the officials have not made arrangements for this innocent girl to go home.

And the Tortured

[When we were arrested] a large number of girls were subjected to undue harassment, and quite a number were raped by police constables. Three mothers between the ages of thirty-two and forty-two were raped. The arm of one of them was twisted until it broke; she has not yet recovered.

These women were raped and molested in the presence of their children. Letters were branded on the arm of one of them, and her son was shot dead in her presence. After taking this mother and her eldest daughter into custody, the police set fire to their house. The woman's youngest son and daughter, aged ten and fourteen respectively, fled and hid in the woods. When they returned to the village in the evening, they were chased out of every house. [In fear of police reprisals many villagers dare not identify themselves with anyone even remotely suspected by the police.] We learned that the youngest girl was later shot dead at Wilpattuwa. Of four children only the eldest daughter remains alive; she is with us in this camp. Although the mother was released, we learned that she was later taken into custody again. Apparently the villagers beat her and turned her over to the police.

Four girls wearing military uniforms were arrested, stripped naked, and assaulted. Blows were struck at their breasts, elbows, knees, and thighs. Police constables kicked them with their boots; some received such serious injuries that they could not wear any clothes. These girls were arrested on the sixth of April and this incident took place at the Witalambuwa police station.

Another girl was arrested and molested at the Pannala police station; her clothes were torn off and she was beaten. When she was interrogated she was allowed to wear only her underpants, and burns were inflicted on her. Two men who were arrested with her were badly beaten; the Pannala police then handed over the two men and the sister to the Negombo police, who subjected them to further atrocities. Police jumped on the woman and trampled her; her fingers were twisted and fractured. The men ac-

companying her were stabbed and then their hands were cut off, after which petrol was poured on them and they were burnt alive. [The names of this woman and others mentioned later were given in this letter but have been withheld by the Sri Lanka Human and Democratic Rights Organization to prevent further victimization.] Another girl was raped at Weligama police station. Yet another was made to sit on the bonnet [hood] of the jeep while she was being brought to the police station; she suffered severe burns from which it took her a long time to recover. Another sister was . . . by Colonel Ranatunga. Two more girls were subjected to enormous suffering; bottles and batons were stuck inside their . . .; they tried to kill them; it is a miracle they are alive today . . .

At Anuradhapura police station a safety pin was stuck into the hand of another girl; today she is suffering from a nervous breakdown. About twenty-five persons were killed at Anuradhapura. There also a girl was raped and then shot dead after her body had been mutilated.

An eleven-year-old girl taken into custody at Deraniyagala police station was beaten to obtain information. While being assaulted, she was asked where her brothers were. She received several blows on her head and was kicked around and thrown up into the air.

Another sister who could not take any more torture tried to commit suicide by slashing her throat with a blade. She was almost dying when taken to hospital. The police shaved off the hair of other sisters at Gokaralla; they are in this camp, and their hair has not yet grown back.

There are very few girls here who have not been beaten and harassed by police. In most cases their brothers were killed in their very presence. Here we mention only the indignities suffered by women, but more brutal things were done to the men, which the women were forced to witness. Two other girls here were raped by the Veyangoda police; yet another was raped by two policemen. These girls are ashamed of what happened to them and do not want to disclose it; they say, however, that they can identify these policemen and even know their names.

The Special Branch Station

This was a dreadful place. Everywhere one could hear people screaming in agony. We saw a lot of people lying on the floor, badly beaten; they were muttering in low voices, trying to express their anguish.

In such circumstances innocent girls like us become confused and speechless. If we answered their questions differently from what they expected, police officers tried their strength on us and threatened our virginity. When we tried to protect our chastity, beatings and untold sufferings were inflicted on us, including pins stuck under our nails and into our breasts. Whatever the police required was recorded in English and we were forced to sign irrelevant and inappropriate things to protect our lives and chastity.

That was how statements were recorded on the Fourth Floor [commonly reputed to be the torture chamber of the secret police in Ceylon]. What we heard there was truly frightening. The way they beat up the men in the presence of the girls was horri-

fyng—mostly on the chest and kidneys. Some girls among us have seen men hung by ropes and beaten. Some men were beaten so badly they were not aware that their sarongs had slipped off.

When we walked past one room we heard screams and there was blood all over the floor; pools of blood were covered with newspapers.

We were asked to come and see the place where the prisoner Dodampe Mudalali jumped to his death from the fourth floor of the CID [Criminal Investigation Department] building four years ago. [It is alleged, however, that he was pushed from a window.]

We were told that the number of people who left that building was much less than the number who arrived there. The matron who was supposed to be looking after us gave us a lot of trouble; she exaggerated the horrible things that happened in order to frighten us.

We swear that the account we have given is true and accurate. For lack of space, we cannot write many other things. □

In Defense of the 'Fort Worth 5'

[In June 1972, five supporters of Irish Northern Aid, the American group sympathizing with the Provisional republican movement in Ireland, were ordered from New York to Texas to testify before a grand jury investigating activities in defense of the struggle in Ireland. For the "crime" of refusing to testify, the five were imprisoned and can be held in jail indefinitely.

[The case of the "Fort Worth Five"—also called the "Dallas Five" because of confusion over the court arrangements—has been taken up by various American and Irish groups and individuals working in defense of the Irish movement.

[On February 16, the Militant Forum in New York City held a special meeting on the case. The featured speakers were Frank Durkan, defense attorney for the Fort Worth Five, and Eileen Crimmins, a representative of the Dallas Defense Fund. The following is the text of their speeches. Neither has been able to check the edited version of the talks.]

Durkan: I represent five men who are in jail in Texas tonight, charged with no crime, convicted of no crime, but nevertheless facing months and possibly years in prison. I don't want to go into a treatise on Irish history, but I think it only proper that we consider Ireland's place in the world situation.

The British empire extended over almost two-thirds of the world. It had gone into Africa and Asia to conquer tribes in the name of civilization. The British imperialists boasted that they brought with them the Magna Carta, the principle of the dignity of the human being, and the right of a man to be free on his own soil. Somewhere along the way these got lost; they were conspicuously absent in the countries taken by the British.

Now the tide of empire has receded until Britain's last colony is the six northern counties of Ireland. The Union Jack flies over these counties and democracy is supposed to go with it. As you can tell from the daily papers, it is something less than democ-

racy, because 20,000 armed British soldiers are patrolling the streets and suppressing people who want to govern themselves and be the masters of their own destiny.

And so international politics has come into play. None of us is untouched by what is happening in Northern Ireland. Our government has long proclaimed its neutrality on the issue, that this is really a British internal problem and we have no business interfering. This sounds like a fair statement, if it weren't for the fact that our American armies have been interfering every place they can find an opportunity to interfere. The B-52s have been flying over Southeast Asia for years; the fleet is in the Indian Ocean bringing peace between the Indians and the Pakistanis. Marines go into Santo Domingo. And somehow we Americans always find ourselves on the wrong side. And Ireland happens to be no exception. Because the Nixon administration has placed us squarely on the side of British imperialism, which claims to be bringing the truth and the light to Northern Ireland. I don't say this lightly. I say it because, since the troubles broke out in Northern Ireland in 1969, the administration has been solidly on the side of the British.

In that year young people in that part of the world insisted on patterning themselves on Martin Luther King. They marched through the streets in peaceful protest. There was no attempt at violence. They were young people, students, like Bernadette Devlin, whose picture I see on the wall over there. They included both Catholics and Protestants. They were met with the police-state tactics so familiar in Northern Ireland. A minority was driven to the wall. And out of this situation came the Irish Republican Army. And don't let the papers fool you with their claims that these are "terrorists," "bombers," etc. They are the young people of Northern Ireland who have decided that they are going to take hold of their destiny or die if they have to.

Their fervor has gone across the sea. It has gone into Europe, where many, many people feel that the voice of the minority should be listened to. They see that it is not just madcap bombers and terrorists who are doing the fighting. When children and women go into the streets with stones

and bottles to fight an armed military establishment, there has to be something rotten about the system.

And naturally this struggle found an echo in this country, where we are supposed to sympathize with the underdog. It found sympathy among Irish Americans, Jewish Americans, Black Americans, people who have themselves felt the lash. And that brings me to the Fort Worth Five.

In June 1972, the U.S. Department of Justice, acting, according to the Texas newspapers, in compliance with requests from London, issued a raft of subpoenas ordering Irish Americans to Texas, to answer questions before a federal grand jury. They did this under the Omnibus Crime Control Act, which was made into law by your representatives in 1970. It was supposed to deal with organized crime. Now, I am not here to hold a book for organized crime, whatever that means. But the question comes up whether organized crime is a special category and needs special laws, or whether we should have laws equal for everyone.

So in the hue and cry of the early 1970s, the Omnibus Crime Control Act was passed, which permitted a grand jury investigating alleged violations of law to subpoena Bill, Willy, Jack, and Mary, and demand that they tell what they know about Martin, Margaret, Jim, and Hugh. And they could say that they thought you knew something and that you had bloody well better tell them or else you go into the clink until you are ready to answer. That is probably the simplest way I can put it.

In 1970 our representatives passed a law that gave grand juries carte blanche to subpoena who they liked, where they liked to, anywhere within the fifty states. They had the right figuratively to put a gun to the head of a witness and demand that he tell what he knew about anything. In many cases, this meant that the unfortunate person subpoenaed had to say that his neighbor left home in the morning at 8:10, returned at 12:10 for lunch, and came back at 5:00 with the possibility of this fitting into some scheme that the government thought constituted grounds for an indictment. Now, it sounds ludicrous. It is only ludicrous until you find that it has come to your own door.

And the Irish Americans, God bless them, didn't really know what it was all about until last June, when twelve of them from the New York area were ordered to go answer questions in front of a court sitting in the northern district of Texas. About what? Nobody knew. I was privileged to represent some of them who went down. We went along with the lawyers from a wonderful organization some of you may know about, the Center for Constitutional Rights, who represented the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and many people who have found themselves in a similar position.

We arrived in Ft. Worth, Texas, on the morning of June 21 with some of our clients, and we inquired at the U.S. attorney's office as to what exactly was being investigated. Nobody would tell us. We inquired of the judge's secretary. Nobody would tell us. Finally we went to the clerk's office, where we found a certificate filed by two U.S. lawyers in Washington saying that they were investigating "violations of the Omnibus Crime Control Act, the Gun Control Act of 1968, the Gun Control Act of 1970, conspiracy, violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act." You name the act—they were investigating violations of it. There was a long dossier of things they were investigating. They wouldn't tell us anything more than that.

I can say not only from my own knowledge, but on the basis of affidavits today filed with Congress, that none of the five men we are talking about was ever in Texas in his life. No one of them ever communicated with Texas; no one of them ever knew anybody in Texas. No one ever visited Texas. No one ever called Texas. One man wrote a letter to Texas. In 1968, Kenneth Tierney wrote a letter to Lyndon Baines Johnson saying "Please stop bombing those people over in Vietnam." Other than that, all of the five men in jail in Texas today have sworn under oath that they never had any connection with the state.

Of course there is the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution that says that no man or woman is required to incriminate themselves. But in these enlightened years, they have found their way around the Fifth Amendment. What they do is subpoena the people they think are the little ones and say

that if they testify, they will be granted immunity. That means that whatever these people say cannot be used against them. And that sounds reasonable. If a man doesn't want to spend a lot of time down in Texas, he tells what he knows and he's "immunized," so they say. But he's not immunized against a lot of things. If he says I was there with, say, Eileen Crimmins, then they go to her and find out that he was there with Tom O'Donnell, and O'Donnell says he was there with Tom Smith. And they glean information and back they come and slap you with an indictment. And they haven't broken their word because the immunity means that just the actual words you say cannot be used against you. But they can go where the words lead them and go round the house and come back and nail you to the cross. And not only has our government made this a law, but our Supreme Court has sanctioned it as a method.

So, they offered the Ft. Worth Five immunity. But we happen to have an extradition treaty with Great Britain. Suppose the British demanded that the U. S. turn over these five guys because what they said was of interest to them. No one was interested in that phase of it. We took our protest against this to the Supreme Court. But, with the honorable exception of Justice William O. Douglas, they turned us down. He was the only one who said "These people are talking sense. Maybe someday someone will want to question these men in another country and another form." So, by a vote of eight to one, the Supreme Court refused to review the case of the Ft. Worth Five.

The men, who were out of jail by virtue of Judge Douglas, had to surrender themselves on January 29 and return to prison in Texas, serving what appears to be an indefinite term. Because the Omnibus Crime Bill permits the government to subpoena anyone at any time to any place without giving an explanation to anyone. So if there is an agent here tonight, and he has the names and addresses of the people here, you may find yourselves subpoenaed someday to Alaska, because they have a right to know what you are doing here; that's what we've gotten ourselves into. That's the sad state of affairs we've gotten our-

selves into under the present administration. And if you refuse to answer, if you refuse to accept the so-called immunity, you can find yourselves in jail, just like the five fellows in Ft. Worth.

They are citizens of this community and have been taken 1,400 miles from their families and their children. And the *Dallas Morning News* says that they were taken to Texas because there are not too many Irish-Americans down there who might make a fuss and because there is a judge named Leo Brewster in Texas who will not "take any nonsense."

Well, I read this the day we were going into the court, and I thought, "He's human, and we shouldn't have any problems." But he looked at the three of us out over his glasses, and he said, "I want you to understand that I will not permit any Angela Davis tactics in this courtroom." And, funny enough, that same day Angela Davis was acquitted.

And then he looked further at us and said: "These five men must be guilty of something. They've got three lawyers from New York with them." It's amusing now. But it wasn't amusing then. And it isn't amusing for the five men in jail now. Because they had legal counsel and they demanded their constitutional right not to answer, they were thrown immediately into jail without bail!

Now, we all know that it is not safe to walk in the streets, that thousands of people are walking the streets who have been convicted but are out on bail, and these five men, none of whom was ever convicted or charged, were imprisoned from June to September. They were given bail from September to January, and then, because the Supreme Court refused to review their case, they are back in jail for the life of the grand jury, which expires in November. And the law provides that a new grand jury can be convened on November 4 and new subpoenas issued, and the whole thing can start all over, until they have brought enough pressure to bear to force these men to answer their questions.

And every question had to do with New York. "Did you ever give your driver's license to someone to buy a gun?" "Did you ever purchase guns in New York?" Why Texas? Why Arkansas? Why them? Why you? Paul

O'Dwyer was in Texas yesterday and he came back to tell us about it at a press conference today. The men are confined in three adjoining cells with bunk beds, which lead onto a small corridor, eighteen feet long by six feet wide. It is deep in the heart of the jail. There is no fresh air. There is no sunshine. There are no exercise facilities.

Three times a day they hear the sound of another human voice, and that's when the jailer comes with the food. Irishmen don't especially care for grits, but that's what they're getting. Their telephone communication with their lawyers is cut off. They may not call us, for any reason. They may not call their families. Their sole communication with the outside world is through a man named Bobby Cox, who is a Baptist minister.

And this is happening in America, and the Irish-American community is *finally* beginning to realize—I don't mean this to be critical, but let's call a spade a spade: it's been happening to a lot of others; it's been happening to the Blacks, and a lot of other minorities—the Irish are finally beginning to realize what is happening in America, and we don't know what is to come. We don't know where it's going to stop. Newsmen can no longer protect the source of their information, and maybe next will be the priest and the confessor. After all, national security is very important and nothing should stand in the way of national security. The slogan is "The land of the free and the home of the brave," but somehow five men are languishing in jail in Texas, with no charge even contemplated.

The boys wrote to Senator Buckley. [Laughter.] And he wrote them back a long letter that said, among other things: "Please consider that this is not punishment. [Laughter.] This is merely an inducement on the part of the government for you to contribute what the government is entitled to know." That's one of our senators. As for Senator Javits, he was more decent: He didn't even answer. Very few people have bothered to consider what is going on in Texas. And in the meantime an army equipped with the most modern weapons is attacking our people in Ireland.

In response to the prodding of the Irish-American groups, the govern-

ment has always answered that Northern Ireland was an internal British affair and we had no business sticking our noses into it. But it authorized the release of 1,400 British soldiers from NATO for Operation Motorman in Belfast. They couldn't have been released without the okay of Nixon, and he was only too happy to okay it. He has blocked the entry into this country of representatives of the minority who would tell the truth of what is happening in Northern Ireland.

But the story in yesterday's *Boston Globe* really put the cap on it. Some 800 commandos from the 40th Battalion of Royal Marines have been sent for training, of all places, to Camp Lejeune in North Carolina, so that they can pick up some of the expertise that we have developed over the last few years in Vietnam. They came from Belfast. Tonight they leave Camp Lejeune for an island off Puerto Rico for another ten days training. Then back to Northern Ireland to show the minority in Belfast what they learned from the Yanks. This is being done by our government while the five fellows are in jail in Texas. All I can say is that we have entered an era of repression, and the government is attacking yet another minority that it thinks cannot defend itself.

Crimmins: On behalf of the five men interned in Ft. Worth, I would like to thank the organizers of this meeting for inviting me here. I am very happy to come here, because our men in Texas need all the support that they can get. And above all their wives and their children need support, most of all financial support. They can be held at least until November 4, and then they can be put back in jail again. It can drag on, and on, and on. At the moment we in the Dallas Defense Fund are in a position where we need support desperately, financial and political support.

Those of you who are familiar with the Dallas Defense Fund will know that last summer, when we were working very hard for the Ft. Worth Five, the person who did the most was Jim O'Gara, who has just been indicted himself on two charges of misrepresenting himself in buying guns. He ran two rallies in Gaelic Park single-



By prosecuting Fort Worth Five, Nixon regime hopes to intimidate movement to support Irish struggle and end demonstrations like this one in New York City, March 4, 1972.

handedly, which brought in almost \$15,000. Where is Jim O'Gara going to be next week when we need him? And where is somebody else going to be, maybe the week after, when Jim O'Gara needs somebody else to raise funds for him?

One of the reasons we were told for these subpoenas being issued, apart from the possibility of a law being broken in this country, is the international implications. The British requested these prosecutions, we are told. The British government is very concerned about the activities of certain people in this country, particularly in New York and Boston, the areas where there are concentrations of Irish. These are the people who are raising funds and getting people politically aware about what is happening in the six occupied counties of Ireland. The British are very concerned about this, because for the last few years they have done everything to break the spirit of the people in Ireland.

As Seán Mac Stiofáin said a few months ago, there is no trick too low for Britain to play and no lie too big for her to tell. And who knows the British government better? She brought internment in the six counties. And she has brought in more and more troops. More than 60 percent of the British army is now waging merciless war on the defenseless people in the six British-occupied counties.

But despite these troops, despite Britain's fascist legislation, despite her fascist friends in the Free State, there

is still a resistance movement. So the thing was to cut the supply line. And the supply line was coming from this country, bringing money and other supplies very useful in guerrilla war. And also a moral supply line.

One of the things that has helped the people in Northern Ireland hold out is that they know that there are people over here whom they do not know, have never met, and probably never will meet who are out doing something for them, telling the truth about what is happening to them, trying to raise funds to support the internees and the men and women on the run. This is a great morale booster to the people in the occupied six counties. And no army can ever break the spirit of the Irish people.

So Britain was determined to break this spirit, and the way was to cut the supply line from here by interning a few Irish in this country. The idea was to intimidate people so that they would say, "I'm not going to support that organization anymore. I'm not going to march outside BOAC or the British consulate anymore, because I don't want to be in Texas next week." And I'm very happy to say that I haven't heard anybody saying that.

Unfortunately the government in this country was only too happy to comply with Her Majesty's request, just as they released the British troops from NATO and trained paratroopers in North Carolina. And all the time they were telling the American people that we have not become involved

in Northern Ireland. Before the elections last November, the Republican party had the unmitigated gall to publish posters with President Nixon's photograph on them saying "Well, at least he kept us out of Northern Ireland." This is when the NATO troops he released were literally butchering our people on the streets of Northern Ireland. But we were not told about that in this country.

Sometimes I think that those of us who know what is going on in this country sound a little paranoid when we try to tell people about the wrongs of alleged British justice in Northern Ireland—when we tell about a certain paramilitary organization in Belfast being able to parade in uniform before the admiring eyes of the British army while a twenty-year-old Catholic girl was sentenced to twelve years in prison just because a gun was found in her house. People wonder whether we are making these stories up.

But something happened here not too long ago that was not so different. In Custer, South Dakota, a white man was sentenced to twelve months in prison for stabbing an American Indian to death. Twelve months! And there are five Irishmen in jail in Texas, and they can be there until Hell freezes over and they have committed no crime. Unfortunately, there is no justice in this country.

The role played by the Dublin government cannot be overlooked either. The Dublin government has also collaborated with the British government in every way possible, particularly during the past year. Every day somebody else is arrested in the Free State, which is sacrilegiously called the Irish Republic by the traitors in Leinster House [the Dublin parliament building]. Our men and our women are lifted off the street, incarcerated, sentenced to brutal jail sentences; and now the Dublin government has decided that they are going to start extraditing people back to the six British-occupied counties.

So, we have to ask ourselves, "Did the Dublin government have anything to do with what happened down in Texas?"; and they did. Without a doubt they did. Because they are all one big, happy family, the White House, 10 Downing Street, and Leinster House. I think that those of you

who are interested in helping the Ft. Worth Five, either through the Dallas Defense Fund or privately, should consider putting pressure not only on the politicians here, but in Leinster House. Ironically enough, on the 28th February Jack Lynch is holding an election in the Free State, and that same day Jim O'Gara is appearing before the court. I wrote a letter to the leading Irish newspapers, which Jack Lynch is filling up with ads singing the glories of the Fianna Fáil party, in which I explained what is happening to us in this country at the behest of Jack Lynch and his cohorts in 10 Downing Street.

On March 24 we are having a combined fund-raising effort in this town,

following a rally by a group of Irish organizations under the auspices of the Anti-Internment Coalition. At 1:00 that afternoon we will march from Columbus Circle to FBI headquarters and that evening at 9:00 we will have a dance in Gaelic Park. And if you are interested in supporting us, we would like to see you there.

And about marching to FBI headquarters, I can't resist saying, if there is an agent in the house, that if the FBI spent half as much investigating corruption in the New York Police Department as they do in harassing the Ft. Worth Five [shouts, applause], we would have a far healthier city to live in. Thank you very much. □

Imprisoned Greek Trotskyists' Appeal

[The following appeal from Trotskyist militants imprisoned in Aegina was published in the March 16 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste. The appeal was signed by five persons: T. Thomadakis, a worker, member of the Spartacus group, sentenced in 1968 to a term of life plus eight years; A. Liakos, a student sentenced to life; S. Katsaros, a worker sentenced to life; J. Nikas, sentenced to life plus twenty years; and T. Mitafidis, a student, member of the Popular Struggle organization, sentenced to life in prison.

[During their trial, *Rouge* reported, these militants declared that they were struggling "to overthrow the capitalist system, to set up a workers state based on the political and economic power of the working class and on the democracy of workers' councils."

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Under the pressure of the general uproar and the demand of the working class as well as the oppressed masses for the freeing of all political prisoners, the military dictatorship has once more been forced to maneuver, to fall back on demagoguery, and to resort to its courts of intimidation: military tribunals.

But this time the dictatorship has dressed them up a bit, calling them "military courts of appeal"—all the

while excluding a whole number of political prisoners from consideration (Panaghoulis, soldiers, and so on). The right to have permanent military tribunals review sentences or refuse to do so is basically a means of dragging out the resolution of the problem of political prisoners and is aimed not only at crushing the workers, but also at keeping the dictatorship's political opponents locked up for several years, with the ultimate objective of physically exterminating or politically breaking them.

From behind the prison bars we denounce the junta's criminal plans to the working class and all the oppressed, and we appeal to them to continue the struggle with the greatest determination, for only that can:

- free the victims from the clutches of the dictatorship;
- win the workers' democratic freedoms and inalienable rights;
- overthrow the dictatorship and the system that created it and supports it.

Burning His Bridges

Besides trying to restore the death penalty, Nixon is submitting legislation to Congress that would bar defendants from pleading insanity as a defense in trials on federal offenses.

He should think twice. After all, if he is ever brought to trial for his crimes in Vietnam, an insanity plea may be his only out.