

Intercontinental Press

Africa

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Vol. 11, No. 15

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April 23, 1973

50c

French Youth on the March



CREEP Rolls On

"Success has killed many an organization—but not the Committee to Re-elect the President," John Pierson wrote in the April 5 *Wall Street Journal*. "Five months after Richard Nixon's landslide victory over George McGovern, CREEP—as it's called by friend and foe alike—is going strong."

It was appropriate for the authoritative capitalist daily to feature an article on the Nixon campaign committee, for there is no denying that CREEP offers possibilities for those with capital to make profitable investments. Pierson gave an example: ". . . on Jan. 17, Mr. and Mrs. George Farkas of New York gave \$5,000, part of \$300,000 they gave during and after the election. On Feb. 28, Mr. Nixon named Mrs. Farkas ambassador to Luxembourg."

CREEP reportedly took in contributions of \$152,000 during January and February alone. At the end of February, it had a cash balance of \$4,700,000. That figure could rise, presumably, if there are any ambassadorial plums still to be distributed.

Like any business concern, CREEP also has its debit side of the ledger. Items here range from picking up a restaurant bill for Spiro Agnew (\$243.05) to a refund of \$305,000 to an investor who fell on hard times and asked for his money back. CREEP also returned \$89,000 to a Texas oilman when it was revealed that his contribution had been used to pay the salaries of the crew caught bugging the Watergate office of the Democratic National Committee. (CREEP is suing the Democrats for libel for suggesting that CREEP had something to do with the Watergate affair.)

The committee's affluence has created a problem: what to do with all that money. It has been suggested that the money might go to finance 1974 Republican congressional campaigns, but this might offend Democrats who contributed, Pierson notes.

CREEP could always solve this problem by imitating other U. S. businesses and investing its surplus overseas. Nixon himself is known to oppose government involvement in fields where private enterprise can make a profit, and he might welcome a chance to follow this principle in the field of foreign elections as well. □

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Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

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TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P. O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P. O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U. S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

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French Youth Upsurge Continues to Gain Ground

Chanting "It's been five years, but here we are again!" about 100,000 persons — students, high-schoolers, technical-school students, and workers — stepped off from Paris's Place de la Nation April 9 for the third "national day of action" against the regime's attempts to "rationalize" its army and educational system.

The demonstration demanded that the government reestablish student draft deferments that were abolished by the "Debré law" and the extension of the right of deferment to all youth. It also called for the repeal of the decrees establishing the DEUG (Diplômes d'Etudes Universitaires Générales—General University Studies Diplomas), new certificates issued after two years of study and designed to churn out semitrained labor for the French capitalist class.

Student protests against the Debré law and the decrees setting up the DEUG had mobilized hundreds of thousands during the previous three weeks. But the April 9 demonstration marked the first time large numbers of workers turned out. The demonstration was supported by the strike committees that have been leading the high-school and student actions, as well as by the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union federation, led by the Communist party), the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the Socialist-party-led union federation), the FEN (Fédération de l'Education Nationale—National Education Federation, a major teachers union), and other trade unions.

The route and demands of the demonstration were decided in a series of negotiation meetings between representatives of the unions and the student coordinating committees.

This in itself marked a victory for the movement. It was the first time that the Stalinist trade-union leadership was compelled to recognize the independent student committees (many of them led by members of the Ligue

Communiste, French section of the Fourth International) as authoritative bodies representing large numbers of militant activists.

The unity in action achieved at the negotiating meetings was reflected in the march itself. Strike committees from nearly every high school, technical school, and university in the Paris area mobilized contingents. The CGT brought out dozens of factory contingents from Paris and the suburbs. There were at least two contingents of foreign workers, one of them consisting of North Africans.



MESSMER: His warning is disregarded by the students.

The unity in action maintained on the march was especially significant in that it represented a response to the belligerent statements made April 7 by Premier Pierre Messmer. He demanded, less than politely, that the students call off their struggle: "They had better understand that they must restore order. If they don't, we'll damn well make them."

If Messmer expected the youth to

be intimidated by this, he was mistaken. "No, Messmer, we will not restore order!" became a slogan of the marchers.

While maintaining unity in action against the government threats, the April 9 demonstration was far from homogeneous politically. The CGT leaders, while forced to cosponsor the march, did not give up their basic orientation: trying to convince the workers and student youth to put their faith in the Union of the Left and its Common Program. "The only solution is popular union" and "The only solution is the Common Program" were the CGT chants; to which the contingents organized by the strike committees responded: "The only solution is revolution" and "To hell with parliament, power is in the streets!"

Demonstrations were held in the provinces as well as in Paris on April 9. The April 14 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* (which underestimated the size of the Paris action) gave the following figures:

Toulouse 10,000; Lyon 4,000-5,000; Montpellier, Strasbourg 4,000; Nantes 3,500; Marseille 3,000; Dijon, Rouen 2,000; Nice, Aix-en-Provence, Bordeaux, Clermont-Ferrand 1,500. In Brest, Poitiers, Limoges, Tours, Le Havre, and Angers actions of about 1,000 took place.

On April 10, the Easter vacation period began. The regime appears to be counting on a week's rest calming the youth down. But the April 9 demonstration indicates that this is not a likely turn of events. The organizers of the action, both the strike committees and the trade unions, have called for a huge demonstration on May 1 as the next target date in the mobilization.

The April 11 *Le Monde* quoted the Ligue Communiste's statement on the coming phase of the struggle: "The Ligue Communiste calls on all the youth to prepare to continue the fight, in alliance with the working class and the young inductees. May 1 must be the next step in this struggle, provided it is organized jointly by all the forces involved, which will be the only guarantee against co-optation." □

Fascists, Cops Launch Attacks on French Youth

"The bourgeoisie is not very inventive," wrote *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, in its April 6 issue. "As soon as the youth, with quite a flourish, take their affairs into their own hands, the bourgeoisie gives its black bands the go-ahead."

[The principal "black band" is the *Ordre Nouveau* (New Order), a fascist outfit. With the rise of the youth mobilization, fascist goon-squad attacks have been on the rise. In Poitiers, a member of the Ligue was seriously wounded by fascists. In Paris, Bernard Chapuy, another Ligue mem-

ber, was beaten by a squad of fascist gangsters and, at last report, lies near death.

[The fascists have worked, as in the past, with the close collaboration of the police, who have also inflicted some damage on the student movement. One student beaten during the March 22 demonstration in Paris still lies in a coma. In Strasbourg, dozens of students were wounded, two of them seriously, by police attacks.

[The student movement, and particularly the Ligue, has organized to repulse the fascists, and has done this successfully in a number of places.

[The April 6 *Rouge* published a two-

page spread of articles on the fascist and police violence and the student response. Also included was a communiqué on the situation issued by the Ligue. We reprint below the *Rouge* articles on this situation. They appeared under the general headline "They want to kill."

[In its introduction to these articles, *Rouge* insisted that the fascists "have already paid [for their attacks] and will pay still more dearly. It will take more than a few dozen Hitlerite goons to put an end to the springtime."

[The translations are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Strasbourg: Bloody Aggression by Marcellin's Cops

Just at the moment when Fontanet was on television threatening the high-schoolers with his "reminder" that "the law must be obeyed," the forces of order in Strasbourg were giving a bloody demonstration of what was implied in the minister's words.

Tuesday night [April 3] the student strikers in the liberal arts school, who had partially and peacefully occupied the liberal arts building, and who had been categorically refused use of the printing facilities and the telephone, decided in a general assembly to take these things by force. The rector and the university president were tipped off in advance and called for police intervention. It was 8:00 at night when the police, without the slightest warning, cleared the students out of the building. The cops charged with clubs, attacked people in the corridors, launched tear-gas grenades. The police violence and aggression soon ran up against resistance organized by the students, who had regrouped.

For six or seven hours, a small-skirmish war raged between the cops and a good 1,000 Strasbourg students.

The buildings of the nearby dormitory complex, which were occupied, became the target of the assault of the forces of order. They clubbed,

threw furniture out the windows, shot gas grenades into the buildings, and so on.

The toll, while hard to establish exactly, was heavy:

Forty-five students were wounded, two of them seriously. At 3:00 in the afternoon the following day [Wednesday, April 4] Charlie Welchinger, an "independent Trotskyist" candidate in Strasbourg during the elections who had been struck by a grenade shot "at close range," came out of his coma. But a second wounded student, whose name has not gotten through the wall of silence erected by the police department, still hovers between life and death. A grenade shot from a range of twenty meters had pierced his chest.

Convention: The Neo-Nazis Attack

Sunday morning [April 1]. A roving band of forty Nazis from the *Ordre Nouveau*, helmeted and armed, weaves through the Paris markets.

Their objective: Hunt down people selling *Rouge*. *Ordre Nouveau* well knows the role the Ligue Communiste has played in mobilizing the Assas students against the brown plague. Lacking the power to worm their way back into a campus they were present

at only thanks to police cooperation, the Nazis want "revenge."

At about 10:30 the horde takes off for the Convention market in the fifteenth arrondissement. Warned by a lookout system, the sellers take off as a group. But Comrade Bernard Chapuy stays behind to gather up the material (display boards and papers). The armed group falls upon him.

Our comrade suffered a fractured

skull and had to be operated on. After some improvement, his condition took a turn for the worse on Tuesday. A brain edema appeared. Today he hovers between life and death.

There is no point in giving a big speech. Our determination to crush

the brown plague did not arise just yesterday. Far from intimidating us, this act of barbarism intensifies our resolution. We demand the dissolution of the Ordre Nouveau and its fig leaf, the "National Front." And we will not wait around for the regime to decide to carry this out. □

As a protest demonstration, the students occupied the administrative offices in the Pantheon, from which the police evicted them. But before that, the students had time enough to turn up some documents constituting a compelling indictment of the fascists. [The documents indicated that the GUD had been storing up gasoline, plastic, explosives, and other weapons.]

Assas: The GUD's Arsenal

In Assas, fascist "order" has been hard hit. Forced to go underground for many months after May '68, the fascists, beginning in 1970, tried to make this campus their "white" base. Beatings, goon-squad attacks, and gangster parades went on interminably under the eyes of the administration serving as accomplice.

The current mobilization has allowed the reversal of this state of affairs. The law students held an initial general assembly in the Pantheon. Sensing the danger, Ordre Nouveau's legal cover, the GUD [Groupe Union Défense—United Defense Group], attacked the meeting with iron bars. The 300 students present threw the gangsters out. That was the first victory.

On March 23 another meeting (600 students) was held. It voted to strike and to occupy the campus in order to guarantee freedom of expression. For the entire following week the ad-

ministration showed what side of the barricades it is on: It barred all access to the campus by the antifascists and left the way clear for the gangsters.

These documents, which the administration preferred to keep hidden in its files, must be brought to the attention of the students. They will judge the evidence.

Dissolve the GUD immediately!

Poitiers Will Not Be Chicago!

Ever since the election campaign there has been a group in Poitiers specializing in fascist gangsterism (attacks on meetings, isolated militants, demonstrations, etc.).

With the high-school and university strike, gangster attacks and persecution of militants increased. On March 29 a demonstration was attacked by a commando group. A response was prepared. For the April 2 demonstration a special defense guard was set up to protect the marchers. Unable to directly attack the demonstration,

the fascists ran amok through the campus on the night of April 2.

Under pursuit and attack, some members of the Ligue called on their comrades for reinforcements. A contingent with helmets and wooden bars was organized to escort the members. Confrontation with the fascists was inevitable.

The fascists attacked near the entrance to the Cité [dormitory complex], where our comrades live. After the fascists were driven off, the RG [General Intelligence] cops, who had been hanging around the area



At left, the "defenders of the race" assemble in preparation for attacking militant students. Later (on right) they decide discretion is better part of valor.

for a long time, suddenly showed up. Then some members of the CRS [Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Corps, the spe-

cial "riot" police] arrived. They clubbed the militants who were still on the scene. Once again, the cop-fascist cooperation is obvious. □

itants who prevented *Ordre Nouveau* from demonstrating in Paris on April 3.

The *Ligue Communiste* is in solidarity with the Strasbourg students who, at this very moment, are demonstrating in front of the campus they were expelled from. The government must back down. If it does not, it will bear the heavy responsibility of having unleashed a cycle of violence against the youth. And we do not intend to grant it a free hand. □

The Ligue Communiste's Communiqué

The *Ligue Communiste* solemnly warns the regime against the provocative attitude it has adopted. Mr. Fontanet's televised threats, the virtual butchery unleashed by the Strasbourg police, and the provocations these same police have been committing ever since March 22 by clubbing demonstrators will not go by without response.

After having turned a deaf ear to the demands of hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, the regime now seems to want to take a hard line. To do this, it is using either its police or the auxiliary outfits, like the *Ordre Nouveau* fascists who savagely beat Bernard Chapuy, a member of the *Ligue Communiste*, in a Parisian market on April 1. Chapuy's condition is still serious today.

Right here and now, the *Ligue Communiste* supports the occupations of campus offices decided on by the stu-

dents in Caen, Rennes, and Montpellier in response to the Strasbourg events. It supports the antifascist mil-

Fascists' Waterloo in the Latin Quarter

They wanted to mop up the Latin Quarter. On Tuesday, April 3, the fascists gave it their all; but they utterly failed to come off as the last bastion of Western order against the youth uprising.

Shouting "Leftist scum, *Ordre Nouveau* will have your ass!" 300 gangsters assembled at Sèvres-Babylone and made for Duroc. Waiting for them there were 100 antifascists, high-schoolers and students, fed up with the innumerable provocations the gangsters had committed at the schools and campuses during the cur-

rent mobilization.

The charge was violent and impossible to block. The fascist contingent was broken, through and through, all along its length.

Those among the fascist strong-arms who were not laid out in the gutter were saved only because they were experienced sprinters.

Poor fascists! The brown vermin don't strut invulnerably when 200,000 high-schoolers are in the streets and occupying the schools and campuses. Yesterday's lesson will be repeated as often as is necessary.

'Rouge' Examines Stalinists' Shifts

Has the French Communist Party Made a Basic Turn?

By Arthur Colt

[The fact that the French Communist party has been forced into giving some support both to the current youth upsurge—specifically through its high-school organization, UNCAL (Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lycéens—National Union of High-School Action Committees)—and to the militant strike of the OS (ouvriers spécialisés—semiskilled workers) at Renault has given rise to much speculation in the bourgeois press about whether the Stalinists have made some major shift in policy.

[The following article, entitled "The Turn?" appeared in the April 6 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly paper of the *Ligue Communiste*, French section of the Fourth International. It seeks to

explain the real reasons behind the CP's apparent shift.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Support to the youth demonstrations. ("Ultraleft or not ultraleft, what counts is unity," an UNCAL delegate wrote in *l'Humanité* [the Communist party newspaper].) Support to the Renault OS strike. ("The ultraleftists are also in the CGT," commented Roger Sylvain, secretary of the Renault union.) That's all that was needed for the "specialists" from *Nouvel Observateur* and *Le Monde* to start speaking of the "thaw," the "opening," and the "leap forward."

So what's the change?

"If black becomes white, it's your vision that's off," Chairman Mao is supposed to have said. Real life speaks louder than words. The *Lutte Ouvrière* members who were attacked at Renault the day after Sylvain's "democratic" pronouncement can testify to this.

If the CP's youth organizations called for participation in the March 22 demonstration, it was only *after* the failure of their March 21 splitting attempt. If the CGT is supporting the OS strike, it is only *after* having called without success for a return to work.

In both cases, the CP was faced with a clear alternative:

Either it would deny the existence of a movement developing outside its

influence and it would be deeply hurt by it;

Or else it would join up with the movement, whether it liked it or not, and would recognize the influence of the far-left organizations and the power of the mass movement they had contributed to developing.

The choice was not simple. We can remember the filthy *l'Humanité* editorial Georges Marchais signed on May 3, 1968, which was to contribute to scuttling the CP's influence among the youth for many months. We can still remember the *cri de coeur*—from Marchais again—after the murder of Pierre Overney: "More than May 1968, more than ever, no common actions with the ultraleftists."

The events of these past days are a stinging refutation of the CP general secretary's words. The joining in with the March 22 demonstrations and the trade unions' support to the April 2 actions are significant events. The CP was forced into unity of action in the streets with forces they denied had any influence just two weeks before. That is a turn that threatens to have some lasting effects on the collective memory of the CP's members. The members of UNEF and UNCAL did not all react uniformly to the acrobatics that were imposed on them. More than once, CP members voted differently from one another in the general assemblies. In some provincial cities, the CP signed joint leaflets with the Ligue. Such attitudes will not be easily forgotten.

The Trap

Are these "new" positions signs of a long-term evolution of the CP or are they just a result of the present political conjuncture? The question deserves asking. The Italian Communist party has experimented with this tactic of co-opting the far left, and with a certain amount of success. Perhaps we are witnessing a first try at this sort of thing. But it is much more likely that the CP is a prisoner of its own political strategy and of the period we find ourselves in.

The Communist party, an electoral party all of whose activity is based around the electoral calendar, has no short-term electoral perspective. It cannot even set the 1976 presidential elections as the next target date. Moreover, despite all the contortions of

l'Humanité's editorial board, it is difficult to present the last elections as a success. Marchais's report to the



GEORGES MARCHAIS

last Central Committee reflected these difficulties; the usual liturgy of self-satisfaction was missing. Marchais was especially attentive to the questions asked by members. In particular, why the CP, which for years has been fighting with the "correct" line (Marchais's phrase) for the Common Program, got less out of the Union of the Left than the Socialist party did. The CP leadership presents two types of explanation:

1. The bourgeoisie's anti-Communist campaign bore some fruit among the middle classes—in particular its assimilation of socialism to the Common Program and its identification of socialism with the system prevailing in the Eastern countries. "In the final analysis, every argument of reaction consists on the one hand of raising the bogey of 'collectivism' and on the other hand of identifying the perspectives of socialism in France with the experience of the countries that have already achieved socialism," Marchais told the Central Committee. To answer this attack, The CP general secretary did not propose (as

in the past) defending the Brezhnev model of socialism. On the contrary, he insisted on the necessity of the French CP giving a good presentation of "the real face of socialism."

In a recent *l'Humanité* article, we learn that all is not for the best for the workers in Gierek's kingdom. Nothing appears accidentally in the CP daily. We must expect that the uniqueness of the "French road to socialism" will be presented again with still more force.

2. Marchais's report rather violently attacked the Socialist party, which was accused of having given way to anti-Communism. This was a nonsensical explanation put out for the benefit of the CP membership: if the SP got more out of the Union of the Left, it was because the SP was a disloyal partner. After having created a stepping-stone for Mitterrand [the SP leader], the CP has now begun to worry about the SP extending its electoral breakthrough.

The advances of the SP's factory sections, the growing weight within the SP itself of the CERES [Centres d'Etudes, de Recherches, et d'Education Socialiste—Centers of Socialist Study, Research, and Education, a left-leaning bloc in the SP], the SP's closer and closer ties with the CFDT [Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the SP-led trade-union federation]—all these things concern the CP, which, already in competition with the SP in the electoral arena, is afraid of also having to compete with it in the field of social struggles. Hence the attacks on the advocates of self-managing socialism and the refusal to make a distinction between centralized socialism and self-managed socialism.

A Labor of Sisyphus

Having offered these explanations, Marchais hastened to assert that the line had been correct and that it must be continued. The electoral strategy remains. In other words, he called on the membership to go back to working to try to break the 50 percent hurdle next time—a task worthy of Sisyphus. The CP leadership has no other perspectives to put forward but electoral ones. Since the 1976 horizon is rather far off, it can be said that the CP has no immediate perspec-

tives. That's what comes out of Marchais's report.

The only logical conclusion is to make the Common Program a program of struggle and of action. Neither the Socialist party nor the Communist party wants to do this.

Exactly because no electoral target date is approaching, the Communist party will not systematically wreck all struggles that are developing. More cleverly, it will seek to integrate them into its general strategy. Before the elections, the CP leadership strongly counseled the workers against going into struggle; the Common Program and the victory of the Union of the Left would solve all their problems. Today, the CP hopes to integrate these struggles (high-schoolers, OS) into its strategy of pressuring parliament. Séguy's call for a united May 1 dem-

onstrations that would "bring about an outpouring of the effervescence of life" is a first example of this tactic of grabbing at everything.

To try to control the mass movement and to conduct skirmishes inside parliament—that is the CP's current approach. And that also explains why the CP will further harden its attitude toward those who can put forward a total strategic alternative. It is not for nothing that *l'Humanité* published Figuières's contribution to the Central Committee discussion:

"The Trotskyists' revolutionary phrase-mongering has sometimes been confusing to the young voters, to the workers who have just recently come from rural areas, to the white-collar workers, and to some isolated peasants . . . For our part, we must continue politically to make clear the ne-

farious game of these groups, especially since the results of the elections show that their activity has had some effect."

In 1936 Maurice Thorez answered the socialist militants who were a leftist thorn in his side by saying, "There is nothing to the left of the Communists. These are Stalin's words." In the French CP this idea has outlived its author. In any case, the Communist party leadership has been constantly denying that there is any force to its left. But the contradictions of its political strategy are forcing it to put an end to this attitude.

In the short run, this may allow the CP to hold its ground. Its youth organizations will be able to pride themselves on having been in the movement. But looking beyond that we can expect events whose effects will be incalculable. □

Sees Struggle Between 'Communism and Trotskyism'

'Le Monde' Evaluates Forces in Youth Movement

By Thierry Pfister

[The following article, entitled "The High-School Movement and Politics, A Struggle for Influence Between Communists and Trotskyists," appeared on the front page of the April 8-9 issue of the influential Paris daily *Le Monde*.

[While its author betrays a certain cynical attitude, the article does present a basically accurate account of some of the issues raised by the new upsurge of youth in France. The fact that *Le Monde* views the French Trotskyist movement as strong enough to wage a battle for hegemony against the Stalinists is in itself a significant indication of the changing balance of forces in French politics. For the information of our readers, we reprint below the text of the article. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The movement that began among the high-schoolers and is now developing among the apprentices of the CET [Collèges d'Enseignement Tech-

nique, technical education institutions] and the university students allows us to see to what extent the breadth of political ideas that opened among the youth in 1968 has narrowed. Since that time, only two political forces have been expressing themselves coherently and mobilizing significant numbers of militants: Communism and Trotskyism.

While the former has the advantage of cohesiveness, it also has the handicap of having come on the scene a bit belatedly, so it has had to hitch on to a movement whose control still in part evades it. Certainly, the Communist party is present among the student youth—through the UNEF-Renouveau [Union Nationale des Etudiants de France—National Union of Students of France (Resurgent)] and UNCAL [Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lycéens—National Union of High-School Action Committees]; but it has not always succeeded in expressing the youth's aspirations through these bodies.

In their struggle against the aboli-

tion of deferments, the high-schoolers have thrown up original organizational forms, but it remains no less true that most of the leaders of the coordinating committees are politicized militants. This phenomenon is quite naturally explained by the fact that the political militants are the only ones who know how to set up general assemblies, establish contacts between different schools, and set up strike committees. They know how to express in organizational terms the demands of rank-and-filers who are less highly politicized than they themselves.

The thing that is new, compared with 1968, is that in essence all these militants belong to organizations that are connected, more or less directly, with the current of Trotskyism. While the Ligue Communiste [French section of the Fourth International] holds first place within this current, we must also take note of the presence of members of the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme [Alliance of Youth for Socialism, of Lambertist persuasion], the

Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, a group headed by Michel Pablo], and the communist organization Révolution [a split-off from the Ligue Communiste]. In addition, Lutte Ouvrière, which until now has hardly intervened anywhere but in the factories, has decided to actively participate in the movement that has been touched off in the CET.

The young socialists (whether members of the Socialist party or of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party]) have been reduced to issuing communiqués. As for the so-called Maoist movements (of the spontanéist variety), after a short-lived attempt to bring out a newspaper, entitled *l'Entonnoir* [The Funnel], they practically disappeared.

The present movement has also exposed the vacuity of the initials UNEF, whether wielded by the CP or by the AJS. [The Stalinists and the Lambertists each maintain separate organizations, both called UNEF. The Stalinist version adds "Renouveau" to the initials.]

The organized political forces participating in the high-school movement tried to maintain an exemplary discretion by not dominating the general assemblies, but the probability of a rapid demobilization led them to more clearly take charge of the general assemblies' operations.

Up to now, the size of the demonstrations has surprised the far-left groups. The approach of the vacation period and the concessions the government suggested it might make on the question of deferments led them to fear that the movement would run out of steam. Right now, they are also worried about relaunching action when the schools open after the vacations. The far-left groups are also concerned about not letting the Communist party "co-opt" the movement, which process it began by calling for the April 9 and May 1 demonstrations.

The CP's New Line

The policy of the Communist party toward social movements that grow up outside it, whether it be high-schoolers, the OS [ouvriers spécialisés—semiskilled workers], or the immigrant workers, has undergone a basic change since 1968 and the years im-



SEGUY: CGT head forced to go along with youth mobilizations.

mediately following. There is no longer any question of standing apart from struggles that may be "perverted" by the presence of "ultraleftist" elements. Not only has the CP supported such movements, but—in the case of the OS at Renault, for example—it has pressed for effective mobilizations and therefore for broadening social struggles.

This total reversal of strategy has not come off without hitches. Thus, in a few provincial cities, CP leaders, no doubt extending the political committee's new line a bit too far, have gone so far as to sign joint leaflets with the Ligue Communiste, the Trotskyist organization led by Alain Krivine. The leaders of the Ligue, who for a long time have been trying to get "recognized" in this way by the whole official left, are doing their utmost to make gains from this situation. Nevertheless, they are meeting resistance on the part of other far-left formations of a more "spontanéist" persuasion, like Révolution.

An important analytical divergence has especially appeared within the Paris high-school collective, which in practice plays the role of a national collective. This divergence broke out during the preparations for the April 2 demonstrations. The Ligue Communiste and the Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire defended the line that contacts should be made with the workers'

trade unions in order to broaden the movement. The communist organization Révolution, on the other hand, judged that this would risk having the movement co-opted. (It is a little artificial to reduce such debates only to the political groups, because high-schoolers who do not belong to any organization also take part in the sessions of the collectives.)

The final vote endorsed the Ligue's point of view, 68 to 60, although, as can be seen, not in an extremely sharp manner. Because they disagreed with this perspective, the Révolution members walked out of the organizing collective, that is, out of the movement's "executive."

In its concern about resisting any "co-optation" of the movement, Révolution illustrates the "leftist" spirit of the movement. This group proposes setting up action committees, more narrow than the strike committees, that would constitute the embryo of a movement of youth. Nevertheless, the "leftists" know that the high-school scene is more capable of riding with political differences, and that in order to increase its power, it is necessary to bring to bear the weight of the workers.

The political battle now unfolding within the high-school and student committees is only the first passage of arms. In fact, the problem came up again Thursday night [April 5] when the workers' and teachers' trade unions proposed a joint demonstration for Monday, April 9; and it will come up again around May 1.

The CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union federation, dominated by the Stalinists] apparently hopes to reestablish the authority of UNEF and UNCAL, which have until now perceptibly trailed behind the development of the situation. The Trotskyists' strength lies basically in their presence in the strike committees. The Communists, for their part, are seeking to present UNEF and UNCAL as a tendency within the movement in which the strike committees would be merely another current.

The CP's hopes can be seen behind this analysis: If tomorrow, because of the vacations, the strike committees fall into dormancy, the only remaining official representatives of the high-

schoolers will be the members of UNCAL.

Reaffirming the Movement's Independence

That is why the Parisian student coordinating committee, while agreeing in principle to participate in the April 9 demonstration proposed by the unions (pending the agreement of the national coordinating committee, which meets Saturday [April 7]), took exception to the fact that the two UNEFs and UNCAL were among the signatories of the call. The strike committees want in this way to reaffirm the independence of the present movement, in which they intend, moreover, to take up certain slogans not being raised right now.

This fear about independence was even more clearly defended by Révolution members who, contrary to the Ligue, refuse to make the strike committees co-organizers of Monday's [April 9] demonstration. They propose instead that a contingent of high-schoolers, students, and CET apprentices be formed to follow behind the trade-union demonstration. This position was once again a minority one, but the debate that has been started over the movement's independence and the forms it must adopt will come up again in the general assemblies that have been convoked in many educational institutions.

The strike committees have one important trump card in their test of strength with the CP. That is that the CFDT [Confédération Française Dé-

mocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the Socialist-party-led trade-union confederation] indicated during the meetings held to prepare for the April 9 demonstration that it would withdraw if the committees were absent.

Now, one of the basic strengths of the present movement derives from the fact that all the political forces of the left and the far left, and even a number of moderate elements, have attained a fragile and provisional unity. Up to now, priority has been given to the popular success of the movement. But from now on, its political orientation must be concretized. All the forces that have entered the game are now playing their cards one after the other, without the high-schoolers really understanding this. □

Thousands of Lebanese Protest Government Inaction

Israeli Regime Assassinate Palestinians in Beirut

By Jon Rothschild

"It was very marvelous," Golda Meir told the Israeli parliament, "because we killed the murderers who were planning to murder again. Shining pages will be written about this."

Nearly a week after the marvel, details of the event are still confused, apparently deliberately so. Normally, Israeli military officials reveal most of the particulars about the aggressive raids they carry out against neighboring Arab countries. This one, however, was special. And just as Al Capone shunned press conferences, so now does Golda Meir. The details seem unnecessary anyway. Already the shining pages are being written—in the Israeli and American press. The *New York Times*, for example, not recorded as a supporter of the St. Valentine's Day massacre, demonstrated its capacity for growth and change. "Israeli commandos have struck a stunningly effective blow in the 'war against terror' that was proclaimed by Premier Golda Meir after last fall's Munich massacre," it editorialized on April 11.

The Beirut raid, the *Times* said, "rivals in daring and brilliance—and

in potential import—Israeli victories in three conventional wars against the Arabs."

The United States government, in the wake of the raid, denounced the "irresponsible behavior" and "extremist tactics"—of the Palestinian commando movement! This was in response to the wholly plausible charge by Palestine Liberation Organization President Yassir Arafat that U.S. intelligence agencies played a role in the raid. State Department spokesman Charles W. Bray 3d called that charge "ludicrous" and especially "unseemly in the circumstances, given the increasingly apparent interconnection of the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization on the one hand, and the Black September on the other."

There was no other comment from Washington, not even the usual mild statement of regret about the bad effects of violence on the political situation in the Middle East.

Thus the defenders of Western civilization have risen to the occasion once more. Hypocrisy was called for; they displayed it in abundance. The regime that demanded the death penal-

ty against Black September commandos for having executed three diplomats stands mute when dozens of Arabs are gunned down. The newspaper that screamed "bloodthirsty assassins" at Black September hails the "brilliance" of gangster-style murder when the victims are Palestinian.

The U.S. ruling class and its press thereby demonstrate that there are no lengths to which the Zionist regime may not go in its war against the Arab world. For even a cursory look at the April 10 aggression shows that it was far from a "pinpoint" attack and that its victims were in no way responsible for any sort of "terror" against the Israeli population.

The Terror Raid . . .

Much of the press coverage of the Beirut raid has dealt with its most dramatic aspect—the murder of three top leaders of the commando movement, Mohammed Yussef el-Najjar (known as Abu Yussef), Kemal Adwan, and Kemal Nasser. In fact, in addition to the three leaders, at least forty people were killed and at

least twice that many wounded. Not all of those hit were commandos; in fact, not all were Palestinian.

As closely as it can be reconstructed from the frequently contradictory reports in the world press, here is the scenario of the Beirut terror strike:

Early in the morning of April 10 (1:30 a.m. according to the authoritative Beirut daily *an-Nahar*), Israeli naval units approached the Lebanese shore. An unknown number of commandos were put ashore at two beaches, Ramlat-el-Baida and Ouza'ii. The naval unit was accompanied by helicopters, whose protection turned out to be unnecessary.

The commandos split into three groups: one headed for the Sabra area of Beirut, where several fedayeen organizations have headquarters; another went to Verdun Street in downtown Beirut; a third set out for Saida (also called Sidon), a town about twenty-five miles south of Beirut.

Transportation was provided by cars that had been rented about a week in advance by six men posing as Western European tourists in Beirut.

At the Sabra Palestinian camp, the Israelis attacked the six-story building that houses the offices and printing facilities of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The fedayeen fought back. In the course of the clash, the Israelis set explosive charges on the building itself and on the two adjacent structures. When they went off, most of the building was demolished. At least thirty people were killed; sixty were wounded.

One of the apparent individual targets of the attack, Abu Leila, a DPF leader who had been the editor of the DPF's major agitational newspaper in Jordan prior to the September 1970 civil war, was reported at first to have been killed. Later, the report was corrected; he had been seriously wounded but is still alive. Nayef Hawatmeh, head of the DPF, was in South Yemen at the time of the raid.

In the Ouza'ii Palestinian camp outside Beirut, at least three buildings were blown up. The April 10 *an-Nahar* reported that at least three Palestinians were killed. Ten others were seriously wounded.

In Saida, also, a number of buildings were demolished. The number of casualties is not clear.

The main target of the assault was Verdun Street. Abu Yusef and Kemal

Nasser occupied the same apartment building there. The Israeli attackers gunned down the three fedayeen guarding the entrance to the building. They dynamited the doors of Abu Yusef's and Nasser's apartments and opened up with machine-gun fire. Both men were riddled with bullets and died instantly.

Abu Yusef's wife threw herself in front of her husband as the hit-men came through the door. She was also shot down. *An-Nahar* reported that an Italian woman who lived in the apartment above Kemal Nasser was gunned down when she came to the landing to see what all the noise was. That report was at first denied in the Western press. It was later confirmed. In addition, *an-Nahar* reported that Abu Yusef's sixteen-year-old son was kidnapped by the Israelis.

The same process was repeated at Kemal Adwan's apartment nearby.

The Israelis set several bombs in various Beirut streets to cover their withdrawal. Most of them got away free. Israeli military spokesmen reported that two Israelis had been killed and two wounded in the attack.

Its Victims . . .

The individual targets of the Israeli attack seem to have been selected to make a specific political point, namely that Tel Aviv regards any Palestinian organization—regardless of its program, tactics, composition, or numerical strength—as fair game for extermination.

This is clearly seen by a brief look at who the three executed leaders were.

"Yusef Najjar [Abu Yusef] and Kemal Nasser, each in his own way, were considered by many observers as among the 'moderates,'" wrote Eric Rouleau in the April 11 *Le Monde*, "and even as the men with whom a dialogue would be opened aimed at achieving a compromise settlement."

Kemal Nasser, at the time of his murder, was the "official spokesman" of the Palestine Liberation Organization. He had not joined the fedayeen movement until after the 1967 war. Originally from Ramallah in the now-occupied West Bank, he lived for a time in Egypt, then in Western Europe, and then in Syria, where he was a member of the Baath party. In the 1960s he returned to the West Bank, where he was living when the Israelis invaded in June 1967.

"He took advantage of the occupation," Rouleau wrote, "to meet with many Israeli personalities, among them people in the government. Disappointed time after time, he left the West Bank and joined the Palestinian movement. In February 1969 in Cairo, he told me, 'I tried to convince the Israeli leaders to seize the unique opportunity open to them, to achieve peace in exchange for withdrawing from all the conquered territories. But in vain. The hour of negotiation will someday come, but this time, it will be necessary for the fedayeen to impose it by force.'"

Rouleau mentions that in November 1972, Nasser was speaking in an even more conciliatory vein in private.

Even publicly he was always known as among the most right-wing of the PLO leaders.

Yusef Najjar, at the time he was murdered, was the head of the PLO's political committee for Palestinian affairs in Lebanon. He was also a member of the PLO executive committee and was one of the main leaders of Fateh. In the latter organization, he maintained good relations both with the wing led by Khaled el-Hassan (the furthest right semiorganized tendency in Fateh, one that had argued at executive committee meetings for accepting the proposal to form a West Bank Palestinian "ministate") and with the Arafat tendency.

In his capacity as head of the PLO's committee on Palestinian affairs in Lebanon, Najjar was in charge of relations between the fedayeen and the Lebanese regime. He was a frequent PLO delegate at international diplomatic functions. "If the Palestinian guerrilla movement had a foreign minister, Mohammed Yusef Najjar . . . would have been a likely candidate," wrote the April 11 *New York Times*.

It is a virtual certainty that neither Kemal Nasser nor Yusef Najjar had ever organized a terrorist operation. Neither was in any way connected with any of the fedayeen's military activities.

Kemal Adwan was one of the central Fateh leaders. He also was close to the Khaled el-Hassan wing, and was perhaps the most conservative of any of the founders of Fateh, having received his political training in the semisecret Muslim Brotherhood. Initially, Kemal Adwan was a determined partisan of armed struggle, believing it was the only way of achieving a

"democratic Palestinian state." But after the September 1970 war in Jordan, he became an advocate of compromise and conciliation with King Hussein, apparently deciding that the fedayeen alone lacked the strength to achieve victory.

Adwan was the only one of the three murdered leaders to have been accused—and no evidence has ever been produced to support the charge—of having helped organize attacks on civilian targets. During the period that Adwan was actually coordinating some Fateh military operations, the group had a general policy of avoiding hitting civilian areas.

And Why It Was Done

On the afternoon of April 10, Lieutenant General David Elazar, chief of staff of the Israeli armed forces, held a press conference to comment on his troops' previous night's activities. "I have no doubt that there will be many stories coming out of Beirut," he said with what *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith called "a small smile."

"But we are not going to reveal the operational details because I am not sure that we will not be forced to continue this type of operation in the future."

In fact, Elazar made it clear that he was sure that "preemptive" terror strikes would continue. "This operation has to be regarded as only one step in our concept of combining offensive and defensive tactics against the terrorists," he said. "There is no possibility of honoring the sovereignty of Lebanon and its capital as long as it is serving as a complete haven for terrorists."

The problem is that Beirut is not a haven for terrorists. The April 10 Israeli terror raid was merely the latest implementation of the long-term strategic Israeli policy of inflicting humiliating military damage on Arab countries. In essence it is no different from the innumerable raids that have been carried out against Lebanese and Syrian villages and Palestinian refugee camps or the shooting down of the Libyan airliner two months ago.

Each such operation serves a strategic function—demonstrating the absolute hegemony of the Zionist state and its ability (both technical and political) to get away with any outrage, no



Beirut students take to the streets on April 11 to protest regime's failure to defend country against Israeli terror attacks.

matter how barbaric. Continual humiliation of the Arab world is a necessity for the Zionist state. It is normal policy, carried out regularly, the target country and the tactical character of the operations varying according to the conjunctural political and military situation.

Aggressive raids on Arab countries were carried out before there was any fedayeen movement, and they will continue to be carried out as long as the Zionist state exists.

The April 10 assassinations introduced two new tactical twists of the Zionist strategic screw. First, they demonstrated to the Arab masses not only that the Israeli armed forces are able to attack Arab countries with impunity, but also that they are capable of entering any city anywhere in the Arab world and picking off whomever they choose. No one is safe. Any Palestinian who becomes prominent in the resistance movement runs the risk of being shot down in cold blood at two o'clock in the morning.

Second, the Israeli regime seems to have initiated a deliberate policy of murdering any individual with any prestige or organizational responsibility in the Palestinian movement. In the April 11 *Le Monde*, Edward Saab speculated that Arafat survived the Israeli raid only because he happened to be in Damascus at the time, and that George Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, escaped death only because his whereabouts are kept secret even from other members of the PFLP.

The general intimidation of the Arab masses thus passes over into the specific terrorization of individuals

active in the Arab struggle. There is no reason to assume that this policy will not someday be extended to Arab militants not even specifically involved in the Palestinian movement. Lebanese student and trade-union leaders or militant activists in the Egyptian opposition movement, for example, may come in for the same gangster treatment. Anyone, after all, can be identified in the press as an underground Black September leader and dealt with accordingly by the Zionist military.

The Arab Response

Lebanese reaction to the April 10 terror raid was significant in at least two respects. For several months, Lebanese students and teachers have been engaged in political clashes with the regime. The government's unbelievable incompetence on the morning of April 10 triggered a new wave of militancy.

On April 11, thousands of Beirut students took to the streets to protest both the government's inaction and American complicity in the raid. The crowd tried to march on the U. S. embassy, but was turned back by Lebanese police, who used tear gas on the demonstrators. After being repulsed at the embassy, the marchers moved to American University, where they were joined by contingents of students who walked out of class. From the American University, the demonstration headed for the downtown Hamra shopping district.

The funeral for the murdered Palestinians took place the following day,

April 12. At least 100,000 people (some sources suggested as many as 300,000) turned out for the procession, which soon became transformed into an antigovernment demonstration, the largest in recent Lebanese history.

Most of the demonstrators, according to a report in the April 14 *Le Monde*, were young (less than twenty-five years old), and although many Palestinians took part, the majority of the marchers seemed to be Lebanese.

The heavy Lebanese participation in the funeral march is a positive sign. It indicates that the continual Israeli terror attacks have not eliminated the Lebanese population's support for the Palestinian struggle and also that the Lebanese movement itself is prepared to integrate its own struggle with that of the Palestinians.

On the other hand, the fact that the student demonstrations and the funeral march were apparently organized by Lebanese is a sign of the incapacity of the fedayeen leadership to respond to the Israeli raid. There were no reports in the Lebanese press of the PLO leaders calling upon the Lebanese masses to protest their government's inability to defend the country against wanton aggression. This would indicate that despite the bitter lessons of the last three years, the Arafat leadership stubbornly continues to hold to the policy of "noninterference" in the affairs of Arab states.

This impression was deepened on April 14, when commandos of unknown origin set fire to a U.S.-owned oil storage depot north of Beirut. Three days before, Arafat had issued a statement promising that the fedayeen would take revenge against U.S. oil interests in the Arab East. After the attack on the oil facilities, the PLO vehemently denied that the fedayeen had had anything to do with the incident. There is no reason to doubt that this is merely a statement of fact. But the PLO went out of its way to dissociate itself from the attack, even suggesting, according to the April 15 *New York Times*, that Israeli saboteurs were responsible. The implication was clear: The PLO does not want to bring on a conflict with the Lebanese regime by conducting anti-U.S. operations on Lebanese territory.

The failure of the fedayeen leadership to project a program of mass

struggle for both the Palestinian and Lebanese masses has contributed to creating a sharply contradictory situation in the Arab East today. On the one hand, the masses have shown clear signs of having recovered from the setbacks brought on in the wake of the Jordanian civil war. In Egypt and Lebanon especially, students and

workers have initiated serious challenges to the status quo.

On the other hand, the default of the fedayeen leaders has resulted in a leadership vacuum that has yet to be filled. As long as it is not, the mobilizations of the Arab masses, no matter how deepgoing, will fall short of success.

Thai Troops Next?

Nixon Sends Saigon Army Into Cambodia

By Allen Myers

Saigon army troops invaded border areas of Cambodia along the Mekong River April 13. An April 16 Associated Press dispatch reported that fighting was continuing in the area and that hundreds of civilian refugees were fleeing the scene.

"Reports from the field," the dispatch said, "indicated that the South Vietnamese had pushed a half-mile into Cambodia in a defensive [sic] operation aimed at driving North Vietnamese and Cambodian Communists back from the frontier.

"At least 25 armored vehicles manned by Rangers reportedly moved across the border on a line about half a mile deep in an operation that began Friday [April 13]."

The invasion was said to have been launched from Tinh Bien, a border town 125 miles southwest of Saigon.

It seemed likely that the goal of the operation was to open a supply route along the Mekong to relieve Pnompenh, which was virtually surrounded by rebel forces. The operation, events in the week before the invasion made clear, was planned in Washington to supplement the massive U.S. bombing raids, which have so far been unable to stop the advance of the liberation forces.

In two attempts to run the rebels' blockade of the Mekong April 8-9, only eight vessels of an eighteen-ship convoy were able to get through to Pnompenh. At least three ships were destroyed, and the others forced to turn back. The vessels that did get through were the first in more than two weeks.

The shortage of fuel and food in Pnompenh has led Nixon to launch

an airlift to relieve the puppet forces. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported April 11:

"An average of 10 giant C-130 transport planes now are flying into Phnom Penh daily with all kinds of military and civilian supplies and have begun to bring in one plane-load of gasoline a day, the Pentagon announced April 10."

On April 10, the puppet regime announced that a truck convoy had managed to reach Pnompenh along Route 4, and plans for another 140-truck convoy were reported. But, as H. D. S. Greenway noted in the April 12 *Washington Post*, the Mekong remained the key to the situation:

"The truck route from the sea is not really the answer. In the see-saw battle that is the war in Cambodia, roads like Route 4 are periodically cut and reopened, only to be cut again.

"The entire convoy of 140 trucks, if it gets through, will not bring in as much as a fair-sized ship, knowledgeable sources estimate.

"By the same token, the announcement of an American petroleum airlift is seen here [Pnompenh] as more of a gesture to prop up the flaccid morale of the Cambodian government than as a serious answer to the problem.

"The answer, according to informed opinion here, lies in reopening the Mekong River route over which approximately 80 per cent of the city's necessities arrive."

Nixon's problem is that even massive bombing has not been sufficient to get Lon Nol's dwindling forces to

take the offensive. Usually, it has served only to protect their retreat and to terrorize the population in liberated areas. In a dispatch from Pnompenh to the April 16 *New York Times*, Joseph B. Treaster described the extent of these air raids:

"Informed Western sources say . . . that American fighter-bomber pilots based in Thailand are flying an average of 250 strikes a day—almost as many as in South Vietnam, which is much larger, during the heavy fighting there last year.

"In addition, the sources say, Cambodia is being pounded by an average of 60 B-52's a day, each carrying up to 30 tons of bombs. One day recently, they say, the United States mounted an attack by 120 of the huge bombers."

Faced with the need to escalate the war in Indochina, Nixon decided on the "Vietnamization" of Cambodia. General Alexander M. Haig Jr. was dispatched on a whirlwind tour of Southeast Asia to deliver instructions to the puppets. Between April 7 and 11, Haig visited Laos, Thailand, Pnompenh (twice), and Saigon. Two days after his second departure from Pnompenh, Thieu's troops crossed into Cambodia.

It is not yet clear how far the Saigon puppet army will attempt to push its invasion. It is probable that Nixon has ordered Thieu to proceed cautiously at first, in order to test the response of the liberation forces. But it is abundantly evident that further "contingency" escalations are already planned.

Nixon's public statements and information "leaked" to the U. S. capitalist press have made clear Nixon's commitment to a puppet regime in Pnompenh. Such comments are usually expressed in terms of "restraining" Hanoi, but they apply equally to any advance of the liberation forces in Cambodia. In the April 14 *New York Times*, Bernard Gwertzman wrote of Nixon's intentions:

"Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger would clearly prefer a course of action that preserved their 'peace with honor' without provoking accusations that the United States was tearing to shreds the already-ripped Vietnam accord.

"But officials close to Mr. Nixon assert that he would rather risk alienating his critics further than allow Hanoi to make a fool of him and a farce of the agreement. This would happen, he is said to believe, if the

Communists increased their holdings in Indochina by force."

Since the Lon Nol dictatorship lacks any popular support or an army willing to fight in its defense, Nixon has little choice but to send in troops from neighboring client regimes. The next step after Saigon troops may well be the use of the Thai army.

There are already perhaps as many as 30,000 Thai troops in Laos, and it would hardly be impossible that Haig raised the question of sending them southward during his visit to Vientiane. Presumably not even Nixon would claim that Haig's stop in Bangkok was designed to check the extent of "North Vietnamese infiltration" of the Thai capital.

It appears, moreover, that rumors of plans to send in Thai troops are already circulating in the U. S. Congress. On April 12, for example, Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield was quoted as saying that "there is talk about using South Vietnamese troops on one flank and Thai troops on the other to stabilize the tenuous position of the present Cambodian government."

Twenty-four hours later, at least half of this "talk" had become fact, an indication that the Congressional rumors are based on reliable sources. □

Bay Area Unions Call Mass Rally in Battle Against Food Price Gouge

By Nat Weinstein

San Francisco

The United Labor Action Committee, a formation representing all sections of the seven San Francisco Bay Area counties, is organizing a mass rally here in protest against "the highest price rises in history, wage controls, five million unemployed, unequal taxes that favor the rich, and the \$8 billion [milliard] cutback in social service programs."

The demonstration, slated to take place at the San Francisco Civic Center Plaza at noon Saturday, April 28, has been endorsed by the seven AFL-CIO Central Labor Councils, the Teamsters, the International Longshoremens' and Warehousemen's Union, and independent unions in the Bay Area.

At a planning meeting April 14,

officials and rank-and-file members of these unions discussed and organized implementation of the action. Declaring that it is now time for labor to become the social conscience of the nation, Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, which hosted the gathering, stressed a theme that accurately expressed the potential of the coming action. This mass demonstration points the way for all of American labor to hit back at the bosses' mounting assault on the living standard of the workers.

The basic pronouncement approved at the gathering embraces the demands of all segments of the population caught in the squeeze of unrestrained, soaring prices. Its appeal

to "labor, citizens' groups, consumers, women, minorities, pensioners . . . [and] young people" to "join the protest" is presented as "marking the beginning of a national movement . . . [to] turn the country around."

It is no accident that San Francisco unions, founded on union traditions built in great class battles, are the first to react in this auspicious manner. Longshoremens, building tradesmen, and others in this area have been among the principal victims of governmental interventions that have robbed workers of wage increases negotiated to meet inflationary rises in food prices. The recent spectacular increases in food prices have provoked San Francisco labor to initiate what could become the beginning of mass resistance on a national scale. □

Balaguer Announces Defeat of Guerrillas

By David Thorstad

Nearly two months after the alleged invasion of the Dominican Republic by a handful of guerrillas on February 3, the government announced that it considered the guerrilla band liquidated.

President Joaquín Balaguer has still provided no proof to back up his charges that the alleged invasion was instigated by Cuba and aided and abetted by Juan Bosch, the leader—currently underground—of the main opposition party, the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD—Dominican Revolutionary party). And in a country where political assassination and terror are not uncommon and government duplicity is the norm, many Dominicans were still not convinced by the time it was over that an invasion had taken place at all.

By March 27, the balance sheet of the two-month campaign against the guerrillas was: six soldiers killed in what the armed forces claimed were five encounters with the guerrillas; two peasants killed by pursuing soldiers; seven dead men identified as guerrillas; one guerrilla captured; and at least one, and possibly two, guerrillas at large.

Not all the guerrillas have been definitively identified. They have been accounted for as follows: Former Colonel Francisco Alberto Caamaño Deñó, Eberto Lalane José, and Alfredo Pérez Vargas, all reportedly killed on February 16; Mario Nelson Galán—said to be a member of the Movimiento Revolucionario "14 de Junio" (14th of June Revolutionary Movement)—and Juan Ramón Payero Ulloa (said to have disappeared on January 1, 1968), who were reportedly killed on March 23; a man identified by the pseudonym "Arsenio," who was killed on March 26; and another, whose pseudonym was "Braulio," who reportedly died of starvation on February 21. Officials were led to his decomposing body by the captured guerrilla identified as Hamlet Hermán Pérez.

Still at large was Toribio Peña Jáquez, the man who identified himself

as a member of the guerrilla band during an interview on March 1 with the Santo Domingo daily *Ultima Hora* (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 26, p. 332).

In addition, reported *Ultima Hora*



BALAGUER: Declares elusive guerrillas defeated.

on March 31, troops are still combing the mountains in search of a possible lone surviving guerrilla. This possible person has been unofficially identified as Claudio Caamaño, the cousin of the alleged leader of the invasion. The youth's father and a close friend are said to have flown by helicopter over the area in which he is believed to be holding out in order to drop leaflets calling on him to surrender.

The secretary of the armed forces, Rear Admiral Ramón Emilio Jiménez, explained, according to a United Press International report in the March 28 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, that while it seemed probable that one insurgent still remained in the mountains, "a single man does not constitute a guerrilla movement."

At the beginning of April, Balaguer

ordered the troops that had been occupying the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo for two months to vacate it.

An example of the widespread disbelief and confusion still surrounding the alleged guerrilla invasion is the fact that a photograph of Héctor Bienvenido Morla, a truck driver who disappeared just days before the invasion, is making the rounds, according to the March 18 issue of *El Dominical de la Voz del Pueblo*, "among broad layers of the population, including the military." Morla bears a striking resemblance to the dead guerrilla identified as Caamaño. In his interview with *Ultima Hora*, Peña Jáquez charged that the body in question had been doctored up to look like Caamaño and that in reality it belonged to someone else.

From the very start of this bizarre guerrilla episode, Balaguer lost no time in using it to put his opposition on the defensive. And although he has still produced no proof of any connection between the alleged invaders and Juan Bosch, the PRD leader is remaining in hiding, and his party appears to have been somewhat successfully isolated.

Balaguer seems bent on preventing any attempt by the PRD to take the offensive. The minister of the interior, for instance, has denied the party a permit to hold a series of demonstrations aimed at forcing the government to commit itself to guarantee the safety of Bosch and the PRD's secretary general, José Francisco Peña Gómez, who is also in hiding. The first of these protests is scheduled to take place in Santo Domingo on April 13. The government explained that no political demonstrations of this nature will be allowed until the election campaign officially begins—three months before the elections scheduled for May 16, 1974!

The editors of the Dominican weekly *Ahora!* expressed the fear in their April 2 issue that the defeat of the alleged guerrilla band will now lead to a new upsurge of semiofficial terrorism by secret organizations: "What is necessary now is that the defeat of the men who landed at Caracoles Beach not be used by the most backward forces in the country in such a way as to translate their military victory into political formulas and programs."

The warning would appear to be timely, because several incidents point to the fact that a new group like La Banda may be operating. La Banda, or the Frente Anticomunista y Antiterrorista (Anticommunist and Antiterrorist Front), as it was also known, enjoyed close links with the official police and created a national climate of terror in 1971 through its assassinations of opponents of the regime.

Since March 28, there have been at least a half dozen assassinations in the Dominican Republic. On that day, the editor of *Ultima Hora*, Gregorio García Castro, was gunned down as he left his office. He had expressed concern that an attempt

might be made on his life. His assassins have been identified, according to a UPI dispatch in the April 12 issue of *El Diario*, as "agents working for the police secret service."

Two days later, two more men were tortured and murdered. They were identified as Carlos Contreras Aquino, a technician, and Félix Manuel Reyes Maldonado, a truck driver. The head of one of the victims was severed and the genitals of the other had been crushed with rocks. Contreras, too, according to a report in the March 31 issue of *Ultima Hora*, had repeatedly warned his family that his "enemies" wanted to kill him. It is not yet clear who he considered these enemies to be. □

the working class. Previously the workers were subjected to strict rationing, since the windows and shelves of the stores were full of goods that they could not buy because of their low wages. Now, as a result of their struggle, their wages are higher.

As for the effects of the scarcity, one is long lines, hundreds of persons in some cases waiting to buy a liter of cooking oil, a kilo of detergent, a pack of cigarettes, a roll of toilet paper, a tube of toothpaste, or something else. Some articles are sold as soon as they are made—sheets, ankle socks, refrigerators, etc.

Another effect is the black market, a vast black market. There is also a lot of hoarding, some of which has been uncovered and some of which has not.

The right is taking advantage of this and waging a big campaign to discredit the government through the press, radio, and television. During the election campaign, it inundated the lines with leaflets.

All this has succeeded in shifting part of the middle class to the right.

The government, which through the Distribuidora Nacional [DINAC—the National Distribution Agency] and other bodies, controls less than half of wholesale trade, has made efforts to rationalize distribution without encroaching on the businessmen. The Communist party argues that any interference with them would mean "losing the support of the middle class."

The government has created the JAP [Juntas de Abastecimiento y Control de Precios—Supply and Price Control Boards], which in theory are supposed to be made up of the local people and merchants in city neighborhoods. The JAP have the task of receiving the goods sent out to each sector by the national distribution agencies and distributing them among the merchants in the area.

The power of these bodies fluctuates depending upon how much pressure is brought to bear on the government and upon the militancy of the population.

Once the JAP were permitted wide power. But, following this, their role was restricted, with many of their functions being handed over to the police at the same time that military officers were being brought into the top posts in the distribution system.

At their height, besides receiving the

Does Not Augur Well for the 'Balancers'

Chilean Workers Organize Distribution

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

Just as in production great and irreconcilable conflicts exist between the private sector and the state sector, in which there are various degrees of workers' participation and control; strong conflicting pulls have also appeared in the field of distribution, where the fundamental antagonism is growing clearer day by day.

On the one hand, there are the capitalists, the various levels of private traders. This sector is fighting for the return of all distribution to private hands, for complete "freedom" of commerce.

On the opposite side is the mass of consumers who every day are fighting more consciously for centralizing distribution under popular control.

In the center, in the slack between these two opposing forces, are the government and the reformists, trying to maintain an equilibrium that is becoming more and more untenable.

As for the immediate causes of the scarcity that exists, we can cite:

1) The imperialist boycott. This began even before Allende took power and since he took office it has assumed serious dimensions. The case of Kennecott Copper (which took legal action to have exports from the nation-

alized mines seized) and the stopping of shipments of machinery and spare parts are notorious examples.

2) Low agricultural production. The principal cause of this is that in carrying out the agrarian reform the government allowed the landowners to remove their machinery, livestock, seed, etc., from the confiscated area. Added to this is the fact that the big ranchers who still hold their land have no interest in pushing production. Finally, the bureaucracy involved with the agrarian reform is not exactly a stimulus to developing the revolutionary potential of the peasantry.

3) Sabotage by the industrialists. Many cases of this have been exposed by the workers: The bosses don't want to modernize equipment. They don't want to repair machinery. They don't want to buy raw materials or even vital machine parts.

4) Speculation. This has become the most profitable sector of the Chilean economy. Seeing the possibility for doubling their investment overnight, the big capitalists are pouring their funds into this field, and this includes the money the landowners have gotten thanks to the "democratic" agrarian reform.

5) The increased buying power of

goods and taking them to the merchants, the JAP maintained supervision over the prices and weighing of products sold over the counter. To a lesser extent, they saw to it that sales were not made to two members of the same family in a row. Once things reached this level, the consumers saw that they were "unpaid employees of the storekeepers," realizing that the merchants were unnecessary.

The shantytowns in the slum belt around Santiago and other cities were in the vanguard of this, as in other aspects. There were many reasons why this happened:

- Their proletarian or semiproletarian composition.

- The combativity and organization that have been traditional in them since their inception as a result of the fact that the land they are built on had to be taken by force, which required prior organization and facing many clashes with the police. Many of them, such as the "Nueva La Habana" [New Havana] encampment, have kept their block organizations to this day.

- Many of them are led by members of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] or left Socialists.

- Many of them lack any licensed merchants.

For this last reason, direct distribution was "legally" authorized in these settlements. And this practice gradually spread to other areas where there were merchants.

The restrictions placed on the JAP by the government have been counterproductive in some areas, especially in the shantytowns. Instead of stopping the push toward direct distribution, they have led to its being taken over by other bodies, which may be called by various names—neighborhood councils, cooperative associations, etc. This has been facilitated by the existence of many lower officials belonging to the left wing of the SP, the left wing of MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action], or other currents, who have yielded to the pressure of the masses. The most notable case was that of the *Almacenes Populares de Agencias Graham* [a chain of stores].

For some time, the left wing—the SP left, the left wing of MAPU, the

MIR, the Partido Socialista Revolucionario [Revolutionary Socialist party, the Chilean section of the Fourth International]—has been demanding rationing under some kind of popular control. This has been called by various names: "the family market basket," "ration cards," "certificate of residence," etc.

Until recently the CP tenaciously opposed rationing. At present, seeing that the popular efforts for direct distribution are increasing and

causing it to lose some of its grass roots support, it is yielding somewhat on this question.

* * *

In the field of distribution, and in others, the contradiction between the masses and the system grows more acute every day. Every day it is more difficult for the UP government to maintain an equilibrium. Every day new scarcities occur, and this does not augur well for the balancers. □

'Terror Chambers' Discovered in Mar del Plata

Campaign Mounts for Argentine Prisoners

The campaign in Argentina to expose the dictatorship's use of torture and to demand the release of political prisoners is continuing to make headway.

On April 6, for instance, the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* published a statement from the *Movimiento contra la Represión y la Tortura* (Movement Against Repression and Torture) in the city of Rosario. The statement expressed the determination of the signatory organizations to build a united struggle around this question, regardless of their differences on other questions.

"Once again we raise our voices to energetically denounce before public opinion and the people as a whole the incompatibility between the expressed intention to return the country to a state of normality through the so-called electoral path and the simultaneous existence of prisons filled with political prisoners, repressive legislation, a state of siege, crimes committed by the self-styled forces of order, and innumerable measures, each more arbitrary than the last, with which attempts are made to justify outrages against the people.

"We demand freedom for all the political prisoners, the abolition of all repressive legislation, and the immediate lifting of the state of siege. . . ."

The statement was signed by representatives of the Peronist movement, the *Movimiento de Intransigencia y Desarrollo* (Movement for Intransigence and Development), the *Partido Revolucionario Cristiano* (Revolution-

ary Christian party), the *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores* (Socialist Workers party), and the *Movement of Third World Priests*.

La Opinión reported in its April 7 issue on a news conference held to reveal information regarding the use of torture in "terror chambers" by the police in Mar del Plata, a coastal city in the province of Buenos Aires. The conference was called by members of the *Lawyers Professional Association of Mar del Plata*, as well as of the city of Buenos Aires, and lawyers for the *CGT* (*Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor*).

Last March 14, a group of lawyers presented evidence of torture chambers to Judge Martijena, who agreed to accompany them in an effort to uncover such sites. According to *La Opinión*, they found three—two of them inside police stations, and another one behind one of the stations.

Behind the Camet police station, they found a group of small buildings. They described one as having a small landing that led into a structure some two and a half meters wide, with a concrete floor, running water, and electrical facilities. The investigators also found lengths of rubber hose and strips from a wooden Venetian blind, among other things. "Also, on one section of the wall, they found bullet marks at the height of a man; in some cases, the shells were still there. Presumably, this was a place where executions by firing squad were simu-

lated." A torturer's hood was also found.

Similar torture equipment was found in the two police stations.

Also present at the news conference were some persons who had been the victims of torture at the hands of the



HECTOR CAMPORA: Ask that he head committee of parties on political prisoners.

military dictatorship. They described "a new system of torture consisting of the application of electrodes to the extremities by means of hooks or rings so as to turn the human body into a conductor of electric current. This system leaves practically no traces, only small marks of coagulated blood at the fingertips that disappear within a few days."

One of the lawyers involved in the Mar del Plata investigations, José María Cartas, was interviewed in the April 4 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores. He said that although some of the participants in the investigation have received threats, they intend to continue the work that must be done. "While I was standing in the doorway to my house with my wife," he said, "I myself heard shouts from a passing car telling me to stop doing what I have begun or else they will kill me."

Another article in the same issue of *Avanzada Socialista* dealt with the recent initiatives taken by the Peronist coalition, the FREJULI (Frente Justi-

cialista de Liberación—Liberation Front for Social Justice), on behalf of the political prisoners in Argentina (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 16, p. 422). While the meeting of a FREJULI delegation with judges of the Supreme Criminal Court produced only "a vague promise to protect the safety of the prisoners," the statement sent to Lanusse elicited a public acknowledgment from him, for the first time, that the amnesty law proposed by the FREJULI "would fall under the responsibility of the new government." Still, he offered no guarantees of the safety of the prisoners.

Avanzada Socialista noted with satisfaction the initiatives of the FREJULI, and regarded Lanusse's response as a retreat on the prisoner question and an indication of a step

forward for those struggling for democratic freedoms. It called on the FREJULI to form a committee of political parties to be headed by President-elect Héctor Cámpora that, as a means of protecting the prisoners prior to the declaration of amnesty by the new government, which takes office on May 25, would call a mass meeting to demand (1) the immediate transfer of all political prisoners to Villa Devoto prison in the capital, and (2) control over prison conditions by the committee and the CGT.

And it concluded: "The path of joint action and active mobilization is the only guarantee, at the moment, of the safety of the prisoners, and the only guarantee after May 25 that the FREJULI will be able to go through with a general amnesty." □

Could Get Thirty Years

Tupamaro Leader on Trial in Montevideo

Raúl Sendic, founder and leader of the Uruguayan guerrilla organization, the National Liberation Movement (Tupamaros), was brought before a military court in Montevideo April 3. The charges against him could bring a prison sentence of up to thirty years.

The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported April 4 that Sendic is being charged with "subversive associations, attacks against the Constitution, assault under aggravated circumstances, escaping from prison, use of falsified public documents, personal assault, murder, and attempted robbery."

Twenty-eight other persons were also put on trial with Sendic. According to *La Opinión*, they included Xenia Itte González and Jorge Bernardo Ramada. Both were captured together with Sendic on September 1, 1972, in Montevideo, following a shoot-out with police. In the shoot-out, Sendic was seriously wounded in the head and other parts of his body.

"After Sendic was captured and placed in the central hospital of the armed forces," reported *La Opinión*, "the authorities refused to provide any information on his condition once they had announced that his life was not in danger."

Sendic had been captured once before, on July 31, 1970. On September 6, 1971, he took part in the spectacular escape from Punta Carretas prison in which 106 guerrillas burrowed their way to freedom. □

And Who Owns the 'Daily Mirror'?

The London *Daily Mirror* reports that 7 percent of Britain's population owns 84 percent of the wealth and that the disparity is growing. The paper's solution: "What is needed are radical measures, and radical men with the nerve to push them through and to weld the two nations of Britain—the haves and the have-nots—into one."

On the other hand, it might be easier to deport the haves.

Enough to Cause a Hangover

U.S. manufacturers of alcoholic beverages may soon be required to list all the ingredients that go into their products. According to an article in *Business Week* magazine, these may include such chemicals as propylene glycol alginate, heptyl paraben, sodium metabisulfite, methyl anthranilate, and polyvinyl-pyrrolidone. The Food and Drug Administration calls these additives "generally safe."

Argentine Guerrillas Step Up Activities

By David Thorstad

Since the Peronist victory in the March 11 elections in Argentina, various guerrilla groups have stepped up their activities. The motives for this remain obscure.

One explanation is that at least some of the groups want to provoke a coup d'etat by the military: Continuation of the military dictatorship would offer a plausible excuse for keeping up guerrilla warfare. Another explanation is that some of the guerrillas need funds and want to get in a few expropriations before the Peronists take office.

The Lanusse regime claims that the new outbreak of guerrilla actions is directed against the incoming Cámpora regime. As campaigning for the April 15 runoff elections drew to a close the government announced, according to a United Press International dispatch published in the April 13 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, that 105,000 men would be mobilized "to guarantee order in Sunday's vote. At the same time, the army began an intense antiterrorist campaign, setting up control posts for vehicles and pedestrians in various places, and ordering homes to be searched."

"The week ending today," reported the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* April 8, "registered a new height in violence that changed the political climate, sensitized public opinion, and shocked sections of the military."

On March 30, a powerful bomb was placed in the bathroom of the commander in chief of the navy, "costing the life of one guerrilla from the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo [ERP — Revolutionary Army of the People] and wounding another."

Two days later a commando of the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias (FAR — Revolutionary Armed Forces) occupied a courtroom in San Isidro, "stole a quantity of weapons and then disappeared without a trace."

The next day, April 2, a number of kidnappings occurred. They included the sixteen-year-old son of an "affluent

businessman" (who was subsequently released after his father paid an undisclosed sum), retired Rear Admiral Francisco Agustín Aleman (kidnapped by the ERP), and an American businessman, Anthony R. Da Cruz (see *Intercontinental Press*, April 16, p. 427).

Da Cruz was released five days later after his employer, the Eastman Kodak Company, paid a \$1.5 million ransom to his captors, identified as the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación (FAL — Liberation Armed Forces).

Aleman's kidnapping was accomplished, it appears, with the collaboration of his nephew, Oscar Ciarlotti, and the latter's fiancée, Magdalena Nosiglia. They are said to have let the guerrillas, disguised as police, into the house.

There is considerable speculation in the press as to the aim of the ERP commandos in kidnapping Aleman. Some wondered if the slogan left at the scene, "Popular justice for Trelew," did not suggest an intent to execute Aleman. Others thought that the involvement of Ciarlotti and his fiancée made such a move unlikely. *La Opinión* noted April 5 that "this is the first time that responsibility for spectacular actions of this type has not been immediately assumed by guerrilla organizations by means of explicit documents with an essentially political content. Up to now, the [recent] communiqués that have become known are strangely ambiguous."

Nevertheless, according to an Agence France-Presse report in the April 4 issue of the Dominican daily *El Listín Diario*, it is known in "generally well-informed circles" that the ERP commando has distributed a statement in which "it demands as ransom freedom for all the political prisoners being held in Rawson Prison, in the southern part of the country."

El Listín Diario also published a UPI dispatch from Buenos Aires reporting that the ERP was charging Aleman with complicity in the massacre of sixteen guerrilla prisoners in

Trelew last August 22. The communiqué on which the story was based was signed the "Comando Ana María Villareal de Santucho y Julio César Provenzano."

Among the visitors at the Aleman residence in the wake of the kidnapping was the Peronist activist, Jorge Cesarsky, who, like Perón, lives in Madrid. Upon leaving the Aleman home, reported *La Opinión* April 7, "he said that he had come as a simple Peronist activist, 'a man who feels no hatred or bitterness,' in spite of having been a prisoner of the navy for a year. 'I bring Perón's message of March 12 (Enough Hatred!),' Cesarsky added, 'and I want you to know that the ERP is hunting us down too.'"

On April 3, a number of bombings and attacks on police occurred. Among these incidents were the explosion of a bomb in San Juan in front of the building housing the National Cash Register Company. In Rosario the guerrilla organization, the Montoneros, reportedly threatened to take reprisals against the daily *La Capital* for its refusal to report recent guerrilla activity in that city. Other explosions occurred in Mendoza.

The following day Colonel Héctor Alberto Iribarren, chief of intelligence of Argentina's Third Army, headquartered in Córdoba, was killed in an attack by the Montoneros. Iribarren was posthumously elevated to the rank of brigadier general.

Also on April 3, the manager of the Rosario branch of the First National Bank of Boston, Gerardo Scalmazzi, was released. He had been kidnapped eight days earlier. His bank paid nearly a million dollars to gain his release, according to the April 9 *International Herald Tribune*.

"That same day," reported *La Opinión* April 8, "in Corrientes, Posadas, and Santa Fe, combined forces of the army, the national guard, and the provincial police carried out a series of raids and arrests of persons suspected of being involved in the political-military apparatus of the ERP. In Tucumán, the military forces took over Villa Urquiza prison, where guerrillas are held, and in Salta two bombs placed in the provincial headquarters of the Partido Justicialista [Social Justice party, the Peronist party] exploded. A bomb also went off in the home of a journalist who is

also the treasurer for the Peronist group."

The guerrilla groups are not behind every such incident, however. On April 5, noted *La Opinión*, two policemen from Rosario were shot and killed attempting to kidnap a prominent jeweller in Córdoba. On April 8, according to a UPI dispatch from Buenos Aires April 9, a British businessman, Francis Victor Brimicombe, director of the *Compañía Nobleza de Tabacos*, was abducted by three men and a woman on a street near his home in a suburb of the capital.

The position the Argentine military has taken in face of the guerrilla offensive is that it will not alter the military's plans to hand over the reins of government to the Peronists on May 25. It says that it regards the violence as being directed against the new government-elect rather than against itself. The commander of naval operations, Vice-Admiral Rubén Giavedoni, for instance, declared in a news conference April 4: "Those who are today launching attacks are attacking this process of institutionalization that the people have been searching for, which they voted for last March 11; and indirectly, they are attacking the parties that won the elections, in order to prevent them from taking power."

The leaders of the Peronist movement have come out sharply against the renewed guerrilla activity. And since Perón has stated that the cause of violence will have disappeared once his government replaces that of the military dictatorship, any continuation of such activity after May 25 will undoubtedly place the new government under considerable pressure to move against the guerrilla organizations.

From Madrid, Vice President-elect Vicente Solano Lima attributed the escalated violence to "paragovernmental bodies and extremist groups of the right and the left."

At a news conference April 6, Peronist President-elect Héctor Cámpora said that the recent increase in guerrilla activities "does not contribute anything to the approach of the Frente Justicialista de Liberación." He added: "... we hope that now that the people have expressed their will in the voting booths on March 11 the men who believe that national liberation

will be achieved through force and the use of arms will realize that the people have opted for liberation by peaceful means. As future head of government, I hope that these persons will reflect and give us a truce long enough to see if we are not actually on the road to liberation and if we are not going to achieve our objectives."

In his first official message to the nation two days later, Cámpora said: "Those sectors that are making demands as if they represented the interests of the people and of the nation must understand that now that the Argentine people have spoken, actions that attempt to substitute themselves for the will of the people are inadmissible."

To Campaign Against Rising Prices

British Women Found Housewives Union

Nottingham

Women here have started a Housewives Union to campaign against rising food prices and inflation.

Thirty-six women from the same housing estate came to the second meeting of the union and signed the register. They turned down suggestions that they should set up a food cooperative and buy basic products, and unanimously decided to boycott particular products and shops that put food prices up.

The women aim to concentrate their campaign on their own estate until membership of the union has spread to other areas of the Midlands. They will then picket the large supermarkets in the main towns and build demonstrations. The local Nottingham paper has been approached with a view to getting the weekly publication of prices of basic food products in the main supermarkets.

Local Labour party members of Parliament and tenants associations have given their support to the union. The union supports the Family Allowance Campaign initiated by the women's liberation movement, which opposes the government's plan to end the allowance paid directly to mothers for all but the first child and to substitute a tax credit paid through the father's wage.

Reuters carried the following report from Buenos Aires April 14 on the ERP's response to Cámpora's statement:

"Argentina's most active urban guerrilla group has rejected a plea by President-elect Héctor J. Cámpora for an end to violence.

"In a message sent to newspapers last night, the People's Revolutionary Army, a Marxist group, said it was not against the newly-elected Peronist Government but would retain a free hand 'against the army and all those who assail the interests of the people.'

"Dr. Cámpora and his Peronist-backed Justicialist Liberation Front swept to victory last month in the first free elections after seven years of military rule." □

The local women's liberation group has given its whole-hearted support to the housewives and hopes to work closely with them in the future. The three organisers of the union are holding meetings in the area to set up other branches of the union. □

The Subtle Approach

"In what appeared to be an attempt to improve strained relations with the United States, President Idi Amin of Uganda sent a message to President Nixon today praising him as 'one of the most brilliant leaders in the Western world'.

... — *New York Times*, April 5.
If that doesn't work, he should try contributing \$100,000 to the Committee to Reelect the President.

Progressive Education

In his farewell speech, the retiring president of the Victorian Teachers' Union denounced "agitators" in the schools who are trying to "destroy society" by encouraging students to "question the answers rather than to answer the questions."

Love Poem

*Everytime
I try to write
a love poem about my wife
this is what I write:
"My wife is Marxist-Leninist."
(Item from February 21-27 issue of *Klassekampen*, a Norwegian Maoist newspaper.)*

Rahman Suppresses Opposition Newspaper

By A. Haq

Calcutta

Bangladesh Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman has clamped a virtual ban on *Ganakantha* (People's Voice), the daily organ of the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party). His action follows earlier bans on the papers *Ganasakti* (People's Power) of Mohammad Toaha and *Haq Katha* (The Truth) of Maulana Bhashani.

Ganakantha is the only radical daily paper in Bangladesh and is very popular among the masses. It even has an impact in West Bengal and other Bengali-speaking areas of India.

When Bangladesh was still part of Pakistan, all the Bengali and English dailies were run by West Pakistani capital. After independence, the new government installed its representatives as administrators in the offices of these dailies. The administrators control every detail of operation and censor all articles. Thus the government has complete control over the daily press. The sole exception to this situation was *Ganakantha*.

At about 3:00 p.m. on March 28, a group of government officials and a large number of police entered the *Ganakantha* office and ordered all the workers to leave at once. "No time was given, no one was allowed to carry with him any paper, document, or office files," the Dacca daily *Dainik Bangla* reported the next day.

The JSD originated in an anti-Mujib, prosocialist split in the Awami League's student group, the Chhatra League, in May 1972. The anti-Mujib group began to grow rapidly and then united with Major Ahmed Jalil, one of the best-known resistance commanders during the war of independence, to form the JSD.

Rahman has now deprived the JSD of its daily paper. By seizing the printing press and the office, he has stopped publication without the bother of declaring *Ganakantha* illegal.

On March 25, the JSD had held a very successful party conference of their Dacca district organising com-



MUJIBUR RAHMAN

mittee. They decided to hold a national conference May 11-13.

The next day, the JSD called an emergency meeting, which passed several resolutions indicating that the

group knew that a government crackdown was imminent. These resolutions were reported in the last issue of *Ganakantha*. They stated:

1. That the hopes and aspirations of the working people are not being met by the ruling party. The Awami League for reasons of self-interest is patronising dishonest traders, black marketeers, and similar antisocial persons.

2. That the people are called on to organise resistance to secret murders, hooliganism, judicial frame-ups, and other forms of intimidation.

3. That owing to nepotism and other malpractices of the ruling clique, the prices of rice and other commodities have risen beyond the reach of the common people. The ruling party is now unleashing various forms of repression through semifascist and paramilitary organisations.

4. That the JSD is gravely concerned by the government's attempts to suppress *Ganakantha* and calls on the people to defeat these efforts.

5. That the government is resorting to communalism in order to bar the path of struggle for socialism. The JSD calls on the people of Bangladesh to uproot the government, which is nothing but a stooge of imperialism. □

Dacca Journalists Protest Closing of Paper

"Responding to a call from the Dacca Union of Journalists (DUJ)," N. M. Harun reported in the April 1 issue of the English-language Dacca weekly *Holiday*, "the newspapers and news agencies, 'occupied' ones included, observed a token strike, and the journalists of the metropolis held a protest meeting on Saturday [March 31] to express their resentment against the devious and high-handed measures of the government in suppressing the 'Ganakantha' and demanded its re-publication."

Harun expressed the hope that the Bangladesh government's action against the daily paper of the JSD [Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal—National Socialist party] would "serve as a catalyst in reviving whatever militancy the journalist community of the country had in the past."

"The movement the union promises to launch for the re-opening of the

'Ganakantha' is a test case," he added. "It had earlier failed to act when the 'Ganasakti', the 'Haq Katha' and some other weeklies were banned. It failed to protect an editor—Toab Khan of the 'Dainik Bangla.'" (Toab Khan was fired by the paper's administrator, a representative of the Rahman government, for reporting the shooting of students by police. See *Intercontinental Press*, February 12, p. 139.)

Holiday's concern was indicated by the fact that it carried no fewer than five articles and editorials related to the suppression of *Ganakantha*. One reported that the JSD had called a nationwide "Protest Day," including a public meeting in Dacca, for April 1. Several student organizations and political parties were reported to have issued statements condemning the government's action.

In a lengthy editorial, the paper warned that similar actions by the Rahman government could be expected in the future:

"The Awami League government's total control over the other two channels of communication—radio and television—gave it a virtual monopoly of the mass media. And its psychopathic inability to face criticism in any forum drove it to the point where it became hostile to the few papers that refused to fall in step with the government-owned and controlled press. . . .

"The action against 'Gananaktha' is by itself a tragic event; it is even more disturbing that such steps by the government are very likely to recur. If the administration can afford to dismiss the whole affair in a press note, it certainly seems to be in the process of establishing a pattern of terror and repression. And in future, it could as well dispense with the niceties of issuing press notes and clarifications to explain its actions to a helpless public and terrified journalists." □

what different account of how the fighting started:

"Even before opposition leader Wali Khan began to speak, gunfire chattered from the surrounding rooftops, and the first victims crumpled screaming. Black-uniformed 'People's Guards,' Bhutto's party militia, had opened fire with rifles and machine pistols. The opposition shot back—because Wali Khan, chief of the warlike Pathan tribes of the Khyber Pass, had brought with him several companies of the National Awami party's armed guards."

Spiegel gave the casualties as fourteen dead, sixty-eight hospitalized, and an additional "unknown number" of wounded who had sought refuge with friends rather than risk arrest at a hospital.

In the aftermath of the battle, Bhutto banned gatherings of more than three persons and outlawed, among other things, "the shouting of slogans." The UDF declared that it would hold public rallies March 30 in Peshawar, Karachi, and Quetta in honor of the March 23 "martyrs."

On March 28, Bhutto suffered some defections from the PPP. Eight members of the National Assembly announced that they could no longer follow "a dictator who wants to be emperor in everything but name."

The following evening, Bhutto went on the radio to warn of a "conspiracy." Ali reported in the April 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review*: ". . . he said he would die fighting—with his boots on—rather than surrender meekly to petty intrigues and conspiracies. In the small hours of the following morning, as suspect after suspect was rounded up, the conspiracy seemed anything but petty. The two dozen detainees included eighteen army and air force officers (from majors to colonels), two retired officers, an insignificant civilian and a senior police official who had been laid off."

The officially announced charges against the detainees "were couched in such legalistic jargon as to be almost incomprehensible," Ali wrote.

On April 1, the progovernment *Pakistan Times* took on the job of explaining the arrests. The paper said that the group of military plotters had planned to overthrow Bhutto during the second week of April, while he was visiting Iran. The paper also hinted that the organizer of the plot was Air

Pakistan

New Constitution Launched by Riot, 'Plot'

By a vote of 125 to 2, the Pakistani National Assembly on April 10 approved a new constitution. The overwhelming vote in favor was the result of a last-minute compromise between President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the opposition parties, who had boycotted the assembly sessions for more than two weeks.

The April 11 *New York Times* reported that the "boycott ended after leaders of the ruling Pakistan People's party met with Opposition representatives last night [April 9] and this morning and accepted all the suggested amendments."

Although press reports were vague on the details of the settlement, it was clear that Bhutto had not surrendered to "all" the opposition demands. Executive power continues to be concentrated in the hands of the prime minister, and the power of the National Assembly to replace the prime minister is subject to special limitations for a period of ten years.

The compromise between Bhutto's Pakistan People's party (PPP) and the United Democratic Front (UDF—the name adopted by the coalition of bourgeois opposition parties) apparently resulted from recognition that their dispute was threatening to escape the control of both sides. The most obvious sign of this was a bloody battle between Pathans and Punjabis in Rawalpindi on March 23, "Pakistan Day."

The fighting began at a rally called

by the UDF. "Half an hour before the rally was scheduled to start," Salamat Ali reported in the April 2 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "fighting broke out between rival groups. Within minutes the brawling had exploded into gunfire; by the time the UDF leaders arrived, the heart of the city had been turned into a battlefield, forcing them to leave the scene.

"The rioting spread quickly to adjoining areas in an uproar of shooting, tear-gas, and hand grenades. Bodies lay on the streets, some beaten to death with sticks, others knifed. An autopsy showed that one victim had been strangled with somebody's bare hands. More than 100 people rounded up by police were found to be carrying Sten guns, pistols, revolvers, rifles and grenades.

"Four hours after it began, only the burned-out hulks of fourteen buses, which had been driven from Northwest Frontier, remained as testimony to the debacle. However, the situation had acquired an ominous dimension—that of Pathan versus Punjabi. The casualty lists mentioned far more Punjabis than Pathans while the lists of those arrested named more Pathans than Punjabis. In any event, both sets showed clearly that many of the rioters on both sides were strangers to Rawalpindi and had been brought to the rally from distant points."

Ali reported the casualties as at least nine dead and eighty injured.

The April 9 issue of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* gave a some-

Marshal Asghar Khan, the former chief of the air force. Asghar, according to *Spiegel*, "has not been seen in Pakistan for some days."

While there is no reason to doubt that members of the Pakistan armed forces might wish to return to direct military rule, the discovery of the alleged conspiracy certainly came at a time convenient to Bhutto's need. The threat of a military take-over must certainly have alarmed leaders of the UDF, whose conflict with Bhutto is primarily motivated by a desire to share in the spoils of "democratic" government.

At the same time that the officers were being arrested, Bhutto held out

an olive branch to the UDF by dropping all charges against the persons arrested in Rawalpindi March 23. This gesture also had the advantage of releasing a few PPP members who had somehow been among the arrested, and it permitted Bhutto to bypass opposition demands for a judicial inquiry into the events.

Amid mutual desires to defuse the entire situation, the negotiations between Bhutto and the UDF leaders were reopened on April 2, and eventually produced the April 10 compromise.

For the time being at least, the thieves seemed to have composed their differences. □



ITT Loses Insurance Claim

U.S. Anti-Allende Plots Traced to 1964

By Allen Myers

International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) has lost, for the moment, its attempts to have U.S. taxpayers reimburse it for the loss of a subsidiary nationalized by the Chilean government. On April 9, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a U.S. government agency that insures U.S. private investments in foreign countries, turned down ITT's claim for \$92,600,000.

The OPIC's decision was not unexpected, even though the U.S. government is normally not very reluctant about dishing out public funds—whether as insurance, tax credits, subsidies, or whatever—to big corporations. For one thing, portions of such donations have a way of finally ending up in the coffers of whichever party is in power, ITT's \$400,000 contribution to Nixon's reelection fund being only one example of this tendency. (The strict canons of capitalist morality declare such roundabout procedures more ethical—and less likely to catch public attention—than direct raids on the treasury.)

In the present instance, ITT made the mistake of publicly admitting before a Senate subcommittee that it had offered the CIA \$1,000,000 to help prevent Salvadore Allende's election in 1970 or, failing that, to destroy the Chilean economy in the hope of

instigating a military coup. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 2, p. 359.)

ITT's forthright admission—made after conflicting testimony from company and CIA officials caused subcommittee members to threaten prosecution for perjury—seemingly subjected its claim for compensation to an OPIC rule that prohibits payment if the nationalization was provoked by the company's own actions.

This rule did not cause the corporation's executives to despair completely, however, since it contains an escape clause permitting such provocations if it can be shown that they were in conformity with the policy of the U.S. government. The executives' testimony therefore attempted to show that the CIA or the State Department had initiated the plot against Allende and that the ITT had merely offered its assistance in a spirit of patriotism and public service.

In this situation, an approval by the OPIC of ITT's claim for compensation would have amounted to an admission that the Nixon administration had conspired to interfere in the Chilean elections. This would have created a political storm in Washington, where it is an article of faith that the U.S. government never intervenes in another country unless asked to do

FREI: Got by with a little help from his friends.

so by the duly constituted, U.S.-appointed local dictatorship.

Interestingly enough, however, OPIC's announcement did not mention ITT's efforts to overthrow Allende as the basis for its decision. Instead, the company was accused of "noncompliance with contractual obligations," which presumably means something to lawyers if not to the public. OPIC President Bradford Mills was quoted as saying, "ITT failed to comply with its obligation under the OPIC contracts to disclose material information to OPIC. In addition, ITT increased OPIC's risk of loss by failing to preserve administrative remedies as required by the contracts, and by failing to protect OPIC's interests as a potential successor to ITT's rights."

ITT immediately announced that it would appeal the decision to a panel of "impartial arbitrators," who have the power to overrule the OPIC's decision. While we would not presume to judge the question of compliance or noncompliance with "contractual obligations," a *Washington Post* reporter has unearthed evidence indicating that ITT would have a better chance of winning its case if the ar-

bitrators were ruling only on whether anti-Allende plots were official U.S. policy.

In the April 6 issue of that paper, Laurence Stern may also have provided a motive for the CIA's alleged refusal of ITT's proffered \$1,000,000: On the basis of its past experience, the spy agency knew that \$1,000,000 was not nearly enough to prevent Allende's election. In the 1964 Chilean elections, Stern disclosed, the CIA and the State Department had spent \$20,000,000 backing the winning candidate, Eduardo Frei of the Christian Democrats.

Stern's story was "pieced together from the accounts of officials who participated in the actions and policies of that period."

Originally, Stern wrote, U.S. officials were divided over which of Allende's opponents they should back—Frei or the conservative Senator Julio Duran. The definitive choice of Frei was made only after Duran lost a by-election to a Communist candidate. This may have been the last time Chilean voters exercised any influence over the results of the election. Stern wrote:

"U.S. government intervention in Chile in 1964 was blatant and almost obscene," said one strategically placed intelligence officer at the time. "We were shipping people off right and left, mainly State Department but also CIA with all sorts of covers."

Some of the CIA money was funneled through an organization called the International Development Foundation (IDF), which subsidized peasant organizations friendly to Frei. The IDF is still functioning, according to Stern, although it now receives its funds from the Agency for International Development (AID) instead of the CIA.

Another portion of the \$20,000,000 expended went toward the maintenance of the "free press":

"Covert financing was arranged for a newspaper friendly to the political interests of Christian Democrat Frei. 'The layout was magnificent. The photographs were superb. It was a Madison Avenue product far above the standards of Chilean publications,' recalled another State Department veteran of the campaign."

Stern quoted one "key Latin American policy maker" as saying that as many as 100 "special personnel" were sent by the CIA and the State Department

to help out with various aspects of the campaign.

"The State Department maintained a facade of neutrality and proclaimed it from time to time,' according to one source who played an important Washington role in inter-American policy at the time of the election.

"Individual officers—an economic counselor or a political counselor—would look for opportunities. And

where it was a question of passing money, forming a newspaper or community development program, the operational people would do the work.

"AID found itself suddenly overstaffed, looking around for peasant groups or projects for slum dwellers,' he recalled. 'Once you established a policy of building support among peasant groups, government workers and trade unions, the strategies fell into place.' □

Demonstrations Protest Food Shortages

Allende Accuses Far Left of 'Provocations'

The watchword under which the Central Committee of the Chilean Communist party held a plenary session April 1 was: "The people take the offensive: to increase production and develop the national economy." The battle for production, the gathering decided, requires a more intense ideological struggle and the defeat of the "ultraleftist" positions of the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), according to a United Press International report in the April 2 issue of the Dominican daily *El Listín Diario*. The MIR, it said, "is a divisive factor within the popular movement and must be firmly combatted."

Two days later, in a radio and television speech, President Salvador Allende warned that it was his government's intention to thwart any attempts to solve the problem of food shortages through direct action: "To claim that the problem can be solved through take-overs of state-owned and private distribution agencies is not only an error, it is a provocation. It is a position that stands in opposition to the government and the popular masses."

On April 4, some 1,800 bus drivers in the state-owned urban transportation company went on strike. The government responded immediately by appointing General Herman Brady as interventor of the company until the strike ends.

Speaking to the press the day after the strike began, Undersecretary of the Interior Daniel Vergara, a Com-

munist, denounced the workers' economic demands as "going absolutely too far" and charged that the strike was part of a concerted attempt throughout the country to provoke confrontations. "The government is ready and willing to go right ahead and repress all these extremist elements," he warned, according to an Associated Press dispatch published in the April 6 issue of *El Listín Diario*.

During the preceding twenty-four hours, Vergara said, police moved to break up a series of demonstrations in Santiago and other cities that were protesting the scarcity of food and other goods. "Vergara said that some 300 squatters from the settlements Nueva Habana, La Hermida, and San Rafael occupied Vicuña Mackenna Avenue, which led to clashes when the Carabineer corps arrived on the scene to disperse them," reported the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* April 6.

Five civilians and five carabineers were reported wounded and thirty-eight persons arrested, twenty-four of whom were subsequently released. The AP report in *El Listín Diario* put the number of persons arrested at sixty, all of whom, it said, were identified as members of the MIR. "The demonstrations led by the MIR," it said, "constituted an open challenge to the call for tranquillity made by Allende during his Tuesday speech on radio and television, in which he also announced that a system will be set up to 'rationalize' the distribution of some food products." □

Franco's Police Fire on Striking Workers

A construction worker was killed and another seriously wounded when police opened fire on some 1,500 demonstrating workers in the Barcelona suburb San Adrián del Besós, April 3. The dead worker was Manuel Fernández Vásquez. Ten policemen were injured and about a dozen workers arrested in the ensuing battle, in which angry workers fought back with stones and clubs.

The workers in the suburb, where three construction companies are building a thermal-electric plant, had been demanding more pay, a forty-hour week, sick pay, the right of assembly, and an annual thirty-day, paid holiday. When the companies rejected their demands April 2, they went on strike. The companies retaliated with a lockout and by suspending the workers without pay for five days. It was this move that prompted the April 3 protest demonstration.

The following day, thousands turned out to protest the police shooting. Demonstrators "disrupted traffic, barricaded streets with stones and benches, chanted 'Liberty,' and 'Assassins,' and called for a general strike," reported the Associated Press from Barcelona April 4. According to José Antonio Novais, writing in the April 6 *Le Monde*, some 4,000 workers took part in the protest.

In addition, fourteen workers lodged a formal complaint against the police. Legal sources said that this was the first such complaint by workers following intervention by the police in a labor struggle. The complaint, according to a United Press International report published in the April 5 issue of the Dominican daily *El Listín Diario*, charged that the workers were "victims of the use of firearms by the police" and called for a legal investigation to determine who is "responsible before the law."

Solidarity with the striking workers took various forms. "Most of Barcelona Central University and the autonomous university in the Catalan city were closed by strikes today," reported an April 5 dispatch from *The Times* of London. "Strikes

also halted production in at least seven area factories, including Spain's biggest auto plant, Seat."

Another effect of the killing was that it helped to solidify the alliance between the church and labor. "That alliance," wrote Miguel Acoca in the April 10 *Washington Post*, "is fast becoming the strongest opposition to Generalissimo Francisco Franco. The alliance is openly fighting his iron grip on labor and his concept of 'law and order.'"

An example of this was a sharp criticism of the police action by the archbishop of Barcelona, Arnau Narciso Cardinal Jubany. He issued a statement deploring "unjust situations

that oppress the people and block the free exercise of the most elemental rights."

Initially, the government tried to suppress his statement, but it finally relented after censoring a paragraph saying that the government's "institutionalized violence" provokes "the masses."

"The full, uncensored text of the cardinal's statement was distributed to bishops and priests throughout Spain and the cardinal asked that it be read at Sunday Masses," wrote Acoca.

"Despite his wishes, it was decided that, as part of the deal allowing publication of the censored statement, the full version would not be read in the churches.

"However, priests throughout Spain have been handing out photocopies of the original statement to workers, opposition politicians, underground labor leaders and students." □

Crisis Resolved in Turkey's Martial Law Regime

Former Naval Chief Elected President

The open conflict between Turkey's military rulers and political parties that erupted on March 13 when the Grand National Assembly refused to endorse the military-backed candidate for president, General Faruk Gurler, was resolved by a compromise three weeks later. On April 6, the parliament elected Fahri Koruturk, a former admiral and former commander of the navy, to the presidency on the fifteenth ballot. He received 365 votes, forty-seven more than the 318 needed for election. The compromise was made possible by an agreement between the two major parties—the Justice party and the Republican People's party (RPP)—and the Confidence party.

The Justice party and the RPP are expected to propose forming a coalition government until the legislative elections, scheduled for October 14.

The selection of Koruturk appears eminently satisfactory to the military brass. As a nationalist, a conservative, and an anticommunist, he fully shares their authoritarian conception of political and social law and order. Moreover, he is hostile to the plan

to hold legislative elections next October—having stated his preference for a continuation of the present system of military rule behind a democratic facade until 1978. Whether he will take advantage of his new power to seek a postponement of the elections is not yet clear.

In addition, the seventy-year-old Koruturk—whose name means literally "protector of the Turks"—is not expected to play an overly active role in the political life of the country because he is in poor health and not at all energetic.

Agreement on Koruturk also removed the increasing likelihood that the military would resort to a Greek-style coup—an option it preferred to avoid in favor of maintaining the present setup. "The 'system' against which the army rebelled on March 12, 1971, has been profoundly altered," observed the editors of the Paris daily *Le Monde* April 8-9. "The constitution has been amended in an authoritarian direction and the executive has been strengthened; the press, the unions, and the university have been brought to heel; the state of siege has been

established on a permanent basis, the military tribunals are continually in operation, and hundreds of opponents of the regime have been jailed; the Turkish Workers party has been banned after being decimated; far-left

groupings have been dealt blows of unprecedented brutality. It is thus hard to see what the Turkish generals would have stood to gain by instituting a classical military dictatorship." □

tionary left by the Casalotti printshop for printing manifestos, papers, and bulletins had made it into a real service for revolutionists. This was so evident that the government tried to close it down several times by administrative measures.

The Casalotti printshop must resume operations; the Savelli publishing house must recover from the financial blow of the fire. While calling for a political counterattack by all the components of the revolutionary left, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari propose a mass fund-raising campaign to help the comrades of the publishing house and the printshop resume their valuable work as soon as possible. □

Italian Trotskyists Call for United Response

Fascists Burn Far-Left Printing House

[On the night of March 28, a fascist gang attacked the Casalotti printshop in Rome, where the books of the Savelli publishing house were printed, as well as *Bandiera Rossa*, the organ of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International). The presses were jammed. The headline type was destroyed. The stocks of books and pamphlets published by the Italian Trotskyists were burned. On March 30 a special issue of *Bandiera Rossa* called for a united demonstration against fascist terror and issued the following appeal for financial solidarity. The translation of this statement is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The National Secretariat of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari, Italian section of the Fourth International, calls on all socialist organizations and on the working class to help rebuild the Casalotti printshop, which was attacked and burned last night by a fascist gang.

It is obvious that at a time when the evidence of fascist responsibility for the "government's slaughter" [the Milan terror bombings of December 1969] is becoming more and more damning and the revelations in the book of the same name [*La Strage di Stato* — "The Government's Slaughter"] are being substantially confirmed—even though its publisher, Giulio Savelli, has been sentenced to prison for libel—the fascists want to take revenge on those who have helped unmask them to the broader public.

Moreover, the burning of the Casalotti printshop must not be seen simply as an act of retaliation but as a necessary attack on the freedom of the

press, in particular the freedom of speech of the revolutionary left, which had much of its propaganda and many of its periodicals printed in this shop. The prices offered to the revolu-

Overrules UN Embargo on Rhodesian Trade

U.S. Court Refuses to Halt Chrome Imports

The United States Supreme Court on April 16 refused to halt the importation of chrome ore from Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The court declined to hear an appeal of a lower-court ruling that upheld the government's "right" to purchase ore from the racist government of Rhodesia.

The ruling came in a suit brought by several Black members of the U.S. Congress, who charged that the importation of chrome violated the 1966 United Nations embargo on trade with the Smith

regime. The Congress, with the tacit backing of the Nixon administration, voted to break the embargo in September 1971.

The lower court in its decision acknowledged that the 1971 law showed "blatant disregard of our treaty undertakings" as a UN member, but said that the U.S. constitution gives Congress the power to "set treaty obligations at naught." By refusing to hear the appeal, the Supreme Court upheld this ruling.

U.S. mineral imports from Rhodesia totaled about \$13 million in 1972. □

Correction

In the article by Ernest Mandel "The Second Fall of the Dollar," which appeared in our March 19 issue, the sentence on page 302, column 3, beginning "If today the bourgeoisie talks about 'limiting' the annual increase . . ." should read as follows: "If today the bourgeoisie talks about 'limiting' the annual increase in the monetary mass to 5 percent a year as opposed to 10 percent a year since 1969, it knows perfectly well that this would still provoke a recession."

The author would also like to add the following sentence to the paragraph on page 303 just before the subheading "The Common Market Threatened":

"The fact that the decline of the dollar stimulates European and Japanese export of capital applies not only to the United States but to the whole sector of the international capitalist economy traditionally dominated by U.S. capital. The sensational expansion of Japanese capital investment in Brazil—the crown jewel of the U.S. empire—which has been increasing at a rate of more than \$1,000 million a year, threatening to take over key sectors of that semicolonial economy, is a good example of the impact that the changed relationship of forces among the imperialist powers has already had in the field of capital export, too." □

REVIEWS

Viennese Journal Reviews 'Land or Death'

[The following review of Hugo Blanco's *Land or Death, The Peasant Struggle in Peru* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972) is reprinted from the February issue of *Neues Forum*, a monthly magazine published in Vienna. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Land or Death—the slogan of the Quechua peasants in the 1960s—describes the organization and development of the peasant movement in Peru. The author, the Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco, legendary figure in the Peruvian liberation struggle, sketches his work among the peasants up until his arrest in 1963. Imprisoned until 1970, he received an amnesty as the result of an international campaign, and was deported to Mexico.

Blanco analyzes the evolution, the setbacks, and the basic errors of the peasant movement. His main argument is directed against the "peaceful transition" to socialism: Only through the independent action of the workers and peasants can the oppressed classes free themselves. The prerequisite is a mass revolutionary party, the Bolshevik "party of a new type." There are a series of obstacles to the construction of this party, from geographical factors to the "minimalist" position of the Peruvian Communists.

Since Blanco stresses mass action and is able to work out the preconditions for it, he is consistently against the strategy of the Tupamaros, who are unable to develop a lasting tie with the oppressed masses.

As the peasant movement unfolds in Cuzco, in Peru's southern mountains, it grows in militancy and organization. Strikes are supported by the surrounding towns and villages, and the peasants control and work a large part of the land, protecting it with a militia. At the same time, the peasants and workers develop a system of soviets and replace the corrupt local administration.

One of the leading groups is the Trotskyist FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario — Revolutionary Left Front]. In a separate chapter, "Two Lines," Blanco demonstrates the difference between revolutionary and reformist strategy. In the peasant struggles, the Communist party constantly recommended the demobilization of the masses and hesitated at mass occupations of the land; it preferred to bring in good lawyers.

The CP does not understand the logic of transitional demands, and divides its program into minimum goals—those presently achievable—and maximum goals—those achievable only in the distant future.

"As a result of this mechanical division, the reformist slogans of the

minimum program aim at resolving the class conflicts *within* the present system. The class enemy, also interested in perpetuating this system, has similar aims. Their differences are in the terms of the solution, but it is not unusual for the two to coincide." The Peruvian CP supports the military regime of General Velasco.

Blanco sees the causes of the defeat of the movement in the lack of a revolutionary party: "The almost complete absence of an adequate political apparatus on a national or even a local scale, and the geographical limitations of the movement as a consequence, were the fundamental causes of the defeat of the incipient armed struggle and the corresponding partial retreat by the peasantry, with the relative strengthening of the reaction and of Stalinist opportunism."

The essence of Blanco's *Land or Death* is the stress on mass struggle, which guerrilla actions cannot substitute for, and the necessity to construct a revolutionary party.

— W. Burian

'Land or Death' Selected by 'Choice'

Hugo Blanco's *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru* (Pathfinder Press, 1972, \$6.95, paper \$2.45) has been selected as an outstanding academic book for 1973 by *Choice* magazine. The editors of *Choice*, a major U.S. publishing journal and the organ of the Association of College and Research Libraries, annually compile a list of books which they consider to be timely and significant contributions to academic study. The selection of *Land or Death* was based in part upon a review which appeared in their February 1973 issue:

"Blanco, Trotskyist leader of an early 1960s peasant movement near Cuzco, Peru, has written an extremely important primary document. The chapters on chronology and geographical, economic, and social conditions are incomplete, and one should consult the works of Wesley Craig and Hugo Neira, but Blanco's descriptions of the movement itself, formation of a party apparatus (an admitted failure), schisms in the Peruvian left, and the decision to use armed force are excellent. One impor-

tant aspect of the work is Blanco's account of divisions between Trotskyites and the Peruvian Communist party (referred to as Stalinists), including Communist attempts to sabotage the peasant movement. Nowhere is this clearer than in Blanco's decision to initiate guerrilla action. Che Guevara had similar experiences in Bolivia, demonstrating the near impossibility of establishing a united leftist front in most of Latin America. Part II contains important letters, manifestos, and short stories written by Blanco while in prison, including the famous "To my people," several calls for student assistance, and an analysis of the government, oligarchy, and peasants. Many explanatory notes; fine glossary of foreign words; adequate index. A must for all undergraduate and graduate libraries."

In addition to this citation, Blanco's *Land or Death* has aroused considerable critical comment in other U.S. journals, including *Publishers Weekly*, *Library Journal*, the *Union of Radical Latin Americanists Newsletter*, and *Perspective*.

'La Opinión' Reports Montonero Statement

[The following article appeared in the April 6 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*. It gives extensive quotes from an alleged communiqué from the Montoneros, a Peronist guerrilla group, on their execution of Colonel Héctor Alberto Iribarren. This is the only statement attributed to the guerrilla groups that have carried out actions during the election and postelection period that we have seen reproduced (in full or in part) in the Argentine press.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[In addition to the English translation, we are publishing the Spanish text of the article. This appears below.]

* * *

The command of the Third Army Corps of Córdoba issued a communiqué last night [April 5] giving the full text of the "party to war" and a document of the guerrilla organization the Montoneros. The statement, which was signed by Lieutenant Colonel Roque Ramón Cabral, chief of Army public relations, was released so that people "could study at their leisure in the quiet of their homes the 'real objectives' of one of the extremist organizations operating in our country."

Under the slogan "With or without bloodletting, the species of oligarchical exploiters will become extinct in this century," the Montoneros announce they they proceeded to "execute Colonel Iribarren, carrying out a new act of people's revolutionary justice." Further on they describe the "Army Intelligence Service as the most perfect expression of this army that has abandoned its mission as the military arm of the people and become its oppressor, torturing, jailing, and killing men and women who do not submit to a military dictatorship that functions as the servant of the oligarchy and imperialism." They attribute to Colonel Iribarren "direct responsibility for the whole line of activity carried out in recent years by

the Third Army Corps in repressing popular mobilizations and even for informing on his own comrades in arms who were opposed to the policy of the 'military camarilla.'"

In going back over the process experienced since 1955 [the date of the coup that overthrew Perón], the Montoneros note that "instead of submitting, the people made their objective clear in all methods of struggle—from elections or strikes to guerrilla actions—through the organizational forms that with time and the leadership of General Perón enabled us to take the offensive. They [the rulers] need time to organize because these eighteen years of antipopular persecutions have brought nothing but resounding failures that generated innumerable contradictions in their own forces."

"Through the ballot box we have won the government," the communiqué says, "but both we and our enemy know that power grows from the barrel of a gun. Therefore, with the same fervor with which we worked to win the government through the elections, we continue supporting our ideas, our organizations, and our arms in harrying the enemy."

"On May 25 we will have the government. This will enable us to carry out social, political, and economic measures that, being irreversible, will alter the structures of the system and open up the way for taking power."

Under the subheading "Support for the Loyal and a Clobbering for Traitors," the document continues: "The only guarantee that the front [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Liberation Front for Social Justice] will carry out this task fully is active and direct participation by the people organized in the structures that can mobilize them to exercise a constant supervision over the government, preserving it from deviations and capitulations."

The communiqué ends by calling for a series of immediate actions with the slogans characteristic of the Mon-

toneros: "Long Live the Fatherland. Perón or Death."

Spanish Text

El Comando del Tercer Cuerpo de Ejército de Córdoba distribuyó anoche un comunicado en el que transcribe íntegramente el "parte de guerra" y un documento de la organización guerrillera Montoneros para "su lectura reflexiva en la tranquilidad del hogar sobre cuáles son los 'verdaderos fines' de una de las organizaciones extremistas que actúan en nuestro país," según la información que suscribe el teniente coronel Roque Ramón Cabral, jefe de Relaciones de Ejército.

Bajo la consigna "Con sangre o sin sangre la raza de los oligarcas explotadores desaparecerá en este siglo," los Montoneros informan que procedieron a "ejecutar el coronel Iribarren, cumpliendo un nuevo acto de justicia popular revolucionaria." Describen luego al "Servicio de Informaciones del Ejército como la expresión más acabada de este Ejército que abandonando su misión de brazo armado del pueblo se convirtió en su opresor, torturando, encarcelando y matando hombres y mujeres que no se sometieron a esta dictadura militar puesta al servicio de la oligarquía y el imperialismo." Atribuyen al coronel Iribarren la "responsabilidad directa de todo el accionar represivo desarrollado por el Tercer Cuerpo de Ejército en estos últimos años contra las movilizaciones populares y hasta en la delación de sus propios compañeros de armas opuestos a la política de la 'camarilla militar.'"

Al recordar el proceso vivido desde 1955, señalan los Montoneros que "el pueblo, en lugar de someterse clarificó su objetivo con todos los métodos de lucha—desde la elección o la huelga hasta las acciones de guerrilla—a través de formas organizativas que con el tiempo y la conducción del general Perón nos permitieron pasar a la ofensiva. Ellos necesitan tiempo para organizarse porque de estos 18 años de persecución popular no obtuvieron otra cosa que rotundos fracasos que generaron innumerables contradicciones en sus propias fuerzas."

"Con las urnas conseguimos el gobierno—dice el comunicado—pero tanto nosotros como nuestro enemigo

sabemos que el poder brota de la boca del fusil. Por eso con el mismo fervor con que trabajamos para ganar el gobierno mediante las elecciones seguimos apoyando nuestras ideas, nuestras organizaciones y nuestras armas en la persecución del enemigo."

"El 25 de mayo tendremos el gobierno. Esto nos permitirá medidas económicas, políticas sociales que, siendo irreversibles, modifiquen las estructuras del sistema y hallen el camino hacia la toma del poder."

Bajo el título "Apoyo a los leales

y amasijo a los traidores" prosigue el documento: "La única garantía de que el gobierno frentista realice a fondo esta tarea la constituye la participación activa y directa del pueblo organizado en estructuras aptas para la movilización, de manera que pueda permanentemente ejercer una acción fiscalizadora que preserve al gobierno de desviaciones y claudicaciones."

El comunicado finaliza reclamando una serie de medidas inmediatas y con los slogans característicos de Montoneros: "Viva la Patria. Perón o Muerte." □

to provide excellent pretexts for blocking full amnesty and keeping the repressive laws.

Our party will continue to defend the imprisoned guerrillas. But at the same time, we will also continue to point out the political sterility of their methods. Not only are these ineffective means of struggling for civil liberties, but—what is graver still—they are ineffective means for freeing the Argentine people from capitalist exploitation. □

Spanish Text

En la noche del domingo fue retirado de su domicilio el contraalmirante Aleman, ex jefe del Servicio de Informaciones Navales y ex asesor del capitán Patrón Laplacette cuando fue interventor de la CGT en 1955/57. De acuerdo a lo que informa *La Razón* (2/4), el ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo) sería el grupo guerrillero responsable del acontecimiento. En el interior del departamento de Aleman, fueron pintadas leyendas tales como "justicia popular por Trelew." (*La Razón* de la misma fecha.)

Ante el hecho, nuestro partido levanta nuevamente su posición ya expresada en el secuestro de Sallustro y otras acciones de la guerrilla. Estamos firmemente convencidos de que acciones como estas no ayudan al movimiento obrero y popular. Completamente desvinculadas de las masas y de sus luchas concretas, pueden dañar individualmente a patrones y militares, pero afectan muy poco al régimen. Quienes ejecutaron a Aramburu, creyeron que daban un golpe decisivo a los planes de "institucionalización" que comenzaban a cocinarse por aquel entonces, puesto que era el candidato para presidir el proceso. Con Sallustro la historia fue parecida. Están menos explotados ahora los trabajadores de Fiat? A Sallustro nadie lo reemplaza en su rol de capanga?

Nuestro partido fue de los primeros en denunciar la matanza de Trelew. No vacilamos en hacerlo en momentos en que un decreto de la dictadura prohibía — y prohíbe — mencionar esa y otras salvajadas represivas. Pero con la misma fuerza decimos que el fin de los asesinatos y las torturas y el justo castigo de sus responsables

Argentine PST Statement on Kidnappings

[The following article appeared in the April 4 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores — Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

[In addition to the English translation, we are publishing the Spanish text of the article. This appears below.]

* * *

On Sunday night [April 1], Rear Admiral Aleman, the ex-chief of naval intelligence, was taken from his home. He was the adviser of Captain Patrón [Boss] Laplacette when the captain was the military supervisor of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor] in 1955-57. According to *La Razón* of April 2, the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo — People's Revolutionary Army] is the guerrilla group responsible for the event. In the interior of Aleman's apartment, slogans were painted such as "People's Justice for Trelew" (*La Razón*, April 2.)

On this occasion, our party reiterates the position we expressed at the time of the Sallustro kidnapping and other guerrilla actions. We are firmly convinced that actions like these do not help the workers and people's movement. Completely divorced from the masses and their concrete struggles as these acts are, they may do harm to individual bosses and military officers, but they have little effect

on the regime. Those who executed Aramburu thought that they had dealt a decisive blow to the plans for "institutionalization" [the attempt of the military dictatorship to find constitutional formulas for maintaining bourgeois rule], which were beginning to be cooked up at the time, since he was to be the presidential candidate that would preside over the process. With Sallustro the story was the same. Are the FIAT workers any less exploited today? Has nobody replaced Sallustro in his role as overseer?

Our party was one of the first to denounce the massacre in Trelew. We did not hesitate to do this at a time when a decree of the dictatorship prohibited — and still prohibits — mentioning this and other acts of savage repression. But with the same force we said that the only way we would get an end to the murders and torture and impose a just punishment on the persons responsible was through the struggle of the masses.

At this time the struggle against the monstrous apparatus of repression left by the dictatorship centers around mobilizing to win full and total amnesty, repeal of all repressive laws, and investigation and punishment of crimes like Trelew. If we can get the workers and people to mobilize for these demands, there is no doubt that they can win them. Guerrilla actions do not contribute anything to this. To the contrary, at this time actions like the Aleman kidnapping or the bombing of the Ministry of the Navy can be exploited as provocations to reinforce military "conditioning" and

únicamente los conseguiremos mediante la lucha de las masas.

En estos momentos, la lucha contra el monstruoso aparato de represión que deja en herencia la dictadura tiene como eje el movilizarnos por una amplia y total amnistía, por la derogación de todas las leyes represivas y por la investigación y castigo de crímenes como los de Trelew. Si lo-

gramos que los trabajadores y el pueblo se movilicen por estos puntos, no hay dudas que se alcanzarán. En nada contribuye a esto la guerrilla. Por el contrario, en estos momentos, acciones como la de Aleman o la bomba del Ministerio de Marina pueden ser aprovechadas como provocaciones para reforzar el "condicionamiento" militar y dar excelentes pretextos para impedir una amplia

amnistía y conservar las leyes represivas.

Nuestro partido seguirá defendiendo a los guerrilleros presos. Pero, al mismo tiempo, seguiremos también señalando la esterilidad política de sus métodos. No sólo inútiles para luchar por las libertades públicas, sino—lo que es más grave—para liberar al pueblo argentino de la explotación capitalista. □

On the History of the Ceylon Mercantile Union

By Roshan Peiris

[March 1973 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of independent trade-union activity initiated by the Ceylon Mercantile Union after the appointment of Bala Tampoe as its general secretary. The attention paid to this occasion in Sri Lanka's bourgeois press is an indication of the significant role played by this union in the island's political and economic life. The following article is reprinted from the March 15 issue of the conservative *Ceylon News*.]

* * *

In a cluttered, dingy office a bright blue and gold banner displays the words "Hunger strike against repression." It is an unpretentious office wedged between large, ostentatious commercial and bank buildings in Upper Chatham Street. Number 22 1/2 houses one of the most important trade unions in the country, the Ceylon Mercantile Union [CMU]. This week it celebrates twenty-five years of trade union activity.

Their leader, adviser extraordinary, and General Secretary is a gaunt young man with prematurely greying hair who chose to give up lecturing in botany and horticulture and chose to work as a dedicated trade unionist. Bala Tampoe has grown up with the union and he is now just fifty years old. He entered the Trade Union movement as a young man just turned twenty-five.

The Ceylon Mercantile Union traces its history right back to the late twenties, when A. E. Goonesinghe, then the unchallenged labour leader, began organising labour unions at a time white sahibs looked upon all workers as "coolies." A faded copy of a newspaper printed in 1927 had the headline "Harbour coolies still on strike." It is a memento which Mr. Tampoe cherishes, since it evokes reminiscences both bitter and unforgettable when the workers were looked upon

as little better than slaves by their white masters.

In 1927 Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe formed three labour unions—the Ceylon Labour Union, the Ceylon Mercantile Union, and the Bank Clerks Union. He was president of all three Unions and the paid spokesman for the unions with the white Employers. Old membership lists show that the union had only around five hundred members in the then Ceylon Mercantile Union.

Today the Ceylon Mercantile Union has a membership around thirty thousand with 262 branches of which 206 are in the private sector. The membership consists of 8,419 in Federated establishments. In Industrial establishments outside the Federation there are 6,903. In the port the membership is around 3,879 and in other State Corporations and Statutory Boards and in other non-federation establishments it is around 3,353. These figures are from the General Secretary's report read in September 1972.

It is difficult to trace the history of the C. M. U. without reference to Mr. Goonesinghe's unions and without reference to the work of the present General Secretary and the LSSP in Ceylon.

Mr. Goonesinghe went on with his labour union activity, which consisted of bargaining for specific demands with him as paid spokesman for the workers. It was not any form of organised and conscious trade union action. It consisted more of rhetoric combined with muscle and showmanship. But still it was the only labour movement in the country feared by the establishment, though it never called out a strike even for a single day.

In 1935 the LSSP entered the political arena and began organising the working class into trade union action demonstrating its relevance for the first time to modern society. In 1939 came the Second World War, and strikes were declared il-

legal under the "Essential Services Order [on] prevention of strikes and lockouts." But the LSSP organised strikes in the plantation sector, which qualified it for banning, and the movement continued underground. So no trade union activity could develop during this period, and young Tampoe, a University student, joined the LSSP underground movement and was given his first lecture on Marxist dialectics by Mr. Doric De Souza.

In 1945 trade unions came out of hiding, and under the compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes under a Labour Commissioner, Mr. Goonesinghe made nine demands. The 14 Companies included George Steuarts and thirteen others. Mr. Noel Graetiaen appeared for the companies and Mr. Goonesinghe for the workers. He got a fifty rupee increment for white-collar workers, Provident Fund of 7.5 percent of the basic, casual leave, and medical leave of fourteen days. This was the first standardisation of the condition of mercantile workers and was termed the "George Steuarts award." It was not a demand of a trade union but merely of a collection of clerks around Mr. Goonesinghe.

In the meantime Mr. Tampoe was a lecturer at the School of Agriculture at Peradeniya, out of contact with trade unions though he was by now an active member of the LSSP. The public service was not allowed to federate even among themselves; they were granted no political nor trade union rights.

A young clerk with a wife and two young children working in the Kandy Kachcheri asked the young Marxist lecturer from the University to give a talk to the Kandy Branch of the Clerical Servants Union on Marxism. It was a bold venture by *T. B. Ilangaratne*—it brought Mr. Tampoe for the first time in contact with the white-collar workers. "It was no doubt a fateful contact."

By 1947 Mr. Ilangaratne had become



CEYLON MERCANTILE UNION was one of seven unions that closed port of Colombo for two months in a December 1969-

February 1970 strike. Photo shows 5,000 port workers voting in January mass meeting to continue strike.

President of the Government Services Clerical Union. In May 1947 the GSCU organised a mass rally on Galle Face Green which was attended by LSSP leaders and the white-collar workers in the private sector as well. After the meeting the Board of Ministers suspended Mr. Ilangaratne and eighteen others. Jeffrey Kunanayagam, Chief Clerk in the Labour Ministry, stood on his desk and addressed his fellow clerks, asking them to walk out. Within half an hour the Secretariat was empty and the Chief Secretary, Mr. C. H. Collins, found himself alone with only two blacklegs who were yanked away before his eyes by two militant colleagues.

Mr. Tampoe was not in the Union, naturally, but he later addressed a mass rally of white-collar workers, and when the Governor made his speech over the radio asking the strikers to return, Mr. Tampoe said "the Governor, Sir Henry Monk Mason Moore, is now crawling on his belly and grovelling on all fours asking you to return," he told the crowd meeting at King's Pavilion Kandy, his first public speech. He also distributed

a pamphlet he had written on "Trade Unionism and Politics." When the young lecturer reported for work, he was told by a one-line letter "Your services are no longer required."

The 1947 elections came, and Mr. Tampoe persuaded Mr. Ilangaratne to offer his resignation while still under suspension and contest the Kandy seat against Mr. George E. de Silva, then a Minister. Mr. De Silva won by a narrow margin but was ousted by an election petition for which Mr. Tampoe organised the "Oust George fund." Mr. Ilangaratne won against Mr. Fred de Silva and thus entered the field of politics.

The Ceylon Mercantile Union still remained with Mr. Goonesinghe, who in 1948 accepted the post of Government Whip in the UNP [United National party, a conservative party] cabinet. Thus the stormy petrel became the blue-eyed boy of the UNP. As such the CMU made an effort to oust him, and Mr. Tampoe, then barely twenty-five, organised the ousting procedure, though men like Mr. Doric de Souza and Dr. Colvin R. de

Silva were sceptical of ousting this leader of the labour movement together with his strong-arm followers.

A toothless clerical servant from Forbes and Walker was pitted against the swarthy Goonesinghe. Mr. Goonesinghe came to the meeting realising that his time was up, and after making a scathing speech on their ingratitude, he said he was not contesting and asked for nominations. And so the mild Mr. Holsinger took over the CMU and advertised for the post of General Secretary. Mr. Tampoe applied with a letter of recommendation from Mr. Ilangaratne saying "he has expert knowledge of the principles of genuine trade unionism and is also one who possesses the courage and ability to be a real leader in action. It is indeed difficult to find such a person." On February 2nd, two days before the granting of independence, he took over and today the C. M. U. celebrates its twenty-five years.

March 5th was chosen for the C. M. U. rally because it was on March 5th that the newly organised C. M. U. launched its first ever strike at Plates.

It was at this strike that Mr. Tampoe organised picketing for the first time and it was a historical strike in the annals of the C. M. U. because seamen from a Canadian ship in harbour whose parent union was on strike in the east coast of Canada agreed to join the picketing line at Plates.

For the first time white workers joined the brown and Mr. Tampoe recalls with mirth "the looks on the faces of white women who saw white skins supporting the brown in a strike against a white-owned establishment!"

The Canadians joined a demonstration in the Fort which created a traffic snarl, and a six-foot-three Canadian looked down on a pigmy Inspector of police and virtually asked him to go to hell as he demonstrated the solidarity of the working class of the world!

The membership grew and by 1956 there were 7,000 members.

In 1955 the Cinemas' strike organised by the CMU against the Ceylon Theaters created history because for the first time there was public participation and members of the public refused to patronise the strike-bound cinemas.

The Shop and Office Employees Act standardised basic wages, sick leave, annual leave, maternity leave and Provident Fund in 1950.

In 1953 Mr. Tampoe addressed the Select Committee of Parliament on wages and in 1956 demonstrated at Hyde Park because for three years the recommendations of the report were not implemented.

On March 5th (again) 1956 the first Industrial Court was appointed with A. R. H. Canekeratne as President. The C. M. U., Mr. Tampoe said, did not have much confidence in the Court but nevertheless went before it and made nine demands.

"I was successful," he said, for the basic salary of clerical servants was raised from fifty rupees to seventy-five with 12.50 extra for those who had passed their S. S. C.

The Court also granted dearness [cost of living] and living allowances on the Government scale.

In 1961 was the first collective agreement with the Employers' Federation. In 1967 there was yet another collective bargaining after the Port had been strike-bound for 23 days.

In 1964 began the twenty-one demands, which Mr. Tampoe said were eventually shelved when Mr. Ilangaratne made the match between the SLFP and the LSSP. Today, twenty-five years later [i. e., since Tampoe became general secretary], the CMU has grown and embraces minor employees, such as peons [messengers] in both the mercantile and public sector.

The CMU has 5,000 women members as well.

How rewarding has it been to the young man who at twenty-five gave up an academic job to take over a trade union?

"I have enjoyed every moment of it, including knotty arguments with employers. I am dealing with living human beings and not with fruit, flowers, and vegetables that I would have done as a horticulturist. I have succeeded in making

a membership irrespective of community, religion, or caste to act together for their collective good that gives me great satisfaction.

"And why not?" he asks on an obvious note of triumph and contentment. □

Irish Trotskyists Hold Conference

[The following article is from the May issue of *The Plough*, the organ of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, the Irish group in sympathy with the Fourth International.]

* * *

A national conference must be seen as a milestone in the development of a revolutionary organisation — it marks another stage in its grasping of its fundamental role in the revolutionary process. When the Revolutionary Marxist Group (Irish supporters of the Fourth International) held its first national conference on March 3rd & 4th, 1973, it attempted to come to grips with some of the dynamics of the Irish revolution.

Representatives from the British, French, German sections of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party of America (prevented by reactionary legislation from joining the FI) attended, while messages were received from the Canadian and Swedish sections.

Four main documents together with subsidiary papers were placed before the Conference. These consisted of a main perspectives document, a document on the proposed new structure of the organisation, a document on the women question and on the group's work amongst students. Two subsidiary papers on the question of orientation and of a new manifesto were put forward by comrades from Limerick and Belfast RMG.

The main discussion revolved around the perspectives document, which traced the main economic, social and political features of the present situation in Ireland. This took the form of a historical appraisal of trends which have developed over the last 50 years and specifically the forces that have led to the upsurge in the republican movement.

For the vanguard to be able to

develop a correct programme it must engage constantly in the struggle for revolutionary theory and this is the duty of the entire membership because there can be no real discipline or decisive intervention without this membership struggling for and *understanding* the programme and all its components.

The two issues of women and education are important parts of any struggle against capitalism. This is especially true in Ireland at the present time when both issues are being fiercely debated over in the context of the changing nature of the Irish economy.

Owing to the pre-conference discussion being interrupted by the month-long election campaign, the conference decided that the group, rather than taking immediate decisions on the question of perspectives and organisation, should deepen the discussion on both issues and take decisions at a later date. □

From Mao to Hoxha

The Mao-Nixon detente continues to have its political repercussions. The Italian Communist party (Marxist-Leninist), which was originally formed to defend Mao Tsetung Thought against the Soviet revisionists, appears to be looking around for a new red sun in the east. Edith Lenart reported on the party's recent congress in the April 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

"Having once held up China and the Chinese leaders as paragons of ideological purity, the Italian congress downgraded Peking and elevated Albania to first ranking. A special issue of the party daily *Nuova Unità* went to town with Enver Hoxha's message to the Congress, displaying it in both Albanian and Italian versions."

Moreover, the final resolution quoted Hoxha but had not a word of Chairman Mao's. For its part, the Chinese news agency Hsinhua published three paragraphs on the congress two weeks after it ended.