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**Buenos Aires, May 25**

## Students Demand Closing of U.S. Bases

Thai students are preparing a nationwide protest movement against the presence of U.S. air bases in their country, according to a report in the May 28 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. The movement is expected to get under way in July, when university vacations end.

There are presently about 45,000 U.S. servicemen in Thailand, most of them at large air bases from which B-52 bombers are sent to bomb Cambodia. Their presence is also intended as a continuing threat to North Vietnam.

Review correspondent Norman Peagam reported that the Thai government was considering banning the national student organization that is planning the campaign against the bases. "Such a move could come with the demonstrations against the US bases, since US military aid (around \$600 million since 1964) is the lifeblood of the armed forces, upon which the Thai Government is based, and it is given so freely and so plentifully in return for American use of Thai airbases, ports and communications facilities, and Thai cooperation in Laos and Cambodia."

There is another payment for the bases not mentioned in Peagam's report: U.S. assistance against the guerrilla movement in Thailand's north-eastern provinces. In the May 12 issue of the U.S. weekly *New Republic*, Tad Szulc reported that Nixon is now supplying "counterinsurgency experts" to "advise" the government in its anti-guerrilla operations. Most of the "advisers" involved gained their counterinsurgency experience in South Vietnam.

The military assistance is being provided through the Agency for International Development (AID) in order to keep an "economic" cover. The AID mission in Bangkok now includes more than 250 persons.

The planned protests are part of a rising student movement that has been taking up issues ranging from university conditions to Japanese influence on the economy. □

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## Mass Mobilizations, Prison Rebellions Force Campora to Free All Prisoners

By David Thorstad

Late in the evening of his inauguration May 25, Argentine President Héctor Cámpora announced a sweeping amnesty of all the country's political prisoners. Faced with determined crowds of tens of thousands of demonstrators who stormed prisons demanding the immediate release of the prisoners and with rebellions inside some prisons, he immediately declared a pardon for all political prisoners, declining to wait for the new Congress to approve an amnesty law the next day.

The move was a clear vindication of the political forces—the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) in the forefront—that had made the fate of the political prisoners a central issue of the election campaign. Throughout the preinaugural period these groupings sought to mobilize mass action as the only way to ensure the release of all the political prisoners.

During the campaign, Cámpora had promised that his government would declare an amnesty that would be "broad, generous and just." This was generally understood to mean that some of the prisoners, presumably certain non-Peronist guerrillas, would not be freed. Those campaigning for the release of all the prisoners responded to that by demanding: "Not a single day with political prisoners under the people's government."

This demand was the central focus of the huge and festive crowd that gathered in the Plaza de Mayo early on the day of the inauguration.

But what really forced Cámpora to grant a total amnesty, and to move up his timetable for doing so, was the events at Villa Devoto Prison in Buenos Aires, where many political prisoners were being held.

By late afternoon May 25, the first columns of demonstrators began arriving outside the prison. The prisoners in Cellblocks 2 and 3 had already rebelled and were in control of the situation on the inside. The

Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* gave the following account:

"In Cellblock 2, the common prisoners had set fire to bed sheets, blankets, and clothes, which they suspended through the bars of the windows. From the street a poster could be seen that announced 'Common Prisoners



HECTOR CAMPORA

Back the Guerrillas.'" The common prisoners asked only that their sentences be reduced, as is customary during the granting of amnesties.

"In Cellblock 3, which had been taken over by the guerrilla prisoners, the rioters could be seen through the windows of the three floors hailing the demonstrators who were gathering in the street. The outside walls of Cellblock 3 were covered with the banners of all the guerrilla movements that were active throughout the country during the military regime that

came to an end yesterday. With the aid of a megaphone, Peronist guerrillas and guerrillas of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo [ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People] spoke to the crowd of people below, who were hoisting the colors of Argentina and of the various revolutionary groups.

"The enthusiasm of the crowd, which was arriving in caravans, on foot, and in trucks and automobiles, made it appear likely that the doors would soon give in. The repeated chants of the crowd were directed against the former heads of the armed forces and the police and wished long life to the people, Perón, and the guerrillas."

In the late afternoon, negotiations began between the crowd and the authorities on the inside. At 8:45 p.m., the crowd agreed to support an ultimatum, presented by Fred Ernst of the Montoneros and Pedro Caces Camarero of the ERP: The authorities were given forty minutes to respond.

"After 9:00 p.m., the secretary general of the Peronist movement, Dr. Juan Manuel Abal Medina, announced that the prisoners would be released that very night," continued *La Opinión*. "Throughout all this, there were no signs of the military or the police. The doors seemed on the verge of giving in under the pressure of the throng. Inside the prison, the number of guards had been reduced and the prisoners were in control of telephone communications. At 10:00 p.m., Pedro Caces Camarero, a member of the ERP, climbed onto the wall that faces Bermúdez Street, and announced to the crowd that he had spoken by telephone with Minister of the Interior Esteban Righi.

"He announced that Cámpora was prepared to pardon the prisoners, although this would require 'a few hours.' Caces Camarero asked the demonstrators not to disperse—in spite of the fact that Righi had requested that they do so—and shouted that 'a popular government cannot repress the people.' Then he said that he had asked that the pardon be announced over radio and television so that the people would be aware of the situation. 'If this is done,' he added, 'the crowd will disperse.'

"A little after 10:00 p.m., Abal Medina climbed onto the wall and, through the same megaphone that the guerrilla had used, announced that

within one hour the pardon would take effect. Never had the Devoto neighborhood witnessed greater rejoicing. Cablegrams indicated that the city of Rawson was the scene of similar jubilation."

Even before Cámpora granted the pardon, a number of parliamentary deputies who were inside the prison had decided, together with prison officials, to go ahead on their own and sign a document releasing the political prisoners. They reached the decision that such a move was necessary, according to *La Opinión*, "by taking into account the situation prevailing in the vicinity of the building."

At 11:00 p.m., the first group of prisoners emerged from the jail, to be greeted by relatives who were among the demonstrators.

Around 2:00 a.m., May 26, only a nucleus of some 2,000 demonstrators remained outside the prison. They were reportedly determined to wait until the last prisoner had been released. According to the May 27 *La Opinión*, a large number already had been released, but an undisclosed number appear to have still remained inside. At that point, "around twenty patrol cars and six armored cars unexpectedly happened into the square. Immediately, the sound of machine-gun fire could be heard, followed by intermittent gunshots from weapons of various calibers. The group of demonstrators quickly dispersed and the area continued to be patrolled well into the early hours of the morning; according to some, the patrol was met by gunfire from some roofs."

The incident left two teen-age boys dead, one a Peronist, the other a member of a Marxist group. Twenty were wounded.

The regional office of the Peronist Youth subsequently issued a statement accusing "various groups that showed that they do not understand the meaning of the popular triumph" of provoking the shoot-out. Although just what transpired is not entirely clear, *La Opinión* interpreted the statement in its May 29 issue as being directed against "the members of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) and other Marxist groups that took part in the mobilizations aimed at freeing the political prisoners in that prison."

Rebellions similar to the one in Villa Devoto occurred in other prisons. In most cases, common prisoners report-

edly managed to take advantage of the chaos to escape. In Buenos Aires, Caseros Prison was virtually occupied, although, according to the May 27 *La Opinión*, "the political prisoners subsequently reported that it had in fact been a case of revelry that got out of hand." A couple of days later, 150 common prisoners held in the Borda Neuropsychiatric Hospital in the capital rioted. They took two patients and four guards hostage, threatening to kill them if they were not released.

In Córdoba, common prisoners rioted after twenty political prisoners were released. Some fifty common prisoners were said to have escaped, taking advantage of an assault on the prison by demonstrators who were demanding the release of the political prisoners. The prison archives were completely destroyed.

On May 28, a dozen or so inmates of the Córdoba women's prison Buen Pastor rioted. They demanded improved conditions and medical services in the prison and a speedup of the legal proceedings against them.

Some 800 prisoners rioted in the provincial penitentiary in Mendoza after a visit by Governor Alberto Martínez Baca. He came to the prison to free political prisoners jailed during the uprising there in April 1972.

In Rawson, too, prisoners took over their cellblocks demanding that they be released. They did so at 2:00 a.m. May 26, after learning about the events at Villa Devoto. By late afternoon of the same day, 200 political prisoners from Rawson arrived at Ezeiza airport in the capital in three airplanes. The fuselage of one had been spray-painted with the slogan: "Glory to the Trelew martyrs."

Philippe Labreuve described the arrival in the May 29 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*: "The fighters in the popular resistance got off the plane with the Peronists flashing the V-sign for victory, while the others raised the clenched fist. On the runway, relatives and friends, as well as their comrades in arms, greeted them with banners and signs bearing the symbols of the underground organizations: the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces], the FAP [Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas—Peronist Armed Forces], the ERP, etc. Several of the young militants covered

their faces with handkerchiefs or stockings so as not to be recognized because, they said, 'the struggle continues.' A group of revolutionists wearing the legendary starred beret of Che Guevara chanted: 'Every fighter who has been freed will find his gun awaiting him.'"

Among the arrivals were the two longest-jailed political prisoners in Argentina: Frederico Jouve and Héctor Méndez, members of the Ejército Guerrillero del Pueblo (EGP—People's Guerrilla Army). They had helped organize an uprising in Salta in 1964 and were serving life sentences.

*Le Monde* reported that the number of political prisoners who had been freed in the amnesty totaled more than 1,000.

On the evening of May 26, some 100 freed political prisoners spoke to a crowd of 3,000 relatives and friends of the guerrillas in the headquarters of Perón's Justicialista party in Buenos Aires. The groups represented were the Montoneros, the FAP, the FAR, the August 22 ERP, the Ejército de Liberación (Liberation Army), the Federación Agrupaciones Eva Perón (Federation of Eva Perón Groups), and the Vanguardia Comunista (Communist Vanguard). The ERP was not present.

An example of the surge of enthusiasm and direct action that attended the release of the political prisoners was the take-over of Bejamín Matienzo Airport in Tucumán the evening of May 27 by relatives of political prisoners, university students belonging to various political tendencies, and a group of the Peronist Youth. For three hours they kept airline personnel and passengers inside the airport in anticipation that a plane carrying twenty-two political prisoners from Buenos Aires and Trelew was going to land there. The occupation was lifted when it became clear that no plane carrying the prisoners was going to arrive at the airport.

According to a report in the May 29 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Prensa*, "the groups of young people arrived at the airport a little after noon after hearing that the political prisoners were to arrive by plane. While they waited, they painted the following slogan across the front of the building: 'Heroes of Trelew, FAR,

ERP, Montoneros, FAP, FAL[Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación—Liberation Armed Forces] Airport.' They also lowered the flag from the pole in the airport's courtyard and hoisted it again after painting a five-pointed red star and the letters of the above-mentioned armed organizations on it.

"At the same time, they put up a sign in the control tower that said: 'Welcome, fighters of the people. Pop-

ular justice for the Trelew murderers.' They also painted slogans on an ambulance and on the walls and doors of the building.

"The Peronist Youth also put up a big sign in the airport vestibule bearing the slogan: 'Perón and Evita, the Socialist Fatherland.'

"On the other hand, there were also chanting competitions between the Peronist and leftist groups. While the

former sang the Peronist march and chanted slogans like 'Hey, hey, ho, ho, the prisoners have been freed on orders from Perón,' the latter chanted 'the masses have triumphed, the prisoners have been freed.' In addition, in an effort to unify the groups, various speakers from the Peronist Youth and another one who claimed to represent the ERP spoke about the need for unity among the armed groups."

## San Luis Workers Occupy City Hall

# Massive Demonstration as Campora Is Sworn In

"It was a fiesta day," *Le Monde's* correspondent wrote from Buenos Aires May 25, the day the Argentine military handed the government over to the Peronist president-elect. "No one could resist the infectious joy of the hundreds of thousands of Peronists roaming through the avenues of the city. . . .

"When the sun came up, the Plaza de Mayo, the administrative center of the city and the site of the presidential palace, was already thick with people. Youths had spent the night clustered around palm trees and the public benches in the midst of a cacophony of 'bombos,' the big native drums.

"With the first light of dawn on May 25, columns of trade-unionists began to form on the historic esplanade, soon spilling over into the Avenida de Mayo."

This massive popular outpouring was the culmination of an upsurge throughout the country in the weeks preceding the military's formal surrender of power. Its size and force, unexpected by the ruling circles, seem to have significantly changed the terms of the deal between the Peronists and the dictatorship that led to the restoration of constitutional government. The balance the military had hoped to maintain between the elected government and the armed forces command was badly upset. The overwhelming tide that was running against the generals was symbolized, among other things, by some hasty changes in the program for the day.

As the retiring dictator, General Alejandro Lanusse, handed the new legally elected President Héctor Cámpora

the symbols of office, the immense crowd surrounding the presidential palace took up the shout: "Go to it, Granddad" [an affectionate term for Cámpora]. Inside the chamber itself, a young priest from the slum areas took up the shout.

"Then the audience began singing the martial song that had been banned for eighteen years," *Le Monde's* correspondent wrote. "The government had changed hands, and the measures of the Peronist song were hardly stilled when Cámpora swore in the ministers of his cabinet, all civilians. The defeat of the military was complete."

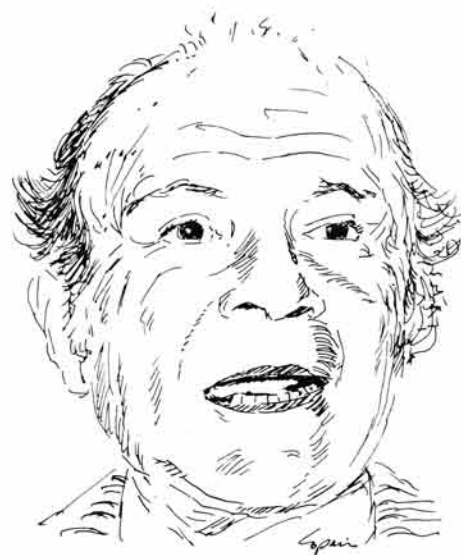
The Gran Acuerdo Nacional (Great National Agreement) vanished in the midst of an overwhelming repudiation of the military dictatorship.

"The military had hoped that by setting the date for the ascension of the new government on May 25, the national holiday and the occasion of a big parade, they could get the people to applaud them, forgetting the past in the name of a reconciliation of all Argentines. This hope was dashed. Cámpora had to take his leave of the outgoing president and Lanusse's two other junta colleagues at the helicopter that took them to their respective homes. In view of the turn that events had taken, the armed forces decided to call off the parade scheduled for that afternoon."

The great popular mobilization gave Cámpora the power to force a humiliating surrender by the military on the point probably closest to their hearts.

"Only one military man had a smile on his lips Friday [May 25],"

*Le Monde's* correspondent noted. "That was Jorge Raúl Carcagno, the new commander in chief of the army. In abandoning their political functions, the generals Lanusse and Rey, as well



VICENTE SOLANO LIMA: Argentina's new vice president.

as Admiral Coda, gave up their posts as the commanders of their respective services. They had long foreseen such a possibility and had named their chiefs of staff to succeed them in the interim period. But Cámpora did not pay any attention to this last decision, and one of his first decrees was to name three new commanders. The appointment of General Carcagno, one of the youngest field generals, who was promoted to his rank only last year, forced the retirement of eight of his colleagues, including General Alcides

López Aufranc, Tomás Sánchez de Bustamante, and Jaime de Nevares. It is Lanusse's 'camarilla,' his 'clique,' that is leaving, that seems to have been purged."

After the threats and pressures from right-wing military circles in the last weeks before Cámpora's inauguration, the generals had to entrust the job of saving capitalism in Argentina entirely to a demagogic Peronist government for the time being. The retreat of the military from the political arena was matched by a retreat of the repressive forces. After trying briefly to control the more exuberant elements in the huge crowd, the police withdrew.

"A revolutionary climate reigned in the Plaza de Mayo," *Le Monde's* correspondent reported. "The Peronist youth had entirely taken it over, raising enormous banners hailing the 'special formations' [guerrilla groups] — the FAP [Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas — Peronist Armed Forces], the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias — Revolutionary Armed Forces], and above all the Montoneros [named for the partisans in the war of independence]. The star of the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo — Revolutionary Army of the People] appeared here and there.

"Everybody, Peronists, Marxists, nationalists, and Trotskyists, chanted at the top of their lungs: '*Si Evita viviera, sería Montonera*' (If Evita [Perón] were alive, she would be a Montonera). Violent clashes occurred between excited young people and the police, who reported suffering several serious casualties. The acrid odor of tear gas still floated in the air when the helicopter transporting Cámpora landed on the roof of the Casa Rosada [the presidential palace]. The police had disappeared, leaving the field clear for the leaders of the Peronist youth."

\* \* \*

If the breadth of the popular upsurge enabled Cámpora to impose his terms entirely on the military in the matter of dividing up powers in the new administration, it also placed full responsibility for running the country in the hands of the new government that was taking office in a climate of great hopes and self-confidence on the part of the masses of the people.

The problems that may face the new government were exemplified by the government workers strike that occurred a little more than a week before the inauguration in San Luis, a city of about 40,000 in the far northwest of Argentina.

"On May 14-15, on two consecutive occasions, more than 2,000 public employees in San Luis entered the government building and hung out a huge banner: 'The Casa de Gobierno is occupied,'" reported *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the PST [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores — Socialist Workers party] in its May 23 issue. "As far as we can remember, this is the first time such a thing has happened in our country, and it shows the extraordinary combativity of the compañeros, who are sick of every kind of brush-off and humiliation at the hands of the authorities."

*Avanzada Socialista* praised the mobilization of the government workers in San Luis as pointing the way for all sections of the workers in the period opened up by the retreat of the capitalist class from open dictatorship and repression:

"In their exemplary struggle, we think that the San Luis workers used the methods that should be employed by the working class to gain its objectives. In the first place, they got a democratic organization, and their decisions were taken in rank-and-file assemblies. In the second place, they did not rely on the promises of the present authorities or those who will take office on May 25; they trusted only in struggle and in concrete deeds. In the third place, they were able to put such pressure on the Peronist leaders, the government-elect and the CGT [Confederación General de los Trabajadores — General Confederation of Labor] as to gain support from them in deeds and not words. And finally, by their example, they were able to gain the support of other sectors of the population (including even the police, who refused to repress them)."

The outgoing governor refused to take up the demands of the workers on the grounds that the public employees union and the governor-elect had asked him not to make any changes and to leave such problems to the incoming regime.

The workers refused to wait. They

called an assembly that was attended by 2,000 persons, including the local secretary of the CGT, Albarracín.

"Our party called on Compañero Albarracín to convoke a membership meeting of the CGT," the PST weekly reported, "in order to decide on measures to back up the public workers. He agreed, promising to do so the same day.

"Then, the compañeros marched in a ten-block-long demonstration . . . and when they reached the Casa de Gobierno, they entered and began this first historic occupation. . . .

"The governor, Señor Blanco Moreno, went to the police station in Puente Blanco and ordered the chief, even threatening him with a gun, to clear out the Casa de Gobierno; but he refused. Blanco Moreno went to the government building on foot because his chauffeur refused to drive him the last few blocks, which were totally occupied by public workers and a hostile population."

Blanco Moreno appealed to the army to intervene. But it was decided only to call for a "peaceful evacuation." The workers agreed to leave, and then held a new mass assembly, where they received promises of support from the students, as well as public workers in other towns.

In the meantime, a delegation sent to the governor returned. Blanco Moreno had reiterated that it was up to the new governor to settle the matter. The PST introduced a motion to send a delegation to the Peronist headquarters. It passed.

"But they couldn't find anybody," reported *Avanzada Socialista*. "The entire Peronist leadership in San Luis had disappeared. And so they decided to call a new demonstration." At the mass rally, the announcement came that the government had capitulated. "Some 2,500 compañeros marched through the streets, shouting: 'We Won.' 'Fight and Win, Workers to Power!' . . .

"Later a spontaneous rally developed in the Plaza Pringles in which May 16 was declared 'the day of the Puente Blanco workers.' And they were right. That day, the workers ruled San Luis." □

#### Not Funny Enough?

Several U.S. newspapers refused to print a popular syndicated comic strip May 29 because it described John Mitchell as "guilty" of Watergate crimes.

## Campora Seeks to Establish Leftist Image

The Peronist government headed by Héctor Cámpora has quickly moved to the front of the political stage as the generals withdraw to the wings.

The first act of the Peronist-led Congress when it met May 26 was to adopt the administration's proposal to free all the political prisoners. The amnesty canceled the convictions and thus went beyond the scope of the special pardon decreed the night before by Cámpora, which, so to speak, forgave but did not forget. The measure was voted unanimously in the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies followed suit.

The amnesty will also apply to persons convicted under unconstitutional laws. According to the May 27 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, this would include some 400 persons in the province of Misiones who were convicted of simply belonging to agrarian leagues.

In addition to the amnesty, the parliament enacted the government's proposals to abolish the repressive legislation of the dictatorship, including the special courts, going back to 1966, and the antisubversive law.

These measures were put into effect on May 27. The Communist party, which had been outlawed for seven years under this legislation, immediately opened up headquarters in Buenos Aires and held meetings in Canning and Corrientes.

The government also announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba, North Korea, and East Germany.

Another measure that would greatly enhance the popularity of the Peronist regime is in the works, reported Pablo Kandel, writing in the May 27 *La Opinión*. This is an increase in wages. This measure, he said, will be given "top governmental consideration." Although details of just what the government would propose were not immediately available, Minister of Labor Ricardo Otero reportedly stated that the minimum monthly salary could not be lower than 250,000 old pesos (approximately US\$250). "A fair salary is defined by the official as one



JUAN D. PERON

that 'makes it possible to live, eat, have access to culture, education, and housing—a dignified wage,'" Kandel reported. "This is counterposed to the concept of real wages, which for Otero is 'a monstrosity of the dictatorship whereby the salary amounts to what is necessary for eating, living, and sleeping.'"

A demonstration May 28 by some 3,000 pensioners and retired people outside the government house indicated what the masses expect of the Peronist government in response to their needs. They demanded an immediate, emergency increase in their

monthly income of 500 pesos (approximately US\$50).

Another example of popular expectations was the occupation of the offices of the Buenos Aires Municipal Housing Commission beginning May 24, the day before Cámpora's inauguration, by 400 men, women, and children. They set up residence in the offices to dramatize their need for housing. Since the middle of the month, a number of housing units in the city had been occupied by people dissatisfied with the way the housing problem was being handled by the official agency.

An important section of Cámpora's inaugural address May 25 dealt with revitalizing Argentina's educational system, which has suffered from a sclerosis under the military dictatorship. His proposals for education fit in with his proposals for revitalizing the sagging economy. The objective is to stem the "brain drain" phenomenon common to underdeveloped countries, to make education more relevant to the needs of the country's capitalist economy by stressing scientific and technological research in accord with a coherent overall policy, and to replace the elitist orientation of education under the Lanusse regime with a policy of extending cultural and educational opportunities to all layers of society.

As a first step in implementing the new approach, a large number of Peronist teachers, student, and university employees' organizations occupied all the schools and rectorships of the national universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata May 28. The official reason given for the mobilization was "to prevent the outgoing authorities from removing compromising documents and, at the same time, to carry out a temporary experiment in government by the students, teachers, and nonteaching staff of the universities."

Ernesto Ramírez, secretary general of the Asociación de Trabajadores de la Universidad de La Plata (University of La Plata Workers Association), told *La Opinión* (May 29) that the aim of the occupations was "in the first place, to introduce the national revolution into the restructuring of the university beginning May 25; second, to preserve the property of the educational establishments; and third, to take necessary steps to see to it that

the university functions better than in the past. We want to develop an ambitious plan for liberation."

Cámpora was obviously seeking through these swift measures to assure the people that he really intends to carry out all his election campaign promises. If he can win sufficient credit

among the masses through these popular first acts, this will enable him to postpone more far-reaching actions. The time gained will be used to concentrate on consolidating his regime, cutting down the opposition to his left, and blocking the trend of the masses toward a socialist revolution. □

## Argentina Restores Diplomatic Relations

### U.S. Blockade of Cuba Increasingly Shaky

"As of this moment, Argentina and Cuba have established diplomatic relations," Argentine President Héctor Cámpora announced May 28 after a one-hour meeting with Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado.

The latest breach in the U. S. diplomatic and trade blockade of Cuba came as no surprise. During his election campaign, Cámpora had promised that he would restore diplomatic recognition of the Cuban government.

The announcement is likely to give further impetus to what was already a strong trend against U. S. imperialism's efforts to isolate the island. There are now eight Latin American governments that maintain diplomatic relations with the Cuban government. The others are Barbados, Chile, Guyana, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago.

In 1964 the Organization of American States (OAS), at Washington's insistence, passed a resolution requiring its members to break off diplomatic, trade, and transportation ties with revolutionary Cuba. Only the Mexican government refused to obey the resolution.

The first major breach in the U. S. blockade came shortly after the election of Salvador Allende as president of Chile in September 1970. Allende announced the resumption of diplomatic relations on November 12.

In June 1972, the military government of Peru proposed that the OAS repeal its 1964 resolution. This suggestion was defeated thirteen votes to seven, but in July the Peruvian leaders nevertheless recognized the Cuban government.

Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago simultaneously restored relations with Cuba last October.

With Argentina now following suit, it becomes even more difficult for Nixon to keep other governments in line. Even before the Argentine announcement, U. S. newspapers reported that Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela were all moving in the direction of recognizing the Cuban government.

Nixon's own policies have undoubtedly contributed to the growing unwillingness to participate in the U. S. blockade. When it suited U. S. interests, Nixon was willing to "recognize" the Cuban government to the extent of signing the antihijacking agreement in February. And the establishment under another name of diplomatic relations between Peking and Washington makes the imperialist blockade of Cuba appear all the more absurd.

Moreover, the radicalization in the



OSVALDO DORTICOS TORRADO

United States has resulted in a much friendlier attitude toward revolutionary Cuba on the part of the U. S. population than was the case in the 1960s. A Harris poll in March found a majority of 51 to 33 percent favoring U. S. recognition of the Castro government.

It is to be hoped that Cámpora's resumption of ties with Havana will contribute to an early collapse of the reactionary blockade. The complete defeat of imperialism's attempts to isolate the island would be a major victory for the Cuban revolution. □

## Told to Line Up With Campora Regime

### Non-Peronist Guerrillas Threatened

By Gerry Foley

While the banners of the Argentine guerrilla organizations mingled in triumph in the Plaza de Mayo as the military dictatorship formally handed power over to the new Peronist regime, the non-Peronist guerrillas quickly found themselves under attack from the government and its supporters.

"The split between the Peronists and the leftists came out into the open yesterday almost a week after President Héctor Cámpora took office," a UPI dispatch reported in the June 1 issue of the New York Spanish language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*. "The Ju-

ventud Peronista [Peronist Youth] warned that it would kill ten guerrillas for every one of its people who fell."

The warning was declared, the dispatch explained, after the "top leader of the Social Justice Movement, ex-President Juan D. Perón, issued a severe condemnation of the 'provocations' of the ultraleftist guerrilla organizations.

"Just before this, the Trotskyist guerrilla organization, the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People], considered to be the best organized ex-



tremist group and known as the perpetrator of a series of kidnappings and political assassinations in recent weeks, accused the C ampora government of 'heading toward conciliation with the enemy,' and denounced the government coalition as headed by 'bourgeois and bureaucratic currents.'

According to the dispatch, in the period before C ampora took office the ERP was the only guerrilla organization that did not heed his call for a "truce."

The threat of killing ten guerrillas for every Peronist who died as a result of their activities was also attributed to a newly formed Comando de Seguridad del Movimiento Justicialista [Security Command of the Social Justice Movement]. A May 31 UPI dispatch quoted the Comando de Seguridad comunic e as saying: "Having noted the events that are happening in this country, bloody episodes, kidnappings, terrorist acts, this command advises all leftists, communists, socialists of the left, and all of the units of the (Trotskyite) People's Revolutionary Army . . . the hour to take sides has arrived.

"For every Peronist that falls, 10 leftists or members of commands taking orders from Yankee or Russian imperialism will fall."

At the same time, the Sixty-two Organizations, a Peronist-controlled trade-union group, issued a comunic e saying that they would not let "the 'gorillas' or the Trotskyists spoil our triumph."

In Madrid, Per on told reporters: "We are completing an operation that will eliminate all pretexts for the provocations of the 'gorillas' and the Trotskyists."

A meeting of the first Buenos Aires region Juventud Peronista accused the militant left-wing groups, including the ERP, of being responsible for the deaths of two youths killed in a clash between demonstrators and police in the early morning of May 26 at the Villa Devoto prison:

"When the last legal requirements were being completed for the release of the imprisoned compa eros, some groups, showing their ignorance of the essence of this popular triumph, tried to transform a demonstration in support of the people's government and on the theme of releasing the fighters into a vulgar, infantile, and senseless attempt to storm the prison. . . .

"This provoked a tense situation that culminated in the death of our Compa ero Oscar Horacio Lisak."

At the same time the branch of the Juventud Peronista in the slum area of Villa Concepci n rejected a gift of 30 million pesos offered by the Ford Company in compliance with a ransom demand of the "August 22 ERP." The statement said: "The Juventud Peronista of Villa Concepci n considers that the people of this locality do not need any charity or alms. On March 11, they voted for a people's government and placed their trust in Compa ero C ampora, who must be the one to bring improvements for the people. And we regard as counter-revolutionary any action that does not proceed from the will of the people and is alien to the Peronist movement."

In another area slated to receive part of the Ford ransom, opposition to the "August 22 ERP" action was also reported.

"Villa Comunicaciones, a tough slum district with about 5,000 residents on the other side of the tracks at the Retiro railroad station, was the first to receive the food parcels," a May 29 AP dispatch noted.

"Trucks delivered 2,500 plastic sacks to the white stucco Chapel of Christ the Worker. Each package contained two pounds of powdered milk, a can of cocoa and a large chocolate bar.

"The Rev. Carlos Mujica, a leftist leader of the Third World Priests Movement, agreed to handle distribution with the local Peronist youth group, which made the Villa's Mothers Club angry.

"We don't think that people should be menaced to give us milk," said Mrs. Orora Acuna de Flores of the Mothers Club."

Mujica explained: "We accepted the milk but we're not in agreement with the ERP's [sic] methods. We believe the people must help themselves."

As for the reaction of the housewives in the district, it was reportedly grateful but bewildered: "Several women said they knew the food had been provided by Ford because of threats but they didn't know why Ford had been picked as the target.

"They never explained who made the company do this or why,' one woman said. 'We could read about it in the newspapers but I still do not understand.'"

The refusal of the Villa Concepci n

branch of the Juventud Peronista, the Buenos Aires daily *La Opini n* noted in its May 29 issue, was aimed specifically against the "August 22 ERP," which might be expected to have better relations with the Peronists than the ERP. "This sector of the ERP is a branch off the original tree and holds a position close to the Peronist guerrilla organizations. Its members even participated in the festivities last Friday [May 25] in the Plaza de Mayo."

It was not clear from the press accounts whether the original ERP (from which the "August 22 ERP" split away) was coming in for harsher attacks from the Peronists.

Writing from Buenos Aires in the May 29 *Le Monde*, Phillippe Labreuveux noted:

"The Trotskyists of the ERP, at least the faction led by Mario Roberto Santucho, have taken advantage of the complete freedom that prevails to make clear their position toward the C ampora government: 'The ERP will not attack the government unless the government attacks the people or represses the guerrillas. But our organization will continue its hostilities against foreign and Argentine companies and against the counterrevolutionary armed forces.'"

According to a report in the May 29 *La Opini n*, the ERP also promised to stop its attacks on police after the installation of the new government, except for "torturers who have already been sentenced."

However, the ERP statement denounced the Peronist movement for previous capitulations in 1955, when Per on was overthrown, during the rise of Frondizi, and in 1966, when the latest military dictatorship was installed: "We are not inclined to be deceived again." It also denounced C ampora's calls for "national unity." "He is talking about national unity between the oppressor army and the oppressed, between the exploiters and the exploited workers, between the oligarchic landowners and the dispossessed peons." (See full text of the statement on page 717.)

The statement called on the government to confront the treacherous trade-union bureaucrats, carry out an agrarian reform, give the ranches to the agricultural workers, and expropriate both American- and European-owned big industry. At the same time it demanded nationalization of the banks.

The ERP declared, however: "This task is far from the intentions and possibilities of your government. Both because of the persons who make it up and its methods, it will not be able to take one real step forward to the national and social liberation of our country and our people."

Despite certain concessions to the new government, the statement committed the ERP to continuing its guer-

rilla campaign: "To declare a truce now means giving the enemy time to prepare his counteroffensive."

According to a UPI dispatch in the May 28 *El Diario*, the ERP also "announced its intention to 'avenge' the deaths of the two boys, one sixteen years old and the other seventeen, which occurred in the incidents near the Villa Devoto prison early yesterday morning [May 26]." □

## The Compromise Between Lanusse and Peron

# The Stakes in Argentina

By Livio Maitan

[The following article appeared in the May 15 issue of *Bandiera Rossa*, the organ of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups), Italian section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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In May 1969 a radical turn occurred in the political struggle in Argentina. In Rosario, Córdoba, and Tucumán, the masses mobilized in the most extensive movements the country had ever seen. The Córdoba rebellion (*Cordobazo*), in particular, was a fundamental test of strength between the workers and students on one side and the military dictatorship on the other. In this way a new phase of impetuous rise opened up, sweeping away all the checks and balances imposed in the preceding years. This took the form of a series of explosive mobilizations both in the traditional epicenters of the workers movement and in less radicalized areas; in very hard-fought workers struggles, in general strikes and semi-insurreccional movements (for example, in November 1970, in the spring and in September 1971). At the same time, the class struggle went over into armed struggle, and Lanusse himself had to declare: "We are facing a different kind of enemy; the enemy we face now comes out of the population of the country itself . . . I think that we are at war."

The ruling class—whose political

expression was the military dictatorship—was forced to reexamine its orientations and seek new solutions. In the abstract, it could look to three ways out. The first was a Peruvian-type solution, that is, a populist-reformist experiment including a limited nationalistic attack on the positions of American imperialism. The second alternative was a much tougher dictatorship than the one initiated in 1966, one that would be capable of carrying out systematic repression of the type imposed by the Brazilian "gorillas." The third was to return the running of the government—at least partially—to civilian politicians by establishing a sort of controlled bourgeois democracy. The first promised to prove much more difficult to achieve than in Peru—for structural as well as for more specific political reasons. In a context of huge mass mobilizations, the Brazilian alternative would have involved the risk of civil war with an uncertain outcome. The bulk of the bourgeoisie and the dominant nucleus of the armed forces chose the third variant, which took the form concretely of the so-called GAN [Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement].

As its central point, this orientation presupposed a deal between the military and the Peronist movement, which was still able to exert control over the majority of the masses in the country. This compromise obviously involved serious problems, inasmuch as it could not produce positive re-

sults without concessions, especially economic concessions to the working class and the other strata of the working population, while the margins for maneuver in this field were objectively very narrow. Secondly, there was a danger that, regardless of the will of Perón and his general staff, a rise of Peronism would give a further stimulus to a mass mobilization and radicalization.

Propagandistic declarations aside, a compromise agreement was in fact concluded between Lanusse and Perón, and it was on this basis that the March elections took place. Lanusse and his supporters, however, envisaged a situation in which the Peronists would be a strong power, to be sure, but would still be compelled to enter into accords with other traditional forces and in which, in the last analysis, they would have to agree not only to let the military occupy certain key positions but maintain a general supervision.

The size of the Peronist victory cast a serious shadow over such a possibility for Lanusse, if not eliminating it altogether. Cámpora, a stand-in for Perón, has been able virtually to demand full power, asserting the principle of the subordination of the military to the civilian authority. The military find themselves in an extremely difficult position. On the one hand, no traditional party is able to seriously challenge the present dominance of the Peronists. On the other hand, they realize that any attempt now to wipe out the process set in motion with the elections would quite probably evoke a very broad and very determined mass response, raising the perspective of a large-scale civil war.

The hue and cry from official sources over the wave of armed actions in the last weeks has managed to hide or overshadow the fundamental fact of the situation, that is, that the masses interpreted the success of the Peronist candidates as their own success, as strengthening their positions, and they are more than ever ready to mobilize and fight (in fact, significant and impetuous struggles have already taken place since the elections). The trade-union bureaucrats are calling for a pause (let's wait for May 25, the inauguration of President Cámpora), and in the coming months they will call for extending this still further (the argument will be that



LANUSSE: Retires to the wings.

Cámpora cannot perform miracles, that you have to give him time, etc.). But the masses cannot wait; they must struggle to defend themselves against the constant erosion of their buying power, to demand their elementary rights, to force through the radical changes suggested by the Peronist electoral demagoguery itself. The danger — from the bourgeoisie's standpoint — that the new Peronist experiment will be marked from its first moments by great and impetuous mass movements of a type difficult to control is more concrete than ever. This worries the military and those whose views they reflect quite a bit more than the so-called spread of "terrorist" actions.

There is scarcely any need to add that Perón and his general staff basically share these fears, although they differ from the military and certain more conservative political circles on the methods of dealing with the problem. Historically and in its

present form, Peronism is a bourgeois movement. It has traditionally expressed the interests of very well-defined sectors of the ruling class and appears today as the extreme solution for the defense of the system in an extremely critical situation. However, it has a mass base that remains overwhelmingly proletarian and petty bourgeois, and it is therefore torn by acute contradictions on all levels. (These were shown recently, for example, by the ouster of Galimberti, the leader of the Peronist youth and the recognized exponent of the Peronist left.)

Despite the maneuvers, the pressures, and the outcry of recent weeks, the most probable variant is still that Cámpora will take office, although it is difficult to say in what conditions. The period that will follow, however, will be one of powerful mass mobilizations and dramatic political confrontations. For the Peronists a more difficult phase will begin, in which it will become increasingly difficult to face in two directions at the same time. Moreover, if the bourgeoisie is to extricate itself from its prolonged crisis, it needs deepgoing structural changes that will involve, in the last analysis, stepping up the rate of exploitation of the working class and imposing further severe sacrifices on the working population as a whole.

If this analysis is valid, two conclusions flow from it. The first is that the objectives of the mass movement

in this phase must be defined, and it has to be organized in a way that can bring out its full potential and make it possible to deal hard blows to the bureaucratic trade-union apparatus. The second is that revolutionists must not let the workers movement be disarmed in face of the repressive forces and in face of attempts to restore a reactionary dictatorship.

In this sense, the task of coupling mass mobilization with the instruments of armed struggle is more than ever the central task. The history of Latin America has demonstrated only too eloquently how tragic an error it would be to hold any illusions about an indefinitely prolonged democratic interlude in which the mass movement could grow continuously in a more or less linear fashion. Such a mistake would mean running the risk of facing a showdown, for example, in the conditions in which the Bolivian masses found themselves in August 1971 (that is, condemned inevitably to defeat and bloody repression). On the other hand, separating the dynamic of armed struggle from the dynamic of the mass movement would have the result of making it easier to isolate and crush the vanguard, and, conversely, impeding the political maturation and organization of the social vanguard that is destined to emerge more and more widely in a period of prolonged crisis and inevitable disillusionment with Peronism. □

## Which Healyite Paper Do You Read?

## Workers League, SLL Dispute Watergate

Followers of Gerry Healy's Socialist Labour League in England and his U. S. disciples, the Workers League, are being offered a choice of analyses of what is happening in the Watergate scandal. Articles in the *Workers Press* and the *Bulletin*, the papers of the two organizations, offered directly conflicting accounts of the U. S. ruling class's attitudes. And both contradictory accounts managed to base themselves on the same general "analysis."

"Nixon is under siege in the White House," according to the May 22 *Workers Press*, "with a powerful section of the American ruling class growing more and more determined that he must go. . . ."

"The moneyed interests which stand behind the 'Washington Post' and the 'New York Times' are interested, above all, in clearing the decks for all-out trade war and deflation."

Looking through the same glasses, the editors of the *Bulletin* (May 28) saw an entirely different picture:

"This crisis has come at just the moment when the capitalist class requires a strong government to carry on a trade war against Europe and a virtual civil war against the American working class, and all sections of the ruling class are beginning to come to Nixon's defense, trying to prevent the complete downfall of his government." □

# White House Directs Secret 'Watergate' Network

By Allen Myers

When Richard Nixon wrote in his May 22 statement on Watergate that he had been worried that the investigation might disclose various other "national security" secret operations, he spoke more truthfully than many persons may have realized. Continuing disclosures have begun to make visible the existence of a vast, interlocked conspiracy at the highest levels of the U. S. government involving espionage, assassination, overthrowing governments, and the framing of U. S. radicals.

## The Forty Committee

In the May 26 *Washington Post*, Marilyn Berger described the operations of a secret White House organization known as the Forty Committee.

"Its role is clearly defined: to consider and approve covert activities in foreign countries in a manner that would be 'disavowable' or 'deniable' by the United States—or at least by the President of the United States."

The committee, Berger wrote, was established during the presidency of Harry Truman and has continued under Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. Its name has frequently been changed, partly so that the existence of the group could be "truthfully" denied if reporters asked about it.

The present members of this secret group are reported to be Henry Kissinger, who serves as chairman; William P. Clements Jr., deputy secretary of defense; William J. Porter, under secretary of state for political affairs; William E. Colby, acting director of the CIA; and Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In addition, John Mitchell was a member while he was attorney general.

Under its various names, Berger wrote, the committee has "dealt with such activities as the 1954 overthrow of Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, the 1953 coup in Iran that overthrew Premier Mossa-



KISSINGER: Heads secret committee in charge of "dirty tricks."

degh, the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, the 'laundered' funding of friendly political parties in Europe and Latin America, the U-2 reconnaissance flights over China and the Soviet Union, and the mounting of armies of Meo tribesmen and Thai 'volunteers' in Laos." The group also reportedly managed U. S. "participation" in the 1970 Chilean elections.

Still another operation that would have come under the committee's jurisdiction has been revealed by Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt. Hunt, who helped the CIA plan the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, has written a book about his experiences in the invasion. Proofs of the book were obtained by United Press International.

As part of the planning, Hunt wrote, he submitted a proposal that the CIA "assassinate Castro before or coincident with the invasion." Hunt said he was told by the CIA's director of clandestine operations that the pro-

posal was being considered by "a special group" in the government.

The extent of the Forty Committee's authority is indicated by a former official who told Berger, "I always used to say that I could get \$5 million out of the Forty Committee for a covert operation faster than I could get money for a typewriter out of the ordinary bureaucracy."

In order to keep its undercover operations "deniable," none of the committee's papers were ever signed by the president even though he was ultimately responsible for approving or disapproving its recommendations. This practice, it seems, has been carried over into illegal government operations within the United States as well. Nixon's refusal to sign a 1970 domestic espionage plan directed against U. S. radicals reportedly was behind FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's reluctance to carry it out. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 4, p. 661.)

## 'Mentality Employed by the Gestapo'

Officially, the Forty Committee is supposed to deal only with foreign operations. But the distinction is largely artificial, as Berger noted:

"Domestic implications became an increasingly important consideration, according to one official who noted that the Forty Committee was only one of a number of similar groups with virtually the same membership."

There has been a considerable overlap as well at the level of those actually carrying out the criminal activities in the United States and abroad. All seven of the figures convicted in connection with the Watergate burglary were earlier involved in the Bay of Pigs. Members of this group carried out the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist and were part of a larger "vigilante squad" brought to Washington in May 1972 for the purpose of physically attacking a demonstration at which Ellsberg was speaking. It appears that Cuban coun-

terrevolutionaries from the same circle were probably behind four burglaries at the Chilean embassy and the homes of Chilean diplomats in 1971 and 1972.

At least one of the Watergate burglars, Bernard L. Barker, apparently didn't even know whom he was working for at the time of the Watergate break-in. Whether it was the CIA, the White House, or the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) didn't interest him, Barker told the Senate Watergate committee May 24. He saw no difference between the Bay of Pigs and Watergate:

"At the time and place I had no reason to speculate on the matter. In my concept they were as paramilitary operations as any I had been in, and in a paramilitary operation you don't question the orders of your superiors."

Barker, it was obvious, had never been instructed in the official fiction that U.S. imperialism has more respect for the rights of U.S. citizens than it does for the rights of foreign citizens.

It is highly likely that a serious investigation of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries with whom the Watergate burglars associated would throw light on other incidents such as the numerous attacks on radical and pro-Cuban groups in the United States that have occurred over the past few years. And it is not illogical to suppose that such an investigation would discover that the Cuban exiles were working for the same paymaster as were the Watergate burglars.

It has already been revealed that many elements of the 1970 plan that Nixon said was vetoed by Hoover were actually carried out. While the plan is still secret, various newspapers have learned some of its details. Senator Sam Ervin, head of the Watergate investigating committee, said of it June 1, "Those making this plan had the same mentality employed by the Gestapo in Nazi Germany."

According to the May 29 *New York Daily News*, the 1970 plan included the following elements:

"A broad mandate to spy on virtually all left-wing groups in the United States, including the Black Panthers, the Weathermen, Students for a Democratic Society, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and others. . . .

"Plans for illegal break-ins and bugging of embassies, including those of Canada and Chile. Such operations

also appeared aimed at a broad range of radical groups, including but not limited to black nationalists and Communists.

"Infiltration, use of informers and illegal interception of mail. . . .

"Internal Revenue Service audits both to harass and spy on dissidents."

It has already been revealed by other sources that virtually all of these supposedly rejected proposals were in fact carried out. As noted above, the Chilean embassy was burglarized, and it is known that the Chilean and Israeli embassies, at least, were bugged.

The Watergate grand jury is reported to be investigating the illegal interception of mail, including some addressed to Senators Edmund Muskie and George McGovern.

Previous issues of *Intercontinental Press* have described the activities of Larry Grathwohl, an FBI agent who infiltrated the Weathermen and organized a series of bombings. Grathwohl reported directly to Guy Goodwin, who was chief trial attorney in the Justice Department's Internal Security Division. Goodwin was involved in securing the indictment of Daniel Ellsberg, and of the Berrigan brothers in the alleged plot to kidnap Henry Kissinger. He was also involved in the case of Camden, New Jersey, anti-war figures accused of destroying draft files. The Camden defendants were acquitted because the "crime" of which they were accused had been organized by an FBI agent.

In another frame-up case, that of the Chicago Seven "conspiracy" trial growing out of demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic convention, the government has now admitted tapping telephone conversations of the defendants' lawyer at the time he was handling their appeals.

Some of the supposedly "vetoed" plans are still being carried out. Syndicated columnist Jack Anderson reported May 29 that the FBI is investigating Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) as "part of a desperate search, apparently, for evidence that would somehow justify the bugging and break-ins authorized by the White House during the 1972 campaign."

One VVAW member told Anderson that the FBI "asked me if any planning was done out of [McGovern's 'veterans' affairs' office in] the Watergate for demonstrations at the Republican National Convention. He also asked a lot about the Socialist Work-

ers Party—if there were any people associated with them around the office."

The June 8 issue of the New York revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant* reported that FBI agents are currently harassing supporters of the Socialist Workers party (SWP) election campaign in the state of Washington. Agents there have approached campaign supporters with the remark, "As you know, the FBI has the responsibility for investigating groups which advocate the violent overthrow of the government. I'd like to talk to you about the SWP and the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance]."

Evidence of illegal government attacks on the rights of antiwar, Black, and radical organizations is so widespread that even the Senate Watergate committee is reported to be looking into it. The investigators are said to be focusing on the Internal Security Division's use of grand jury investigations as a means of stifling political opposition.

### 'Get It Over With'

Nixon, not surprisingly, is pulling strings to get the Senate hearings brought to a quick conclusion. In a May 30 interview with James M. Naughton of the *New York Times*, Vice President Spiro Agnew argued that the Senate hearings should be postponed until court proceedings on Watergate were concluded—which could be a matter of years. Failing that, Agnew said, the Senators should

"Strange — They All Seem To Have Some Connection With This Place"



call all the top figures in the case right away, rather than proceed gradually to build a case by first questioning lower-level officials.

Agnew said that the public has difficulty distinguishing "what has been proved from what is simply alleged, and as long as you have that in a terribly complicated thing that this has become, swirling around in the public consciousness, it has to be politically damaging. . . . So the best thing that can happen is for it to get investigated and over with as rapidly as possible."

The next day, Senator Edward J. Gurney, who is generally regarded as Nixon's representative on the Watergate committee, made the same proposal to committee chairman Ervin. Gurney argued for questioning seven top Nixon aides immediately.

The aim of such a procedure would be twofold. First, it would cut short the continuing flow of revelations, which is keeping the scandal constantly before the public. And it would allow the top culprits to appear on television and deny their guilt before the millions watching the hearings had heard the evidence presented against them.

### Ask Me No Questions . . .

One top culprit has no intention of repeating his denials under oath. At a May 29 news conference, Nixon's press secretary Ronald Ziegler announced that Nixon would not testify, either orally or in writing, to either the grand jury or the Senate committee.

"We feel it [testimony by Nixon] would be constitutionally inappropriate," Ziegler said. "It would do violence to the separation of powers."

Nixon's alleged concern for the protection of the Constitution should not be understood to extend to that portion of it known as the Bill of Rights. The bugging, espionage, provocations, and other illegal activities will continue. Ziegler's statement was meant only to deal with a report in the May 29 *Washington Post*.

That report, by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, quoted "reliable government sources" as saying that the Watergate investigators had told the Justice Department "that there is justification for calling President Nixon to answer questions before the federal grand jury."



AGNEW: "It has to be politically damaging."

"The prosecutors," the reporters wrote, "have told their superiors that evidence justifies questioning the President about how members of Mr. Nixon's innermost circle could perpetrate a massive obstruction of justice without his knowledge, the sources reported."

"The prosecutors' theory of the case holds that a Watergate cover-up was undertaken by the White House to prevent disclosure of a covert program of illegal activities conducted by the Nixon administration, the sources said. . . .

"The sources said that if it were any other person than the President, that person would have been subpoenaed to testify before the grand jury."

Unfortunately for Nixon, his subordinates have been subpoenaed, and at least one of them is reported ready to implicate the boss. Seymour M. Hersh reported in a June 2 dispatch to the *New York Times*:

"John W. Dean 3d has told the chief counsel of the Senate Watergate committee that he met alone and in small groups with President Nixon more than 40 times between late January and early April of this year, sources close to Mr. Dean said today. . . .

"Mr. Dean also told Mr. Dash [the committee counsel], this source said, that the President showed a 'great interest' in making sure that 'things were handled right—taken care of'—with respect to the Watergate investigation. . . .

"In the conference with Mr. Dash, Mr. Dean said he could supply firsthand testimony about the meetings that he believed would show that Mr. Nixon had a 'substantial knowledge' of what high White House officials were doing about the Watergate investigation, one closely involved source said."

Because of the practice of keeping presidential crimes "deniable," Dean is not likely to have any incriminating documents bearing Nixon's signature. But Hersh's sources indicated that there might be evidence that had been obtained in a manner that, if true, is suffused with poetic justice:

"The source also suggested that Mr. Dean may have tape-recorded some of his White House conversations during the January-April period in the White House.

"'Everybody taped everybody else then,' the source said. 'Dean did it himself.'" □

## Military Puts Tupamaro Leader on Trial

Julio Angel Morales Saez, one of the founders and a leader of the Uruguayan Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (National Liberation Movement), or Tupamaros, is on trial before a military tribunal, according to a report by United Press International published in the June 1 issue of the *New York Spanish-language daily El Diario-La Prensa*. A joint statement by the armed forces indicated that he is charged with aggravated assault, escape from jail, and murder.

Morales was among the 106 political prisoners who tunneled out of Punta Carretas Prison in the spectacular escape September 6, 1971.

He was recaptured July 26, 1972, while waiting for a bus a few kilometers from downtown Montevideo.

Raul Sendic, another founder of the urban guerrilla organization, was captured in a shoot-out with police last September. He is presently in the custody of the military. □

## Brezhnev's Pact With German Imperialism

By Jon Rothschild

In its May 14 issue, which appeared on the stands just before the arrival in Bonn of Soviet Communist party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, the West German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* offered its readers an eight-page profile of the personality and career of the Kremlin's top figure.

"His consciousness," the editors observed, "is stamped not by the spirit of the revolution, but by the rise of the Soviet industrial state, by order and discipline, by diligent, hard work, by the striving for construction."

West German public opinion seemed to share *Der Spiegel's* evaluation of Brezhnev's character. According to a poll whose results were published in the weekly magazine *Stern*, when asked about their reaction to Brezhnev's personality, 32% of those responding said that they found him sympathetic; 26% had a hostile reaction; and 34%—no doubt the most astute sector of the population—said they had no reaction one way or the other.

The government of Chancellor Willy Brandt was far more impressed by its visitor, who arrived May 18. *Le Monde* reported the next day that the Bonn regime had shelled out a total of 2 million Deutschemarks for the festivities surrounding the first Bonn-Moscow summit; DM 10,000 were spent on flowers alone. More than 6,000 policemen were mobilized to ensure Brezhnev's security in and around the mammoth Petersberg Hotel overlooking the Rhine, where the Soviet entourage stayed and the talks were held. It was altogether a good show—one that included a special television address delivered by Brezhnev to the West German people.

There is no doubt that from the standpoint of the Brandt regime and the German bourgeoisie, the money was well spent. The Brezhnev visit—the first to West Germany by any top Soviet official since the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)—marked a new high point in détente politics. Brezhnev himself said

as much in his television speech: "The quarter-century period of the cold war is now giving place to relations of peace, mutual respect, and cooperation between the states of the East and the West."

"This is precisely the aim of the policy of peaceful coexistence, pursued by the Soviet Union in regard to states with the opposite social system [which



BRANDT: Brezhnev's hero.

the winner of the Lenin Peace Prize apparently can no longer bring himself to identify as capitalism]. It has been expressed most completely today in the widely known peace program approved by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU and in the materials of last April's plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Inscribed there, among other things, is the goal set by our country of implementing a radical turn toward détente and peace on the European continent. I would like you to know that the Soviet Union, its Communist party, all our people, will vigorously and consistently strive toward this goal."

The theme of the summit, according to Vladimir Lomeiko, a "commenta-

tor" for the Novosti press agency, was "From understanding to cooperation." More precisely, economic cooperation. "Apart from the expansion of ordinary trade there is an opportunity for concluding long-term deals of a large scale," Brezhnev said in his television speech, "deals based on economic cooperation between our countries and aimed at carrying out important joint projects."

He even claimed that Moscow was prepared to make a contribution to the well-being of German capitalism: "These are not short-term, time-saving deals of a more or less chance character. But they open the way to joint actions in major sectors of the economy and are designed to bring guaranteed benefit to both sides for many years to come. This means specifically an opportunity for a more rational organization of production and naturally guaranteed employment [!] for the workers of your country."

It was clearly these economic projects that the German ruling class was most interested in. The FRG is already the Soviet Union's largest capitalist trading partner. According to the May 21 *Der Spiegel*, in 1972 FRG exports to the Soviet Union totaled DM 2.30 thousand million; FRG imports from the Soviet Union stood at DM 1.39 thousand million.

While those figures are impressive, they amount to but a tiny fraction of the trade of either country. Total trade with the Soviet Union (imports and exports) accounts for only 1.3 percent of FRG foreign trade; West German trade with Spain (DM 4.23 thousand million) and Switzerland (DM 12.48 thousand million)—two countries that are not in the Common Market—significantly exceed FRG-USSR trade in each instance.

On the other side, trade with West Germany accounts for but 3 percent of Soviet foreign trade. After the FRG, the Soviet Union's other capitalist trading partners are Japan, Finland, Great Britain, France, the United States, and Italy. A central concern of the German capitalists is that United States trade with the USSR is increasing at an extremely fast rate. It was the prospect of turning that situation around that especially inspired the German bourgeoisie—and its press.

Typical in its enthusiasm was *Der Spiegel* (May 21):

"What seemed a utopia only a short time ago is suddenly possible in the near future after Brezhnev's talks in Bonn on German-Soviet economic cooperation:

"Technicians from the Ruhr building atomic power plants in the Soviet Union; electricity from Soviet power plants driving West German machinery. Soviet natural gas heating every third home in the Federal Republic.

"Muscovites driving VWs [Volkswagens]. X-ray machines in West German clinics being supplied with Soviet-produced radioactive materials.

"In the airports at Hamburg, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and West Berlin, every hour a plane taking off toward the Soviet Union. The jets—both Luftansa and Aeroflot operated jointly—carrying West German managers to joint German-Soviet plants in Siberia, tourists to the holiday centers on Lake Baikal and in the Caucasus."

Brezhnev himself has talked no less enthusiastically on the subject. In an interview granted a representative of *Der Stern* on May 13—before his arrival in Bonn—he explained:

"I believe that every condition exists for a substantial expansion of cooperation between the USSR and the FRG in the trade, economic, scientific, and technical fields. Many West German firms are well known in our country as reliable trade partners.

"We know that certain objective difficulties exist, due to the different nature of the social and economic systems in our two countries. Experience shows, however, that the business circles in your country and our trade organizations can combine their efforts very successfully on the basis of mutual advantage."

On May 19, Brezhnev, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Brandt, and FRG Foreign Minister Walter Scheel signed an economic cooperation agreement of ten years duration. It was the big focus of attention for the Bonn summit, but, like the agreements signed last year by Nixon and Brezhnev during the Moscow summit, its terms had already been worked out before the visit. In fact, the agreement had been initialed by the two sides the week before Brezhnev arrived in Bonn.

So the signing ceremony was mainly a publicity stunt. The agreement itself is merely a framework, providing for

such things as establishing industrial complexes, modernization and expansion of existing plants, cooperation in the production of raw materials, exchanges of patents, licenses, technical information, and "know-how" (the English word is used in the German text).

In addition to the economic agreement, two other treaties that had been previously negotiated were signed—a "cultural cooperation agreement" and an "air travel protocol" giving West German planes authority to fly over Soviet territory on their way to the Far East.

It was generally reported that the Brandt-Brezhnev talks that went on during the summit (they were virtually continuous for four days) were aimed at filling in the empty framework of the economic deal. Concurrently with the Brandt-Brezhnev talks there were sessions involving the FRG and Soviet trade ministers and special sessions involving Egon Bahr (Brandt's aide) and Brezhnev's aides Alexandrov and Blatov.

The three agreements were signed in the morning of May 19. That evening Brezhnev held a special meeting designed to further advance economic "cooperation." Present at the gathering on the German side were Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, Minister of Economic Affairs Hans Friedrichs, a number of other government officials, and a number of monopoly capitalists representing firms whose combined

### Detentemobiles

Brezhnev's visit to Bonn was not without personal recompense. This was revealed by Bonn spokesman Rüdiger von Wechmar, who explained to reporters why Brezhnev had been ten minutes late to the ceremonial signing of the economic agreement with the FRG. "The Soviet Communist party leader," reported an AP dispatch, "an automobile enthusiast, had delayed his departure from his hilltop residence to try out a new Mercedes sports coupe presented to him by Chancellor Willy Brandt."

Brezhnev also owns a Cadillac, which he got from Nixon, a high-speed Citroën-Maserati, which he got from Pompidou, and a Rolls Royce, which he bought himself.

sales amount to DM 70 thousand million. Everyone was there—from Bertolt Beitz, a pioneer of Soviet trade, to Ernst Wolf Mommsen, who heads the notorious Krupp operations.

This meeting, according to *Soviet News* (published by the press department of the Soviet embassy in London), "was held in a businesslike atmosphere," which is not astonishing.

But in the course of discussing with this cross section of the German bourgeoisie, Brezhnev (unwittingly, to be sure) revealed his perspectives for "peaceful coexistence"—the deferment of socialist revolution—in Western Europe. The agreement signed that morning, he said, was only the beginning. He said he hoped to be able to work in cooperation with West German businessmen for "thirty, forty, or fifty years"!

It must be said that Brezhnev deserves some sort of bourgeois medal for his confidence in the future of German imperialism. Some of the magnates who attended the meeting were far less sanguine. Hans Birnbaum, for example, head of the Salzgitter AG steel corporation, was interviewed on the subject of Soviet trade in the May 28 *Spiegel*.

"Could you conceive of signing a fifty-year-long trade agreement with Moscow?" the magazine asked.

"No," said Birnbaum. "For us there is no question of discussing a fifty-year agreement. You can't tell what will happen in the steel industry during that length of time. For us it is unthinkable to tie ourselves to treaties that would run to the year 2023."

It is likely that Brezhnev did not intend seriously to propose a fifty-year treaty. The point of the remark was political more than economic. It was designed to reassure the German bourgeoisie that the Kremlin had no thought of trying to extend the social system prevailing in the German Democratic Republic to the FRG, and to undermine West German parliamentary opposition to the East-West détente.

In this, Brezhnev was adopting the same strategy in his dealings with Bonn as Chou En-lai had during the 1972 visit of Japanese Premier Tanaka to Peking. At the time of that summit, Chou made it clear that the Maoist regime had no objection to the U. S.-Japan military and economic alliance; that the partnership of those





BARZEL: Detente ruins his career.

two imperialisms was not an obstacle to a Peking-Tokyo rapprochement.

In the May 19 *New York Times*, correspondent David Binder noted that some West Germans believed that Brezhnev was trying "to draw their country into the Soviet orbit or at least pry it away from its postwar reliance on the security guarantee of the United States armed forces.

"But any serious person," Binder continued, "who has listened to Soviet diplomats and journalists in recent days on the subject of the Watergate affair may be persuaded that the Brezhnev leadership wants the United States to stay strong and to stay in Europe, particularly in West Germany. What is more, they want Willy Brandt, a man they trust, to remain as Chancellor and a strong one unimpeded by a radical young left or the official West German Communist party, loyal to Moscow."

Brandt himself pressed this theme in explaining the Brezhnev visit inside the FRG. In a televised interview just after Brezhnev left, Brandt remarked that it was his view that Brezhnev recognized NATO and the Common Market as "realities." The Kremlin, Brandt said, "has come to the conviction that for the moment it is more reasonable to begin with existing alliances rather than see them replaced by a chaotic situation."

In an interview May 24 with representatives of Associated Press, Brandt hit on the same point. "I do not have the impression," he said, "that the Soviet leaders love the idea of a permanent American military presence in Europe. But at the same time, I have the feeling that they want to begin discussions on mutual reduction of forces, and this can take place only on the basis of the existing alliances and not on a chaotic structure or no structure at all in Europe."

It can be assumed that since Brandt had just finished four days of intensive talks with Kremlin leaders, his "feeling" was well-founded. In any case, the German bourgeoisie certainly shares Brandt's sentiments.

In fact, Brezhnev's political assistance has been nearly as valuable to Brandt as it was to Nixon in 1972. The progressing détente has thrown the opposition Christian Democratic/Christian Social bloc into crisis. On May 9 Rainer Barzel, Christian Democratic leader, resigned as head of the parliamentary opposition. His resignation was provoked by debate over a détente treaty previously arrived at — the 1972 East-West German agreement normalizing relations between the two German states.

The treaty was due to come up for ratification in the Bundestag on May 10. Also to be voted on was a proposal that both German states apply for membership in the United Nations. In an opposition caucus meeting, Barzel recommended that the opposition vote against the treaty but for the

resolution about the UN. Franz Josef Strauss, the Neanderthal leader of Bavaria's Christian Social Union, insisted on a no-vote on both points.

At first, an open hand count gave Barzel a 97-96 edge. A little while later, a secret ballot was taken. In one of the more dramatic demonstrations of the frankness known to prevail among capitalist politicians, the same group of people voted 101-93 in favor of the Strauss position. (There was one abstention.)

Barzel, one participant reported, "turned chalk white." He resigned as parliamentary whip and will not again seek the chairmanship of the Christian Democratic Union at the party's next meeting. On May 11, the "Two Germanies" treaty was ratified 268-217 in the Bundestag; the UN proposal passed by 365-121, as a large number of opposition delegates again broke ranks.

The disarray of the Christian Democrats reflects the fact that the German bourgeoisie is fully in favor of the détente, particularly its economic aspects. The expectation is that further penetration of the Soviet Union by West German commodities and capital will serve to extract German imperialism from some of its economic difficulties. The Kremlin has already indicated its strong desire to help in this process of bolstering European capitalism — in exchange for some nationalistic gains for the Soviet economy. But whether increased trade and even investment in the Soviet Union can do this is quite another question. □

## Call for United Defense of Left

### West German Police Raid Maoist Group

West German police on the night of May 14 raided a large number of offices, bookstores, and homes in Dortmund, Berlin, Düsseldorf, Bonn, Krefeld, Frankfurt, Munich, and other cities. The target of the raids was a Maoist group that has adopted the name Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD — Communist party of Germany).\*

\* The Kremlin-oriented KPD was outlawed in 1956 as allegedly incompatible with West Germany's "democratic"

The federal government justified the raids by accusing the KPD of being a "criminal combination dedicated to the commission of illegal, violent acts."

constitution. In 1969, its cadres organized a new Communist party, the DKP (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei — German Communist party), which pledged its loyalty to the constitution and gained legal status. The former name (KPD) appears to have been adopted by the Maoist group in the hopes of securing a following that has not been achieved by their politics.

During the protests against the visit of Saigon dictator Nguyen Van Thieu in April, the KPD seized the Bonn city hall.

According to a May 15 United Press International dispatch from Bonn, police claimed that the KPD had planned to "disrupt" the visit of Soviet Communist party boss Leonid Brezhnev, which took place May 18-22.

The raiders confiscated large quantities of books and records, and arrested a leader of the group, Jürgen Horlemann.

The political bureau of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM — International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International) immediately called for a united-front defense of the KPD against the attack of the ruling class. In a statement released May 15, the GIM pointed out that the repressive measures had been directed first against the KPD because it appeared most vulnerable, and that if successful they would be extended against other socialist organizations.

"The GIM warns all organizations of

the left and of the workers movement not to fall into the trap that the bourgeoisie has set with its defamation of the KPD. The attack is not aimed specially at the KPD and its alleged 'terrorist actions,' but at the left in general."

The statement noted that even prior to the raids, the police minister of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia had called for the outlawing not only of the KPD but also the DKP, GIM, and various anarchist groups.

The DKP, it continued, was slitting its own throat by joining in the attack on the KPD in order to prevent Brezhnev's visit from being "disturbed."

"The GIM," the statement said, "calls on all socialist and democratic organizations to unite in action to defend the legality of all left organizations and to form a national committee and local defense committees that can carry out the largest possible protest demonstrations and actions against the repression and in defense of those attacked." □

more responsive to their struggle, though for the moment they are not abandoning the old ones. The cordones are a partial innovation in the sense that they continue to make use of the unions, but they are linked by zone, by cordón, rather than by industrial branch. At first the top leadership of the CUT refused to recognize the cordones, and the CP called them illegal bodies. Today this position is no longer tenable, and the reformists now reluctantly recognize them in view of the fact that their own rank and file has refused to heed their effort to ignore the cordones. At the same time, they are demanding that the cordones subordinate themselves to the CUT leadership. The cordones are paying no attention to this demand.

Going back, the history of the spread of the cordones began with the "Workers Command of the Cerrillos Cordón" in June 1972. It was formed in connection with three serious workers struggles in the zone at the time. The second was the Vicuña Mackena Cordón, which was formed in August 1972, but reached its high point during the bosses' strike last October.

The big advantage of organizing by cordones lies in their ability to quickly assemble the masses and leaders, which is something that federations by industrial branch cannot do. In a period of "emergencies" such as the present one, this is a quality of no small value. Their big weakness is also tied to "emergencies," since it is only during such periods that they surge forward in a demonstration of workers power.

During periods of relative calm, the workers representatives who continue to attend cordón meetings are overwhelmed by petty-bourgeois elements, who are also allowed to attend because the vanguard workers are not sectarian. In these cases, interminable "high-level" discussions can be heard, heavily flavored with personal recrimination and superficiality ("fish-head stupidities" is the way the Chilean worker describes this); and along with all this are MIR-ist proposals for artificial "mobilizations" that are not prepared at the rank-and-file level.

But now, when the workers sense an imminent threat from the right or the capitulation of the reformists, they are returning to their cordón and calling a gentle but firm halt to the be-

## Organize Into Industrial Belts

### Chilean Workers Meet Rightist Threat

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

MAY 18—A superficial glance at Chile might lead one to conclude that everything is moving to the right. Among the parties of the right, the fascist movement Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Freedom] is becoming stronger. In the Christian Democracy the right wing has carried the day. The right wing of the Unidad Popular [Popular Unity] is getting stronger. Even the left wing of the Socialist party and the left MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action] are softening their line, and the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] itself goes so far as to defend Bachelet, the military official who has brought about a retreat from the distribution of goods under popular control.

Yet the workers vanguard is boldly moving into action in the face of the

right-wing escalation. This is clearly shown by the Vicuña Mackena Cordón. *Cordón* is the term used to refer to the concentration of factories along certain avenues in Santiago. These concentrations are called cordones industriales [industrial belts].

The working class is organized into unions on a factory basis, and these unions are grouped into federations of the various industrial branches; these federations in turn belong to the Central Unica de Trabajadores [CUT—Workers Central Union]. The leadership of the CUT is bureaucratized and serves as a brake on the workers, though to a lesser extent than in other countries, owing to workers mobility. The main political force in it is the Communist party, though it also includes even Christian Democrats.

As in every prerevolutionary process, the masses are beginning to create new organizations that are

havior of their generally well-intentioned petty-bourgeois friends.

This can be seen very clearly in the case of Vicuña Mackena. In face of preparations for a new strike by the bosses in the transportation industry (in spite of the fact that the government is rewarding their strength by offering them 2,000 vehicles); in face of the escalation of the right wing in the political and economic spheres, especially as regards the problem of distribution; in face of the escalation in activity by the bands of Patria y Libertad; in face of the threat of seditious actions by the right during the [May 21] ceremony opening the next session of the national Congress, at which Allende will be speaking; in face of this entire offensive by the bourgeoisie, the cordón is stirring like a colossus awakening from slumber.

Unlike previous meetings, during which the cordón languished with little worker representation, the workers vanguard from the zone was strongly represented at the last one. It got right to the point and some important concrete agreements were arrived at:

1. It was agreed that in case of a strike by the bosses, the workers in the cordón would organize transportation in a centralized fashion so that the workers will be able to reach their factories. This is to be done with vehicles belonging to the factories.

2. Workers in two unions, one of which is in the "Montserrat" supermarket (which is in the hands of the workers), have formed a committee to organize a people's store for the cordón. It will operate out of one of the factories.

The following was projected: a) that industries that produce food or other consumer goods will supply the store with them; b) that industries that produce something needed by the consumer-goods-producing industries will supply them; c) that factories that have been taken over by the workers and that possess vehicles will make them available for transporting the above; d) that the cordón demands that the Distribuidora Nacional [DINAC — National Distribution Agency], which is owned by the state, supply goods; e) that the private distribution agency, CODINA, will also be pressured to do the same; f) that a meeting will be held of all the popular and peasants groups in the area in order to organize the distribu-



SALVADOR ALLENDE

tion of goods to them via the people's store in the cordón.

3. Reactivate the Vigilance Committees for the Protection of Enterprises in places where they existed last October, and create them where they did not. These are pickets that are more or less equipped to defend industries, since there is a danger that the reactionary forces will attempt to take them over. In addition, these committees and all the workers in general are to remain on the alert for any seditious activity by the right wing.

4. Agitation and propaganda are

to be stepped up. Since only a small number of the factories in the zone are affiliated with the cordón, the work of the cordón must be made known to the broadest layers of the rank and file. It is felt that the people's store, which is taking charge of a vital problem for Chile, will enhance both the prestige of the cordón and the need for it.

5. Not to return to private ownership the Hilandería Andina [Andina Spinning Mill], which was taken over by the workers and is operating better than ever since it lost its boss. The Supreme Court has ruled in favor of returning it.

Problems like the distribution of goods are not mere conjunctural problems. As a result, they can serve as a permanent axis for developing the dynamism of the cordón.

Thus the working class is offering a challenge not only to the right wing and its escalation, but also to the retreat of the forces of reformism in the face of this escalation.

The producing class is beginning to take up the problem of organizing the distribution of the goods that it produces. In itself this is a very serious matter. But it is all the more so in a context in which the bourgeoisie has been making statements such as the one made in the May 12 editorial of *El Mercurio*: "Civil war, or at least confrontation, appears inevitable."

It is in view of all these factors that the great proposal of the CP for the present situation takes on its full savor: "Collect signatures against civil war." □

## Another Setback for Nixon

### Senate Votes to Cut Off Bombing Funds

"The country's so tired of the war and the constituents are so tired of the Cambodian part of it," Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott complained to reporters May 31. "It's very difficult to hold the line."

A few hours later, the Senate demonstrated the extent of Scott's difficulty by approving an amendment to cut off funds for the bombing of Cambodia and Laos. Scott was able to muster only nineteen votes against the restriction on Nixon's Indochina ag-

gression; sixty-three senators voted in favor of the amendment.

Even the majority of Nixon's own party in the Senate deserted him. Republican members supported the fund cut-off by a margin of twenty to sixteen.

The amendment, which was attached to a supplemental appropriations bill, states: "None of the funds herein appropriated under this act, or heretofore appropriated under any other act, may be expended to support,

directly or indirectly, combat activities in, over or off the shores of Cambodia or in or over Laos by United States forces."

A similar but less stringently worded restriction was passed by the House of Representatives May 10. A conference between the two Houses must work out an identically worded version before the bill is sent to Nixon for his approval or veto. (While Nixon is of course opposed to the amendment, a veto would also apply to the appropriation of \$3,700 million for various government departments.)

Whatever the final outcome of the parliamentary maneuvering that is sure to follow, the Senate vote is a clear indication of the extent of public opposition to Nixon's continuation of the war. The senators were so anxious to dissociate themselves from the bombing that they even ignored the plea that approval of the amendment would hamper the coming round of discussions between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, scheduled to begin in Paris June 7.

Nixon spokesmen, including Kissinger himself, predicted "success" for the talks if only Congress would not take away Nixon's "bargaining chips." As a concession to the fears of Congress, Kissinger's deputy, William H. Sullivan, flew to Phnompenh and "persuaded" Lon Nol to agree to negotiations with Norodom Sihanouk. Sihanouk, however, has so far not changed his publicly stated refusal to negotiate anything with the U. S. puppet.

The day before the Senate's vote, the Pentagon announced that B-52 raids against Cambodia had been reduced by about 40 percent.

"Defense Department sources," Michael Getler reported in the May 31 *Washington Post*, "say the reduction in B-52 operations is linked primarily to an attempt to cut down on the mounting costs of the U. S. air operations in Indochina. But they concede privately that there is also an increasing morale problem among B-52 bomber crews at bases on Guam and in Thailand who talk of being 'mercenaries' caught up in a war 'not in my country's national interest.'"

Nixon found himself deserted for the time being not only by the Senate, but also by one of his representatives on the four-power International Commission of Control and Supervision

established by the Vietnam cease-fire agreement. On May 29, the Canadian government announced that it would pull out of the commission by July 31, or sooner if a replacement could be found.

The original decision to act as Nixon's surrogate in Vietnam has not been popular in Canada, and the withdrawal announcement was endorsed by all the opposition parties.

The Canadian representatives on the commission are not likely to be missed by the Vietnamese liberation forces. On May 30, a spokesman of the Provisional Revolutionary Government charged that the Canadian delegation

had repeatedly "given help to the U. S. and Saigon administration in obstructing the implementation of the agreement."

This view was confirmed from an unexpected source. "Even some American officials," Fox Butterfield reported in the May 31 *New York Times*, ". . . have felt that Mr. [Michel] Gauvin [Canadian chief delegate] might have been more effective if he had been somewhat less outspoken and aggressive."

The Senate vote of May 31 indicates that an increasing sector of the U. S. ruling class holds much the same view of Richard Nixon. □

## Attended by French, Swiss, German, Italian Militants

### Italian Trotskyists Hold Meeting in Milan

Rome

On May 13, the day after the big Vietnam demonstration, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari [Revolutionary Communist Groups, Italian section of the Fourth International] organized a public meeting held in a theater in downtown Milan. The meeting could be announced only the previous evening, because landlords refuse to rent halls for revolutionary meetings. In addition, most of the Trotskyist militants from other European countries had not been able to find housing in Milan after the previous day's demonstration, and many were therefore unable to attend the meeting. Nevertheless, the theater, which holds 1,000 persons, was completely filled. Members of the French, Swiss, and German sections of the Fourth International were present.

The meeting, which was held in an enthusiastic atmosphere, began with a speech by an Italian immigrant worker in Switzerland who, after having been active for years in the Italian Communist party, joined the Fourth International during the 1960s. Our comrades stressed the necessity of creating firm collaboration between the foreign workers and Swiss workers.

The second speaker was a member of the Ligue Communiste who works at Renault. He reported on the events that have shaken Renault during the past two months and stressed the struggle of the unskilled workers and

the union bureaucracy's responsibility for the partial defeat suffered in the fight for full payment for days lost because of "technical unemployment" forced by the employers. He concluded by pointing to the necessity of organizing the workers vanguard and of working toward the formation of a trade-union tendency.

Next was a GCR member who works at Fiat. He talked about the experiences of the last phase of the big struggle of the Turin metalworkers and about the partial factory occupations that took place during this phase. He pointed out that the workers vanguard had demonstrated its power, but that it had shown its weakness at the same time. It was, in effect, able to put over much more militant methods of struggle than those pushed by the bureaucrats, but was incapable of developing an adequate alternative program.

Next, Daniel Bensaïd, member of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste, analyzed the trends of the workers struggles in Europe. He stressed the situation in France in the wake of the March 4 and 11 elections, a situation marked by a spectacular upsurge in the student movement—broader and better organized than that of 1968—and the outbreak of militant clashes in a number of important factories. Linking up the student and workers struggles, he said, is an urgent task during this period.

The meeting ended with a speech by Livio Maitan, member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Comrade Maitan stressed the necessity of continuing a determined struggle against Stalinism, whose miserable influence in the workers movement is far from having been overcome. He pointed out that the ability to forge tighter and tighter bonds with the workers vanguards that now exist in nearly every European country would be the touch-

stone of the effectiveness of the orientation of the Fourth International at this stage.

Comrade Maitan concluded by giving a fraternal salute to all the Trotskyist comrades who have been imprisoned because of their heroic struggle for the victory of the world revolution, from Argentina and Bolivia, to Spain and Greece, and to the workers states of East Europe.

At the end of the meeting all the participants sang the Internationale.

## Repression in Northern Ireland Stepped Up

### Fresh Attempts to Intimidate Prisoners

By Bob Pennington

[The following article is reprinted from the May 19 issue of *Red Weekly* (incorporating the *Red Mole*), newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

At the beginning of May, 200 soldiers in riot gear accompanied by Alsatian dogs and English prison warders made a savage attack on detainees at the Long Kesh concentration camp. One prisoner, George Gillen, had to receive treatment for head wounds after being batoned by soldiers.

The soldiers and guards took a particular delight in smashing up prisoners' possessions.

One warder, a well-known bigot from the Protestant Sandy Row "broke many models including Irish Harps, Celtic Crosses and plaques." This same warder was renowned for his beating of defenceless prisoners when he was on the Maidstone.

The Committee in Cage 2 report: "We came in to find our huts wrecked with our clothing strewn all over the place. Food parcels were also spoilt. Sugar was scattered over meats, washing powder into butter and cakes were squashed."

For over seven weeks now detainees have been confined to their cages. The area of each cage allows approximately 15 square yards of space to each prisoner. Mail has been withheld and

there is no means of contacting warders if a prisoner is taken ill in the rat-infested cages during the night. Late-night raids are a refinement eagerly pursued by the guards and soldiers. Three weeks ago the men were wakened at 3:00 a.m. and made to strip naked by gloating soldiers. This raid lasted for six hours. A complete ban has been put on all food parcels for Cage 4 and both detainees and visitors have to remove footwear for official visits.

The repressive conditions, the use of batons and the consistent attempt by Camp Governor Truesdale to intimidate the men has evoked a protest from visiting tutors. Thirty teachers who voluntarily visit the camp twice a week to hold classes have issued a statement saying that the policies presently being pursued there by the Whitelaw regime "offend against basic humanitarian principles" and could well result in a confrontation situation. At the women's prison in Armagh conditions are equally deplorable, as the following letter sent to *Red Weekly* confirms:

"We the women political prisoners of Armagh would like to make it known to the public about the cramped conditions in which we have to survive. In the wing there are 25 women and there are inadequate facilities to accommodate them all. The bathroom consists of two baths, two toilets, and

four small wash hand basins. The only sink available for washing clothes in is the one that has existed since the prison was built. The railing round the catwalk serves as a substitute for a clothes line, thus making the wing even more cramped.

"Also with so many women in the wing it is necessary to have a sick bay because in the case of illness peace and quiet is needed. In the recreation yard there is a hut which is supposed to be a TV room, but it is used for crafts, games, discussions and a rest room. Time and time again we have been promised netball posts and other games equipment, but as yet we have received none of these.

"We must point out that this is a women's prison, but yet we occupy only one small wing of the building. There is a gym and a huge recreation yard over in 'B' wing but these facilities are closed to us as they are used by Borstal offenders. We know our needs are small in comparison with our comrades in Long Kesh, but there must be room for improvement when we have women serving sentences from five to twelve years.

"Liberty and strength,

*"The women political prisoners of Armagh Gaol".*

This savage campaign against the prisoners must be stopped. Trade unionists and members of the labour movement should write to the Home Office protesting at the actions of Truesdale, the soldiers and the prison guards. As a gesture of solidarity, Student Unions should consider nominating prominent Republican prisoners for official posts inside the Union. Presents of books, food parcels and tobacco should be sent to:

Provisional Support Organisation for Prisoners in Ireland,  
Caumann Cabrach,  
2A Lower Kevin Street,  
Dublin, Ireland  
Officials Support Organisation for Prisoners in Ireland,  
Saoirse, 32 Gardiner Place,  
Dublin, Ireland

#### Let Them Live in Sin

Under the military dictatorship in Greece at the present time, atheists are not permitted to marry. Greeks can only be married in the Greek Orthodox Church, and atheists are not permitted to marry in the church.

## Kremlin Threatens Life of Imprisoned Dissident

By Marilyn Vogt

The case of Pyotr G. Grigorenko stands as stark testimony to the brutal measures Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin are utilizing in their campaign to destroy dissident communists.

According to information recently received from the Soviet Union, a judicial-psychiatric commission ruled January 29, 1973, that Grigorenko must continue to undergo compulsory "psychiatric treatment."

A former Soviet army general and a prominent leader of the opposition movement, Grigorenko has been undergoing compulsory psychiatric treatment since 1970 because of his activities in defense of arrested dissidents and oppressed nationalities in the USSR. He has been confined in a prison psychiatric hospital in Chernyakovsk in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on the Polish border since June 1970.

A press release from the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners reports the following recent developments in Grigorenko's case:

"A telephone call placed to Zinaida Grigorenko [Pyotr's wife], on May 2, 1973, revealed that she had been called by the Moscow KGB [secret police] for questioning. In view of the fact that she refused to discuss anything except her husband, she was let go. But she was told on a number of occasions that it might be a good idea for her to travel to Chernyakovsk . . . because the scheduled court trial may decide to release him, and 'perhaps you may take him home.'

"Upon arriving in Chernyakovsk at the end of April, she was told by the [prison] officials that the trial had already taken place on January 29, 1973, and the court had decided neither to release Grigorenko, nor to have him transferred to a regular hospital. She was reminded by the officials that on a previous occasion, when her husband was released [April,

1965], he continued his 'activities'. . . .

"When she saw her husband, she was shocked to learn that he is completely blind in one eye, and that he was not being treated for this. He did not know of the court's decision and



PYOTR GRIGORENKO

she did not tell him. Grigorenko did not receive any of her letters during the course of the 32 days which preceded her visit.

"Friends of Grigorenko are appealing that his case be given attention, for there is a real fear that the regime is trying to kill Grigorenko in the same manner as they killed Yury Galanskov."

(Galanskov, an imprisoned dissident, was refused proper treatment for his acute case of stomach ulcers. He died in October 1972 after being "operated on" by an inmate in the Mordovian prison camp.)

Pyotr Grigorenko was born in 1907 in Zaporizhka Oblast, in the Ukrainian SSR. A graduate of the Academy of the General Staff, he served in the Soviet Army during World War II and received numerous military dec-

orations for heroism. In the early years of the war he was reprimanded for speaking out against the poor state of preparedness of the Soviet armed forces. During the fighting in 1944 he received a heel injury that made him an invalid.

Following the war he was a senior lecturer at the Frunze Military Academy, and in 1959 he was appointed head of the Department of Military Administration.

In 1961 he spoke out at a party meeting against the departures from Leninism in the party. According to the November 1969 "in-patient forensic psychiatric diagnosis" of the Serbsky Institute (supplied to the West by Vladimir Bukovsky, a Soviet dissident, himself now imprisoned), Grigorenko had come to the conclusion "that not all the consequences of the 'personality cult' had been liquidated, that there remained in the party 'Bonapartist methods of work.'"

For his opposition to bureaucratic rule, Grigorenko received a party reprimand, lost his post, was demoted in rank, and was transferred to the Maritime Province near Vladivostok in the Far East, where the bureaucrats hoped he would be politically isolated and ineffective.

They were wrong. Grigorenko continued his opposition activities.

The same forensic report states that during 1962-64 Grigorenko concluded that because the government had "departed from Leninist norms and principles . . . it was essential to conduct explanatory work among the people, aimed at 'breaking down' the existing order. He studied Marx and Lenin and pondered the mistakes of the political leadership, [and] tried to map out the right course."

According to the "out-patient forensic psychiatric diagnosis" conducted in Tashkent (on the premises of the KGB) in August 1969 while Grigorenko was in the Far East, he had decided "to struggle against the existing order, 'to conduct an explana-

tion of Leninist tenets among the people, and spread Leninist principles.' He began to prepare leaflets and to duplicate them on a typewriter. The leaflets issued from a self-styled 'Union of struggle for the revival of Leninism.'"

For these activities Grigorenko was arrested in February 1964 and charged under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code ["anti-Soviet activity"]. To avoid a trial that could have proved embarrassing to them, the bureaucrats declared Grigorenko insane. He was ordered to undergo compulsory psychiatric treatment in August 1964.

His "insanity" was characterized, according to the psychiatric commission, "by the presence of reformist ideas, in particular for the reorganization of the state apparatus; and this was linked with ideas of overestimation of his own personality that had reached messianic proportions."

After his release from the special psychiatric hospital in April 1965, Grigorenko's personal situation was extremely difficult—he had lost his pension and was unable to obtain work in his field because of his past political activity. Despite the fact that he was an invalid and almost sixty years old, he was forced to work as a loader in order to survive.

Between 1966 and his arrest in 1969, Grigorenko played a leading role in the defense of arrested dissidents, in the protests against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and in defense of the right of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland from which they had been deported en masse by Stalin in 1944. In his activities in defense of the Crimean Tatars, Grigorenko worked closely with Aleksei Kosterin, an Old Bolshevik who died in November 1968, his death having been hastened by incessant KGB harassment.

In his speech to Crimean Tatars on Kosterin's seventy-second birthday in March 1968, Grigorenko stated:

"Your rights are trampled underfoot. Why? . . . the main reason for this lies in the fact that you underestimate your enemy. You think you are dealing only with honest people. This is not so. What happened to your people was not the work of Stalin alone. And his accomplices are not only still alive, they hold responsible positions. . . ."

"You address humble supplications to the party leadership . . . [Instead you should] start to demand! And do not just demand fragments—demand everything that was unlawfully taken away from you. Demand the reestablishment of the *Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic!*"

"Do not limit yourselves to the writing of petitions. Strengthen your demands by all the means that are available to you under the constitution—make good use of the freedom of speech and of the press, of meetings, street processions, and demonstrations.

"A newspaper is put out for you in Tashkent. But its editors do not support your movement. Kick them out and choose your own editorial staff.

"If you are prevented, boycott the newspaper and start another one, your own press.

"In your struggle, do not lock yourself in a narrow nationalist shell. Establish contacts with progressive people in other nations of the Soviet Union—first of all with those nationalities among whom you live, the Russians and Ukrainians who have been and continue to be persecuted like your people."

In May 1969, while in Tashkent, where he had gone to work in defense of arrested Crimean Tartar activists, Grigorenko was arrested again. He was forced to undergo two psychiatric examinations—one in Tashkent [Uzbek SSR] and another at the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow. The first examining commission found Grigorenko sane. The examining board of the second, which included the notorious Professor D. R. Lunts, who works at least part-time for the KGB, concluded:

"Grigorenko is suffering from a mental illness in the form of a pathological

paranoid development of the personality, with the presence of reformist ideas that have appeared in his personality . . ."

"Confirmation of this can be seen in the psychotic condition present in 1964, which arose during an unfavorable situation and expressed itself in ideas . . . of reformism and persecution. . . . The paranoid condition was not completely overcome. Reformist ideas have taken on an obstinate character and determine the conduct of the patient; in addition the intensity of these ideas is increased in connection with various external circumstances which have no direct relation to him [the bureaucrats' suppression of dissidents and minority peoples in the USSR]. . . . The above-mentioned condition of mental illness excludes the possibility of his being responsible for his actions and controlling them; consequently the patient must be considered of unsound mind."

This diagnosis was upheld by a Tashkent court in February 1970 and Grigorenko was sent to Chernyakovsk in May 1970.

The Kremlin is determined to keep Grigorenko confined until he renounces his ideas. His poor health, which has further deteriorated because of the harsh conditions of his confinement, the prospect that he may soon be totally blind, and the prison authorities' refusal to provide the necessary medical treatment are evidence that the Stalinist bureaucrats are determined to destroy Grigorenko in prison if he will not recant.

Grigorenko's case is reviewed every six months. It is scheduled to be discussed again this June. Revolutionists around the world must organize in his defense and demand that the bureaucrats free Pyotr Grigorenko. □

## Bhutto Tightening His Grip on Pakistan

Parliamentary governments are being reestablished in Pakistan's Baluchistan Province and North West Frontier Province (NWFP), where the elected governors were deposed by President Bhutto last February 15. New provincial governments favorable to Bhutto have been formed by courting defectors from the bourgeois opposition. (In NWFP, twenty of the twenty-one legislators supporting the new cabinet have been given ministerial posts.)

Meanwhile, throughout the country

Bhutto has banned public gatherings of more than five persons. The regulation is being used against the opposition parties, but Bhutto's Pakistan People's party is allowed to hold public processions.

Arrests are continuing in the case of the alleged military coup that was broken up March 30, but the government has provided no figures on the total number arrested, nor has it indicated when the accused will be tried. High-ranking officers are reportedly involved. □

## Greek Navy Fails in Try to Dump Colonels

By Allen Myers

"Let the king's voice be heard," proclaimed the Athens daily *Eleftheros Kosmos* May 25 in a front-page editorial. "Rightly or wrongly the impression was created in the armed forces and public opinion that the king is directly or indirectly implicated in the navy episode."

The "navy episode" first came to public attention May 24, when a spokesman for the Greek military dictatorship announced that a "handful" of naval officers had been arrested on the night of May 22 for plotting to overthrow the government.

"Two retired naval officers," the spokesman said, "misled some naval officers in active service. Under their plan, they would have put three warships out to the open sea, addressed a message to the Greek people and issued an ultimatum to the government. . . . But those who issued the orders failed to show up. They stayed at home, frightened, and were arrested there."

The two retired officers were identified as Vice Admirals Ioannis Mineos and Constantine Engolfopoulos. Engolfopoulos was naval chief of staff prior to the 1967 coup that brought the colonels to power.

Four days later, the Defense Ministry issued a communiqué claiming that "more officers had been in the plot than was originally believed."

"The plan of the insurgents," the ministry said, "was to move the largest possible number of ships, which would have made a rendezvous at the harbor of Hermoupolis, on Syros Island, in the central Aegean Sea.

"There the insurgents issue a proclamation outlining the political targets of the putsch, solicit the support of the army and the air force, and demand the government's resignation. Until their demands were met, they would proceed to a show of force by sending small landing parties to various islands of the Cyclades, where there are no military garrisons, in order to bolster the morale of the population.

"Depending on the number of ships



GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS

that would join the mutiny, they had plans to blockade the ports of Piraeus and Salonika. If the plot failed, the fleet would have left for Italy."

The ministry also said that an underground group called Greek Antidictatorial Youth had planned to join in the uprising by carrying out sabotage and political assassinations on the mainland.

Thirty-five naval officers were said to be involved in the plot, thirty-two of them of high rank.

During the four days between the two government statements, the officers and crew of the destroyer *Velos*, which was participating in NATO maneuvers, mutinied and sailed to Italy, where they were granted asylum.

The May 28 communiqué named three more alleged leaders of the plot. They were Nicholas Pappas, the captain of the *Velos*, Captain George Konofaos, and Admiral Ioannis Rozakis. Konofaos and Rozakis were both thrown out of the navy because of their participation in the king's attempted countercoup of December 1967. Konofaos was reported to have been arrested May 24. Rozakis had left Greece for Italy on May 19.

Even prior to the May 22 arrests, there had been signs of an increased unity and activity among the bourgeois sectors that would like to re-

place the Papadopoulos dictatorship with a regime less offensive to domestic and world opinion. This bourgeois opposition seems to have coalesced around the figure of the exiled King Constantine.

The king's role is explained in part by the traditionally royalist attitude of the navy's top officers. (All of the officers so far mentioned as leaders of the plot are well known as monarchists.)

The split in the armed forces revealed by the attempted coup is based on more than ideology, however. Since 1967, the army colonels have displaced the admirals in the enjoyment of the privileges of rank. As John K. Cooley put it in the April 21 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"The new power elite . . . is a generation of Army officers who came from lower-middle-class or humble rural and village backgrounds, but whose pay, allowances, fringe benefits, and educations have vastly improved with their assumption of political power."

The navy officers and the king are thus the natural allies of the bourgeois opposition politicians.

One month before the planned uprising, a considerable stir was created by a statement from former Premier Constantine Karamanlis, who headed the right-wing National Radical Union and was premier from 1955 to 1963. He issued the statement in Paris, where he has lived for the past ten years.

Karamanlis called for the return of King Constantine to Greece and the establishment of an "experienced and strong government" that would have "extraordinary powers for a limited period" while preparing a return to a parliamentary regime.

When three Greek papers published all or part of the Karamanlis statement, the Papadopoulos regime betrayed considerable indecisiveness in its reaction.

The three papers—the Athens *Vradyni*, Salonika *Thessaloniki*, and the English-language *Athens News*—were confiscated or forced to remove the offending passages. On April 25 a judicial council in Athens approved the seizure of *Vradyni*. But at the same time, another council in Salonika removed the ban on sales there of both *Vradyni* and *Thessaloniki*, saying that the Karamanlis statement



was "not a manifest incitement to rebellion." Meanwhile, a third council permitted the sale of *Athens News* on the grounds that most of its readers are foreigners.

The April 26 *New York Times* reported that "qualified observers" expected no action against the papers' editors because under the Greek press law Karamanlis "would have to be indicted along with the executives of the newspapers. These observers reasoned that the Government was unlikely to risk the 66-year-old leader's return to Athens to face trial because it might create problems for public order."

A considerable part of Karamanlis's threat to the Papadopoulos regime resides in the fact that he would be acceptable to Washington if he succeeded in replacing the colonels—even though there is no indication that U. S. imperialism is willing to risk the instability that could result from actively backing the bourgeois opposition. In an April 29 dispatch to the *Manchester Guardian*, David Tonge gave the following description of the ex-premier:

"He is the spiritual leader of much of the country's right wing. He receives a grudging respect from many of the officers, though few seem prepared actually to follow him. He is accepted by the center, and even by many Communists, as the only man who could lead an interim government to break the present political impasse. . . .

"Some of Karamanlis's credibility stems from it being known that he is liked by Washington. Many Greeks, however mistakenly [sic], believe that this is where their country's fate is decided. They know that in 1955 Karamanlis was initially helped to power by the Americans, and that he has never burned his bridges to Washington."

Karamanlis's April 23 statement was reported to have drawn public declarations of support from other prominent bourgeois politicians, including George Mavros, head of the Center Union, and former Premier Panayotis Canellopoulos, who followed Karamanlis as leader of the National Radical Union.

The series of student antigovernment demonstrations over recent months were undoubtedly a factor in the crystallization of the bourgeois opposition at this time. The student movement



CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS

would be seen as both a potential source of support and as a danger that might be diverted by the installation of a parliamentary regime.

In a May 14 statement distributed to foreign reporters in Athens, Canellopoulos came to the verbal defense of the students in the name of "those who in the past represented the nation through free elections, regardless of party affiliation."

Canellopoulos condemned the widespread arrests of students, many of whom are being held in secret and have been denied any contact with relatives or lawyers.

But the last thing these bourgeois politicians want is to see the students or any other oppressed sector of the population engaged in mass struggle.

Their perspectives do not go beyond the twin strategies of military coup and persuading U. S. imperialism that they can do a better job than Papadopoulos of representing its interests.

With the failure of the May 22 coup attempt, the other half of the strategy becomes dominant for the time being, even as it becomes less convincing to Washington.

At a May 28 press conference in Rome, the captain of the *Velos* told reporters that the government of the colonels "is bad for America. The United States must do something. I don't say the Sixth Fleet has to stage a landing and throw the colonels out. But there are other ways."

Captain Pappas went on to make the unlikely assertion that "former Communists" are involved in the present regime and that this represented a danger to NATO.

For their part, the colonels are using the occasion to consolidate their hold and divert attention from such problems as the student demonstrations, the apparently deadlocked negotiations concerning Cyprus, and the inability of the regime to persuade the European Development Bank to grant badly needed loans.

The dictatorship is carrying out a thorough purge of the navy. Vice Admiral Constantine Margaritis, head of the navy, was forced into retirement May 31. According to the June 1 *New York Times*, some 200 naval officers are being held for "questioning" in connection with the attempted coup.

On May 27, the Athens press began printing reports on the impending abolition of the monarchy, and on June 1 the regime announced that Constantine had been deposed. It said a plebiscite would later be held to ratify this decision. □

## Feliciano Again Facing Trial in New York

The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano has announced the beginning of a campaign to demand the dropping of all charges against the Puerto Rican independence militant.

Feliciano was first arrested in May 1970 and accused of attempted arson and possession of a bomb. He claimed that the explosives found in his car had been planted there by police.

In June 1972, a jury in the Bronx, New York, agreed that the charges were a frame-up and acquitted him. Now, how-

ever, he is being brought to trial in Manhattan on similar charges growing out of the same arrest.

One of the cops who arrested Feliciano and who was the chief prosecution witness in the Bronx trial was recently suspended from the police force and charged with accepting a \$15,000 bribe from drug pushers.

The trial is scheduled to begin June 6. The defense committee plans a demonstration outside the courtroom to demand that charges be dropped. □

# New Zealand Labour Party Holds Conference

By Keith Locke

[The New Zealand Labour party recently held its first national conference since its electoral victory last November. The following article, which appeared in the May 18 issue of *Socialist Action*, fortnightly newspaper of the Socialist Action League, the New Zealand Trotskyist organization, deals with the events at the conference.]

\* \* \*

This year's Labour Party conference had a somewhat contradictory character. On the one hand, the conference remits [resolutions] and the discussion on them showed that delegates were concerned with a wider range of issues than previously, and were putting forward some radical solutions to them. But on the other hand, a mood of confidence in Norman Kirk and his new government seemed to overwhelm almost all delegates and inhibit a serious challenge to the right-wing party leadership on important questions.

The intervention of the more radical delegates was disorganised and lacked focus—a disability not suffered by their opposition, who controlled the platform and had a solid block of support among older and trade-union delegates.

### Abortion Issue Smothered

The difficulty of really bringing out and discussing vital questions was illustrated by the attempts to get the party to take a stand for women's right to abortion.

Earlier this year the Eastbourne branch of the party sent a remit demanding "that all abortion laws be repealed." Somehow, this remit did not get printed in the remit paper.

At the Labour women's conference (which was held the day before the main conference) a Canterbury University branch motion "that the Labour Government legislate to make abortion a woman's right to choose" was tabled without discussion because

of the immediate intervention of the chairwoman, Connie Purdue (a staunch opponent of abortion), and like-minded women. This motion, however, was overwhelmingly supported at the Youth Conference, attended by delegates under the age of 25 years from the main conference.

At the party conference itself, abortion was discussed briefly, following the report from the Youth Conference. But the remit the delegates actually voted on (and adopted) represented no advance on last year's "decision," namely to conduct a study on abortion and the law. When Vicki Buck, the New Brighton delegate, moved as an amendment "that the government repeal the abortion laws," she was ruthlessly ruled out of order. Angry and frustrated, Buck shouted as she left the microphone: "The government must realise that women have rights too."

### Debate on Indochina War

The party's right wing managed to knock back most of the antiwar remits, although the conference endorsed "in principle" the following remit:

"That in supporting the right of the Indochinese peoples to self-determination the Labour Government publicly demands that the United States Government immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its armed forces and material from Indo-China."

The motion for withdrawal from ANZUS, SEATO, ANZUK, and ASPAC [various aggressive military treaties with the United States, Britain, and Southeast Asian countries] was defeated. The same motion, however, had been adopted by the Youth Conference, and the Federation of Labour conference the previous week had voted for withdrawal from ANZUS and SEATO.

Most of the debate on the war centred on the motion to recognise the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam. It was defeated after a fifteen-minute intervention by the prime minister himself.

With characteristic demagoguery, Kirk spoke "passionately" of the horrors of the war, and with strange logic argued that to extend diplomatic relations beyond those presently established with Saigon would be interference in the affairs of the Vietnamese and would strengthen "divisions" in that country.

The mover of the motion to recognise the PRG, Peter Wilson (who is also president of the Victoria University Students Association), had handed this argument to Kirk on a plate. Instead of attacking Kirk at his point of vulnerability—his relations with the U. S.-based Thieu regime—Wilson ac-



NORMAN KIRK

tually argued that these relations should continue! Wilson is not alone among Wellington "radicals" in accommodating the Thieu regime—he was just articulating the current policy of the Wellington Committee on Vietnam.

The political issue was posed more clearly in a remit before the youth and party conferences "that the government withdraw formal recognition of the military dictatorship controlling South Vietnam." Delegates were confronted by the incredible spectacle of some "radical" delegates, like Wilson and Peter Franks (editor of the Victoria student paper *Salient*), blocking with the right-wing forces against the large minority of conference delegates

that was for breaking relations with Thieu.

## Gains and Losses

On some issues the "left" won a majority — for the nationalisation of breweries and liquor wholesalers, the abolition of "any racial criteria in the selection of migrants," and an end to legal restraints on the supply of contraceptives.

But the balance was not positive. Important remits that were lost, or were amended out of existence, included the abolition of religious instruction in schools; optional school uniforms; nationalisation of insurance companies, private health insurance schemes, and polluting industries; repeal of the laws restricting the right to strike; abolition of the security service; imposition of a capital gains tax; and the provision of free, metropolitan passenger transport; as well as the abortion and Indochina war remits mentioned above.

Some remits were clearly reactionary, such as one which proposed that "a closer look be taken at the young people dodging work on the unemployment benefit scheme."

One matter the leadership avoided bringing to the attention of the confer-

ence delegates was the decision last year by the National Executive that membership in the Socialist Action League was incompatible with membership in the party. This was conspicuously absent in the detailed National Executive report. The feeling among party ranks against the National Executive on this matter was demonstrated when the party's Youth Conference carried a unanimous voice vote that "the decision on the Socialist Action League be rescinded." The national leadership is playing it cool, apparently aware that it would be difficult to put into effect its formal decision last year and witch-hunt socialists from the party.

Although the party hierarchy is happy overall with the outcome of the conference, it will not be all plain sailing ahead. The membership may be temporarily acquiescent in the light of reforms the government has put through so far, and in the expectation of more to come, but Kirk's fundamentally status quo orientation precludes the possibility that he will be able to satisfy their growing aspirations. As this process of disillusionment sets in, a socialist alternative will appear more necessary and credible in the eyes of radical-minded party members. □

an evening dedicated to the memory of his late friend Vasyl Symonenko, a poet whose diary was smuggled to the West and published there.

In September 1965 Svitlychny was arrested and held for eight months in prison. Upon his release, the KGB spread a rumor that Svitlychny, as the leader of a dissident group in Kiev, had betrayed his comrades and was therefore not tried. This ploy was to no avail, and Svitlychny continued his dissident activities. Among other things, he wrote the introduction to a collection of documents on the closed trials of Ukrainian jurists in 1961 (available in English in *Ferment in the Ukraine*).

Yevhen Sverstyuk studied in Kiev and Odessa. He worked in Kiev in the Psychological Institute for practical psychology until October 1970, when he was fired for his political beliefs. Between 1965 and 1972 he was interrogated a number of times by the KGB and reprimanded several times by his superiors.

Sverstyuk's main work is *Cathedral in Scaffold*, a series of essays in defense of a novel by Ukrainian writer Oles Honchar. The novel, *Cathedral*, was severely criticized by officials for its glorification of Ukrainian history. Sverstyuk was also arrested in the January 1972 raids.

In an unexpected move, the Procurator's office of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has appealed the decision of the Ukrainian Supreme Court to mitigate the sentence of human-rights activist Leonid Plyushch. The 34-year-old mathematician had been arrested in Kiev in January 1972 for "anti-Soviet propaganda" and ordered sent to a special-type psychiatric hospital.

In April 1973 the Ukrainian Supreme Court changed the sentence to treatment in an ordinary psychiatric hospital. As a result of the appeal by the Procurator's office, Plyushch has again been confined to the special-type hospital. Special-type hospitals are under the authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, whereas ordinary psychiatric hospitals are under the Ministry of Health. □

### Nothing So Valuable as Friendship

A Western journalist who visited China is reported to have paid \$10 for a pair of vases at the Canton Friendship Store. He later found the same vases selling in Hong Kong for \$1.25.

## Soviet Union

# Harsh Sentences for Ukrainian Dissidents

[The following report was released by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners.]

\* \* \*

Political persecution of oppositionists in the Soviet Union is continuing and taking on new dimensions. New arrests have been reported; prisoners have been re-sentenced and others sentenced for the first time.

In March 1973 political trials took place in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev. Ivan Svitlychny, a 43-year-old literary critic, and Yevhen Sverstyuk, a 43-year-old writer, have been sentenced — Svitlychny to seven years in prison and five years exile and Sverstyuk to five years in prison.

Svitlychny, a 1952 graduate of Kharkiv University, was arrested in January 1972 during the mass roundup of Ukrainian dissidents. At the time of his arrest, Ivan Dzyuba, another well-known literary critic, was visiting at his home. Dzyuba was escorted to his own home by the KGB [political police], where a search followed during which the collected works of Lenin were confiscated. Dzyuba himself was eventually arrested and sentenced to seven years in prison and five years exile.

Svitlychny is a widely respected Ukrainian critic who in 1952 opposed the limitations of "socialist realism" imposed on writers by official circles. Early in 1964 he was dismissed from his post at the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature for speaking at

# REVIEWS

## Prince Norodom Sihanouk's Blunted Sword

Norodom Sihanouk's memoirs are obviously intended to be much more than a mere blow-by-blow account of the series of plots that eventually led to the coup d'état of March 18, 1970. As Wilfred Burchett puts it in his foreword, Sihanouk sees the book "as a weapon in the struggle to regain his own country's independence, and as a warning to other countries marked down as future victims."

The weapon, unfortunately, is a rather blunt one. To judge from his memoirs, Sihanouk believes that U.S. imperialism's plans for Cambodia will be defeated by restoring the pre-1970 status quo—that is, the same situation that led to the March 18 coup.

Sihanouk has been a partisan of "neutralism" since the time when Nehru, Nasser, Tito, Mao, and others tried to organize the underdeveloped countries into a bloc that would maintain a position independent of both sides in the international class struggle. Sihanouk was one of the stars of the 1955 Bandung Conference, and even today, when his supporters are fighting arms in hand against U.S. imperialism, he continues to insist that victory will mean a neutral Cambodia.

Sihanouk's belief in his ability to balance permanently between the forces of imperialism and revolution may have arisen during the First Indochina War, when French defeats at the hands of the Vietminh allowed him to win formal independence without a mass armed struggle. But the resources of the U.S. bourgeoisie were not as limited as those of the French, and by Sihanouk's own account Washington began plotting his forcible overthrow the moment he declined to put Cambodia under the "protection" of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

The first such plot nearly to succeed was uncovered in February 1959. From that point until March 1970, new attempts occurred almost with the regularity of clockwork, ranging from assassination attempts to the financing and training of the Khmer

Serei guerrillas to invasions of Cambodian territory by Saigon puppet troops and attacks by U.S. warplanes.

Through it all, Sihanouk continued his balancing act, moving now left,

*My War With the CIA* by Prince Norodom Sihanouk as related to Wilfred Burchett. New York: Pantheon Books, 1973. 273 pp. \$7.95.

now right, accepting U.S. "aid" and then breaking relations with Washington, nationalizing and denationalizing banks and industries, and juggling cabinets to balance every shift in the domestic and international relationship of forces.

For example, Sihanouk claims—and there is no reason to doubt him here—that he had known for years that Sirik Matak was in the pay of the CIA. This did not prevent Sihanouk, five months before the March coup, from appointing Matak first deputy premier in what Sihanouk at that time called a "government of national salvation."

The premier of that same government was none other than Lon Nol. Just what was envisioned under the term "national salvation" is indicated when Sihanouk describes his attitude only one week before the coup:

"At the time I was thinking exclusively in terms of Sirik Matak, the deputy Prime Minister and his group of rightists. I still had complete confidence in Lon Nol, and thought that he would use the army to deal with any attempt at an overthrow. I knew that Sirik Matak had been in close touch with the US embassy from the time diplomatic relations had been re-established in June 1969. . . ."

Walking a tightrope above the armed conflict between imperialism and the Indochinese revolution, Sihanouk put Sirik Matak on the right side of his balance pole, and Lon Nol on the left. Putting the masses in Lon Nol's place would have unbalanced and toppled him just as surely as did the general's abrupt leap to the other

side.

There is one other aspect of Sihanouk's attempted tightrope act that deserves attention. This is the unwavering backing (with a brief exception during the Cultural Revolution) given by the Chinese government to his neutralist illusions. He writes of Mao Tse-tung:

"At our first meeting [in 1956], Chairman Mao set forth the broad lines of China's policy, the importance attached to countries being really independent and not falling under the domination of others. . . . Mao agreed that neutrality was the best course for Cambodia to steer. China would always support this. From that time until now China has kept her word."

From his base in Peking, Sihanouk—still with the approval of the Chinese bureaucrats—continues to plan a renewed attempt to exempt Cambodia from the class struggle. He describes his plans for the future:

". . . I am more than ever convinced that neutrality for South-East Asia affords the optimum conditions for peace and mutually friendly relations between all countries of the area. It is imperialism that has whipped up ancient hostilities and set us at each other's throats over the past century. Neutrality is the best umbrella under which a new era of peace and stability in the area can be developed, and outsiders with hostile intent kept at a distance.

"Our internal policy will be socialist and progressive, but not communist. State, state-private, and private enterprise will coexist. 'Social justice, equality and fraternity' are the aims as set forth in the Political Programme [of the National United Front of Cambodia (NUFC)]. There are Marxists and non-Marxists in the NUFC leadership and, as they cooperated in drawing up the Programme, there is no reason to doubt similar cooperation in applying it."

It is to be hoped, however, that the Cambodian masses now fighting U.S. imperialism and its puppets will have drawn from the struggle the lesson that the choice facing them is not imperialism or neutralism but imperialism or socialist revolution. Their past behavior indicates that Sihanouk and the Chinese leaders are incapable of absorbing that lesson.

—David Burton

Intercontinental Press

## ERP Statement on Campora's Appeal for a Truce

[The following statement by the National Military Committee of the Argentine guerrilla organization the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP — Revolutionary Army of the People), entitled "Why the ERP Will Not Stop Fighting," was issued on April 22 and has been distributed as a leaflet. It replies to an appeal by Héctor Cámpora, then president-elect, to the guerrilla organizations to agree to a truce with the new Peronist government.

[The statement was preceded by the following editorial note to the reader: "Compañero: This is the statement that the press covered up and consciously distorted by spreading the false report that [Rear Admiral Francisco] Aleman had been executed."

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

### Reply to President Campora

The government that Dr. Cámpora will be heading represents the will of the people. Out of respect for this will, our organization will not attack the new government as long as it does not attack the people or the guerrilla movement. Our organization will continue to struggle militarily against business firms and the counterrevolutionary armed forces. But it will not direct its attacks against governmental institutions or against any member of the government of President Cámpora.

As for the police, which is supposedly under the jurisdiction of the executive branch, although it has functioned in recent years as an active auxiliary of the oppressor army, the ERP will suspend attacks against it beginning May 25 [the date Cámpora's government was to assume power] and will not attack it as long as it remains neutral, as long as it does not collaborate with the army in hunting down the guerrilla movement and in repressing popular demonstrations. This is the position of our organization, and

today we are announcing it publicly. It differs from the hopes expressed by the president-elect.

In fact, in recent statements President Cámpora has called on the guerrilla movement to observe a truce "to see whether or not we are on the road to liberation and are going to achieve our objectives." This appeal was made as a result of various guerrilla actions, among them the kidnapping of Aleman and the execution of Iribarren. Then it was understood that President Cámpora's appeal involved the total suspension of guerrilla activity, including actions against the army and against the big, exploitative companies.

### Some Historic Antecedents

In order to answer this statement, and so that the approach our organization has decided to take beginning May 25 can be understood, we will have to remind President Cámpora of a few antecedents on the national political scene.

In September 1955, the leadership of the political movement that President Cámpora represents advised the people "not to shed blood," to "avoid civil war," to "wait." The military took advantage of the disorganization and disorientation of the working class and the people to deal a severe blow, and to subjugate the people's organizations. The only blood that was not shed was that of the oligarchs and capitalists. The people, on the other hand, saw dozens and dozens of their best children die, massacred and shot to death.

In 1958, the leadership of the political organization that President Cámpora represents advised the people to vote for the Radical ticket of Frondizi and to place faith in this government and its team to make good on its program of "national liberation." The people took this advice, and everybody knows what happened. Frondizi promised to end the country's dependency, but in reality he

shamelessly aided imperialist penetration. Frondizi promised democratic freedoms, but in reality he cleared the way for the army to crush the heroic Peronist resistance with the CONINTES [a military plan for national security]. Frondizi promised to democratically turn the intervened workers organizations over to their true leaders, but in reality he turned them over to the traitorous bureaucracy and launched a barbarous repression of class-struggle and anti-boss activism inside the factories; a large part of the fighting leadership was removed, largely with the help of the "Peronist shirt" that Vandor waved — as Rucci does today — in order to deceive the masses and get rid of the leaders and activists who were loyal to their class.

In 1966, shortly after June 28, the leadership of the political movement that President Cámpora represents called on the people to "go easy until things clear up," leaving the new military government of Onganía room for action, in order to see if it would carry out the "National Revolution" it had announced. The Ruccis of the period — Vandor, Alonso, Taccone, and Company — did not hesitate to support the military dictatorship and went with Onganía on his trip to Tucumán on July 9, 1966, thereby arousing and encouraging hopes among broad layers of the masses. Onganía, the army, and the bosses took advantage of this truce to launch a barbaric campaign to repress the people, to behead it by liquidating the new revolutionary leadership that was beginning to come forward.

Today, in the same way, you, President Cámpora, are asking the guerrilla movement to call a truce. Experience shows us that there can be no truce with the enemies of the fatherland, with the exploiters, with the oppressor army, and the exploitative capitalist companies. It shows that to call off or to lessen the struggle is to allow them to reorganize and take the offensive.

We are not willing today to be deceived again, nor are we willing to contribute to the fraud that is being prepared against our people.

In your speech of April 8, President Cámpora, you speak of "national unity." Among other things, you speak of developing a "unity among the people and the armed forces that will prove indestructible in the face of any ambush." To speak of national unity between the oppressor army and the oppressed, between the exploiting businessmen and the exploited workers and employees, between the ranch- and land-owning oligarchs and the laborers who own nothing is like putting a wolf and a sheep in the same room and recommending that they both behave themselves.

President Cámpora, if you really want liberation, you ought to boldly join the people's struggle: On the military plane, arm the people, aid the development of the people's revolutionary army that is growing out of the guerrilla struggle, and move away from the López Aufrancs, the Carcagnos, and Co., who are surrounding you in order to use you against the people; on the trade-union level, you must confront the traitorous bureaucrats at your side and offer decided backing to developing the new, class-struggle and fighting union leadership that arose in recent years out of the heroic struggle against the bosses and the dictatorship by confronting the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor]; on the economic plane, carry out agrarian reform, expropriate the landed oligarchy, and turn the ranches over to the state and to the agricultural workers; have the state expropriate all big industry — that owned by North American and European capital, as well as that of Argentine big capital — and place the companies under worker-state administration; nationalize all private banks, both those with imperialist capital and those of the Argentine big bourgeoisie.

But this program is very far removed from the intentions or capabilities of your government. By its composition as well as its program and its methods, your government will not be able to take any real steps toward the national and social liberation of our country and of our people.

You know this as well as we do. You know that the new parliamentary

government does not propose to disarm the oppressor army, nor to do away with the landed oligarchy, nor to get rid of exploitative big capital, whether imperialist or local. Quite the contrary. Regarding the last aspect, for example, there is talk of a great influx of European capital. No one who truly wants the liberation of our country can think of going on mortgaging and surrendering it to the voraciousness of imperialist capital.

Frondizi, too, without going any further, announced that large "influxes" of capital would be beneficial for the national economy; we know what the results were. Or is President Cámpora unaware of something that the Fiat workers have repeatedly called attention to, namely that Italian imperialist capital is as exploitative as Yankee imperialism, if not more so? Is President Cámpora unaware of the fact that because of the high degree to which the links of world capitalism are interlocked, the strings of the big European companies are generally pulled from North America?

Under these circumstances, to call on the revolutionary forces to observe a truce is, to say the least, a big mistake. In reality, the true interests of the working class and the people require a stepping up of the struggle in all areas, an intensified effort to mobilize the masses, an intensification of guerrilla operations, and the involving of ever increasing layers of the masses in the struggle. To observe a truce with the enemy at this time would be to give him time to prepare a counteroffensive that, whenever it suits his purposes, will, among other things, unceremoniously sweep away the new parliamentary government. It is necessary, more necessary than ever, to continue to strike back at ex-

ploiting big capital and the oppressor army, the pillar of the unjust capitalist system, by developing to the hilt all the immense fighting potential of our people. The battle for liberation that has begun is far from over. We have only taken the first few steps along this path, and the people understand this. The antipopular elements, headed by López Aufranc and Lanusse, including bourgeois Peronist leaders, are attempting to spread confusion by depicting the March 11 election as the culmination of a process and are pushing the lie that the people voted for pacification. We all know that this is false, that the people voted for freeing the fighters and against the oppressive military dictatorship.

### No Truce With the Enemy

In view of this, the ERP calls on President Cámpora, on the members of the new government, and on the working class and the people in general to make no truce with the enemy. Anyone who claims to belong to the people's camp but attempts to hold back or divert the workers and people's struggle in its various armed and nonarmed forms by arguing for a truce or by using similar pretexts, must be considered an enemy agent, a traitor to the people's struggle, a negotiator who deals in blood that has been given for the cause.

No truce with the oppressor army!

No truce with the exploiting companies!

Immediate release of the freedom fighters!

End the repressive legislation! Complete freedom of expression and organization for the people!

For unity of the armed organizations!

Win or die for Argentina! □

## ERP Statement on Aleman Kidnapping

[The following statement on the kidnapping of retired Rear Admiral Francisco Aleman was published in the April 3 issue of *Estrella Roja*, (Red Star), the organ of the Argentine Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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During the night of Sunday, April 1, the "Julio César Provenzano" and "Ana María Villareal de Santucho" commandos of the ERP proceeded to arrest Rear Admiral Francisco Agustín Aleman and convey him to a people's prison belonging to our organization.

Aleman is charged with most serious crimes against the working class and the people, and against the in-

terests of the state; he will have to answer for them before a Revolutionary Tribunal. So far, these crimes are the following:

1. Co-responsibility for the criminal decision to execute in cold blood the heroes of Trelew. Aleman was a member of the highest body of the navy, the Council of Admirals, which met several times between August 15 and August 22, 1972, in order to adopt and/or approve this barbaric decision.

2. Being one of the main promoters, along with Admiral Gnavi (at the time commander in chief of the Navy), of returning the state-owned enterprise ELMA [responsible for the merchant marine] to private ownership.

3. Stealing — directly and through negotiations, and in collusion with Gnavi and other individuals—several thousand million pesos worth of state property. These crimes of theft and swindle aimed against the state were committed by taking advantage of his post as undersecretary of ELMA and of his personal friendship with General Alejandro A. Lanusse.

4. Barbaric persecution of the working class in his role, beginning in September 1955, as second in command to Captain La Placette, the interventor of the national CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and of all the labor unions.

5. Being co-owner, with Captain C. De la Peña, of a private police agency that is used, under contract to various exploitative companies, to repress factory workers in the Greater Buenos Aires area.

The Revolutionary Tribunal of the ERP will keep the working class and the people informed of developments in Aleman's trial and of the sentence that is finally handed down for the extremely serious crimes that he has committed.

As for the kidnapping itself, it took place in a normal fashion, without any great difficulties, and involved the special collaboration of ERP fighters Oscar Ciarlotti and Magdalena Nosiglia, who, because of their kinship with Aleman, were able to facilitate capturing him.

The injustice of the cause that the military defends against the country, against the working class and the people, raises up against it even its own

relatives, young people like those in this case, who understand which side justice and truth are on, and who place above family ties the greater

interests of society, the interests of the exploited masses, and the interests of the fatherland, which are all inter-related. □

## For a Free and Socialist Czechoslovakia

[The following "Appeal for a free and socialist Czechoslovakia against the repression and the new Prague trials" was released by the Belgian Committee for a Free and Socialist Czechoslovakia. It was signed by ninety-five workers, intellectuals, and political figures.]

\* \* \*

Five years ago there was the Prague Spring: the attempt to create a socialism of true human liberation, strangled so early by the military intervention of August 1968. And what is left today: the ruins of aspirations that had threatened both the bureaucracies of the East and the bourgeoisies of the West. But not only that. There are also the precious lessons of a crisis and its denouement. After Prague, as after May 1968 in France, the fight for socialism is no longer quite the same.

But still more: there are our imprisoned comrades, the thousands of persecuted men and women, humiliated in silence. A silence that is supposed to be justified by all sorts of "opportunities"—especially that of the "East-West rapprochement" in the framework of the status quo. But that silence is not our silence. For that would amount not only to a cowardice detrimental to socialism, but to real political myopia. That is why the Belgian Committee for a Free and Socialist Czechoslovakia, created in February 1973, publishes the following appeal.

Order and silence reign in Prague. For their support to a "socialism with a human face" the Czech and Slovak peoples are paying with a political repression prepared and supported by foreign military intervention. Their legal leaders have been eliminated; their Communist party has been stripped of all substance; their trade unions, workers councils, popular and cultural associations have been dismantled; and all intellectual life has been dis-

couraged by an implacable censorship.

Those who, in spite of everything, are continuing to wage a courageous socialist fight risk being victims, or already are victims, of police persecution, organized informing, physical and moral humiliations, political trials, and prison.

This regime, so far removed from the principles of the Soviet October Revolution, has nothing to do with socialism, which presupposes the free and conscious intervention of masses and individuals in building their own future.

Nevertheless, the regime appropriates the title socialist to itself, thus upsetting and discrediting the hopes that animate people throughout the world and thus providing an easy alibi, however unjustified, to the defenders of the "free world" and its acts of exploitation, oppression, and war.

If there is a big reason for us to be in solidarity with the people and the socialist forces of Czechoslovakia, it is this very *indivisible* fight that we are waging against imperialism and for socialism.

We—trade unionists, socialists, communists, and progressives of various tendencies—appeal to workers and democratic public opinion. Let us break the conspiracy of silence and the isolation of our Czechoslovak comrades. Let us support the efforts of the International Jury Against the New Prague Trials, which has just begun its work. Let us demand the freeing of imprisoned democrats, respect for Czechoslovak legality, return to sovereignty and self-determination for the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

It is essential that it be made known, within and outside Czechoslovakia, that a people and its best representatives in danger will not be abandoned and that the ideal of real socialism will be defended.

### Surprise Bonus

5% of chickens sold in the U. S. contain illegal residues of organic arsenic.

# Irish Political Prisoners Quit Saor Eire

[From about 1966 a long series of robberies in Ireland were attributed to a group known as Saor Eire (Free Ireland). In the spring of 1970 a policeman was shot and killed in a bank holdup in Dublin that was credited to this group. The alleged activities of Saor Eire became a political issue in Ireland, with elements in the bourgeois opposition party accusing the government of deliberately preventing the police from apprehending the commandos. In November 1970, Dublin Premier Jack Lynch announced that his government was preparing to imprison suspected political "extremists" without charge or trial. His pretext was that a Saor Eire plot to kidnap cabinet ministers had been discovered.

[Although several far-left groups participated in a campaign to defend Frank Keane, a member of Saor Eire accused of killing the policeman in the Dublin bank robbery referred to above, the group apparently devoted little attention to regular political activities. Their only political statements were contained in an interview with the *Red Mole*, the biweekly paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, and a manifesto also published in the *Red Mole*.

[The following letter, dated May 18, from a group of former members of Saor Eire in the Portlaoise Prison in the Twenty-Six Counties was published in the May 25 issue of *Red Weekly* (formerly the *Red Mole*). The letter refers to speculation in the press that gangsters who had infiltrated Saor Eire or its circles may have been implicated in the murder of Peter Graham, one of the founders and leaders of the RMG (Revolutionary Marxist Group, the Irish supporters of the Fourth International) in November 1971.]

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We the undersigned Political Prisoners in Portlaoise Prison wish to publicly state that we have severed any connections which we have or ever had with the organisation calling itself Saor Eire. In this action we are following the lead of other genuine political elements who have resigned. Our reasons being the following:—

(1) That Saor Eire originally was constituted to combat Imperialism in Ireland. During the last two years, owing to political weaknesses in the structure of that organisation, undesirable elements have been able to operate around its fringe and carry out actions under the name of Saor Eire which had nothing in common with the stated objectives of that organisation. As a consequence of the activities of these pseudo-political individuals, genuine revolutionaries have been in danger of being tarred with the same brush, their political integrity questioned and the possibility of their credibility with other revolutionary organisations tarnished. As this element now seems to constitute the leadership of that organisation, we feel it our duty as revolutionaries to point out to the Republican Socialist Movement the degeneracy of that collection of individuals.

(2) Furthermore these people have

not alone been content to use that organisation for their own personal ends but have gone so far as to interfere with the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland by using harassment and bully-boy tactics against life long members and supporters of the Republican Movement. As has been stated in numerous press articles, a cloud of mystery still hangs over the brutal murder of a sincere and dedicated revolutionary, Peter Graham, in October 1971. Saor Eire once operated as a sincere revolutionary organisation. For us, it does no more.

In conclusion we again wish to reaffirm our allegiance to the establishment of a Democratic Workers' Republic in Ireland and pledge our support to the revolutionary forces who are struggling to attain it.

*Martin Casey (Dublin); Sean Morrissey (Tipperary); Joseph Dillon (Dublin); Donal O Laoghaire (Cork); Eugene Norrby (Derry); Paddy Dillon (Dublin); Donal Dineen (Cork); Danny McOwen (Dublin).*

## Deepening Solidarity With African Struggle

## Immigrant Workers Meet in London

London

Some 100 immigrant workers met May 26 at a London conference called by the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) to discuss the problems faced by immigrant workers in Britain. Among the speakers were workers from Portugal, Bangladesh, Spain, Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey. In his opening speech to the conference, Bob Edwards, a Labour party member of Parliament, said that immigrant workers were leading the most militant union struggles in Britain today.

Largely unorganized, burdened with work permit problems and often faced with language difficulties, immigrant workers are forced into the worst jobs with low pay, long hours, and bad working conditions. Speakers at the conference described some cases where foreign workers were working up to eighty hours per week in the catering and hotel industries.

The conference was organized by the TGWU's International Workers

Branch. Formed one year ago, this branch has experienced a growth that reflects an increasing will by immigrant workers to fight for their rights.

The conference pledged its support to another conference, slated for June 2 in Birmingham, which has been called by Indian workers who won a successful strike last year against the management of a clothing firm that had refused to hire Indian workers in the skilled grades. This conference, which has won widespread support in the trade-union movement and the Black community, will discuss the part that the unions should play in combating racism and fighting for the rights of immigrant workers. □

### He's Heard of It

Reporters in Reykjavik heard Nixon and Pompidou discuss China as follows: Pompidou: "You know, Mr. President, I'm leaving in the fall for China."

Nixon: "My, that's halfway around the world."