

Peron Supports Ultraright Coup Against His Followers in Cordoba

**British Voters
Reject Tory
Incomes Policy**



Direct From Cuba

***'Symbionese Liberation Army'
and Kidnapping of Patricia Hearst***

Defoliation Effects May Last a Century

A report recently issued by the U. S. National Academy of Sciences has concluded that the herbicides used by Washington during the Indochina war have "caused serious and extensive damage" to the inland tropical forests of South Vietnam and destroyed 36 percent of the mangrove forests along the coast. The report also noted indications that the herbicides, which were used to destroy crops and other foliation, had caused deaths among children of the montagnard tribes in the hills of western South Vietnam.

Despite the brief mention in the report of the effects of the herbicides on human life, Dr. George Kistiakowsky, a former vice-president of the National Academy of Sciences, said that the report "seriously underestimated the damage and is too casual about the possible ill effects on humans." Nevertheless, the report is still revealing. One of the members of the panel charged with producing the report interviewed montagnard refugees from a number of villages in South Vietnam. The refugees described how a plane would pass by, "spraying smoke." Then practically all the villagers would have abdominal pains, intense coughing, and severe rashes. While the adults usually recovered, many of the children died. In one village alone thirty-eight children perished.

Another study previously made by the United States Army indicated that dioxin, a toxic, insoluble impurity found in defoliants, can cause liver damage, genetic changes, and cancer.

In assessing the damage done to the mangrove forests, the report said: "Under present conditions of use and natural regrowth, it may take well over 100 years for the mangrove area to be reforested." The mangrove swampland is one of the important breeding grounds of fish essential to the Vietnamese diet.

Between 1961 and 1971, Washington dropped more than 100 million pounds of herbicides on South Vietnam—about six pounds for every man, woman, and child in the country. More than 5.7 million acres, or about one-seventh of South Vietnam's land mass, was sprayed with the dangerous chemicals. □

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Peron Backs Ultraright Coup in Cordoba

By Gerry Foley

The chief of police in Córdoba, Argentina, Antonio Domingo Navarro, refused to give up his command on February 27 when the governor ordered him retired from active service. Instead he jailed the governor, deputy governor, and the heads of a number of provincial ministries.

A list of those arrested, published in the March 1 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Razón*, included the minister of the interior, the minister of social welfare, two deputies in the provincial assembly, the chairman of the provincial bank, the chairman of the Peronist bloc in the Córdoba city council, several trade-union leaders, and the provincial prosecutor.

Immediately after the arrest of the governor and the leading figures in his administration, right-wing trade-union goons seized the local radio and television station. At about 10:00 p.m. on February 27, broadcasting stopped. It resumed at 4:00 a.m. "Throughout the entire day," the March 1 *La Prensa* reported, "proclamations came over the air denouncing the activity of the government headed by Obregón Cano [the jailed governor], supporting Perón and the stand taken by Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Navarro. . . ."

"At the same time many coded messages were broadcast directed at 'groups.' They went like this: 'The potato is cold. It should soon get better.' 'The children are welcome.' 'The bubbles have come to the surface.'"

The Buenos Aires daily noted that these messages were attributed to the Comando Peronista de Rebelión Civil (Peronist Civilian Rebel Command).

In the early morning of March 1, an armed group in civilian dress occupied the provincial legislative chambers, apparently acting in concert with the police, who sealed off the surrounding area.

The February 28 *La Prensa* speculated at first that the police actions might have been motivated by purely "professional" grievances: "For some time there had been signs of discon-

tent among the police over the fact that they were not extended the same retroactive benefits as other state employees. . . ."

"Added to all this was the public clash between the former deputy chief of police, Colonel Julián Andrés Chiappe, now being tried on the charge of robbing a chicken hatchery, and the chief of police, Lieutenant Colonel Navarro.

"Another cause of discontent was the fear that the life of the statute governing promotions would be prolonged in an attempt to carry out a gradual purge of the different levels of command."

The *La Prensa* account failed to note that Chiappe had accused Navarro of embezzling police funds and, according to a March 3 cable from *New York Times* correspondent Jonathan Kandell, "organizing a series of bombing attempts against the homes of supposed leftists. The house of Deputy Governor Atilio López was among those attacked."

It quickly became apparent that the grievances of the police were not strictly "professional." "Yesterday a bomb destroyed the home of a judge who is handling the case of 19 policemen accused of summarily executing five farmers in January after mistaking them for left-wing guerrillas," a dispatch reported in the March 2 *New York Times*.

"Terrorists also attempted to bomb the most influential newspaper in the province, *La Voz del Interior*, yesterday. News broadcasts last night reported that the attempt had succeeded, but workers at the newspaper said today that the bombs were removed before they exploded.

"Several reporters and other employees of *La Voz del Interior* asserted they recognized some of the terrorists as policemen. One worker was beaten by the intruders.

"The newspaper has angered many policemen by reporting in detail the case of the five slain farmers. It has also published letters by two witnesses of the shootings, which took place

on Jan. 23 when the policemen ambushed an automobile on a highway outside of Córdoba."

The mutinous police apparently tried to exploit the hue and cry raised over acknowledged and alleged actions by left-wing terrorists in recent weeks. According to a UPI dispatch in the March 1 issue of the *New York Spanish-language daily El Diario*, the justification first given by the putschists was that the provincial authorities had handed over guns to "notoriously Marxist" groups.

But just before the putsch a right-wing Peronist trade-union group, the José Rucci Command, put a statement in the Córdoba papers that seemed to explain the background and purpose of the coup. The February 28 *La Prensa* indicated that this organization was representative of the right wing of the local union movement. The *solicitada*, or ad, was similar to many the union bureaucracy has placed in the papers since Perón's return. (The genre may be the ta tzu pao, or "big-character posters," of the "cultural revolution" Perón announced in his February 14 speech on the need for a "dogmatic stage" of Peronism.)

Commenting on the forced retirement of Navarro, the statement said:

"The pseudo representatives of the people, Obregón Cano, Atilio López, and their clique of Bolshies and traitors to the Social Justice [Peronist] Movement are trying to pull off a new farce. Exploiting the Social Justice Movement, they are usurping offices that belong to genuine Peronists and they have been getting away with it because of the people's patience. But this patience has reached its end, because after the disaster in transportation, the packinghouse industry, public employment, the paralyzed beltway, and a series of failures that have brought the province to the brink of ruin, they now want to destroy the only element of order left in the province, its police force. This is the same police force that in other times served other orders and has now been won back for the people thanks to the vision of the leader of the Argentines.

"This police force will not falter when it has to watch over the running of this society because it is part of this society and it is made up of men who continually risk their lives in the line of duty.

"We cannot allow those who have

been enemies of the people at all times, and today the Bolshies . . . the governor, the deputy governor, and a grand jury judge (a former journalist) to destroy this police force. Let the people of Córdoba know that the moment of truth has arrived, the time to defend Perón and his doctrine, to defend the police of the province, to the final consequences, against the antinational onslaught of the lackeys of foreign imperialisms that have encysted themselves in the province."

The first "disaster" mentioned in this obviously putschist statement was the transport workers strike. The rightist bureaucracy was infuriated when the UTA (Unión Tranviarios Automotor — Bus Drivers Union) was promised a raise around the end of the year that went beyond the guidelines laid down by the Pacto Social between the unions and the employers association. Furthermore, the UTA was protected from strikebreaking by Deputy Governor Atilio López, the leader of the union and one of the most popular and respected Peronist trade-unionists.

The victory of the Córdoba bus drivers threatened to undermine the entire class-collaborationist deal that Perón's government is based on. Most immediately endangered were the right-wing bureaucrats, who were put in a difficult position to oppose the aspirations of their rank and file. They launched a furious counterattack, passing a motion that formally expelled López from the CGT (Confederación General de Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor).

But it was difficult for the right-wing bureaucrats to gain effective control of the provincial labor movement. Independent class-struggle formations were strong in some unions. And as against López, a veteran of the illegal Peronist movement, these leaders suffered from a certain lack of prestige, many of them having collaborated with the military trustees that persecuted unionists remaining loyal to "the orders of General Perón and his staff."

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Apparently the right-wing bureaucrats hoped that the "police revolt" would cut the gordian knot: "Left-wing labor leaders, who have asked their workers to remain in a 'state of alert' have gone into hiding," the *New York Times* reported March 2.

"Taking advantage of the absence of the leftists, conservative labor leaders early this morning elected one of their members, Bernabé Barcena of the Millers Union, to head the provincial labor federation."

More than a thousand alleged "leftists" were rounded up by the putschist police, according to a UPI dispatch in the March 1 *El Diario*. "Police sources said they were being held in various premises of the force."

Groups of armed men in civilian clothes patrolled Córdoba, claiming to be loyal followers of Perón.

"Two young men who patrolled an intersection early this morning near the central Spanish-colonial-style Plaza San Martín said they were Peronist workers who were helping the police 'to maintain order,'" reported Jonathan Kandell in a March 2 cable to the *New York Times* from Córdoba.

"'This is not going to end until we kill all the Bolshevik leaders,' said one of the youths, who was carrying a rifle with a telescopic sight."

In the face of a minicoup, with a scenario similar to the take-over only a few months ago by the bloodthirsty Chilean junta, the Peronist national government announced its "respect for provincial autonomy."

"In keeping with his political style, he [Perón] has struck an above-the-battle pose and declared the revolt a matter that should be solved 'at the provincial level,'" a March 1 dispatch to the *New York Times* reported.

But the national government did not maintain a strict hands-off policy. The results of the rump CGT elections were immediately recognized by Perón's minister of labor, Ricardo Otero, who explained to reporters that the right-wing labor bureaucrats "must have had a good reason" for backing the police revolt.

In his message to congress March 2, Perón called on the national legislature to remove Obregón formally from office and said that the police revolt was a result of the ousted governor's "failing to meet the duties of his office."

On February 28, the president of the provincial chamber of deputies, the right-wing Peronist Mario Dante Agodino, agreed to take office as provisional governor under the patronage of the mutinous police and rightist terror gangs. Neither Perón nor any national Peronist leader seems to have criticized him. Nonetheless, the federal judge in Córdoba, Adolfo Zamboni Ledesma, ruled on the day of the putsch that the police had committed an act of rebellion by preventing the governor and his administration from performing their duties. Thus, by accepting the results of a mutiny, Agodino seemed to be making himself at least an accomplice in sedition.

What the reaction of the Peronist activists was when they saw their leaders in effect collaborating with the hangmen of the dictatorship in jailing a veteran of the "resistance" like López is not yet known. But there were signs that the Córdoba putsch put a serious strain on Perón's national coalition. The bourgeois liberals of the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), the largest non-Peronist party, have historical reasons to fear authoritarian rule by "el lider," and their statements indicated some nervousness.

In this situation, Perón and the rightists seemed still to observe some limits in the purge. López and Obregón were released on March 1, and the ousted governor immediately went into hiding and appealed for resistance to the coup:

"'I have not resigned and I will not resign,' said Mr. Obregón Cano in a message sent from his secret hiding place," Kandell wrote in the March 3 *New York Times*. "He also called on Córdoba residents to back him and asked for the support of President Perón."

The caudillo moved quickly to try to block a counterattack from the Peronist left. "In a message to Congress [March 2]," Kandell cabled from Córdoba, "he [Perón] blamed the crisis in this industrial city on Mr. Obregón Cano and announced his intention to replace the Governor once and for all with a federal official of his own choice." It seemed that the caudillo had suddenly forgotten all about "respect for provincial autonomy."

The mutinous police took full advantage of Perón's declaration:

"Citizens of Córdoba,' blared the radios to the strains of the Peronist marching song, 'General Perón himself has decided to direct our city's destiny. Give him your whole-hearted support, and do not listen to a seditious Marxist coterie that wants to lead us to violence.'"

Perón's new governor promised provincial elections in September to resolve the conflict, apparently trying to convince the population that he would oversee a "democratic" solution. Thus, regardless of whether Perón intends to hold any more bourgeois-democratic elections in Córdoba or anywhere else, an intense battle for the confidence of the masses has obviously opened up.

Perón seems to be trying to use the rightist coup in Córdoba as he did the one in Chile as a horrible example of what happens when "ultraleftists" disturb the "social peace." In this way he probably hopes to frighten the Argentine people into giving him *carte blanche* to negotiate a "pacification."

But the old strongman has ventured onto shaky ground. The removal of left Peronist governors by armed force cannot help but stir unpleasant memories in Argentina. And López is an old stalwart whom no one can accuse of being an "ultraleftist." Furthermore, endorsing a coup by a police force accused of carrying out a massacre of farmers and a whole series of terrorist attacks, including attacks against the elected authorities, a coup that has already cost the lives of seven people in unexplained shooting incidents, should put Perón in a rather difficult position to exploit the "peace" issue. The outrage in Córdoba has put the responsibility for terrorism and violence in the country squarely on the repressive forces and their mafia-type allies in the trade-union bureaucracy.

The Córdoba coup is clearly a decisive test for the Argentine workers movement. The problem to be overcome goes much deeper than the putschist inclinations and actions of the provincial police and rightist gangs; it involves Perón's political hold on the majority of the working class. If a revolutionary workers leadership is able to expose the "people's general" effectively before the masses and develop a mass response to the outrage in Córdoba, Peronism will be

shattered by its contradictions and the way will be cleared for a qualitative

leap forward by the well-organized and combative Argentine proletariat. □

General Strike Brings Gains

Inflation Spurs Martinique Labor Upsurge

By Tony Thomas

Paris

All around the world, the effects of the current economic difficulties of imperialism are being passed on to the working class in the form of inflation and unemployment. One of the most massive and successful responses to this inflation has been the recent labor upsurge that shook the French colony of Martinique.

A West Indian island with a largely Black population of 340,000, Martinique has witnessed a series of important labor struggles over the last few months that culminated in a general strike February 12 that lasted more than a week. As a result of these struggles the workers were able to win most of their demands for wage increases and job security.

I was able to interview Jean-Claude Bourgeois, a leader of Martinique's electrical workers and a member of the Groupe Révolution Socialiste (Socialist Revolution Group—GRS), the Antilles section of the Fourth International. Bourgeois is here to take part in the negotiations between the electrical workers and the French government.

The inflation that is currently gripping most of the advanced capitalist countries is having an even greater effect in many colonial areas such as Martinique. In addition to the inflation in the prices of industrial and finished goods that these countries must buy from the advanced countries, they face a permanent deflation in the value of the cash crops and primary resources exported to the imperialist countries.

In Martinique, Bourgeois pointed out, this crisis has especially affected sugar and bananas, the two main crops produced on the island. Twelve years ago Martinique produced 90,000 metric tons of sugar; today it produces 25,000 tons per year. In 1971 alone, thirteen sugar mills

closed, and only two mills are operating this year. Banana production has also suffered a decline.

The resulting economic crisis has led to an unemployment figure of 60,000, more than one-sixth of the total population. This has helped enforce low wages and foster poor working conditions. For example, banana workers, who are able to find employment only six to eight months a year, receive as little as \$90 a month.

Added to this degradation is the mounting inflation that has hit the island. The price of rice, a basic staple for the workers and peasants, has gone up 150 percent in the past nine months. The cost of living is 30 percent higher than in France, which itself has seen steep inflation.

These conditions triggered the series of worker and student struggles that led to the February 12 general strike. The first to move into action were the workers at the *France-Antilles* newspaper, the island's only daily. For three months the workers there had been on strike, demanding a raise in wages (some workers make less than \$35 a week after ten years of work) and recognition of collective-bargaining rights. The Hersant trust, the owners of the paper, refused to negotiate with the workers and brought in scabs to operate the daily. When the striking workers began to put out their own paper, *Force-Antilles*, the police helped sell the scab-produced daily.

In January the building workers struck for thirteen days for a 25 percent wage increase and were able to win an 18 percent raise. They were followed by the electrical workers, who shut off all power on the island February 4-7. Their demands included an increase in their base wages, equal fringe benefits with French electrical workers, and automatic wage increases to match inflation. Their struggle forced the electrical company, which

is publicly funded, into negotiations that are still continuing.

The banana workers also went on strike, demanding a raise in wages and guaranteed daily work. Additional strikes took place in other sectors of the island's economy.

These struggles pushed the leadership of Martinique's unions, the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), FO (Force Ouvrière—Workers Power), the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor), and the FEN (Fédération d'Education Nationale), to call a united general strike. The demands raised by the strike included support to the various local strikes, social welfare benefits equal to those in France, and equalization of the minimum wage for farm and agricultural workers.

Bourgeois explained that this general strike had been different from previous, more or less symbolic ones that the union leaders had called. Militants, especially those in the GRS, had pushed to have the strike organized by the workers themselves, rather than leaving it solely to the reformist and Stalinist apparatuses. Strike committees were formed, daily strike assemblies were held, and mass demonstrations and flying picket squads were used to try to win the support of the population.

The strike met sharp government repression, including the murder of two banana workers. In Lorrain, in the northern part of the island, a flying picket squad was attacked the evening of February 13 by the police and army. Renor Illmany, one of the strikers, was killed on the spot. Several days later the body of Georges Marie-Louise, a striker who had disappeared after the police attack, was found horribly mutilated on a nearby beach.

These measures of repression met with a massive response, including demonstrations of 10,000 in Fort-de-France, the island's main city, and the attendance of thousands at Illmany's funeral. To prevent police attacks, these demonstrations were defended by worker defense guards carrying clubs and the machetes used by the sugar and banana workers.

The strength of this upsurge, which, according to Bourgeois, fused with a desire for political independence from France, forced the bosses to settle with

the workers. Substantial concessions were won on all fronts except for *France-Antilles*, where the struggle continues. Most of the strikes had been settled or had gone into final negotiations by February 21.

Throughout the struggle, the French press and government tried to claim that it was all due to "Trotskyist instigators" from the GRS. Bernard Stasi, minister of overseas departments and territories (i.e., colonies) of France, claimed in a statement that the deaths of striking workers were due to "the work of agitation" of "organized groups," and that "it is the Trotskyists who are profiting from this situation in order to campaign in favor of independence."

Bourgeois and the other spokespersons for the GRS here, while not denying the important role the GRS played in the struggle, point out that these accusations—along with the claims about "foreign agitators" and "Cuban arms"—represent an attempt to divert attention from the power displayed by the masses of Martinique workers and from the conditions they are struggling

against. He believes that government attempts to suppress the GRS in Martinique are not probable at this point because of the high level of combativity of the workers and students.

Here in Paris, French revolutionary socialists have affirmed their solidarity with the Martinique struggle. Alain Krivine, one of the leaders of the ex-Ligue Communiste (Communist League—former French section of the Fourth International), held a joint press conference with Bourgeois in which he announced that the French Trotskyists unconditionally support the struggle for national liberation of the Martiniquans and other peoples oppressed by France. He also announced that the French Trotskyists and others would be launching actions in solidarity with the struggle in Martinique.

A special joint issue of *Rouge*, the newspaper of the French Trotskyists, and *Libération Antilles-Guyane*, published by GRS members in France, has been published, reporting on the events in Martinique and containing the statements of the GRS. □

USLA Issues Appeal

Ask Aid for Threatened Chilean Prisoners

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has issued an appeal to all supporters of human rights for immediate action to help save the lives of nine political prisoners threatened by the Chilean junta. The prisoners are:

Jaime Barrios. At the time of the coup, Barrios was serving as the central economic adviser to Salvador Allende. He had formerly been an economic assistant to the Castro government. He was in the presidential palace on September 11. Since that time, the only report on his whereabouts comes from Allende's heart specialist, also present in La Moneda during the coup, who reports seeing Barrios alive, lying face down in the street, that afternoon. The Pinochet regime has made no statement as of yet on Barrios's fate.

Guillermo Cahn. Cahn, age 27, is one of the most significant voices of the

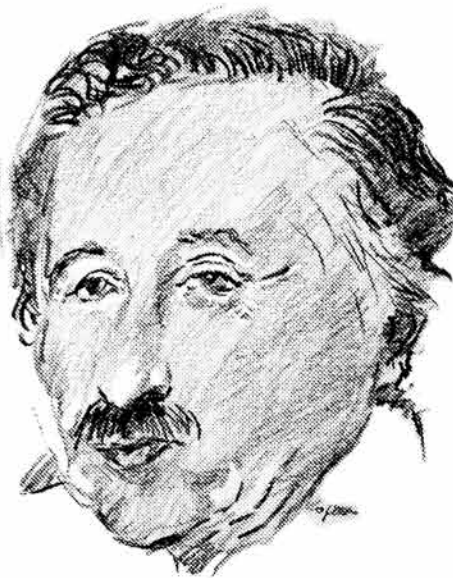
new Chilean cinema and has inspired and organized a movement of Chilean filmmakers. The documentary works he has directed—including *Nutuayin Mapu* about the problems of the Mapuche Indians, *Casa o mierda* on the miserable living conditions of Chilean ghetto dwellers, and *No nostrancaran el paso* about peasant struggles in the south of Chile—have been shown in Europe and the United States. Cahn was arrested November 23 and is in the Buin Regiment in Santiago. Charges against him are unknown.

Luis Corvalán Lepe. The extreme south of Chile was described by Darwin this way: "In these still solitudes, death, instead of life, is the predominant spirit." It is in this area, on Dawson Island, that Luis Corvalán, General Secretary of the Chilean Communist party, is imprisoned. Corvalán is accused of treason for his role in allegedly masterminding Plan Z, which the junta uses as its justifica-

tion for the coup. According to Pinochet and Co., Plan Z was a plot to execute every officer of the Chilean military. Corvalán's life has already been threatened since his detention. Summary execution was rumored, but international protest forced Pinochet to announce to the press that Corvalán would be tried in due course. As has been pointed out in a letter to USLA, those on Dawson Island "will die quickly, as a result of the lack of sanitation, the malnutrition and bad treatment." Trials to deal with these opponents of the junta may thus not be necessary to accomplish the junta's intentions.

Héctor Gutiérrez. A 45-year-old Chilean national, Gutiérrez was employed as a professor of demography in the School of Public Health at the University of Chile when he was arrested. He has published several essays on the characteristics of Latin American populations. Gutiérrez worked several years in the mines of the province of Valparaíso. Reports indicate he will be tried by a military tribunal for "ideological" reasons. Gutiérrez is a militant of the Fourth International. He has been transferred to an abandoned saltpeter mine in the north of Chile. His first wife and three children are penniless, and his second wife and infant daughter have no means of support.

Juan Flandes. Flandes is a 25-year-old student of commercial engineering at the University of Los Angeles and lacks only three months of study to graduate. He is accused of being the head of guerrilla activity in Santa Juana and Nacimiento in the south and is expected to go before a military



LUIS CORVALAN

tribunal at any time. USLA has received word that Flandes has been severely mistreated and faces a probable death sentence.

Alejandro Romero Guzmán. A surgeon in Los Andes, Romero was arrested two months ago and tortured at length before being summarily tried and sentenced to death by a kangaroo court. A member of the Central Committee of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), he could be executed at any moment, according to a January statement by the National Secretariat of MIR.

Marcelo Romo. A 32-year-old actor, Romo has starred in many Chilean and foreign films and is one of the most brilliant figures in Latin American film and theater. His films include Miguel Littin's *El Chacal de Nahuel-*

toro, Helvio Soto's *Voto mas fusil*, Aldo Francia's *Ya no basta con rezar*, and *Les cents soleils de l'Ile de Pâques*, directed by Pierre Kast. He was arrested November 12 and has been kept incommunicado at the Buin Regiment. Charges against him are unknown. Reports indicate that he has been subjected to torture of the most brutal kind, and people fear for his life.

Bautista Van Schouwen Vasey. A 29-year-old leader and founding member of the MIR, Van Schouwen was captured by the junta officials last December 13. In the hands of Pinochet's gorillas, Van Schouwen has been beaten and so savagely tortured that he had to be transferred to a military hospital—staffed by notorious opponents of the Unidad Popular government—where he remained as of latest reports. As an internist, Van Schouwen practiced for some time in Concepción, after several years as a student leader at the University of Concepción. Van Schouwen is married and has a son.

Luis Vitale. At the time of his arrest, Luis Vitale—Marxist scholar and author of a six-volume history of Chile—was a professor of history and geography at the University of Concepción. He is a leading member of the Fourth International. Vitale spent two months in the National Stadium, where he was beaten, interrogated, and half starved. It is reported that as a result he has lost much weight, has kidney problems, a skin infection, and is greatly debilitated. Contradictory reports have been received as to his whereabouts—perhaps a concentration camp in the north of Chile, or the Chile Stadium. □

'Last Organ of the Opposition'

'Marcha' Editor, Uruguayan Novelist Arrested

By Candida Barberena

Three days elapsed before the Uruguayan people learned of the February 9 arrest of 71-year-old Carlos Quijano, editor of the opposition weekly *Marcha*. Since the government had remained silent, none of the media dared announce the news themselves.

However, even the establishment press decided to break the silence when on February 11 the police arrested Juan Carlos Onetti, Uruguay's most prestigious writer, regarded as one of the greatest novelists of the Spanish language.

Even then, the news was deliberately obscured. In a February 14 dispatch to *Le Monde*, correspondent Philippe Labreveux reported:

"It was in the crime section that the daily *El País* announced the arrest of Messrs. Quijano and Onetti.

And still the reader had to sift through the article containing the news, as the banner headline was purposely misleading: 'Five Arrested for Pornography.' There could be no more dishonest travesty of the truth: an attack against the freedom of the press that is very likely to result in abolishing the last organ of the opposition, the only Uruguayan publication that is still independent."

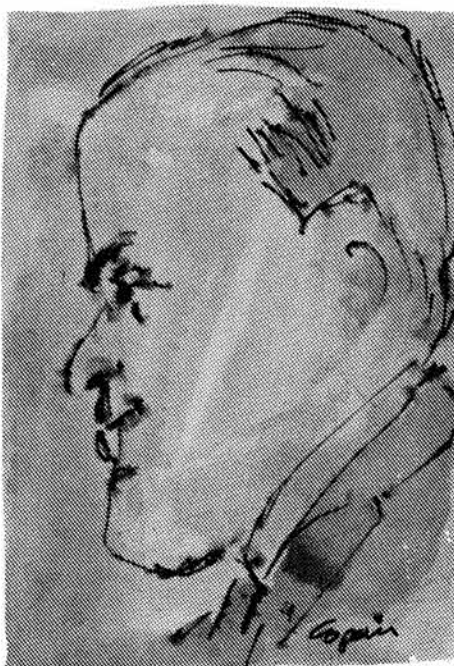
In addition to Quijano and Onetti, authorities have arrested Hugo Alfaro, managing editor of *Marcha*; and the authors Winston Nelson Marra and Mercedes Rein. Authorities have ordered the arrest of Jorge Rufinelli Altesor, former literary editor of *Marcha*, who is in Mexico. Their trial by a military court began on February 15.

The prosecution of these writers and journalists is linked to the February 9 publication in *Marcha* of a short story by Nelson, "Guardaespaldas" (Bodyguard), which the authorities have labeled "pornographic" for its description of two sexual acts. *Marcha* awarded the story a prize after it was selected by a jury composed of Onetti, Rein, and Rufinelli. The issue containing the short story was seized from newsstands after it appeared.

The February 12 issue of *El País* charged Nelson with falsely portraying former police inspector Héctor Morán Charquero, who was killed by Tupamaros about four years ago. "Bodyguard" is less likely to have offended the authorities' sense of morality than their professional "integrity," for its theme places in center stage a pernicious, corrupt police state. On the verge of death on a hospital bed, the protagonist relates the major exploits of his sexual life. *La Opinión* described the "objectionable" passages in its February 13 issue:

"Some fifty lines of the two and three-quarters pages taken up by [Nelson] Marra's short story in the weekly *Marcha* describe in a rather detailed way two sexual acts experienced by the protagonist. The first, with a prostitute, doesn't exceed the language customarily used to describe this kind of situation. More risqué—and probably what mainly irritated the Uruguayan censors, is the second description in which El Pardo (allegedly Morán Charquero) engages in an open homosexual act with a Uruguayan politician he is guarding."

La Opinión reported that Onetti's



BORDABERRY: Dictator finds truth about police "pornographic."

arrest has caused some stir in Latin American literary circles that may further tarnish the image of Bordaberry's government.

La Opinión described the arrests in the context of earlier repressive moves:

"Last Thursday's [February 7] seizure of *Marcha*'s issue is only an extension of an escalated repression against the opposition press that Bordaberry's government began by closing the newspapers *Ultima Hora*, *El Popular*, *Ahora*, and *Ya*. Television stations and radio broadcasts have been totally censored for months, while international news agencies have imposed on themselves a so-called self-censorship."

"In any case," *La Opinión* continued, "the arbitrary severity of the action taken against *Marcha* and the arrest of Onetti show a change, a worsening of the repressive tactics of the Bordaberry government. Until now newspaper and magazine shutdowns were formally given political explanations, but this is the first time that the Uruguayan government has condemned a group of intellectuals for reasons that largely fall into the domain of freedom of artistic expression. Heading off these criticisms, government functionaries said yesterday in Montevideo that Onetti, as well as the others who were arrested, 'could be tried on the charge of pornography,

or because "Bodyguard" is an apology for violence.'"

Uruguayan observers have pointed out that as the short story contains absolutely no association by name to dead or living people, it must be judged on its artistic merits. It is also pointed out that any attribution of pornography is totally unprecedented in Uruguayan law.

Among the telegrams that have been sent directly to Bordaberry was one from a press conference held by the Argentine Writers Association demanding "the immediate freedom of the admirable writer Juan Carlos Onetti, whose age and health create fear of the consequences of this unspeakable arrest." Among those who signed the telegram are Jorge Luis Borges, José Blanco, Augusto Roa Bastos, Mario Benedetti, Davil Stive, Marco Denevi, Juan José Sebrelli, Ramiro de Casabellas, Ernesto Schoó, Ariel Dorfman, Osvaldo Soriano, Haroldo Conti, María Rosa Oliver, and many others. Amnesty International has also demanded the release of those arrested. □

Prepare Secret Trials in Santiago

Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to Washington under the Allende regime, has been removed from the military junta's Dawson Island prison camp and taken to Santiago for a closed-door military trial, according to a report in the February 28 *Washington Post*.

The *Post* reports that José Toha and Clodomiro Almeyda, former cabinet ministers in the Allende government, have also been brought to Santiago to face secret trial. All three former officials were members of the now banned Socialist party.

The move reflects a shift on the part of the Pinochet regime, for the junta's current ambassador to Washington had previously told reporters that the former officials would be tried in civil proceedings open to the press.

Other well-known political figures still being held on Dawson Island include Luis Corvalán, secretary general of the banned Chilean Communist party; Daniel Vergara, former undersecretary of the interior; and Carlos Jorquera, Allende's former press secretary. □

Voters Reject Tory Wage Freeze

One day after the February 28 general election, Britain's largest betting chain opened book on the outcome of the next. With none of the parties having achieved the 318 seats needed for a majority in Parliament, most observers were predicting a period of minority government, one that would not last long before the calling of another election.

The February 28 election gave the Labour party 301 seats (against 287 in the previous Parliament), Conservatives 296 (323), Liberals 14 (11), Scottish Nationalists 7 (2), United Ulster Unionists 11 (6), Plaid Cymru (Welsh nationalists) 2 (0), and independent Labour 3 (2). The balance of power between the two large parties thus lay with a heterogeneous collection of 37 members.

Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath, determined to remain in office despite the overwhelming rejection of his policies, met with Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe March 2 in an effort to put together a coalition government. However, such an alliance would still be eight votes short of a majority. Moreover, the chief Liberal demand in a coalition would presumably be a change in the election laws to a system of proportional representation. (Under such a system, in the February 28 election the Liberals, who received 19.3 percent of the total vote, would have been assigned 123 seats instead of 14.) Neither the Tories nor the Labour party are in favor of such a change, which would considerably reduce the number of seats held by each.

The eleven Unionist members from Northern Ireland are eager for an agreement with the Tories, if the right bargain can be struck.

"The problem," the March 3 *Sunday Times* commented, "is that most Tories at Westminster, who look back on Mr Whitelaw's Ulster achievement as the brightest jewel in the Heath Administration's somewhat battered crown, are likely to find the 'bargain' intolerable. For, in essence, it implies a complete unravelling of Whitelaw's work and a resurrection of the 'Irish Question' as the central issue in British politics."

Labour party leader Harold Wilson has rejected any formal coalition, but is reported planning to form a minority government with the tacit support of the Liberal and independent Labour members.

In an editorial, the *Sunday Times* indicated that this might constitute the best of all available worlds at the moment:

"Labour, suitably harnessed, has to be given a chance. What would be re-



HEATH

quired from Labour would be, first, a Cabinet of moderate men. . . . Secondly, Labour would have to abandon its extreme policies of nationalisation for its own sake. Thirdly, it would have to go slow on EEC [Common Market] renegotiation. Fourthly, Labour should realise that its 'compact' with the unions would be on probation. It would have to get the miners back quickly and to head off inflationary wage claims."

The Labour party leaders are considered the logical candidates to impose wage controls because of the pub-

lic rejection of Heath's attempt to impose them. As Ronald Butt observed in the same issue of the *Sunday Times*:

"The meaning of the [election] verdict is unambiguous. The nation has rejected the specific policies for which Mr Heath appealed, and has cast a vote of no confidence in his advice that these policies were vital. . . .

"There were, said Mr Heath over and over again, only two questions. The first was the need for a new mandate for a *strong* Government to face new problems. Yet whatever peripheral support he could scrape up for survival, the Prime Minister would be unable now to provide the *strong* Government which he thought important enough to justify an unwise election that the nation did not want.

"The second issue, Mr Heath asserted, was the Incomes Policy itself. But the people have voted by the overwhelming majority of 62 per cent [the total for all parties except the Tories] to 38 percent against this policy."

A Labour minority government would provide both Labour party and union bureaucrats with a convenient excuse for "moderation" in everything but the control of wages. In the March 3 *Observer*, David Wilson reported an interview with David Basnett, general secretary of the General and Municipal Workers Union:

"If Labour takes power as a minority Government, he foresaw a large measure of co-operation from the TUC [Trades Union Congress]. Unions would realise that Mr Wilson could not fulfil all his election pledges without a working majority and the TUC would help the Labour Party draw up a list of priorities. . . .

"On wage controls, he believed that unions might not insist on an immediate return to wages free-for-all. 'I would like the Labour Government to examine the books and come to the TUC and say "Let's do it this way." I do not think unions would then rock the boat.'"

But for the moment at least, the uncertainty as to the composition of the next government and its chances of survival have delayed the expected offer to end the miners' strike.

"The prospect of a period of weak, unstable government," Michael Braham reported in the *Observer*, "has produced alarm and despondency in industry."

"Many managers fear that any delay in getting the miners back to work and restoring the five-day week would hit output hard and have long-lasting aftereffects. Valuable export markets

would be put at risk and the further blow to business confidence would jeopardise the capital investment needed to keep British industry competitive." □

by TUC leader Len Murray several days earlier. "If a government wants us involved," Murray said, "it will find us responsible, although it will put a burden on our shoulders. We will cooperate if we think we are getting a fair deal."

Soon after it was announced, the prospect of an incomes policy imposed by a Labour administration and policed by the union showed signs of faltering. In the event that union leaders were unable to do the policing, Harold Lever, a former Labour minister, made it clear what the consequences would be. In a BBC broadcast on February 18, Lever said that a future Labour government would introduce, if necessary, any powers it required to enforce its "voluntary" wage controls.

Lever's views are not his alone, but are shared by Labour's top leadership. This was the same viewpoint expressed by Labour's shadow chancellor, Denis Healey, in a television interview on February 11. Asked if he would pledge that "under no circumstances would the Labour Party introduce a statutory incomes policy," Healey replied: "I would not give such a pledge, because I am an honest man and I know how circumstances can change cases."

The Tories responded to the announcement of a TUC-Labour party pact by casting doubts on its workability. Tory leader Heath seized upon the initially unfavorable reaction to the agreement by Hugh Scanlon, "left" leader of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

Scanlon at first denied that the TUC had reached an agreement with the Labour party leaders on wage controls, but by the end of the week he was insisting "emphatically" that a "compact" had been agreed to by the TUC, the Labour party Executive and the Parliamentary Labour party. Other union bureaucrats were quick to follow suit.

"By the weekend," wrote the *Sunday Times* staff on February 24, "more union reinforcements were coming over the hill. Both Clive Jenkins, Left-Wing general secretary of the white collar ASTMS [Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs], and David Basnett, leader of the General and Municipal Workers [Union] are circulating their members with a letter

Labour Party Looks to Incomes Policy

Wilson's 'Great New Social Contract'

[The following report was prepared just prior to the British elections of February 28.]

* * *

London

"We know the trade unions, at national level, in the individual districts and workshops. We can talk with them and work with them. We can get their cooperation. We understand their problems and their families' problems and we understand their loyalties, their emotions."

With these words Labour party leader Harold Wilson announced February 17 that a "great new social contract" had been agreed to by the top leaders of the Labour party and the Trades Union Congress (TUC). The announcement, part of preelection strategy, was the latest in a series of face-lifting operations undertaken by the Labour party's top brass to improve Labour's image with the business community at home and abroad.

Introducing the pact, Wilson made it clear that the contract would not infringe upon the profits of big business. "We seek to strike a bargain: consent between government, industry, and the trade unions," he said. "That bargain must be kept on both sides, and I believe it would be kept. I believe we can transform the industrial and economic outlook of Britain."

The announcement of the pact fits well with the strategy of the Labour leadership in the preelection period. They consistently turned against any militancy on the part of workers that might be detrimental to winning support from industrialists and bankers.

The nub of the new "contract" is a promise to capitalist business interests that a future Labour government would introduce an incomes policy that

would be enforceable because it would have the consent of the TUC top brass. In exchange, Labour will make a vague commitment to control prices and to introduce a fairer system of taxation, better housing, improved education, and a better health service.

The effect of the TUC-Labour party pact is to place the blame for inflation on workers' wage claims and not on the Tories, who have encouraged high inflation in order to generate profits and stimulate investments. At a time when workers are feeling a decline in real income, profits are reaching new peaks.

"It [the analysis of profits for last year] shows there were some startling rises in sector trading profits, including a 104 per cent rise for hire purchase companies," noted John Palmer, business editor of the *Guardian* on February 15. "Trading profits for building materials firms were up 57 per cent, and those for contracting and construction groups by almost 60 per cent.

"Following the big rise in bank profits reported recently by Lloyds, Barclays and National Westminster, and the doubling of profits by ICI, these figures may come as some embarrassment for the Conservatives. They compare with a rise of 12.9 per cent for earnings, which was barely enough to keep pace with the rise in prices last year."

According to figures released on February 15, prices are rising in Britain faster than at any time since the retail price index was started in 1947. Since the last general election food prices have increased by an average of 53 pence in the pound.

Wilson's announcement of the pact follows a statement to the same effect

expressing the intention of their unions 'to cooperate' fully and wholeheartedly 'with the actions of a Labour Government on the counter-inflation front.'

The *Sunday Times* reporters commented on the apparent confusion in Labour's ranks. "The Labour leadership, anticipating a general election much later this year, had hoped to lead the TUC carthorse to the water of incomes policy and persuade it to drink by this summer. Jim Callaghan, who had been guiding the TUC talks, on Wilson's behalf, had lined up a number of trade union conferences during the spring and early summer with the specific object of putting across a voluntary incomes policy to which they could agree."

"But the snap election pre-empted such elaborate manoeuvres," continued the *Sunday Times* staff, "freezing the actors mid-way between the 'compact' and 'contract' phases. All Wilson did, in his Nottingham speech, was to nudge Labour's confident expectations forward a bit but it was enough to put Hugh Scanlon on the spot when taxed by Robin Day about the terms of the 'social contract' last Monday night."

An idea of what the TUC-Labour party pact could mean is evident from the lengths to which the TUC leaders were prepared to go under the Tories to avoid a conflict with the government. Before the election was announced, TUC leaders gave an official commitment to the Tories that they would actively discourage affiliated unions from utilising a breach in Phase III if the government were prepared to grant "special case" status to the miners.

As for the Labour party leaders, they have already provided an indication of what can be expected under the "great new social contract." Before the election was announced the Labour party leadership, feeling the pressure of the red scare launched by the Tories, undertook to protect their image by initiating a witch-hunt of their own.

When the election was called, Wilson tried to take the heat off himself by publicly expressing regret that the miners did not call off their strike for the duration of the election. He then proceeded to convince the train drivers' leaders to end their overtime ban so as not to mar Labour's image.

On February 22 Wilson revealed

that the pact was really a fraud as far as the ordinary worker was concerned. Asked at a Bristol meeting what he would do about repealing Tory legislation against the right to picket, Wilson replied: "We have already had discussions with the TUC." "We have taken legal advice and we are going to change the law at the end of the day." He refused to say whether his government would free pickets jailed by the Tories or if it would repeal all antipicketing laws.

The main reason for the "contract" cooked up by the Labour leaders was the immense difficulties facing a new Labour government if one should be formed. Given the economic crisis, and the great stimulus of a Labour victory on workers' willingness to struggle, there is all the more pressing need for a Labour administration to rely on the union bureaucrats to keep things in order.

"I think they know now," said Wilson, according to a report in the *Guardian* on February 21 explaining why the TUC would cooperate with a new Labour government, "that the problem is, there isn't going to be any real prospect of major increases in living standards over the next year, especially after the three-day week. I think they recognise we shall be hard put to it to maintain living standards, and that is why they and we will agree there's got to be much fairer shares and nobody's trying to opt out."

The enormous balance of payments deficit incurred by the Tories will necessitate large-scale borrowing by whichever government assumes office. On February 25, three days before the election, a visible balance of trade deficit of £383 million was announced by the Board of Trade. It was the highest monthly total in British history.

A pledge of loyalty on the part of union bureaucrats would greatly aid a Labour government when it came to making application to international creditors and to enforcing austerity measures on British workers.

But given the economic crisis, it is doubtful that a "voluntary" incomes policy could work for long. Most assessments suggest strict wage controls by whichever government is elected. The statements of Labour leaders about enforcing a statutory incomes

policy are based on just this ruling-class need.

"The probability is," wrote John Cole, deputy editor of the *Guardian*, on February 18, "that sometime between March 2 and mid-summer either a Conservative or Labour government will take crisis action: a freeze, a squeeze or both."

On February 16 the weekly *Economist*, which is firmly opposed to Labour coming into office, assessed the advantages of a new Labour administration more favourably than most Tory advocates. "A Labour government might be less bad than Labour itself is saying that it would be. Although Labour advertises that it would surrender to wage inflation, the likelihood is that a Labour government would have to introduce a wage freeze rather quickly."

During their period in office the Tories have unleashed a major assault on working-class rights and living standards, including rising prices and widespread unemployment resulting from the three-day week; legislation directed against trade unions, immigrants, and tenants; and major cut-backs in public spending.

If Labour fails to obtain a decisive majority, it will be because of the confusion created by the class collaborationist policies pursued by the Labour party leadership. Their commitment to capitalism has led these Labour and union bureaucrats to advance policies fundamentally at odds with workers' interests. The prospect of another incomes policy—"voluntary" or otherwise—under a new Labour government in the guise of a "great new social contract" is yet another addition to this dismal record. □

Don't Ask

When British Communist party secretary John Gollan called a press conference to announce his party's manifesto for the February 28 election, he was asked to comment on the expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union.

"We are totally against such questions being dealt with by administrative measures," Gollan replied.

Impressed with this democratic sentiment, a reporter followed up with a question about another Soviet exile: Why hadn't the British CP protested the expulsion of Trotsky in 1929? In the ensuing "uproar," press reports indicated, Gollan avoided answering the question.

The Agreement at Lip Watch Factory

[The nine-month strike at the Lip watch factory in Besançon in eastern France ended January 29 with the signing of a back-to-work agreement. The longest strike in French history according to the January 30 *New York Times*, it included a two-and-a-half-month occupation of the factory in which the workers operated the plant themselves.

[An earlier proposal, put forward by government negotiator Henry Giraud, was rejected by the Lip workers at an October 12, 1973, general assembly. The Giraud plan, while supposedly limiting layoffs to 159 workers, offered no guarantees that the workers rehired on paper would actually get their jobs back.

[The agreement finally accepted was negotiated with José Bidegain, a leader of the "progressive" wing of the Conseil National du Patronat Français (National Council of French Employers).

[Under the terms of the Bidegain plan, 300 workers are to be rehired by the end of March. Another 200 are to be rehired by September 1, but only if "the development of the firm proceeds at a satisfactory rate." Those not rehired are to be retrained for other employment.

[The final clause of the agreement states, "application of the present agreement is conditional upon the settlement of all contested questions." From the employers' point of view, the number one "contested question" is the return of the Lip "war chest"—the stock of watches the strikers appropriated to protect their jobs, and the money they earned from the "unofficial" production of watches during the factory occupation.

[The following article, which appeared in the February 8 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*, is an analysis of the present stage of the Lip struggle and the back-to-work agreement. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Today we are in one of the most difficult phases of the struggle. Lip

has a chance to take the offensive against [Premier Pierre] Messmer. He has more than once declared, "Lip is finished!" but, lo and behold, Lip is not finished, Lip has not been shut down. But in order to turn this opportunity into real gains, all the Lip workers must be rehired. Nothing, however, is less certain. Furthermore, the rehiring of the Lip workers is conditional upon the smooth running of the factory. The Bidegain plan in effect contains a sort of moral anti-strike clause: "If you go out on strike, your fellow workers will not be rehired." Braced by this clause, the bosses lined up behind the Deslors/Chaban-Delmas team have launched a broad offensive aimed at demonstrating the merits of "participation."

There is a danger that the Lip workers' opportunity to register real gains will be taken away by a section of the bourgeoisie. Lip employees are conscious of this, for they declared once again at the January 5 general assembly:

"We completely agree with those who say there is no such thing as a good boss. In our opinion, Neuschwander and his crew are simply bosses who have come to make a profit. We have already shown through our past actions that we are quite aware of the realities of capitalism, and that there is no reason to fear we are going to become integrated, welcome [new Lip director Claude] Neuschwander with open arms, and work hand in hand with him in the front office. The aim of this particular group of bosses is to integrate the trade unions further and secure a favorable political position for themselves. Lip is the first step in this operation."

But unlike the situation last October 12, this time the Lip workers have little choice. They cannot count on the struggle being extended and, in particular, they cannot count on the formation of a front of struggles around the question of employment. A few remarks must be made, however, concerning the conditions in the agreement.

(1) First of all, it is practically certain, the local CFDT [Confédération

Française Démocratique du Travail — French General Confederation of Labor] leaders having themselves acknowledged it, that the negotiations had been settled before they even began.

This stands in contrast to the way the Lip workers have always publicized talks with the bosses, particularly during the discussions with Giraud, and it lends substance to the bourgeoisie's campaign about the results that can be obtained by reaching a settlement between the "people in charge."

(2) Didn't they return their war chest a little too quickly? Keeping it was one way the Lip workers had of guaranteeing that Neuschwander would keep his promises: They could have returned the war chest at the same rate at which workers were to be rehired. Perhaps it wasn't possible to force Bidegain to give in on this point. Perhaps this was one of the political conditions imposed by those who hold the power, a condition the Lip workers were forced to accept, given the present relationship of forces. But that should have been explained publicly.

(3) The principle of retraining has been accepted, but difficulties are emerging already. For example, Neuschwander said yesterday, "There may be no retraining classes before March 15." Why not demand that everyone be rehired and that the work be shared out among all the workers, or that the work be rotated? This would cost hardly anything more, but it would certainly guarantee employment for everyone and enable the Lip workers to maintain their unity. Furthermore, Lip would once again be able to point the way forward for the working class. After having shown that it is possible to initiate a protracted struggle against layoffs, they could demonstrate that, once unemployment threatens, the solution for workers is the sliding scale of hours and wages—that is, the reduction of hours of work with no loss of pay.

(4) The function of the parity commission on employment and training remains obscure in the agreement. It is not clear just what its composition will be and what power the workers will have on it. The workers' representatives who serve on the commission should be elected by the general assembly, even if the trade-union rep-

representatives there are from the right wing. Above all, they should regularly present the general assembly with an account of how they have used their mandate. "Control, yes; participation, no!" must be the watchword on this commission. The first test has come up: Who are going to be the first rehired? The workers' representatives should impose their veto if the bosses seek to rehire first those who abandoned the strike and sought employment elsewhere, but they have not been given the authority to determine whose name goes on the list of the first 300 workers to be rehired.

The Lip struggle is therefore not over. With all due respect to [Parti

Socialiste Unifié leader] Michel Rocard, the future depends much more on the unity and combativity of the Lip workers than on Neuschwander's "industrial strategy." To assure this cohesiveness, they have decided to maintain the unified structure of their struggle and to initiate an information campaign to counter bourgeois propaganda and the Communist party's slander campaign.

In the weeks to come perhaps the Lip workers will once again take up their banners and leaflets and return to the streets. That was considered this morning. We, like them, must remain vigilant, organize informational meetings, and be prepared to fight back. □

Austria

Swing to Left in Student Elections

By Raimund Loew

Vienna

Elections to the Osterreichische Hochschülerschaft [OH — Austrian Student Organization] produced the greatest leftward swing in Austrian student elections since 1945. The results threatened the absolute, uncontested domination of reactionary and bourgeois student organizations over Austrian college students—a domination that has probably been unique in Europe.

In the January 16-17 voting, the left organizations increased their total vote by 14 percent over the 1970 results, while the bourgeois losses reached 12 percent. The bourgeois groups retained an overwhelming majority on the Central Committee, the highest body of the OH, but are no longer able to conceal the growth of student opposition to their reactionary control.

During the 1960s in Austria, there were only minimal beginnings of a student movement, imported from West Germany. Only in recent years have parts of the student body begun to move, parallel with the formation of revolutionary organizations.

In some institutes and faculties, students began to defend themselves against the rationalization and regi-

mentation of the student-factories that were being carried out by the Social Democratic government as part of the educational reform it had introduced. At the same time, the anti-imperialist movement took hold in the universities: Solidarity actions with Vietnam, Chile, the Greek people, and the liberation movements in Africa took on a mass character. This was influenced by the impact of the worldwide rise in the revolutionary movement on the consciousness of the students. As the most sensible part of the intelligentsia, they more and more recognized that the crisis of capitalism on a world scale would not stop at the wooden barriers on the Austrian border.

The OH elections must be seen against this background. The elections were a success for the entire left. They increased the vote for the Verband Sozialistischer Studenten Osterreichs [Union of Socialist Students of Austria], which is close to the Sozialistische Partei Osterreichs [Socialist party of Austria] and which campaigned on a demagogic "left socialist" program in the style of the West German Sozialdemokratischer Hochschulbund [Social Democratic College Union].

But the results were also a suc-

cess for the revolutionists against the reformists. The Trotskyist list received 3 percent of the vote nationally, and in Vienna, which has the most politicized climate, 5.6 percent. The Maoists received 5% and 6.1% respectively. Since both organizations won seats in the Central Committee (in addition to seats in lower bodies, where the position of the revolutionists is considerably better), the reformists' witch-hunt against "ultraleft splinter groups" was an obvious failure.

The student organization of the KPO [Kommunistische Partei Osterreichs — Communist party of Austria] in the nationwide vote received about the same number of votes as the GRM [Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten — Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the Fourth International], but only about half as many in Vienna.

The results show the important progress made by the GRM in the last few years. It has been able to sink roots in many cities. At the university in Vienna, as the election results among other things demonstrate, its political influence is nearly as strong as that of the Maoists, who only a year ago completely dominated the revolutionary left.

The bourgeois press commented indignantly that the elections showed the impact of the "lefts," the "Communists," and "Trotskyists." The press was right. The revolutionists did not promise the students a more consistent representation, but propagandized in favor of connecting and subordinating student struggles to those of the working class and the oppressed peoples.

The revolutionists did not set a goal of "better" and "more democratic" education within capitalism. Rather they were concerned with spurring the struggle of students against education that serves capitalism, and in favor of socialism. For the bourgeois and reformist organizations in the universities, the election results indicate a less-than-rosy future. □

Enough to Make Mussolini Blush

"It [an inquiry into oil profiteering] seems well on its way to becoming Italy's worst scandal since the collapse of Fascism." — *New York Times*, Feb. 21.

Remember how much embarrassment that caused!

Valpreda Still Facing Frame-Up Charges

The frame-up trial of Pietro Valpreda, scheduled to open in Catanzaro in Southern Italy sometime in March, is fast being stripped of any shred of credibility.

Valpreda, an anarchist, is charged with participating in the December 12, 1969, bombing of the Banca dell' Agricoltura in Milan, in which sixteen people lost their lives and more than 100 were injured. Arrested soon after the blast on the unsupported testimony of a single witness, Valpreda was held in pretrial detention for three years, even though two neofascists were also eventually arrested in connection with the bombing.

Information and indictments recently released by the public prosecutors in Milan and Venice confirm the trumped-up nature of the case against Valpreda. According to the February 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the prosecutors have uncovered evidence that the Milan bombing was part of a vast right-wing conspiracy to discredit the left, and that three neofascists—Franco Freda, Giovanni Ventura, and Marco Pozzan—were the ones who carried out the bombing. Furthermore, they charge, there is evidence indicating the complicity of the military intelligence service in the affair.

Freda and Ventura are the two who were arrested while Valpreda was still in jail. Pozzan has yet to be apprehended. According to *Le Monde*, the three are charged with being the "organizers and promoters" not only of the Milan bombing but also of twenty-one other terror attacks that rocked Italy between April and December 1969.

Others now under indictment in this right-wing terror campaign include Pino Rauti, leader of the neofascist Italian Social Movement; oil magnate Attilio Monti, reportedly one of Rauti's financial backers; and neofascist journalist Guido Giannettini.

The aim of the bombings, according to a document by Giannettini now in the possession of the prosecutors, was to create a witch-hunt climate against the left in which a government more favorable to the right could come to power. The document, dated May 4,

1969, speaks of "the possibility of a wave of terror attacks in order to convince public opinion of the danger of continuing the opening to the left."

Giannettini, a key figure in the conspiracy, seems to have been perfectly suited to his task. According to his indictment, "he had ties to the chief of staff of defense, was involved in espionage activities, had links to international neofascist formations . . . and was an expert in firearms and explosives."

Other evidence uncovered in the investigation shows the close involvement of the military intelligence service, the SID. According to the prosecutors, the SID, for whom Giannettini reportedly worked as a paid informer, was fully informed about the neofascist bombings but did nothing to prevent them. When asked to confirm whether Giannettini was in fact an informer, the SID refused to answer on grounds of "national security."

In the face of this overwhelming evidence that the neofascists are the ones who carried out the bombings, the government has still not given up trying to pin the blame on the left. The ministry of public affairs has suggested that there are really three possible explanations for the bombings.

The first, which they now have a difficult time denying, is that the bombings were the work of "a terrorist organization inspired by neofascist ideology and the perspectives of constructing a totalitarian state." They are further compelled to admit that this "hypothesis" is bolstered by the fact that "all the main figures in this complex inquiry appear to profess doctrines that are close to national socialism."

The second hypothesis seeks to implicate the left once again by suggesting that Ventura might have been attempting to carry out a "program of infiltration and provocation" in left-wing circles "with the sole aim of inducing them to undertake aggressive acts for which they could then be denounced as bearing sole responsibility."

The third hypothesis suggests that Italian Maoist currents are being considered as scapegoats. The ministry states: "The pro-Chinese left, as well as the right wing, are both deeply concerned, for opposite reasons, about the perspective of the Communist Party participating in the government; this could have been the point at which the interests of opposing extremist groups coincided."

This outlandish suggestion is quite in keeping with the government's frame-up case against Valpreda. The sole evidence against him is the statement of a taxi driver—now dead—that he dropped Valpreda off near the bank the day of the bombing. Important evidence conflicting with the taxi driver's story was suppressed by three top police officials, who have charges pending against them in the matter.

Finally, the truth is long overdue about the mysterious death of Giuseppe Pinelli, the anarchist who allegedly "fell or jumped" from a window at the Milan police headquarters while being questioned about the bank bombing. □

Police Attack Nigerian Students

Nigerian police attacked a student demonstration held in Ibadan, seventy miles northeast of Lagos, on February 1, touching off a wave of student actions throughout the country. The demonstration was called in memory of a student killed during a protest three years ago.

Over the next two days, student protests were held at four universities in Ibadan, Lagos, Zaria, and Ife. In Lagos five policemen were taken captive and held on the university campus. Police attacked the university with tear gas. Sixteen government vehicles were seized or burned and police stations were attacked in Ibadan and Zaria.

The government closed the four universities and questioned more than 150 students and campus workers. T.A. Fagbola, the deputy inspector general of the Nigerian police force, said that the student actions that led to the police attack in Ibadan on February 1 showed that the students "were preparing themselves for a confrontation with the police and with the government." □

Army Rebellion Ousts Ethiopian Cabinet

By Ernest Harsch

"More rapidly and brutally than anywhere else on the African continent, the famine in Ethiopia has sparked an endemic popular discontent and has been a permanent factor of instability," wrote the February 24-25 *Le Monde*. This general discontent erupted during the last two weeks of February in a series of strikes, demonstrations, and clashes with the police in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. A rebellion by large sections of the military, and the consequent fall of Emperor Haile Selassie's cabinet, were clear indications of the instability of the regime in the face of severe economic problems, the growing restiveness of the students and urban workers, and the difficulties of maintaining "law and order."

On February 18, about 3,500 taxi drivers in Addis Ababa went on strike to protest higher fuel prices and an increase in licensing fees. The same day teachers began a wildcat strike in response to an arbitrarily announced move by the regime to overhaul the educational system. Later, employees of Ethiopian Airlines also struck.

Clashes with the police began after the taxi drivers, who were joined by students and "idlers," began to stone buses and brought all public transport to a standstill.

A communiqué issued by the regime on the night of February 21 declared that "the police have received the order to shoot on sight anyone causing trouble." In addition, 1,500 soldiers moved into the capital. While a police statement said that only three persons were killed and twenty-two wounded, student leaders and foreign residents said that between ten and twenty people were killed. More than 1,000 protesters were arrested in the course of the week's disturbances.

Selassie announced a few concessions on February 24, ordering a slight decrease in the price of fuel and promising to control the prices of basic necessities. The study aimed at modifying the educational system was suspended and he promised that the wage demands of the teachers

would be "studied speedily." At the end of the same speech, Selassie ordered a pay increase for the military and, according to the February 26 *Le Monde*, "ordered strict measures against anyone guilty of committing acts of violence or disturbing the peace."

No sooner had "order" been temporarily restored in Addis Ababa than



HAILE SELASSIE

sections of the Ethiopian military staged a rebellion, involving at least 10,000 soldiers and gaining the support of most of the lower ranks and junior officers. On February 26, troops of the 2nd Army Division took over Ethiopia's second largest city, Asmara, in Eritrea, closing the airport, banks, local telecommunications offices, and roads to the capital. The governor general of Eritrea and a number of senior officers, including the commander of the 2nd Division, were placed under house arrest.

Although the troops had been granted a pay increase two days before, they termed it insufficient, citing the

fact that they were in the "front lines" of the war against the guerrillas of the Eritrean Liberation Front, who have been struggling for the independence of Eritrea for thirteen years.

The mutiny quickly spread to the headquarters of the 1,700-man Ethiopian Navy at the Red Sea port of Masawa. The breaking off of communications with the eastern city of Harar led to speculation that troops of the 3rd Division, headquartered there, had also joined the rebellion. On February 28, a paratroop battalion seized control of the air force base southeast of the capital and air force planes flew over Addis Ababa. The next day troops took over the Addis Ababa International Airport and air force helicopters flew over the capital dropping leaflets by paratroopers, air force units, and other military personnel stating: "We will not fight against the 2nd Division."

The emperor at first responded by rejecting the demands for higher pay. He sent the army chief of staff and two other generals to Asmara to negotiate with the mutineers, but they were taken hostage and the troops demanded "total acceptance" of their demands. During a speech to troops in Addis Ababa on February 28, Selassie called on the armed forces to "do as you are commanded." But when it became clear that the mutiny was spreading, Selassie backed down.

In a broadcast on the evening of February 28, it was announced that the cabinet had submitted its resignation to the emperor. Later, the official Ethiopian press agency confirmed that Selassie had accepted the resignations of Premier Aklilou Abde Wold and the eighteen other ministers. He then appointed Endalkachew Makonnen as the new premier and announced further pay increases for the troops, although the raises were less than the soldiers had demanded.

The troops, who during the course of their mutiny professed their continued loyalty to the emperor, accepted Selassie's offer, at least for the moment. They dismantled the roadblocks to Asmara and returned to their barracks.

Others, however, were less than happy with the appointment of the new premier. Students and unemployed youths marched through the streets of Addis Ababa on March 1, denounc-

ing the appointment of Makonnen. They chanted slogans such as: "We want democracy!" "Throw out the new prime minister and hang the old prime minister!" and "Leaders should be elected!"

The police and troops forcibly dispersed the demonstrators, using tear gas and wounding some of the protesters with shotgun blasts.

The new premier said to reporters the same day, while students chanted outside his window: "My information in messages, including those from the armed forces, is the encouragement that everybody, except radicals who want to go further than realities will permit, is prepared to give me a chance." Others were more dubious about the premier's "chances." An "in-

formed source" told the March 2 *New York Times* that "the Premier . . . may have difficulty surviving politically." One diplomat, however, seemed more worried about the general situation than simply the premier's chances of survival. "The fact is," he told the *Times*, "that nobody has the slightest idea how all of this is going to come out." □

'Countries Could Disappear From the Map'

Hundreds of Thousands Dead in African Famine

"For the last year, one grim image has been running through the mind of Moise Pensah, one of the brilliant new generation of African administrators who runs the [United Nations] Food and Agricultural Organization for West Africa. It is the memory of a tribe in northern Chad, a tribe ravaged by eight years of drought. All their cattle were dead and most of their camels. Their undernourished children were too weak to resist an outbreak of diphtheria. But they begged Mr. Pensah to send no drugs. Starvation, they told him, would be too slow a death. Let diphtheria rage."

Stories such as this, reported by Martin Walker in the February 24 *New York Times*, are becoming increasingly common in the area south of the Sahara Desert, which has been laid waste by five years of drought and famine. While precise figures on the extent of the devastation are scarce and large parts of the affected region are almost inaccessible, the visible symptoms of the famine give ample testimony to its seriousness and extent: mass grave sites, abandoned villages, squalid refugee camps on the outskirts of the cities or along the main roads, and waves of peasants and villagers fleeing their homes in search of food or employment.

The famine began in the Sahel, the belt of six formerly French-ruled countries that border the southern part of the Sahara: Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, and Chad. In 1973 the famine spread to parts of Ethiopia, claiming as many as 100,000 lives there. Addeke H. Boerma, the director general of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), said after

a tour of the six sub-Saharan countries that the drought and famine in that region is worse this year than it was in 1973. For the first time, the drought has also spread to Nigeria and Cameroon, reaching crisis proportions in their northern regions. In East Africa the drought has spread to more parts of Ethiopia and has begun to affect parts of Kenya and Somalia.

Upper Volta Agricultural Minister Antoine Dakoure, who is also the West African intergovernmental relief coordinator, warned, according to the February 11 *Washington Post*, that "without fast emergency relief 200,000 people may die of starvation in remote corners of the Sahel."

"International relief groups," the *Post* continued, "estimate that between 50,000 and 100,000 persons have died in northern Ethiopia from drought or famine-related diseases. No estimate has been made of the death toll in West Africa, but thousands of nomads are known to have died last year.

"About 2 million persons have been left destitute by the drought in West Africa and another 1.2 million have needed emergency assistance in Ethiopia, with as many as 63,000 living in relief camps at one point."

The FAO estimated that one fourth of the cattle in the six West African countries perished last year. In Upper Volta more than half of the cattle died, and in one part of Niger all the cattle and nine-tenths of the camels were dead. Without the livestock it would be difficult to till even those areas where crops could still be grown.

According to Walker, a Manchester

Guardian correspondent who specializes in Africa, Senegal has suffered the least of the six Sahel countries. Yet the modern port city of Dakar, and the other major towns, are surrounded by disease-ridden shantytowns inhabited by displaced peasants and nomads. The drought also has destroyed the peanut crop, which accounts for 50 percent of Senegal's foreign exchange earnings.

In Upper Volta, which according to officials of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) has also been less affected by the drought than the other countries, more than 600 villages have been wiped out.

In Chad the estimate of the number who have died so far begins at 20,000. Walker reports that about two-thirds of the cattle there have died.

Mauritania appears to be one of the most devastated of the stricken countries. Walker noted: "Malnutrition and the nomads' difficulty in digesting Western aid food contributed to the ravages of cholera, measles and diphtheria. Even in 'normal' times, one out of every two children dies before the age of 5."

A report in the February 24-25 *Le Soir*, published in Brussels, said that as many as 250,000 children were in danger of dying in Niger. After visiting the interior of the country, President Diori Hamani declared to the press: "I went through the great famine of 1931. But never since that time have I witnessed so heartbreaking a sight as what is now taking place in Chindabaraden, Kaou, and the area around Illéla and Tahoua. The situation is very, very serious, especially

for the young children."

Many of the Tuareg tribespeople in Mali have fled into Upper Volta and Niger to escape the famine, and repression by the central government. At a shantytown of 6,000 Tuaregs outside of Niamey, Niger, 1,200 graves had been filled by November. A report in the February 6 *Le Monde* indicated that the military regime in Mali was discouraging international aid to the Tuaregs in an effort to wipe them out. The nomadic Tuaregs had long been a political problem for the regime.

Nigeria, the world's largest exporter of peanuts, will not be able to ship any peanuts in 1974 because of the drought, which ruined part of the crop. The peanut, cocoa, and coffee crops

of Cameroon, Dahomey, Togo, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast were also affected by the lack of rain.

Speaking in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, on February 21, United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said: "If sufficient action isn't taken in the next few months, countries could disappear from the face of the map. We risk destroying whole peoples in the afflicted areas and the destruction of a number of countries. It is our moral duty to avoid this tragedy." He also noted, in the words of the February 22 *New York Times*, that "governments would not be able to withstand the pressures of major social dislocations" caused by the famine and the migrations of the refugees. □

Niger Capitalists Coin Profits From Famine

Most of the students and professors who were arrested in Niger last October for taking part in demonstrations and strikes are still in prison, without having yet come to trial, according to a report by Fode Amadou published in the February 18 Paris weekly, *Afrique-Asie*. The report was based on discussions and interviews with students in Niger.

The student upsurge there, the article noted, was fueled by the country's worsening problems: the severity of the drought and the famine, the regime's corrupt and bureaucratic mismanagement of international relief aid, the inadequacies of the educational system, the government's use of repression against its critics, and the continuing influence of French imperialism.

The students traced part of the reason for the famine to the economic priorities of the imperialists. While the production of foodstuffs declined as a result of the severe drought, the government still forced many of the peasants to raise peanuts and cotton, Niger's major export products, rather than the much needed food grains. Rice fields were converted to sugar with the aid of technical experts from Taiwan. While thousands of people starved to death in the hinterlands or died in the refugee camps from normally minor diseases aggravated by malnutrition, the fruits and vegetables destined for export to France seemed always available. The export of meat rose 30 per-

cent at the same time that much of the cattle in the country was dead or dying: Ranch owners bought up the cattle at low prices, fattened them, and sold them at a high profit in Nigeria and Dahomey. In August, at the peak of the drought, the regime in Niamey signed an agreement with Paris to increase the cultivation of peanuts.

The interest in profits not only has determined which crops would be raised, but also affected the distribution of international relief aid. The local committees charged with the distribution of food, largely composed of members of the only legal party in the country, the Parti Progressiste Nigérien (Progressive party of Niger), actually sell the food to the peasants. They sell the sorghum (which had previously been used to feed cattle, but now serves as "food" for the famine victims) at twice its normal price, pocketing the difference.

Even to obtain the right to buy a sack of sorghum, the peasant usually has to work for three days in the fields of the president of the local "relief" committee. Often, when the people in an area no longer have enough money to buy the food, the profiteers simply pack it up and ship it to famine-stricken Mali, where black-market prices are also very high.

The only area where the food has been distributed free is in the northern plateau region, where Niger's uranium mines, which are being developed by French interests, are located. One min-

ister of the French government even visited the area and helped distribute the "aid."

The first student action, on February 14, 1973, was the distribution of a leaflet denouncing the regime's enforced "savings" plan, to which every person in the country had to "contribute." The fund was used to buy grain from the big wholesalers, which the Office of Food Produce then sold, keeping the profits.

When the regime in Niamey did not respond to the students' demands, they distributed another leaflet. The minister of national education responded by stating that it might no longer be possible to support and educate the students free. In April, the students at one school passed out leaflets assigning the responsibility for the famine to the government. In June, the professors in Niamey published statements condemning the French influence in the educational system. At the same time, a number of strikes broke out: post office employees, textile workers, radio personnel, and the workers of Somair, which exploits the uranium deposits.

On July 13, the beginning of the school vacation, the regime saw its chance to clamp down. The teachers were exiled to the provinces, and on July 23 the government announced that the student boarding houses would be abolished. The next month the army and the precinct administrations were reorganized. Following these repressive measures, the Student Union of Niger published two documents on the famine and the campus unrest, and thirty-seven professors got together to clarify their positions on the problems of education in Niger.

At a public meeting on August 30, President Diori Hamani declared: "We have done everything possible to combat the drought. We have spared no efforts or prayers. We have even arranged to obtain the services of an American company to seed the clouds." He went on to announce that the cattle tax would be abolished, hardly a major concession, since most of the taxable cattle were dead.

He and the other two speakers at the meeting, the minister of education and the president of the National Assembly, then got to the heart of their message: The college and high-school dormitories would be closed, since they were "too expensive," and the distribution of leaflets would no longer be

permitted. The next day the Student Union of Niger was dissolved and the thirty-seven professors were arrested.

The day the schools reopened, September 15, police forces massed in Niamey to prevent any student protests. But on October 22, a student strike broke out, demanding that the dormitories be reopened, the ban on the Student Union be lifted, and the repression against the teachers be halted. Declaring that the student actions

were part of a "national conspiracy," the government arrested another 200 students, professors, and campus workers.

The strike lasted more than three months, forcing the regime to back down on some points. It agreed to give the students monthly payments in compensation for the closing of the dormitories. But President Diori Hamani stated that the imprisoned students and professors would have to "pay for their acts." □

government have been incorporated in the Special Powers Act. The Special Powers Act provides for many preventive measures, such as preventive detention without trial, pre-censorship of newspapers, proscription of objectionable publications, security deposit for presses and publications, and prohibition of founding objectionable associations and organisations, or restriction of activities of such associations and organisations. Thus the Act makes a heinous attempt to take away the fundamental rights of the people and the freedom of the press. In view of this, the meeting strongly demands immediate repeal of the Act.

"The meeting notes with anxieties and worries that unbridled powers have been entrusted to an irregular force like the [Jatiya] Rakkhi Bahini [National Defense Forces] and demands immediate withdrawal of such powers from the Bahini.

"The meeting with deep regret and anxiety observes that, one after another, black laws are being made with a view to restricting the jurisdiction of courts as well as bypassing the courts. It strongly demands repeal of all black laws and introduction of a democratic legal system." □

Bangladesh

Press, Lawyers Hit Special Powers Act

On February 6, one day after the Bangladesh National Assembly passed the Special Powers Act, which gave the government sweeping new powers of repression, the Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists (BFUJ) issued a statement demanding the repeal of the act and calling upon the people of Bangladesh actively to protest against the law. One week later the Dacca District Bar Association also called for the repeal of the act, and all other "black laws."

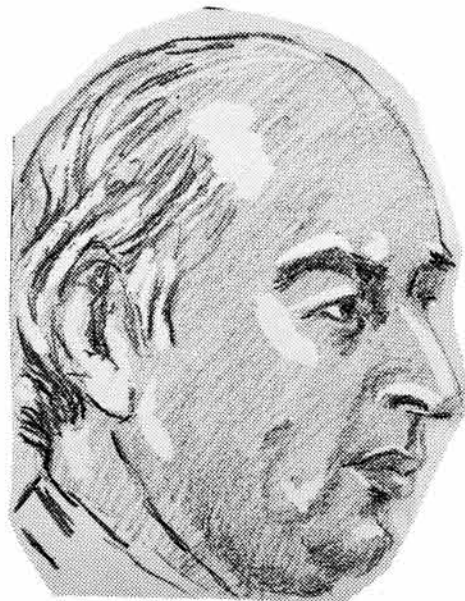
The statement released by the BFUJ, reprinted in the February 17 issue of *Holiday*, a leftist weekly published in Dacca, noted the sections of the Special Powers Act that put restrictions on the freedom of the press. "The new law contains clauses providing scope for imposing restrictions on publication of news items," the statement said. "The law even empowers the government to take action against press, printer, publisher, reporter and editor for a news item that had been published even before the passing of the law itself. It has been further observed that the law empowers the government to call for security deposits from newspapers. The law even empowers the government to interpret any news item — printed or anticipated, whether based on facts or not—as contrary to maintenance of law and order for taking action. These clauses of the law bear testimony of Pakistani colonial military rule. The democratic right to expression is denied by the law."

The statement ended: "So, the BFUJ demand the repeal of the 'Special

Powers Act' and call for active protestation against the law."

A resolution adopted at the February 13 meeting of the Dacca District Bar Association followed a similar vein: "All the worst provisions of the hated Safety Act, Public Safety Ordinance, and the Press and Publications Ordinance of the colonial British and fascist Pakistani regimes and of the Scheduled Offence of the present

Pakistani Regime Recognizes Bangladesh



BHUTTO: "I don't say I like this."

Before the opening of a conference of Muslim countries held in Lahore, Pakistan, Pakistani Prime Minister

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced on February 22 that his regime would recognize the existence of Bangladesh. "In the name of Allah," he said, "and on behalf of the peoples of this country, I declare that we are recognizing Bangladesh." He added: "I don't say I like this decision. I don't say my heart is happy. This is not an auspicious day for me but we can't change the reality."

Bhutto's previous justification for not recognizing Bangladesh was the dispute over the Pakistani prisoners of war still being held in Bangladesh. While most of the prisoners had been returned to Pakistan, the regime of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had publicly announced that it intended to try 195 of them for atrocities carried out during Bangladesh's struggle for independence in 1971, in which the Pakistani forces killed up to 2 million Bengalis.

Bhutto's decision to recognize the Rahman regime was announced after

a meeting of the foreign ministers of thirty-seven Muslim countries on February 21. A seven-member delegation flew to Dacca to meet with Rahman. The February 23 *Washington Post* reported: "A Pakistani government source said a seven-member 'goodwill mission,' which went from the summit conference to Dacca to speak to Mujib, was given a verbal assurance that the trials would not be held."

The *Washington Post* speculated that Pakistani recognition of Bangladesh might lead to Peking's abandonment

of its campaign to keep Bangladesh out of the United Nations and eventually to the establishment of diplomatic ties between Peking and Dacca. Because of its diplomatic agreements with the Pakistani regime, Peking opposed Bangladesh's independence struggle in 1971. However, since the end of 1973, Dacca has hinted that it would like to establish diplomatic relations, and possibly trade ties, with Peking. In January, Dacca sent an unofficial envoy, Faiz Ahmed, to Peking to deliver messages and establish informal contacts. □

revolutionaries with being Maoist, but all the pertinent evidence contradicts this. The Maoist Communist party of the Philippines (CPP), active chiefly in Luzon, has never claimed organized adherents among the Muslims, although it has exaggerated its strength elsewhere. The nominally Maoist former university professor Nur Misuari, fighting with the revolutionaries in Jolo, has made the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Philippine Maoists have never programmatically recognized the right of the Muslims to secession, but have appealed to them on the basis of—patriotism!

The Maoist CPP and its New People's Army have announced that they expect a long, protracted struggle. Many of their contacts with the workers and peasants have been broken and some of their best militants have been killed or captured. Of those who have surrendered, or been captured, some who had bourgeois backgrounds have been permitted to use family influence and bribes to win release from detention in order to return to academic or other careers. Nearly anything can be purchased in the detention camps from the corrupt officers and guards—for example, an outside telephone call (strictly prohibited) usually costs about 10 pesos (US\$1.50).

Last December 13, Bal Pinguel and fourteen other radicals escaped from the military stockade for political prisoners at Camp Vicente Lim in Laguna province. Pinguel was formerly national spokesman for Kabataang Makabayan [Nationalist Youth], one of two large youth groups associated with the CPP.

The members of the PKP (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas—Philippine Communist party), an uninfluential diminishing sect, have decided to give overt support to Marcos in an effort to sway him towards greater friendship with the Kremlin bureaucracy. This unprincipled betrayal of the needs of the Philippine workers and peasants precipitated a split in the old party, with the more militant youthful elements forming the "Marxist-Leninist Group." The old-guard conservative remnants, led by the José Lava dynasty, and suspected of having back-handed ties with the government's armed forces, have murdered four members of the Marxist-Leninist Group, which despite its steps to the

Despite Disorganization of Opposition

Marcos Still Unable to Achieve 'Stability'

By Antero Nanhaya

Manila

February 18—Muslim revolutionaries, who have long controlled the entire island of Jolo except for the capital city of the same name, on February 7 infiltrated the capital and seized it with the support of the mayor and the police force, immediately establishing control over the airport and pier. The attack was coordinated with the seizure of seven towns in Mindanao, Kauswagan, and Kapatagan in Lanae del Norte province and five towns in Cotabato province.

In Jolo, the Philippine Air Force replied with saturation bombing raids and strafing of the city, while offshore naval artillery maintained a steady bombardment. The entire city was burned and destroyed, and civilian casualties were estimated by the Muslims at 3,000.

The first news of the Muslim offensive appeared in Manila newspapers one week later. According to the February 14 *Manila Times Journal*, Information Secretary Tatad said: "The Government forces drove out the rebels with the use of ground forces ferried by helicopters" and that "the retreating rebels set fire to some buildings." Three days later, Defense Secretary Enrile held a press conference in which he admitted that two F-86 sabre jets were lost in the Jolo operation, and that among the destroyed buildings was the local mosque. Apparently, the jet fighters just happened to be passing through and the Muslims

burned their own mosque.

The cooperation of the municipal officials in the armed Muslim occupation of Jolo puts to scorn previous claims by Marcos that such elements had pledged support to his regime. The much publicized pledges and sur-



MARCOS

renders of Muslim officials and fighters are in most cases propaganda stunts. Such officials will say anything required of them when their town is under military control, and it is easy for the soldiers to round up a few hundred men for the tyrant's camera crew.

The government charges the Muslim

left, paradoxically proclaims utmost fidelity to the bureaucratic caste headed by Brezhnev. They are incapable of noticing that the Lava faction's cuddling-up to Marcos stems directly from policies emanating from Moscow.

Marcos has arrested, deported, and intimidated various members of the clergy for their criticisms of the brutal excesses of his uniformed goons, but only a tiny minority of them are involved in exposing the lies of the dictatorship. Small armed guerrilla groups of radicalized Christians exist on the island of Panay and near Davao in Mindanao.

A semiofficial spokesman for the left wing of the Catholic hierarchy, Raúl Manglapus, is in the United States trying to muster support for a return to liberal democracy in the Philippines. His appeal is to the U. S. Congress and the Philippine army! Manglapus claims the backing of a large clandestine pacifist organization known as the "Filipino Freedom Fighters," but along with having no program, the organization, as far as can be determined, also has no members.

Philippine workers are in a mood of desperation with the most recent attacks on their standard of living. In the last year alone, food prices have jumped an average of 175 percent, and other essential commodities even more. Matches are now 20 centavos a box compared with 5 centavos a year ago, and fuel prices have tripled. Despite the recent rice harvests, the staple cereal is scarce and expensive because, according to the government, the farmers are hoarding the grain in anticipation of a repetition of last year's June to September rice shortage.

Sugar is unavailable except at black-market prices because the sugar trusts find it more profitable to export. Sugar is the country's primary agricultural export, amounting to well over \$200 million yearly, and it is sold to the United States at preferential rates through the sugar quota system. The imperialist subsidy of the reactionary sugar barons, who pay starvation wages to their field workers on a seasonal basis, is utilized mainly for political purposes.

Salaries of the slum-living urban proletariat have remained fixed at 8 pesos (US\$1.20) a day before tax deductions, their level before the imposition of martial law in September

1972. The unions have been dissolved completely except for a few bureaucratic remnants, which will continue

Fiji

New Zealand Capitalists Join in Plunder

By Peter Rotherham

[The following article is reprinted from the February 15, 1974, issue of the revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Socialist Action*, published in Wellington.]

* * *

"The recent violent riots in Indonesia protesting against Japanese economic domination and imperialism may seem a world away from New Zealand.

"It may be a surprise to many people, but there are similar feelings stirring against outside economic domination in Fiji.

"But there the main target is not Japan but Australia and, to a lesser extent, New Zealand and the United States."

It was in this vein that an article on the finance page of the January 22 *Dominion* took up the question of New Zealand's participation in the economic exploitation of Fiji. Headed "Is Fiji a colony of Australia and NZ?", the article seemed mainly designed as a warning to "businessmen and governments in Australia and New Zealand" of the possible consequences of this economic exploitation.

The *Dominion* article was written in response to a book which appeared recently in Suva. Entitled "Fiji—A Developing Australian Colony" and produced by a group of Fijian graduates and students, this work apparently upset the *Dominion's* editors by focusing on the degree to which foreign business interests dominate the Fijian economy. While the book deals most of its blows at Australian business interests, New Zealand firms do not escape unscathed.

Among the businesses which the *Dominion* says are "taken to task" in the book are the Union Steam Ship Company and the Fruit Distributors' Company. The Union Steam Ship Company is honoured with a special mention for the manner in which it

to exist until their leaders have exhausted past union dues in attending conferences at resort hotels. □

arbitrarily increases freight charges, without even a pretence at consulting the Fijian government. Other New Zealand companies which get a mention in the book include Trans Holdings, Clyde Engineering, Tip Top Ice Cream—a Wattie subsidiary—Rolls Aluminium, and Alex Harvey Industries.

In documenting the role of such companies in the Fijian economy, the book's authors point to the impossibility of Fiji achieving full political independence under conditions of foreign economic domination, and to the way such domination leads to social dislocation and cultural exploitation.

The *Dominion* editors do not deny that Fiji is economically exploited; as they have to admit, the book in question is "well-researched," and besides, fewer and fewer people are taken in these days by the well-worn clichés about foreign businesses performing a noble Christian duty in helping the semi-colonial world to "develop."

Instead, the editors tacitly admit all the evidence of economic exploitation, and simply call on the business world to exercise a little caution.

The *Dominion's* advice would appear to be very timely. The January 31 issue of the same newspaper reported the remarks made by James Raman, general secretary of the Fijian Trade Union Congress, at a trade-union seminar in Wellington. On the question of "foreign aid," Raman had some rather radical opinions. "To rich countries, aid is mainly a form of insurance against the future, a way of maintaining certain political balances, to guarantee the protection of their interests," Raman said.

He went on to say that the solution to underdevelopment would have to come from underdeveloped countries themselves, and that the role of the workers was to unify themselves and free poor countries from foreign exploitation. □

Investigations Drawing Closer to Nixon

By Allen Myers

Special Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski, the March 4 issue of *Newsweek* observed, "has dropped a series of public hints, aimed mainly at the House impeachment inquiry, that he has come upon some 'quite meaningful' evidence touching on Mr. Nixon; his public delicacy, according to one well-connected Washington lawyer, masked a private prosecutorial judgment that he has 'got the President cold.'"

The *Newsweek* report was written before March 1, the date on which seven high-ranking figures in the Nixon gang were accused in a thirteen-count indictment by one of the three Watergate grand juries. It was evident from the proceedings before Judge John Sirica that the grand jurors shared the opinion attributed to Jaworski: In addition to the indictment, the jurors turned over to Sirica a sealed envelope and a briefcase reported to contain charges and evidence of Nixon's personal involvement in the Watergate cover-up.

"The Watergate grand jurors," James M. Naughton reported in a March 2 dispatch to the *New York Times*, "concluded that President Nixon was involved in the Watergate cover-up and they decided a month or more ago to urge the courts to turn over their conclusions and evidence to the House impeachment inquiry, well-placed sources said today. . . .

"The sources said that at least 19 of the 23 members of the grand jury had agreed to take some action that would hold that Mr. Nixon had a role in the cover-up."

The jurors were reported to have expressed the desire to indict Nixon but to have been persuaded by Jaworski that the U.S. Constitution would not permit the indictment of an incumbent president.

"One source close to the Watergate investigation," Naughton reported, "said that within recent weeks some of the grand jurors still wanted to indict the President and that the prosecutors

had had a difficult time dissuading them."

Although the actual contents of the report to Sirica are still secret, the indictment itself indicates at least two areas where a charge against Nixon is clearly implied.

Count seven, which charges H.R. Haldeman, former chief of the White House staff, with perjury, supports the testimony of John Dean that at



DEAN: Charges against Nixon supported by indictments.

one meeting Nixon said there would be "no problem" in raising as much as \$1 million to buy the silence of the Watergate burglars. When he testified before the Senate Watergate committee last July, Haldeman gave a version of the meeting that conflicted with Dean's. Haldeman said he had listened to the White House tape recording of the meeting, which occurred March 21, 1973, and quoted Nixon as saying, "There is no problem in raising a million dollars, we can do that, but it would be wrong." The grand jury charged that Haldeman lied when he added the phrase "but

it would be wrong."

Another likely charge against Nixon would also concern the date March 21, 1973. The indictment lists six "overt acts" beginning that day that resulted in payoffs to the burglars as part of the cover-up conspiracy. The first occurred at a meeting in the White House Oval Office. The indictment does not mention Nixon by name in regard to the meeting, but other participants testified earlier before the Watergate committee that Nixon was present at that meeting.

The former positions of those indicted would by itself be sufficient to indicate that Nixon's name was omitted solely because of the constitutional objection raised by the prosecutors. The accused include the four men who, before the scandal broke, were considered the most powerful and influential persons around Nixon. They are Haldeman; former domestic adviser John Ehrlichman; former Attorney General John Mitchell, who was also Nixon's top political adviser and the director of the Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP); and Charles Colson, special counsel to the president, who was the top White House staff member for political matters and was also known as the head of the "office of dirty tricks."

The other three persons indicted were Gordon Strachan, Haldeman's chief assistant; CREEP attorney Kenneth W. Parkinson; and Robert Mardian, an aide to Mitchell during the campaign and earlier the head of a Justice Department unit set up to prosecute radicals.

All seven were charged with participating in a conspiracy from the date of the Watergate arrests (June 17, 1972) "up to and including the date of the filing of this indictment."

The purpose of the conspiracy, the indictment charges, was "to obstruct justice," "to make false statements to a Government agency," "to make false declarations," and to prevent the CIA and FBI from transacting "their official business honestly and impartially, free from corruption, fraud, improper and undue influence, dishonesty, unlawful impairment and obstruction."

All except Mardian are also charged with other crimes. Mitchell, who was already on trial in New York in a case growing out of a campaign con-

tribution made in exchange for a promise to help the donor out of difficulties with a federal agency, is additionally charged with obstruction of justice, false statements to the FBI, false statements to the grand jury, and perjury.

Haldeman is accused of obstruction of justice and perjury.

The additional charges against Ehrlichman are obstruction of justice, false statements to the FBI, and false statements to the grand jury.

Colson is additionally accused of obstruction of justice, as is Parkinson.

The other charges against Strachan are obstruction of justice and false statements to the grand jury.

A few days before the indictment was presented, another top-level Nixon gangster pleaded guilty to criminal charges as part of a deal with the prosecutors. Herbert Kalmbach, formerly Nixon's personal attorney, on February 25 admitted running an illegal \$4 million campaign fund during the 1970 Congressional elections. He also pleaded guilty to a charge of offering an ambassadorial appointment in exchange for a \$100,000 campaign contribution.

When the Watergate cover-up began to come unstuck last year, the White House announced that Kalmbach had been dismissed as Nixon's attorney, but Kalmbach has recently told reporters that he is still Nixon's lawyer in some matters. Kalmbach is expected to be a witness against the seven men indicted March 1 — and perhaps against Nixon himself.

Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein reported in the February 26 *Washington Post* that Kalmbach had already given the prosecutors "an accounting of about \$6 million in secret contributions and expenditures of two secret funds for the political campaigns of 1970 and 1972, according to informed sources." They quoted their sources as saying that Kalmbach would testify that Haldeman had organized the illegal \$4 million fund of 1970.

The reporters also indicated that Kalmbach might have some things to say about both Ehrlichman and Nixon:

"According to knowledgeable sources, Kalmbach has refused to talk with Ehrlichman after learning that Ehrlichman taped a telephone conversation between the two men in April,

1973, about 10 days before Ehrlichman's resignation from the White House staff.

"Kalmbach also was distressed, the sources said, when the White House indicated last year that he was no longer acting as the President's personal attorney. 'Herb was signing all the President's checks for everything down to the bill from Joe's laundry,' one source said, 'and he didn't know what to do . . . he kept signing the checks, but it's been 18 months of increasing alienation.'"

The indictment of his top aides can only strengthen the already overwhelming public belief in Nixon's guilt and contribute to the belief in ruling-class circles that impeaching Nixon would be less damaging than allowing him to remain in office. In a poll completed February 18, the Gallup organization found public approval of Nixon still at the level of only 27 percent, virtually the same level at which it has been in every poll conducted this year. The March 1 indictments are likely to send it still lower.

Moreover, additional indictments are expected, perhaps very soon. In the March 3 *New York Times*, Anthony Ripley quoted "sources close to the investigation" as saying that the activities of the secret White House "plumbers" unit would be the subject of another indictment, possibly within a week.

"Also expected in the coming weeks," Ripley reported, "are indictments in the areas of illegal campaign contributions, political espionage and so-called 'dirty tricks' and further indictments in the main Watergate case."

The only investigation in which indictments are expected to be delayed is that into the ITT contribution of \$400,000 in exchange for a favorable antitrust settlement and the apparent perjury that was committed during Congressional hearings on the matter.

Jaworski's office is also reported to have begun looking into Nixon's handling of the Pentagon's pilfering of secret documents. Seymour M. Hersh reported in the February 26 *New York Times* that "some members of the special Watergate force are known to suspect that the military snooping, while a serious matter of internal security, was in effect utilized by Mr. Nixon last spring in an effort

to prevent disclosure of the other plumber activities directed against Dr. [Daniel] Ellsberg following the publication of the Pentagon Papers. If so, they say, this could amount to obstruction of justice."

New accusations that could result in Nixon's impeachment keep popping up with increasing frequency. On February 28, Democratic Congressman Bertram Podell of New York charged in the House of Representatives that he had been subjected to illegal electronic surveillance on the orders of the president himself.

Podell has strong personal reasons for making a fuss about the matter, since he has been indicted, apparently as a result of the bugging, on charges of accepting bribes.

Podell said that an affidavit submitted by Attorney General William Saxbe admitted that one of the defendants in the case had been "electronically surveilled on numerous occasions in the interest of national security, at the request of the president of the United States."

The affidavit did not give the name of the defendant who was spied upon, but Podell said he had been "reliably informed" that he was the target. He added that a "court order prevents me from knowing when the surveillance was made, in what manner it was made, who made it, what was overheard, the purpose of the surveillance and whether or not it was tied to the various break-ins into my offices and home.

"Unfortunately everybody else seems to know. The FBI knows, the employees of the Department of Justice in Washington know, the assistant United States attorneys . . . know, and all of their respective assistants, clerks, secretaries, and researchers know, and probably so do their sisters, brothers, cousins, and aunts."

"Members of the Judiciary Committee," Martin Tolchin reported in the March 1 *New York Times*, "urged that Mr. Podell's charge of wiretapping be included in the impeachment investigation of the President.

"The implications are enormous," said Representative John Conyers, a Michigan Democrat and committee member."

Podell's charge fit in with a report by John M. Crewdson in the February 25 *New York Times*, which quoted "a well-placed source" as saying that

former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover regularly used FBI investigations to favor friends and blackmail enemies in Congress.

Friendly members of Congress, the source said, were supplied with derogatory information about their political opponents. Democratic Congressman John J. Rooney, who heads the subcommittee that controls the FBI budget, was particularly favored with such information, Crewdson's source said. Crewdson added:

"In other instances, he said, Congressmen had discreetly but systematically been made aware of 'derogatory' material about themselves that bureau agents had come across in the course of other investigations. . . .

"The source recalled one Senator who had been told of an investigation concerning his daughter, a college student who had 'gotten involved in demonstrations and free love,' and a Republican Representative who had been told the bureau possessed evidence indicating that he was a homosexual.

"We had him in our pocket after that,' the source said of the Representative. He added that he could not recall the Senator, a liberal Democrat, ever criticizing the F.B.I. in public."

It is not surprising that Podell drew applause from some members of the House when he said: "Who else have they bugged, Mr. Speaker? You? The majority leader? The minority leader? The House chaplain? Not even Fish-bait Miller [the House doorkeeper] is exempt from Big Brother."

Columnist Jack Anderson charged February 25 that after Hoover's death files "containing sensitive information about Presidents and other prominent people" were removed from the FBI offices.

"The missing files," Anderson wrote, "according to FBI sources, included reports on the sex exploits of the late President John F. Kennedy, the wheeling-dealing of the late President Lyndon B. Johnson and the flirtations of the late Eleanor Roosevelt."

The continued "leaking" of scandals of this sort is giving the people of the United States a look at the real workings of "their" government that is absolutely unprecedented. There is probably no single measure that could be devised to put the lid back on in the Watergate and related scandals.

But it must be obvious to much of the U.S. ruling class that Nixon's

remaining in office can only hamper efforts to do so. □

Free Food for Poor Is Ransom

'Symbionese Liberation Army' Demands \$6 Million in Hearst Kidnapping

"To those who would bear the hopes and future of our people that the voice of their guns express the words of freedom," began a tape-recorded message received by a San Francisco radio station February 12, "Greetings to the people, fellow comrades, brothers and sisters, my name is Cinque, and to my comrades I am known as Cin. I am a Black man and representative of Black people.

"I hold the rank of general field marshal in the United Federated Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army. . . .

"The Symbionese Liberation Army is a federated union that maintains political elements of many different liberation struggles, and of many different races. Our unified purpose is to liberate the oppressed people of this nation and to aid other oppressed people around the world in their struggle against fascist imperialism and the robbery of their freedom and homeland.

"Since this is the purpose and goal of the SLA, it is therefore clear to us, as it will be to all oppressed people, that our interest is to serve and defend the people and not ourselves, since the people shall always come first, themselves. . . ."

Cinque's message was followed by the voice of Patricia Hearst, the daughter of millionaire publisher Randolph Hearst, confirming that she was being held a "prisoner of war" by the SLA. "I am with a combat unit that's armed with automatic weapons," she said, "and there is also a medical team here and there is no way that I will be released until they let me go."

The tape recording was accompanied by a letter setting out conditions that Hearst would have to meet in order to win the release of his daughter, who was kidnapped from her Berkeley, California, apartment February 4. The publisher was instructed to provide \$70 worth of food

to all Californians "with welfare cards, Social Security pension cards, food stamp cards, disabled veteran cards, medical cards, parole or probation papers, and jail or bail release slips."

The cost of meeting this demand was variously estimated at \$230-400 million, which Hearst said was far beyond his means. On February 18, he announced that he would provide \$2 million in free food for the poor as "a gesture of good will," and asked the SLA to respond with "a gesture of their own."

Three days later, another taped message from Cinque was received by Hearst. Cinque demanded that Hearst provide an additional \$4 million in food to residents of San Francisco, Oakland, and East Palo Alto.

On February 22, the Hearst Corporation, which holds most of the family's wealth, agreed to provide an additional \$2 million immediately and \$2 million in January 1975, but only if Patricia Hearst were first released unharmed. In the ten days since that announcement, no further messages from the SLA have been made public.

The Symbionese Liberation Army first came to public attention last November 6. That night Marcus Foster, the Black superintendent of schools in Oakland, was killed and his assistant Robert Blackburn was wounded by shotgun and pistol shots fired by unknown persons.

The next day, the SLA mailed out a "Communiqué No. 1," taking responsibility for the shooting, which it said was motivated by Foster's support for a "police in the schools" program. The SLA added that Foster had been killed by cyanide-tipped bullets, a fact that had not been made public previously and that was therefore regarded as proof of the communiqué's authenticity.

On January 10, two men—Joseph Remiro and Russell Jack Little—were

arrested after a gun battle with police in nearby Concord. Police claimed that a van in which Remiro and Little were riding contained SLA literature and guns, including the pistol used to kill Foster. The two were formally charged with murder.

Later that same day, a fire broke out in the Concord house in which Remiro and Little had been living with a woman named Nancy Ling Perry. In a "Letter to the People" sent out January 17, Perry said that she had set the fire in order to remove evidence concerning the SLA. She went on to expound the SLA's beliefs and goals at some length. (The full text of the letter is reprinted in this issue, page 286.)

Nothing further was heard of the SLA until the Hearst kidnapping.

The messages received by Randolph Hearst February 12 included a seven-page statement setting out the SLA's program and goals. It was entitled "The Symbionese Federation & the Symbionese Liberation Army declaration of revolutionary war & the Symbionese program, August 21, 1973."

The statement describes the organization as "a united and federated grouping of different races and people and socialist political parties of the oppressed people of the fascist United States of America, who have under black and minority leadership formed and joined the Symbionese Federated Republic and have agreed to struggle together."

The name of the group is stated to be derived "from the word symbiosis and we define its meaning as a body of dissimilar bodies and organisms living in deep and loving harmony and partnership in the best interest of all within the body."

"We of the Symbionese Federation and of the S. L. A.," the document states, "do not under the rights of human beings submit to the murder, oppression and exploitation of our children and people and do under the rights granted to the people under the Declaration of Independence of the United States, do now by the rights of our children and people and by force of arms and with every drop of our blood, declare revolutionary war against the fascist capitalist class, and their agents of murder, oppression and exploitation."

The document lists sixteen goals of the SLA, including the uniting of "all

oppressed people into a fighting force" to destroy capitalism; assuring "the rights of all people to self determination"; defending "cultural rights of all the sovereign nations of the Symbionese Federation"; placing "control of all the institutions and industries" in the hands of the people; restoring "human and constitutional rights, liberty, equality and justice and the right to bear arms in the defense of these rights"; creating "a system where our aged are cared for with respect, love and kindness"; creating "institutions that will aid, reinforce and educate the growth of our comrade women"; destroying the prison system; giving land "back to the people" and abolishing rent for housing; building "a federation of nations"; and destroying "all forms and institutions of racism, sexism, ageism, capitalism, fascism, individualism, possessiveness, competitiveness and all other such institutions."

The February 22-28 issue of the weekly *Berkeley Barb* carried a letter from former members of the SLA who said that they had left the organization after the killing of Foster. The letter indicated that the SLA had been formed in June 1973. The authors said that at first "we thought we had found a place for ourselves in a revolutionary organization that was on its way beyond the Left, old and 'new.'"

They went on to describe differences that developed within the SLA:

"Although some of the brothers and sisters asserted that to create a positive vision of a new society required serious thinking—a clear and comprehensive theory and strategy—others insisted that all that was necessary was to put yourself into situations where your ass would get kicked and armed bravery would do the rest. Some of the brothers and sisters were complaining about the lack of democracy within the organization. The justification for this was always that we were in a 'state of war.'"

"It increasingly became apparent to us that the Symbionese Federation was not fundamentally opposed to the errors of the Left we had known, but was rather the culmination of all its defects. The process of the organization was totally top-down. The War Council made decisions in secret and the members were expected to obey orders without question, just as in a capitalist army.

"Serious conflict developed over the subordination of the support units, as of all non-military activities of the organization, to the combat units: That is, the 'Army' came to be seen as the chief agent of the revolution. We began to suspect that the War Council was manipulated either by some local right-wing organization or the CIA itself. The secret decision to kill Marcus Foster, and its execution, confirmed our suspicions."

Writing on the SLA in the February 23 *New York Times*, Earl Caldwell reported that the police "firmly believe that at best there are no more than 25 or 30 members of the group." Caldwell said that the SLA is believed to have grown out of a prison organization for the "rehabilitation" of Black prisoners. The group was said to have gradually become "political" after several white radicals joined it. Cinque is thought to be Donald DeFreeze, who escaped from Soledad Prison in March 1973.

"There are indications," Caldwell wrote, "that, well before November, the group's leadership sounded out other radical organizations, offering to act as the guerrilla arm for those who sought revolution."

Tim Findley of the *San Francisco Chronicle* has reported that Cinque visited radical groups with such an offer, arguing that the SLA could "recharge" the "new left."

"It was a proposal," Findley wrote, "purely and shockingly terrorist in its nature: for every political demand, there could be staged a direct guerrilla act." The proposal, Findley added, was rejected by all the groups to which it was made.

In an editorial in its February 22 issue, the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant* said that the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst "can do nothing but harm to the revolutionary movement and to all organizations fighting against the capitalist government. . . ."

"The nature of the SLA remains a mystery. Activists in the [San Francisco] Bay Area had never heard of it prior to the recent publicity. After what has come to light about the role of government agents provocateurs in groups like the Weatherpeople, it is quite possible that police agents or right-wing forces may have a hand in the SLA's terrorist acts." □

U.S. Funds, 'Advisers' Continue Vietnam War

By Michael Baumann

Fiction: "The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam." (Article 4 of the January 23, 1973, cease-fire accords.)

Fact: Today, one year after the signing of the cease-fire agreement, 4,940 U.S. civilian "advisers" and technicians are employed in jobs directly related to the Saigon dictatorship's war effort. (Source: U.S. Embassy in Saigon, cited in the February 25 *New York Times*.)

Although U.S. troops have been withdrawn from Vietnam, the vital role they played in propping up the Thieu regime has been replaced, to the extent possible, by a massive infusion of U.S. advisers and military aid.

As *New York Times* correspondent David K. Shipler pointed out in a dispatch from Saigon February 16, "the United States, far from phasing out its military involvement in South Vietnam, has descended from a peak of warfare to a high plateau of substantial support, dispatching not only huge quantities of weapons and ammunition but also large numbers of American citizens who have become integral parts of the South Vietnamese supply, transport and intelligence systems."

"These include," Shipler continued, "not just the Vietnam-based mechanics and technicians but also the Pentagon-based generals who tour airfields to ascertain the needs of the South Vietnamese Air Force, the 'liaison men' who reportedly give military advice from time to time, the civilian Defense Department employes who make two-to-three-week visits to provide highly specialized technical help, and the Central Intelligence Agency officials who continue to advise South Vietnam's national police on intelligence matters."

Some 2,800 of these civilian employees work for U.S. companies that in turn work under contract for the Defense Department. These men provide the complex and crucial skills involved in repairing and rebuilding U.S.-supplied jets and helicopters. They

also oversee the tremendous logistics effort involved in keeping Thieu's 1.1 million-man army supplied, fed, and armed. "We Vietnamized the fighting," a Defense Department official told Shipler, "but we never Vietnamized the logistics."

"According to both Saigon and American officials," Shipler reported, "the American civilians — both employees of private companies and those of the Defense Department — who help with the supply activities not only see that the South Vietnamese get the equipment and ammunition they ask for but also advise them on what to ask for."

Other U.S. civilians provide expert "technical" assistance to the South Vietnamese police. Although Defense Department officials have refused to disclose just how much money they channel into the Saigon police apparatus, Senator Edward Kennedy estimates that as of last June Washington had spent more than \$130 million on Thieu's police and overflowing jails.

However, this is only a drop in the bucket. Total U.S. military aid to the Saigon regime this year is officially reported at \$900 million, and the true figure is patently much higher.

In theory, U.S. military aid to Sai-

gon is administered through the Military Assistance Service Funded (MASF) program, and it is true that this program's ceiling was set at \$900 million by Congress.

But as correspondent Guy Gran points out in the February 11 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, that figure is based on dollar values set by the Pentagon itself. The bargain-basement price tags it puts on military hardware are not subject to any outside verification. "Thus," Gran writes, "it is easy for the Pentagon to inflate the actual amount of commodities reaching the docks of Saigon without disturbing the dollar figure."

Nor is military aid to Saigon limited to the MASF program. "Excess defence articles," Gran reports, "provide another avenue for transferring resources to Saigon with elastic accounting possibilities. It would be a miracle if the \$45 million estimate for fiscal 1974 provided by the Defense Department were to prove even remotely accurate."

Other clandestine routes used for channeling funds to the Thieu regime include the top-secret CIA budget, the Agriculture Department, and the "post-war reconstruction" program.

Under the Agriculture Department's "Food for Peace" program, for example, the Saigon government has already received more than \$300 million in commodities in fiscal year 1974 alone. When these commodities are sold, Gran reports, "80% of the resulting piastres go to military uses."

Thieu's generals will also receive about \$375 million of the \$450 million in Washington aid budgeted for "reconstruction." According to Gran, "most of the \$375 million will be channelled through the Commodity Import Programme, providing something like \$200 million in piastres that can be applied to military needs."

Washington apparently believes that even this bloated level of military aid is not sufficient. Pentagon officials have asked Congress for a 60 percent increase in openly military aid to South Vietnam for next year. □



Imprisoned Soviet Dissident Near Death

Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov has issued an appeal for support in the campaign to save the life of Leonid Plyushch, a 34-year-old dissident who is feared to be near death in a psychiatric prison-hospital.

A mathematician and engineer from Kiev, Plyushch is a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights. He has been imprisoned for two years in the Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital in southeastern Ukraine.

Fear for his life stems from both the harsh conditions under which he is being detained and the massive doses of drugs being administered to him. According to the appeal, portions of which were reprinted in the February 19 London *Times*, the Dnipropetrovsk prison-hospital is "well known for the severity of its conditions, even in comparison to other institutions of the same type.

"He is in a ward with over 25 people, all held in appalling conditions of humiliation, persecution and physical suffering. The unregulated and senseless administration of large doses of haloperidol has led to a sharp deterioration in his health, to extreme exhaustion and continuous shivering, to weakness, swellings, spasms and loss of appetite."

Plyushch has been reduced to such a state, the appeal continues, that he "can no longer read, write letters or take advantage of the one-hour exercise period allowed to prisoners."

The Soviet bureaucracy's harassment of Plyushch began in 1968, when he was dismissed from his research post for protesting the closed-door trial of Aleksandr Ginzburg. Four years later, in January 1972, he was arrested along with more than 100 other dissidents in a KGB crackdown against the samizdat journals *The Chronicle of Current Events* and the *Ukrainian Herald*.

Singled out for special treatment, Plyushch was compelled to undergo two psychiatric examinations. The first, conducted by several well-known "specialists" in diagnosing the mental

ills of dissidents, established that he showed signs of "creeping schizophrenia with messianic and reformist ideas." The second noted some "improvement," but recommended that he be confined anyway.

His trial, which he was not allowed

South Africa

New Repressive Laws Proposed

New repressive legislation, intended to suppress all opposition to the regime, was presented in the South African Parliament on February 19 by Prime Minister John Vorster's government. Part of the legislation was presented in the form of a new bill that would give the president the power to declare any organization that receives funds from abroad, and that he considers to be engaged in political activity, an "affected organization." The organization could then be forbidden to receive such funds, with leaders subject to sentences of up to ten years if they violate the restrictions.

On February 1, President J.J. Fouché told the Parliament that the government was planning to introduce the legislation. The February 2 *New York Times* reported: "Mr. Fouché said there were a number of pressure groups trying to bring about unconstitutional change that implicitly involved the threat of internal violence.

"It has therefore become necessary, he said, for the Legislature to consider measures to insure that the pressure groups did not succeed 'in artificially creating a particular political climate.'

"He said the measures also would prevent the organizations from presenting a one-sided and distorted image of South Africa abroad and from accepting money from abroad to further a cause that had insufficient financial backing in South Africa."

The most likely targets of this new

to attend, took place in Kiev in January 1973. After listening to hand-picked witnesses, the court sentenced him to indefinite confinement in the mental institution where he now lies near death.

A similar appeal, signed by five members of the Initiative Group, has been issued on behalf of poet Viktor Nekipelov, who was arrested last July and is now in danger of similar confinement in a prison mental hospital. □

legislation would be anti-apartheid groups such as the Christian Institute, the Institute of Race Relations, and the National Union of South African Students, or Black groups like the South African Students Organization and the Black People's Convention.

The Vorster regime also proposed changes in the Riotous Assemblies Act that would give magistrates the authority to ban even lawful meetings and would give policemen the power to break up banned meetings by force, including the use of arms.

The new legislation also restricts freedom of the press. Any person who distributed a speech of someone banned from attending a meeting would be subject to a year's imprisonment. Other proposed censorship regulations would make the possession of "written pornography" illegal, to "give the authorities the opportunity to take steps against persons returning from abroad with undesirable material which is not declared to customs."

Threat to Civilization

After rebellions in two New South Wales prisons, the state minister of justice explained that the uprisings had been "inspired by communists and activists."

Australian "communism," according to the demands of the prisoners, consists of weekend showers, increased wages, broadcasts of sporting events, a prisoners' grievance committee, the right to wear long hair, and improved food.

Latin American Guerrillas Form Joint Committee

[The following statement was issued February 13 in Buenos Aires by the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army), the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary People's Army), the MLN (Movimiento de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Movement), and the MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario—Movement of the Revolutionary Left). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

This is the Vietnamese road; the road which the peoples must follow, the road which the Americas will follow, with the special feature that armed groups can establish something like coordinating committees to make the repressive efforts of Yankee imperialism more difficult and to help their own cause.

—Ché Guevara, "Message to the Tricontinental."

The Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (Tupamaros) of Uruguay, the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario of Chile, the Ejército de Liberación Nacional of Bolivia, and the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo of Argentina have signed the present statement to inform the workers, poor peasants, urban poor, the students and intellectuals, the native peoples, and the millions of exploited workers in our martyred Latin America of our decision to join together in a Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Coordinating Committee].

This important step is a response to a deeply felt need, the need to offer our peoples organizational cohesion, to unite the revolutionary forces against the imperialist enemy, to achieve a greater effectiveness in the political and ideological struggle against bourgeois nationalism and reformism.

This important step is the concrete realization of one of the main strategic

conceptions of Comandante Ché Guevara, the hero, symbol, and pioneer of the continental socialist revolution. It is also a significant step in reviving the fraternal tradition of our peoples, who succeeded in uniting and fighting as one man against the oppressors of the past century, the Spanish colonialists.

Our Struggle Is Anti-imperialist

The peoples of the world are living under the permanent menace of the most aggressive and rapacious imperialism that has ever existed. They have witnessed, and not been unmoved by, the systematic genocide of Yankee imperialism against the heroic Vietnamese people. In this unequal war, whose flames are not yet extinguished, the vicious, militaristic character of the Northern imperialism was fully revealed. But, on the other hand, this war also revealed once again the impotence of the imperialist system, including all its military power, against a people ready to fight and determined to be free.

From the past century until our time, the Latin American peoples have borne the colonial or neocolonial yoke of the imperialists; they have suffered an unbroken chain of military interventions and unjust wars executed or engineered by the American army or by the supranational monopolies.

This is the source of the dismemberment of Mexico, the occupation of Puerto Rico, the intervention in Santo Domingo, Playa Girón, and many other aggressive acts that our America has never forgotten and will never forgive.

Shell, and Esso or Standard Oil, United Fruit, the ITT, and Mister Rockefeller and Mister Ford's money are part of this story. And it also includes the CIA, which through Pappy Shelton, Mitrione, and Siracusa has left an indelible record of the U. S.'s arrogant and oppressive policy toward the Latin American people's movement.

Latin America Is on the Road to Socialism

The triumph of the Cuban revolution on January 1, 1959, marked the beginning of the final advance of the Latin American peoples toward socialism, toward true national independence, toward collective well-being for our peoples.

This advance is the just and open rebellion of the exploited masses of Latin America against a barbarous neocolonial capitalist system imposed since the end of the last century by Yankee and European imperialism, which by force, deceit, and corruption seized control of our continent. The cowardly native bourgeoisies and their armies could not honor the revolutionary heritage of the glorious anti-colonial liberation struggle of our peoples, who, led by heroes such as Bolívar, San Martín, Artigas, and so many others, won independence, equality, and liberty.

Defending their petty group interests, the ruling classes joined with the imperialists, collaborated with them, and facilitated their economic penetration, progressively handing over the control of our economy to the insatiable voracity of foreign capital. Economic domination led to control and engendered political and cultural subordination. In this way the neocolonial capitalist system was established that for a hundred years has exploited, oppressed, and distorted the working classes of our continent.

Early in this century the working class began to rise up against this system, raising the then little-known banner of socialism—which was inseparably joined with the banner of national independence—striving to awaken the peasants, the students, and every healthy element among our peoples. The anarchists, Socialists, and Communists, as the organized currents in the working class, gave an energetic and heroic lead to the mobi-

lizations of the broad masses, each marking indelible milestones of the revolutionary struggle. The legendary Nicaraguan leader, Augusto César Sandino, a metalworker, led one of the most heroic of these struggles in his small country when his guerrilla army held the American interventionist troops at bay in 1932 and defeated them. In the decade of the 1930s our peoples mounted a formidable mass offensive all over the continent, rocking the system of neocolonial domination that had been welded into a homogeneous whole by Yankee imperialism, the No. 1 enemy of all the peoples of the world.

But this formidable revolutionary mobilization of the masses was not crowned with victory. Active political and military intervention—both direct and indirect—by Yankee imperialism, combined with the deficiencies of the anarchist and Socialist currents, and of the Communist parties, brought about a temporary defeat. The majority of the Communist parties, the most conscious, consistent, and best organized forces, fell into reformism. Some of them, like the heroic and battle-hardened Salvadorian Communist party, suffered bitter defeats with dozens and even thousands of martyrs. As a result, the impetuous rise of the masses was deflected from its revolutionary course and fell under the influence and leadership of bourgeois nationalism, which was only a blind alley, a clever demagogic device the ruling classes resorted to in order to prolong the reign of the neocolonial capitalist system through deception.

After the impressive victory of the Cuban people—who under the adept and clear-sighted leadership of Fidel Castro and a group of Marxist-Leninist leaders succeeded in defeating Batista's army and establishing the first Latin American socialist state on the island of Cuba, in the very teeth of imperialism—the peoples of the continent gained a stronger revolutionary confidence and began a new and deep-going general mobilization.

With both successes and failures our people and their vanguards threw themselves resolutely into the struggle against imperialism and for socialism.

The decade of the 1960s saw an uninterrupted succession of great popular struggles, violent guerrilla combat, and powerful mass insurrections. The April war, the general uprising of the

Dominican people, forced the Yankee imperialists to intervene directly. They had to send 30,000 soldiers to drown this magnificent insurrection in blood.

The legendary figure of Comandante Ernesto Guevara personified and symbolized this entire period of struggle. His heroic death, as well as his exemplary life and his clear Marxist-Leninist strategic conception, opened and illuminated the new revolutionary rise of our peoples, which is growing day by day in power and firmness, starting in the factories, in the towns, in the countryside and in the cities, and spreading irresistibly throughout the continent.

This is the final awakening of our peoples that has brought millions of workers to their feet in a process heading inexorably toward the Second Independence, toward complete national and social liberation, toward the complete elimination of the unjust capitalist system and the establishment of revolutionary socialism.

The Fight for the Leadership of the Mass Movement

But the revolutionary road is not an easy or simple one to follow. We must not only face the barbarous economic and military force of imperialism. More subtle enemies and dangers lie in wait at every turn for the revolutionary forces, threatening their efforts to wage the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggle effectively and victoriously.

Today, considering the particular situation of the continental revolutionary process, we have to point specifically to two tendencies in thought and action that gravely obstruct the revolutionary efforts of Latin Americans. One is an outright enemy—bourgeois nationalism. The other is a false conception in the people's camp—reformism.

Both—and at times they are closely linked—are trying to ride the revolutionary rise of our peoples, gain the leadership, and impose their erroneous and selfish conceptions, which will inevitably end in breaking and dissipating the revolutionary impetus. Therefore, there is a strategic dimension to the intransigent ideological and political struggle we revolutionists must wage against these tendencies in order to overcome them and in this way win the leadership of the broadest

masses so that we can offer our peoples a consistent revolutionary leadership that can guide us firmly, intelligently, and effectively to the final victory.

Bourgeois nationalism is a current promoted by imperialism, which relies on it as a demagogic device to distract and divert the struggles of the peoples when counterrevolutionary violence loses its effectiveness. The social kernel of bourgeois nationalism is the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, or an embryonic form of it, whose aim is to seize as much wealth as it can by presenting itself as the fireman who can bring the revolutionary conflagration under control by its influence with the people and its capacity to negotiate with the mass movement. In their policy of deception, these elements utilize anti-imperialist language and try to confuse the masses with their favorite nationalist argument of a third way.* But in reality they are not anti-imperialist but even prepare the way for new and more subtle forms of foreign economic penetration.

Reformism, on the other hand, is a tendency rooted in the toiling population itself that reflects the fear that petty-bourgeois sectors and the labor aristocracy have of confrontation. It is characterized by a categorical rejection in practice of resorting to just and necessary revolutionary violence as the fundamental method of struggling for power and thus by abandonment of the Marxist conception of class struggle. Reformists propagate among the masses harmful pacifist and liberal notions. They prettify the national bourgeoisie and the counterrevolutionary armies and constantly seek alliances with them. They exaggerate the importance of legality and parliamentarism. One of their favorite arguments is that we have to avoid violence and link up with the bourgeoisie and "patriotic officers" in order to find a peaceful road that will spare the masses bloodshed on their path toward socialism. It is an argument that has been refuted in the most painful way by events. Where reformism has been able to impose its conciliatory and pacifist policy, the enemy

*This seems to refer most directly to Peron, who lumps together all tendencies that claim to be Marxist under the heading of "Soviet imperialism" and equates this with Yankee imperialism. — IP

classes and their armies have carried out their greatest massacres against the people. The nearness of the Chilean experience, in which more than 20,000 working men and women were murdered, makes further comment unnecessary.

Against bourgeois nationalism, reformism, and other less important tendencies, in constant ideological and political struggle with them, an armed pole has emerged, a revolutionary pole that is consolidating its position daily among the masses, improving its political and military capacity, offering more and more of a real option for national independence and socialism.

It was precisely to help strengthen this revolutionary pole on a continental scale that the four organizations signing this statement decided to form the Junta de Coordinación Revolucionaria. And we call on the entire workers and people's revolutionary vanguard in Latin America to close ranks around this Junta and around each of its component national organizations in order to wage a united struggle.

This means of course that the doors of this Junta de Coordinación are open to the revolutionary organizations in the different Latin American countries.

The Experience of Our Organizations

In the course of their patriotic and revolutionary struggle, the MLN Tupamaros, the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario, the Ejército de Liberación Nacional, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, have come to understand the need for unity. They have seen their international conception confirmed by their own experience, and we realize that we have to achieve the firmest and closest unity among our peoples in order to oppose a united imperialist, capitalist enemy.

Drawn together by the similarity of our struggles and our lines, the four organizations have established the initial fraternal ties, and in this process we have gone on to exchange experiences and to develop more and more active collaboration until we have reached the point today of taking this decisive step accelerating coordination and collaboration that will certainly result in greater practical effectiveness in the intense struggle our peoples

are waging against a savage common enemy.

A greater development of our organizations and a reinforcement of our internationalist conception and practice will enable us to take better advantage of the potentialities of our peoples in moving ahead to build a powerful revolutionary force capable of definitively defeating capitalist-imperialist reaction, expelling Yankee and European imperialism from Latin American soil, and beginning to build socialism in each of our countries so that in the following period we can achieve the fullest Latin American unity.

Achieving this sacred goal will not be easy. The cruelty and power of imperialism will make it necessary, as Comandante Guevara foresaw in a general way, to mount a fierce and prolonged revolutionary war that will transform the Latin American continent into the world's second or third Vietnam. But, following the glorious example of the heroic Vietnamese people, the Latin American workers will prove capable of waging an undaunted struggle. They will unleash the irresistible energies of the masses in all their intensity and thus win happiness for our peoples and make a strong contribution to destroying once and for all the main enemy of the world working class, of socialism, and of all the peoples of the world.

Our Program

We are united by our understanding that the only viable strategy in Latin America is one of revolutionary war. This revolutionary war is a complex process of both armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, mass struggle in which all forms develop harmoniously, converging around the axis of armed struggle.

In order for this whole process of revolutionary war to be carried out victoriously we have to mobilize the entire people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. Proletarian leadership of the war must be provided by a Marxist-Leninist combat party of a proletarian character that can centralize, direct, and combine all aspects of popular struggle in a single powerful cutting edge, a party that can provide the proper strategic guidance. Under the leadership of the proletarian party, we must organize a mighty people's army, the iron

core of the revolutionary forces. Developing progressively from small beginnings, this people's army will rise up as an impenetrable wall against which all the military assaults of the reactionaries will shatter and which will have the material capacity to assure the total annihilation of the counterrevolutionary armies.

At the same time, we must build a broad, mass workers and people's front that can mobilize all the progressive and revolutionary people, the unions and other similar organizations—in short the broadest masses, whose struggle parallels and continually converges with the military activity and strategy of the people's army and the clandestine political activity of the proletarian party.

A clear response is needed to the present challenge and the only possible one is armed struggle. This must be the main factor in political polarization and agitation, and ultimately in defeating the enemy; it is the only road to victory. This doesn't mean that we will not utilize every possible form of organization and struggle, legal and clandestine, peaceful and violent, economic and political. All converge with increased effectiveness in *armed struggle*, which will be waged in accordance with the peculiarities of every region and country.

The continental character of the struggle is determined fundamentally by the presence of a common enemy. American imperialism is carrying out an international strategy to halt the socialist revolution in Latin America. It is no accident that fascist regimes have been imposed in countries where a rising mass movement has threatened the stability of oligarchic power. The international strategy of imperialism requires a continental strategy on the part of revolutionists.

The road to be traveled in this struggle is not a short one. The international bourgeoisie is determined to prevent revolution by any means, even if it arises in a single country. It has every kind of official and unofficial means, both military and propagandistic, that can be used against the people. Therefore, in its first phases, our revolutionary war is one of wearing out the enemy until we are able to form a people's army stronger than the enemy force. This process is a slow one, but paradoxically, it is the shortest and least costly road to

achieve the strategic objectives of the disadvantaged classes.

Latin American People: To Arms

We are living through the decisive moments of our history. It is with this awareness that the MLN Tupamaros, the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario, the Ejército de Libera-

ción Nacional, and the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo call on the exploited toilers of Latin America, on the working class, the poor peasants, the urban poor, the students and intellectuals, the revolutionary Christians, and all elements of the exploiting classes ready to support the just cause of the people to take up arms resolutely, to join actively in the revolution-

ary struggle against imperialism and for socialism that is being waged on our continent following the banner and the example of Comandante Guevara.

Freedom or Death (MLN Tupamaros)

Live or Die for Argentina (ERP)

Fatherland or Death, We Will Win (MIR)

Victory or Death (ELN)

'Fahizah' Describes 'Symbionese Liberation Army'

[The following letter was mailed to San Francisco newspapers on January 17 by Nancy Ling Perry, who is being sought by police in connection with the activities of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA). An article on the SLA, which explains some of the events referred to in the letter, appears on page 279 of this issue.

[The "August 7th" mentioned in the letter is the August 7th Movement, a mysterious organization about which almost nothing is known. After an Oakland police helicopter crashed, killing both its occupants, last October 2, the August 7th Movement claimed that it had shot down the helicopter.]

* * *

A letter to the people

From Fahizah (former name: nancy ling perry)

"To those who would bear the hopes and future of the people, let the voice of their guns express the words of freedom."

Greetings, my comrade sisters and brothers, all love, power and freedom to you. I am very glad to have this opportunity to speak to you, even though I know that what I am feeling cannot be completely expressed in words. You may have heard of me, not because I am any more important than any of you, but simply because my former name has been in the news lately. My name was Nancy Ling Perry, but my true name is Fahizah. What that name means is one who is victorious, and I am one who believes in the liberation and victory of the people, because I have learned that what one really believes in is what will come to pass. So, my name is Fahizah and I am a freedom fighter in an information/intelligence unit of the United Federated Forces of the Symbionese Liberation Army. I still am that, in spite of the fact that I am now being sought for a political action, and in spite of the fact that two of my closest companeros are now chained in the Adjustment Center

(the prison's prison) at San Quentin concentration camp. I am still with other members of the SLA information/intelligence unit, and I am hiding only from the enemy and not from the people. I have no intention of deserting my commitment nor would I ever try to run away from it, because I have learned that there is no flight to freedom except that of an armed projectile. Although it is the practice of the Symbionese Liberation Army to act rather than talk, I am compelled to speak because I wish to make clear my position and why I am fighting, what it is I am fighting for, what the purpose and nature of the SLA information/intelligence unit is, and why I will continue to fight.

First of all, I think I should tell you something about my background and the evolution of my consciousness. Basically, I have three backgrounds: I have a work background, a love background, and a prison background. My prison background means that I have close ties and feelings with our incarcerated brothers and sisters. What they have taught me is that if people on the outside do not understand the necessity of defending them through force of arms, then it is because these people on the outside do not yet realize that they are in an immediate danger of being thrown into concentration camps themselves, tortured, or shot down in the streets for expressing their beliefs. What my love background taught me was a whole lot of what love is all about, and that the greater one's capacity for love is, the greater is one's longing for freedom. What my work background taught me is that one of the things that every revolutionary does is to fight to get back the fruits of her or his own labor and the control of his or her own destiny.

When I was in high school in 1963-64, I witnessed the first military coup, against we the people of this country. I saw us passively sit by our t.v.'s and unconsciously watch as the military armed corporate state took over the existing government and blatantly destroyed the constitution that some of us still believed in.

I listened to the people around me deny that a military coup had taken place and claim that such a thing could not happen here. The people that I grew up around were so politically naive that their conceptions of a military coup only recognized those that have occurred in South America and African countries where the military and ruling class took over the government by an open force of arms. But the method of taking over the government was different here. Here the coup was simply accomplished by assassinating the then president John Kennedy, and then assassinating any further opposition to the dictator who was to take power; that dictator is the current president Richard Nixon. In 1964 I witnessed these and other somewhat hidden beginnings of the military/corporate state which we now live in. And I heard my teachers and the government controlled media spread lies about what had happened. I saw the Civil Rights protests, the killings and bombings of my black brothers and sisters and the conditioned reactions of extreme racism in my school and home. When I questioned my teachers about how these occurrences related to the meanings of democracy and freedom that we were told existed to protect us all, the answer I got was that we were better off not knowing the truth about what was happening. I told my teachers and my family and friends, that I felt that we were all being used as pawns and puppets, and that those who had taken over the government were trying to keep us asleep and in a political stupor. I asked my teachers to tell me what happened in Nazi Germany; I asked them to tell me the meaning of fascism; I asked them to tell me the meaning of genocide; and when I began to hear about a war in Vietnam, I asked them to tell me the meaning of imperialism. The answer to all my questions then was either silence, or a reply filled with confusion and lies, and a racist pride and attitude that, well, after all, it was all for us.

The experience of living in Amerikka has since taught me the realities of what

fascism, imperialism, and genocide mean; and I have discovered the truth about the military take-over and the police state dictatorship, not because I studied about it in college, but because I see it everyday, and because truth is something that is honestly known, as easily as beauty is seen. There is no need for me to relate here everything that I have seen, or everything that I am sure you are already aware of. I am sure, my sisters and brothers, that you realize that the government is now in the rapid and steady process of removing the means of survival from the lower class and giving these benefits to the middle class in an effort to rally support from them. And as the government is removing these means of survival from the people, then naturally the people who have been robbed must in turn take back what rightfully belongs to them, and take back what they need in order to survive. This the current dictatorship calls a crime, whether they take food from the grocery store, or take to the streets to make a speech, or take a gun in their hand to defend themselves.

As a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence unit, I fight against our common oppressor, and this I do with my gun as well as my mind. I try to use my mind and my imagination to uncover facts, so that when the SLA attacks it will be in the right place, and that the actions of the more experienced SLA combat units will truly serve to benefit the people and answer their needs. The action taken by the SLA combat unit in reference to the Oakland Board of Education was a specific response to political police state programs and the failure of the Board to heed the rights and demands of the people in the community. The specific program was one of the photo identification (similar to the system of apartheid in South Africa), biological classification in the form of biodossiers which classify students according to race and political beliefs, internal warfare computer files, and armed police state patrols within the schools. Intensely thorough intelligence operations carried out by one of the SLA information units was able to obtain factual information that Foster's signature was the first to appear on the Nixon Administration inspired proposal for armed police agents within certain Oakland schools and various forms of computer classification of students. Further intelligence revealed that Foster's background included membership on the Philadelphia Crime Commission. Foster's sideman, Blackburn, is a CIA agent. As director of Education in East Africa he worked to implement test programs against black people there, and he trained other agents to carry them out so that he could return to this country and introduce those same programs here. I feel a need to explain this again because I

want to make it clear that the SLA was not indiscriminantly issuing death warrants for Foster, Blackburn or anyone else, but rather we were attacking the programs and proposal of which they were the initiators, supporters and first signers. Such an attack was the only means left open to us to demand that the people's wishes be met, and that all such dangerous, genocidal programs be stopped.

The government controlled media has made some reference to the effect that this action was carried out by white people made up in black face. Members of the SLA do not have to make up in black face in order to defend the black community, since the SLA is a federation formed in the style of a revolutionary united nations whose commanding leadership is composed of representatives of the black, brown, yellow, red and white communities. We have more than enough members from every race to carry out any operation. As revolutionaries we would never disguise ourselves by race, because we would never deliberately act in a manner that would bring further police investigation onto any one race of peoples. But I would like to ask, since when does one have to be black in order to care about the murder of 14 year old Tyrone Guyton by political police state death squads, since when does one have to be white in order to feel for the starving children in Appalachia, since when does one have to be Asian in order to care about stopping the napalming of children in Vietnam, since when does one have to be brown in order to fight against the mass slaughters being conducted by the military junta in Chile???? Since when???? Not since we have come to realize that we are all one in struggle.

I am a member of the Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence unit and that means that my responsibility is to aid the combat units with information, and keep myself armed at all times. I am in a race to learn how to fight, because I am in a race to survive. SLA information/intelligence units have a military/political alliance with SLA combat units. What that means is that information units totally support armed struggle. That is to say that all members of the SLA understand that politics are inseparable from struggle, in fact politics have no meaning without armed combat and information units to give politics a purpose.

The Symbionese Liberation Army is unlike many existing political organizations in this country which support the armed liberation struggles of peoples throughout the world, but when it comes to the struggle here in Amerikka, they consistently denounce militancy and revolutionary violence, and in so doing denounce the only means left to the people to achieve their liberation.

I believe that whenever people are confronted with oppression, starvation and the death of their freedom that they want to fight. It has been the history of many political leaders to suppress this will of the people, and to pretend that the people do not have the right to fight, and to pretend that the people will somehow achieve their liberation without revolutionary violence. But the truth is that there has never been a precedent for a non-violent revolution; the defenseless and unarmed people of Chile can testify to that. All members of the SLA recognize that we, right here in Amerikka are in a state of war, and that in a state of war, all must be armed, and understand the true meaning of self-defense. When any member of the people's army strikes out at the murderer of our people and children, we are doing so in self-defense, we are doing so because we are left no alternative, and force of arms is now our only legal means to affect revolutionary justice. However, the natural instincts of many people in our country have become perverted by the conditionings to which they have been subjected, they have been conditioned to be afraid of revolutionary violence. I no longer have these fears because as a comrade of mine named Osceola has taught me, "The only way to destroy fear is to destroy the makers of fear, the murderer and the oppressor." A revolutionary is not a criminal nor is she or he an adventurer, and revolutionary violence is nothing but the most profound means of achieving internal as well as external balance.

I would like to correct and clarify the information given to you by the regime-controlled media and police-state reports associating the Symbionese Liberation Army with the August 7th. First of all, statements about August 7th literature and original communiques being found in the Concord house are completely untrue. The Symbionese Liberation Army is NOT the August 7th; in fact, the August 7th is a counter revolutionary Oakland City and California State police plot to discredit revolutionaries and confuse the people. Freedom fighters act only in the interest of the people, they do not unnecessarily shoot down a helicopter whose crashing would endanger lives of people in their communities, nor do they credit themselves with events or accidents that occur in which they had no part, nor do they issue threats which they are unprepared to carry out, nor do they expose the nature and whereabouts of their forces, as for example in the recent statement issued by August 7th saying that armed guerrilla units existed inside the prisons. The events and communiques associated with the August 7th served only enemy purposes: that is, a statewide lock-down went into effect in the prisons and the people began to think of revolutionary action as that which

would endanger their lives and homes. As a member of the SLA I can tell you that the SLA takes full credit and responsibility for its actions, we acknowledge everything that we do, and if we had shot down a helicopter, we would say so; and if I had participated as a decoy in a taxi cab incident I would say so. However, I would like to tell you not to rely solely on my analysis that the August 7th and the Oakland and California State Political Police are one in the same, but instead, just take a look for yourselves. Ask yourselves of the extent to which the police state will go to discredit revolutionaries by labelling all street violence as revolutionary activity and by issuing nothing but threatening communiques and then saying that such threats are coming from revolutionaries. It isn't just coincidence that the week the August 7th issued an idle threat against the life of prison official Proconier, was the same week that the California legislature re-instated the death penalty.

The house in Concord, Calif. was a Symbionese Liberation Army information/intelligence headquarters, nothing more. The house was set on fire by me only to melt away any fingerprints that may have been overlooked. It never was intended that the fire would totally destroy the premises, because there was nothing left there that was of any real consequence to us, nor was there any material left behind that could stagnate the functioning ability of The SLA to carry on the struggle. The reports that mass armaments were found in that house is a lie. It is an attempt to frame my 2 comrade brothers and it is an assertion to cover up the fact that there were no weapons found there. All that remained were 3 broken BB guns, a couple of malfunctioning gas masks, a few research books, and several liberation posters on the walls. Also, let me tell you that no one living or coming to that house was a part of the SLA combat forces. This can be easily verified; first of all everyone in SLA combat forces is offensively armed with cyanide bullets in all weapons that they carry; and up until today this had NOT been the case for SLA information/intelligence units or any support units, at that time all units but combat were only defensively armed with hand guns and carried no cyanide bullets. Secondly, we can easily verify that the ballistics on the .380 now in the hands of pig agents do not match those of the weapon used in the attack on the Oakland Board of Education. Information/intelligence units or any support units were never allowed to possess or have any contact with combat units weapons. Beginning January 11th however, a directive was issued by The SLA and The Court of the People stating that as of that date, all units of the Symbionese Liberation Army are to be heavily,

and offensively armed with cyanide bullets in all their weapons. I would like to convey the word, to my 2 captured companeros: you have not been forgotten, and you will be defended because there has been no set back and all combat forces are intact.

There really are no words available to me to express what I feel about the capture of my two companeros. They are in a concentration camp now because none of us were offensively armed, and because I was not aware that they were under attack. But my beautiful brothers, as we

have said many times, we learn from our mistakes, and we learn from our active participation in struggle, not from political rhetoric, so we won't cry, but simply fight on; and right on with that. A comrade of mine, Bo, says something that I'd like to leave you with:

"There are two things to remember about revolution, we are going to get our asses kicked, and we are going to win."

"Death to the fascist insect that preys upon the life of the people."

Fahizah

Irish Writers Protest Exile of Solzhenitsyn

[The note below is from the February 22 issue of the Irish Republican Information Service bulletin, which is published by the Provisional republicans.]

* * *

In a letter to newspapers this week, 13 leading Irish [Gaelic] writers condemn the recent actions of the Soviet Government against the famous Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn and liken it to the denial of freedom of speech in both parts of their own country. The letter states (the following is a translation from Irish):

"Freedom of speech and opinion is the basis of personal freedom and of freedom in the public sphere. This freedom is being curtailed in many countries at the moment. We, writers in the Irish language, are concerned with any such curtailment, both abroad and at home.

"We are concerned at anybody being arrested because his opinions are not the same as the opinion of those who rule the state (no matter what state is in question).

"It is not our function in Ireland, however, to point the finger of condemnation at Greece, the Sudan or Egypt, for example. This is because of the existence of Long Kesh, of the Special Criminal Courts, of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act [which forbids publicizing the views of "illegal organizations"], in our own country.

"As writers, nevertheless, we are greatly concerned that one of our brothers has been arrested on account of his writings, particularly his new book 'Gulag Archipelago.'

"The Nobel Prize was not bestowed

on Alexander Solzhenitsyn without good reason. He is one of the finest writers of our time, a man who has among his gifts integrity of mind and a great sharpness of vision. We are concerned at this iniquitous action of the authorities in the Soviet Union, an action which will put another obstacle in the way of understanding in that country, and assist the propaganda of its enemies.

"Our concern is not relieved by the fact that Solzhenitsyn is now banished from his country, and sheltered with his fellow Nobel Prize-winner, Heinrich Böll. Indeed, he is in a worse situation now, since he has always said that it is in his own country that he wants to spend his life and do his work. We Irish people understand that attitude of his, very well."

The letter is signed by the poets Seán O Riordáin, Máirtín O Direáin, Michael Davitt, Tomás Tóibín, Liam O Muirthile and Gabriel Rosenstock; novelists Diarmuid O Súilleabháin, Críostóir O Floinn and Pádraig O Maoileoin; short story writers Dáithí O h-Ogáin and Mícheál O h-Uanacháin, critic Críostóir Mac Aonghusa and historian Pádraig O Snodaigh.

These include writers who have themselves been victims of political censorship. A big controversy was given rise to recently when a TV interview with O Riordáin was censored, while a similar controversy took place some years ago after a government attempt to suppress a poem by O Floinn on a Republican volunteer who was killed in the Six Counties. Diarmuid O Súilleabháin, winner of an Irish Academy of Letters Award, served a six months prison sentence last year for making a speech critical of the Dublin Government. □