

a labor press service

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

50¢

Un service de presse ouvrier

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 21 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2, France

NEW YORK OFFICE: World Outlook, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

Vol. 5, No. 21
May 26, 1967

THE TESTIMONY OF DO VAN NGOC

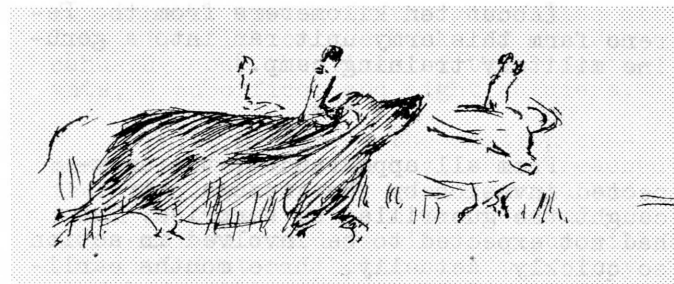
[One of the most moving moments at the Stockholm hearings of the International War Crimes Tribunal came when a 9-year-old Vietnamese boy, badly burned over the lower abdomen by napalm, offered his testimony as to war crimes committed by the U.S. invaders of his country. An observer said that the contrast between

the brave little boy and the barbarous use of American technology brought tears to the eyes of those present. The following is the full text of the statement made by this witness.]

My name is Do Van Ngoc, 9 years old, from the village of Vinh, Tuy, hamlet of Vinh Minh, district of Quang Minh, province of Quang Minh, the son of Mr. Do Oj and Mrs. Ha Thi Giee; both my parents are rice growers.

On the afternoon of June 16, 1966, I was looking after the oxen with my two friends, named Ha Khac and Do Van Giau, when three American planes appeared from over the sea and dropped bombs on the place where we were.

The bombs exploded and the flames
[Please turn to page 539]



Guerrilla Front in Bolivia Pictured as "Impregnable"

**October Antiwar Protest
Set for Washington, D.C.**

Hugo Blanco Goes on Hunger Strike

What Three Parades Show on Rating of Vietnam War

Analysis of Forces Behind Coup d'Etat in Greece

General Strike in France— New Test for deGaulle

Text of Sartre's Address at War Crimes Tribunal

Reba Hansen, Business Manager,

P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station,

New York, N.Y. 10010

a labor press service

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

50¢

Un service de presse ouvrier

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 21 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2, France

NEW YORK OFFICE: World Outlook, P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010

Vol. 5, No. 21
May 26, 1967

THE TESTIMONY OF DO VAN NGOC

[One of the most moving moments at the Stockholm hearings of the International War Crimes Tribunal came when a 9-year-old Vietnamese boy, badly burned over the lower abdomen by napalm, offered his testimony as to war crimes committed by the U.S. invaders of his country. An observer said that the contrast between the brave little boy and the barbarous use of American technology brought tears to the eyes of those present. The following is the full text of the statement made by this witness.]



My name is Do Van Ngoc, 9 years old, from the village of Vinh, Tuy, hamlet of Vinh Minh, district of Quang Minh, province of Quang Minh, the son of Mr. Do Oj and Mrs. Ha Thi Glee; both my parents are rice growers.

On the afternoon of June 16, 1966, I was looking after the oxen with my two friends, named Ha Khac and Do Van Giau, when three American planes appeared from over the sea and dropped bombs on the place where we were.

The bombs exploded and the flames
[Please turn to page 539]



Guerrilla Front in Bolivia Pictured as "Impregnable"

**October Antiwar Protest
Set for Washington, D.C.**

Hugo Blanco Goes on Hunger Strike

What Three Parades Show on Rating of Vietnam War

Analysis of Forces Behind Coup d'Etat in Greece

General Strike in France— New Test for deGaulle

Text of Sartre's Address at War Crimes Tribunal

Reba Hansen, Business Manager,

P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station,

New York, N.Y. 10010

GUERRILLA FRONT IN BOLIVIA PICTURED AS "IMPREGNABLE"

[The reports concerning the opening of a guerrilla front in southeastern Bolivia have been so contradictory that until the report below was published, World Outlook considered it best to adopt a reserved attitude.

[The main source of information was the Barrientos regime, one of the most unreliable in all of Latin America -- and that is saying a good deal. What it reported one day canceled out what it had said the previous day.

[The Johnson administration appeared to be dubious as to the accuracy of the accounts, although this did not prevent it from sending additional military supplies and a number of "advisers" and experts in counter guerrilla war.

[It should be added that the sudden reports about guerrilla activities came on the eve of the Punta del Este Conference sponsored by the Johnson administration and were utilized to help whip up the "hate Cuba" propaganda. Moreover, the focusing of attention on the southeast part of Bolivia was not without a certain value in helping to draw a screen over the savage witch-hunt of political opponents which the Barrientos regime has been conducting since last January.

[Various journalists appear to have been trying to ascertain the truth about the reports of a new guerrilla front. Three journalists who went there were promptly seized by the Barrientos regime and one of them, Régis Debray, was accused of being the "political commissar" of the alleged guerrilla group. (See World Outlook, May 19, p. 507.)

[The Paris daily Le Monde sent one of its best correspondents, Marcel Niedergang, to Bolivia. An unusually reliable journalist, his dispatches have been awaited with interest. His reports concerning Régis Debray soon pointed up a number of lies on the part of the Barrientos regime.

[Arriving in the guerrilla zone, he seems to have succeeded in interviewing some of the representatives of political tendencies that have been driven underground. Coupling this information with facts gleaned from other sources, he offered his first conclusions concerning the guerrilla front in the May 18 issue of Le Monde. We offer below some extracts from this article.]

* * *

[Niedergang begins by reporting the March 23 incident in which a govern-

ment patrol stumbled into an ambush on the Nancahuazú River north of Lagunillas, an oil town in the province of Santa Cruz. A sublieutenant named Amezaga, six soldiers and a civilian employee of the Bolivian state oil company, one "Vargas," were killed.]

* * *

The news was not released officially in La Paz until Monday March 27; the authorities preferring to remain silent at first...

According to a communiqué of the army high command, Sublieutenant Amezaga's lost patrol was charged with "studying indications of a forest trail" and the "quick reaction of the forces of law and order enabled them to capture some prisoners, a jeep, radio equipment, some suitcases containing uniforms and Castro-Communist propaganda of Cuban origin."

A quite different version is offered at Marietta's in Camiri. "For several months people in Camiri had noticed the incessant coming and going of 'Coco' Perero and his brother Marco, both of whom are from Beni. Congenial, friendly, with an easy smile and 'abrazo' [equivalent to a slap on the back], they said they had bought a farm near Nancahuazú to raise stock. People around here ended up just the same thinking that the two brothers were buying an abnormal amount of supplies for their employees. Around Lagunillas and Monteagudo, they made no objection to paying double the price for chickens and meat. At first it was thought that a new clandestine plant for making cocaine was involved, these being numerous in the region. Then things said in confidence by an employee of the company about men coming down from the mountains to the Perero farm led the government authorities to send a patrol accompanied by the guide 'Vargas' to see what was involved."

* * *

[About ten kilometers from the Perero farm this army unit ran into a genuine military training camp.]

* * *

From all appearances, the unexpected invasion by the Amezaga patrol caught the guerrillas by surprise. They had not expected to be involved in action so quickly. Actually, three months earlier, a young Bolivian technician had by chance met the Perero brothers in the Monteagudo market. He knew them well in Europe when he was a student there. Marco and "Coco" Perero belonged to an extreme

left formation, but at the end of 1965 they decided, it seems, to join a pro-Chinese group, the leader of which is Oscar Zamora, former general secretary of the International Student Union in Prague.

Zamora, a former member of the "orthodox" Communist party, is at present detained in a military camp for political prisoners in Peking, a place in the Amazon forest close to the Brazilian border said to be unhealthy. [See World Outlook, April 21, p. 420, for a description of the conditions in these camps.] When his family complained about the particularly harsh conditions of the camp, the authorities replied: "What are you complaining about? He is exactly where he wanted to go." In this particularly isolated part of Bolivia are to be found other places with such unexpected names as Paris, Versailles, New Berlin and London...

"We decided, with the comrades, to begin armed insurrection," the Perero brothers confided. "For the time being we are in the stage of preparation and organization, but you will soon hear them talking about us. The only way out is through armed struggle."

* * *

[In La Paz and Santa Cruz, Niedergang continues, one hears many Bolivians affirm after the event that they knew about the guerrilla preparations all along. In the area, however, two months later the general feeling is still one of surprise and doubt.

[Three days after the skirmish at Nancahuazú, General Barrientos, president of the republic, arrived by plane to personally inspect the "red zone."

[For a month and a half repeated announcements were made about an imminent clash, but the reported incidents indicated that the guerrillas continued to hold the initiative.]

* * *

On April 10 a particularly murderous ambush, sprung by the guerrillas at Iripiti, still on the banks of the Nancahuazú, cost the lives of two lieutenants, a subofficer and eight soldiers.

Still graver -- the section commanded by Captain Sanchez, which reached there a little later, was disarmed and taken prisoner. Captain Sanchez and his men remained two days with the guerrillas, astonished at not being executed. They observed with interest the very modern arms of the rebels, their organization and perfect discipline. A doctor, Japanese according to them, took care of the wounded. Deprived of their clothes and their arms, the men in the Sanchez patrol,

no doubt having refused to join the guerrillas, were released. They carried their dead and wounded on stretchers; one of the guerrilla chiefs turned over to Captain Sanchez the wedding ring belonging to Sublieutenant Amezaga, killed March 23.

On April 20, in the village of Mutyupampa, that is, considerably south of this sector, Mr. Régis Debray was apprehended in the company of two journalists, one of them Argentine, the other British. This was not done by the military but by the DIC (Department of Criminal Investigation). The three men were unarmed, in civilian clothes, manifestly unprepared to stay, for even a short time, in the Nancahuazú jungle.

Other skirmishes took place April 25 and during May near Gutierrez, not far from the Rio Grande. A total of twenty-five deaths in the ranks of the regular forces in less than forty-five days. This is a high figure; proportionately much higher than the losses admitted officially over a longer period in Colombia or Venezuela, the two countries most affected up to now by armed insurrectionary movements.

Thus morale does not seem to be very high among the Bolivian soldiers of the Fourth Division, taken aback by combat tactics and a terrain to which they are quite unaccustomed. Despite the repeated announcements about a "general offensive," orders have been issued by the high command to reduce the number of "suicide patrols."

In the sinister gorges of the Nancahuazú, thirty years ago, the heads of the Bolivian army, under different conditions of course, had to overcome the distaste of the men of the Altiplano or the high Andean valleys for the tropical heat and humidity. The Aymara Indian and the Cochabamba cholo dread the jungle and its snares -- snakes, mosquitoes and giant, venomous spiders. It seems clear that the rebels, controlling a territory of around 200 square kilometers, do not intend to "break out of the encirclement" and pass over to the offensive. They are satisfied with lightning commando operations to demoralize the regular troops.

"It seems," Colonel Zenteno, commander of the Eighth Division and former minister of foreign affairs, told us, "that the guerrillas have a base in this sector that is for the moment almost impregnable."

Conscious of these difficulties, the top command is now seeking to replace the troops composed in the majority of men from the highlands by conscripts enlisted in the tropical zones, particularly Beni. But a significant incident occurred last week at Trinidad, the capital of

Beni, the province north of Santa Cruz. A crowd of men and women assembled on the airstrip at the airport to block the military plane from taking off with the conscripts. The government's comment: "It involved a group of Communists."

The project launched by General Barrientos at the end of March to create a "peasant militia," seems to have likewise been abandoned. It is not that the Bolivian army, having a strength of about 30,000 men, lacks elite units, but they are not numerous. A battalion of Rangers, around 1,000 men, is stationed near Santa Cruz but has not yet engaged in operations. Another battalion has great firepower and is well trained. A second battalion of Rangers is being formed with the collaboration of U.S. "advisers" from the anti-guerrilla school at Panama. An estimated 250 young Bolivian officers have already taken courses in this school.

There is nothing confidential about this American military assistance. A regular military flight schedule is maintained between Howard air field in the Panama Canal Zone and Bolivia. The newspapers in La Paz have published pictures of Hercules air-cargo planes landing war matériel in Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, as well as pictures of American "advisers." The same Bolivian dailies report "military aid from Argentina."

"U.S. and Argentine technicians and instructors are arriving frequently in Bolivia," General Belmonte Ardiles, commander in chief of the Bolivian air force has admitted. And he added: "This aid consists of cooperating with our aviators in the struggle against the guerrillas in the department of Santa Cruz."

"We were surprised," a U.S. adviser, a specialist in radio communications, told us in Santa Cruz. "The rebels possess a remarkable camouflage technique and a dispersion capacity resembling what we are running into at present in Vietnam. They have good radio equipment. We detected six points transmitting in Morse code. But when the troops tried to move toward one of these points, all six shifted at the same time, wiping out the trail ... Really they are very well trained."

The excellent preparation of the Bolivian guerrilla focal center, admitted

by the U.S. and Argentine advisers, thus makes all the more interesting the affirmations of those who, even in Santa Cruz itself, appear to be in good position to know the intentions of the guerrillas.

"This zone was not chosen by accident," they say, "not only because of the terrain but especially with disengagement in mind. From Nancahuazú it is easy to link up with Bolivia's three levels -- the eastern plains by way of Camiri, the valleys of Cochabamba and the Altiplano by way of the passes. For the immediate future, it is only a matter of harassing the regular forces. In the long range, if the focal center is maintained, it will perhaps be possible to form columns marching simultaneously toward the capital. This obviously involves linking up with the tin miners in the Altiplano. Some of them have already joined the underground. They talk about foreigners among the guerrillas. What difference does that make? Aren't there foreigners on the side of the Bolivian army?"

Does it make sense, this "dream" held by the leaders of the Bolivian left -- of repeating, ten years later, in this area, the exploits of the "Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos columns"? Many factors must be considered, beginning with the almost total absence of political consciousness among the peasant masses in this country. Can the fish live in such inhospitable water? The more or less underground spokesmen of the parties (all of them, however, divided into several tendencies), ranging from the Communists to the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) of ex-President Paz Estenssoro, are not stopped by these considerations. "To defeat the guerrillas," they say, "the government will be led progressively to an operation of the Santo Domingo type."

In any case there is one point on which all the leaders and representatives of the opposition are in agreement -- the shots fired last March 23 in the wild gorges of the Nancahuazú marked the beginning of something that threatens to last for a rather long time and to compel all "shadings" of opinion to take a stand on in relation to the "Bolivian focal center," the most important perhaps of all those that have surged up in the past ten years with varying fortunes south of the Rio Grande.

CUBANS SCORE A RECORD HARVEST

Cuba has announced a smashing success in this year's sugar harvest. On May 8 as the cutting neared completion, total production stood at 5,590,792 metric tons. This is a million tons higher than last year's harvest at the same

time.

Las Villas Province produced 25 percent of the nation's total sugar crop. With a harvest of 1,396,175 tons, the province set a 14-year record.

JUAN LECHIN HAILS BOLIVIAN GUERRILLA FRONT

Juan Lechin Oquendo, former vice-president of Bolivia and a popular figure in the labor movement there, has hailed the appearance of a guerrilla front in his country although he denies having any connection with it.

Lechin was arbitrarily arrested by Dictator René Barrientos in May 1965, put on a plane and sent to Asunción. No trial was held. Interior Minister Oscar Quiroga simply announced that Lechin had been exiled because of "present social tension." He told the press that Lechin was connected with "a vast subversive plot of international character planned and financed for several months by internationally known Communist leaders."

No evidence whatsoever was offered to substantiate the charge. Quiroga merely asserted that Lechin was maintaining "a permanent link with Italian Communist leader Signor Luigi Longo" in a scheme to turn Bolivia into "a new focal point for violence and extermination in the Southern Hemisphere." [See World Outlook, May 21, 1965.]

With the outbreak of guerrilla activities in the southeast part of Bolivia last March, it was wondered if Lechin had any connection with the development although in Bolivia he had disting-

uished himself for his incapacity to organize any effective resistance to the Barrientos dictatorship.

On May 7 Lechin was arrested at Arica while en route from Argentina to Santiago de Chile. He was traveling on a false passport.

He at once asked for the right of political asylum. This was denied by the Frei government but Lechin was nevertheless granted the right to stay 45 days in Santiago.

In a press interview reported by Agence France-Presse May 16, Lechin said, "When I entered Chilean territory, my intention was to reach Bolivia, where I still want to return as soon as possible and by any means available."

In response to questions, Lechin denied rumors that he had met with "heads" of "international Communism" in Europe. He also denied having anything to do with the guerrilla front in Bolivia.

But on the latter topic, he added: "Personally, I admire these men who have taken the only road that now remains open to the Bolivian people to escape oppression."

HUGO BLANCO GOES ON HUNGER STRIKE

The Uruguayan Committee for the Defense of Human Rights reported May 11 that it had learned from its sources in Lima that Hugo Blanco, at present in the prison hospital, is convalescing from "physical torture inflicted on him" and that as his "only means of self-defense" he has gone on a hunger strike.

As previously reported by World Outlook [May 5, p. 457], Hugo Blanco was brutally beaten by prison guards early in April. The authorities at the notorious "El Frontón" fortress-prison told the press that the famous revolutionary peasant leader had been taken to the hospital suffering from a "grave lung ailment."

The Uruguayan Committee for the Defense of Human Rights reports that Hugo Blanco's friends in Lima are appealing for strong public protests in behalf of the victim. They fear that the Peruvian authorities have decided to do away with Hugo Blanco and that public protest is the only way he can be saved from the "slow death" which they appear to have decided to inflict on the pris-

oner.

Hugo Blanco was sentenced last September to 25 years in El Frontón because of his Trotskyist political views and the leadership he provided to the peasant masses seeking land and other improvements in their status.

The sentence was handed down by a military tribunal in an illegal trial held in the remote town of Tacna.

When Hugo Blanco appealed the savage sentence, the prosecution demanded that the Supreme Council of Military Justice apply the death sentence. Under new legislation passed by parliament under witch-hunt conditions, this body has the power to make such a decision without right of appeal and the sentence can be carried out at once.

A worldwide campaign to save Hugo Blanco's life followed. It has received the support of such prominent figures as Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell. Hundreds of outstanding intellectuals in many countries have joined in. Labor or-

ganizations have added their voice. Thousands of signatures have been obtained and demonstrations have been staged in many cities in front of Peruvian consulates.

The campaign has proved so embarrassing to the Peruvian government that it now appears reluctant to have the Supreme Council of Military Justice accede to the demand of the prosecution that Hugo Blanco be placed before a firing squad. A decision was scheduled to be handed down in April. It was evidently postponed.

The Peruvian embassy even told Jean-Paul Sartre that Hugo Blanco's life would be spared. The eminent French philosopher reported this to a mass meeting in Paris on April 10.

How little dependence can be placed in the assurances of the Peruvian ambassador to France can be judged from the fact that the dispatch from Lima reporting that Hugo Blanco had been taken to the hospital was dated April 7.

The beating inflicted on Blanco, coupled with the official lie that he was

taken to the hospital because of a "grave lung ailment" led to the conclusion that the political representatives of the Peruvian oligarchy have decided to use surreptitious means to liquidate Blanco.

Demands should be sent to President Fernando Belaúnde Terry to grant an immediate amnesty to Hugo Blanco. Belaúnde's address is Lima, Peru.

Similar demands should be sent to the Supreme Council of Military Justice. These can be addressed to the president of this body as follows:

Gen. Néstor Mendoza Rodríguez
Ministerio de Guerra
Departamento Legal
291 Ave. de Arequipa
Lima, Peru.

Copies of the appeals should be sent to Hugo Blanco's attorney. His address is as follows:

Dr. Alfredo Batillano Maggiolo
Oficina 215
Avenida Nicola de Pierola 966
Lima, Peru

MINNEAPOLIS SOCIALISTS CABLE BELAUNDE

Minneapolis

The Friday Night Socialist Forum sent the following cable May 14 to President Fernando Belaúnde Terry:

"We protest unjust incarceration and brutal treatment of Hugo Blanco and his fellow peasant organizers. Elementary justice demands their immediate and unconditional release from prison."

CAMPAIGN STEPPED UP IN ITALY FOR HUGO BLANCO

Rome

The news about a fresh immediate threat to the life of Hugo Blanco touched off a new wave of protest in Italian left circles.

The Italian Communist party organ Unità, which for a long time has ignored the agonizing situation facing the Peruvian revolutionary leader, featured on its front page an appeal from Peruvian residents in Cuba to spare Hugo Blanco's life. Various organizations influenced by the Italian Communist party have, since then, begun mobilizing support.

The well-known Lelio Basso, in speaking at a national demonstration in Florence against the U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam, referred to Hugo Blanco among the outstanding figures who have given new impetus to the struggle against imperialism today.

The thousands present at the demonstration responded with an ovation to the imprisoned revolutionary fighter.

Leaflets appealing for help in the struggle to save Hugo Blanco and win his freedom are being distributed in various cities.

OTTAWA COMMITTEE APPEALS IN BEHALF OF HUGO BLANCO

Upon learning of the beating inflicted on Hugo Blanco by his guards in the El Frontón fortress-prison, the Ottawa Committee to Defend Hugo Blanco at once sent a protest to President Belaúnde Terry of Peru.

Among other things, the committee again called attention to the "crime" for which Hugo Blanco was given a 25-year sentence and then threatened with death when he filed an appeal:

"Hugo Blanco sought to improve the social and economic conditions of the workers and peasants of Peru. To carry out this task he organized unions and led them in peacefully claiming the land which was rightfully theirs but which had

been stolen from them by profit-hungry landowners. Their struggle was just and their methods were legal -- according to 'squatters rights' laws still in force in Peru. They peacefully and legally occupied their land. For this they were met with bloody and murderous repression by your military.

"Hugo Blanco was their leader. Because of his heroic work to build hospitals, schools and to lead their struggle, he was relentlessly sought and captured."

The committee called attention to the thousands of Canadian workers who petitioned for the immediate release of Hugo Blanco.

WHAT THREE PARADES SHOW ON RATING OF VIETNAM WAR

The giant antiwar demonstrations in New York and San Francisco, which brought out at least a half million participants in the largest such mobilization in the history of the United States, is still troubling the Johnson administration.

There is nothing Johnson wants more right now than something to offset it.

Two tries have been made. On April 29, a "Loyalty Day" parade was converted into a counterdemonstration. Its organizers confidently predicted that their parade would bring out many more people than the April 15 Spring Mobilization effort. They forecast 150,000 people, setting their sights on the grossly slashed down "estimate" of 125,000 given by the New York police department for the April 15 march and rally which was actually well above 400,000.

The press, the radio, television and other media did their best to whip up spirit for the parade. The Johnson administration even brought in General Westmoreland from Saigon for a speech in New York on the eve of the demonstration to further inspire patriotic sentiments.

The top count for the "Loyalty Day" parade was 3,717 in Manhattan and 4,473 in Brooklyn. [Apparently supporters in New York's three other boroughs helped swell the ranks in Manhattan and Brooklyn.]

The fiasco appears to have been intolerable to the great man in the White House. A new and better organized effort was required.

Another parade was decided on for New York. The date set was May 13.

Credit for initiating it was given to an obscure employee of the New York fire department, who "just thought up" the idea of staging a march to "support our boys in Vietnam."

His idea caught on with singular effectiveness. It was backed by any number of government employees, particularly the New York police department, thousands of whom helped make up a "spontaneous" response.

All the most reactionary organizations like the American Legion mobilized. Huge, very costly advertisements were placed in the papers. Spot announcements came over radio and television. Stores carried notices in their windows.

Some of the unions whose records include very active cooperation with government witch-hunters in "cleaning out the reds" in their own ranks, put strong pressure on their members to make sure they were seen in the ranks of the paraders.

And once again, General Westmoreland threw his weight into the scales, this time with a stirring message from Saigon on the eve of the operation.

With all this preparation, which obviously involved some very large sums of money, Johnson's lieutenants were able to report a reasonable facsimile of popular support for his war in Vietnam.

The total number of misguided patriots and professional paytrioteers was

around 50,000. This figure was stretched to a generous 70,000 by the New York Times.

Its report on the parade played up all the devices utilized by the sponsors to make the show look colorful -- the majorettes, uniforms, bands and flags. But it was obvious from its handling of the affair that the Times considered the demonstration to have little political weight.

This also seems to have been the estimate of both the Democratic and Republican professionals in New York.

New York's Mayor Lindsay, for instance, who has carefully refrained from any flag-waving in connection with the war in Vietnam, was conspicuously absent.

The truth is that the April 15 demonstration registered the real sentiments of the American people. They are wholly against the war. They want out, and the sooner the better.

Up to now, Johnson has obstinately

sought to give the impression that it is quite useless to stage antiwar demonstrations. He will pay no attention to them.

His spokesmen have repeatedly said that antiwar demonstrations can only "prolong" the war. They claim that demonstrations merely encourage Hanoi; and, since Johnson will pay no heed to the wishes of the American people, that means prolonging the war.

They overlook an item. By his abuse of power, or exercise of powers that are not legally his under the U.S. constitution, Johnson can prolong the war. There is no doubt about it. But he will end up by considerably shortening the perspectives for the Democratic party remaining in power; in fact he can end up shortening the entire span of time which the two-party system might still have before exhausting its possibilities.

Time is running out on Johnson. The April 15 antiwar demonstration and the April 29 and May 13 prowar demonstrations testify to this -- each in their own way.

FRENCH WORKERS ANSWER DE GAULLE WITH 24-HOUR GENERAL STRIKE

By Pierre Frank

[The nationwide, 24-hour general strike in France May 17, appears to have been a very solid demonstration of the power that rests in the hands of the working class. The country's industries, offices, transport system and schools were completely paralyzed.

[A significant indication of the mood of the working class was a parade in Paris in which 150,000 demonstrators participated. They carried banners and placards opposing special powers demanded by the de Gaulle regime and warning the government not to tamper with social security and other social benefits.

[The article below, written some days before the strike, indicates the political meaning of this new turn in the class struggle in France.]

* * *

Paris

A 24-hour general strike has been scheduled in France for Wednesday May 17. To a certain degree people have become accustomed to work stoppages in France; but this time the demonstration is of exceptional amplitude and importance.

In practice all the unions have joined in it -- the Confédération Générale

du Travail, Force Ouvrière, the Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail, and the Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale. The Union Nationale des Étudiants de France joined in the action.

The exceptions: the Confédération Générale des Cadres, where the negative decision was carried by a single vote at the top level; and the Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens, the rump organization which split away when the Christian unions decided to eliminate any reference to religious denomination and which has no support other than that accorded by the de Gaulle regime.

It is already certain that this strike will receive a much greater response than any of the preceding strikes. The mood in the plants leaves no doubt that the private and public sectors and the civil servants are all involved.

But the number supporting the action must be considered in conjunction with the fact that it is to the highest degree a political strike -- not only because a work stoppage of such size has political significance in any case but because of the reasons for the general downing of tools and the objectives.

The general elections were held

only two months ago. Parliament has just opened and begun to organize its committees. The administration has submitted a bill which it intends to railroad through on the basis of its hairline majority.

Under the proposed measure, parliament would give up its constitutional powers for six months in essential problems, authorizing the administration to legislate during this period by means of ordinances issued by the cabinet ministers.

It was against this procedure, against this proposed law, that all the unions decided to call a general strike for May 17.

Thus it is no longer a case, as it so often was, of a strike for an increase in wages or other economic demands directed against the bosses or against the government due to the fact that it is also a very big boss. Nor is it a case of a general work stoppage of short duration such as took place during the Algerian war and which in fact supported the Gaullist regime against the partisans of "French Algeria." The May 17 strike is a strike against the government and even something more.

The procedure which the regime is seeking to have approved, that of full power to legislate by ordinances, does not have the excuse of an emergency situation despite the regime's declarations. It is a symptom of the incapacity of a regime of Bonapartist nature to function with a parliament in which it does not have a crushing and unconditional majority, as was the case in the preceding session of the National Assembly. We will return to this question after the strike when we assess its outcome. For the moment we will only point out that in suddenly exposing themselves by demanding passage of this measure, the Gaullist regime brought into focus for everyone to see a whole series of contradictions in French society, and showed -- of course not in the way it was done in Greece with a military coup d'état, but in a very specific way under present conditions in France -- the whole illusory and fallacious character of the parliamentary road, so dear to the old-line reformists and the most recent to join them, the leaders of the Communist parties.

They woke up on the morning of

March 13 with a big parliamentary success. The Gaullist regime had only a slim majority in the National Assembly; and even within the Gaullist majority a faction had appeared, organized along independent lines (headed by the big bourgeois Giscard d'Estaing, former minister of finance), which openly proclaimed its desire to exert pressure "from within" on the regime. For parliament to be canceled out all that is required is that this faction bow to the government offensive in behalf of the projected law.

Since the social security structure is among the targets aimed at by the proposed law (although no one knows at all what the content of the ordinances will be), the "resistance" (in quotation marks) had to be immediately taken outside parliament. The unions most directly concerned with this point found themselves obliged to reply. After the electoral victory of the opposition and particularly in the climate of working-class discontent which became manifest in the preceding weeks through long, stubborn strikes, the unions decided on the May 17 strike.

In itself this reply was correct. But it was a reply decided on by leaderships that have not given up their reformist concepts by one iota, and that is where an error begins.

For these leaderships, the strike is a matter of meeting the pressure of the regime on the National Assembly by counterpressure from the unions (the day selected, May 17, is the day debate opens on the projected law) -- as if the Assembly were a shaft that turned according to the intensity of pressures and counterpressures.

As a reply, May 17 must become the point of departure for a broader and broader struggle against the regime. The question that must be posed within the workers organizations and the vanguard militants is, "What do we do after May 17?"

Obviously a correct answer cannot be expected from the present leaderships. But this strike and its success can create more favorable conditions for the vanguard to act.

May 11, 1967

"LABOR LIEUTENANTS" OF THE CIA

By Les Evans

A former top official of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency created a furor in the world press May 7 by exposing ties between his counterrevolutionary outfit and top functionaries of the American labor movement. Close connections between the imperialist spy network and the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO] have long been suspected in radical circles but this confirmation by one of the architects of the cold-war marriage was a deadly blow to the bureaucratic misleaders of the U.S. labor federation.

The revelations were made by Thomas W. Braden, former assistant to CIA chief Allen Dulles, and director of the CIA's Division of International Organization from 1951 to 1954.

Writing in the Saturday Evening Post of May 20 (postdated), Braden, now editor of a California newspaper, made an impassioned defense of the network of secret subsidies and subversion he helped organize in the early rifties. In order to prove he was not alone in wanting to "help his country" he implicated his accomplices, many of them top labor bureaucrats.

AFL-CIO President George Meany's chief foreign policy adviser, Jay Lovestone; his assistant Irving Brown; and both Walter and Victor Reuther who head the 1,500,000-member United Automobile Workers union were all named.

Lovestone, once a leader of the American Communist party, has prostituted his knowledge of the left and labor movements in different countries for many years.

Braden crossed his trail in 1947 when the Confédération Générale du Travail led a strike in Paris "which came very near to paralyzing the French economy."

"Into this crisis stepped Lovestone and his assistant, Irving Brown... they organized Force Ouvrière, a non-Communist union. When they ran out of money, they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions which soon spread to Italy. Without that subsidy, postwar history might have gone very differently."

This was at a time when Europe was emerging devastated from the war, when union leaders lacked the barest essentials to begin to reorganize. The funds for printing, salaries, offices -- this was an immense advantage to the hand-

picked anti-Communist union "leaders" selected for Lovestone's and the CIA's gratuities.

Lovestone was responsible for the disbursement of secret subsidies of "nearly two million dollars annually."

Irving Brown was given money by the CIA to break dock workers strikes in Marseilles and other ports directed against the unloading of American armaments after the war. Braden testifies that he personally gave Brown \$15,000 under a "cover" name for this operation: "He needed it to pay off his strong-arm squads in Mediterranean ports, so that American supplies could be unloaded against the opposition of Communist dock workers."

Even the Reuther brothers came in for a drubbing. The Reuthers have been piously denouncing the AFL bureaucrats for accepting money from the CIA. Braden chides them for their modesty in not revealing their own role in the same game:

"Victor Reuther ought to be ashamed of himself. At his request, I went to Detroit one morning and gave Walter \$50,000 in \$50 bills. Victor spent the money, mostly in West Germany, to bolster labor unions there."

The ex-CIA official also revealed that CIA agents played a big role in founding and operating the Europe-based Congress for Cultural Freedom, and the British literary magazine, Encounter.

Both the Congress of Cultural Freedom and Encounter have admitted accepting the CIA subsidy.

As might be expected, the response of U.S. labor officialdom to the disclosures has been somewhat less candid. The early American socialist Daniel De Leon called the trade-union bureaucrats the "labor lieutenants" of capital. They are not about to admit to being stooges for American imperialism and literally CIA agents -- if they can avoid it.

Victor Reuther, interviewed by the New York Times in Tokyo, May 7, denied the charges, calling them "incredible" and "ridiculous."

At the same time his brother Walter in Detroit was admitting that he received the \$50,000 as Braden revealed.

On May 10 Victor Reuther changed his story and acknowledged that he and his brother had accepted the money and spent it to promote anti-Communist union activ-

ity in Europe. He defended himself by adding that Braden had also tried to recruit him as a full-time agent for the CIA. He refused saying that would be "improper."

AFL-CIO President George Meany denied that he or Jay Lovestone had ever received money from the CIA, calling the charge "a damn lie."

"As far as I know," Meany professed, "the A.F.L. during my term as secretary-treasurer and president, and the A.F.L.-C.I.O., during my term as president, has never received any C.I.A. money for any activity -- either directly or indirectly -- and that goes no matter what Mr. Braden might have said."

"Not one penny of C.I.A. money has

ever come in to the A.F.L. or the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to my knowledge over the last 20 years, and I can say to you if it had come in I would know about it."

Meany abruptly terminated the news conference and walked out of the room.

Newspaper columnist Drew Pearson last February raised the charge in his nationally syndicated column that the CIA had been pumping money into the AFL-CIO to influence foreign labor unions. At the time Meany accused Pearson of being a liar.

In the aftermath of Braden's revelations, Pearson commented drily on May 15: "The public can decide for itself, despite Meany's continued denials, who is the liar."

THE TESTIMONY OF DO VAN NGOC

[Continued from Page 529]

reached the bodies of all three of us, causing us very serious burns. Since we could no longer bear the heat, we jumped into a flooded rice field; then the flames were put out and the heat lessened, but when we emerged from the water, the flames broke out again on our bodies.

We asked for help. Then we were sent to a hospital for medical treatment. Then I felt a tremendous pain.

Now the burns are scarred, but I still have itching and burning sensations. On my right hand, the thumb is stuck to the other fingers; large scars remain on my stomach and my thighs.

That day the American bombs set fire to the homes of our family and our neighbours.

To my knowledge, apart from the three of us, Mr. Du's family, while having their meal, lost six of its eight members, burned by bombs.

NEW FACTS REVEALED ABOUT U.S. INVASION OF CUBA IN 1961

Brig. Gen. (Ret.) S.L.A. Marshall, a military affairs analyst, whose column is syndicated by the Times/Post Service, recently revealed fresh details about the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba in 1962.

The information was given him, he says, by the late Luis Somoza, the dictator of Nicaragua whom Gen. Marshall found to be a "warm, congenial man." Somoza asked Marshall to see him on February 2, 1962. The American military analyst reports Somoza's words as follows:

"I am as responsible for that disaster as is your President Kennedy. I mean I share the burden of guilt with him. He made the main mistakes. My blunder is that I did not turn the whole thing off when I knew that we were going fatally wrong. I had the power. You see, I was coordinator from this end; the show was being staged from our soil. I am not a technician of war. But I know enough to see when technicians are either lacking

or mistaken.

"During the time when we were building up to it, I took assurances from the wrong people -- your people -- CIA agents encharged to deal with me. I thought that on operational matters, they spoke for your Government. You had carriers off our coast, covering what we were doing. When I asked: 'Will they be prepared to support the invasion in an emergency?' I was told: 'Certainly.' And I believed it. I did not realize that this was not the White House speaking.

"I was in on the scheme from the beginning. There was need of a base from where we could stage the air strikes against Cuba in secret. You know Puerto Cabezas (population 500) on our east coast, having been there. That was the nerve center. I went to the people there 70 days before the show. I said: 'Here is our chance to do something for democracy in America, but you will have to make

sacrifices.' They were willing. So for two months they were cut off from the world; no mail or freight moved in or out. No one could leave; security guards saw to that. One pregnant woman had to see a specialist in Managua. I sent him to her in my plane; that's how careful we were. We wanted success and I foolishly thought we had it made.

"There were to be three air strikes out of Puerto Cabezas, timed exactly to help the amphibious landing in the critical hour. The purpose was clear enough -- to knock out the Cuban Air Force as the expedition clawed its way ashore and while it was solidifying the beachhead. Whether we had enough bombers and air crew to be sure of so doing, I had no way of judging, and besides, that was not my problem.

"Well, just before the curtain was to go up, I got a call from Washington. This was on Thursday. The call was from CIA. I was told, 'We are moving up the first two strikes 24 hours; they will go on Saturday instead of on Sunday.' I simply could not believe what I heard. So I protested with all of the force I could muster. Not being a military man, I still knew what the change meant. The two air strikes and the amphibious landing would be 48 hours apart, time enough to serve to get through to the White House to protest; there was no answer. So I had a battle with my conscience and it lost. My brother, Tacho, who commands our forces, was not at hand to advise me. He had been sent on a mission to Formosa, as part of the cover plan.

"Why was the plan changed? I was never told. No one who knew ever tried to talk to me about it. My guilt comes of the fact that knowing we were going on to a catastrophe, and knowing that men would die for no good end in the course of it, I still did not call the whole thing off when I had the power to do so. The only assumption possible for me is that President Kennedy changed the plan to test out national sentiment as revealed by the Sunday newspapers, though none of us will ever know for sure. Then after the first two strikes were re-set, dooming the expedition, the third strike was canceled wholly. Why? Because either the man in the White House or your man in U.N. or both, chickened out. And put me on the list of individuals who chickened out. I have no excuse for myself.

"In the end we were directly defeated and shamed by these mistakes, though there were others. The two strikes missed three fighter planes. We had two communications ships close to the Bay of Pigs -- here was the brain of the operation. The fighters went after them. We also had a U.S. carrier marking time 70 kilometers away from the beachhead. My

people had put Nicaraguan panels and symbols aboard that carrier in case of need; I had witnessed it. So I called up Washington and begged that your carrier air power be loosed to stop those three pursuit planes. The carrier was so far out that no one would have known the difference. But Washington said flatly no and that was what killed us before we fairly started -- the three pursuit planes."

Marshall states that there is "much more to the interview, but that is enough for the purpose at hand."

The moral he draws from it all is as follows: "Luis Somoza had tried hard in effort to cooperate with the United States in an undertaking that so changed the course of our history that why we are in Vietnam cannot be explained without being honest with ourselves about why the Bay of Pigs is something we would rather forget."

In short, Marshall is repeating in this curious way the argument of the war hawks -- that the U.S. should "go in to win"; i.e., absolutely destroy Vietnam and "take on China" if that is necessary to bring "victory."

There is indeed a connection between the U.S. imperialist invasion of Cuba in 1961 and the current U.S. imperialist effort to conquer Vietnam; but it is not the connection claimed by this military affairs analyst.

First of all the same utterly cynical attitude that reeks in every word of Nicaragua's bloody dictator features the calculations of the Johnson administration with regard to Vietnam. To attack a small country in Hitlerite blitzkrieg fashion is quite all right, according to this attitude, so long as the operation succeeds.

One of the reasons the 1961 affair failed was because the Cubans met it instantly and with all their energy. This caught the CIA and the Pentagon completely by surprise.

Once their expedition foundered, it was difficult to immediately repeat it in face of aroused public opinion.

To meet the American thrust in the appropriate way, the Vietnamese people require massive aid from China and the USSR. But Moscow and Peking have reacted passively and not given that aid.

Nevertheless the Vietnamese people are fighting so heroically that it is certain they will win, though at great cost.

When this happens we can expect to hear "explanations" about the U.S. role that will sound like echoes of Somoza's "analysis" of the defeat at Playa Girón.

REGIS DEBRAY'S WHEREABOUTS A "MILITARY SECRET"

On May 13 General Alfred Ovando, the commander in chief of the Bolivian armed forces, announced that Régis Debray, the young French journalist seized by the Barrientos dictatorship, would be tried in accordance with the country's constitution.

This was the first indication from anyone in authority that Debray might be granted the elementary rights to which prisoners are entitled under the norms of all democracies.

But it was not clear exactly what



REGIS DEBRAY

the general's assurances meant specifically. To all intents Bolivia's constitution has been nonexistent under the Barrientos dictatorship. In fact the country is being ruled under an Andean version of McCarthyism.

"The place where Régis Debray is being held is a military secret," General Ovando added. Debray is accused of being associated with the new guerrilla front. He was even said to be the "political commissar" of the guerrillas.

The fear that the death penalty might be exacted was discounted by Vice-president Siles Salinas. He said that Bolivia had abolished the death penalty and that the maximum penalty was a 30-year sentence.

Under Barrientos, it should be noted, summary executions without benefit of trial have been common. This is varied in some instances by exile to jungle hell-holes where the prisoners are faced with slow starvation and illness without medical help. Hundreds of leaders and members of the political opposition are now being held in exile under these conditions today in Bolivia.

Up to now, Régis Debray's mother, who flew to La Paz to try to save her son, has not been permitted to see him. She has not yet learned what charges have been preferred against him, if any. She does not even know yet, whether he was tortured after he was arbitrarily arrested.

And in La Paz she has been greeted by slogans painted on the walls, obviously at the instigation of the government, calling for her son's death.

Nevertheless, General Ovando's statement to the press was an indication that the dictatorship is finding the international campaign in behalf of Régis Debray embarrassing.

It is necessary to keep up the campaign and to intensify it.

SENANAYAKE SHOWS HOW PEACE PROPOSALS CAN BE MADE TO PAY OFF

At the beginning of April, Prime Minister Senanayake of Ceylon proposed that the Ky regime in Saigon, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Front for National Liberation meet in Ceylon for "discussions."

This version of Johnson's propaganda about meeting with Hanoi "any time" and "any place" while he keeps up the

bombing, was well received in Saigon.

The propaganda ploy made a favorable impression in loftier circles, too, it seems. On April 19 it was announced in Tokyo that the U.S., Australia, Canada, Great Britain, West Germany, Japan and France favor granting Ceylon a loan of \$50,000,000 to help make up its chronic shortage in foreign exchange.



REGIS DEBRAY

OCTOBER ANTIWAR PROTEST SET FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.

By Joseph Hansen

Washington, D.C.

At a two-day conference held here April 20-21, some 700 representatives of the forces that organized the mammoth April 15 demonstrations in New York and San Francisco decided on the next big objective of the antiwar movement in the U.S. -- a mass demonstration in Washington. October 21 was set as a tentative date and the main theme was decided on: "Support Our Boys in Vietnam -- Bring Them Home!"

Another very important decision was to make a worldwide appeal for similar mass demonstrations in other countries to be staged as nearly as possible on the same day.

The conference was the largest one yet held by the united front of forces in opposition to the war in Vietnam. It included sizeable contingents from points as distant as the West Coast.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, national chairman of SANE [National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy] was present, but not the Rev. Dr. Luther King.

Political tendencies ranged from a few "half" Republicans and "leftist" Democrats to the Communist and Socialist Workers parties, the Communist youth, the Young Socialist Alliance and "Black Power" advocates. Of the small groups only representatives of the Youth Against War and Fascism participated in the discussion.

Under the policy of "nonexclusion" all political tendencies opposing the role of the Johnson administration in Vietnam were welcomed. As a corollary, there was perfect freedom for each tendency to express its political views but all attempts to impose the views of any single group on the united front was resisted. The united front or "coalition," as most of the participants call it, was formed in order to combine the efforts of all in a united way in organizing mass demonstrations against the war.

The conference ended in a powerful confirmation of this working arrangement; but some uneasy moments were experienced in some of the workshops and again at the plenary session Sunday where final decisions were reached.

A note of hesitancy was struck by some of the representatives of the Communist party. They urged that no definite date be set and also hesitated about concentrating the demonstration in Washing-

ton. This reflected the feelings of a few who have found it difficult to give up a position favoring "negotiations" and also those who would like to see the antiwar movement diverted into campaigning for "peace" candidates of the Democratic or Republican parties.

The mood of the conference as a whole, however, was strongly against this. The arguments presented in the main by Socialist Workers party speakers carried the day.

Harry Ring summed them up succinctly. Washington should be selected, he said, because it puts Johnson on the spot more effectively. The theme "Bring the Boys Home Now" is effective in showing that the only real friends the GI's have are opponents of the war. Moreover it reflects the escalation of the antiwar movement, since only two years ago unity could not be obtained on it and the first marches had to be carried out under the less effective slogan of "End the War Now."

As to the date, this proposal came from the students, who -- up to now -- have constituted the main driving force in the demonstrations. Schools open about the first of October and require a few weeks to get organized. Hence the antiwar demonstration should be staged as soon as possible after October 15.

While the date should be subject to adjustment in the light of practical considerations, a definite target date is required to pin things down and also to facilitate demonstrations in other countries.

Finally, it is evident that the staging of demonstrations and marches is catching on among the American people. Pro-Johnson forces have now realized this and are indicating that they intend to stage marches, utilizing rather demagogic slogans. The antiwar movement must meet this new challenge.

This position came closest to the consensus of the gathering. Arnold Johnson of the Communist party appeared to recognize this by throwing his weight at the end in the direction of a definite date and Washington as the site.

A different and potentially more divisive issue was an attempt, again mainly by representatives of the Communist party or speakers under their influence to put the conference on record as favoring

[Please turn to page 552.]

"PRAVDA" SIDES WITH "PEACEFUL ROADERS" IN DEBATE ON STRATEGY IN LATIN AMERICA

[Pravda, the newspaper of the Soviet Communist party, gave fairly prominent notice on May 11 to an account of the recent plenum of the Central Committee (CC) of the Venezuelan Communist party (PCV). (See World Outlook for May 5 for a report on developments surrounding that plenum.)

[The CC of the PCV plenum made the decision to abandon armed struggle and pursue electoral tactics that amount to class collaboration. This was the implementation of the line of "democratic peace" against which Castro polemicized in his March 13 speech of this year.

[The plenum also voted formally to expel the guerrilla leader Douglas Bravo, even though the Cuban leadership and some Communist parties and guerrilla groups in Latin America had come out in support of his stand.

[But one would hardly guess from the Soviet press that such major political disputes were embroiling the Latin-American Communist parties. The Soviet chiefs in charge of press information reaching the Soviet people are careful to screen out such news of the world revolutionary movement.

[The May 11 item then is typical. It doesn't indicate what the expelled Bravo stands for (although it explains who the bourgeois politician Caldera is). It does not mention Castro's speech or the Cuban party's stand on the issues, or any other international positions on these important questions.

[A full translation of the item in Pravda is printed below. Entitled "For a Free Venezuela; On the Eighth Plenum of the CC of the PCV," it seems to have been written by a Venezuelan, although no byline is given.]

* * *

In connection with the appearance in the Venezuelan press of tendentious reports on the decisions adopted at the Eighth Plenum of the CC of the CP of Venezuela, the assistant general secretary of the PCV, Comrade Pompeyo Marquez, sent a letter to the newspaper El Nacional [it appeared there on April 23 -- W.O.], in which he explained some of the plenum's decisions. In P. Marquez' letter it is stated in particular that the CC of the PCV reaffirmed the revolutionary line laid down at the Third Congress of the party in March 1961.

The CC of the PCV called for a struggle to create a broad national front of civilian and military personnel with

the aim of achieving progressive changes which would open the path for the independent development of the country. The Communist party summoned the people of Venezuela to the struggle against police terror, kidnapping of people and despotic acts of military tribunals, for the restoration of civil liberties and democratic freedoms, for the struggle against the government of Leoni and his repressive, and antinational policies.

In the letter it is noted that the policies of the Communist party are aimed at preserving, regrouping, organizing, and developing the nationalist and revolutionary forces in the struggle against the government, which is maneuvering behind the back of the country and bears the responsibility for the difficult situation and the sufferings of the people. To remove the Betancourt "gorillas" from power, to have done with the hegemony of the Acción Democrática party -- this is the most vital task of the people of Venezuela. The Communist party will work by all means toward a successful resolution of this task.

The CC of the PCV defined the position of the party in relation to elections. The party does not foster any illusions about the results of elections, but it will not stand aside from the electoral process. On the contrary, it will make its contribution to the struggle for ending the continuing predominance of the Betancourt gorillas' policies and for preventing the possible victory of Caldera. (Note [by Pravda] -- Caldera has been put forward by the Social Christian party, COPEI, as its candidate for president of the country.) The party will struggle against isolation, will work toward the construction of a broad, progressive united formation that will make it possible to come out against the two dangers threatening our people: against the continuation of the present politics and against Caldera.

In the letter it is pointed out that the Eighth Plenum of the party CC was new proof of the unshakeable unity of the PCV leadership headed by the party's general secretary, Comrade Jesús Faria.

At the plenum a decision was adopted by a unanimous vote to expel Douglas Bravo from the party. The basis for this decision was D. Bravo's factional activity, his attempts to split the party, his violations of party discipline and of party ideology.

In conclusion Comrade Marquez expresses his readiness to answer all possible questions "regarding the unalterably revolutionary politics of the PCV, which carries on the struggle for the liquida-

tion of the dependence and backwardness of the country, for the conquest of democracy, for a free Venezuela. The PCV will not refuse or evade such battles; it will not renounce its conception of the development of the Venezuelan revolu-

tion, which obliges us to master all forms of struggle." [Emphasis added. "All forms of struggle" is the formula used by the Soviet bureaucrats to cover up and justify all forms of departure from the strategy of genuinely revolutionary struggle.]

NEW YORK COLUMNIST DESCRIBES PETRICK CASE

[Murray Kempton, for many years a featured columnist of the liberal New York Post devoted his column of May 19 to the case of Howard Petrick.

[Kempton's account, carried under the ironic title, "The Bad Soldier," is as follows.]

* * *

Howard Petrick has been in the Army of the United States since last July and has 13 months still to go. So far as his performance of duty is concerned, none of it is likely to be bad time. He is one of those young men with glasses whom M.P.s never bother to ask to show their passes.

At Fort Hood, Texas, they made him a cook, and he was such a model of discipline and containment that he could even get along with his mess sergeants.

Last April, this model career was suddenly interrupted; and Howard Petrick now a PFC, was transferred to an inactive unit, for which he goes on about his duties as a cook.

In the meanwhile, the army wonders whether to carry through the court-martial which could bring him five years in prison.

Howard Petrick was a public member of the Socialist Workers Party awaiting trial for distributing antiwar literature without a Minneapolis peddler's license when he was inducted into the army. He told the army that he had no objection to being drafted, but that he could not take the oath of allegiance and that, on his own time, without disobeying any order, he intended to go on expressing his objections to the war.

The inducting officer answered, "There'll be no infringements on your rights; you'll have the same ones you do in civilian life." The oath was waived.

His infantry basic training was normal, although the drill instructors were pleasanter than usual and franker in saying that most of it was useless.

When he settled down at Fort Hood, Petrick put his antiwar and socialist books on open shelves next to his bunk

and kept a large pamphlet file in his footlocker. He does not seem to have thrust the war into his conversations with the other enlisted men. "It was," he recalls, however, "very hard to find anyone who'd argue in favor of the war."

One morning at inspection, a new officer checked Howard Petrick's footlocker and saw his pamphlets. He picked up a "Bring the boys home" leaflet and showed it to the first sergeant. "Yes, I know about that," said the first sergeant hastily. "Come on, sir." That was the end of the matter.

In April, Howard Petrick took his leave to serve as a voting delegate to the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. When he came back, he found that his barracks had been subject to a shakedown inspection and the contents of his locker confiscated.

Howard Petrick was called to the orderly room and put to the questions. The investigators were vaguely apologetic about having emptied his footlocker; not being able to find him and tell him, they had just gone ahead in his absence. Some of his pamphlets were found in the footlockers of five other soldiers, who were thereupon segregated and put under guard for a day.

Then everybody seemed to forget the whole matter; Petrick was sent off to an inactive company to cook. He is being treated with correct indifference for the moment; any day now, of course, the charges could be brought against him.

In logic, to be sure, he will have to be tried. His thoughts, although not his conduct, are disloyal by the standards of the army. Last week, he was granted another leave and went to Chicago to speak against the war. He wore his uniform. "I figured," he says, "that if General Westmoreland can wear his uniform and speak for the war, I can wear mine and speak against it."

And, in Washington, the Defense Department wonders about court-martialing him. It is understandably slow to decide. To try Howard Petrick will be to confess that the war has turned us into a country where a man can be a criminal not for what he does, but for what he thinks and says when asked.

Book Review

"WHITEWASH II"

By Arthur Maglin

WHITEWASH II: The FBI-Secret Service Cover-Up, by Harold Weisberg. Published by Harold Weisberg, Hyattstown, Maryland 20734. With photos and documents. 250 pp. \$4.95.

Harold Weisberg is one of the Warren Commission's best-known critics. Besides his first book, Whitewash: The Report on the Warren Report, Weisberg has now written a companion volume. This constitutes the most recent full-length critical analysis of the work of the Warren Commission.

Whitewash II is unique in being the first book to be based on that section of the Warren Commission files which were secret until recently.

Formerly those seeking to analyze the Warren Commission's version of the assassination of Kennedy had available only the 26 volumes of evidence and testimony which the Warren Commission selected for publication. Last year a vast amount of other material was declassified and made available at the National Archives. A great deal of material still remains secret.

It seems that Weisberg's work on the assassination mystery has caught the attention of the New Orleans grand jury which is now investigating the circumstances leading up to Kennedy's death. Weisberg testified before this body on April 28. There has been no public disclosure as yet of what he said.

It will be interesting, then, to take a look at Weisberg's conclusions at the end of his extensively documented book. Weisberg writes:

"Further investigation made possible by evidence not available when Whitewash was written proves that the minimum standards for dime-store murder-mystery fiction were not met by the various police. This extends to the simplest investigatory functions, as with the bullets and their number and the fingerprints and their presence and absence (with Oswald's missing where they must have been for him to have been an assassin and present only where his employment placed them). The competitive FBI foreclosed the work of the Secret Service. There is further evidence of illegal searches, the suggestion of the planting of the evidence and the proof that it was possible. There were strangers crawling undeterred all over the evidence at the alleged scene of the crime....

"The indispensable man in the attempt to place Oswald at the scene of the crime, Officer Marrion L. Baker, actually proved Oswald's innocence, if he proved anything. Baker accommodated with a string of statements consistent only in their disagreement with each other and the story he recounted under oath. That story is supported by none of his many statements, each equally official, and is disputed by all of them. Not once did he ever tell anyone what he swore to before the Commission. That untested and uncontested account proves the opposite of the interpretation placed upon it in the Report, but it was tortured, twisted and corrupted by the staff into a semblance of possibility. The staff was without public qualms about false statements under these and many other circumstances. Why?

"How can the suppression from the Report of the fact that 'Oswald was all right' to the FBI before the assassination be anything less than sinister, especially because of his defection and redefection and the indications of his clandestine government connections?...

"Or how can honorable interpretation be placed on the suppression of the knowledge that Ruby, who was known to carry a gun, managed to be near Oswald and was seen there by police officials who knew him, prior to his murder of Oswald and again at the moment of it?

"Did the exalted, the indispensable, the infallible, the all-wise J. Edgar Hoover booby-trap the Commission with his creation of a false identity for 'The False Oswald'? [The 'false Oswald' theory held by many critics of the official version of the assassination holds that an effort was made to incriminate Oswald before the assassination by the use of an impostor who kept drawing attention to himself in a variety of suspicious circumstances, at times when the Warren Report concedes that Oswald was elsewhere.] Can his failure to correct his own 'error' when there was time be explained?

"Or can he explain the inference of CIA involvement with those men of whom 'The False Oswald' was one?...

"Instead of solving the case of 'The False Oswald,' the FBI leaves for history the inference of complicity of a federal agency in the President's murder and a monument to its own classic incompetence or its deviousness in the investigation of the assassination."

SARTRE'S OPENING ADDRESS AT WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

[The record compiled by the International War Crimes Tribunal at its hearings in Stockholm consists of direct testimony, reports of investigators, statements by interested parties, declarations by members of the tribunal, descriptions of physical evidence placed before the body such as parts of weapons used by the U.S. in north Vietnam, photographs and films. The material would make a thick printed volume.

[The tribunal made this material available to the press during the hearings insofar as translators and mimeographs could keep up with the proceedings.

[World Outlook plans to reproduce a sampling of this evidence of the crimes being committed by the U.S. armed forces against the people of Vietnam.

[The document below is the opening address made by Jean-Paul Sartre, the executive president of the tribunal.]

* * *

Our tribunal was formed on the initiative of Bertrand Russell, with the aim of deciding whether the accusations of "war crimes" made against the government of the United States and against the governments of South Korea, of Australia and of New Zealand, in connection with the war in Vietnam, are justified. On the occasion of this inaugural session, the tribunal wishes to make known its origins, its functions, its aims and its terms of reference. It intends to make its position quite clear on the question of what has been called its "legitimacy."

In 1945, something occurred which was entirely without historical precedent: the setting up in Nuremberg of the first international tribunal called on to judge crimes committed by a belligerent power.

Up till that time, it is true, there had existed certain international agreements, such as the Briand-Kellogg pact, aimed at limiting the "jus ad bellum"; but, since no organ had been created to apply them, relations between the powers continued to be governed by the law of the jungle. It could not be otherwise: the nations which had built their wealth upon the conquest of great colonial empires would not have tolerated that their activities in Africa and in Asia should be judged according to these criteria.

After 1939, the mad rage of Nazism placed the world in such danger that the Allies, horrified, decided to sit in judgment on and to condemn, if they were

victorious, wars of aggression and of conquest, cruelty to prisoners, tortures and those racist practices which can be termed "genocidal," without realizing that they were thereby condemning themselves for their conduct in the colonies.

As a consequence -- that is to say, both because it condemned Nazi crimes, and because in a more universal sense it opened the way to a genuine jurisdiction permitting the denunciation and condemnation of war crimes wherever committed and whoever the authors -- the Nuremberg tribunal remains the demonstration of this vitally important change: the replacement of the "jus ad bellum" by the "jus contra bellum."

Unfortunately, as always happens when a new organism is created by the exigencies of history, that tribunal was not exempt from serious failings. It has been criticized as having been nothing but a diktat of the conquerors to the conquered and, which amounts to the same thing, as not having been truly international: one group of nations judging another.

Would it have been better to have chosen the judges from among the citizens of neutral countries? I do not know. What is certain is that, although its decisions were entirely just from an ethical point of view, they are far from having convinced all Germans. And that signifies that the legitimacy of the judges and of their sentences continues to be challenged; and that it has been possible to claim that, if the fortunes of war had been different, an Axis tribunal would have condemned the Allies for the bombing of Dresden or of Hiroshima.

That legitimacy, however, would not have been difficult to establish. It would have been enough if the organ created to judge the Nazis had remained in existence after having carried out that specific task, or if the organization of the United Nations had drawn all the consequences from what had just been done and had, by a vote in its General Assembly, consolidated the body's existence as a permanent tribunal empowered to take cognizance of and to judge all charges of war crimes, even if the accused should happen to be the government of one of those countries which through the agencies of their judges delivered the Nuremberg verdicts. In this way, the implicit universality of the original intention would have been made clear and explicit.

Well, what happened is well-known: hardly had the last German war criminal been judged than the tribunal disappeared into thin air, and nobody has heard anything about it since.

Are we then so innocent? Have there been no further war crimes since 1945? Since then, has nobody resorted to violence, or to aggression? Has there been no "genocide"? Has no strong country attempted to break by the use of force, the sovereignty of a small nation? Has there been no occasion to denounce, anywhere in the world, Ouradours or Auschwitzes?

You know the truth. In the last twenty years, the great historical event has been the struggle of the Third World for its liberation: colonial empires have collapsed and in their place sovereign nations have come into existence, or have recovered a lost traditional independence, destroyed by colonization.

All this has taken place in suffering, in sweat, and in blood. A tribunal such as that of Nuremberg has become a permanent necessity. Before the judgment of the Nazis, war had no laws, as I have said. The Nuremberg tribunal, an ambiguous body, was no doubt born of the right of the strongest; but at the same time it opened a perspective for the future by setting a precedent, the embryo of a tradition. None can go back on that, prevent Nuremberg from having happened, prevent people from thinking back to its sessions whenever a small, poor country is the object of aggression, prevent them from saying to themselves: "but it is this, precisely this, which was condemned at Nuremberg."

Thus the hurried and incomplete provisions made by the Allies in 1945 and then abandoned have created a real lacuna in international life. There is a cruel lack of that institution -- which appeared, asserted its permanence and its universality, defined irreversibly certain rights and obligations, only to disappear, leaving a void which must be filled and which nobody is filling.

There are, in fact, two sources of power. The first is the state with its institutions. Well, in this time of violence, most governments would be afraid, if they took such an initiative, that it might one day turn against them, and that they might find themselves in the dock. Furthermore, for many of them the United States is a powerful ally: which of them would dare ask for the resurrection of a tribunal whose first action would obviously be to order an enquiry into the Vietnamese conflict?

The other source of power is the people, during revolutionary periods in which it changes its institutions. But, although the struggle remains an implacable one, by what means could the masses, compartmentalized by frontiers as they are, succeed in uniting and in imposing on the various governments an institution

which would be a genuine Court of the People?

The Russell tribunal was born of the recognition of these two, contradictory facts: the Nuremberg verdict has made necessary the existence of an institution for the investigation and, where appropriate, the condemnation of war crimes: but neither governments nor people are, at the present time, capable of creating such an institution.

We are entirely conscious of the fact that we have received no mandate from anyone. But if we have taken the initiative of coming together, it is because we knew that nobody could give us a mandate. Certainly our tribunal is not an institution. But it does not claim to replace any established body; on the contrary, it emerged from a void, and in response to an appeal. We have not been recruited and invested with real powers by governments. But then we have just seen that such powers, at Nuremberg, did not suffice to endow the judges with an uncontested legitimacy. Quite the contrary: the fact that the verdicts could be carried out permitted those who had been conquered to challenge their validity; backed up by force, those verdicts appeared as the simple expression of the adage "Might is Right." The Russell tribunal considers, on the contrary, that its legitimacy derives equally from its total powerlessness, and from its universality.

We are powerless: it is the guarantee of our independence. We receive no aid -- except from our supporting committees which are, like ourselves, associations of private individuals. Representing no government and no party, nobody can give us orders: we will examine the facts "in our hearts and consciences" one might say or, if you prefer, openly and independently. No one of us can say, today, how the proceedings will go, or if we will reply by a yes or a no to the accusations, or if we will not reply -- considering them perhaps well-founded but not conclusively proved.

What is certain, in any case, is that our powerlessness, even if we are convinced by the evidence presented, makes it impossible for us to pass a sentence. What could a condemnation mean, even the mildest of condemnations, if we do not possess the means to see it carried out?

We will limit ourselves therefore, if that is what turns out to be necessary, to stating that such and such an act falls under the jurisdiction of Nuremberg. It is therefore, according to that jurisdiction, a war crime, and if the law was applied it would be subject to such and such a penalty. In such a case, we will, if that is possible, decide who are the authors of the crime. Thus the Russell tribunal will have no other concern, in its investiga-

tions as in its conclusions, than to bring about a general recognition of the need for an international institution for which it has neither the means nor the ambition to be a substitute, whose essential role would be the resuscitation of the "jus contra bellum" which was still-born at Nuremberg -- the substitution of ethical and juridical rules for the law of the jungle.

Precisely because we are simple citizens we have been able, by recruiting our members on a wide international basis, to give our tribunal a more universal structure than that of Nuremberg. I do not mean merely that a larger number of countries are represented; from that point of view there would be many gaps to fill. But above all, whereas in 1945 the Germans were only present in the dock, or at best on the stand as witnesses for the prosecution, several of the judges here are citizens of the United States.

This means that they come from that country whose own policies are under investigation, and that they have, therefore, their own understanding of it and, whatever their opinions, an intimate relationship with it, with its institutions and its traditions -- a relationship which will inevitably mark the tribunal's conclusions.

However, whatever our desire for impartiality and for universality, we are entirely conscious that this desire does not suffice to legitimize our enterprise. What we want, in fact, is that its legitimization should be retrospective or, if you prefer, a posteriori. For we are not working for ourselves and our own edification, neither do we have any pretensions to imposing our conclusions from on high.

What we wish is to maintain, thanks to the collaboration of the press,

a constant contact between ourselves and the masses who in all parts of the world are living and suffering the tragedy of Vietnam. We hope that they will learn as we learn, that they will discover together with us the reports, the documents, the testimony, that they will evaluate them and make up their minds about them day by day, together with us. We want the conclusions, whatever they may be, to be drawn by each individual in his own mind at the same time as we draw them ourselves; even beforehand perhaps.

This session is a common enterprise whose final term must be, in the phrase of a philosopher, "une vérité devenue" [developed into truth]. Yes, if the masses ratify our judgment, then it will become truth, and we, at the very moment when we efface ourselves before those masses who will make themselves the guardians and the mighty support for that truth, we will know that we have been legitimized and that the people, by showing us its agreement, is revealing a deeper need: the need for a real "War Crimes Tribunal" to be brought into being as a permanent body -- that is to say, the need that it should be possible to denounce and punish such crimes wherever and whenever they may be committed.

"What a strange tribunal: a jury and no judge"! It is true: we are only a jury, we have neither the power to condemn nor the power to acquit, anybody. Therefore, no prosecution. There will not even be strictly speaking a prosecution case. Maître Matarasso, president of the legal commission, is going to read you a list of charges which will take the place of a prosecution case. We, the jury, at the end of the session, will have to pronounce on these charges: are they well-founded or not? But the judges are everywhere: they are the peoples of the world, and in particular the American people. It is for them that we are working.

HO CHI MINH'S GREETINGS TO WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

On the occasion of the opening of the first official session of the International War Crimes Tribunal, I take pleasure in extending to you, as well as to all the members of the tribunal, my warmest greetings and my sincere wishes for your success.

The opening of the first session of the International Tribunal, especially at the moment when the American imperialists are intensifying escalation to the utmost and are striking the port of Haiphong and the capital of Hanoi, carries a profound significance. It is a strong encouragement -- not only for us, the people of Vietnam, but also for all those

peoples fighting for national independence, liberty and peace.

The noble work of the International Tribunal warmly approved and supported by progressive humanity, is met with and still hits upon many difficulties and impediments created by American imperialists and reactionary forces. But I am convinced that the founders of the tribunal know how to persevere, as in the past, and to take the appropriate measures in order to bring this work to a successful conclusion. It is certain that all the peoples and all the men involved in peace and justice in the world will be on your side and will support you wholeheartedly.

We extend our sincere thanks to all the members of the International War Crimes Tribunal for the warm support to the justly waged resistance war of our

people.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Ho Chi Minh

CAMBODIAN APPRECIATION OF TRIBUNAL

Phnom Penh
April 12, 1967

Lord Bertrand Russell

Dear Sir,

I have just received notice of your letter of March 25, and I extend to you my sincere thanks for the constant support that you are giving to my country -- which is threatened more and more directly with being one of the next objectives of the criminal escalation of the American armed forces.

May I also assure you of our deep appreciation of the interest that the International War Crimes Tribunal carries against the aggressive murderers of the United States and of their accomplices in

Saigon and Bangkok against our frontier villages. I am happy to inform you that Commander Kouroudeth of the Major-State of the Royal Armed Forces of Cambodia will be at the disposal of the Tribunal as a witness in charge of the complete dossier of the crimes committed against our country and our people by the United States, Thailand and the governments of Saigon and Seoul.

Please accept my encouragement in the pursuit of your noble action, and the assurance of my deepest and cordial consideration.

Norodom Sihanouk

Samdech Preah
Norodom Sihanouk Upayuvareach
Head of State of Cambodia

SOLIDARITY WITH THE GREEK WORKER AND PEASANT MASSES!

A Statement by the Fourth International

[The following statement on the situation in Greece was issued on May 5 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.]

* * *

The April 21 military coup d'état, put into operation by means of a NATO "plan against internal subversion," constitutes an attempt by the military circles linked to the court, the conservative traditional sectors of the bourgeoisie, particularly the big shipowners, the court and American imperialism to end the political instability that has featured the situation in Greece since the popular revolt against the intervention of the palace and rightists in July 1965. The installation of a naked military dictatorship shows that twenty years after the civil war, the capitalist system has not yet succeeded in achieving equilibrium.

1.

Greece remains, along with Spain and Portugal, one of the most backward countries in Europe. Aside from the big agglomerations like Athens-Piraeus and

Salonika, the masses in the majority still make their living directly or indirectly from agriculture, which contributes to the same degree as industry in national production, although the industrial sector has registered a relatively high rate of growth in recent years largely due to bringing new units into production like the Pechiney aluminum plant, the Esso-Pappas industrial complex, etc. The traditional industries (food, liquor, tobacco, textiles...) still constitute half of all industrial production. Thus the economic basis for a policy of reformism in Greece is lacking.

The Greek bourgeoisie, linked to imperialism (first to British imperialism and then to American imperialism which picked up from the British), has remained basically incapable of bringing the country out of its stagnation, of altering its backward structure and resolving the agrarian problem.

George Papandreou, the leader of Enosis Kentrou [Center Union], represented the wing of the bourgeoisie which tried to modernize these structures in order to adapt Greece to the Common Market. He sought the support of the masses in order to utilize them for his own aims without

bringing into question either the monarchy or Greece's membership in NATO, in which it is a key piece.

But social relations in Greece are of such backwardness that the majority of the bourgeoisie cannot go beyond the court and the top circles of the army closely linked to the palace without endangering the status quo. This has been demonstrated in each of the successive crises from August 4, 1936 (establishment of the Metaxas dictatorship) up to April 21, 1967.

The Papandreou, both father and son, in face of the maneuvers of the palace, the general staff, the rightists and American imperialism, were incapable of carrying out a "Gaullist" policy, disappointing the hopes of the EDA [Union of Democratic Forces]. Greece lacks the social basis for the bourgeoisie to carry out a "Gaullist" policy. The July 1965 crisis broke out when George Papandreou -- under pressure from the masses -- sought to purge the army of its fascist elements and replace Minister of Defense Garoufalias, a palace man. The "Aspida" affair, grossly blown up by the bourgeois press in order to counteract the unfavorable publicity around the trial of the killers of Lambrakis, was only a part of the efforts aiming at replacing officers of the extreme right by officers loyal to the Center Union.

This attempted purge, coupled with the economic demands of the exploited masses who sought to utilize a certain liberalism of the authorities and a scarcity of labor due to massive emigration of the workers, could not be tolerated by the coalition made up of the palace, the army, traditional capitalism and U.S. imperialism; hence the July 1965 operation and the ouster of Papandreou as prime minister. At the time, however, this coalition could not resort to a military coup d'état as a solution due to the largely spontaneous mobilization of the broad popular masses and the collateral resistance of the "European" tendency of the Greek bourgeoisie.

2.

It was the admirable resistance of the masses that drove out the first two administrations set up by the palace headed by Novas and Tsirimokos. But the ending of the street demonstrations and the progressive demobilization of the masses permitted the third palace government, headed by Stefanopoulos, to last sixteen months.

While the tendency of the mass movement was to struggle against the throne, for a referendum and for a republic, the leadership of the Center Union,

due to class reasons, and the leadership of the EDA (the legal front for the Greek Communist party), due to opportunism and parliamentary cretinism, proclaimed their rejection of any solution going beyond the "democratization of the court" and the "democratization of the state." The working-class masses were, and still are, far to the left of their leadership. Only the Greek Trotskyists openly campaigned for overturning the monarchy.

The forces of reaction took advantage of the demobilization of the masses to prepare a coup d'état. This turn to the use of force could have been blocked had the upsurge of the masses been developed into a revolutionary struggle. By preventing this, the leaders of the EDA and the Greek CP thereby became responsible for the situation worsening to such a degree as to make the coup d'état possible.

The overturn of Stefanopoulos by the ERE [National Radical Union], which had supported him up until then, was an attempt to give the party of the right and the palace a camouflage of "constitutionality," with the objective of pulling the rug from under the Center Union and paving the way for establishment of a Right-Center government after the elections organized by the transitional regime of the banker Paraskevopoulos and his successor Canellopoulos.

But despite the opportunism of the EDA and the failure of the Center Union to react -- the two groupings limiting themselves to merely demanding elections and the Center Union even going so far as to support Paraskevopoulos as prime minister -- the maneuver ended up in a defeat. The elections would have reinforced the EDA and registered a victory for the Center Union; and the masses would not have been content with either a Right-Center government or even a Papandreou government, which could not have withstood the inevitable surge of the masses.

3.

The April 21 military coup d'état was a preventive blow, the immediate aim of which was to block the May elections, destroy the working-class organizations and then prepare a governmental solution of the kind seen in Greece before 1963.

The coup d'état, which was expected in all political spheres but which because of their own basic nature could do nothing but hope that it would not take place, demonstrated that any situation featured by mobilization of the masses, but in which clear and precise leadership is not provided, threatens inevitably to end as in the Dominican Republic or even Indonesia. It demonstrates the need to forge in the

underground a new leadership for the Greek working class. It proves that in face of the means at the disposal of the reactionary forces, both legal as well as extraparliamentary, such as the bribery utilized to destroy the former parliamentary majority held by Papandreou as well as open counterrevolutionary violence, parliamentarism is chimerical. If the problem of power is not posed when it should be posed, it is resolved by a counterrevolutionary dictatorship and repression.

4.

The struggle against the monarchy and for a republic remains the correct transitional slogan in Greece at present. This does not mean that ending the monarchy is sufficient in and of itself; it means that the slogan is the key to changing the relationship of forces.

Today even the EDA is compelled, belatedly, to modify its line and appeal for replacing the monarchy with a "genuine democracy." Due to the illusions it has sown and to the confused petty-bourgeois character of the slogan of "genuine democracy," it has not contributed to reorienting the left. What is required is not the replacement of the "dictatorship" by an abstract and completely bourgeois "democracy," under the leadership of the Center Union and Papandreou, as "democratic" representatives of exploitive capitalism. What is required is to open the road, by overturning the monarchy, to a Socialist Republic of Greek Workers and Peasants.

Before the coup d'état, the EDA slogans, designed for the elections, such as "Democratization of the State," "Economic and Social Development," "National Independence," "Peace," resembled those

of the right-wing Social Democratic parties in Western Europe. To understand the reasons for the defeat of the Greek masses, basic self-criticism is required of the EDA.

The Fourth International appeals to the Greek workers to support and join the only organization that did not sow these tragic illusions, the Internationalist Communist party of Greece (Greek section of the Fourth International).

It appeals to the workers of Europe to utilize all the means at their disposal to show their solidarity with the victims of the repression in Greece and with the masses in their struggle.

It appeals to the workers of Cyprus to mobilize in order to block General Grivas from imposing a similar military dictatorship there.

Workers of Greece!

Organize underground People's Committees throughout the country to go into action against the dictatorship, to free the political prisoners, to reestablish civil liberties!

Cover the country with a network of resistance to the dictatorship!

Organize underground unions to prepare an insurrectional general strike!

Organize a struggle for a Constituent Assembly to sweep out the monarchy, free Greece from the imperialist yoke and NATO, establish a Workers and Peasants Government and open up the road for a Socialist Republic of Workers and Peasants Councils!

CORRECTION

In Pierre Frank's review of Isaac Deutscher's Ironies of History [in our May 12 issue], a sentence on page 496 reads:

"It is all the more necessary to remember this inasmuch as working-class militants in their great majority have long been aware of this, although the capitalist leaders often act as if they

were unaware of it."

The translation is in error. The sentence should read, "It is all the more necessary to remember this inasmuch as, if the capitalist leaders feign ignorance of it, working-class militants in their great majority have long been unaware of it."

OCTOBER ANTIWAR PROTEST SET FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.

[Continued from page 542.]
setting up a "Political Action Committee" which would work for a "Peace-Freedom Ticket" in the 1968 presidential elections.

The sponsors of this move suggested that such a slate might well be headed by King and Spock.

Opponents of the proposal argued that it represented a preliminary move for another experiment with capitalist politics that in the final analysis might be utilized to favor the ambitions of someone like Robert Kennedy.

To saddle the movement with a pro-capitalist "peace" ticket would split it, since it imposed unacceptable political conditions on the socialist sector.

The sharpest principled opposition came from adherents of the Socialist Workers party. They explained that the principles of socialism make it impossible for them to support such a ticket. The first requisite for even critical support would have to be a clear programmatic break from capitalist politics.

The proposal was defeated in the workshop. An effort to revive it in the plenary session was answered by a virtually unanimous vote to table it.

In reaching the final decisions, a key role was played by independents such as Otto Nathan, the executor of the estate of the late Albert Einstein, who stressed the fact that Johnson's course

had placed humanity at the brink of a world conflagration and that prompt and vigorous countermeasures were called for.

The mood of the conference was sounded most closely by Leroy Wollins, chairman of the Chicago Veterans for Peace. He received a standing ovation after a short speech in which he called for a "siege" of the White House and the Pentagon, preferably the latter. The Pentagon could be paralyzed, he said ironically, by a mass demonstration in their parking lot, "because they can't operate without a parking lot."

He sounded a strong international note. "I am a nonviolent man, but if in Latin America they tear down every U.S. consulate, I can't stop them."

As the stormy applause to this subsided, he added: "I'm nonviolent, but I'll join them."

His organization, he said, expected the conference to set a definite date for the next demonstration, preferably in October, and would accept nothing less. After this speech, it was completely clear what the majority wanted.

The size and militancy of the conference reflected the growth of antiwar sentiment in the U.S. The predominance of youth registered the rise of a new generation of anticapitalist fighters. The self-confidence and determination they displayed give promise of a notable demonstration October 21.

In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
The Testimony of Do Van Ngoc	529
Guerrilla Front in Bolivia Pictured as "Impregnable"	530
Cubans Score a Record Harvest	532
Juan Lechin Hails Bolivian Guerrilla Front	533
Hugo Blanco Case:	
Hugo Blanco Goes on Hunger Strike	533
Minneapolis Socialists Cable Belaúnde	534
Campaign Stepped Up in Italy for Hugo Blanco	534
Ottawa Committee Appeals in Behalf of Hugo Blanco	535
What Three Parades Show on Rating of Vietnam War	535
French Workers Answer de Gaulle with 24-Hour General Strike -- by Pierre Frank	536
"Labor Lieutenants" of the CIA -- by Les Evans	538
New Facts Revealed about U.S. Invasion of Cuba in 1961	539
Régis Debray's Whereabouts a "Military Secret"	541
Senanayake Shows How Peace Proposals Can Be Made to Pay Off	541
October Antiwar Protest Set for Washington, D.C. -- by Joseph Hansen	542
"Pravda" Sides with "Peaceful Roaders" in Debate on Strategy in Latin America	543
New York Columnist Describes Petrick Case	544
Book Review:	
"Whitewash II" -- by Arthur Maglin	545
Documents:	
Sartre's Opening Address at War Crimes Tribunal	546
Ho Chi Minh's Greetings to War Crimes Tribunal	548
Cambodian Appreciation of Tribunal	549
Solidarity with the Greek Worker and Peasant Masses! [A Statement by the Fourth International]	549
Correction	551