

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 3, No. 26

August 6, 1965

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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"THIS IS REALLY WAR"

All the mass publicity media in the U.S., suitably fed with rumors and leaks from the White House, geared the American people and international public opinion for a monstrous decision following eight days of an "agonizing ordeal" for the president.

After his televised press conference July 28, a sigh of relief went up. Johnson had not called for "all-out war," for a "massive build-up," nor had he shaken an H-bomb at the foe. "All" he had said was that 50,000 more U.S. troops would be sent to Vietnam (more than twice the number on the scene only last February!) and that the draft rate would be doubled.

In the universal applause among columnists, newscasters, congressmen and servile allies, little attention was paid to one phrase in Johnson's declarations, a mere four words: "This is really war."

In the relief over Johnson's not making some immediately fatal move, few objections were raised. In fact, it was argued that Johnson had been unexpectedly mild. Thus he got away with it. He crossed a qualitative point. The United States is now engaged in a war without the consent of the people, without the consent of congress, in violation of the constitution and in defiance of the popular will as massively expressed in the election last November. Johnson can now move openly and freely on the basis of the U.S. fighting a war.

When Johnson's sycophants boast about his political skill, this is what they are talking about. The example will long be remembered in the history books -- if they do not vanish in the holocaust toward which this "great president" is so skillfully steering the world.

THE CRISIS IN GREECE

By George Sinos

ATHENS, July 25 -- The current governmental crisis illustrates in spectacular fashion something that can be concluded generally concerning the situation in Europe -- parliament is becoming increasingly ineffective as an instrument in defending and stabilizing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

A parliamentary regime, supported by 53% of the popular vote and holding an absolute majority of seats, was dismissed by the king, acting in this instance as the tool of American imperialism, the military camarilla and a key sector of big business. The king

served all those who wanted to reinstitute a "strong" government.

Each of these forces had reasons to overturn the Papandreou government. American imperialism wants to put a definitive end to the Cyprus question, operating through its Greek agents. And it wants a completely docile government in Greece as it escalates the war in Vietnam. The royalist officers want to keep their hands on power, while the king seeks to direct things from the wings. Big business wants the workers tied hand and foot in order to prevent them from effectively advancing their demands.

In spite of its constant compromises with all these reactionary forces, its own anti-Communist campaigns and its moves against the workers, the Papandreou regime sought to maintain bourgeois parliament with a more liberal physiognomy than graced the Caramanlis dictatorship which used parliament as a mere cloak.

In a climate of intense social antagonisms such as exists in Greece today, a regime like the one headed by Papandreou has no deep independent roots. It balances bonapartistically between the social extremes and is shaken as they move, or toppled as they come into conflict.

Before its downfall, the Papandreou government had begun to lose popularity even among the masses of the towns (not in the villages or among student ranks, thanks to concessions granted these layers).

However, when Papandreou became the obvious target of a conspiracy involving the court, the officer caste, big business, imperialism and the right wing of his own party, the Center Union, the masses rallied to his defense (youth, workers, petty bourgeoisie in the towns and villages). Hence the great crowds that have turned out, the demonstrations and the tumult in the streets.

In spite of Papandreou's admonitions about peaceful demonstrations within legal limits, masses in the streets tend to follow a logic of their own and the charged antiroyalistic and anti-imperialistic feelings of the people take on an explosive dynamism.

The political forces in conflict are as follows:

The royal court and ERE [National Radical Union], the party of Caramanlis headed by Canelopoulos today, support the king's appointment of Novas as prime minister because such a regime would offer the convenient camouflage of appearing to represent the Center Union. A successful maneuver of this kind would obviate calling new elections which would most likely give Papandreou a huge majority. Both the Greek general staff and their American inspirers obviously preferred this solution.

The sectors of the Center Union standing behind Papandreou seek to oust Novas and compel the king to retreat, thus demonstrating their influence among the people in a "peaceful" way. Papandreou stands for a "royal democracy."

Because of his concern over the general interests of his own class, Papandreou seeks to avoid posing the alternative: monarchy or democracy.

In addition, if he went so far as to pose that alternative, the sector of his party headed by Stepanopoulos would not follow him.

Only extraordinary circumstances could bring the Center Union to pose the dangerous alternative of monarchy or democracy. (For instance, an assassination organized by reactionaries in the state apparatus as in the case of Lambrakis.)

The EDA [United Democratic Left] and the Communist party of Greece constitute the tail of the Center Union. Their slogans are superopportunist: "Democratization of the state"; "Democratization of the court."

As for the Greek section of the Fourth International, it is advancing the slogan of a referendum over the question of the monarchy and calling for preparations for a general strike.

These two slogans fit in with the experience of the vanguard of the working class in Greece who detest the court and have undergone years of bitter and bloody repression since their freedom movement was crushed following the close of World War II.

Under these two slogans the radicalization of the masses could advance rather swiftly to a much higher level than anything seen in the recent period.

Despite the crisis in leadership facing the working class in Greece, an attempt now to smother popular indignation by means of violent repression could give the mass mood extremely dynamic forms, compelling the king to stake everything on an open military dictatorship or to retreat in the face of Papandreou's demands.

A new important chapter has opened in the history of the mass struggle in Greece for democratic slogans.

Enormous possibilities for the labor movement and the revolutionary Marxist vanguard may now be on the agenda.

UNDER THE MILITARY JUNTA IN BOLIVIA

La Paz

JULY 16 -- After the defeat of the strike and the army's occupation of the mines [see World Outlook June 11], the dominant mood in official circles, among the bourgeoisie and the upper middle class was that the government had dealt the workers a long-term defeat. They thought the time had come to reorganize the labor movement. They issued a decree liquidating the COB [Central Obrera Boliviana] and all the leaderships of the unions and the union federations. Another decree scheduled new trade-union elections in which no one could run for office who had previously been a leader, or who was a member of an "extremist" political party. The elections were to be conducted under a military chief and the list of candidates had to be approved by the ministry of labor.

The masses reacted instinctively against the military junta's intervention in trade-union affairs. This took two forms. Generally they did not respond to the call for new elections, running no candidates. This happened in the main working-class centers. The bourgeois press and the government branded it "indiferentismo" ["indifferencism"]. In other centers revolutionists were put on the slates. This happened at the Said factory, one of the biggest in the country. The government refused to recognize the victors in these elections.

All this led to organizing trade-union defense committees, in repudiation of the government decrees.

The military junta, particularly Barrientos, stated publicly that it would not deal with the old leaders, but only with rank-and-file workers. In the factories and mines, rank-and-file commissions were accordingly set up. They presented Barrientos with bitter criticisms of all his acts. When these commissions were arrested, others stepped forward to advance the same positions.

The hatred of the working masses for the military junta is deep; their fighting spirit is growing, their radicalization proceeding. The troops sent to the plants and mines do not feel secure.

In the mines the response to the wage cuts decreed by the junta to lower costs proved less than successful. In Catavi production dropped to a level never before registered. Then, a week ago, the miners at Siglo XX came out of the mine shafts to stage a demonstration against the military junta. Breaking through the lines of armed soldiers, they went to the union headquarters where they held a meeting and elected a trade-union defense committee.

The army did not dare repress this demonstration, although some scattered shots resulted in killing a mother in a miner's family.

The government and the bourgeois press accused the Trotskyists of the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario] of being behind this. They also allege that members of the trade-union defense committee at Siglo XX belong to the POR. In addition they have been publishing sensationalistic items about members of the POR starting up guerrilla warfare. According to these accounts, leaders of the POR disguise themselves as peasants in traveling between the miners' encampments.

Recently they began running stories about Trotskyist guerrilla fighters crossing into the country from Argentina.

The efforts at unifying the two existing Trotskyist tendencies has been duly noted in the press. To read the papers, Trotskyism is moving to the head of the labor and revolutionary opposition to the military junta. In fact the atmosphere is such that everything of an oppositional political character is increasingly ascribed to "Trotskyism."

The rightist parties are adulating the military junta in the most bare-faced way. The Falange Socialista Boliviana, the Partido Revolucionario Auténtico, the Partido Liberal, the Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionaria, constitute a servile chorus, publicly approving the repressive measures of the government, yet claiming that there is no military dictatorship in Bolivia.

The MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario] has split into four factions. One is headed by a doctor of medicine, Guillermo Jauregui, who calls himself a left Pasestenssoriista [follower of the former President Paz Estenssoro]. Another is headed by Víctor Andrade, former ambassador to the U.S., a friend of the Yankees and of General Ovando Candia, co-president of the military junta. Still another is headed by Siles Zuaso, and the fourth by J. Alderete, former ambassador to Czechoslovakia, who lists himself as a Marxist.

A struggle is raging in the MNR over the leadership. The Andrade sector is fighting for control in order to bring the party into collaboration with the military junta. Recently some of Andrade's opponents were arrested, reportedly to help him seize leadership of the party. The government alleges that the MNR is plotting, but it has arrested only middle-rank cadres and a sector of the top leadership.

A struggle is going on within the Partido Revolucionario de la Izquierda Nacionalista [PRIN -- the party organized by labor leader Juan Lechín after breaking with Paz Estenssoro and the MNR] that could end in a split. The balance lies with the hundreds of cadres in exile in Paraguay and Argentina. This situation is of particular importance in the Bolivian political scene because the PRIN represents the final obstacle for the masses to overcome in freeing themselves from national democratic conceptions and passing over to a radical position.

As for the Trotskyist movement, it is undergoing heavy repression at the moment. Some thirty of its leaders in Catavi, Siglo XX and Huanuni are in prison accused of "terrorist" acts and "guerrilla activity." In addition, dozens of others have been fired in the mines, thrown out of jobs elsewhere and are in difficult circumstances in the countryside and the cities. The top leadership of the Trotskyist movement is in the underground.

The two parties, both bearing the same name of Partido Obrero Revolucionario, in which the Trotskyist movement is divided are discussing unification, a development that has already been reflected in the press in the form of fear of greatly strengthened Trotskyist forces in Bolivia.

The peasantry, by and large, is against the military junta. The rural towns occupied by the army have been converted into centers of abuse, violence and exactions against the peasants. Talk is widespread in the countryside that the junta intends to bring back compulsory labor on the highways and on the holdings of the big landlords; and that any opposition will be met with military repression.

The military junta has sought to buy off the peasant trade-union bureaucracy by conceding farms to them. But the demand of imperialism and the bourgeoisie to disarm the countryside has begun to create friction between sectors of the bureaucracy and the army. The first fights broke out in Cochabamba where patrols of soldiers were attacked and disarmed. Thus the artificial alliance between the peasant bureaucracy and the military junta is not likely to be of long duration.

The military junta cannot leave the peasantry armed. The inevitable attempt to disarm it will end in a bloody struggle which will reactivate the alliance between the workers and peasants on a much higher and more active level than in the past. The political tendencies now spreading into the countryside are the PRIN, the POR and to a lesser degree the PCB [Bolivian Communist party]. The latter party, it should be noted, underwent a split and is at a low ebb in the cities. Some sectors of the old bureaucracy still follow the MNR.

The Barrientos-Ovando government is seated on a powder keg. The broad masses are against it; its social base is very narrow. This situation is reflected within the army. The fissures barely visible there today will deepen in the future. The Barrientos-Ovando squabble, which was momentarily papered over by sharing power as co-presidents, will flare again into the open in the near future.

Consequently the military junta has its real base in an army bristling with weapons. But this army is not solid. To strengthen it, the reserves of 1963-64 were called up. But this led to opposite results than those counted on. The reserves proved to be undisciplined and had to be retired. The air force then became the main

criminal support of the regime.

To counter the resistance in the mines, and the demonstrations and mobilizations, the government recently held a congress of prefects, mayors and chiefs of military garrisons of the departments and provinces to plan control of the population against possible terrorist acts and guerrilla activity. This was done under the direct guidance of Yankee technicians.

In the military circles, the young officers discuss the conditions under which the North American marines would intervene in case of danger to the junta. These discussions generally end in fights among those who favor Yankee intervention and those who oppose it. Insubordination has occurred in the Colegio Militar and the Politécnico de Aviación. Behind the disciplinary questions stand political causes that take this confused form for the time being.

BELAUNDE RENEWS "STATE OF SIEGE"

The nationwide witch-hunt in Peru, accompanied by military operations in the Andes in pursuit of guerrilla fighters on three reported fronts, is continuing unabated.

On August 4, the government of President Fernando Belaunde Terry announced that the 30-day "state of siege" will be renewed for another 30 days. Under a "state of siege" all democratic rights guaranteed by the constitution are suspended, permitting arbitrary arrests and indefinite imprisonment without trial or stated reasons.

Hundreds of arrests have been made in this way throughout Peru of trade unionists, students and intellectuals thought by reactionary government officials to be of "leftist" persuasion. Obviously the government is utilizing the appearance of guerrilla fighters as a pretext for a vast campaign of political intimidation.

On the guerrilla front, the army has been able to boast of but few successes. The guerrilla fighters appear to be highly elusive or quite few in number. Nevertheless the army is continuing its forays, apparently following techniques prescribed by experts of the Pentagon.

Reuters reported August 2 from Lima that planes equipped with loudspeakers are being sent at low altitude over jungle areas in the Andes to persuade whoever may be within hearing range to cooperate with the repressive effort.

Speeches, probably recorded, are broadcast in Quechua, the language of the descendants of the Incas, arguing that no help

should be given to any guerrilla fighters in the region.

This "psychological campaign," according to an unnamed government spokesman, is the prelude to a "definitive offensive" against the guerrilla fighters.

THE GUERRILLA WAR IN PERU

[The following analysis of the current situation in Peru is by one of the leaders of the FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario, the organization headed by the Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco). The author is being held without charges in one of Belaunde's prisons. The analysis, smuggled out of jail, was published in the July 26 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly La Verdad (formerly Palabra Obrera), official organ of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores. The translation is by World Outlook.]

* * *

(1) On June 9, a group of guerrilla fighters initiated armed action in the province of Concepción in the department of Junín, attacking various objectives. The group is under the political leadership of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria]. Since then heavy repressive forces have been sent to the zone and the guerrillas have been retreating toward a zone of mountain peaks in the general direction of Satipo, a small city buried in the jungle.

(2) For several years the Peruvian revolutionary left has been discussing the best means by which to continue our revolution. A sector in the MIR, dissident sectors of the CP [Communist party] and isolated elements, responding directly to the Cuban line, came out for guerrilla warfare. The FIR, headed by Hugo Blanco, posed the need to organize the mass movement of the peasants, resuming at a higher level the occupation of the land, backed by armed militia; the major role of the revolutionary left in this being in the technical and strategic leadership.

Let us remember that the peasant movement succeeded in organizing in the Cuzco department alone more than 1,000 union locals which occupied more than 100 haciendas and many smaller estates, that it organized mass meetings and mass strikes and that in the process a kind of germinal dual power arose, registering its presence in the setting up of schools, roads and other works on the initiative of the unions and in opposition to the authorities in the peasant zones (rescue of prisoners, rejection of labor ministers, the courts, etc.), in the complete disappearance of domination by the landlords, who even abandoned entire zones, as happened throughout almost the whole Con-
vención valley.

But this movement was not strong enough to withstand the shock of brutal government repression. This led to the loss of a good part of these conquests and to the jailing of hundreds of militant peasants, including their main leader Hugo Blanco.

(3) Pondering over this experience, the FIR formulated its fundamental programmatic position for this entire stage: the necessity of maintaining and developing the germinal forms of dual power, centralizing them through massive organization of the peasantry, the revolutionary organization acting along with them and as part of the vanguard. A new wave of recuperation of the land must be prepared for, backed by defense organizations, armed militia of the peasantry capable of accompanying and defending the masses in their struggles, preventing new defeats.

(4) The FIR began to apply this line, succeeding in getting the Departmental Peasant Federation of Cuzco, and the federation in Ayacucho to adopt it, spreading it among the rank and file. The big raid of February 1964, in which all our peasant leaders and hundreds of activists in Cuzco were caught up and thrown into prison for eight months, undid this work. It should be recalled that at the same time there were various massacres with dozens killed in Cuzco and Ayacucho. Almost all the unions became disorganized, the landlords recuperated their losses, the Peasant Federation of Cuzco stopped functioning.

The most important reason for the inability of the FIR to apply its line in time is to be seen in our own weakness and in the fact that the comrades in Cuzco placed too much importance on union activities at the top level and were taken in by the temporary atmosphere of legality. They did not turn all their efforts into creating union locals, party cells and militia all in the same scene; they delayed going personally into the countryside, in preparing for a real underground; and they became easy marks for the repression. None of this invalidates the fact, objectively testified to in Neira's book [Cuzco: Land and Death -- see review in World Outlook January 1, 1965] that our comrades were the best leaders of the peasants at that time.

These are the reasons why the essentials of our program have not yet been realized in Cuzco and why we remain weak organizationally on a national scale.

(5) While the FIR, despite all the difficulties, struggled to rebuild in Cuzco through its contacts with the broad peasant masses there, the revolutionary left fell into growing disorganization and splits. Armed groups proliferated that see immediate armed action as the only hope for materializing the revolution. They undertook various actions in the cities and finally the MIR unleashed guerrilla warfare. It is clear that the weakness of the FIR in applying its line was a contributing factor in this attitude, otherwise it would have been a powerful pole of attraction for many young revolutionists. In addition the steady pressure of the Cuban position, bol-

stered by a constant stream of comrades imbued with the line of guerrilla warfare as the only viable road for the Peruvian revolution, helped strengthen this mood.

(6) The objective situation is highly favorable to the revolutionary process. (a) There are constant squabbles between the government, the oligarchy and the traditional parties. (b) The cost of living is rising. (c) There is an explosive situation in the countryside, with an inoperative Agrarian Reform; sporadic, isolated occupations of the land, and the existence of elements of germinal dual power.

The subjective factors lag far behind: manual and white-collar workers divided, without a joint organization to handle common problems; bankruptcy of the Aprista [APRA -- Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana] and Communist party leaderships; a peasant movement struggling to reorganize itself; a divided revolutionary left.

(7) These were the conditions under which guerrilla warfare broke out. We will indicate its characteristics insofar as they are known:

(a) They began their action in a mountainous zone of cattle ranches in the Junín department, with a rearguard located in a jungle zone where there is some tropical production (coffee, etc.); but it is also an area of virgin forest.

(b) The group was small, approximately twenty men, who separated into two teams which attacked a mine and two haciendas, a police post and several small stores.

(c) After dividing up the expropriations with a group of peasants, they invited them to participate in seizing the Hacienda Runatullo. About twenty peasants agreed. After burning the buildings in this hacienda and dividing up some of the things that were seized, they then sent the peasants back to their community and left.

(d) In their march, they retreated in the direction of the jungle zone, near which they are at the moment. Some peasants have joined the guerrilla band.

(e) The guerrilla fighters gained a complete strategic and tactical surprise. They ran into no resistance for five days. On June 14 there was an exchange of gunfire in which some peasants were killed. Possibly the majority of the group have undergone complete guerrilla training. After fifteen days of successive actions, the repressive forces began an intensive search for them with the aim of encircling and annihilating them. About 1,000 troops are being used in this.

(8) It is evident that the guerrilla fighters are mechani-

cally following the Cuban experience: a small action group, a favorable zone, surprise, mobility, etc. They have left aside the most important weapon which we revolutionists have in Peru -- a peasantry anxious to recover its land, which has already begun to do so through actions of tremendous force.

We mention this because the guerrilla fighters have not sought to develop the union work already begun, or to follow a policy of wide occupation of the land, or massive arming of the peasantry.

Because of this, when the repression began they fell back, losing personal contact with the zones where the most peasants are concentrated, who are needed to back their actions with food, information, places of refuge, etc. They are thus losing possible regional points of support. They are going over into an essentially military struggle for survival under very difficult conditions, against an alerted enemy, altering the relative weight of forces. In a phase like this, if they do not gain the active support of the population, they run the grave danger of being annihilated.

(9) The outbreak of guerrilla warfare is a fait accompli. Correct or not, guerrilla warfare exists. While they have been fighting for their lives, retreating toward the jungle, battling the repressive forces, what have been the first consequences?

(a) First of all, a current of sympathy throughout the left and broad layers of the students, with the resulting attraction of groups and isolated revolutionists.

(b) Wide repression, especially in the center of the country and elsewhere according to the expressions of support that can be given to the armed struggle and its evolution. This will create new difficulties for the legal organization of the peasantry and the task of constructing the revolutionary organizations in the countryside, and, to a lesser degree, in the cities.

(10) What must our attitude be?

(a) Our forces are not large; we cannot waste them. Most of them must concentrate in developing our line in the countryside, appealing to all the revolutionists to help us. A powerful movement in Cuzco, with thousands of peasants recuperating their land, backed by militia based among the peasants themselves and helped by teams of revolutionists, would completely change the situation. It would revive the urban struggles, fortify revolutionary unionism, strengthen the efforts for unity in the revolutionary left and widen its influence to the most distant corners of the country. And it would constitute the only serious aid that could be proffered to the comrades in the guerrilla ranks in Andamarca. This action would find natural allies and have immediate repercussions among the peasant masses of Ayacucho, Apurimac and Puno.

(b) In the preparation of these actions, the inclusion of

cadres with political and technical experience is a fundamental necessity to speed things up. Isolated revolutionists and the existing armed groups should understand that the FIR offers integration into a revolutionary apparatus in which their capacities will be utilized from the first moment in order to carry out the preliminary tasks that are indispensable in building a vast movement like the one we propose. The sooner we can move along this road, the sooner we will catch up on the delayed march of our revolution.

(c) To the comrades in Andamarca, who are fighting in accordance with the method which they believe to be correct in order to carry forward the revolutionary process and which merits our complete respect, we would suggest the need to get into the closest possible contact with the peasantry of the zone, orienting and supporting their struggles. In this task all the revolutionary militants of the central part of the country must contribute their efforts, helping and promoting the organization of the peasantry, the setting up of militia and the massive recuperation of the land. Resume at a higher level the heroic struggles of the communities of Pasco that shook the center of the country in 1962.

DEMAND RELEASE OF HUGO BLANCO

The troops sent out by the Belaunde government to try to put down the guerrilla fighters in the Andes were given orders "not to give any quarter and not to take any prisoners." According to the press, a government spokesman said that the aim was to end "once and for all the extremist subversion" and that no live "martyrs" were wanted.

This savage attitude has given rise to fresh fears for the life of Hugo Blanco, Peru's best-known peasant leader who has been held without trial for more than two years in the jail at Arequipa in the southern part of the country.

He is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of War which announced that it would take no prisoners in the current battles. It is possible that the officials of this ministry will now decide to give Hugo Blanco a drumhead courtmartial to provide a "legal precedent" for summary executions of prisoners captured in the current struggle in the Andes.

The charge levelled against Hugo Blanco is responsibility for the killing of a gunman employed by a landlord, one Hernan Briceño. Hugo Blanco has assumed political responsibility for the peasant actions in which Briceño was killed.

The real accusation against Hugo Blanco, of course, is organizing and mobilizing the peasants and showing them by precept and

example the road to freedom.

In addition to Hugo Blanco, fears are felt for the safety of other leaders similarly held in Belaunde's prisons without trial, including Daniel Pereyra, Vladimiro Valer, Félix Ceballos, Juan Quesada, Fortunato Vargas, Antonio Cartolin and hundreds of lesser known figures.

A committee is being formed in Argentina to set in motion a wide movement to demand the immediate release of Hugo Blanco. Pending announcements by the committee, expressions of solidarity and funds to help in the defense of Hugo Blanco can be sent to the weekly newspaper La Verdad, Casilla de Correo No. 7, Suc. 3, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

AMERICAN EMBASSY BOMBED IN QUITO

The nationwide unrest which rocked the government in Ecuador in the middle of July, temporarily subsided after the ruling military junta granted concessions in the composition of the cabinet.

But feelings are still running high as was indicated July 31 when two bombs were exploded at the American embassy in Quito. The damage was reported to be considerable.

GUERRILLA GROUP REPORTED IN MEXICO

A group of about 200 guerrilla fighters, led by "Communists," is operating in the mountainous states of Zacatecas and Jalisco in the central part of Mexico, according to the Mexico City daily Excelsior.

The report by the rather sensationalistic paper has not yet been confirmed, but Mexico has a long tradition of guerrilla war with many distinguished practitioners of it such as Emiliano Zapata whose example has become part of the common heritage of Latin America.

Such bourgeois figures as Lázaro Cárdenas publicly expressed fear of civil strife in Mexico following the victory of the Cuban revolution. Cárdenas advocated a policy of concessions to meet the threat. The new president of Mexico, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, stands much further to the right, however, and his administration is hewing closer to the brutal line laid down by Washington for its Latin-American satellites.

The consequence could well be a rise in social tension in

Mexico with developments such as have been seen in many other countries in the region south of the United States, including the appearance of guerrilla forces.

FRESH GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES IN VENEZUELA

A fresh flare-up in guerrilla activities in Venezuela has occurred in recent weeks.

The government has repeatedly boasted about successfully stamping out the guerrilla forces, but the "victories" have proved to be exaggerated.

The latest outbreak occurred in western Venezuela. Some forty deaths were reported in battles between government troops and the freedom fighters.

An August 2 dispatch from Caracas said that José Carmelo Mendoza, a member of the Venezuelan Communist party, had been killed and two soldiers wounded when the troops were ambushed in the Barba-coas region in the state of Lara.

On July 31 the ministers of defense and the interior met with police officials and the secretary general of the presidency to consider new repressive measures. According to the press, it was decided to apply these on a far more intensive scale than at any time in the past.

The university council at Caracas decided to suspend four student leaders for three months, including Julio Escalón, president of the student union. This was the first time such a measure has ever been taken.

It followed incidents on July 31 which the school authorities frowned on. During a presentation of a ballet by artists from the Ukraine, students belonging to the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria] and the Communist party appeared on the stage and denounced the attitude of the government during the funeral services for Luis Emiro Arrieta, a former Communist senator.

The police were guilty of dispersing the funeral cortege, transporting the body themselves to the cemetery and burying it. The Communist leader died in prison July 27 after being held behind bars since 1963 on charges of "conspiracy."

Meanwhile petroleum installations held by U.S. oil companies suffered considerable damage from a series of bombings.

The Leoni government decided as a result to reinforce the

number of police and members of the national guard charged with protecting the sacred property of the monopolists. And it was decided to provide the police in Caracas with automatic weapons.

COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT DISCOVERS "COMMUNIST PLOT"

The government of Colombia announced discovery of a "Communist plot" August 2. Since these are being discovered by one dictatorial government after another in Latin America, to the great satisfaction of the Johnson administration which is bolstering these foul military regimes with guns and dollars, the news created little stir. The "plot" nevertheless did offer some novel features, testifying to the fertility of the brains that conceived it.

It was, of course, on a "nationwide scale," but instead of being hatched in Moscow, it was "fomented by the pro-Chinese Colombian Communists."

The plot involved attacking both buildings and officials in the three main cities of Bogotá, Popayán and Barranquilla. The aim was to "create a climate of insecurity which would be superimposed on the delicate political climate and economic difficulties" current in Colombia such as unemployment, lack of basic necessities and a decline in imports due to lack of foreign exchange. Two new guerrilla areas would also be opened in addition to those already troubling the government.

"This plan," said Major General Gerardo Ayerbe Chaux, "was hatched at Soacha, a town located 30 kilometers from Bogotá, and was conceived by pro-Chinese Communists, some members of the MOEC [Workers, Students and Peasants Movement] and the JMRL [Youth of the Revolutionary Liberal Movement]. To this should be added the pro-Chinese Communists of Ecuador, Chile, Peru and Venezuela. It envisaged creating an Army of National Liberation, 'spearhead' of the future movement, and the intensification of links and common action with the Venezuelan ALN [Army of National Liberation]..."

The funds to carry out the plot, said the general, were to come from China, Albania and likewise Algeria [!].

As a result of the timely discovery of the "plot," said the general, twenty arrests had been made in Bogotá and Barranquilla and caches of arms had been discovered in the province of Antioquia. The names of the victims imprisoned by the political police were not revealed.

ANGOLAN GUERRILLAS SCORE SUCCESSES

In the first half of July fierce battles continued between the Angolan freedom fighters and the troops of the fascist Portuguese government, the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile reported July 15.

At Serra de Mucaba a convoy of Salazarist troops came under heavy fire from forces of the Angolan Army of National Liberation [ALNA]. Twelve soldiers were killed and two half-tracks and a jeep were destroyed.

On the route between Bembe and Toto a Portuguese patrol was ambushed. Four Portuguese soldiers were killed and two portable radio transmitters of German make were seized.

Near the Cole River close to Lucala a sharp exchange occurred. Ten Portuguese soldiers were killed; eight freedom fighters fell. The guerrilla forces gained some automatic weapons.

On the road between Ucuca and Pango-Aluquen, a light tank crossed a mine set by the Angolans. The vehicle was blown up and its occupants killed.

In the Ambrizete region, a coast guard vessel of the Portuguese naval forces was hit by mortar fire from an ALNA commando group. The vessel sank, along with its crew.

Between Santo-Antonio do Zaire and Porto-Rico, a small encampment of the colonialist army was attacked by elements of the ALNA. Five enemy soldiers were killed and, in addition to rifles, the patriots seized cases of munition and medicine.

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC SLUMP

The economic slump in Japan has become of increasing concern to the bourgeois specialists. A culling of current expressions of opinion in the press will indicate their worry.

The Sankei Shimbun holds the following view: "The nation's economy is now facing serious difficulties and various economic organizations have either petitioned or made recommendations to the Government regarding measures to overcome the slump. However, such petitions and recommendations have different contents and lack concrete and effective measures. In this connection, the recommendation made by the Over-all Policy Research Council Friday [July 23] should be watched with keen attention. As emergency measures, the council advocated strong measures by the Bank of Japan to rehabili-

tate the stock market, special tax measures for scrapping of superfluous production facilities, lowering of the official money rate and tax reductions totaling more than 1,500,000,000,000 yen [one yen = \$.002778] over a period of five years."

The Nihon Keizai Shimbun has this to say: "It seems that the Government, though belatedly, is working out and implementing a full-fledged policy to counter the present business depression. And the July 27 session of the Economic Policy Council is a matter of concern to the general public. Our hope is that the Government will hammer out a drastic and aggressive measure to cope with the present business condition instead of makeshift measures. A series of measures was put into practice to combat the depression. However, they were not enforced in time for the purpose. And furthermore, the Government sometimes resorted to measures which may aggravate the depression. As a result, no sign of recovery has come into sight. Under the circumstances, therefore, it will be essential for the Government to put drastic measures into force in order to bring about a business pickup."

An example of the more extensive analyses being offered, is provided by an article written by Kazuo Kuroda which appeared in The Japan Times of July 17. Here are some extracts:

"The Japanese Government appears quite confident in saying that the depression is bottoming out, but it is a bit dismaying that the financial measures to relieve the economy are producing no appreciable effect so far.

"Late in June, or just before the July 4 elections, the Government announced a series of measures to increase the purchasing power through advanced outlays for public works and other spendings.

"Following the elections, the Government has now come up with a scheme to reduce steel production by a 'cartel' agreement among the big six steel mills. This includes maintenance of proper export prices in order to preclude 'dumping' abroad.

"The same formula is expected to be extended to other branches of industrial activities. There will be powerful pincers, therefore, working from both sides, namely that of production and that of purchasing power.

"Never before since the end of World War II has Japan's economy posed as serious a test as this to the nation's political leaders. The trial appears to be extended and the countermeasures are assuming larger proportions than before....

"The present shape of economy seems to offer a field day for commentators and economists. The welter of confusion may be seen by picking up the August issue of the magazine Chuo Koron. And there are many other magazines for businessmen. The situation requires

that the readers be discriminating.

"There are easy optimists who argue as if the 'depression' was merely psychological. Those who once actively supported Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda's policy for rapid economic growth argue as if the depression was induced merely by a psychological mistake.

"But there are also extreme pessimists who give the impression as if Japan's economy were falling apart. They tend to receive support from those businessmen eager to get more relief from the Government.

"The Government is certainly giving relief; relief of the Yamaichi Securities Co. is only one instance. The Government must see to it that there will be no panic. But it must also see that there will be gradual readjustment. Otherwise, the nation would never pull up economically.

"This process of readjustment, it seems clear, involves long and steady effort within Japanese enterprises. As in the case of the steel industry, the Government is trying to reduce production. Curtailment of operation, however, means an ordeal to the management, because the labor unions do not allow laying-off of workers.

"Nobody wants to get hurt. Management wants to avoid bankruptcy or even a merger with other firms. The workers do not want to be laid off.

"In other words, the patient does not want to undergo a surgical operation, nor take bitter pills, but wants to get well. If the Government may be likened to a physician, his role is a rather delicate one. Time may be required for recovery....

"The situation appears pretty dismal. The Government is thinking big but acting highly cautiously. Although the Government is encouraging the formation of steel and other cartels, it is wary against the suggestion made in favor of revision of the antimonopoly law."

PROSPERITY FOR JAPAN IN VIETNAM WAR?

Feeling themselves trapped in a depression that is all the more painful after years of unprecedented boom, some businessmen in Japan are looking hopefully in the direction of Johnson's war in Vietnam for a road leading back to prosperity.

The immediate source of attraction to such businessmen is the U.S. Army Procurement Agency [APA] in Yokohama City. One of the businessmen who calls there daily was reported by Kyoko Baba in the July 15 Japan Times as saying: "We are counting on it very much ever since we heard that there will be special procurements of about \$100

million worth of goods for the Vietnam war. We are all suffering from the present business depression, you know."

Baba quotes the judgment of the July 16 weekly Asahi that although procurement orders have been increasing of late, the total amount is nevertheless too small to be compared with that of the special orders Japan received around the time of the Korean war. "Yet some businessmen are beginning to dream about a Korean-war-type special procurement boom. Because of the present business depression, even those companies which had shown no interest in this type of business before, including top Japanese makers, have begun to send their representatives to the APA office in Yokohama. Those companies hope that the U.S. forces may come up at least with a large amount of emergency orders in the future. Above all, APA's payment-in-cash method is most attractive to Japanese enterprisers who are badly in need of money today."

Asahi indicates its own feelings in the matter: "We feel a chill in our spine when we see those merchants going in and out of the procurement office with the intention of getting fat on Vietnamese blood."

At present the U.S. is procuring for the troops in Vietnam such items as sandbags, barbed wire, insect control nets, jungle shoes and jungle combat uniform material.

The Nihon Matai K.K. has already made 500,000 sandbags for the Vietnam war but reports that this is a small amount. During the Korean war, Japanese makers supplied the U.S. forces with 200,000,000 sandbags.

During the Korean war, Sumitomo Electric Industry and Kobe Steel supplied the U.S. army with 600,000 coils of barbed wire. After that it received few orders from either the U.S. procurement office or the Japanese police. So it gave up its facilities for producing barbed wire. However, one of the subsidiaries of Kobe Steel is able to fill orders and sold the U.S. 80,000 coils in June.

The Nitto Spinning Co. landed an order that has kept its Fukushima plant on a three-shift-a-day basis since June. The profitable deal was for 35,000 square meters of insect-control glass-fiber net. A company official, no doubt alert to the public relations problem said, "It isn't desirable to cooperate with war. However we accepted the order because insect nets are not weapons."

A Marubeni-Iida trading company official met the same problem with a different explanation for accepting an order for 10,000,000 yen worth of dynamite. "We know there are various criticisms on such special procurements. But it is purely a business deal. It is the U.S. forces that decide whether those goods purchased should be used in South Vietnam or not."

Baba closes his article by citing the view of Professor

Noriyoshi Imai of Hosei University that a Vietnam boom will not develop although some sectors of the Japanese industrial world have benefited from the Vietnam war.

"When Japan enjoyed such a boom during the Korean war," said the professor, "Japan's annual export totaled only \$800 million. It was natural that receiving special orders of over \$800 million annually could create a boom then. At present, Japan exports annually \$7,000 million. Even \$100 million of special purchases for the Vietnam war cannot stimulate Japanese economy today which, moreover, is suffering from a serious business depression."

WORLD'S BIGGEST CITY VOTES SOCIALIST

Following its impressive victory in the July 4 national elections to the upper house of parliament, the Japan Socialist party scored a notable advance in the municipal elections in Tokyo. The voters of the world's biggest city [estimated 1963 population, 10,355,000] gave the Socialists the leading position, ending the majority held by the Liberal-Democratic party which holds power in Japan and reducing it to a minority status in the Metropolitan Assembly.

The results were as follows:

	Seats Secured	Seats Held at Time of Dissolution (June 14)
Japan Socialist party	45	31
Liberal-Democracy party	38	45
Komeito	23	17
Japan Communist party	9	2
Democratic Socialist party	4	0
Independent	<u>1</u>	<u>21</u>
Total	120	116
		4 vacancies

A vote-buying scandal involving 17 Liberal-Democratic assemblymen accounted in part for the heavy defeat suffered by the former majority party. (This was probably the reason for the gains registered by Komeito [Clean Government party].)

However, more fundamental trends appear to have been reflected in the election. Two factors especially are to be noted.

(1) The swift onset of a depression has had big compact on

the low-income sectors of the population. Up to now the Sato government has proved incapable of reversing the decline.

(2) The Sato government's support of Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam has enormously increased fear among all sectors that Japan might be sucked into another world war. Mass demonstrations in opposition to the war in Vietnam and in support of the Vietnamese people have occurred repeatedly since Johnson began his escalation of the war last February.

Evidence of the political effect in Japan of U.S. aggression in Vietnam is to be seen not only in the heavy vote cast for the Japan Socialist party in the Tokyo elections but also in the vote cast for the Japan Communist party, which boosted the number of seats it holds in the Metropolitan Assembly from 2 to 9.

The Liberal-Democratic party is still able to run the assembly through a coalition with the other bourgeois parties, Komeito, the Democratic Socialist party, and the lone independent.

But the coalition, if it is gained, is obviously an unstable one.

The turnout to the polls was the lowest recorded in any post-war assembly election, 58.58%. This was generally considered to be a silent protest vote against the corruption that had been exposed. But it could also be taken to signify a sign of the readiness of the people to turn away from the electoral road. Are the Japanese workers beginning to think of a revolutionary answer to the threat of economic catastrophe and nuclear destruction?

"DREAM ISLAND"

"Dream Island" in Tokyo Bay recently became a source of considerable concern to people whose homes face the bay. So dense have the swarms of flies from the island become that even "ordinary human activity" is "severely hampered."

The island began to be used for garbage disposal eight years ago. Approximately 5,500 tons of refuse are dumped on it each day. The mound has grown to 450,000 square meters.

To combat the fly population, insecticides have been used. But the flies became immune, tougher and tougher varieties appearing. The quantity of poison was stepped up. The flies survived "massive" doses. Now they have "suddenly infested" the entire area. In addition, the enormous use of poisons has become a serious health hazard.

"Dream Island" has become a fitting symbol of the capitalist way of life.

U.S. POLICY "EXPERIMENTAL SLAUGHTER" -- BERTRAND RUSSELL

[The following is the text of a statement made by Bertrand Russell for consideration by the World Conference of Peace which opened at Helsinki July 11.]

* * *

The problem which confronts all those interested in peace today is the present policy of the United States. Those who are in power in the United States of America have committed that country to a systematic programme of exploitation and foreign domination. The essence of the problem may be summed up in the following way: The United States of America maintains over 3,600 military bases in the world. This vast international system of military control exists because American capitalism controls sixty per cent of the world's resources, although the United States contains only six per cent of the world's population. The peoples of the world are in revolt against these conditions, which mean for them poverty, disease and unrelieved misery. It is obvious that no nation can retain by force of arms the control and benefit of nearly two-thirds of the world's resources without meeting resistance from the people who suffer as a result. It follows that the majority of the peoples of the world must accept their circumstances or come into open revolt against American domination and exploitation. These are the essential facts which lie behind the appallingly brutal war of aggression which the United States is now waging in Vietnam. Let no one be in doubt: the conditions which have caused this conflict in Vietnam exist throughout Latin America and the greater part of Africa and Asia.

What is one to think of a war in which the most powerful industrial nation on earth uses all the ingenuity and resources at its disposal to annihilate the people of an agricultural country thousands of miles away? Eight million Vietnamese have been placed in virtual concentration camps. In one year alone, fifty thousand air attacks with napalm were conducted by the United States and its puppet Government. Weapons of mass slaughter are being used experimentally on civilian populations in South Vietnam. The United States, furthermore, seeks to overcome the determined resistance to its policy of domination by pursuing a course of armed conflict with China. It is greatly to be feared that the men who have power in the Pentagon, in the centres of Western capitalism and in the inner reaches of the Central Intelligence Agency are, at this moment, preparing to destroy by bombing all of the industrial cities of China. This criminal act, which will bring the world to the verge of all-out nuclear war, must be faced by the peoples of the world and opposed with all the vigour and resolution at our disposal. It has been said in the past that all parties to the Cold War are to blame for the arms race and for the threat of nuclear war. It can no longer be said with any justification. Events of recent years and present policies of the United States make clear beyond doubt that the threat

to world peace is American imperialism. Any honest observer of the world scene, conversant with the facts, must come to that conclusion.

It is the reckless behaviour of the U.S. Government which brings the world to the brink of nuclear war. The probable results are so awful that people will not face them. U.S. policy means that if major war should be averted for the moment, there will be a new crisis soon. American power challenges the aspirations of mankind. Until the U.S. Government -- its military and the C.I.A. -- abandon the doctrine of counterrevolution and cease opposing the struggle for political and economic independence, the world will stagger from one crisis to another. Until people are prepared to oppose and overthrow governments which support chemical and napalm warfare, the U.S. will continue its policies of experimental slaughter.

I call upon people throughout the world to demand an end to the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

TO SAVE THE "HONOR" OF THE U.S.

[Extracts from the following August 2 Associated Press dispatch, sent by correspondent John T. Wheeler from Chan Son, Vietnam, have been widely quoted by the European press as evidence of the kind of war Johnson is waging in Asia to save the "honor" of the United States. The New York Herald Tribune (European edition) printed it under the headline: "Civilians, Too. Kill Them All, Charging Marine Shouts."]

* * *

American Marines and Vietnamese troops launched their first regimental-sized joint operation today and claimed a toll of 25 dead -- including five civilians.

Marine artillery poured nearly 1,000 rounds into the area where helicopters disgorged the Marine infantry, ten miles south of the key U.S. airbase at Da Nang.

A U.S. military spokesman said Vietnamese troops accounted for 15 Viet Cong dead and the Marines killed nine and one fell before helicopter guns. In addition, he said, 80 Viet Cong suspects were rounded up.

Civilian casualties were few. A few Marines, who were fired at by snipers as they swept into Chan Son, showed little inclination to differentiate between civilians and enemy troops.

A Vietnamese speaking over loudspeakers had warned the civilians to leave the village before the assault. But survivors said

later they feared to do so because of the possibility of air or artillery attack.

At the end of the village a woman lay gasping as blood poured from a wound in her side. Around her were clustered terrified children, wailing and alternately staring in fear at the Marines and turning to clutch the dying woman. One child had a wound in the arm.

Fifty yards inside the village a Marine threw a grenade into a bunker used by Vietnamese villagers as an air-raid and artillery shelter. Moments later the shattered bodies of two children, one with half his head blown away, were pulled from the bunker and thrown on the ground.

The Marines burned down houses from which they believed the Viet Cong had fired. A sergeant said they had orders to do so.

A Marine said several persons were burned seriously when one of the houses was touched off while its inhabitants were hiding in a bunker built into its floor.

"Kill them, I don't want anyone moving," a Marine said as he moved through the Viet Cong-dominated village.

Not all the Marines approved of the actions of a few, who, one Marine said, had gone on a rampage. Marines are under orders not to handle civilians roughly.

"It was a stupid thing to do, all for a couple of sniper rounds," said a senior Marine sergeant.

In one part of the village, some ten women and children sat tightly huddled together. One of the Marines grabbed one of the children to force him into a tunnel where it was suspected that Viet Cong might be hiding.

Vietnamese troops for a long time have been using villagers to draw fire from Communists hiding underground.

The Viet Cong like to use civilians as shields, and casualties among these noncombatants remain a sensitive issue for U.S. and Vietnamese forces seeking to win the loyalty of the people. The issue has been raised often in the past.

A veteran U.S. adviser once put the problem this way:

"This is a political war and it calls for discrimination in killing. The best weapon for killing would be a knife, but I'm afraid we can't do it that way. The worst is an airplane. The next worst is artillery. Barring a knife, the best is the rifle -- you know who you're killing."

"JOHNSON'S INFERNO"

The White House publicity staff released a letter July 17, allegedly written by President Johnson, paying tribute to "the immortal memory of Dante Alighieri on the 700th anniversary of his death."

The author noted that The Divine Comedy was Dante's best-known work -- a profound observation that will no doubt please many voters in the United States of Italian ancestry.

Johnson did not rest content with this proof of his cultural level. Dante, it seems, is one of his main sources of inspiration. "For those who are charged with administering their nation's affairs, his provocative political ideas, expressed in his other literary masterpieces, have enduring meaning and significance."

In any comparison between the Italian poet and the Texas politician, the former, of course, is bound to suffer. Dante left as his heritage to the world only an imaginary inferno. Johnson has set out to leave it with a real one.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT WITH "EXTRA GLANDS"

The belief in Johnson's entourage that he may turn out to be a "great president," perhaps "one of the greatest," has led those so inclined to preserve for posterity careful notes about his personality. Much of this is already appearing in print so that the present generation can enjoy the singular opportunity of not only living at the same time as "LBJ" but of sharing with the future the secret impressions of those in best position to know what he is really like.

A good example is the report by Michael Davie written for the London Observer. From the installment in the July 18 issue, the following items will undoubtedly fascinate students of history for generations to come:

"He is one of the most extraordinary human beings ever to become President of the United States....To meet him is to be awed and excited...."

"He dominates the nation. He could dismiss the most celebrated of his subordinates tomorrow -- Secretary McNamara, Secretary Rusk, Special Assistant Bundy -- and scarcely a Congressman would squeak. Every day that he is in office a new layer is revealed of his mysterious and formidable character. No journalistic formula can contain him. Washington gossip is obsessed by him, and as his

troubles over Vietnam develop, so the obsession develops, too. No one even now is sure what kind of animal they are dealing with, but among the anxieties a feeling persists that he may yet be a great President.

"Inside the White House, the atmosphere at first seems more normal than it does outside....

"Before long, however, the peculiarities of the man in the centre begin to ripple outwards.

"There is the uncouthness, along with the dazzling ability, revealed in the minor personal traits. He picks his nose. He is liable, when slumped down in a chair, to reach casually and unashamedly into his groin to ease his pants. His phrasing is of a kind not usually associated with the Presidency of the United States.

"To a reporter who began an interview with a trivial question, he said, 'Why do you come and ask me, the leader of the Western world, a chickenshit question like that?' When the handsome and dignified Italian Secretary of Nato, Signor Manlio Brosio, came on a visit to the Strategic Air Command in Nebraska, the President invited the accompanying reporters in the plane to come and talk with Mr Brosio. As they settled down to question the distinguished guest, the President stood up. 'I'm going to have a piss,' he explained.

"Then there are the stories of how he treats his subordinates. 'He builds up this tremendous energy inside himself,' a member of the White House staff explained, 'and something has to go.' Whoever is nearest, male or female, gets the blast. 'He'll bawl the ass off anyone -- I mean, anyone.'

"Some staff members comfort themselves with the notion that a Presidential lashing proves he trusts them. At least one White House man makes it a rule to keep out of the President's peripheral vision. Another said: 'You know, I believe the President would be just as pleased if all of us were known by numbers.'

"It is typical of Johnson that no one is quite sure whether the rages are uncontrolled or not. Some people claim to have seen him become enraged, then break off to have a calm telephone call, and then resume the bawling-out. They compare him with a man who has to write furious letters for the waste-basket....

"Connected with Johnson's feelings of inferiority in the inbred society of Washington is his unconcealed desire to be loved. He wants everyone to vote for him all the time, and he is abnormally sensitive to criticism....

"His pride is as open as a wound. One of his personal henchmen, Jack Valenti, the other day delivered a speech referring to the

President as 'a cultivated man,' giving examples of his 'extraordinarily sophisticated diplomacy,' and saying that 'the President, thank the good Lord, has extra glands.' Washington writhed in embarrassment, but the President thought the tone was about right."

NO "FREEDOM NOW" WITHOUT A FREE VIETNAM

By Evelyn Sell

The conditions of life and death in capitalist America encourage the civil-rights movement to adopt antiwar slogans and sentiments. A good example of this tendency occurred during the dramatic events in Selma, Alabama, earlier this year. In an article last April, I reported:

"The announcement that 3,500 Marines were being sent to Vietnam blazed across America's newspapers on March 7 -- the very day that Alabama troopers tear-gassed Negroes on the first March to Montgomery. The first wave of Marines landed in Vietnam on March 8 -- the day civil-rights advocates started streaming into Selma and sending delegations to Washington. The irony of Marines 'defending freedom' in Vietnam while American Negroes were being tear-gassed in Selma was not lost on Americans....

"'Send Marines to Alabama Not Vietnam' was the message of one sign in a picket line in Detroit....In the chants and picket signs and statements of these demonstrations...the most explicit statements to date were made linking up the pro-civil rights and anti-Vietnam war sentiments of millions of Americans." [See World Outlook April 2.]

A similar linking up of civil-rights workers and the student antiwar movement was reported in the May issue of The Southern Patriot. A photograph showed a delegation of black freedom fighters who joined in the April 17 demonstration in Washington. A large hand-printed banner proclaimed: "Miss. [Mississippi] Delta -- Our War Isn't In Viet-Nam But In America." The caption under the photo read:

"Peace and civil rights activity merge as delegation from the Mississippi Delta joins Easter march in Washington sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society to call for an end to the war in Vietnam. The growing identification of civil rights and peace groups is symbolized by the woman marching in left foreground of photo at right; she is Miss Marjorie Merrill who came up from Benton, Miss., where she is teaching in a freedom school under a project financed by a York, Pa., peace organization. One marcher from the Delta came 'because I felt the entire nation should do something to stop this war -- we need to solve our problems at home.'"

The "growing identification of civil rights and peace groups" noted by The Southern Patriot has expressed itself in a sporadic fashion; the visible evidences are few and far between and the growth has not been a smooth one. Students, active in both the civil-rights movement and the anti-Vietnam war drive, have expressed disappointment and some bewilderment at the sparse attendance of Negroes at teach-ins and antiwar demonstrations. It is true that there are powerful forces at work in American society cementing an alliance between the civil-rights and antiwar movements but there are also counterpressures against such a linkage. The recent confrontation between civil-rights leaders on the question of the war in Vietnam indicates the opposing forces at work within the civil-rights movement.

During the course of a visit to Boston, Massachusetts, to lead a fight against racial segregation in schools, housing and jobs, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., raised the question of the civil-rights movement's attitude toward war. The April 23, 1965, Detroit News reported:

"At a press conference King encouraged civil rights leaders to speak out against war -- Vietnam in particular.

"In the face of criticism that his powerful movement is being diverted into pacifist and ban-the-bomb crusades, King said bluntly: 'One cannot be just concerned with civil rights...it is very nice to drink milk at an unsegregated lunch counter -- but not when there's strontium 90 in it.'

"On Vietnam he expressed fears about the apparent willingness of world powers 'to continue to escalate.' 'I have no objection to civil rights leaders speaking against war as against segregation,' he added."

Although King had "no objection" to antiwar pronouncements from civil-rights leaders, subsequent events proved that the other nationally recognized civil-rights leaders did have objections. During a July 2 speech to 2,000 Negroes gathered in the Virginia State College stadium, King pressed his stand on the war in Vietnam. The Nobel Peace Prize winner warned that if the Johnson administration doesn't get the hostilities to the bargaining table he might adapt his civil-rights movement (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) to "teach-ins" and "peace rallies."

King declared that the war in Vietnam must be stopped. "It must be a negotiated settlement," he said. "We must even negotiate with the Viet Cong. I'm not going to sit by and see war being escalated without saying anything about it."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], was asked if his organization would follow King's lead. Wilkins answered, "We think

we have enough Vietnam in Alabama. I feel that when you mix Vietnam and civil rights, you confuse the issue."

An even sharper rebuff to King's statements came from James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE]. The circumstances surrounding Farmer's rebuff showed once again the opposing pressures on the civil-rights movement. On July 5 the CORE convention voted to call for the immediate withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic (going even further than King's call for negotiations in Vietnam). In the debate that followed behind closed doors, Farmer led the opposition to the antiwar resolution. Farmer insisted that as an organization CORE should stay out of the peace movement and concentrate its efforts on civil rights. The discussion, which centered around the Vietnam section of the resolution, was the most heated of the five-day convention, according to newspaper reports. The convention reversed its previous decision; CORE took no official stand on the question of war.

King's advocacy of negotiations "even...with the Viet Cong," the original vote of the CORE convention for the antiwar resolution, the scattered antiwar slogans and activities of civil-rights militants -- all of these actions indicate the feelings which exist in the mass of Negroes. They are sick and tired of administration hypocrisy which defends "democracy and freedom" overseas and not at home. They are sympathetic toward the aspirations of the colonial revolution against which United States armed force is directed. They realize that even second-class citizenship is impossible in a world destroyed through nuclear warfare.

On the other hand, the hostile reactions of Wilkins and Farmer, the appeal of the argument that "when you mix Vietnam and Civil rights, you confuse the issue," and the lack of consistent and significant participation in antiwar demonstrations are evidences of the counterpressures on the Negro leadership and large sections of the Negro people. Such pressures include: the crippling effects of the political ties between the leading civil-rights groups and the Johnson administration, the terrible and crushing problems of the day-to-day civil-rights battles, the pervasive suspicion of white-led and dominated movements and organizations (a characteristic of the antiwar movement to date is the overwhelming preponderance of whites).

The living link between the civil-rights movement and the antiwar movement is the large group of students who are active in both. The continuing disillusionment with the Democratic party, the growing concern over the threat of a catastrophic world war, the developing links between American Negro freedom fighters and the freedom struggles in Africa, Asia and Cuba impel the civil-rights movement to engage more vigorously in the antiwar campaign in the United States. The final word on the alliance between the civil-rights and antiwar movements has not been stated yet. The question will continue to agitate the "freedom now" ranks and leadership.

BELGIUM'S NEW GOVERNMENT -- A FURTHER SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

By Henri Valin

Brussels

After a crisis that lasted more than two months, a new government was finally formed July 28. It is a coalition between the Christian Social party and the reformist Socialist party like the previous government which suffered a crushing defeat in the general elections May 23. The coalition still commands a broad majority in parliament (the two biggest parties in Belgium are involved), but in the House of Representatives, the coalition is one seat short of a two-thirds majority.

This technicality is important inasmuch as the parliament elected May 23 is a Constituent Assembly charged with the task of revising Belgium's 135-year-old constitution and introducing some voting safeguards in favor of the Walloons (who speak French). This is the first parliament in which the Flemings (who speak Flemish, a Germanic language) hold an absolute majority of seats. To revise the constitution, however, a two-thirds majority is required. Consequently, the coalition's aim cannot be achieved unless someone in the opposition is won over to the government's side.

Needless to say, the coalition parties are not looking to the left for this additional vote but to the right. They tried wooing the right-wing conservative opposition party (the old Liberal party which was recently rebaptised as the "Party of Freedom and Progress.") The maneuver failed, but the coalition is still fishing in the same place for the extra vote. All this has signified a further shift to the right as compared with the last Catholic-Socialist government headed by Théo Lefèvre which was a typical example of a "center-left" formation in the Italian style.

The shift to the right is apparent not only in the general political atmosphere of parliament; it is also apparent in the composition of the cabinet and the official declaration read by Prime Minister Pierre Harmel before the House on July 29. Several direct representatives of big business and the worst reaction, absent in the previous government, have been brought into the new coalition in the most conspicuous manner. The conservative Catholic leader Gaston Eyskens, who was prime minister from 1958 to 1961 and against whose hated government the workers launched the general strike of December 1960-January 1961, is vice-chairman of the present coalition! The new minister of justice, Pierre Wigny, after twenty-four hours in office, sent a circular letter to the police department drawing attention to the fact that it is illegal for foreigners to stage political demonstrations in Belgium and calling on them to enforce this law strictly. (Belgium has seen a series of demonstrations organized by Spanish and Greek workers to express solidarity with political struggles undertaken by the toil-

ing masses in their respective countries.)

To agree to a new coalition government further to the right than the last one was a bitter pill for the Socialist party leaders after the stunning defeat they suffered at the polls (the vote for the Socialists dropped 25%). After much hesitation and haggling, they finally decided at a congress held July 24-25 to participate in the new coalition. The majority in favor of swallowing the poisonous pill was the smallest since the end of World War II, a bare 63%. Significantly, 60% of the mandates held by the Walloon federations, generally more to the left than the Flemish, were cast against the coalition. This included the Liège and Charleroi federations. Due to this, the large working-class federations of the Socialist party in Wallonie are not represented in the cabinet, and the Liège minister Fernand Dehousse was publicly reprimanded by his federation for joining the government.

In the opinion of the Paris daily Le Monde, the Social Democratic leaders, by joining the new coalition government, created favorable conditions for a "guerrilla war" against them by both the dissident left socialists and the Walloon nationalists. It was to counter this possibility that the leaders of the large Walloon federations voted against the coalition.

But they put up only a hesitant fight at the congress without any firm basis in principles and without offering an alternative policy. The same can be said of the attempt of a few centrist members of parliament in the Socialist party, headed by Ernest Glinne, to launch a "new left" inside the party. (The militant left wing was arbitrarily expelled in a witch-hunt campaign last December.) In a manifesto, these centrists openly accepted the reformist position that socialism can be won in a capitalist society through gradual reforms, a position they would have repudiated in the days when they collaborated with the weekly La Gauche before they capitulated to the Socialist party bureaucrats last January.

In fact, as is made clear in the official declaration of the Harmel cabinet, the whole orientation of the reformists is based on the hope of continuation of the "boom" and full employment through international capitalist "prosperity."

The turn of the economic situation in Italy, France, Japan and now probably in Britain, too, shows that this faith lacks any firmer basis in reality than miracles of other kinds.

ECONOMIC SQUEEZE ON YUGOSLAV WORKERS

After six weeks of discussion in the National Assembly, the Yugoslav government on July 21 finally published the decrees directing a turn in economic policy that was decided on some months ago. A number of things are involved, beginning with devaluation of the

dinar from 750 to 1,250 dinars to \$1 U.S. Price increases on all commodities and services range from 25% to 300%, with the biggest jumps in the prices of raw materials and services like gas, electricity and rent. Import of goods is to be widened on a big scale (consumer goods, including shipments from capitalist countries, are to be imported to cut prices for similar goods on the domestic market). Subsidies for plants are to be sharply lowered (including those producing for export). Centrally guided investments are to be considerably reduced (plants will now dispose of 71% instead of 50% of their net income). Great pressure is to be brought on plants in favor of "profitability." During a transition period, plants showing a loss will be granted subsidies (however, with a sharp reduction in the average income of workers employed in these plants). After the transition, they will be forced to close down if they can't make ends meet. This means a rise in unemployment.

Wages and salaries will be adjusted after the price increases, but the figure most generally quoted is a 25% boost. Talk is open about lowering the standard of living, since the main goal of the new economic policy is to heighten "austerity." Investments (only profitable ones!) are to be increased at the expense of consumption.

The social consequences of the policy will certainly be to put a heavier load on the least privileged layers of the population, the least skilled industrial workers and the working population of the more backward regions. Inequalities between the workers and the bureaucracy and between workers of the more advanced and the more backward regions will tend to increase. To return to a more and more "liberal market economy" makes this inevitable whether the enterprises in competition on such a market are owned by private individuals (as is the case under capitalism), or whether they are under collective ownership but managed by bureaucrats and workers to the exclusive interest of the plant's personnel (without taking into consideration the over-all interests of society; i.e., of the toiling masses of the entire country).

The drastic economic measures which the Tito regime feels forced to take in order to combat run-away inflation, which has been spreading for some time, indicate that workers self-management at the plant level, while certainly a step in the right direction, does not in and of itself constitute an ideal "model" for managing the economy of a workers state in transition from capitalism to socialism.

Only the combination of workers self-management at the plant level, with central planning under a regime of workers political democracy on the national level, can make it possible to gradually break the stranglehold of the bureaucracy over the economy, while at the same time avoiding the twin evils of overcentralization and over-decentralization (excessive use of market mechanisms and excessive leeway for particularist, regional and corporatist tendencies at plant and local levels) to which the Yugoslav economy has been submitted successively, the first before 1948 and the latter after 1953.

DISSIDENT POLISH YOUTHS GIVEN HEAVY SENTENCES

[On May 26, the Paris daily Le Monde reported the arrests of some youths in Poland on political charges. Among the accusations was the charge that they had advanced a program based in part on "the criticisms levelled by Trotsky against the Stalinist system." This was reported in the May 28 World Outlook. Since then, we have received inquiries about further developments. Inasmuch as we have no inside channels of information in this instance, we are compelled to rely on such items in the world press as are called to our attention. The July 30 New York Times (international edition) ran a report on the case by its special correspondent David Halberstam, datelined Warsaw, July 29. The following is the full text.]

* * *

The arrest and sentencing of a prominent young instructor at Warsaw University has underlined one of the dilemmas the Communist party of Poland faces with contemporary youth.

The instructor, Karol Modzelewski, and a graduate student were sentenced to three and one-half and three years, respectively, for disseminating papers that the state judged false and prejudicial. Mr. Modzelewski is the son of the late Zygmunt Modzelewski, Foreign Minister from 1947 to 1951.

Young Mr. Modzelewski, an assistant in philosophy at the university, was a party member.

His case is significant because it comes at a time when the party is concerned by the lack of political enthusiasm among young people. But the case also illustrates the party's sensitivity to anything that challenges the present doctrines -- indeed, sensitivity to the kind of discussion and debate that tends to excite and lure young people into politics.

Mr. Modzelewski was reportedly the leader of a small group of party members, primarily instructors and graduate students, at the university. Several others involved in the case have been arrested and may be tried later.

Sources said that Mr. Modzelewski was an eager young party member. He was in Italy in 1963 and apparently became interested in some of the ideas being debated within the Italian Communist party and the way in which they were debated.

This kind of debate, he decided, was what was needed among the youth in the Communist party in Poland.

Upon his return, he and several party colleagues began to talk and write on a broad range of political, social and economic

questions facing Poland. Implicit in their talks was the belief that there should be more debate within the party.

Reportedly, there was no main theme to these views -- they ranged from revisionism in some areas to calls for more collectivization in agriculture.

These views were circulated entirely within the party student group. Nonetheless, Mr. Modzelewski and his group were disciplined by the party last fall. They lost their party membership and they were at least threatened with suspension from their university positions.

Mr. Modzelewski and his friends, however, continued to discuss and formulate their ideas in the late winter, this time outside the framework of the party.

This spring, Mr. Modzelewski and several others were arrested, and last week the Government announced that he had been sentenced to three and one-half years, and a colleague, Jacek Huron, to three. The sentences were considered stiff.

Implicit in the case was a warning to university students and graduate instructors to watch their dissent. But a part of it, too, according to sources, was a warning to sons and daughters of high officials that the Government did not intend to confer political privilege by birth any more than it intended to confer economic privilege by birth.

SWISS GROUP BREAKS WITH PEKING

The Swiss Communist party, which split from the pro-Moscow Labor party and declared itself strongly in favor of Maoism, recently took a new step of considerable interest. It has declared its independence from Peking and has called on "all the revolutionary Marxists" to organize a new "revolutionary International" to bring together all the parties and groups desirous of struggling against imperialism.

As reported by Agence France Press in a July 20 dispatch from Geneva, the appeal was strongly directed against the "superiority complexes of Moscow as well as Peking" and rejected the idea of a "pro-Chinese" International.

"In fact," the central secretariat of the party declared, "it is not right for Moscow or Peking to show superiority complexes and under different guises, more or less interested or egocentric, to seize the position of dominators of the Communist world. The two brother enemies are too anxious to maintain and to deepen their dif-

ferences to have the right to dominate anyone and to give advice and orders which they do not follow themselves."

With regard to Moscow, the declaration said, "We think that a revolution cannot be made along the peaceful road and that peaceful coexistence is a betrayal and a demobilization of the peoples, a slackening of vigilance, as well as a very grave error."

As for Peking, the call said that "imperialism is not a paper tiger and to spread this belief is a very grave error."

Without directly mentioning the Chinese Communist party leaders, the document criticized those who issue warnings to aggressors, and held that it would be better "to demonstrate what they are capable of doing."

Concerning Vietnam, the Swiss Communists said: "Hanoi has not hastened to ask for volunteers, Chinese or otherwise. The reasons are known and they are correct. Would Vietnam excite such greed if it were only an unproductive desert?"

The Paris daily Le Monde (July 21) devoted a half column to the declaration of the Swiss Communist party, noting that this was the first time that a European Communist party had "so violently attacked both Moscow and Peking" and that it was notable that it proposed "the creation of a new International on a still harder basis than that advocated by Peking."

Eliane Perrin, a sociology student in Geneva, wrote to the editor of Le Monde expressing astonishment that a newspaper "as serious as Le Monde would grant so much space" to the Swiss Communist party which has "at the maximum thirty members and has no weight either in domestic Swiss politics or in international politics."

To this the Swiss Communist party replied in a letter (quoted in Le Monde July 30) that as of July 15, 1965, it had issued 311 membership cards, with a still higher number of sympathizers cards. "After all, we have never pretended to be numbered in the thousands. It is true that when our party was defending only the theses of the Chinese comrades, recruitment was difficult. Now that we have opted for a Communist road adapted to Swiss realities and possibilities, it is much less difficult for us to find new adherents."

This "Communist road," according to Le Monde, was defined further on in the letter as a "clear and independent line," the signers not desiring "to be either slaves or robots of anyone." The letter also said that in the first part of August a conference was scheduled to be held "somewhere in Europe" at which a new "revolutionary International" would be launched.

ARAB MAGAZINE DENOUNCES ALGERIAN COUP D'ETAT

The editorial board of the Arab Revolution has issued an English translation of its stand on the coup d'état in Algeria June 19. The magazine condemns the seizure of power and offers its "unconditional support to the popular resistance against the military dictatorship."

It also recalls "the criticism from the Left to Ben Bella and his revolutionary brothers for not taking a bold and ruthless stand against reaction and its henchmen in the government and the army." History has shown that there is no middle road. There is either "a permanent revolution or a counterrevolution."

The statement lists seven demands which the editors feel should be pressed by the Algerian masses:

"(1) The immediate release of President Ben Bella and all his brothers who were arrested by the military dictatorship.

"(2) Calling for an emergency Congress of the F.L.N. party, in which all tendencies must be represented and given full hearing, to investigate and severely punish the instigators of the coup.

"(3) The Congress must declare its firm upholding of the 'Algiers Charter' which should be developed to suit the newly arisen situation.

"(4) The return of the legal democratic institutions, the central committee and political bureau of the party, and the National Assembly.

"(5) Freedom for press and all mass organisations which were suppressed by the military regime.

"(6) Purging of the civil service of all bureaucratic and right wing elements.

"(7) Merging the organisations of the 'political Commissariats' of the army with the party at all levels."

BOOK BY TROTSKY APPEARS IN ARABIC

Two works by Leon Trotsky, The Permanent Revolution and Balance and Perspectives, have been translated into Arabic for the first time and issued in a single volume.* The translator, Bachaar

*L. Trotsky: The Permanent Revolution -- Balance and Perspectives, translated by Bachaar Abou Sabraa. "Politics and Society" collection. Daretalia, Beyrut, Lebanon.

Abou Sabraa, has included a short biography of Trotsky as well as an introduction by Isaac Deutscher under the title, "The Age of Permanent Revolution."

The translation is a good one, which says much for the translator's understanding of Trotsky's fundamental ideas, Arabic being notoriously weak in Marxist terminology. It is to be hoped that Sabraa will continue his efforts in this field so that other works by Trotsky as well as by Marx, Engels and Lenin will finally see the light of day in Arabic.

The book should find a waiting audience, for Trotsky's concept of the permanent revolution, a concept first enunciated by Marx midway in the last century, is of burning actuality in the Arabic world of today where the revolutionary process that will eventually end in socialism, as foreseen by Trotsky, has already begun in many countries.

TORONTO PICKETS DEMONSTRATE AT U.S. CONSULATE

The third federal convention of the New Democratic party, meeting in Toronto in mid July, passed resolutions condemning by an overwhelming vote the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. On July 14, the same day that the resolutions were passed, some 150 delegates out of the 800 present marched from the hall through the streets to the U.S. consulate.

They carried placards bearing such slogans as "Speak Out Against Napalm and Torture"; "Canada Must Cease Support of American War"; "T.C. Douglas [the party's leader] Calls for Right of Vietnam to Determine Its Own Future." A number of placards bore the slogan, "Withdraw U.S. Troops from Vietnam."

The press noted that the marchers were mostly youth and that they were not accompanied by the party leaders.

At the U.S. consulate, H.W. Herridge, an apple grower who represents the British Columbia riding of Kootenay West, mounted the steps to state the reason for the demonstration. "We represent the wishes of mankind in being here this afternoon," he said.

Midway in his remarks a consular official poked his head out the door and complained to the police who were present that speeches were not permitted on the consulate property.

David Middleton, a former NDP candidate from York West and a member of a tendency in the NDP called the "Socialist Caucus," shouted back to the U.S. official: "This is Canada, you yardbird."

The elderly Herridge said, according to the press: "This is the first time I have learned that the public entrance to a U.S. consulate is not public." He went ahead and finished his remarks.

Middleton then asked if anyone had a resolution to offer, and someone in the crowd yelled: "I move we nationalize the American consulate."

The pickets then marched in a circle, carrying their signs and chanting slogans like "Hands Off Viet Nam."

Middleton shouted towards the consulate: "Put your hands in your own pockets, you robbers."

During the convention deliberations, the Socialist Caucus fought to have the New Democratic party come out for nationalization of all Canadian industry. They demanded that the NDP stand firmly on its working-class base and stop expelling members who hold minority views.

T.C. Douglas called the Socialist Caucus "a bunch of screwballs" whose proposals were not worth answering. He said he doubted that there were more than thirty delegates in the group.

John Steele, a 24-year-old truck driver who is chairman of the Socialist Caucus, conceded that only a small proportion of the delegates belonged to the group but said that it has strong support among the rank and file. A committee room was opened by the group in a nearby hotel where NDP delegates could come to discuss party questions.

Despite the depreciation of the group voiced by Douglas, they offered the only effective socialist opposition to the views of the reformist leadership.

INSECTICIDES CONTAMINATING THE ATMOSPHERE

Scientists at the National Vegetable Research Station in England have discovered traces of insecticides, including DDT and dieldrin in rainwater, reports the August 1 London Observer. This points to contamination of the atmosphere, probably through evaporation of the poisons during spraying or from deposits now covering vast areas of soil surfaces.

The discovery may account for the presence of DDT recently noted in the fat and liver of Antarctic seals and penguins. "Air currents could carry insecticide vapours over the globe quite quickly." The worst danger is the concentration of insecticides at the end of a food chain. Several species of birds are nearing extinction due to this. Now it would appear that the food chains in the oceans are similarly vulnerable.

CALL ISSUED FOR POPULAR RESISTANCE IN ALGERIA

[A two-page mimeographed circular, calling for the organization of popular resistance against the Boumedienne regime, is being circulated in Algeria. Issued by the "Organisation de la Résistance Populaire" (People's Resistance Organization), it bears the signature of Hocine Zahouane, a left-wing member of the Political Bureau of the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) and chairman of its Central Commission of Orientation until Ben Bella was overthrown on June 19.

[In a dispatch from Algiers reporting distribution of the document, Le Monde's special correspondent said (August 4 issue) that "circles close to the government" claim that Zahouane is followed "by only a few 'stray' elements." Also that he did not go into opposition until after "trying, in vain, several times, to be taken into the Council of the Revolution" set up by Colonel Boumedienne.

["After having disappeared for two days following the coup d'état," continues the same source, "Mr. Zahouane was again seen in Algiers up to the beginning of last week. It is even affirmed by trustworthy sources that between June 25 and June 30 -- at his request -- Colonel Boumedienne met with him twice. It is not known where he is at present."

[It is not without interest that L'Humanité, the central organ of the French Communist party, published the full text of the proclamation (August 3), calling special attention to it with a front-page headline. The content of Zahouane's proclamation stands in rather startling contrast to the policies of the French Communist party, one of the most conservative and rigidly bureaucratized in the world. It is scarcely likely that the French CP bureaucrats have suddenly become converted to revolutionary socialism even in relation to Algeria. Whether they are under pressure from former members of the Algerian Communist party, which was dissolved, is a matter for speculation. However, publication of the proclamation does offer the leaders of the French CP a means of appearing considerably more radical than their critics in Peking who precipitately recognized the Boumedienne regime out of hope of gaining passing factional advantage in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

[We offer below a translation of the text published by L'Humanité.]

* * *

Algerian People, Working Men and Women!

Since June 19 you have continued to demonstrate your disapproval of the military coup d'état which overthrew the revolution-

ary regime established after the country won its independence. By both the indignation and anger which you voiced in the streets and the mournful silence of our cities and countryside on the anniversary of our independence, you have continued to reject the fait accompli, the "explanations" and "justifications" of the men of June 19.

You have good reason to be disturbed and alarmed; you have good reason to believe that the gains of the revolution are threatened; and you can only be vigilant in face of the regroupment of the reactionary and counterrevolutionary forces. Your revolutionary instinct has led you to feel that through the man who incarnated your hopes it is the Algerian people who have been stabbed, it is the revolution that has been betrayed, it is socialism that has been disowned.

It is of course true that the overturned revolutionary regime was incarnated, personified by Ben Bella; but it was far from consisting of a single individual alleged to have set up a so-called tyranny. In reality, if Ben Bella sinned, he did so most often on the side of gentleness, a naive spirit of conciliation, and not on the side of the force required to deal with stubborn enemies of the Revolution, who were more numerous, in the final analysis, than those touched by him.

This regime, despite its weaknesses and tactical errors, which we must also analyze so that they can be taken into account in the future, after all expressed the deepest revolutionary aspirations of the working masses and opened the way to the continuous transformation of the national revolution for independence into a socialist revolution -- self-management, the nationalizations, the March decrees, the Algiers Charter, are very concrete revolutionary conquests that mark and clearly point the road.

This regime in addition, thanks to a courageous anti-imperialist policy of constant support to the revolutionary national liberation movements and of friendship with the socialist countries, brought unparalleled prestige to Algeria abroad.

It is true that this regime was fragile and that the absence of genuinely socialist, revolutionary democratic structures in the party, in the trade unions, in the administration, created a vacuum that a single man could not fill indefinitely. It is even true that many militants, to whom this was a constant preoccupation, were often confused by Ben Bella's administrative methods, his combinations. But even those who were the hottest about the great difficulties standing in the way of the socialist revolution, are ill-advised to reproach Ben Bella in this respect today. The revolutionary forces which were often the main victims of these methods never, so far as they were concerned, violated the legal frame of the revolution and always employed fraternal and frank criticism within the regular bodies of the party. Despite everything, Ben Bella remained a man

who was not the tool of any foreign or domestic counterrevolutionary force; a man, on the contrary, who was always sensitive to the aspirations of the revolutionary forces.

Who are the conspirators of June 19? Among them are inflexible enemies of socialism.

Who has done more than Mahsas to drain away the content of self-management in agriculture?

Who has done more than Boumaza to strangle the socialist industrial sector?

Who has done more than Bouteflika to transform the ministry of foreign affairs into an office of neocolonialism?

Who has siphoned off more for his personal needs from the budget of the ministry of tourism than Kaïd Ahmed?

Who has done more in high education than Chérif Belkacem to foster the antinational and capitalist spirit inherited from the colonial period?

Who has done more than the Chabous (Moulay Abdelkader), the Hoffmanns, ex-officers of the French army of occupation, to humiliate and declass all the glorious revolutionary officers of the ALN [Armée de Libération Nationale] and to transform certain units of the army of the people into putschist detachments?

Who within the conspiracy represents the interests of the foreign oil companies more than Belaïd Abdeslam?

Who, more than these men, with Boumedienne in the lead, have stubbornly resisted democratizing the party, cleansing out the administration, creating a genuinely popular militia and carrying out all the revolutionary measures advocated by the Algiers Charter?

At the side of these sworn enemies of the socialist revolution, the other members of the self-styled Council of the Revolution are vehicles, consciously or otherwise, of pressures and influences profoundly hostile to socialism.

That is why the domestic bourgeois and reactionary forces supported the putsch.

What is why Franco, Salazar and Saigon saluted the coup d'état condemned by Gamal Abdel Nasser, Fidel Castro, Sékou Touré, N'Krumah and all the progressive forces of the world.

Algerian people, working men and women!

For three years very important conquests were gained despite

the obstacles, despite the permanent opposition of the forces of reaction and imperialism.

But consolidation of the democratic regime of the people still remained distant.

Self-management had to be solidly based, the big landholders expropriated for the benefit of the poor peasants, all the agents of reaction and imperialism cleaned out of the state.

A vanguard party had to be created to promote the democratic planning of the economy.

All this was necessary and possible.

All this was urgent because the structure was still young and fragile.

The military coup d'état of June 19 dealt a setback to the preparations for rectifications projected under the pressure of the masses in motion.

ALGERIAN PEOPLE!

It would be illusory and dangerous to count on democratic political practices from a military regime founded on the sword and the blood of sons of the people.

This regime has already strangled the Republic. It has opened the way to new adventures. It has housebroken and corrupted the party. It seeks to subjugate the UGTA [Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens] and the other mass organizations. It has tarnished the international revolutionary prestige of the country.

Cut off from the working people, fundamentally distrustful of them, it can rule only through lies, social demagogy and repression.

ALGERIAN PEOPLE, working men and women!

Only organized resistance can now save the acquisitions of the revolution.

We call on you for this resistance.

We call on the genuine socialist militants to create underground cells of the FLN on the basis of the Algiers Charter.

Workers, poor peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, constitute everywhere in the villages and the countryside, in every plant and in every farm, in the offices, in the buildings, underground cells as guides and inspirers of the ORGANISATION DE LA RESISTANCE POPULAIRE (ORP).

Workers, patriots, Algerians in emigration, women, youth, small artisans and merchants, officers, subofficers and revolutionary veterans, fonctionnaires devoted to the Republic, create Committees of the ORP everywhere to prepare and to undertake a struggle in all forms against the stranglers of the Republic, to safeguard the threatened national independence and to ensure the triumph of the Socialist Revolution.

Hard and long though the struggle for these objectives may be, the united revolutionary and socialist forces, assured of the active solidarity of all the progressive forces of the world, will not disarm, will not cease to conduct the most stubborn struggle to win.

And they will win.

For the leadership of the ORP

Hocine Zahouane

Algeria, July 28, 1965