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PENTAGON CONSIDERING 500,000 MORE TROOPS FOR VIETNAM

Returning to the United States after twenty-six months on duty in Vietnam, Maj. Gen. Ben Sternberg, commander of the 101st Airborne Division, speaking in Nashville June 9 before the Middle Tennessee Federal Executive Council, said that "500,000 more troops would be required" to seal off the borders of south Vietnam to "infiltrators." The general was quoted as saying that a defeat for the U.S. was possible, but he later denied that he had meant this.

He was also reported to have said that Premier Nguyen Cao Ky would eventually "have to go." He issued a statement saying that this quotation, too, presented an "erroneous picture" of his views.

However, he did not alter his statement about the need for 500,000 more troops if the U.S. is to win the war Johnson decided to escalate in Vietnam. Given a sufficient number of troops, defeat for the U.S. is not probable "or even conceivable."

In Washington it was revealed June 7 that the administration is continuing to send troops at a heavy rate. By the end of the year about 100,000 more U.S. troops are "now scheduled" to arrive in Vietnam, according to the New York Times. This will bring the total to about 400,000.

Defense Secretary McNamara announced casually June 11 that 18,000 more American troops had been earmarked to go to Vietnam in the next forty-five days, bringing the total to 285,000 by the end of July.

It would seem that the estimate offered by certain Pentagon spokesmen last year concerning the eventual number of U.S. troops to be sent to Vietnam was quite accurate. The projection was 500,000 to 1,000,000.

These figures were received with considerable incredulity at the time. The doubters pointed to the fact that this would signify a major land war in Asia, and that American policy up to then had been to avoid such an adventure.

Johnson, however, continued to escalate the war. Not having met with the kind of rebuff that might have been expected from Moscow or Peking, he seemed convinced that he could get away with his attempt to drown the Vietnamese Revolution in blood and to crush a workers state while its allies responded to the attack with nothing but weak gestures and a minimum of material aid.

One element that Johnson seems to have left out of his cold-blooded calculations, however, is the antiwar feelings of the American people. Their anger is mounting as they see more and more clearly that Johnson's involvement of the U.S. in Vietnam is nothing but a slimy war of colonial conquest that can escalate into a nuclear catastrophe.

CONGRESSMEN AFRAID TO FACE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Ordinarily at this time in an election year, U.S. congressmen do everything possible to get out of Washington and back home. First of all, in the summer months, Washington is like a frying pan. Secondly, there is always urgent political fence-mending to be done before the voters go to the polls. Consequently they try to adjourn Congress and take off.

This year it's different. The original plans to adjourn by July have been scrapped. They may even stay in Washington until October. The reason, explains William McGaffin in his June 6 column, "is because the members would rather be in Washington than back home answering questions about the war in Viet Nam."

"Because this is a confusing, unpopular war," continues McGaffin, "these sources regard it as a threat to every incumbent in Congress who is up for election regardless of party affiliation."

It might seem that the Republicans would stand to gain, since Johnson, who escalated the war in Vietnam, is head of the Democratic party. But the Republicans have been backing Johnson's escalation of the war. After all it was Goldwater's platform.

McGaffin quotes a "prominent Republican" as summing up the situation as follows:

"When I go home to campaign, I find that the folks don't want to talk about anything else except the war in Viet Nam. As for me, I would like to talk about anything except that."

"It's an awkward situation even for us Republicans. Under the circumstances, we would rather have an excuse to keep us in Washington as long as possible so that we won't have to spend so much time at home fielding questions about Viet Nam."

Uncomfortable as Washington is, they prefer the heat there to jumping in the fire on the home front.

KY'S DANANG VICTORY A COSTLY ONE

To believe the publicity coming out of Saigon, Ky's moves to establish military control over the dissident cities of Danang and Hué have been a huge success. His troops now occupy Danang and appear to be in process of taking over Hué. The sigh of relief emanating from Ky's American "advisers" is audible clear across the Pacific.

News is filtering out, however, that all may not be as well as Johnson would have the American people believe. The South Viet-

namese troops who were actively fighting the freedom fighters of the National Liberation Front before Ky attacked Danang seem to have lowered their guns and to be taking it easy.

In fact, the offensive on this front has been "halted since May 15," the day Ky took over Danang, according to a June 4 dispatch sent from Hué by New York Times correspondent R.W.Apple, Jr. "The First Vietnamese Division stopped fighting, and it has not yet started again."

On top of this, "Allied combat intelligence, the vital data on which operational planning is based, has all but disappeared." A key intelligence officer was dismissed, and with his departure, "his intelligence network dried up."

Col. Joffre H. Boston, the senior American "adviser" to the division said in an interview that the political struggle between Ky and the dissidents in Danang and Hué has been "tremendously costly to us."

Apple ended his dispatch with the following illuminating paragraphs on the situation:

"For several months the Marines have been operating northwest of Hué in the area around two hamlets, Cobi and Thanhtan, attempting to drive out the Vietcong so the First Division could set up a new operating base between the hamlets. The final step in the clearing process was completed Thursday.

"'It was all a waste,' a Marine officer said. 'With the political mess the way it is, we doubt that the Arvin (the South Vietnamese Army) will ever move in there.'"

#### DEMOCRATS SEEK TO CAPTURE U.S. ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

"A widespread malaise over the fighting in Vietnam and fear of further escalation is resulting in a groundswell of antiwar activities in several parts of the nation, most recently in the Midwest."

That sentence is not a quotation from a "Trotskyist" resolution on the political situation in the United States, although it sounds like one. It is the main conclusion of a study undertaken by the New York Times and reported in its issue of June 10. The study was carried out by its reporters on a coast-to-coast scale.

"Students and other young people, often found to be highly motivated and articulate, are the backbone of the antiwar movement," reports the Times.

"Sitting in on their bull sessions," writes Paul Hofmann,

reporting on the study, "the outsider was struck by the vehemence with which most of the antiwar and antidraft students were committed to fighting the Establishment.

"The Establishment is all that's wrong and rotten in America," an earnest girl from an affluent Long Island home asserted on a Midwestern campus in citing 'President Johnson's consensus through fear, the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, foreign investment, the big business corporations, the two-party system that is really just one party, racial injustice, poverty amid prosperity.'

"In this sense," she went on, 'the Vietnam war has been with us for decades.'

It is the development of this mood on a wide scale that concerns the New York Times and the sector of the ruling class for which it speaks, for it poses a first-rate political problem -- how can this mounting opposition be blocked from breaking out of the two-party system?

The tentative outlines of a solution have already been projected, to read between the lines of Hofmann's report.

A "National Conference for New Politics" has been set up. It is nominally headed by Julian Bond, the 26-year-old Negro candidate who was barred from taking his seat in the Georgia legislature because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam, and Simon Casady, 56, a former president of the California Democratic Council, who was ousted from his post for speaking out against the war.

If the new organization represented a break with the two-party system, it would be a most welcome development. But it appears designed instead to halt the tendency of the antiwar groups to break down the fences.

"One of the promoters, who did not want to be identified," Hofmann declares, "said yesterday he had reason to believe that Senator Robert F. Kennedy 'welcomes the formation' of the conference.

"Another promoter, Arthur I. Waskow, a senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, remarked yesterday that he had 'a suspicion' that Senator Kennedy would react favorably to the new group."

The immediate aims of the new organization also reveal its political purpose. "Jerome Grossman, a Boston executive who is chairman of the comparatively moderate Massachusetts Political Action for Peace (Mass Pax) and also a promoter of the new conference, affirmed by telephone it 'could enter the mainstream' of American politics sharing the outlook of Senators Kennedy and J.W. Fulbright of Arkansas on many issues."

Grossman said that "the conference would function as a ser-

vice organization, providing research, personnel and funds for candidates it endorsed." These, of course, would be mostly Democrats claiming to be "peace" candidates.

"An immediate goal is the raising of \$500,000 to support some 50 candidates throughout the nation, it was understood."

Evidently there is big money available for the new organization to help it in its political objective of molding the antiwar movement into nothing but a left buttress for the Democratic party.

If Robert Kennedy is really interested in the new organization, as seems quite likely, he is following well-established precedents in American politics. The outstanding example is Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, which succeeded in sucking in the labor bureaucracy and both the Social Democratic and Communist party leaderships.

"The antiwar movement is torn by internal debate over strategy, the role of civil-rights issues in its propaganda, and political involvement with Reform Democratic or third-party efforts," Hofmann notes. This is an accurate observation. The formation of the new "Conference" with the hand of such figures as Robert Kennedy clearly visible, will inevitably sharpen the internal debate.

The "lesser evil" argument will be sounded in all keys, it can safely be predicted. The left wing of the antiwar movement will have its work cut out on the political field for the coming period; namely, to show how ruinous this policy has proved to be and to indicate a realistic alternative.

Powerful ammunition for their case is provided by the latest major "lesser evil" candidate to win office on a platform of "peace"; namely, President Johnson.

#### MEREDITH SHOOTING GIVES NEW URGENCY TO SELF-DEFENSE

The most significant reaction to the wounding of James H. Meredith may have been that of the victim himself: "I'm sorry I didn't have something to take care of that man. I'll never make that mistake again."

Meredith told this to reporters from his hospital room in Memphis the day after three shotgun shells were pumped into his back from ambush during the second day of his march along the highway toward Jackson the capital of Mississippi. If Meredith's conclusion reflected sentiments among the Negro community as a whole, a historic turning point may have been reached in the civil-rights movement in the United States.

Meredith set out on his march June 5. His purpose was to make a personal test, and beyond that -- if he survived the trip --

to inspire Mississippi Negroes to register to vote and to help them, including himself, to conquer the fear they feel while living and traveling in Mississippi.

"Nothing can be more enslaving than fear," he said. "We've got to root this out."

Had the gunman, one Aubrey James Norvell, a 40-year-old unemployed hardware salesman, stood somewhat closer to his victim, the three shotgun blasts would have killed Meredith. As it was he received sixty to seventy pellets which had to be removed by surgery and which will leave permanent scars.

The evidence shows that the shooting was planned in advance. Police who accompanied Meredith stood by and watched Norvell raise his gun and fire. According to witnesses, the police made no effort to block Norvell. However, they easily apprehended him as he walked away, mission accomplished, smoking his pipe.

The June 8 New York Times reported the following exchange in Meredith's room:

"Mr. Meredith said he never again would 'knowingly expose' himself in Mississippi without protection.

"A civil-rights worker among his guests remarked with a chuckle: 'That's not in keeping with the nonviolent philosophy, Mr. Meredith.'

"The normally soft-spoken Mr. Meredith replied:

"'Who the hell ever said I was nonviolent? I spent eight years in the military and the rest of my life in Mississippi.'"

Similar reactions were reported from others prominently identified with the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties.

In Fayette, Mississippi, Charles Evers, a state field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and brother of Medgar Evers who was killed by a sniper in 1963, said that he was starting a drive to get thousands of Negroes and whites to the spot where Meredith was shot in order to continue the march from there.

"I want to let the whites know when they shoot down one Negro, that doesn't stop the rest of us.

"There are many Negroes who now feel the only time we are going to get response and action is when we start shooting whites, and many of them are ready to do it now."

In a telegram to the Meredith family, Stokely Carmichael, president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said: "We note that Meredith was returning from a government sponsored

civil-rights conference called 'To Fulfill These Rights' and we find proved once again that words will not stop bullets nor will they end law enforcement committed to racism."

At an overflow rally in Memphis June 7, Stokely Carmichael urged Negroes to take power in the areas where they outnumber whites. "I'm not going to beg the white man for anything I deserve," he said; "I'm going to take it."

In Harlem, where word of the shooting spread quickly, a crowd of angry people gathered in front of the Hotel Theresa in the heart of the ghetto. Several speakers called for calm. They were continuously interrupted by a man who shouted, "Let's get some guns and go down and retaliate."

The Johnson administration and its supporters mobilized as rapidly as possible to stem this trend of thinking. The tone was set by Attorney General Nicholas B. Katzenbach. He was reported to be looking through the law books to see if some federal offense was not involved in the crime.

Asked if he thought the shooting of Meredith indicated a worsening of race relations in the South, Katzenbach replied soothingly: "I think this was an isolated incident. It could have occurred anywhere." He meant, of course, anywhere in the United States, or areas of the world controlled by the U.S.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, sought to channelize indignation over the crime in the direction of urging "the Attorney General to proceed forthwith to prosecute the criminals who are guilty of this vicious act." He called for federal legislation "to insure protection of the lives of Negro citizens and civil-rights workers."

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, took a similar line of directing protests merely in the direction of Congress.

And in Washington further soothing words were issued about new momentum having been given to the passage of civil-rights laws.

The advocates of "nonviolence," headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King, were rather silent about their philosophy and its efficacy. King, along with others, rushed to the scene in order to capitalize on the publicity, which was enormous, and to appear to be in leadership of the continuing action.

As King and the others resumed the interrupted march, Mississippi troopers roughly shoved them off the pavement onto the shoulder of the road. "Can't you stop pushing and ask us?" complained Nobel prize-winner King.

His politics in a nutshell! But the question is, does it represent the mood of the Negro people today? After the shooting of Meredith? The pendulum would rather seem to be swinging away from the American disciples of Ghandi.



GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS UNDER COMBINED ASSAULT

Tegucigalpa, Honduras

A new and perhaps qualitatively significant action has been carried out by the forces determined to hold back the Latin American revolution at all costs.

On May 27 news reached here confirming earlier rumors that Guatemalan bombers had violated Honduran airspace and had bombed Honduran territory.

Two days earlier, La Prensa of San Pedro Sula, in the northern part of the Republic of Honduras, had reported that on the morning of May 21, three war planes of the Guatemalan air force had violated Honduran territory along the western border and bombed the area in and around the town of El Triunfo, "whose inhabitants, in spite of their perplexed surprise, counted a total of 36 explosions" which corresponded to the number of bombs seen dropped by the Guatemalan pilots.

On May 28 more details reached this heavily censored, army-patrolled capital of Honduras, most of the information being printed as a headline story in the daily El Pueblo, organ of the harassed Liberal party of Honduras.

These reports included the qualitatively new element: war planes of both Guatemala and Honduras had participated in the bombings. The combined air operations took place along the entire border between Guatemala and Honduras, from Copán Ruinas to Playitán, and were coordinated with action by Honduran infantry.

The infantry were brought from Santa Rosa de Copán under the command of Major Arnaldo Alvarado, head of that military zone (the third).

The May 28 El Pueblo reports that "the people who live on the Honduran side of the frontier believe that this combined military operation, by air and land, was directed against a strong group of Guatemalan guerrillas that had gathered in the mountainous terrain" along the border.

Various towns and small villages suffered from the bombings. Among these were La Laguna, La Helencia, San Joaquin, El Paraiso and the outskirts of San Antonio and Pastoreadero.

Reliable sources from the area report that seven Honduran planes and ten or twelve Guatemalan planes blasted the area for more than two hours.

The question of whether the enemy was "real" or "imaginary" was implicitly settled when the residents of El Paraiso observed a helicopter making various trips transporting Honduran soldiers,

apparently wounded, out of the area. Later reports from El Paraiso confirmed that a clash had occurred between Guatemalan Freedom fighters and Honduran government troops.

Additional news reaching here by word of mouth indicates that peasant families in the bombed areas fled their homes in fear of renewed air raids.

The incidents mark what may be a "first" in Latin America: the combined efforts of two or more governments in actual anti-guerrilla military operations.

Up to now, "training" operations have been carried out, involving troops and air and sea power from various countries, invariably including, of course, U.S. armed forces, who not only provide "advice" in the operations but also participate actively.

These full battalion antiguerrilla dress rehearsals have not been limited to the infamous U.S.-run antiguerrilla schools in Peru and Panama.

Just last month, "Operation Central America" was carried out right here in Honduras. It involved ground troops plus sea and air power from Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Honduras and the USA.

This operation was the third and largest of recent international antiguerrilla military maneuvers here. In October of 1965 "Operation Halcón Vista" was carried out in Honduras and Guatemala. It involved the armed forces of Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras. The operation was supervised by the "Southern Command" [Comando del Sur] of the USA.

"Operation Halcón Vista" included many of the subtle two-faced techniques which the imperialists applied in earlier stages of their aggression in Vietnam; namely, the dropping of propaganda leaflets in the area of operations, the distribution of food, medicine and clothing to the peasants of the area, etc.

Meanwhile, air transport units based in Guatemala were on standby to fly paratroopers into the "enemy" position.

A "D" day was designated and headquarters were set up at San Pedro Sula, which is also the center of the United Fruit Company and the Standard Fruit Company operations in Honduras.

"Operation Halcón Vista" was organized as follows: a commanding directorate, headed by Colonel Roberto Palma Gálvez (Honduras), was set up plus a combined air force command, a combined naval command and a task force (land), headed respectively by Major Luis López (Nicaragua), Naval Lt. Juan Fernando Cifuentes (Guatemala) and Major Miguel Angel García (Panama).

A parallel "Military Intelligence Section of the Central American Forces" (C-2) was also set up.

U.S. pilots Capt. Max Cameron and Capt. Robert Blake reportedly took part in the operation, using Phantom jets equipped with "Sidewinder" and "Sparrow" missiles.

Last November a similar combined military rehearsal was carried out. "Operation Montecristo" took place in the north-western part of the country and also along the area where the borders of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras converge.

Such operations, and this latest incident in which the armed forces of two or more governments were used in a real antiguerrilla attack, reveal how greatly imperialism fears the Latin-American revolution and how determined it is to mobilize against it, using counterrevolutionary forces on the widest scale and in the most violent way.

These developments also show how illusory it is to believe that a revolutionary government can be stabilized in a single country in view of the realities of the Latin-American scene.

In a most urgent sense, genuine international coordination is needed among the liberation movements in Latin America. In the last analysis, this need cannot be met except through a truly international revolutionary party, based on democratic centralism, which includes all the revolutionary organizations of Latin America.

More than ever it is evident that the Latin-American revolutions of "national liberation" must be coordinated as continental in scope and socialist in essence in order to successfully confront the international counterrevolution organized by imperialism and its indigenous agents.

### COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES PROJECT NEW INVASION OF CUBA

A rally of Cuban counterrevolutionaries was held in Manhattan Center in New York City June 5. The gathering issued a call for a new armed invasion of Cuba.

Survivors of the Bay of Pigs invasion announced the formation of a "Central Liberation Front" which will "seek to coordinate political, insurrectional and military strategy" against the revolutionary government in Havana.

Leaders of the new front were supporters of Fulgencio Batista, the dictator overthrown by the Cuban Revolution. The biggest ovations at the rally went to references to General Batista and to Rolando Masferrer, the notorious chief of a private army of gunmen who served as killers under Batista. Masferrer sat on the stage at the rally.

Waldo Carmona, the general secretary of the new organization,

boasted about "a great expeditionary force" that would be preceded by "a concerted plan of attacks" to soften the Cuban government in advance of a new invasion.

The New York capitalist press gave favorable publicity to the meeting. No mention was made in the reports as to exactly who is providing the financial backing for the new front. The counter-revolutionary organizations involved in the preparations for the Bay of Pigs invasion got a good deal of their money from the CIA.

#### NICARAGUA OFFERED AS BASE FOR U.S. ASSAULT ON CUBA

While visiting in New York June 8, René Schick Gutiérrez, the president of Nicaragua, said that he would allow his country to be used as a base once again for an armed invasion of Cuba.

Up to now the Nicaraguan government has been very reluctant to admit that it permitted the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 to be prepared in Nicaragua and launched in good part from there.

President Schick said in New York that he would permit his country to be used for a new aggression "at any time, in any circumstances."

His brazen statement came at a news conference after he had lunched with UN Secretary General Thant. A Cuban correspondent asked him if he would allow the port of Puerto Cabezas to be used again.

"Against Cuba, no," said the head of the Nicaraguan government. "Against Castro, at any time in any circumstances, because he is a great threat to peace and security in Latin America."

Schick suggested that any "counteraction" should be taken under the auspices of the Organization of the American States and not "unilaterally." The reference was to the way the Bay of Pigs invasion was organized -- solely under the auspices of the CIA, the Pentagon, the State Department and President Kennedy.

Schick would apparently prefer to spread the "credit" in the next aggression so as to appear less obviously to be nothing but a puppet manipulated by the State Department.

#### ONE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE IN ARGENTINA

Some 3,000,000 Argentine workers staged a one-day strike June 7 to protest a government decree annulling sections of a labor law passed by the legislature. The articles in question involved such items as guaranteed pay for days lost while on strike.

MORE FACTS ON THE KILLING OF CUBAN SENTRY

The May 29 issue of the English edition of Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba, provides further details about the killing of Luis Ramírez López, the Cuban sentry on duty at the Guantánamo frontier, which show how brazenly the State Department lied about the circumstances of the murder.

According to the State Department, "On May 21, about 7:10 p.m., an armed Cuban soldier was observed within the boundaries of Guantánamo Naval Base. A warning shot, fired by a U.S. guard, was ignored by the Cuban. When the infiltrator ignored the warning shot, a second shot was fired, wounding the Cuban."

Then the "intruder," although wounded, leaped over the fence and escaped.

With sketches and photographs, Granma shows how ridiculous this version is.

Along the perimeter of the Naval Base, the Americans put up a high wire fence. This is topped with barbed wire. Within the fence they planted a mine field. Between the mine field and the fence they left room for a roadway that is patrolled by trucks or jeeps loaded with armed troops.

Because they feared provocations, the Cubans cleared a wide area on their side of the American fence. They then planted a heavy row of cactus. This is followed by three barbed wire fences. The area between the three fences is filled with a tangle of barbed wire. Beyond this the Cuban sentries are posted in blockhouses.

The post where Ramírez was stationed is on a hill overlooking all these barriers.

Ramírez was shot through the back. The bullet entered near the top of the right lung, traveled upward and came out at the front of the neck, piercing the aortic arch. He died within moments. Two other sentries, on duty with him, at once notified Frontier Battalion Headquarters.

The trajectory of the shot showed that it was fired from near the American patrol road.

As previously reported [see World Outlook June 10], a number of journalists who visited the scene of the murder, were completely convinced that the American version was a lie.

Faced with the impossibility of explaining (1) why a lone Cuban soldier would want to go inside the heavily guarded Naval Base, (2) how, after being wounded, he could scale all the barriers before dying, (3) how the shot could have ranged upward if it was

fired as claimed by the State Department, Washington reacted in typical fashion. It escalated the size of the lie.

The Pentagon claimed that six Cuban soldiers had entered Guantánamo on May 23. According to the Pentagon, they opened fire against American sentries. The sentries returned the fire. The Cubans then fled.

The only tangible fact in this ghostlike sequence is that the story was released to the press on May 27, the day following the visit of thirty journalists from sixteen countries to the scene of the murder of Luis Ramírez López.

In an effort to give force to this "counterpropaganda," Dean Rusk even said May 27 that the U.S. government would "protest" the "intrusion" by the mysterious six Cubans. Rusk told a press conference that "the Cubans must stop these incidents by remaining outside the zone. It will be better for all concerned."

It was the glaringly provocative nature of this move by the State Department that led the Cuban government to at once call a state of alert and to order the "adoption of all necessary measures for moving immediately into a State of Combat Alarm if circumstances so require."

#### CUBA IS PREPARED SAYS RAUL CASTRO

Cuba's attitude in face of the latest provocations of the Johnson administration is one of restraint but also of readiness to respond in the firmest way to any escalation. This was clearly indicated in a speech delivered May 23 by Raúl Castro at the funeral of Luis Ramírez López, the sentry killed by a shot fired from the Guantánamo Naval Base.

"With the desire to avoid difficulties, because we understand that any serious incident in this area may have incalculable national and international consequences," said the minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, "we have known how to maintain a controlled patience. But with this murder, added to the previous cases, they are already standing on the line which marks the limit of that patience."

The best response to imperialist provocations and aggression, said Raúl Castro is a firm reply. "We know that all the bravado that characterizes the statements and attitudes of the Yankee imperialists tends to disappear in the face of a determined position."

He recalled the October 1962 crisis, "when, pursuing their adventurist policy, the imperialists boldly started to send their combat planes flying low over our country. Through our Commander in Chief, we warned them to stop those flights and, in spite of requests from

various quarters that we not interfere with the discussions, we made our decision -- we know that the imperialists understood perfectly. The Commander in Chief gave the order to fire at all enemy planes, and they disappeared from our skies."

Continuing along this theme, Raúl Castro said:

"If they attack us, our strength will serve to defend us in an exemplary and heroic fashion. If they do not attack us, it will have been because of that strength, combined with the determination of our people to fight.

"That is why the little David of the Cuban Revolution must prepare himself to fight intelligently against the imperialist Goliath."

To the shouts and applause of the crowd, Raúl Castro said that the terms "reconciliation," "surrender" and "defeat" had been eliminated from the Cuban political and military vocabulary.

"And we can tell them our reason as follows: We do not want, ever -- as you, the people, say -- to reconcile ourselves with imperialism; not even, as Fidel has already declared, in a so-called peace limited to the Caribbean, because we shall never accept such a reconciliation while Santo Domingo is under U.S. occupation, while South Vietnam is under occupation, while North Vietnam is under attack!

"We do not want a selfish peace, for ourselves alone, because that would not only be an opportunist and negative attitude of which our people are incapable, but because we know that it would be transitory, and that at the first opportunity they would try to crush us."

As head of the armed forces, Raúl Castro revealed something about the defense preparations in Cuba to ward off an American assault. Arms and ammunition are being stockpiled throughout the island and the population is engaged in intensive training.

"The tens of thousands of light weapons of different kinds that are strategically situated in many parts of our country is no secret to them. There is almost no place left in Cuba where this precaution has not been taken. What's more, the troops who are going to use these weapons are not necessarily those who will be deployed first in the struggle."

After the combat alarm sounds, a quarter of a million men will be in position within three hours, he continued.

"It is no secret to them [the U.S. imperialists] -- because they have already observed several of our mobilizations -- that we would have half a million men under arms within twelve hours. What remains a secret for them is how many men we will have mobilized within twenty-four hours after the combat alarm is sounded. And

this we are not going to tell them.

"And a people wielding such a great number of weapons, and of such high quality, cannot be defeated even if, as a result of enemy superiority, of a correlation of forces favorable to them - militarily speaking -- they might be able to invade and occupy a piece of territory or the whole territory, as they shamelessly claim they have done in South Vietnam -- where they really occupy only a small piece of territory, because the rest is in the hands of the patriots. The resistance which we have already organized against them guarantees that while Cuba may be attacked, she will never be defeated!"

Raúl Castro did not confine his remarks to defense preparations in Cuba. Utilizing some admissions by Senator Robert Kennedy, he pointed to the inevitability of the revolutionary process throughout Latin America, a revolution which Cuba opened and for which it provided an inspiring example. "We are in complete agreement as to the inevitability of the revolution in Latin America. They speak of a 'democratic revolution,' a few simple reformist concessions. We speak of genuine revolution, the kind we have made in Cuba, which is undoubtedly just the kind of revolution that our Latin-American brothers will make."

Clearly indicating Cuba's attitude toward revolutions in other countries, Raúl Castro said:

"Our response to the many imperialist aggressions will not be just for effect, but it will be effective; it will not be sensationalist, but it will be powerful; we will not make a lot of noise, but the time will come when we will be able to contemplate the results of our actions as a whole. There is nothing new in what we are saying: we are merely reiterating here today, in the face of this criminal and cowardly deed, that we will redouble our efforts, according to our ability, to aid all the fighting liberation movements of the three continents, because that is the Achilles' heel of U.S. imperialism."

#### TORONTO PICKETS TELL U.S. TO GET OUT OF GUANTANAMO

Toronto

Some seventy demonstrators met in a rally at the new city hall June 4 and marched to the U.S. consulate general carrying placards demanding that the U.S. withdraw from the naval base it maintains on Cuban soil at Guantánamo.

"Hands Off the Cuban People!" was the theme of the spirited demonstration.

Two dramatic banners expressing solidarity with the Cuban people were carried by supporters of the Portuguese and Spanish



Canadian Democratic Associations.

The protest action was sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee which has been seeking to alert the Canadian people to the dangers implicit in the provocative moves against Cuba initiated by the U.S. State Department in connection with the murder of a Cuban sentry on the Guantánamo frontier.

CANADIANS RESPOND TO CUBAN APPEAL FOR AID

Toronto

In a statement released to the press June 2, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee announced that it had received an emergency telegram from the National Committee of the Young Communists in Cuba on the threat of an invasion of the island republic.

"The Committee has issued an alert to all who defend the right of small nations such as Cuba to determine their own forms of government undeterred by bigger powers such as the United States of America," the statement said.

"All Canadians should be prepared on an emergency basis to protest any further provocations by the U.S. State Department that threaten not only the lives of the entire peoples of Cuba but the peoples of the whole world with a nuclear disaster.

"It expresses its support of the idea that Canadians should be prepared, as they have been in the past to volunteer their services in the defence of freedom anywhere -- and in this case on the shores of Cuba. FPCC is preparing to act along the lines of the Cuban appeal."

The text of the telegram received by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee from the National Committee of Young Communists is as follows:

"The false declaration of the U.S. State Department protesting the 'intrusion' of six Cuban soldiers into the Guantánamo base that the Americans occupy in Cuba is as treacherous and barefaced a lie as is their version of the assassination of the Cuban soldier which occurred on May 21. By the imperialists making these declarations, they prove they know nothing about our people and their determination to fight any and all forms of aggression. Far from permitting themselves to be terrorized by blackmail, threats, aggressions and nonsense, the Cuban people are preparing to combat imperialism unflinchingly. In case the feared attack occurs we ask all partisans of freedom and democracy to protest the aggression and the use of Guantánamo as a base by the U.S. armed forces against the will of the Cuban people.

"As of now we are appealing for volunteers from all countries

to fight fearlessly and courageously against the intended imperialist aggression in Cuba.

"Patria o muerte. Venceremos. (Fatherland or Death. We shall win.)"

### ADOLFO GILLY TORTURED IN MEXICO

Some details are beginning to leak out in Mexico City of the torture inflicted on Adolfo Gilly and the members of the Posadista group who were arrested and charged with seeking to overthrow the Mexican government and establish a Communist regime. [See World Outlook May 13.]

Gilly, who is known in many countries for his articles on the Cuban Revolution and the Guatemalan guerrilla movement, was apparently one of the main targets of the political police. They submitted him to torture for three days in an effort to make him "confess" that he belonged to "the Fourth International."

He was submitted to seven sessions of beatings on the chest, head and kidneys. After one of the worst beatings, he was handcuffed for an entire night in a sitting posture in a chair. He was also submerged under water until he reached the point of drowning.

Unable to break him by outright physical torture, the police threatened to drive him out on the highway and shoot him. This threat likewise failed to have the desired effect.

Gilly was then taken to a higher official who told him that what they planned to do was take him to the Guatemalan border where he would be turned over to the Guatemalan police, who would immediately execute him.

This seemed to Gilly to be a likely outcome as he was aware that the reactionary Guatemalan government would like to get him because of the articles he has written. He therefore agreed to state that he had attended a meeting of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [Revolutionary Workers' party], the name of the Posadista group in Mexico.

Both he and the other victims who had been compelled under torture to make similar "confessions," repudiated these when they were finally brought before the presiding judge.

The Mexican authorities, of course, are engaging in a witch-hunt. The target at the time of the arrests was the militant student movement on the campus of the University of Mexico.

The arrest of Gilly and the others was staged at the height of student demonstrations that forced the resignation of the head

of the university administration. The newspapers ran screaming headlines about "Trotskyists" plotting to overthrow the government, claiming that these "agitators" were behind the demonstrations of the students.

It also appears that the Mexican government is worried over a rise in social unrest in the country and the possibility that it may strengthen the left. The current witch-hunt against a small unpopular group could be designed as the opening move against much larger groups, particularly if they prove incapable of understanding the meaning of the blow struck against the Posadistas and fail to rally in their defense despite ideological differences.

Consequently it is important to let the Mexican authorities know that this policy will prove unprofitable. Protests should be lodged immediately with the Mexican embassy in Washington, D.C., and with the judge who has jurisdiction in the case: Sr. Eduardo Ferrer McGregor, Juez Primero de Distrito en Material Penal, Bucareli 24, Mexico, D.F., Mexico.

#### NEW FRAME-UP OF "TROTSKYISTS" AT UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO

In the early hours of June 4, vandals dynamited the statue of Miguel Alemán, former president of Mexico, on the campus of the University of Mexico. The head of the giant statue was blown off and other sections destroyed in successive explosions.

The police at once ascribed the vandalism to members of "the Trotskyist group" in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences. They claimed that it involved about twenty youths whose names were known. Up to June 6, however, no arrests had been made.

Despite this, the police indicated a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the crime.

"Comandante Leobardo Barajas, of the Federal District Judicial police, said yesterday," according to the June 6 Mexico City daily Excelsior in a front-page story, "that it was known that the dynamiters -- who numbered about 20 -- had indulged in intoxicating drinks, had broken open doors and padlocks of the administration offices in the basement of the Rectory building and taken the tools, bars and picks which they used in their destructive work.

"They set off four sticks of dynamite. With the first two at 45 minutes past midnight, they toppled the head of the statue. After the explosion they hid for more than an hour. They returned to place the third and fourth in the left arm and feet, which they set off after three in the morning.

"The Troskos' -- as the members of this student political group are known -- tried to destroy the whole monument, but they

failed because the statue is not a single piece but is made up of various enormous blocks of stone. It is suspected that to drill the statue, place the dynamite and set it off, they brought with them a 'stone-cutter' skilled in this work.

"To climb up to the head and the middle of the statue, the dynamiters utilized the scaffolding recently placed around the monument by the Department of Conservation of the University City.

"A group of workers were removing from the monument the splashes of paint and crude oil with which it was smeared when the student conflict began that culminated in the fall of the rector, Ignacio Chávez and the designation in his place of the engineer Javier Barros Sierra.

"The police details investigating the crime already know the names of the dynamiters. They indicated they would make them public today. 'There are eight chieftains,' according to them. And it appears that 'they too will have their heads cut off.'"

Whatever group was involved (ultrarightists as well as many radical tendencies are active on the campus) the case smelled a great deal like the one in New York in which a handful were arrested for plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty.

Although some of the defendants in that case actually did arrange to get some dynamite, it turned out that the leading figure involved in the plot -- the one who first suggested it and pressed for it to be carried out -- was an agent sent into the group by the police.

Is this a Mexican version of that notorious case?

#### LUIS CARLOS PRESTES SENTENCED IN ABSENTIA

Luis Carlos Prestes, up until recently the head of the Brazilian Communist party and now in exile in Moscow, was condemned in absentia June 7 by a military tribunal in São Paulo to thirty years in prison. Thirty other persons, accused with him of "subversion," were likewise condemned. Only one was present, Luis Tenorio Lima. He was given a thirty-year sentence.

At the end of World War II, Luis Carlos Prestes headed a big Communist party. Instead of struggling for power, he followed the line of "peaceful coexistence," a position he refused to change even after the experience of the Cuban Revolution.

His class-collaborationist line helped pave the way for the April 1964 counterrevolutionary coup d'état. Since that time little has been heard from this once major figure in Brazilian politics.

JOHNSON GAINS NEW ALLY -- THE COMBAT BEDBUG

President Johnson has been moving from success to success in putting together an "Allied" front in Vietnam. The list includes a quarter of a million U.S. troops, Ky's conscripts and puppet forces, some 23,000 mercenaries from South Korea, a token contingent from Australia and New Zealand, plus declarations of sympathy from such statesmen as Prime Minister Wilson.

To this imposing list has now been added an unstated number of bedbugs mobilized and trained by the Pentagon after much thought and effort.

In a special dispatch from Washington, published in the June 6 issue of the authoritative New York Times, William Beecher provides details about the gain in forces which Commander-in-Chief Johnson now has at his disposal for deployment in Vietnam.

"Pentagon weapons experts agree that probably the most perplexing problem in Vietnam is trying to find the enemy," he writes. Serious thought has been given to using German police dogs or bloodhounds. But if they were "let loose in the jungle to seek out hidden soldiers, it would be nearly impossible for their handlers to keep them in sight."

The army is working on a small radio device to fit on the dog's collar, enabling the handler to follow the signal. But "dogs are considered a great delicacy in Vietnam and there is a real question how long they would last once out of sight of the handler -- even with the homing device."

This is where the latest recruits to the Allied cause in Vietnam come in.

"Since bedbugs let out a 'yowl' of excitement when they sense the nearness of human flesh, scientists at the Army's Limited War Laboratory in Aberdeen, Md., are working to perfect a sound amplification system that will make the insects' cries audible to human ears.

"The combat bedbug, a particularly large and noisy species about the size of a man's thumbnail, is carried in a special capsule that allows him to smell out a man about two blocks to the front or sides but not the trooper carrying him.

"A small scouting party could, theoretically at least, precede a large body of troops along a jungle path and smell out any attempts at ambush." The bedbug "would be used to sound the alarm when guerrilla forces bent on ambush moved into position along the jungle trail."

Beecher reports that some Pentagon officials remain unenthusiastic about the new ally. "They are afraid it might be too

troublesome to keep the bedbugs both healthy and hungry."

This reaction hardly reflects experience in the field. It sounds more like the carping criticism of Washington desk men, little acquainted with the combat bedbug in a practical way.

It could be, however, that they have available confidential CIA reports that cast doubt on the anti-Communist firmness of the insect. In view of the uncertain political climate in Vietnam, the appearance of undesirable mutations is not excluded. This could prove to be disconcerting if not dangerous.

The sudden rise of a guerrilla bedbug, for instance, might not be noticed until it was too late -- when they turned and bit the hand holding the capsule. The resulting "yowl" could reveal the American presence to the Vietcong.

Despite the lack of enthusiasm among a minority of the top American brass, we are glad to note that the qualities of the police dog and the bloodhound have been discovered to extend not only to a good many bipeds, like the types in green berets, but also to a genus of insect, although one, it should be observed, long associated with man.

In any case, the Pentagon strategists are to be congratulated for their success in proving once again that politics makes strange bedfellows.

#### ISRAEL UNDER PRESSURE TO BACK VIETNAM WAR

The Israeli government is reported to becoming increasingly irritated over the heavy pressure from the Johnson administration to line up and make a gesture of sufficient significance in support of the escalation of the war in Vietnam so that the Israelis can be listed among the "Allies."

Particularly embarrassing to Israeli officials were the revelations of the South Vietnamese ambassador in Washington that Johnson had urged Ky to avail himself of the know-how of the Israelis in setting up peasant-soldier villages.

The same ambassador even went so far as to spill the beans about a secret conference between Israeli and South Vietnamese emissaries in Bangkok.

In view of the unfavorable publicity resulting from these revelations, the Israeli government felt compelled to indicate a hands-off attitude. A statement was issued saying that Israel was not contemplating sending any experts to Vietnam.

CONCERNING TORTURE AT EL HARRACH

By Albert Roux

[The following review of a booklet published by Editions de Minuit (Paris) has been translated by World Outlook from the May issue of La Quatrième Internationale, the organ of the French section of the Fourth International. Albert Roux, a Trotskyist leader who became well known as a French supporter and partisan of the Algerian Revolution in its most difficult days, was one of the first victims of the Boumedienne regime. He underwent severe torture at the hands of Boumedienne's police and his case was widely reported in the French press when his release was finally secured.]

\* \* \*

Even after eight months I still felt a rude shock when I read this brochure, The Torture Victims of El Harrach,\* which describes tortures that I myself endured.

I felt, in looking back, that the same military security agents who were distressed by the tortures which Le Goff, Mazière, Goasdoué, Meyers and myself suffered at the hands of the Algiers political police -- we were in the first group -- probably took part in the torture of those who were arrested after us.

The "small lieutenant wearing tinted glasses and a delicate moustache" whom Bouzid Benallegue describes (page 40) reminds me very much of one of those military security agents who seemed anxious not to be confused with the torturers of the PRG [Police des Renseignements Generaux, the political police].

There is one person who looks rather foolish after the publication of The Torture Victims of El Harrach. That person is Reda Malek, the Algerian ambassador to France, who dared in a press conference on September 27, 1965, to deny that I had undergone the torture which I described.

Boumaza, the co-author of Gangrene and the present Minister of Information, was quite careful not to contest my account of these events when Jean-Jacques de Felice showed it to him a few days later.

The systematic use of torture is only too evident. The victim, the place, the torturers may change. The procedures are the same. Let no one think that I am forgetting the "French Authorities" in this matter. It took three weeks -- and no little commotion in the Paris papers -- before my companions in misfortune

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\*Les Torturés de El Harrach, Les Editions de Minuit, préface by Henri Alleg, introduction by Robert Merle.

and I could get to see a representative of the French Consulate General in Algiers. It took more than six months before a French diplomatic representative managed to visit Doctor Marot and his fellow prisoners.

This does not mean, however, that the men of June 19 and their toadies can proceed without restraint.

Several students arrested at the time of the demonstrations against the regime which were linked to the protest against the kidnapping of Mehdi Ben Barka have just been released on a provisional basis.

The Committee for the Defense of Ben Bella and the other victims of repression in Algeria has already scored a solid success and there can be no doubt that this success will increase, in the near future, especially after the extremely heroic hunger strike just carried on by the victims themselves.

The present situation in Algeria is favorable. The new "authorities" may reject the "Marxist" concept of the "class struggle," but the class struggle continues to exist nonetheless. The repeated seizures of the trade-union organ, Révolution et Travail on the negative side and, on the positive side, the fact that the government has had to return about twenty estates hastily to the "self-management sector," which it had previously restored to the owners, testifies to the strength of the popular reflexes.

I recall that I told one of my torturers that torture would solve very little in the last analysis and that one day they would have to attack the real problems, beginning with agrarian reform, the development of self-management, and the establishment of workers control.

It seems that the time is fast approaching. This does not mean, however, that the bureaucrats will be swept away tomorrow. The outcome still depends on many factors. It is necessary, in particular, that the opposition unite around a program which can give real expression to the profound interests of the Algerian masses who have been used too often as tools for maneuvers from the top, when the leadership, instead, should have loyally put itself at their service.

#### 180,000 RUHR MINERS SCHEDULE STRIKE

Some 180,000 miners in the Ruhr have scheduled a strike for June 23. The demands include a pay increase of 8.5 percent and the inclusion of eleven Saturdays during the year to be considered as holidays with full pay. Thousands of foreign workers in the mines were reported to have given full backing to their German brothers.



WIDOW OF TROTSKYIST LEADER ARRESTED IN ALGIERS

The June 4 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde reported that it had learned from private sources that three French women had been arrested some weeks before by the Boumedienne regime. It listed them as Mme Suzanne Zakine, a dressmaker in Algiers who is the widow of Dr. Raphaël Zakine, her assistant, and a customer, and Claude Bobillier, a student at the school of journalism.

Le Monde reported that friends of the victims were astonished that the Algerian authorities had kept the arrests and the reasons for them secret.

On the following day, Le Monde ran a more extensive report, the text of which is as follows:

"According to an AFP [Agence France Presse] dispatch from Algiers, it is still not known where the three Europeans are being held who were arrested May 9, as indicated in the June 4 issue of Le Monde. Those involved, according to the dispatch, are Mlle Claudia Bobillier, who holds a scholarship granted by the Algerian government and who is registered with the Swiss consulate although she is reported to also hold French citizenship; Mlle Lourdain, a social worker in the Kabylia; finally, Mme Suzanne Zakine, dressmaker, the widow of a French doctor who was a member of the Fourth International and a personal friend of Trotsky. (It was at this doctor's clinic that the wife of the Russian revolutionist died three years ago. He himself died in Algiers last November.)

"The French and Swiss embassies in Algiers asked for an explanation from the Algerian government last Friday concerning what had happened to these persons, who, almost a month after their arrest, have not yet been charged. Contrary to certain rumors, it appears excluded that these arrests had any relation whatsoever with the escape of M. Ait Ahmed.

"In addition it has been learned that the six Algerians held as political prisoners who went on a hunger strike two months ago have left the hospital at Annaba (formerly Bône). This includes MM. Mourad Lahmoudi (transferred to the prison at Bou-Saada), Jacques Salort (transferred to Aflou), Hocine Zahouane, Bachir Hadj Ali and Mohamed Harbi (transferred to Mondovi) and William Sportisse (whose present place of detention is not known). These prisoners ended their hunger strike on April 7.

"As for the sixty-one held at the central prison in El Harrach (formerly Maison-Carrée), who went on a solidarity hunger strike, a dozen seem to have been released, while the others have been separated and placed in various prisons."

\* \* \*

[Dr. Raphael Zakine, an Algerian by birth, was a well-known French Trotskyist leader who supported the Algerian Revolution

from the beginning. He played an active role in getting aid for it.

[After the victory in 1962, he returned to Algiers. Due to a heart condition, his activities were limited, but he had innumerable contacts in the Algerian labor movement as well as in the nationalist movement. Up to the time of his death, he maintained these. He was such a prominent political figure that the Boumedienne regime did not dare touch him. It appears that the Colonel is now taking his revenge on the dead revolutionist's widow.]

### JAPANESE CP SHIFTING AWAY FROM PEKING?

Political observers in Japan are of the opinion that the Japanese Communist party may be trying to modify its strong pro-Peking line. Akahata, the official organ of the JCP, has cut down on the number of articles translated from the People's Daily and other Peking papers. There has been a noticeable shift to dispatches from pro-Moscow sources.

A May 11 editorial in Akahata placed the emphasis on "struggles on two fronts"; i.e., against both doctrinairism and revision -- evident allusions to Peking and Moscow. The editorial followed a two-day meeting of the Central Committee at the end of April.

In addition, a delegation was ostentatiously sent to Rumania which has been trying to build an image of "independence."

It is said that the fate of the Indonesian Communist party is one of the factors influencing the shift away from Peking.

The JCP may be moving to the right, however. Instead of drawing the correct conclusion that the debacle suffered by the Indonesian Communist party was caused by lack of militancy, the Japanese CP leaders may have decided that it was too militant!

### STUDENT UNREST CONTINUES AT WASEDA

Student unrest at Japan's big Waseda University is still continuing. Thousands showed up at sessions at the end of May to hear Dr. Kenichi Abe, the 75-year-old acting president, answer questions on the dispute over the jump in tuition.

Dr. Abe put up a strong effort. He answered questions for fifteen hours straight in one session and for an additional nine hours in two more sessions. Finally he caved in and was taken home in an ambulance. He underwent a medical checkup May 30 and was apparently recovering from the self-imposed ordeal.

ALGERIAN TRADE-UNION LEADERS TAKE STOCK

[The document below, which has been translated by World Outlook, is of exceptional interest, we believe, as evidence of the social tensions which exist in Algeria. This is not a public appeal to the masses by an opposition group but a very sober report which was presented by the National Secretariat of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens [UGTA -- the Algerian national trade-union federation] to the National Executive Committee of the union at a meeting May 21-22. That is, it is a report by the day-to-day leaders of the union to the body that elected them to this function, the leadership which was elected at the second congress about fifteen months ago.

[The document is quite frank. Its authors speak for socialism, which they aptly define: "For us socialism in political terms means workers power, in economic terms, collective ownership of the means of production; that is, the end of exploitation. It also means a new kind of relationship between men, a new order of priorities, a new kind of life and culture; if it is not all that, it loses its meaning."

[From this point of view, the document provides a striking picture of the difficulties which its authors are encountering in leading their union towards socialism. In the criticisms which the document contains, the authors of the document frankly accept responsibilities that fall on their shoulders, but they point out the obstacles they are running up against, and above all, they indicate who is responsible for these obstacles. From their position at the top, they indicate to their constituents that the resistance to moving toward socialism is at the highest level.

[We believe that making such a document public will help those forces in Algeria which are trying, in the words of the authors, "to make a real contribution to the building of a new society."]

\* \* \*

This is the time to take stock of the activities carried on by the UGTA since the second congress. We have no intention of making a show of optimism or of issuing contrived victory bulletins. We will simply tell the truth.

Our trade-union movement is at the crossroads, and this situation cannot continue long without giving rise to great dangers. It was our duty to apprise the responsible political leaders of our country of this fact, as well as to demand that our Executive Committee assume its responsibilities. Today, the National Secretariat of the UGTA cannot conceal certain facts, nor hide its apprehensions, its misgivings.

The National Secretariat has led the UGTA for almost fourteen months. A review of the activities of the trade-union

organization reveals both a positive and a negative side.

It would be a mistake, however, to criticize the present leadership without going back further in the development of the situation and making some points about the Algerian trade-union movement in general.

Although the UGTA was created during the War of Liberation, Algerian workers had had trade-union experience, had waged trade-union struggles, had acquired concepts about the struggle against exploitation before November 1, 1954.

On February 24, 1956, the UGTA set itself the following tasks:

"(1) To give the working-class struggle in our country an orientation in conformity with the deepest aspirations of the workers; i.e., a political, economic and social revolution;

"(2) To develop a class consciousness in the workers which would enable them to struggle equally against all exploiters, without distinction;

"(3) To create a truly democratic trade-union movement."

Thus, it deliberately opted for the noncapitalist path and challenged foreign domination.

The success that the UGTA achieved, the massive influx of workers into our ranks, proved that the goals proposed were the correct goals and they corresponded exactly to the aspirations of the workers. This fact was also verified at the time of the ceasefire when we again appealed to the workers. The protection of property and the mobilization of the masses of the people were realized with the help of the local organizations of the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale] and the ALN [Armée de Libération Nationale].

Once the victory over colonialism was achieved, the workers assured the continuity of production and the functioning of numerous public bodies in the name of collective property.

The failure of the first congress of the Algerian trade unions was the first consequence of conflicts within the party [FLN] which were to publicly erupt a few weeks later.

But nonetheless, in December 1962, the political and trade-union leaderships, anxious for a solution to the dispute that divided the UGTA and the party, came to an agreement on a statement which, in the main, recognized the organizational autonomy of the trade-union organizations.

It is true that this statement was never respected, however, and the workers paid the price for that a month later at the

time of the first congress of the UGTA.

A number of activists withdrew from all trade-union or political activity after January 1963.

The hastily constituted leadership which came out of the first congress could not completely fulfill its role. Moreover, its dependence on political figures who differed with each other did not at all contribute to its homogeneity.

The March decrees and the profound effect they had on the masses of the working people propelled the leadership of the UGTA forward.

Despite the contradictions and the disputes which continued to reign within the leading bodies of the UGTA and between the UGTA and the political leadership, the workers in the cities and in the countryside continued to play a decisive role in the economic, political and social evolution of our country in the two years between the first and second congresses of the UGTA. Enormous demonstrations marked the massive support of the workers for the socialist options in our country.

In spite of the pressure that the government was able to bring to bear on the second congress of the UGTA in March 1965, the results obtained there constituted an important victory for the workers.

The preparatory sessions of this congress, furthermore, were held in the last few weeks under the chairmanship of the general secretary general of the party. The meetings were held at the Palace of the People.

A tract boldly signed, "the Executive Committee," was distributed after May 1, 1966, challenging the second congress which it described as "prefabricated." We had some experience in 1962 with this kind of claim which then took the form of defiant telegrams sent to the National Secretariat by imaginary locals. It is always dangerous in Algeria, as elsewhere, to cast doubts on the regularity of an election, or on the degree of representativeness of a man or group of men. Once this type of thing has started, it may go very far.

We don't think that there is a genuine militant who would fail to applaud a congress run in a completely democratic way. The problem is whether or not we want democracy to be observed.

While the national goals were clear during the War of Liberation, and the participation of the unions in the fight for liberation raised no problems with regard to prerogatives (role and place), the situation has been different since independence.

The UGTA is one of the mass organizations of the party. It is led by revolutionaries and composed of producers; i.e., those

most interested and involved in the success of socialism. It cannot be suspected of deviationism in any way. The program of the UGTA is still inscribed in the Charter of Algiers and the Trade Union Charter. Nonetheless, the political figures who have held power have lacked confidence in it. It has not taken its proper place either in the party, in the administration of the economy, or, and this is more serious, in the self-managed enterprises themselves.

Today, paradoxically, our organization finds itself criticized by the workers for its lack of militancy in the pursuit of the demands which they consider legitimate; the leaders of the country accuse it, however, of agitation, and even of oppositionist activity. This situation which places the trade unions between the hammer and the anvil cannot long continue without grave consequences for the workers and the country.

For us, socialism in political terms means workers power, in economic terms, collective ownership of the means of production; that is, the end of exploitation. It also means a new kind of relationship between men, a new order of priorities, a new kind of life and culture; if it is not all these things, it loses its meaning.

But, what is the present situation? What power is exercised by the producers? None, not even in the self-managed sector where resolutions exist which accord a preponderant place to the producers.

Surely, everyone knows that these resolutions have never been applied and that the resolutions themselves could stand some improvement. But nothing has been done in this regard. The UGTA itself has done little.

The Communal Pep Councils [Conseils Communaux d'Animation] have not been created. The Economic Council, which would permit the UGTA to deal with economic pricing policies and present its own point of view has not seen the light of day.

With regard to wages and salaries, the principle of equal pay for equal work is yet to be applied. Anarchy exists, such as jumping from one thing to another, that prevents the economy from functioning rationally and smoothly. The disparity in wages often reaches a ratio of fifteen to one.

The privileged minority who live in the capital or in the large cities and enjoy a standard of living markedly above the average of the country oppose the introduction of socialism in Algeria. Well situated, either in the wheels of administration, of trade or the party, they block every attempt to advance along the socialist road.

The majority of Algerians in the towns and in the countryside lack even the basic necessities.

Of course, the Algerian standard of living is determined by the country's economic development.

Of course, we must speed production.

Of course, we must practice austerity; but, up to now, the burden of this austerity has fallen on the least well-off.

Can anyone believe that an agricultural worker can work with enthusiasm when his "wages" are not paid for months while the functionary who represents the state drives an automobile and carries a full wallet?

Our frequent travels across the country, and the numerous contacts we have had, not only with workers, but with ordinary citizens, have enabled us to realize how difficult the economic situation is. Unless courageous decisions are made, our future and that of the generations to come will be seriously compromised. The rising cost of living, the taste for luxury, the thirst for gain, corruption, the widening gap between the two Algerias, are slowly isolating and submerging the work and goodwill of revolutionaries at all levels who still believe in something clean, just, better.

The social situation which is characterized by growing unemployment, unrestrained demagogy, increasing emigration to France, mostly of unskilled labor, but also of cadres, the tragic isolation of the youth, cut off, in large part, from participation in activities, the loss in interest and political apathy of the masses, are the constant preoccupation of the leaders of the UGTA.

We see that the official slogans, speeches and declarations have little or no impact on the average Algerian. There is practically no vehicle for carrying out the ideas which emanate from the leadership. And the leadership is generally unaware of what the rank and file are thinking.

The dreary national press is read by only a small number of Algerians.

To the complexity of the general situation in the country have been added the difficulties that the trade-union movement itself is experiencing. We will take up the trade-union-party relationship and the relationship of the trade-union movement to the state later on, and we will touch on the problem which has blocked us now for four years, the problem of the party.

The trade-union movement has great weaknesses, in addition to those which we have mentioned previously. We point out these weaknesses for the sake of objectivity:

-- The small number of cadres.

-- The rarity of the spirit of sacrifice.

-- Our leaders' lack of perseverance.

-- The weakness of our organization in certain branches of

the economy due to the absence of working-class consciousness.

-- The self-interested actions of some leaders, devoured by ambition, who use their organizations for nontrade-union purposes.

-- The misappropriation of dues by leaders of local or regional unions.

-- The frequent lack of democracy in renewing the personnel in the trade-union offices and in the secretariats of local or regional union organizations.

-- Insufficient communication.

We are all responsible for these weaknesses, including both the National Secretariat and the Executive Committee. However, without exaggerating the possibilities and without making any excessive claims, we say that the Algerian trade-union movement has the means to overcome these weaknesses, if it were not that the framework and the conditions in which it has been evolving for some years limit its freedom of movement.

Because we have been placed at the head of the UGTA, because we are conscious of the responsibility that rests on our shoulders, because we must give an accounting for our mandate, because we know the desires and legitimate aspirations of the workers, we cannot be accomplices in a situation which will soon be reflected in the actual weakening of the most important organization in the country.

Our trade unionism is neither an instrument of administration nor an instrument for the expression of the economic demands of the workers. Our country is not yet socialist and it cannot be capitalist. If the banners of the UGTA always figured in the demonstrations in the first years that followed independence, they were carried more as an alibi than anything else.

There have even been attempts, today, to challenge the very existence of the union. The incidents at Skikda, Sétif, Bord-Bou-Arreridj, Oran, Mascara, Algiers and elsewhere testify to this.

The complex of political, economic and social realities have thus not ceased to weigh on the life and activities of the UGTA.

The union is the conquest of the workers. It is also the product of experience in the realm of working-class organization.

#### UGTA-Party Relations

The situation has evolved since the agreement of December 1962. This evolution has always been defined by the party-UGTA



relationship. Every formula has been tried:

The UGTA -- the National Organization is with the party.

The UGTA -- the National Organization is behind the party.

The UGTA -- the National Organization is of the party.

The UGTA -- the National Organization is in the party.

Now we are in the party which organically includes the "national organizations."

We must state in our defense that the only relations we have had with the Executive Secretariat since its installation have been in connection with reprimands, restrictions, prohibitions. We have never been invited to participate in a meeting devoted to the fight against unemployment, for instance, or to the education of activists, to the methods of applying self-management in agriculture, industry, commerce, etc....

We have participated in commissions charged with examining projects generally already approved by the government.

We have never received any directives, any orientation from the Executive Secretariat except the following:

"No tours through Algeria without first advising the Executive Secretariat..."

"No congresses without prior agreement..."

"No strikes without the agreement of the party..."

"No publication of communiqués, or declarations without prior review by the Executive Secretariat..."

"No issue of Revolution et Travail without party approval..."

Although our attitude was one of collaboration, support, we encountered only hostility, difficulties, traps, maneuvers, close surveillance, etc....

The government has chosen socialism as its system of development and inspiration and the single party as the means by which to put socialism into practice. However, the choice of the principle of the single party is not enough to create a government which would be revolutionary in essence, immune to all kinds of deformations and deviations.

The choice of the single party must be made with a clarity and precision which would eliminate all ambiguity with regard to its goals, its social composition and the principles by which it functions.

The party must be conceived as the expression of the aspirations of the masses; it must never be in opposition to the masses.

The vanguard party is yet to be built, and, if anyone doubts it, he need only refer to the interview which the chairman of the Council of the Revolution recently gave to Jeune Afrique [a liberal Tunisian weekly] to convince himself of it.

The revolutionary party can be an incomparable instrument but it cannot be created by authoritarian or arbitrary methods. Only democratic methods will guarantee freedom of discussion and criticism within the organization on the one hand and assure a permanent dialogue with the masses on the other.

What is the party's situation four years after independence? What is the balance sheet? What are the perspectives? How many members does it have? What is its ability to mobilize the masses? How many cadres has it trained?

Since our organization has been merely an appendage of the party, it has suffered from the same contradictions which have disrupted the political organization. It would be superficial to put the blame for the difficulties of the party on the trade-union organization.

Under these circumstances, how can we continue to assume our responsibilities? Some say that the errors committed by the National Secretariat have led to this impasse. However, our participation in the congresses of local unions, regions and federations in the work of various executive commissions at all levels, our contacts with the trade-union sections and with the workers of the various public bodies prove that we only reflect the truth.

We say simply: the role that the organization must carry out, the place that it must occupy must be recognized; the organization must be given the freedom of movement and action which are essential to its progress. We cannot risk unpopularity among the workers and hostility from the government. In no case will we accept the role of liquidators of the Algerian trade-union movement, just as we are unable to accept being "official trade unionists" of the type so common in Africa.

We are conscious of the importance of the decision that will be made at the conclusion of our labors. We believe that the highest interests of the trade-union movement, of the workers, are involved. The very future of the party depends on it.

We must not lead the UGTA into making any concessions which would deprive trade unionism of any meaning.

This conception of the trade-union movement by no means leads us to forget that only an authentically revolutionary party,

a genuine vanguard party, will enable Algeria to establish socialism. Only such a party will win the adherence and support of the best revolutionaries in our country.

The problem, to be sure, remains unsolved. It is with great uneasiness that we have come to such a conclusion.

Today, the situation is too grave for us to devote this meeting of the National Executive Committee to the study of a theoretical document far removed from the grim reality. It is too grave for us to initiate a discussion that would skirt the problems which we do not hesitate to discuss in small groups. It is too grave for us to end this meeting by voting for a soothing resolution.

It is up to you to decide if we are right and for you to find the way to free the trade-union movement from the impasse into which it has slipped little by little. If you want to contribute to the building of a new society, it is important to determine the most effective methods of work, a more realistic conception. This is what both the workers and the party need.

Algiers, May 21, 1966

The National Secretariat of the UGTA

SOME FACTS WORTH THINKING ABOUT

[The following document was issued by the National Secretariat of the UGTA as a supplement to the report published above. The original title is "Voici Quelques Faits qui Meritent Reflexion." This document as well as the one above have been translated by World Outlook. Both documents have been scheduled for publication in the original French in the current issue of our sister publication Perspective Mondiale.]

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The UGTA Delegation in Warsaw for the Sixth Congress  
of the WFTU -- October 1965

Our national leadership chose two of its members to attend this important trade-union congress.

However, the party, in disregard of the democracy and the statutes that govern our organization, chose to compel a member of our Executive Committee to participate. This can only be explained by an unfounded fear on the part of the party leaders that our delegates would conduct a campaign to discredit the June 19 events. Our organization has proved, by waging a vast campaign of explanation within the international trade-union organizations that the fears of the party leaders are groundless.

A Letter from the Executive Secretariat -- Department of Foreign Relations -- Demanding the Normalization of Our Relations with the Reactionary American Unions.

The directive contained in this letter proves that there is a certain tendency in the party that wants close collaboration with the Americans at any price. As far as we are concerned, our position is clear. We can have no contacts with the American unions which keep on slandering us and supporting their country's imperialist policy in Vietnam and elsewhere in the world.

Tours of Party Inspectors within the Country.

The leadership of the party has designated party inspectors to carry out tours for study and work in the federations. However, the work of the inspectors has not stopped there. At least some have not hesitated to carry on a campaign of slander against the National Secretariat in the regional unions of the UGTA in order to isolate the Secretariat from the rank and file. Such proceedings cannot add to the prestige and reputation of our party.

Relations between the Algerian and Soviet Trade Unions.

Although the interests of the Algerian trade unions require good relations with fraternal trade-union movements and, particularly with those that supported us in our struggle, the party, we note, disputes this point. It is taking unilateral measures without consulting our trade-union leadership. As proof we will cite only the following:

The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions invited a delegation of five leading members of the UGTA. We agreed to send the delegation which would be headed by the secretary general, in view of the importance of the country and of the objectives in question. The Executive Secretariat of the party informed us of its decision to cancel this visit.

Preparations for the Celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the UGTA

The celebration of the tenth anniversary of the UGTA is certainly an event of national importance; but the responsibility for the preparations for this event falls primarily on the union. However, a preparatory commission was created by the party to take charge of this. The situation thus created could only detract from the quality of the preparations for an event as important as the tenth anniversary of the UGTA.

Throughout the nation (particularly in Algiers and Skikda) the invitations made by the UGTA for May Day 1966 were eliminated in favor of those made by the party, or by the Council of the Revolution, and we may note that, if May Day is the workers holiday, the workers participated at no point in the preparations for its celebration.

### The AGTA Incident

The simple fact that the national secretary made contact with the Amicale [the Amicale Générale des Travailleurs Algériens represents Algerian workers in France] during a recent trip to Paris aroused the suspicions of the Executive Secretariat and caused the secretary general to be summoned by the Coordinator of the Executive Secretariat of the party for a session.

Such harassments, which are numerous and more or less well known abroad, make the Algerian trade-union movement look pitiful.

### The Restorations

During the Week of Self-Management, which came immediately after the third anniversary of the March decrees had just ended and the Council of the Revolution had just made 1966 the year of agrarian reform, and thousands of reassured and confident activists and the masses of the working people were taking part in the work in earnest, a blow was struck against the Revolution and against self-management which remains its principal foundation.

It began with the restoration of a 2,000-hectare estate to its former owner, M. Bouthiba. The decision had scarcely been revoked when a flood of restorations hit other self-managed estates, notably in the province of Oran. Revolutionary activists together with the workers reacted vigorously in accordance with the indignation aroused by these measures.

A cloud was taking form. Indeed, the enthusiasm and confidence of the activists and of the toiling masses which had previously manifested itself became somewhat overcast, and doubt and discouragement came to replace the former mood. Why? In our opinion, because the higher authorities in the country did not take the initiative in clarifying the situation for the masses and the activists, because they did not open a dialogue with them.

An event of such importance, of such particular gravity, passed unperceived by them, was even classed as minor, at the very moment when the masses most needed to be given direction, encouraged and enlisted totally and entirely in the exhilarating economic struggle. This event, if it had been used for the purpose of clarification, would have hardened the morale of the toiling masses and of the activists and, doubtless, would have mobilized them around the directives of the Council of the Revolution and of the party.

The UGTA alerted the higher authorities to this and even proposed a plan of work for the party. Our attempts brought us assurances, notably a guarantee of the inalienability of the conquests of the Revolution. Concretely, this led to nothing but a period of waiting since the restorations to private property decided upon have been maintained.

The decision to provide news for the workers via a

workers paper was a correct one. Indeed, if it is true that the building of socialism is the job of the workers in general and if it is certainly true that the weight of the Revolution with all that this involves in sacrifices, self-denial and deprivation, rests on their shoulders alone; it is not less true that they are the ones primarily interested in everything that concerns the Revolution.

The best way to begin a process of alienation from the masses in general is to cut oneself off from them. And to discuss the serious problems related to the continuity or the liquidation of the Revolution behind closed doors at the top only constitutes irrefutable proof of this.

Under no pretext do we have the right to keep the workers at a distance and to keep them in ignorance of such serious things.

Furthermore, our mandate demands that we serve the needs of the Revolution (through the application of the political line of the country and of the Trade Union Charter) and the needs of the rank and file who have given us their confidence.

Profoundly convinced of the correctness of this judgment, we decided to publish an article on the restorations in Revolution et Travail [Revolution and Labor]. To no avail; since to our great disappointment, the Executive Secretariat decided to block our weekly paper and seized that issue. The party leaders responsible for this gave little in the way of explanation except that they thought that it was not useful to call attention to this problem.

We had divergent points of view. Our differences were not eliminated until April 19-20 when the Executive Secretariat and our Executive Committee met at the party headquarters to study the new situation and adopted a joint resolution unanimously.

Since the Executive Secretariat did not distribute this resolution, it was sent to all members of the National Executive Committee by the National Secretariat.

The gap between theory and practice was considerable. It was decided that the Executive Secretariat would "assume the responsibility for taking the necessary measures against the authors of these restorations."

It was decided that "the task of disseminating news must have clarity as its basic principle and the mobilization of all revolutionary activists as its objective."

But the actual practice belied the written truths. Concretely, the results were nonexistent. There has been no punishment of those responsible for the restorations, no news, no clarity.

Quite the contrary, Revolution et Travail is still blocked, although the Executive Secretariat recognized the necessity of keep-

ing the revolutionary activists informed and of clarifying the situation.

The UGTA organ is a precious instrument of the Revolution and unquestionably contributes to the development of the consciousness of the masses of working people.

### The Relationship between the State and the UGTA

Serious abuses have put the principles that govern our country in question.

Many examples give us reason to think that these abuses are intentional and are carried out with the aim of challenging the participation of the workers in the administration of the state. Who is behind these abuses? It is the antisocialists, the bureaucrats, the supporters of statist authoritarianism, trained in the school of the manipulation of men by monopolizing the levers of command. What does it mean when the police surround the offices of trade-union locals, seeking the least pretext to harass trade-union activists?

What did the presence of police in the offices of trade-union locals on the eve of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of our organization on February 24, 1966, mean?

What was the meaning of the presence of police in the offices of the UGTA locals throughout the nation following the celebration of May Day? What do these interrogations of trade-union militants mean, and the shameful inquisitions that they have suffered?

We think, frankly, that these activities have the single purpose of creating fear and demoralization in our organization.

Police provocations are no answer, in any case, to political and other problems. To the contrary, they can only accentuate these problems.

The state is the guardian of the material resources of our country. These resources must not serve the interests of any one individual or group. They must serve the people and those whose only interest is in serving the people. Thus we believe that the news media, for example, must inform the people so that they know everything that takes place in their country, so that they know what the leaders say and do. The workers, also, have a right to the use of the news media. These media must give objective news so that the people may fully understand the preoccupations of the nation and its leaders.

We find that everything that is published concerning the declarations, interviews and communiqués issued by the UGTA is distorted, often divested of its real meaning, and often totally ignored by the officials in charge of the news media.

The UGTA does not issue antisocialist and antinational propaganda. The UGTA has only one concern, that of serving the interests of the masses of the working people and the people of Algeria in general.

### ANGER IN JAPAN OVER VISIT OF NUCLEAR SUBMARINE

The U.S. nuclear submarine Snook left Yokosuka June 3 after a five-day visit that was marked by massive daily demonstrations from the time it docked.

Home Affairs Minister Tadanori Nagayama reported to the cabinet that some 52,000 students and unionists had mobilized for the demonstrations. These were of a militant character. Some of the participants, armed with stones, sought to trespass into the U.S. military base. Japanese security forces battled to keep them back.

Sixty-five policemen were injured, six seriously. Forty-six demonstrators were injured, six of them seriously. The police arrested thirty-four demonstrators.

The demonstrations were sponsored by SOHYO, the General Council of Trade Unions, the Japan Socialist party and the Japan Communist party as well as by many other groups. Kozo Sasaki, chairman of the Japan Socialist party, said June 3:

"It is not merely the question of safety that matters. What matters is the fact that this country is allowing U.S. warships to visit its port in connection with the Vietnam war."

By permitting the Snook and perhaps later the nuclear aircraft carrier Enterprise to enter a Japanese port, the government was in effect participating in the war in Vietnam, since both vessels have been actively engaged in that conflict.

"If we allow the Enterprise, which is equipped with nuclear weapons, to visit a Japanese port," continued Sasaki, "that means Japan is actually under the U.S. nuclear umbrella and therefore virtually armed with nuclear weapons."

In opposition to this policy, the Japan Socialist party will launch massive campaigns to enlist popular support for its slate in the next general election as well as local elections next spring, Sasaki said.

Sasaki's arguments appeared to be confirmed by Foreign minister Etsusaburo Shiina who said that Japan was opening its ports to the U.S. "in the interest of the peace and security of the Far East." He cleared up what he meant by this by saying that in view of the Security Treaty, Japan could not be said to be neutral in the Vietnam war.