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FORECAST BIG TURNOUT FOR APRIL 15 ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATIONS

From all indications, the antiwar demonstrations in the United States scheduled for April 15 will prove to be impressive registrations of public bitterness over Johnson's continued escalation of the war in Vietnam. One of the most significant indications is the widening popularity of the slogan demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. This has been reported from many parts of the country.

Even more important are the signs that fresh layers of the American people are preparing to add their weight to the antiwar movement. Most striking is the evident turn of the civil-rights fighters in this direction. The broadening spectrum is indicated by the adhesion of the forces around Dr. Martin Luther King and their denunciation of the war in such forceful terms as to startle the *New York Times*. In addition there are increasing signs in the labor movement of the spread of antiwar sentiments.

In our next issue we hope to have a special report on the outcome of the marches and rallies and what they portend for the antiwar movement.

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BOLIVIAN GENERALS CLAIM BATTLE VICTIMS

What the April 8 New York Times described as the "first concrete evidence" of an encounter between forces of the Barrientos regime and guerrilla fighters in the south-east part of Bolivia was offered to foreign correspondents at Camiri April 7. The evidence was seven bodies of soldiers allegedly recovered from a mass grave. According to the Bolivian generals they were killed March 23 in a clash between a government patrol and a group of armed men in the vicinity of Nacahuazú. Nevertheless the Times remained skeptical of the story issued by the highly unreliable Barrientos government.

"The Bolivian Air Force has been bombing and strafing the impenetrable jungle in the Zone Red almost daily," said the Times dispatch, "and it says it has killed 25 guerrillas. A spokesman was able to offer no proof of the casualties, and he acknowledged that no troops were within 30 miles of where the bombings had taken place."

"The clash of March 23," continued the Times, "was the only undoubted evidence of a hostile band in the area. The rest of the claims made by the Government, involving other clashes, bearded prisoners, vast troop movements and even an artillery battle, cannot be substantiated. Statements made by one officer contradict those of another officer, and some contradict themselves."

The official account is that in the March 23 clash, seven soldiers were killed and fourteen were taken prisoner by the guerrillas. The prisoners were then allegedly marched twenty miles to the guerrilla headquarters. They were shown around and released forty-eight hours later. One of these supposed prisoners was made available to the press by President Barrientos during a "political swing near La Paz."

"The soldier, Sgt. Edgar Torrico," still according to the Times, "said there had been 450 men in the guerrilla band, all well armed. He said most had been Bolivians and some had spoken Quechua, the local Indian language."

"Then the sergeant added that there had also been Russians, Cubans, Mexicans and Chinese. The leader, he said, was an Argentine named Antonio. The band comprised [included] five physicians including a cardiologist, he said."

American advisers are with Barrientos' forces in the field, it has been reported repeatedly. Nevertheless, the Johnson administration appears to be waiting for additional evidence that strong guerrilla forces are actually operating in Bolivia.

Meanwhile, the Barrientos regime made an international move of a rather mysterious nature. It sent Colonel Kolle Cueto, head of the general staff of the Air Force, to Argentina. There the Bolivian emissary met with General Onganía to solicit aid in the fight against the guerrillas.

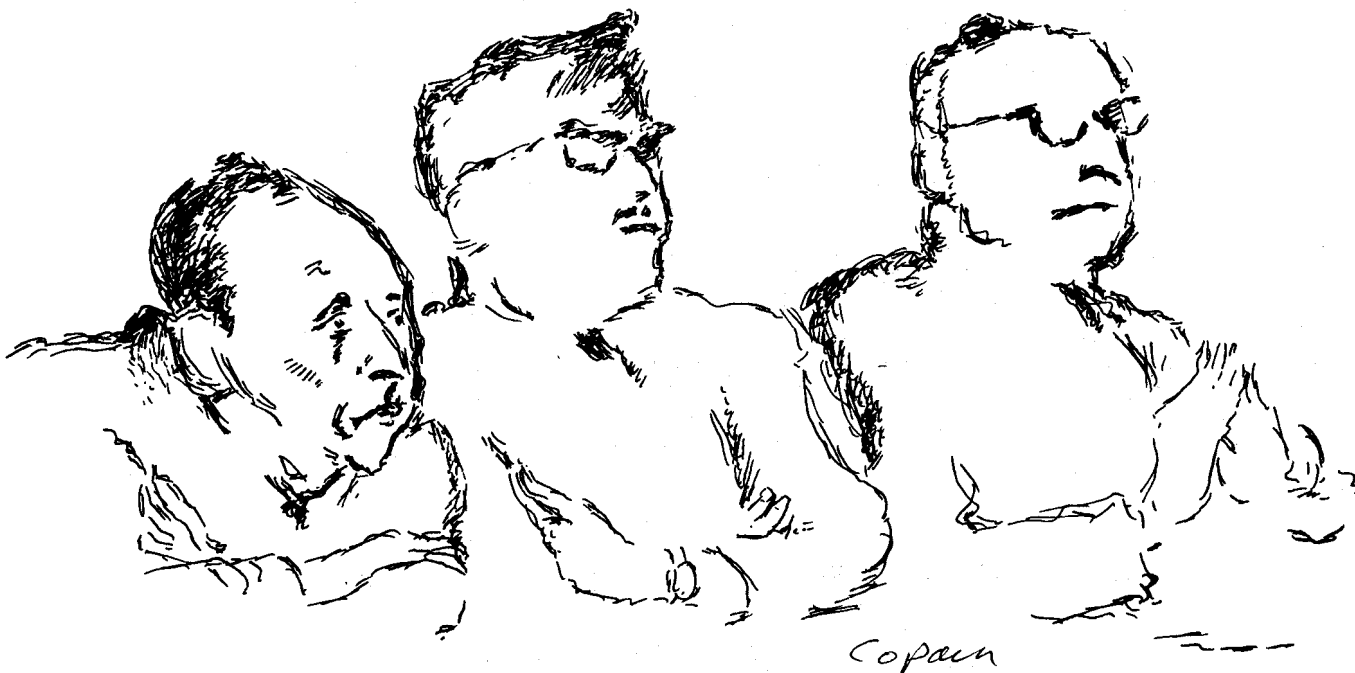
On March 31, according to Henry Janières, special correspondent of the Paris daily Le Monde, Colonel Kolle Cueto spent almost the whole day with the Argentine minister of national defense. The Argentine chief of the gendarmes, General Aguirre, spent the day flying to the Argentine-Bolivian frontier to inspect his troops.

Le Monde's correspondent reported that he had learned that the Bolivians wanted arms and munitions from Argentina. "Because the guerrillas, numbering about 500, are perfectly equipped, while the Bolivian army does not have adequate armaments. As for planes, they are useless in the mountainous, densely wooded area where the guerrillas are maneuvering."

This story, of course, stands in contradiction to the reports in La Paz about pitched battles "with artillery" and the devastating effect of the American napalm bombs and machine-gun fire poured on the guerrilla forces, "who are encircled and cannot escape."

One well-known glaring fact was strangely missing from most of the reports sent out by the bourgeois press; this is the nationwide witch-hunt launched by the Barrientos regime against the left-wing parties. Virtually all their leaders have been seized by the Bolivian secret political police and deported to remote villages in the mountains and jungles.

The wild, or greatly inflated, account of guerrilla action in the southeast part of Bolivia has served as a most convenient diversion. And it is a diversion in which the international bourgeois press is playing its own role by remaining silent about the witch-hunt which Barrientos is conducting against the Bolivian labor movement under excuse of discovery of a "plot" against his regime.



HUGO BLANCO'S JUDGES. At trial in Tacna, they sentenced the Peruvian peasant leader on September 8, 1966, to 25 years in El Frontón, the notorious fortress-prison on an island near Lima. When Hugo Blanco appealed this savage sentence to the Supreme Council of Military Justice, the prosecution demanded the death penalty. The highest legal body of the army recessed on January 15 and was scheduled to reconvene sometime in April when it would presumably resume consideration of the appeal of the defense and the counterdemand of the prosecution. If the verdict is unfavorable to the prisoner, he could be taken out and shot immediately.

Under Peru's barbaric witch-hunt legislation, the Council's decision cannot be appealed to the civilian courts. Although Hugo Blanco is a civilian, the army tried him in its own military tribunal. The army thus acted as both prosecution and judge and is now weighing whether also to play the role of executioner.

Only widespread international protest has stayed the firing squad up to now. It is necessary to redouble the protests, cabling to the following addresses: Consejo Supremo de Justicia, Lima, Peru; Presidente Fernando Belaúnde Terry, Lima, Peru. Copies of protests should be airmailed to Hugo Blanco's attorney, Dr. Alfredo Battilana, Avenida Nicola de Pierola 966, Oficina 215, Lima, Peru. Also send copies to World Outlook.

Copies of the protests should also be filed with local Peruvian consulates and embassies. In some countries, picket lines have proved highly effective in gaining additional publicity in behalf of Hugo Blanco's appeal.

BIGGEST STUDENT ORGANIZATION IN U.S. BACKS HUGO BLANCO CAMPAIGN

At a meeting April 5-6 at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, the National Council of the Students for a Democratic Society passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority in solidarity with the campaign to win freedom for Hugo Blanco. The SDS is the largest student organization in the United States, with some 4,000 activists and an estimated total membership running as high as 30,000.

The National Council sent a letter to President Belaúnde of Peru, the text of which was as follows:

"Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader, and his colleagues have been condemned to 25 years in prison and face the threat of death. They have been convicted as common criminals when their only crime was organizing a just struggle for land reform. We vigorously protest this action and urge that they be immediately freed."

WEST BERLIN SOCIALIST YOUTH SUPPORT HUGO BLANCO

Berlin

At their general annual conference, the Berlin Socialist Youth decided unanimously to send a letter to President Belaúnde of Peru appealing to him to intervene in behalf of Hugo Blanco and to grant a general amnesty for all the revolutionists now imprisoned in Peru. The text of the letter was as follows:

"Mr. President,

"The delegates to the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Berlin Socialist Youth were deeply alarmed to hear of the plan of the Peruvian military authorities to condemn Hugo Blanco, the revolutionary peasant leader, to death, utilizing dubious legal methods. The fear arises that to convert Hugo Blanco into a warning example will encourage the ruling classes of Peru to launch a new wave of terror directed against any and all anti-imperialist and social-revolutionary forces throughout the country. We therefore call upon you, Mr. President, to do everything within your power to prevent the planned legal murder of Hugo Blanco. In particular, we call upon you to declare a general amnesty for all revolutionists imprisoned in Peru.

"We send our greetings to Hugo Blanco and all those comrades accused with him, as well as to all revolutionary militants in the prisons of Peru."

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE SENDS GREETINGS TO HUGO BLANCO

At its Sixth National Convention, held in Detroit, Michigan, March 24-26, the Young Socialist Alliance, the American youth organization adhering to the program of Trotskyism, decided to send the following message of greetings to the Peruvian peasant leader condemned to 25 years in El Frontón and threatened in addition with imposition of a death sentence:

"Dear Hugo Blanco,

"The Sixth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance extends its solidarity to you in your struggle. Support for your defense is growing in this country as part of a worldwide protest against your jailing and inhuman treatment. Your revolutionary example has been an inspiration to us.

"Your struggle is our struggle.

"Revolutionary greetings,

"Lew Jones

"National Chairman, for the
Sixth National Convention."

A LETTER FROM THE YSA TO BELAUNDE

The Young Socialist Alliance sent the following letter, dated April 4, to President Fernando Belaúnde Terry of Peru.

"Dear Sir,

"The Sixth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance protests the inhuman and antidemocratic jailing of Hugo Blanco. Hugo Blanco is a symbol of the aspirations of the oppressed masses of the world.

"The most elementary principles of civil liberties demand an immediate clemency for him and his immediate and unconditional release from prison

"Sincerely,

"Lew Jones

"National Chairman, for the
Sixth National Convention."

U.S. COMMITTEE URGES PROTESTS IN BEHALF OF HUGO BLANCO

New York

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners urges that letters and telegrams be sent immediately to President Belaúnde and the Supreme Council of Military Justice in Lima, Peru, asking that amnesty be granted to Hugo Blanco and his associates now being held in prison because of their political views.

The committee has sponsored demonstrations and meetings in behalf of Hugo Blanco whose case was scheduled to be decided in April.

During March, John Gerassi, vice-chairman of the committee, toured the Bay Area and Los Angeles (California) speaking about the case and about other political prisoners in jail in Latin America.

The committee reported that it had received photostats of letters written by Hugo Blanco to the French Committee for Solidarity with the Peruvian Victims of Repression. The peasant leader expressed appreciation for the world campaign in behalf of him and his companions.

Blanco reported high morale among the 43 political prisoners due to the broad international effort to win their freedom.

BLANCO CAMPAIGN GAINS MOMENTUM IN ARGENTINA

In Argentina, the campaign in behalf of Hugo Blanco is proceeding steadily, week by week. Hundreds of signatures are being gathered on petitions seeking the immediate release of the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader and his comrades.

One of the most significant and impressive aspects of this campaign is the large number of trade unions, both on a local and national level, that have decided to back the campaign.

The April 3 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly La Verdad reports the following new signatures in Bahía Blanca: Confederación General del Trabajo (both the Bahía Blanca and Punta Alta delegations); Luz y Fuerza; Asociación Empleados Universidad Nacional del Sur; Asociación del Personal de la Junta Nacional de Granos; Asociación Empleados de Comercio; Comisión Reactivadora de Acción Bancaria.

La Verdad reports that in Rosario the following union bodies have joined the campaign: Aceiteros; Alimentación; ATE; Calzado; Carne; CAP; U.S. Belgrano; FONIVA; Jaboneros; Industria Lechera; Textiles; Seguros; Vidrio; Ladrilleros; SMATA; Molineros; Tabaco.

Other organizations listed by La Verdad include: Ceramistas; Comercio (Independientes); Reno-Telefonicos (lista Marrón); Metalurgicos (Agrupación Lealtad); Construcción (Agrupación Lealtad); SUPE (lista Verde).

The following painters joined: Aldo Bertolotti, Pablo Renzi, Eduardo Favario and César Gatti. In addition to these, the following well-known figures added their names: Enrique Spangenberg and Agustín Rodríguez Araya, former national deputies; Luis Juri, a former student counselor.

THANT SEES LONG, BLOODY WAR IN VIETNAM

Secretary General Thant of the United Nations, who has sought to play the role of "mediator" in the Vietnam war and thus get the Vietnamese freedom fighters to bow to the Johnson administration or at least give unwarranted concessions to the imperialist U.S. which has invaded their country, is now very pessimistic about the eventual outcome of the conflict after his proposals were turned down.

In Rome April 7, after talking with President Giuseppe Saragat of Italy, Foreign Minister Amintore Fanfani and Pope Paul VI, Thant told a news conference: "It's going to be a long war, it's going to be a bloody war and the prospect of peace is as distant today as it was a year ago."

HUMPHREY RUNS INTO A ROMAN HOLIDAY

Rome

When Vice-president Hubert Humphrey visited Rome, his obvious intention was to avoid contact with the people and confine his socializing to the "top circles." But the people were afraid that Johnson's emissary might get a wrong impression of their city and that he really ought to get acquainted with at least the antiwar movement.

Special measures had been taken to spare the distinguished guest such an experience. Wherever he went, the screen of police was so thick he could hardly see the attractions which make Rome one of the world's great tourist centers. As an added touch that brought everything up to their standards of efficiency, American agents -- probably the FBI or some other alphabetical outfit -- stuck to the vice-president like leeches. They kept checking their guns, too. When Kennedy was here, one of these members of the world's top-rated police had a most embarrassing experience. After being jostled a few times, he suddenly discovered that his Colt or Beretta, or whatever it is they wear, was gone -- swiped right out of the holster!

In response to a call issued by the committee opposing the war in Vietnam, members and sympathizers of the leftist parties demonstrated in various ways. There was wide distribution of a leaflet that read: "H. Humphrey: Wanted for Murder of 260,000 Vietnamese Children." Detergent coupled with a red dye was added to many fountains so that the water ran like blood. The flag of the National Front for Liberation was hoisted near the Colosseum. It also waved from the dome on St. Peter's Church.

Meetings and marches were staged in many places despite a police ban. (The authorities refuse permits to most demonstrations, especially if they could embarrass representatives of foreign governments.)

When Humphrey arrived in town March 30, his itinerary called for a night at the opera. In the lounge a group of young Communists paid him their re-

spects. As they let go with little bags of paint, 007's brave colleagues rose to the occasion, evidently determined, no matter what the risk, to save that sharply creased suit. The youths, nevertheless, got their message across. While Humphrey's suit was only lightly sprinkled, his bodyguards had rather extensive mementos of the evening's entertainment.

The Italian cops arrested a member of the national leadership of the Communist Youth, who was there, and, along with others, an American citizen named David Blum.

The next day Humphrey was scheduled to get together with Italian government officials. In the early evening the area around the Palazzo Chigi, where the prime minister's office is, began to fill up with an unusual number of strollers. Heavy contingents of police watched them suspiciously and occasionally rounded up groups and hauled them off to police stations.

At 7 p.m. the strollers -- about 3,000 in all -- formed into squads and began shouting anti-imperialist slogans. The police responded by going after them with chains (carried for use as handcuffs).

In the scuffling, a number of people were hurt, including six policemen. A reported 131 demonstrators were taken to police stations and held until later in the night. Seven were charged with participating in a "seditious demonstration" (this became an offense for the first time in Italy under Mussolini). Among those arrested were two Communist members of parliament and a member of the National Political Bureau (E. Berlinguer).

Traffic was completely blocked for two hours. As the evening wore on, Communist leaders tried to get the youth to break it off. "That's enough," a local Communist leader told a group of young demonstrators; "the demonstration is over." He got a salty response. One of them invited him to go perform an act that is generally not even mentioned, still less done, in polite company.

AND SEES PARIS IN THE SPRING

Hubert Humphrey, in Paris April 7, "was greeted by chanting demonstrators who hurled eggs, paint and angry slogans," the New York Times reported. "A huge police force imposed rough control on the demonstrators...who chanted 'U.S. assassin!' and 'Peace in Vietnam!'" Automobiles in the cortège that sped the embarrassing guest through the streets were splattered with eggs and paint. A U.S. flag was torn from a building and burned and windows at the American Express were smashed. More than 160 arrests were made and 46 policemen were injured.

EASTER MARCH IN GERMANY PROTESTS VIETNAM WAR

Frankfort

In spite of pessimistic forecasts, even in left circles, over the chances of building the Easter March movement up to the level achieved last year, the turnout this year proved to be even larger. More than 150,000 persons participated in one way or another in the campaign for disarmament and against the war in Vietnam.

The appeal for the march was signed by more than 15,000 persons, including 1,507 teachers, 1,416 clergymen, 1,378 trade-union militants, 1,008 representatives of youth and student organizations, 981 artists, 577 writers and journalists and 486 professors and scientists.

New devices were tried in order to reach the maximum number of people. Besides 11 marches in various cities there were 20 mass meetings, 200 rallies and various actions like "Hyde Park" discussions and doorbell ringing to collect money in homes for the antiwar struggle.

A leaflet denounced the war against Vietnam "by the huge military machine of the biggest industrial country in the world against a small nation fighting for bare existence." The leaflet called such a war "genocide." In behalf of peace and the interests of the Vietnamese and American people, the leaflet urged support for the following slogans:

- Stop bombing north Vietnam.
- Stop using gas and chemicals.
- Recognize the Front for National Liberation as the other partner in negotiations.
- Stop all military activities in south Vietnam.
- Negotiate on the basis of the Geneva agreement of 1954.
- Withdraw all foreign troops.
- Independence and neutrality for Vietnam as a whole.

A declaration was issued at the close of the Easter March. This stressed five points:

(1) The Federal Republic of Germany should stop opposing the treaty for the non-proliferation of atomic weapons.

(2) In the face of an economic and financial crisis, the federal government increased the military budget by two billion deutsche marks [\$500 million]. But only by reducing the military budget can the government make credible its proclaimed policy of peace.

(3) The campaign for further "emergency" laws should be given up and the laws of this kind already passed should be repealed. The passage of laws in anticipation of total war, coupled with the militarization of society through these same laws, is incompatible with a policy of peace.

(4) Military disengagement in Europe can be achieved only by negotiating with all European countries. In accordance with the real situation, the Bonn government should represent the Federal Republic, and the East Berlin government the German Democratic Republic. Bonn should drop its claim to represent Germany as a whole.

(5) The Federal Republic should stop backing the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people. Our claim to freedom is invalid unless we are also for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, who are fighting for their freedom against the USA.

A particularly impressive speech was given by Dr. Martin Niemöller, the former U-boat commander in World War I who became a Protestant clergyman and was held in a concentration camp for many years under Hitler. Recently returned from a visit with Ho Chi Minh, Dr. Niemöller told a crowd of some 10,000 in Frankfort: "The American government declares it can't afford to lose face in Vietnam. Let them look in a mirror to see how much face is left. I learned in Southeast Asia that the U.S. loses face with each day the war in Vietnam continues."

Even more than last year, the main theme of the Easter March was the fight against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam. Thousands of young people joined the movement this year for the first time. In Berlin and other cities, some clashes with the police occurred and some arrests were made but in general even the forces of "law and order" did not intervene in a brutal way and some of them even seemed to sympathize with the marchers.

The international character of the march was underlined by the participation of thousands of foreign workers and students from Italy, Spain, Morocco, Greece, Yugoslavia and Iran. Delegations were present from Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, France, Italy, Great Britain, the United States, Switzerland, Austria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Two members of the British parliament were present (Frank Allaun and Stanley Orme).

MARK LANE CLAIMS TO KNOW FORCES BEHIND KENNEDY ASSASSINATION

By Arthur Maglin

Interest in the New Orleans assassination investigation is running high and the American press continues to report new developments. Of the latest events, perhaps the most significant is Mark Lane's becoming involved in the Garrison probe. Lane, the author of Rush to Judgment, is the Warren Commission's most widely known critic.

In a story datelined Copenhagen, Denmark, the March 31 New York Post reported:

"Attorney Mark Lane said in a signed article in the Copenhagen newspaper Estrabladet today that he knew who fired the fatal shot at President Kennedy in Dallas.

"But he did not identify anyone and said the time was not ripe to publish all the information he claimed was available.

"The investigation into the Dallas assassination being conducted by New Orleans district attorney Jim Garrison would lead to political chaos in the United States, Lane said.

"I know who fired the fatal shot at President Kennedy. I know the forces behind the murder of the President," Lane's article said."

Lane claimed that he was the only person, apart from those on Jim Garrison's staff, who had seen the extensive evidence collected in New Orleans.

"One of the strongest movements in America planned and started the events that led to the murder of the President," said Lane.

"No foreign power was involved in the planning or execution of the assassination....Anti-Castro Cubans played an important role in the assassination."

The April 4 New York Times reported that on April 3 the Dallas police arrested Sergio Arcacha Smith, who identified himself as a former anti-Castro Cuban leader, on a warrant issued by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison. Garrison alleged in the arrest warrant that Arcacha conspired with Gordon Novel and David Ferrie -- two figures in Garrison's investigation of the assassination -- to burglarize a Houma, Louisiana, munitions bunker in 1961.

The April 4 Times also contained the following small item which we quote in full:

"Putnamville, Indiana, April 3 (AP) -- A rifle of the same model as the one used to kill President Kennedy was found in a Terre Haute, Indiana, hotel three days after the assassination, a former police chief said today.

"Frank Riddle, the retired chief, said the rifle, a 6.5-millimeter Italian Mannlicher-Carcano, was traced to a salesman from San Antonio. He said the rifle was taken by Secret Service agents.

"Mr. Riddle said the San Antonio authorities had informed him that the salesman had no criminal record, was a member of the Young Communist League and an expert rifle marksman."

To be noticed in this item is the reference to the salesman having been a member of the long-defunct Young Communist League. Red-baiting items of this sort have repeatedly appeared in the press ever since the Garrison investigation broke into the public view. This note in the probe bears careful watching, since certain forces would undoubtedly like to see an "anti-Communist" turn given to the probe. However, the new leads being turned up do not fit in with any McCarthyite thesis, pointing instead in actuality to the most reactionary forces in the United States.

THE "PACIFICATION" CONTINUES IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Santo Domingo

One hundred and twenty-eight persons murdered, 26 missing, 171 wounded, 359 jailed, 49 beaten and 87 raids -- this is the balance sheet of violations of the dignity and worth of the human person in the Dominican Republic in 1966 as compiled in the Annual Provisional Report of the Dominican Association for Human Rights, which was recently published in this city. The report consists of 23 mimeographed pages.

"Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says," the report points out, "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person."

It adds that "it appears that misfortunes have not ceased on the tragic road the Dominican Republic is upon. The year 1966 does not present an optimistic balance with regard to human life. The balance is still very negative.

"Our association offers its annual provisional report on the violations of the dignity and worth of the human person with sorrow and tragedy in our hearts. Many Dominicans have disappeared. Hate and disorder reign in Dominicana."

Those killed, wounded, kidnaped, jailed, beaten, belong to parties in opposition to the government. The assassinations and kidnappings began under the provisional government of Dr. Héctor García Godoy, the present Dominican ambassador to the United States. They have continued under the government of Dr. Joaquín Balaguer, who took office July 1, 1966.

As Juan Bosch put it (see World Outlook March 10, p. 271), "To define the present situation in the Dominican Republic, a single word is sufficient -- decomposition."

During the present year the arrests, kidnappings, raids and assassinations have continued.

The most outstanding cases include the journalist, lawyer and trade-unionist Guido Gil, who represented the Dominican Republic at the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana in 1966. Gil was kidnaped by police agents near San Pedro de Macorís, 75 kilometers from Santo Domingo two months ago. Up to now he is still missing.

Another case was the murder of Orlando Mazara, leader of the Movimiento Revolucionario 14 de Junio [Revolutionary Movement of June 14], in La Horma, San José de Ocoa, 135 kilometers west of Santo Domingo. He was killed by a mixed patrol of soldiers and police who accused him of preparing guerrilla war.

At Mazara's funeral in Santo Domingo, the police fired at the mourners, mortally wounding a 15-year-old youth.

A resident of Salcedo, 140 kilometers north of here, charged that the terror "reigning in recent weeks in this city and the surrounding countryside has been increased with new acts of repression." This report appeared in the March 19 El Caribe.

According to this daily, José Miguel Reyes Márquez declared that "the persecution, arrests and torture against humble and revolutionary sectors of Salcedo and the surrounding area was ordered by the comandante of the police in this locality."

It added that a construction worker was arrested; "he was submitted to throttling and savagely beaten. He was then released. Taken by three persons to the Pascasio Toribio hospital, he was denied medical attention."

The three persons who took him to the hospital, "protested against the refusal to give him medical attention. The health center called the police; the three persons were arrested later and beaten so severely right in the street that they were running with blood."

AUSTRALIAN TROOPS LEFT WITH BAD MEMORIES OF VIETNAM

The Australian Communist paper Tribune reports [February 15] that the battalion recently returned from Vietnam (about 1,000 men) is consuming 13,000 antidepressant amityptiline tablets a month, on issue from No. 2 Camp Hospital, Ingleburn NSW. The usual dose is six tablets per man per day, which would indicate that at least seventy soldiers are seriously depressed by their experiences.

UNDER THE MILITARY HEEL IN INDONESIA

[The following letter from Java, dated January 14, 1967, has been translated from the February 27 issue of the Suara Pemuda Indonesia, the bulletin of the Indonesian Students Association published in China.]

* * *

Although the present regime consists of civilian and military personnel, basically it is a military dictatorship of the rightist army generals headed by Nasution and Suharto. It manifests itself in all walks of life. In the provinces rule is exercised by the KODAM [provincial military command]; in the Kabupatens [districts], by the KODIM [district military command]; in the Ketjamatans [counties], by the KORAMIL [county military command]; and most of the village heads have been replaced by military men, particularly from the army. The political parties play no role and what they say is completely ignored.

The military dictatorship loudly declares that it is "defending democracy." In reality they are destroying democracy. Anyone whom the Nasution-Suharto fascist regime suspects, or whom they consider unwilling to cooperate in selling Indonesia to the imperialist dogs and converting Indonesia into a neocolonial territory of U.S. imperialism, is treated as an outlaw under the pretext, "suspected of having been involved directly or indirectly in the September 30 Movement." Utilizing such excuses, the regime fires government officials, herds them into concentration camps without trial and there beats them to death.

A few, found not guilty, are released. But they can be arrested again and again. Many have been arrested repeatedly. A person might be arrested seven times, might be released by a unit of the armed forces, only on the following day to be arrested by a different unit, etc., etc., and wind up still in prison.

No law protects the prisoners. They can be killed at any time and by any method. For example it is now common practice in the government apparatus to "bond" (or "borrow") prisoners under the pretext: "to be employed in this or that project," or "to be sent as voluntary workers." The prisoners are then brought out, taken to a spot and shot. This is occurring in Pekalongan, Solo and other places. Outside the island of Java the situation is worse.

Another method is to sell the prisoners. The enemies of the people, especially the counterrevolutionary gangs of the MASJUMI, NU, GPII, HMI, Ansor; i.e., the gangster organizations of the landlords, compradors, bureaucratic bourgeoisie, corruptors; and the counterrevolutionary gangs of the DI-TII, PRRI-Permesta, etc., are buying prisoners (after haggling over the price for them), then they take them away and massacre them. Whatever the method used to kill the prisoners, the executioners are the same -- the "official" apparatus. Prisoners have been sold this way in Pekalongan.

In September 1966, 265 prisoners in the district of Solo were massacred in cold blood in Tawangmangu (the exact place being Tjemoro Sewu). This kind of massacre has also occurred in Pekalongan and Fratjimantoro. The executions were carried out by the "Brigade Mobil Angkatan Kepolisian" [the Mobile Brigade of the Police Forces], which is notorious for its brutality and cruelty.

Prisoners from the city of Jogjakarta (the big prison camp of Wirogunan) were taken in a fleet of trucks to Wonosari (in the southern mountain range of Central Java) and all were killed. In Tepu in the same area there is a pit 25 meters across which slopes steeply down for 100 meters and in which a poisonous underground gas collects. Anyone falling into this pit dies quickly. At midnight, trucks of prisoners are driven to this place and thrown into the pit. This is always done at night, never in the day. The sculptor Trubus and the painter Djoni Sutrisno and Suprano (the vice-chairman of Jogjakarta's Committee of the Indonesian Journalists Association and editor of both the daily Ari Warti and the magazine Waspada in Jogjakarta) were all murdered in this pit.

No attention is paid to the health of the prisoners. They are not given enough food; they suffer from malnutrition, dysentery or beriberi. Many have died from these causes. For example in Tangerang (Jakarta), in Jogjakarta and other cities; also, and to a still worse degree, in Sumatra and other islands.

Some prisoners are fed only once a day, being given maize, for instance in the city of Semarang (Central Java). There are also prisoners who are given no food at all. They have to depend on food packages sent by relatives. But the prisoners' families are becoming poorer and poorer because previously they were dependent on the prisoners for

their livelihood. A prisoner who gets sick is left to die. Letting prisoners die from hunger or sickness is a policy with the military dictatorship; it lightens their heavy "burden" of having to provide for the maintenance of hundreds of thousands of prisoners.

Prisoners suspected of being cadres or committee members of the PKI [Indonesian Communist party] or of revolutionary mass organizations (but for which proof is lacking for submission to a military court) are killed by various ways and means, as in Lamongan (Eastern Java). The military dictatorship decided to kill all the cadres and leaders of the PKI and the revolutionary mass organizations from the Central Committee on down to the branch level. The regime thinks that the PKI can thereby be smashed and Communism eliminated from Indonesia. Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PKI, like D.N. Aidit, M.H. Lukman, Njoto, and cadres in the provinces and villages have been murdered. Ir. Sakirman (who is also a member of the Political Bureau), who was caught in Solo on October 1, 1966 will possibly be killed like the others.

Families of the prisoners, and others who escaped arrest, are being ousted from their homes which are taken over by military personnel. The homes of many prisoners have been burned down, or their personal belongings ransacked or seized, so that their families are left destitute. Many killings and arrests are not political, being motivated by personal hatred.

In some cases prisoners have been released if their relatives could raise sufficient money to pay the regime or the prison guards. In Jakarta the price for an ordinary prisoner (not a party cadre) is 15,000 rupiahs* (in October 1966), and more if the prisoner is of Chinese descent. However there is no guarantee that a prisoner released in this way will not be arrested again. There are even cases in which the money was paid but the prisoner was not released. This has happened in Solo, Jogjakarta, etc. Agents of the regime are not ashamed to openly ask for money to release prisoners.

Since the September 30 affair, the landlords have been exploiting the peasants in the villages more intensively. For example in Klaten (Central Java), land distributed to the peasants before the September 30 affair (in line with the law on land reform) has now been taken back by the landlords. The peasant's share of the crop has been drastically reduced. In Ambarawa, for instance, before the September 30 affair, the division was 1 to 6 [one part for the peasants and six for the landlord], or at worst, 1 to 8. Now it has been changed 1 to 15 or 1 to 20. In villages where it was previously 5 to 5, it is now 1 to 15. And taxes have been steeply boosted.

In some provinces, people have been forced to labor in projects run by the army without pay or very low pay. For example in Puwakarta (Western Java). In Pati (Eastern Java), when the sugar factory "Pakispaju" (run by military personnel) needed workers to cut sugarcane, the local military command forced all heads of peasant families to work three days a week from 6 a.m. to 4 p.m. at a wage of two rupiahs a day and one-eighth of a kilo [4.4 ounces] of sugar a week. But the lowest wage in these villages is 10 rupiahs a day. This work is compulsory. If a peasant family cannot provide a worker to cut cane, then the family must hire someone from another family, paying a wage of 10 rupiahs because that is the minimum wage in the village.

*[The official rate for the rupiah is 500 for \$1 but this exchange is rather meaningless due to the continuing extreme inflation. -- W.O.]

SCIENCE MARCHES AHEAD -- IN VIETNAM

Astrosystems International, Inc., has built a kleig-light under a \$250,000 U.S. Air Force contract "which will permit the Vietnam war to continue into prime evening time," reports Gar Smith, science correspondent of the Sunday Ramparts. The airborne light, burning a mixture of liquid oxygen and jet fuel doped with sodium, is capable of lighting up a two-square-mile radius, providing illumination fifty times greater than moonlight and at one-tenth the cost of commercial flares.

Westinghouse and Boeing, under another U.S. Air Force contract, are studying the feasibility of putting an enormous mirror in outer space 22,000 miles above Vietnam. With a diameter of 2,000 feet, the mirror would reflect sunlight with an intensity almost twice that of a full moon across an area 220 miles broad, enough to illuminate Vietnam from Hanoi to Hue. Gar Smith comments that "with the escalation of the war into the late hours of night under a perpetual moonlight, armchair commandos may be able to look forward to the Late Late show from Vietnam by early October."

YOUNG SOCIALISTS CONSIDER NEXT STEPS IN FIGHT AGAINST WAR IN VIETNAM

By Les Evans

Almost three hundred students and young people from all over the United States met in Detroit March 24-26 for the Sixth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The spirited gathering marked a significant stride forward for the YSA in terms of size, political maturity and influence. YSAers attended from as far away as Seattle, Baltimore, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Madison. Two visitors from Atlanta, Georgia, joined the YSA at the convention.

Large delegations were present from New York, Berkeley, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Boston and Cleveland. More than 40 came from the West Coast, a distance of over 2,000 miles.

The convention was the culmination of a three-month discussion period in YSA locals across the country on the major political questions facing radicals in America today. The locals then elected delegates to the convention on the basis of their positions in the discussion, with the right of proportional representation for minority viewpoints.

The convention is the highest body of the YSA, representing all geographical areas and political positions of the membership throughout the national. The convention decides YSA policy on all basic questions until the next convention. The delegates, traditionally chosen from the ranks of the membership, also elect a new national leadership for the period between conventions.

The convention was opened on Friday by Lew Jones, national chairman of the YSA. The convention voted to send a telegram to the First National Congress of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire [Revolutionary Communist Youth] held by coincidence the same weekend in Paris. The telegram wished the new organization "the best possible success" in their deliberations. A message was received from the JCR saluting the YSA gathering and paying tribute to Leo Bernard, YSA member murdered in Detroit last May by a fanatical anti-Communist.

Lew Jones then invited Tom Kerry, a leader of the Socialist Workers party and editor of the International Socialist Review, to present fraternal greetings from the SWP to the convention.

Kerry pointed to the responsibility of socialists to defend the Vietnamese revolution by demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and building the antiwar movement into a massive force in the United States. He stressed the need to build a revolutionary-socialist party based on the principles of Lenin to organize the defeat of capitalism. This, he said, would be the only way to finally end the threat of war.

The convention in its three days and nights of intensive deliberations took up the American antiwar movement, the general political prospects for socialist youth in the U.S. and internationally, and the black freedom struggle in this country. It also dealt extensively with the organizational opportunities and perspectives of the YSA. Jacquie Henderson, a visitor from Toronto, told about the Canadian antiwar movement and the activities of young socialists in Canada.

Lew Jones delivered the major antiwar report. He outlined the contribution of the YSA, in cooperation with the SWP, in helping to build the broad coalition of forces against the war that has coalesced in the Spring Mobilization Committee. The Spring Mobilization Committee is the sponsor and organizer of the upcoming mammoth antiwar protest scheduled for April 15 in New York and San Francisco.

Jones emphasized the importance of the nonexclusive character of the movement: The movement solicits participation from both radical and more conservative organizations on the single criterion of opposition to the war. To insist on adherence to the specific viewpoint of any one tendency, he pointed out, would have the effect of destroying the united front by excluding those who did not agree. He discussed the importance of the entry of sections of the labor movement into the antiwar struggle for the first time. He pointed to the important role played by the Student Mobilization Committee as the most militant wing of the antiwar movement. Working closely with the Spring Mobilization Committee, the student organization also acted independently to mobilize students for "Vietnam Week," an intensive schedule of campus protest to precede and build the April 15 Mobilization.

Tactics for the YSA within the antiwar movement were vigorously debated by the

delegates around the question of how best to advance the demand for the immediate withdrawal of troops while preserving and extending the united front that now exists.

Saturday's sessions began with the general political report given by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the Young Socialist. She described the opportunities before the YSA and its cothinkers in other countries. She said that both the Socialist and Communist parties and their youth organizations "have failed to wage a consistent struggle against American imperialist aggression in Vietnam." This places a heavy responsibility on revolutionary socialist youth like the YSA.

She showed how the YSA and its cothinkers have risen to the challenge, pointing to the growing antiwar movement in this and other countries. As an example, she cited the European-wide demonstration against the Vietnam war held at Liège, Belgium, last October. She addressed the rally there in the name of the YSA.

She summarized the experience of the various radical and socialist youth organizations in the U.S. in the past period.

The principal contenders for the allegiance of socialist youth in the United States as in most other countries are the ideological currents of the Social Democracy, the Moscow and Peking oriented Communist parties, and Trotskyism. Since its founding in 1960, only the YSA, representing American Trotskyist youth, has been able to grow and prosper. All other socialist tendencies, with some ups and downs, have exhibited a pattern of sharp decline and demoralization.

In the early sixties, the largest socialist youth organization was the Young People's Socialist League, youth section of Norman Thomas' Socialist party. In 1964, YPSL refused to follow the lead of its elders in endorsing Lyndon Johnson for president, and the SP bureaucratically dissolved its own youth organization. The weakness of the Social Democratic youth was demonstrated by the fact that the organization disappeared almost without a trace, and has only recently begun to reconstruct a few scattered local units.

The Communist party for many years had no youth organization. Attempts to unify a few local organizations or to promote a national organization through various organizing committees resulted in failure.

Finally in June of 1964 a few hundred young people who looked generally to the Communist party for their ideological inspiration, founded the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. Their political orientation was to involve themselves in reformist community organizing and class-collaborationist politics, pretending to be the student movement, and viewing organizations such as antiwar committees as competitors. After a short period of growth, the organization began to founder on the contradiction between its claim to be broad, all-inclusive, etc., and the control exercised at the top by conscious supporters of a pro-Moscow line. The DuBois Clubs began a sharp decline last year and a question mark must be placed over their continued existence.

The pro-Mao Progressive Labor party has failed either to grow itself, or to found a youth wing.

Thus while all the socialist organizations in the United States including the YSA are small, the YSA has been flexible enough to attract many radicalizing youth who are moving toward revolutionary socialism. It is today the strongest socialist youth group in the country. Above all, it avoided the error made by all of its opponents, of trying to build an illusory "mass" socialist youth group on a minimal reformist program and loose organizational precepts. The YSA was built on the concept of training a cadre of conscious revolutionary youth. In the last years it has proven the effectiveness of a youth group based on democratic centralism.

The reporter went on to discuss the Students for a Democratic Society [SDS]. This organization, although it cannot be called socialist, is easily the largest youth organization in the country. It embodies many currents, from procapitalist liberals to revolutionists. It is mainly characterized by its unfinished state, in that the majority of its members have no finished ideas on what kind of social change is necessary in America or how it is to be accomplished.

The YSA has encouraged SDS to develop in a socialist direction. The greatest weakness of SDS has been its failure to come to grips with the Vietnam war. While SDS opposes the war, they have been sharply divided on whether or not to build the antiwar movement. After the March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam, which the SDS called in 1965, they began a retreat from antiwar work. (SDS voted to endorse the April 15 Mobilization only on April 5, although many individual members and chapters had joined

the work of building the protest action earlier.)

In closing, Mary-Alice Waters warned that as the 1968 elections approach, liberals and many "socialists" will increase the pressure to blunt the antiwar movement by channelling it into support for so-called "peace" candidates. These capitalist politicians will try to divert the movement from mass mobilizations against the war.

Derrick Morrison, YSA National Committee member from Detroit, reported on the Negro struggle. He said that "The 1964 rebellions in Northern black ghettos exploded the myth of progress under capitalism." He charged that the "war on crime" is an "excuse for beefing up local police forces to use against the ghetto masses."

Morrison described the spread of the ideas of Malcolm X and their effect on the rise of the black power movement. He said that "The question of black power rests in the last analysis on a break with the Republican and Democratic parties." He said the best example of black power today is the Lowndes County Freedom party in Alabama. This all-black political party, better known as the "Black Panther Party," challenged the Democrats and Republicans in elections last November, winning over 40 percent of the vote and securing a permanent place on the ballot as a legal party.

A lively discussion, led off by other black YSAers, followed the report.

The session closed Saturday afternoon with a report on the Bloomington case. This now famous case involved three YSA members, students at the University of Indiana in Bloomington, who were indicted in 1963 for "subversion." Joyce DeGroot, national secretary of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, told the audience that the case has finally been dropped by the prosecution. This brought a big response from the assembly, for it had been a tough fight and marked an important victory for the YSA.

Ralph Levitt, one of the three defendants, received a tremendous ovation when he described how the YSA had mobilized its entire resources in defense of its members under attack and defeated the witch-hunt.

On Sunday morning, Doug Jenness, YSA National Executive Committee member, presented the organizational report. As the session opened, one delegate who had failed to win any votes for a proposal that the YSA give unconditional support to Mao's "cultural revolution," walked out of the convention. His five followers, who had been visitors to the convention, left with him.

In his report, Jenness enumerated important gains for the YSA in all fields: recruitment of new members, circulation of its press and publications, increase in its finances, and the building of a strong national leadership team.

He pointed out that the income of the YSA had increased by ten times in the last five years, based solely on contributions from its own members. He said that the "YSA is the only youth organization in the country that is financially self-sufficient," and probably the only one that is not in debt.

Jenness announced plans to expand the organization's bimonthly magazine, the Young Socialist, to a monthly publication. He reported that the YSA's pamphlet, War and Revolution in Vietnam, had sold over 25,000 copies. More than 54,000 copies of three brochures printed by the YSA to build the April 15 Mobilization had already been distributed.

Three trips were made by YSA leaders to Lowndes County, Alabama, last year. Reports on the development of the Freedom party there were printed in the Young Socialist and in the pamphlet, The Black Panther Party, published by Merit Publishers.

Four national speaking tours were made by YSA leaders in the year since the previous convention. They covered all sections of the U.S., including the South. Thousands of students heard YSA speakers on the war in Vietnam, the Black Panther party, and the "new left."

The YSA has also carried out extensive educational work in the basic political, philosophical and economic ideas of Marxism. Ten locals ran extensive summer schools last year with numerous classes on various subjects.

Jenness reported that the average age in the organization is 22.

Most impressive under both the organizational and antiwar points on the agenda were reports on YSA participation in the antiwar movement. Doug Jenness summed this up when he commented that "many of the leaders of the antiwar movement are at this conven-

tion."

After the organizational report the new National Committee was elected by the delegates. It then met briefly to elect the new national officers: Lew Jones, national chairman, Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary; and Doug Jenness, national organizational secretary.

The delegates voted to send a telegram to Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde Terry, demanding immediate clemency for imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco. A telegram was also sent to Hugo Blanco himself, in the prison fortress of El Frontón. It declared: "The Sixth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance extends its solidarity to you in your struggle....Your revolutionary example has been an inspiration to us. Your struggle is our struggle."

The convention closed as the whole assembly stood for the singing of "The Internationale."

INDIAN AND CEYLONESE TROTSKYISTS MEET IN BOMBAY

Bombay

Representatives of the Socialist Workers Party of India and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) met in a three-day conference in Bombay in March. A representative of the Fourth International also participated in the talks.

Apart from considering several organisational questions of interest to the Fourth International movement in India, Ceylon and other Asian countries, the conference reviewed the present political situation in India, especially after the general elections and the situation in relation to the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The postelection situation in India has been characterised in a resolution adopted by the conference as one of instability of bourgeois class rule. The failure of the working-class parties like the CPI and CPI (Marxist) [the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Communist parties] and the "socialist" parties like the Samyukta Socialist party, Praja Socialist party, etc., to take advantage of the widespread unpopularity of the Congress among the masses and develop anticapitalist struggles prior to and in the election campaign has not only helped reactionary capitalist political parties to make electoral gains but also has helped to strengthen the illusions of the masses in parliamentary solutions to their real social and economic problems.

In the present situation, the conference was of the view that the capitalist class in India might adopt three alternatives in its attempt to achieve a stable class rule: (1) so-called National Government, comprising bourgeois political parties and the working class and the so-called left parties; (2) a coalition of capitalist parties; or (3) some form of military rule.

The continuation of bourgeois class rule in any form will only mean more misery for the people and the aggravation of their problems. Coalition governments of bourgeois parties and working-class parties, whether at the state level or central level, will only mean a betrayal of the interests of the masses by the working-class and "socialist" parties and the strengthening of the rule of the capitalist class.

The conference stated that none of the basic problems of the Indian people can be resolved within the present capitalist framework. The only road open for the workers and peasants is the one of struggle against the Congress and other capitalist parties, including the Swatantra party and Jan Sangh in the perspective of establishment of a workers and peasants government in India.

On the Vietnam question, the conference decided that the "most urgent and immediate task facing the revolutionary Marxists on a world scale is to strengthen the struggle against imperialist aggression in Vietnam and to support the Vietnam revolution."

The conference stressed the necessity of organising and extending demonstrations against the U.S.-led imperialist aggression in Vietnam and for solidarity with the national liberation struggle. It also stressed the need for an anti-imperialist united front on an international scale. It was felt imperative for the Trotskyist movement to take every possible step through the workers and toilers to pressure both the Soviet and Chinese government to cry halt to their calamitous policies and call for the forging of a united front in relation to the Vietnam struggle.

Among those who attended the conference on behalf of the LSSP(R) were comrades Edmund Samarakkody (general secretary) and Frins Rajasuriya (member of the Political Bureau). The SWPI was represented among others by comrades M.D. Parija, Magan Desai (Gujarat), R.N. Arya (Uttar Pradesh), P.K. Vasu (Kerala), Sitarem Kolpe and G.S. Joshi (Bombay).

PEARSON UNHAPPY OVER ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS

By Alan Harris

Vancouver

"Pearson, Martin, LBJ -- How many kids did you kill today?" chanted some 100 placard-waving demonstrators as Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and his wife entered the Hotel Vancouver to attend a British Columbia Liberal party fund-raising dinner March 31. Paul Martin is Canada's external affairs minister; but Pearson bears responsibility for the policies followed by that department of his government.

Obviously rattled by the demonstrators, who followed him around on his three-day trip to Vancouver March 30-April 1, Pearson told them to "ask in Washington" about ending the war in Vietnam.

This was a novel twist to the cry which hecklers used to shout at socialist speakers: "If you don't like it here, why don't you go back to Russia?"

A leaflet distributed by the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee took up the logic of telling Canadians to ask "in Washington" for an end to the war.

"Are you saying to us, Mr. Pearson, that we must see Washington about Canadian complicity: that it is the State Department and not you who controls Canadian foreign policy? But even then, we must address our protests to you. We must say: End subservience to Washington's foreign policy; speak out against the war in Vietnam; stop Canadian arms shipments to the U.S." (Canadian industry last year sold \$300 million worth of arms and munitions to the U.S. government.)

Stung by the slogans demanding an end to Canadian complicity, Pearson conceded at a press conference that some Canadian arms and equipment sold to the U.S. found their way to Vietnam. "I'm not denying that," he said. "But it would be a small percentage." He did not elaborate on how much a "small percentage" is.

After the demonstration in front of the Hotel Vancouver, the antiwar activists wound their way downtown before crowds of Friday-night shoppers. They ended at the Public Library to hold a short meeting.

The bulk of the persons on the demonstration were supporters of the Vancouver Vietnam Day Committee or the Ad Hoc Committee of Youth for Peace in Vietnam.

The action was seen as a builder for the April 15 demonstrations and rally and was given wide publicity over TV and in the daily press.

WORKERS BATTLE POLICE IN BILBAO

More than 5,000 workers in the important industrial city of Bilbao were reported to have fought repeated battles with police April 4 in the biggest outbreak of "labor violence" in the past decade.

Shouting, "Liberty! Liberty!" they sought again and again to charge across bridges on the Nervión River into the crowded downtown area. Women and students joined them in the demonstration.

Police contingents, massed on the bridges, beat back the workers with clubs each time they surged forward. At least 30 arrests were made.

The demonstration was in solidarity with a strike of 564 workers at a steel mill that has been going on since last December and which the employees and the Franco regime have sought to crush. The demonstration followed work stoppages April 3 organized by some 20,000 Bilbao workers in 11 major plants and 40 smaller enterprises as pressure on the bosses and their government to grant a favorable settlement to the strikers.

THE SPRING CAMPAIGN OF THE JAPANESE LABOR MOVEMENT

By S. Okatani

It is the norm for the Japanese labor movement to begin its sharpest struggles for the improvement of working conditions during March, April and May in what is called "the spring campaign." This year's campaign has already begun: the first nationwide united trade-union action took place on March 2 in accordance with the schedule of Sohyo, the country's biggest left-wing national federation of unions. Domeikaigi (the General Union, in the right wing), the second largest union in Japan, is also involved. In previous campaigns they have followed a policy of abstention.

The "spring campaign" takes on a special significance this year when seen within the context of an upturn in the economy and coming on the heels of a general election in which the electoral support of the Socialist party remained static in contrast to the increased support for the Democratic Socialist party which heads the more conservative General Union.

(1) The Schedule of the Campaign

Last November, after establishing the Committee for a United Struggle in the Spring Campaign, Sohyo made public a timetable for action that called for a preliminary phase in February and March, reaching a high point of concentrated industrial action by April. On February 27-28 they held a special national congress to initiate the campaign. On March 2 each union organized on-the-job meetings, plus district membership meetings and meetings in Tokyo, to deal with the particular problems around such as the struggle for increased wages, against rising prices, a better system for determining the minimum wage, and a shorter workweek with the same take-home pay. A national delegated meeting on March 8-10 discussed campaign tactics. On March 30 a second, stepped-up nationwide united industrial action was scheduled to begin.

This will be followed by further actions in April. Unions which have not reached satisfactory agreements with employers by May 1 are expected to continue to struggle. Municipal government and transport workers, seen as the main force of the campaign, will seek to achieve their demands by the middle of May. They will set up strike committees.

Concurrently, national struggles will be conducted for a minimum wage level, for a revision of the law on old-age pensions and other laws in the labor code, the struggle to reach peak intensity by May when the Diet reconvenes.

(2) The Campaign Comes During an Upswing in the Japanese Economy

Most Japanese companies publish their budgets twice a year, in September and March. They should be examined if one wishes to understand current trends in the economy. Last September they showed that profits had increased by 28.2% (between April and September) over the previous year. Those in March are expected to show greater increases. Bonuses last December (workers receive them twice a year) were 78,000 yen [362.5 yen equal \$1], an average of 15% over the 67,000 yen of the previous year.

The Spring Campaign Committee has explained that workers need to win large increases this year because inflation usually occurs when there is an economic upturn. In a White Paper on wages, in a section entitled "The Present Situation of the Working Class," the committee tells how average nominal wages increased by 10%, considerably behind the rise in prices of consumer goods which rose 7.6% higher. This would mean that real wages only increased by 2.2% in 1965 and by 4.2% during the first half of 1966.

Big company managers who are fully aware of the economic upturn are very reluctant to discuss it in relation to wages. Mr. Maeda, for example, the director of Nikkerren (Japan Industrial Federation), recently stated that while the economy owes much to the Vietnam war, nobody knows where the war is going; so therefore everyone should fear for the future of the economy. With a program for the complete liberalization of capital transfer by 1969 and with an increase in economic aid for the "developing" countries to 1% of the national economy by 1970, the bourgeoisie are especially keen to place their companies on a more competitive footing, insisting that the increase of nominal wages should be less than the real growth in per capita productivity.

(3) Higher Wages and Changing the Wages Payment System

On the other hand, Mr. Heigo Fujii, president of the Yahata Iron and Steel Company, has stated that the iron- and steel-making companies may be eventually forced to accept wage increases of 4,000 yen a month.

Other managers have expressed the same sentiment. They see the inevitability of having to grant wage increases so now they are concentrating their energies on bringing about a change in Japan's peculiar system of wages payment, and they hope that in the process they will be able to win concessions making it easier to overcome resistance to automation.

At present there does not seem to exist any major disagreement between the unions and the companies on the necessity of the reform. It is posed by industrial modernization and automation in combination with the problem of the shortage in the number of workers in the lower age bracket. They all agree that the reform cannot be carried out without at the same time granting some increase in wages. The problem for them is how to make the change and what form it should take.

Commenting on the need to raise wages, Sohyo in its White Paper* states:

"The number of employees in the country has now reached more than 60% of the working population. The time should now be past when living conditions or low wage levels are determined by the low incomes of the peasants. We are in a period when wages of the employees, especially organized employees, should determine the national level. The struggle for higher wages is thus a struggle for a higher living standard for the Japanese people as a whole.

"This perspective means that the time is fast approaching when the Japanese economy will depend on high individual consumption. The priority of an export economy based on low wages is disappearing. The economy will be dependent on the increase in individual consumption in the internal market.

"Our perspective is to bring the time of low wages to a close and open that of higher wages. The extension of this demand makes clear the beginning of a new age."

With this view Sohyo is insisting on rapid improvement in the conditions of workers in the low-wage category. The White Paper points to their miserable existence: there are 4,520,000 families whose incomes are less than 220,000 yen [\$607] a year.

It might seem that Sohyo is being inconsistent when it stresses the campaign for a better national minimum wage system and a basic revision of the pension law, rather than the struggle for wages on the industrial front. This is in line with and is actually a logical outcome of Sohyo's orientation and concentration on the conditions of life among the workers in the lowest income category, the sector of the working class from which Sohyo has been most successfully adding to its ranks.

The debate in the labor movement on the need for this reform is a new element in the political life of the country.

Managers of the big companies, too, are paying attention to the problem, for their own ends of course, because where rationalization and automation have been implemented, a changed system of calculating wages payment is most urgent inasmuch as the old method stands in the way of the system functioning smoothly. They wish to drop the old system based on seniority and experience in favor of a new system based on job classification. Recently Sanyo Electric Machinery Company, one of the biggest electrical goods manufacturers in the country, succeeded in introducing the new system.

(4) Sohyo Versus the General Union

Regarding the reform of the system for calculating wages in the big companies, Sohyo's attitude is not very clear. They repeat that they stand in opposition to a change in the system that amounts to nothing more than one of the methods to more effectively introduce rationalization.

Toshikatsu Horii, chairman of Sohyo, who said he realized that "younger workers

* It should be noted that the White Paper uses a Keynesian terminology that is not very familiar to Japanese trade unionists traditionally under Marxist leaderships, be they Social Democratic or Communist.

are interested in a new system of wages and the existing one is not perfect," also stated: "We must reject the idea of an increase in wages that is tied to rationalization measures which are against the workers. A new system is being proposed that calculates wages from the lower part of the existing system. The idea is to change the system completely by destroying the order and system of work." He said Sohyo must "oppose changing the system of wages if it is proposed by the companies during the spring campaign."

Why is Sohyo highlighting the problem of low-wage workers? Why does it not have a much sharper position on the question of altering the system of wage calculation, the need for which even Horii understands, and which has a special attraction to younger workers? The answer will be seen in an examination of those factors that in themselves make for militancy in the organization.

In recent years Sohyo's membership and the number of unions under its influence have increased because of the unionization of small factories. This has an objective basis which can be shown by figures on the growth of trade-union membership.

Number of Trade Union Units*

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>
5,000 workers and more	190	206	228	238	239
1,000 to 4,999 workers	848	946	985	1,048	1,111
500 to 999	992	1,051	1,130	1,172	1,173
200 to 499	2,769	3,063	3,221	1,509	1,614
100 to 199	3,457	3,809	3,988	5,965	6,226
30 to 99	8,054	9,025	9,241	9,746	10,291
Less than 29 workers	<u>5,647</u>	<u>6,137</u>	<u>6,106</u>	<u>6,170</u>	<u>6,487</u>
Totals	<u>21,957</u>	<u>24,237</u>	<u>24,899</u>	<u>25,848</u>	<u>27,141</u>

Trade Union Membership**

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>
5,000 workers and more	3,358,036	3,607,421	3,927,496	4,117,599	4,236,823
1,000 to 4,999 workers	1,743,305	1,912,382	2,069,449	2,169,653	2,354,710
500 to 999	684,575	727,126	779,827	812,426	819,962
200 to 499	836,866	949,007	988,550	570,439	615,198
100 to 199	485,632	539,677	556,638	1,018,166	1,065,990
30 to 99	458,181	520,294	545,569	562,672	597,057
Less than 29 workers	<u>94,973</u>	<u>103,969</u>	<u>103,627</u>	<u>106,224</u>	<u>109,913</u>
Totals	<u>7,661,568</u>	<u>8,359,876</u>	<u>8,971,156</u>	<u>9,357,179</u>	<u>9,799,653</u>

It is important to keep in mind that a trade union in Japan is an autonomous entity, comparable in size to a local or lodge in Western countries, comprised of workers in a particular company, not involving the workers of any other company, even if it is the same industry. The number of unit unions, in the National Railway Workers Union, for instance, will reveal the number of branches of the National Railway Corporation (about 2,000). Thus tables on the number of trade unions and their membership can indicate not only the changing strength of the unions, but also the growth of the companies and corporations and the pattern of monopoly.

The remarkable thing which has to be underlined here is the rapid increase in the number of trade unions with less than 199 members. This increase is due to a struggle for wages and conditions (usually in the smaller, inferior plants), along with a scarcity of younger workers and rising prices. Sohyo's militancy has been based on this sector. It is also the source of its expansion.

In contrast to Sohyo, the Domeikaigi has concentrated its attention on the bigger modernized plants, but as yet it has failed in either organizing more workers or in making explicit its program for a new system of wages payment. Its proposals to date amount to nothing more than recognizing the right of the bosses to rationalize, in re-

* Source: Ministry of Labor, Labor Year Book.

** Source: Ministry of Labor, Labor Year Book. The breakdown indicates the number of workers in trade-union units of various sizes. Thus in 1964 there were 4,236,823 workers in units of 5,000 or more. The figures include members who are not in units but are directly affiliated with national trade unions.

turn for a share of any increase in productivity. They have dropped their most characteristic positions. Whereas in the past they would criticize Sohyo from the right on the question of long-term contracts, opting for two- and three-year agreements, saying it was rather silly for workers to struggle every year for wages, now they are participating in the Spring Campaign. Haruo Wade, the deputy chairman of Domeikaigi, has explained why:

"In the past we asked for wage increases every two or three years because we thought it more intelligent to have a stable contract and wages which did not need revising so frequently. But because of the rise in prices, we have decided to participate in the Spring Campaign."

This is a piece of sophistry. Rising prices are nothing new. In fact, the inflation now is probably not as great as when they first sought long-term contracts. But they are not bothered by the contradiction between the facts and their explanation: for them, the main thing is the Spring Campaign.

It is expected that the Seamen's Union, which is an affiliate of Domeikaigi, will play a leading role.

The competition between Domeikaigi and Sohyo will tend to stimulate the struggle.

(5) The Influence of the General Election

The leadership of Domeikaigi has been feeling extremely confident ever since the last general election when the Democratic Socialist party increased the number of its seats in the Diet. The returns are provided in the following table:

		<u>Results of General Elections*</u>						
		<u>Liberal Democrat</u>	<u>Socialist</u>	<u>Democratic Socialist</u>	<u>Komei Party</u>	<u>Communist</u>	<u>Other Groups</u>	<u>Independent</u>
Number of votes	1963	22,423,915	11,906,766	3,023,302	-	1,646,477	51,765	1,956,313
	1967	22,447,834	12,826,099	3,404,462	2,472,371	2,190,563	101,244	2,553,988
Percent of votes	1963	54.7	29.0	7.4	-	4.0	0.1	4.8
	1967	48.8	27.9	7.4	5.4	4.8	0.2	5.5
Percent of seats	1963	60.0	30.8	4.9	-	1.2	0	2.8
	1967	57.0	28.8	6.2	5.1	1.0	0	1.9

Apart from whether the DSP confidence is misplaced or not, the stagnation in the vote for the Socialist party has brought about sharp debates on the policies and programs of the party, not only among party leaders but especially among rank-and-file activists in Sohyo. Uppermost in their minds is the inescapable fact that the vote has remained virtually the same since 1960.

Votes of the Liberal Democrats and the Socialists*

		<u>1958</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1967</u>
Liberal Democrat	%	57.8	57.6	54.7	48.8
Socialist	%	32.9	27.6	29.0	27.9

The increase in votes for the Communist party candidates from 4.0% to 4.8% in contrast to the decrease of the Socialist party vote from 29% to 27.9% indicates that the more militant workers in the smaller plants who have joined Sohyo, did not vote for the SP but instead voted largely for the Communist party.

The following set of statistics reveal clearly that there is an urgent need both for Sohyo and the Socialist party to work out a concrete program for these sectors of the class.

* Source: Keiichi Matsushita, Kozohendo to Sengominshushugi, Sekai, April 1967.

Composition of Workers by Age Groups*
(Manufacturing Industries)

<u>Scale of plants</u>		<u>Less than 25 years %</u>	<u>25 to 29 %</u>	<u>30 to 40 %</u>	<u>More than 40 years %</u>
More than 5,000 persons	1960	72.7	16.3	8.7	2.2
	1962	79.3	9.6	6.2	4.9
	1964	72.7	15.0	9.9	2.1
1,000 to 4,999	1960	80.8	11.0	5.6	2.6
	1962	78.1	10.5	7.0	4.4
	1964	66.4	11.5	14.6	7.5
100 to 999	1960	68.9	13.8	11.2	6.1
	1962	60.2	15.6	15.7	8.5
	1964	54.7	12.2	21.4	11.6
30 to 99	1960	64.4	11.6	11.6	12.5
	1962	47.6	16.2	19.9	16.4
	1964	48.4	12.3	24.4	14.8

In the smaller plants, the composition of the younger workers is a decreasing factor. In the big plants, where the bulk of the trade-union membership is to be found, as shown in a previous table, workers who are very young have yet to be shown a program dealing with the problem of their wages system. It is urgent to discuss immediately the program and strategy necessary to involve the young militant workers. If a correct program can be provided, this sector can assume the leadership of the Japanese working class as a whole. The time to discuss such a program is now during the Spring Campaign.

* Source: Economic Planning Association, Survey of Fluidity of Labor Force and the Determination of Wages, 1966.

REPRESENTATIVE OF WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL GREETED IN CUBA

Professor Jean Pierre Vigier, a well-known French physicist who served as a member of the first commission that went to Vietnam for an on-the-spot investigation of U.S. war crimes there, is visiting Cuba as a representative of the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell.

He was given a warm welcome by the Cubans. Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba, carried an extensive interview with Vigier (in the March 26 English edition) in which he described the activities and international scope of the committee. Asked about the object of his visit to Cuba, Vigier responded:

"I came to discuss the possibility of Cuban eyewitnesses testifying concerning the case of Viet Nam and to look for evidence that can be used during the course of the trial by the International Tribunal -- evidence concerning both South and North Viet Nam."

Vigier reported on the remarkable growth of the Vietnam Movement in France. There are now more than 90 committees, he said, and thousands upon thousands of young people have attended meetings. The basis of the policy followed by the Vietnam movement in France is as follows:

"The war in Viet Nam plays a role similar to that played by the war in Spain in relation to World War II, in relation to Hitler."

"The error committed in Europe," he continued, " -- thinking that by not intervening in Spain peace would be preserved -- must not be repeated again now because Viet Nam today is what Spain was then."

"Another point of our movement," he added, "is to support the action of university students in the United States concerning the war in Viet Nam."

AN IMPOSSIBLE VICTORY

"American advisers are said to be accompanying the Bolivian army's offensive against the guerrillas; and it seems that it will soon be the same in other Latin-American countries.

"It is known that advice quickly broadens into practical work in this business and that the professors end up by substituting themselves for their pupils.

"How little one knows the guerrilla to think he can be defeated in this way. No one likes this kind of combat very much, but no matter what is done it can't be brought to an end through a military victory; because it is one of the thousand ways in which the will to live shows up. It will endure as long as men despair.

"The CIA will have spent its last dollar, American youth spilled its last drop of blood, the industry of the United States produced its last ton of steel, and the last guerrilla will be undefeated. Even if an attempt is made to settle matters with the atomic bomb, there will still be survivors setting up an ambush in some ruins and demanding, stone or club in hand, the right to exist." -- Robert Escarpit in the April 5 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde.



TWO VENEZUELAN GUERRILLAS. The caption accompanying the photograph in the Mexican magazine Sucesos, on which this drawing is based, gives the nicknames of the two as "Ho Chi Minh" and "El Turro." With their trusty rifles, a FAL [Fusil Automático Liviano] and an R-15, at their sides, the two freedom fighters study a book dealing with the problems of the oil industry in Venezuela.

Sucesos' report on the establishment of firm guerrilla fronts in Venezuela made a sensation in Latin America. That the success was registered in face of resistance from the right-ring leadership of the Venezuelan Communist party greatly sharpened the long-standing dispute in that party over what line to take -- toward "peaceful coexistence" or toward resolute pursuit of a revolution under the socialist program. On this basic issue, Fidel Castro came out strongly March 13 for the line of "making the revolution."

TEXT OF VENEZUELAN CP REPLY TO FIDEL CASTRO

[Fidel Castro's March 13 speech, taking issue with the right-wing leadership of the Communist party of Venezuela on the question of armed struggle, continues to reverberate, particularly in Latin America. In issue No. 12 (Vol. 5), World Outlook provided the complete text of this important discourse. In the following issue, we reported the reaction of the Venezuelan Communist party leaders, quoting what was available in the press at the time.

[The complete text of their reply was published in the March 17 issue of El Nacional in Caracas and in the April 3 issue of the Mexico City El Día, which has now reached us. Although we think that in this dispute Fidel Castro is correct on the basic issues involved, particularly in scoring the line of "peaceful coexistence" and emphasizing that Communists are above all fighters dedicated to making a socialist revolution, we also believe it is important to hear both sides and to study all the available documents in order to form an independent, reasoned judgment on the issues involved. We have therefore decided to help in this by offering an English translation of the reply of the Venezuelan Communist party leaders.

[The text used is the one that appeared in El Día and the translation is by World Outlook.]

* * *

(1) Fidel Castro, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, in power as the Prime Minister of the socialist government of Cuba, utilizing the considerable advantages of his position, has attacked the Communist Party of Venezuela, an underground party, with hundreds of members in prison, with dozens who have fallen in the mountains and streets of the country, a party subjected to such implacable persecution that every single day -- even while Fidel Castro was speaking -- it has new victims. The same man whose intemperate outbursts are met with tolerance thanks to the fact that Cuba stands in the front-line trenches of the anti-imperialist struggle, ought to display the elementary courtesy of watching his language when he refers to the Communist party that is struggling in the country experiencing the worst intervention by Yankee imperialism in all of Latin America and which is fighting under the most difficult conditions. From a rostrum with a worldwide audience and being who he is, Fidel Castro did not hesitate to slander a Communist party which, due to the repression, is scarcely in position to reply to him. Thus Fidel Castro's action is ignoble, self-seeking and

perfidious, devoid of the nobility and dignity that have always characterized the Cuban revolution.

(2) Fidel Castro has made a negative judgment on the assassination of Iribarren Borges, including claiming the right to express his opinion in this matter. Nevertheless, with surprising effrontery, he tries to deny the PCV [Partido Comunista de Venezuela] the same right. Fidel Castro, it seems, does not want the Communist Party of Venezuela, which operates in Venezuela, to have an opinion on, to judge a Venezuelan political happening, which occurred on Venezuelan soil and which therefore deeply affects the life of the PCV. On the other hand, he, seated in Cuba, can have an opinion. In accordance with his peculiar point of view, we said something and played into the hands of the government; he does it and claims to be the voice of an untouchable revolutionary oracle. This strange way of reasoning reveals an irresponsible arrogance and self-sufficiency unbecoming to a Head of State. As for the matter itself, the PCV says exactly the same as Fidel Castro. Neither more nor less. In reply, we state that what does play into the hands of reaction and imperialism are speeches like the one made by Fidel Castro, slanders like those he leveled against our party, his attempt to split it, and deeds like the assassination of Iribarren Borges.

(3) The PCV claims its right to project its own policies without interference from anyone. In the sense that Cuba has traveled a hard revolutionary road with honor, it constitutes an inspiring example for us; but what we have not been, are not, and never will be is agents of Cuba in Venezuela, as we are not in any other Communist party in the world. We are Venezuelan Communists, under the tutelage of no one, no matter how great his revolutionary merits. If there is any revolutionary group in Venezuela that wants to submit to the tutelage and paternalism of Fidel Castro, that is their affair. The PCV will never do it. If Fidel doesn't like it, so much the worse for him. So why did Fidel Castro intervene precisely at this moment against the PCV? Because the PCV had already begun to defeat in practice and not only ideologically the budding antipartyism of Douglas Bravo, because the party and the Communist Youth had obtained big political and organizational successes in applying its policy, because the recent feat of rescuing comrades Pompeyo, Guillermo and Teodoro filled the country's Communist militants with enthusiasm and renewed energy, and because, finally, the anarcho-adventurist policy of the antiparty group ended in an irretrievable fiasco and helped enormously in clarifying the problems under discussion. Precisely because of this, Fidel Castro threw all the weight of his prestige

against the PCV, in a desperate attempt to "aid" the anarcho-adventurist group which he is fostering and stimulating in order to split the PCV. Nevertheless our policies and our deeds demonstrate each day how much worth there is in the epithets of "vacillating," "limping" and "opportunist" which Fidel Castro applied to the leadership of the PCV. And this is being demonstrated here in Venezuela even despite bad turns like those which Fidel Castro dealt us and which he will certainly continue to deal us. But let him and the whole PCV understand very clearly: we will not even argue over the sovereignty of the PCV.

(4) Fidel Castro has characterized the leadership of the PCV as "cowardly" in a new demonstration of this irritating tendency of his to think he has a monopoly on courage and valor. We Venezuelan Communists are not puerile exhibitionists walking around proclaiming our qualities in this field, but when Fidel Castro was still a boy, Gustavo Machado, the great patriarch of Venezuelan Communism, was already assaulting Curaçao and invading Venezuela arms in hand. And from then on, the history of the PCV, which is a political history, is likewise the history of the men who faced the terror of Gómez and that of Pérez Jiménez, who led the insurrection of January 23, 1958, whose efforts made it possible for Fidel Castro to receive a planeload of arms when he was still in the Sierra Maestra, and who in the last eight years have not hesitated to lay down their lives. Fidel Castro has in this very reply the best demonstration of what the leadership of the PCV is like. Accustomed to believe in his power as the revolutionary Grand Lama he obviously thinks that his speech flattered and confounded us. He was completely mistaken and now Fidel Castro will see why Yankee imperialism and its agents sought with such energy to liquidate this Venezuelan Communist party.

(5) In his speech, Fidel Castro tried once more to assume the role of a kind of arbiter of the revolutionary destinies of Latin America and of a super-revolutionary who in the abode of all the Communists of Latin America has already made the revolution. On another occasion we will take up the characteristics of the Cuban struggle and where Fidel Castro would still be if it had occurred to him to raise the red flag in the Sierra Maestra. For the time being we only want to reject the role of revolutionary "Pope" which Fidel Castro arrogates for himself. We categorically reject his pretension

that he and no one other than he is to decide what is revolutionary in Latin America. In Venezuela this question is up to the PCV to decide, as it and the Venezuelan people see fit. And no one else. But to this Fidel Castro, supreme dispenser of revolutionary titles, who asks what North Vietnam would say if Cuba traded with South Vietnam, we would only like to ask if he has thought of what the Spanish people say about his trading with Franco and with the Spanish oligarchy or what the Negro people of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and the patriots of Aden might think of his trading with imperialist England. Or does Fidel Castro consider it to be opportunism in others while in him it is washed away by the purifying waters of his own self-sufficiency?

(6) This is a disagreeable polemic which arouses joy in the enemy. But it is obviously unpostponable. We reached a limit which Fidel Castro himself forces us to break with his speech. So be it. Let's discuss. And just as we claim our connection with Simón Bolívar and the Fathers of our Country in our anti-imperialist struggle, so we likewise tell Fidel Castro that the descendants of Simón Bolívar and Ezequiel Zamora will absolutely not tolerate from anyone the insolent and provocative language which he utilized in his speech of March 13. The Venezuelan does not claim to stand above or below anyone else but if there is anything that arouses his fierce pride as a fighter it is slander. And in this matter Fidel Castro will already have begun to take account of the fact that he stumbled into something different when he stirred up the Venezuelan Communists.

(7) We are not unaware that an action like this one by Fidel Castro creates difficulties for us. But we feel no despair. We have the tranquil conviction of those who know they are backed by reason. And we have the revolutionary passion to defend it.

March 15, 1967

Political Bureau of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Venezuela

POMPEYO MARQUEZ
GUILLERMO GARCIA PONCE
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