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Biggest Antiwar Demonstration In Entire History of the U.S.



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A NEW STAGE IN THE ANTIWAR STRUGGLE IN THE U.S.

By Joseph Hansen

The two April 15 demonstrations -- one in New York and the other in San Francisco -- were the most massive turn-outs of their kind in the history of the United States.

This simple fact alone shows that a new stage has opened in the struggle against the war in Vietnam. Even more is involved. The size of the demonstrations, taken in conjunction with the character of the slogans and the mood of the demonstrators, shows that a most significant turn has occurred in the general political scene in America. New radical forces are on the rise.

First as to the sheer size of the antiwar rally in New York. Dave Dellinger, a vice-chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee which sponsored the demonstration, announced from the platform in the United Nations Plaza late in the afternoon that 500,000 persons were participating at that moment.

The most conservative estimates were 250,000 to 500,000 while other figures ranged from 500,000 to as high as 750,000.

The big capitalist press found it extremely difficult to minimize the massiveness of the demonstration. The New York Times (April 16) tried reporting only that part of the news it saw fit to print. Police officials at the United Nations Plaza, said the Times, estimated the number of demonstrators at "between 100,000 and 125,000." Rather lamely, the Times explained: "It was difficult to make any precise count because people were continually leaving and entering the rally area."

The UN Plaza will hold a crowd of 125,000. This was packed to capacity by early afternoon.

In addition, all the side streets were packed to capacity.

That was not all. The marchers extended an entire two miles from the UN to Central Park, and they were proceeding in much heavier ranks than the sixteen abreast that is normal for New York parades.

Still another most impressive figure must be added. At the assembly area, Sheep Meadow in Central Park, the crowd of 70,000 appeared to remain stationary during the afternoon as fresh masses of people kept pouring in from subways, buses and on foot.

The parade started at noon. It was marching into the UN Plaza after the speeches were over and the rally had been officially ended. The final contingent, a section of doctors, nurses and hospital personnel, refused to obey police orders to disband "because it was over."

The head of the contingent told police that it was not over until they had entered the Plaza. In heavy rain they moved forward in formation without breaking ranks. That was six p.m.

In San Francisco it was the same. The march there, drawing principally on the Bay Area and Los Angeles, and therefore a much less heavily populated area than the East, nevertheless filled the entire length of Market Street for the afternoon with the biggest parade in the history of the city -- 75,000 persons.

The giant size of the demonstration in New York was such as to completely shatter the routine practice of the communications media of singling out minor incidents and blowing them all out of proportion so as to obscure the main facts.

A few tiny bands of ultrarightists, who concentrated at several points along the line of march to heckle, throw paint and eggs (and at one place bits of metal from a construction site) succeeded only in setting off by way of contrast their own impotence. Consisting of fifty to sixty members in each group, the two or three bands sought to provoke incidents, in some instances with the press and TV cameramen obviously tipped off in advance. Most of the marchers and onlookers scarcely noticed these occurrences. They were absorbing their own experience -- something completely new to the overwhelming majority of them -- the feeling of the weight of their own numbers.

It was the same at the assembly point in Central Park. A small band of ultrarightists tried to provoke some incidents. The huge throng was scarcely aware of their existence.

The ultrarightists set off a smoke bomb. Some of the crowd thought it was a colorful touch conceived by one of the contingents like the balloons painted with antiwar slogans.

The press tried, naturally, to make something big of the draft-card burning which far less than a hundred draftees engaged in. But the crowd in Sheep Meadow paid little attention. Some thought that the smoke bomb might be from the draft cards. The draft-card burning ceremony, in

fact was not an official part of the protest demonstration.

There were some historic firsts besides the size of the demonstration as a whole.

The police were extremely cautious and respectful. The crowd was in a holiday mood -- they were really meeting each other -- interested in making contacts, in talking. The police evidently considered it best not to do anything to change that mood.

Thus they had set up their wooden barriers marked "Police Line -- Do Not Cross" throughout Sheep Meadow. The aim was to begin separating and closing in the crowd.

The throng was so huge, however, that the police withdrew. Many of the wooden barriers were knocked over and used as footwalks to cross the large puddles of water remaining from the heavy rain the night before.

More significantly, for the first time in the history of the park, the police permitted the sale of literature. All the radical groups were there with booths or stands and with their members threading the crowds selling literature. Among the most conspicuous were those selling The Militant with its lead story about the case of Pfc. Howard Petrick, the GI faced with court-martial for expressing his antiwar views.

A booth marked "Revolutionary Literature" on one of the paths under the trees drew attention with its wide display of books by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Castro, and pamphlets of the Socialist Workers party. Sales were brisk. The National Broadcasting Company featured it in its nationwide TV newscast which lasted a half hour, a most unusual amount of time to give any subject in a news report.

The crowd was a most friendly one; as indicated above, one of the main interests being in meeting each other. But this was only the other side to their extremely serious mood.

The tone of the demonstration was not set by the "hippies" with their daffodils and odd dress, although they turned out en masse. The tone was set by the very young people, the bulk of them of college and high school age, who rallied in such numbers as to wash out even the hippies.

Not less than three-fourths of the demonstrators were in this age bracket. And for most of them it was their first, their very first, big demonstration if not their very first action of any kind

along these lines.

The slogans, too, reflected the underlying current of extreme seriousness. The slogans were far different from the pacifist slogans characteristic of the parades staged and dominated by such organizations as SANE only a few years ago.

In fact the slogans were quite different from those at the beginning of the antiwar protest movement that was touched off by Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam.

At that time, the emphasis was placed on "negotiations." Only a relatively small group, consisting of the Socialist Workers party, the Young Socialist Alliance and sympathetic currents pressed for the slogan, "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now!"

In the April 15 demonstration, the latter slogan was one of the main ones, sharing prominence with "Stop the War!" and "Stop the Bombing!"

The shift was most dramatically illustrated by the quip repeated by several of the speakers at the UN Plaza which drew a roar of laughter from the crowd: "If you were being raped which would you prefer, prolonged negotiations or immediate withdrawal?"

The mood was indicated again by the response of the demonstrators to the speakers. The milder, more standard pacifist declarations, such as has been the stock-in-trade of the Rev. Martin Luther King, fell rather flat. Militant declarations drew heavy applause.

The strongest response went to attacks leveled at President Johnson. Thus when Stokeley Carmichael spoke a few truths about Rusk, McNamara and Johnson, he received tremendous applause.

Similar response went to a savagely ironic indictment of Johnson made by Professor Howard Zinn, author of the book on the Vietnam war, The Logic of Withdrawal.

The crowd also gave a most appreciative reception to the straightforward class-struggle speech made by Cleveland Robinson, the Secretary-Treasurer of District 65 CIO, chairman of the Negro-American Labor Council and one of the vice-chairmen of the Spring Mobilization Committee. He indicted the war profiteers. It is the poor, he said, who do both the dying and the paying for the war.

The common political aim of all participants in the immense demonstration -- to register opposition to President Johnson and his war on the mainland of Asia -- was one of the most significant facts noted by seasoned political observers. It portends much for the future.

The size of the demonstration, the big advance made in the nature of the slogans, and the generally militant note struck from the platform, marked the merging of the more active sectors of the civil-rights movement with the antiwar movement.

This was signaled by the decision of Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick and Martin Luther King to become sponsors of the April 15 demonstration and to participate actively in leading it.

This development, foreseen by a sector of the leadership from the beginning, constitutes an enormous step forward for the antiwar movement. As proved in the most incontestable way April 15, it means a greatly broadened movement and the involvement of new contingents numbering into the hundreds of thousands.

The best most conscious representatives of the capitalist class were, of course, immediately aware of its significance. The three leaders, particularly the Rev. Martin Luther King came under heavy fire.

Red-baiting was tried. They were getting involved with the reds in the antiwar movement!

But the policy of nonexclusion has become so firmly established that it was simple to brush the red-baiting aside. James Bevel, the national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee, answered for all when he admitted that there would be reds in the march April 15 -- genuine Sioux Indians.

An effort was made to mobilize the most conservative sectors of the Negro community against King. The NAACP and Ralph Bunche, Undersecretary for Political Affairs at the United Nations, spearheaded an attack on the "tactical error" King was making in trying to link the civil-rights movement with the antiwar movement. Vice-president Hubert Humphrey joined in this -- while touring with one of the worst racists, Lester Maddox of Georgia. Humphrey made the press with his assurance to Maddox that there was "lots of room" for both of them in the Democratic party.

On the platform in the UN Plaza, King gave his answer by defending his move and underscoring the common interests of the civil-rights and antiwar movements.

The crowd got a big laugh when another speaker pointed out that at least in Sweden they had recognized that the two movements had something in common when they awarded King the Nobel Peace Prize.

There was an obvious drawing together of King, Carmichael and McKissick in face of the attack from the right wing. The tremendous turnout, of course, helped consolidate the merger of the two movements. King, referring to the huge civil-rights demonstration in Washington in 1963 said that big as that rally had been (more than 100,000), it was nothing compared to this. This was the truth; he was speaking to the largest crowd he ever appeared before.

The international impact of the giant demonstration cannot yet be assessed. Chairman Dellinger reported that messages of solidarity had been received from "all countries." As an indication he read a statement from 73 members of Parliament.

On the stand were three members of the International War Crimes Tribunal -- Dave Dellinger, Stokely Carmichael and Isaac Deutscher. In mentioning the tribunal the hope was expressed that it would now get a much more favorable response than up to now.

Those who worked so hard to organize the demonstration have the most solid reason to feel elated. They did a superb job from all points of view. Old timers could not recall any nationwide demonstration of its kind that came anywhere near it in efficiency. This was all the more amazing in view of the spontaneity of the response.

Those who from the beginning held to the course of keeping the antiwar movement on the road of demonstrations rather than dissipation in ineffective "community work" or doorbell ringing for "peace" candidates of the Democratic party were vindicated completely.

Members of pacifist organizations who stood up to pressure from the right and refused to bow to red-baiting or to arguments about the need to get "senators and congressmen" on to the platform can stand up proudly. Life itself proved they were right.

As for the ultralefts who withdrew to the sidelines to indulge in epithet-mongering about a "sellout" and "betrayal," they testified in their own way as to how wrong they were. They decided to come in at the last moment. It was amusing to see them at the march, doing their best to attract the attention of the crowd assembled through the work of others.

The American Trotskyists especially can feel proud, for their role is being increasingly recognized by both foes and friends as representing a most serious and politically alive tendency. Their determination was undoubtedly decisive at several crucial turns, when the antiwar movement took unavoidable dips and when it seemed that the road of demonstrations was lead-

ing nowhere simply because they did not seem to have impact on the bird brain in the White House.

It is precisely at this moment when a huge victory has been scored that it is appropriate to take a look ahead.

There is not the slightest question that the next big goal should be to bring the labor movement into the antiwar struggle. This was the big missing component April 15. Only the advance guard were there. But this advance guard also

gives the brightest promise that the most powerful force of all in American society -- the ranks of organized labor -- may soon be brought into play.

When this happens, it is not likely that even Johnson will dare to look in another direction.

But even if he does begin to indicate that he is preparing to draw back it may be too late. The April 15 demonstration was the handwriting on the wall.

A UNITED FRONT BETWEEN PEKING AND MOSCOW ON AID TO VIETNAM?

In a special dispatch from Washington, which appeared in the April 12 New York Times, Hedrick Smith said that "United States officials" had come to the conclusion that Chinese and Soviet governments "had apparently worked out an understanding to speed the flow of Soviet military supplies to North Vietnam across China."

The news came through "good diplomatic channels," which indicated that an "arrangement was made by North Vietnam with the two feuding Communist countries in the last six weeks."

One of the methods for "sidestepping previous Chinese-Soviet friction... was for North Vietnam to take title to the Soviet shipments as they reached China's border with the Soviet Union, and then to safeguard them as they pass by rail across China."

While the Times did not identify the Washington officials, it apparently considered them authoritative enough to warrant giving the report top billing on the front page.

This was followed by an article by Harrison E. Salisbury in the April 16 issue of the same paper. Salisbury drew the conclusion that if the report received in Washington is correct, then "the Vietnam war may soon enter a new and dangerous escalation."

He quoted a message conveyed by Moscow through diplomatic channels more than a month ago warning the Johnson administration:

"We would like to see the war ended by diplomatic means...But, if as it appears, the United States is going to step up its action on the land and in the air, we will escalate our aid to North Vietnam step by step. If the United States sends in more planes we will send in more missiles, more rockets, more MIG's. There should be no misunderstand-

ing on this."

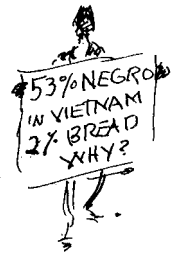
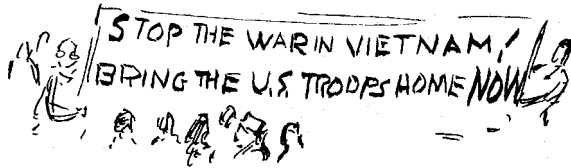
When this warning was delivered by a "high Soviet diplomat," Salisbury said, "there was considerable doubt in Washington that Moscow could fulfill its promise." The deepening of the Sino-Soviet dispute was cited as the reason.

"If Moscow and Peking have been able to put aside their deep differences even for the limited objective of facilitating the shipment of supplies to hard-pressed North Vietnam," Salisbury continued, "this would represent a major lessening of the tensions which have beset Soviet-Chinese relations for several years. It would indicate a first step toward the formation of a common Communist front against the United States, at least in the region of Southeast Asia. The implications of such a step upon over-all United States policy would be far-reaching."

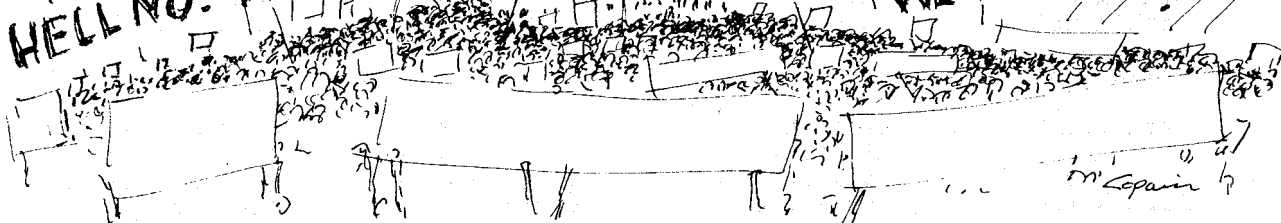
Recounting what he learned on his trip to north Vietnam early this year, Salisbury said that a major factor in the apparent willingness of Hanoi to "negotiate" at that time was "fear that the supply route might be closed by China, either deliberately or as a byproduct of the country's internal and external quarrels..."

A United front between Peking and Moscow would relieve this worry and strengthen Hanoi's ability to meet American escalation of the war in general. It could mean in addition delivery of weapons qualitatively superior to anything yet sent.

"If, in fact," he concluded, "the agreement has been made between Moscow and Peking, Hanoi probably will find it possible to counter effectively the escalation of U.S. pressure which has seemed inescapable for the next few months. A new and more critical time of testing in Vietnam may be at hand."



HELL NO! WE WON'T GO!
HELL NO! WE WON'T GO!
HELL NO! WE WON'T GO!



The Petrick Case

GI FIGHTS FOR RIGHT TO VOICE HIS VIEWS IN U.S. ARMY AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

By Lew Jones

A twenty-one-year-old soldier in the United States Army has been threatened with court-martial for the sole "crime" of expressing socialist opinions against the war in Vietnam to his fellow soldiers.

Private First Class Howard Petrick had been active in the socialist and anti-war movements before he was drafted into the army last July. In the summer of 1965 he had become active in the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam. His opposition to the Vietnam war led him to socialist convictions and he became a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and then the Socialist Workers party.

Within the army Petrick has continued to express his views against the Vietnam war and to circulate literature on Vietnam, on the black power movement, the ideas of Malcolm X, the Cuban revolution, and Marxism in general. He has continued to subscribe to the Militant, the Young Socialist, various antiwar publications, and has circulated copies of Granma and speeches by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

The army has not accused him of disobeying orders or of failure to carry out his duties as a soldier. The sole issue involved is whether GIs, as United States citizens, are entitled to exercise the democratic rights of free speech and assembly guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has agreed to provide Victor Rabinowitz and Leonard Boudin as Petrick's civilian legal counsel. They are two of the most eminent constitutional attorneys in the United States.

Petrick returned on April 1 from a ten-day leave from the army, during which he attended a national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. Upon his arrival at Ft. Hood, Texas, he was interrogated by Military Intelligence and assigned an army lawyer who told Petrick that there was a definite prospect he would be court-martialed. The army lawyer said the charges in such a court-martial would probably be "subversion," "making disloyal statements," or "creating disaffection" within the army. Each of these counts carries a maximum penalty of three years in prison at hard labor.

Howard was held and questioned for several hours on his political views, especially on whether he was a member of the Socialist Workers party and was cir-

culating literature put out by the SWP.

Later Howard found out from his fellow GIs that there had been a shakedown of his entire unit, and his closest friends had been questioned by Army Intelligence. The lockers of the soldiers in Petrick's unit were searched. All literature against the war which Petrick had given out was confiscated, as well as any antiwar literature the soldiers had of their own.

Howard's friends were asked such questions as whether he had any relatives living in Communist countries, what he thought about communism, about the Vietnam war, about the United States government, and about the civil-rights movement.

In an interview, Howard described this harassment of his friends: "About five GIs who had quite a bit of my literature were segregated from the rest of the unit, and were made to eat after everyone else did. They had guards watching them so they wouldn't talk with the other guys. These guys were all questioned later by Military Intelligence."

It was rumored in Petrick's unit that they would be sent to Vietnam this summer, so Petrick found much interest in his ideas and literature. Howard stated, "Most of the GIs don't want to go to Vietnam, don't understand the war, are not satisfied with the answers they are given by the military, and they want to know more about it. Mainly, they don't agree with the war enough to face being killed over there. The guys who come back have told of complete platoons being wiped out, in territory that is supposed to be 'secure.'"

He went on, "In any discussions about the war I always tried to enter them to present what I thought about the war, which is basically that the United States has no right to be in Vietnam.

"I found that there were other GIs who agreed with me, or didn't know much about the war and wanted to know more about it. I mentioned to them that I had literature on the war and if they wanted any, they could have it. Soon GIs would come to me asking for literature and we would get into discussions about the war, and it would lead into other topics, such as the labor movement, and I would give them a pamphlet I had on labor unions.

"Or speaking with black GIs about the war, the ideas of black power would come up, and how black power organizations have come out against the war. And this

would lead into such things as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, independent political action by black people, the ideas of Malcolm X, and such questions as nonviolence or self-defense, and the racist character of the war...."

The pamphlet Petrick found most popular in the army was War and Revolution in Vietnam, a Young Socialist pamphlet by Doug Jenness. He had distributed about thirty of these in the course of his ten months in the army. Also he gave out about twenty of the pamphlet GIs and the Fight Against War by Mary-Alice Waters. This pamphlet describes the "Bring us Home" movement of United States troops after World War II.

Demonstrations and letter-writing campaigns were organized by the troops, who wanted to be demobilized, since the war was over, and not remain stationed in such places as China. Soldiers Howard met didn't know anything about these events, which are never mentioned in school history books, and were very interested in learning more about it.

Howard figured out many different ways to explain the war to his fellow soldiers, depending on what their interests were and how much they knew about history and politics.

"Some people, especially those who have had some college or have done some reading on Vietnam or Cuba, I could talk to them on a much higher level," he said. "I could explain to them that it is basically capitalism that creates the conditions which lead to these revolutions. When people are being exploited they can only be suppressed so long before they realize what is happening and begin to resist. Many GIs seem to understand that if people are suppressed they are going to fight back.

"Sometimes I said, as an illustration, what if the people in the United States were all of a sudden taken over by a dictatorship and the people were forced to return to the way of life they had in the 1900s, with wages like that, and poor living conditions. They would probably resent this and try to organize some type of a movement to get rid of this dictator.

"If this dictator was getting help from the outside, well then, that would be the role of the United States going in to help the south Vietnamese regime of Diem or whoever the dictator was. We Americans would be in the position of the peasants whom the U.S. is now fighting in Vietnam, and we would be fighting for a better way of life.

"A lot of soldiers can see that very well and ask why the Vietnamese people let the dictator get in power in the

first place. Then I would go back and explain the Geneva Accords and how the United States had almost completely set up the dictatorship of Diem."

Petrick continued, "To different people you can use different approaches. I have a good friend who is interested in South America and Cuba so I related the Vietnamese revolution to the Cuban revolution and explained that if the Vietnamese people win, they would probably set up a system like Cuba has now. Also, I pointed out that the United States has troops in Guatemala, which he knew, and that eventually Guatemala could become another Vietnam."

Although the army might court-martial Howard for expressing socialist and antiwar views within the army, Army Intelligence knew he was a socialist when he was drafted.

At the point of induction into the Armed forces, the draftees are asked to sign a loyalty oath and a disclaimer, which is supposed to establish that the prospective draftee is not a member of, or associated with, any of several hundred organizations arbitrarily branded "subversive" by the U.S. Attorney General. Petrick refused to sign this, on the constitutional ground that such an oath violated his First Amendment right of free political association.

Because Petrick would not sign, the army did not induct him immediately, but said they would first conduct an investigation to determine whether he was acceptable for service. During this investigation Petrick joined the YSA and the SWP. Throughout the period he was active in the antiwar movement.

The army, knowing that Petrick was a socialist and against the Vietnam war, nevertheless drafted him into the army, and is now attempting to infringe on his right to express his views there.

A Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick was formed by friends to publicize the case and raise the money for legal defense. The committee hopes to receive solid support from the antiwar movement, since this case is also an attack on the right of citizens to express opposition to the war.

Petrick thinks that this defense effort can aid in assuring other GIs that they have the right to voice opposition to the war in the army. Commenting on this, he explained, "Several GIs who saw I had antiwar literature and heard I was making statements against the war, asked me wasn't I afraid to do this.

"I tried to explain to them that this is a constitutional right which also

applies to GIs, and that they could exercise these rights. After a while a lot of these guys would speak out more against the war and also read the literature more openly. After I had explained to them that they had a right to this literature if they wanted it, many of them would keep it in view in their locker even during an inspection. They weren't so afraid to have it then.

"But now I'm sure that what the army is doing to me is going to make a lot of the GIs worry about just how many rights they do have. If, through a strong defense effort, we can make the army back

down from what they're attempting to do, I'm sure that this will renew their faith that they do have constitutional rights, even though they may have to fight for them.

"Such things as my case, with a broad defense from the antiwar movement, would bring the antiwar movement a lot closer to the GIs. It would show them there are people in this movement that really care about what is going to happen to them and don't want to see them go to Vietnam and get shot up or just go to Vietnam, period."

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL APPEALS FOR INCREASED AID TO VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International met in a plenary session March 10-12 in Stockholm. One of the main points on its agenda was the war in Vietnam.

There was unanimous agreement that international mobilization of all the forces supporting the Vietnamese revolution is indispensable in order to counteract the pressure being exerted by the Soviet bureaucracy to impose a "compromise" on the Vietnamese fighters contrary to the interests of the revolution.

The IEC decided to call on all the sections of the Fourth International to intensify efforts to mobilize solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and against American imperialist aggression.

The decisions on this question came in the framework of a report on the work accomplished by the United Secretariat since the last meeting of the IEC. The United Secretariat is the leading body of the Fourth International between sessions of the IEC.

Livio Maitan reported on the political crisis in China which has been under discussion among the leading bodies of the Fourth International since the "cultural revolution" first began. It was decided to draw up a resolution on the basis of the report and utilize this to open a discussion in the world Trotskyist movement as a whole on this important and complex question.

The discussion will be part of the

preparations for the third world congress since the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963 (the ninth congress since 1938).

Reports were presented on the situation in Latin America. It was decided to open a solidarity campaign in behalf of the Bolivian revolutionists struggling against the military dictatorship of General Barrientos. The entire leftist movement in Bolivia has been the object of a savage witch-hunt launched last January by the regime.

The IEC also decided to step up the campaign in defense of Hugo Blanco and the other victims of the repression in Peru.

A conference of the Latin-American sections of the Fourth International was scheduled to discuss these and other questions of vital importance in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, native reaction and for the socialist revolution.

A report was made on the current situation facing the organizations and groups of the Fourth International in Asia.

The IEC registered with satisfaction the progress made by the Indian section and the results of a joint conference organized by the Indian and Ceylonese sections.

Attention was called to the importance of the evolution of the prerevolutionary crisis now developing in India.

BOLIVIAN DICTATOR OUTLAW LEFTIST PARTIES

The Barrientos dictatorship outlawed the Communist and Workers Revolutionary parties April 11, citing the recent "clashes" with guerrillas. However, last January, long before the reports of wide-scale guerrilla operations, Barrientos rounded up all the leaders of leftist parties he could find and deported them to remote villages where they face death from starvation and illness.

"WAVERING ABOUT SHOOTING ME"

[The following letter was sent by Hugo Blanco to the French Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru. The translation is by World Outlook.]

* * *

Your militant stand, along with other voices from all over the world, has dismayed the assassins of our people. Imperialism and its lackeys are wavering about shooting me. They understand that their crimes against Peru are being watched and condemned by world opinion.

It is their fear of the people struggling to win liberation that impels them to unleash brutal repressions; and it is their fear of this same people, together with resolute international soli-

arity, that is staying their murderous hand. Your support has the greatest importance for our people. It shows that victory is near, that we are not alone in this struggle.

It is of immense encouragement to the fighters and gives us added faith each day in the sureness of victory and redoubles our resolution.

We are certain that your action will swell international solidarity, our strength will grow apace and we will soon be victorious.

Fraternally,

Hugo Blanco
El Frontón Penal Island
February 18, 1967

"WITH THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORLD BEHIND US"

[The following letter was written by Hugo Blanco to be read at a solidarity meeting in his behalf April 10 in Paris. The translation is by World Outlook.]

* * *

The repression in Peru and throughout Latin America is mounting. It represents a desperate effort by Yankee imperialism and the local exploiters to stamp out the revolutionary process set in motion in the whole continent by the great Cuban revolution. We have joined the liberation struggle undertaken by our Asian and African brothers; we have resolved no longer to be colonies.

The armed peasants of Guatemala, struggling consciously and openly for a workers and peasants government and for socialism; the Venezuelan guerrillas fighting heroically; the Colombians persisting in their struggle; the armed Dominican people confronting the marines; the Agrarian Revolution inaugurated by the Peruvian peasantry; likewise the heroic sacrifices of the guerrilla groups in Peru -- all these revealing facts form part of the same process, the Latin-American revolution for national liberation and socialism.

Yankee imperialism and its accomplices, the Latin-American exploiters, are terrified at seeing their end approaching and are dealing bloody blows against our peoples.

Massacres are their favorite method and have been an outstanding feature of the most recent governments in Peru;

Belaúnde has broken the record. They have massacred peasants, workers, students, and the spectators at a soccer game.

Murders without trial, like that of Fabricio Ojeda and those in Santo Domingo, abound in Peru; it suffices to mention, among many, the revolutionists Heraud, De La Puente, Zapata and Vallejos.

As in our brother countries, the number of political-social prisoners is rising day by day, despite Belaúnde's cynical claim that there are none.

Now they have decided to camouflage their murders with "legal" farces. For a starter, they are setting the stage for my "execution" with great enthusiasm.

The whole world knows who is directing the "Alliance for Progress" of the repression; it is the same ones who are organizing through their "escalation" the greatest crime of genocide in history; it is those who are using human science to exterminate our Vietnamese brothers. Latin America is already suffering from these Yankee "escalations."

We, the peoples of Peru and of all Latin America, who for centuries have suffered from the "escalation" of hunger, the "escalation" of illiteracy, the "escalation" of tuberculosis, anemia, rickets, and so many other "escalations" which our local exploiters and the imperialists have inflicted upon us -- we are ready to face this "escalation" of repression! We know that this one will be the last, the final one, and that we will

win in a death struggle "made in the USA" with their own escalation.

persons have scored the "death penalty" asked for by the military prosecutor.

In this struggle against death, in this struggle for the lives of our Asian, African and Latin-American peoples, we need the support, the solidarity of all men on earth; when this solidarity reaches the level of the best days of revolutionary internationalism, the end of imperialism will have arrived.

Many expressions of solidarity have come from all parts of the world, and we know that they are multiplying and growing. Every voice raised in our defense renews the spirit of the Peruvian fighters. With the solidarity of the world behind us, not even the threat of death can halt our sure march toward total victory.

The French vanguard understands fully the great role allotted to the country of "the Commune" in this drama of world importance. Proof of this is the activity of the Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru and the way organizations and private

With warm fraternal greetings,

Hugo Blanco
El Frontón Penal Island
March 1967

HUGO BLANCO REPORTED IN PRISON HOSPITAL

A UPI dispatch from Lima dated April 7, which appeared in the New York Spanish-language daily El Tiempo, reported that Hugo Blanco has been taken to the prison hospital, gravely ill.

prison island 'El Frontón,' is suffering from a grave lung ailment.

The dispatch, which has not been confirmed by friends of the Peruvian peasant leader, is as follows:

"Blanco won fame during 1962 and 1963 when, at the head of leftist guerrillas in the tropical Andean region of Cuzco, he killed three policemen.

"LIMA, April 7 (UPI) -- The Peruvian guerrilla Hugo Blanco, who is serving a 25-year sentence in the nearby

"A military tribunal of the police forces condemned him to 25 years in prison. It was officially announced that Blanco is under medical care in the prison hospital."

PAMPHLET ON HUGO BLANCO

A 16-page pamphlet on Hugo Blanco has just been published in Toronto under the auspices of Robert McCarthy, who heads a committee seeking amnesty for all the political prisoners in Peru.

The pamphlet consists of remarks made by two participants at a solidarity meeting in behalf of the Peruvian peasant leader who was placed under threat of death when he appealed a savage 25-year sentence in the notorious penal island of El Frontón.

Kenneth Golby of the Spanish department at York University gives the main facts about the now world-famous case.

Andre Gunder Frank, visiting professor in economics at Sir George Williams University, goes into the economic and social background in Latin America which continually fosters revolutionary protest movements like the one headed by Hugo Blanco. Some of the most interesting parts of his speech deal with the foreign policy of the U.S. in Latin America, particularly its efforts to maintain and build up the most reactionary military wing forces.

The present intense concern of the American imperialists over revolutionary developments in Latin America is motivated in part, he says, by their realization that they "cannot afford very many Vietnams...It is important for them...to have Asians fight Asians as long as they can be made to, to have Latin Americans fight Latin Americans as long as possible."

The pamphlet costs 30 cents (or 4 for \$1) and can be obtained from Robert McCarthy, Massey College, 4 Devonshire Place, Toronto, Canada.

WITCH-HUNT VICTIMS IN BOLIVIA FACE DEATH IN JUNGLE CAMPS

[The following report was issued in Buenos Aires by Irene Mizrahi, former director of Monthly Review in Latin America.]

* * *

Since January 18 of this year, 23 Bolivian political prisoners have been condemned to a slow, cruel and inexorable death in the areas where they have been confined by the government of General René Barrientos. Some friends in Bolivia wrote to Monthly Review (Argentina) to report this monstrous crime and to ask for our collaboration in breaking through the conspiracy of silence.

Those arrested belong to various political parties with a long background of struggle in the militant Bolivian unions. That is why they have been condemned to a living hell where sickness and hunger can finish them off.

The places where they have been sent are military outposts in a jungle zone often in the midst of swamps infested with crocodiles and piranhas. The nearest villages are 120 to 200 kilometers away, separated from the camps by dense jungle, the best barbed wire to prevent escapes. To venture out of these places means certain death for whoever tries it. A military plane comes once a week to relieve the garrison, who get out of there as rapidly as possible in view of the fact that these zones inspire a justifiable fear of the infectious diseases that are present.

In the "best" place of confinement, Ixiamas, there is a village of 300 half-savage inhabitants whose only source of income is hunting jaguars. Food consists exclusively of bananas and at times, with luck, of bats to be found in churches still standing from the days of a Jesuit settlement.

The houses, flimsy structures of adobe and straw; are ideal nesting places for tarantulas and snakes which take their toll among the political prisoners. There is an insect the sting of which produces a suppuration that can cause death within 48 hours. The air swarms with mosquitoes, gnats and horseflies that prevent any kind of activities in the open air, including the basic necessities. The Bolivian government sends no medicines or food whatsoever to counteract these terrible scourges and debilitation from undernourishment.

It should be added that since the government sends the prisoners neither

clothing nor shoes, nor anything with which to repair what they have on, nor lets them have anything else, they are soon half naked, suffering without defense from the terrible storms that occur.

After such a long time without hearing from them, since they are held strictly incommunicado, nobody knows how many of the political prisoners are still alive. It is reported that two of them were put in isolation in a state of coma and that others feel the situation is hopeless. That is why there is no time to lose.

Statements asking for their release should be obtained from unions, political parties, intellectuals and anyone who does not believe that human rights are only empty rhetoric.

Letters should be sent to the Ministro de Gobierno Antonio Arguedas, and to the President of the Republic General René Barrientos, La Paz, Bolivia.

Letters should also be sent to the newspapers in La Paz [Presencia, El Diario and El Pueblo].

Energetic demands for an end to the inhuman treatment of the prisoners and for giving them food, medical care and hygienic quarters should be made immediately. It is possible that many have died but international solidarity may save the lives of the rest.

* * *

The list of prisoners, as reported in World Outlook March 24 is as follows:

Zanón Barrientos Manani
Sinforese Cabrera
Luis Canipa
Orlando Capriles
Alejandro Carvajal
Nuflo Chavez Ortiz
Carlos Daza L.
Jorge Echazú Alvarado
Filimon Escobar
Gabriel Guzmán I.
Alberto Jara Daza
Guillermo Lora
Miguel Lora
Carrasco Marín
Edwin Moller
José Palacios
Víctor Reynaga
Eulogio Sanchez T.
Oscar Sangines
Víctor Sosa
Amadeo Vargas
Felipe Villanueva
Oscar Zamora

SLL "CAPTURE" OF NALSO ENDS IN FIASCO

By Brian Gormley

London

The seventeenth annual conference of the National Association of Labour Student Organizations [NALSO], which opened April 3, lived up to expectations and proved to be the liveliest in its history. A sharp political struggle occurred among several tendencies over what attitude NALSO should take toward the offensive launched against it by the right wing of the British Labour party and how it should gauge the recent signs of a new radicalism among British university students as typified by such an organization as the Radical Student Alliance.

A broadly based socialist student organization embracing some 6,000 members, the great bulk of them belonging to the Labour party, NALSO is a loose federation of over ninety socialist societies and Labour clubs on most of the major universities and colleges. Since its inception it has been under the leadership of the Labour left; and since Labour's election victory, it has been in a state of decline.

Readers of the London Newsletter, the official weekly of the Socialist Labour League, may have guessed in recent months that the SLL leadership had developed a more than casual interest in the affairs of NALSO. Besides the amount of space devoted to this organization, NALSO loomed more and more prominently in various SLL activities and campaigns, the relationship being not unlike that of the SLL to the Lambeth Trades Council. (The SLL used the Lambeth Trades Council as virtually a front, until it became such an empty shell that today demonstrations come and go and it is no longer heard from.)

At a poorly publicized, specially convened interim conference last January, where representation from the clubs was at its lowest and where credentials of some of the delegates were questionable, members of the SLL made a concerted effort to "take it through the experience" of their particular brand of sectarian politics and grabbed a majority of positions on the National Executive.

Interestingly enough, they were assisted in this by the votes of the right-wing Social Democrats, a minority at the conference, whose only motive was to see the organization disaffiliated and proscribed by the Labour party so that it could be reorganized under their control.

In the past, NALSO has been an embarrassment to Transport House. It was not uncommon for NALSO to nominate Ho Chi

Minh as honorary vice-president. Transport House this time retaliated quickly by cutting off its annual subsidy, thus taking the first step in ridding itself of its troublesome student body.

This clearly fitted in with the plans of the SLL leaders. While they do not agree with Transport House on most things, they seem to share with the Labour party brass the view that it is better to have militants outside the party looking in rather than inside conducting an effective struggle where it counts most, in the constituency clubs.

As one delegate put it, the question at issue was whether or not NALSO would be participating in this coming Labour party conference trying to rally support from the floor, or whether it would be standing outside alone waving a placard.

As was clearly revealed in the NALSO conference discussions, the SLL leaders think it is a waste of time for young socialists to be concerned about the Labour party and its internal evolution and the growth of the left wing, instead preferring to be outside the organizations of the working class lecturing the left from the pulpit of sectarian ultraleftism, posing themselves as "the revolutionary alternative."

But the SLL leaders misjudged the situation in NALSO. While students may be critical of the right wing of the Labour party, they are as yet opposed to being absorbed into the SLL.

Under the initiative of the Cambridge and Oxford affiliates, a "Save NALSO" caucus was formed to protect the organization from the ultralefts and to maintain its ties to the Labour party.

This became the central question for the conference. The SLL approach was at first cautious. They submitted minimum policy resolutions. The main task for the moment was merely to burn all bridges to the Labour party.

But under pressure from the "Save NALSO" caucus, they were forced to argue their full position of making NALSO "the alternative revolutionary leadership" in opposition to the Labour party.

The conference, by a hefty majority, rejected a statement by the SLL majority of the NALSO Executive on the reasons for the break with the Labour party, referring it back to the incoming Executive. Over the opposition of the SLL, the conference by a substantial majority also passed the Cam-

bridge position which was outlined in the following resolution:

"This conference deplores the hasty action of the NED of the Labour Party in repudiating its bi-lateral agreement with NALSO but also believes that the student socialist movement must retain links in some form with the Labour Party at a national level. It therefore instructs the EC to seek immediately affiliation or some form of association with the Labour Party, preferably one which will give NALSO speaking and voting rights at the Labour Party Conference."

Many of the students would have agreed with the SLL when they argued that a revolutionary party must be built. But they would add that the variant by which this will happen is through a struggle inside the existing organized political expressions of the working class, especially the Labour party, a possibility which NALSO should not turn its back upon.

The incentive to struggle against the position of the SLL was touched off by the SLL itself. It was immediately posed that all who did not agree with the SLL would have no place in NALSO. It would cease to be a broadly based student socialist youth organization, representative of several tendencies on the left.

The SLL moved in hard in a determined bid to consolidate its hold, running a full slate for all positions. This was in contrast to the "Save NALSO" caucus which left several positions open.

The conference ran over four days. In that time the arguments developed fast and furious as the factions struggled for the majority.

At every session, Ernest Tate, an active supporter in Britain of the Fourth International, was denounced by members of the SLL for "organizing against the SLL."

A high point came when an SLL spy, who had been sent into the "Save NALSO" caucus, got up to "confess" and "tell all." Aside from the effrontery of the SLL using this well-worn Stalinist and right-wing Social Democratic device, the delegates were outraged when he got his facts wrong.

Tate took the floor at the invitation of the delegates. (The SLL have made him such a demon that even their own members wanted to hear him speak!) Tate answered the spy's charges, explaining to the delegates what the "Save NALSO" caucus was, and how he had helped it, as was his duty as a socialist.

He accused the SLL of acting like the right wing in giving every appearance

of being opposed in principle to opposition caucuses. Didn't the SLL have its own caucus? he asked. He sat down to loud applause.

The SLL caucus members were forced to argue out their positions on many questions in which they showed serious lack of preparation.

When they charged that the "Save NALSO" caucus was an "unprincipled combination" against them because some held to the view that the Soviet Union was "state capitalist" while others held it to be a workers state, they were informed that everyone knew the program of the caucus, and anyway the question of state capitalism could not be a principle for the SLL as they had adopted a similar position in relation to Cuba.

They were faced with the same difficulty when it was revealed that two young members of the Communist party were on the slate, both of whom came to the conference in opposition to King Street [headquarters of the British CP]. The SLL denounced them as "Stalinists"!

The "Save NALSO" caucus was based on the Cambridge resolution and was open to all who supported that position. In addition, it sought to develop a student program and to orientate NALSO to the student protest movement. It was a minimum position. And it was this program that stuck in the craw of the SLL strategists.

In the elections for the new National Executive, the SLL contingent was reduced to a small minority, losing most of their previous positions.

The line finally adopted by the conference was by no means clear; it was even contradictory. Its position on student radicalism is ambiguous.

Many resolutions were passed by unanimous votes. In the debate on the constitution, the delegates defeated a move by the SLL to delete all references to the Labour party; but failed to prevent the "eligibility clause" from being deleted. This would have insisted that Executive positions could be filled only by people eligible for Labour party membership. In the past this clause has been ignored by NALSO but was in effect a statement of its main orientation.

The SLL argued that this was "a principle" and meant "acceptance of bans and proscriptions"; whereas it had been argued, especially by the Sussex delegation, that it was necessary to accept such devices if one were to be in an effective position to fight against them.

It was pointed out by one of the Oxford delegates that in the past the SLL

has accepted such clauses in the Young Socialists before they split from the Labour party.

Supporters of the Fourth International were in the forefront of the campaign to protect NALSO from the sectarians. The Fourth Internationalists had helped to organize several caucuses to plan strategy in the weeks previous to the conference.

They led in the political debates and succeeded in drawing out the SLL. The debates centered around such questions as "entryism," the united-front tactic and how revolutionary socialists defend the

Vietnamese revolution.

Even though they were small in number in contrast to the SLL's thirty-odd votes, in the confrontation before students interested in learning the truth the Fourth Internationalists showed that the SLL's ultraleft positions were a liability rather than an asset.

After such ballyhoo about NALSO in the SLL press, the defeat poses serious questions for SLL members. It is to be hoped that in looking for answers they will closely reexamine the program and tactics of the SLL.

PERUVIAN COMMITTEE APPEALS FOR HELP FOR DANIEL PEREYRA

The Comité Pro-Defensa de los Derechos Humanos [Committee in Defense of Human Rights], which has spearheaded the campaign in behalf of Hugo Blanco, has issued an appeal in behalf of Daniel Pereyra and twelve other codefendants who have been held in prison in Lima without trial for as long as five years.

The thirteen prisoners were members of a group called "Tupac Amaru" that set out to collect funds which they intended for the peasant movement forming around Hugo Blanco. They called at a bank in Lima to recuperate some of the money taken from the Peruvian workers and peasants.

They succeeded in obtaining more than 2,600,000 soles [US\$100,000]. The papers rated this as the biggest holdup in the history of the country.

Still more sensational was the notice sent to the press by the participants explaining the political nature of the operation. In view of the aims of the young idealists, the action struck a very favorable response in the populace. [See World Outlook September 9, p. 11.]

Unfortunately for those involved, the police stumbled on to them and they were arrested and some of them tortured.

Later, others accused of being involved or politically associated were arrested. About twenty were released on bail. Another ten or so are still "at large." Thirteen are still being held in Lima's notorious jails. The list is as follows:

Held Since April 1962

Daniel Alberto Pereyra Pérez
José Martorell Soto
Adalberto Fonkén Piedra
Víctor Raúl Terzi Zegarra
Antonio Aragón Gallegos
Juan Núñez Marchand
Jorge Tello Sánchez

Held Since January 1963

Eduardo Juan Creus González
Juan Minaya Espinoza
Mario Hoyos Urbano
Luis Arroyo Bernal
Pedro Candela Santillán

Held Since August 1965

José Marcelino Fonkén Piedra

The Comité Pro-Defensa de los Derechos Humanos asks that protests over the interminable delay in bringing the defendants to trial and appeals for a speedy hearing be sent to Dr. García Rada, Presidente de la Corte Suprema de Justicia, Lima, Peru.

Reference should be made to the case of "Daniel Pereyra and others" [No. 253/264 -- V^o Tribunal Correccional, Lima].

Copies of cables and letters and reports of actions should be sent to World Outlook and to the Comité Pro-Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, Avenida Tacna 329, Oficina 203, Lima, Peru.

WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL SETS DATE FOR FIRST SESSION IN PARIS

Although it has been experiencing difficulties in getting a hall in Paris due to heavy pressure from sources in Washington, the International War Crimes Tribunal has announced that the first session of its hearings will open April 26 and run until May 6.

STATE DEPARTMENT LISTS 37 NATIONS AS "HELPING" IN VIETNAM

As part of a propaganda drive associated with the big new jump in escalating the war in Vietnam, the State Department on March 11 issued a list of 37 countries which it claims have "joined the United States" in "helping" Saigon.

While the list indicates in actuality how little support Johnson has abroad for his war of colonial conquest, the token gestures made by the various governments do have a psychological value. The international antiwar movement should note what these "allies" of the U.S. are doing and call it to public attention wherever possible in order to bring counterpressure to bear.

The list, as issued by the State Department, is as follows:

"ARGENTINA -- 5,000 tons of wheat flour.

"AUSTRALIA -- 4,500 combat troops with more on the way; economic aid ranging from medical teams to school books.

"AUSTRIA -- Offers of medical supplies, blankets and tents through the Austrian Red Cross.

"BELGIUM -- Medicines and an ambulance and scholarships for nine Vietnamese to study in Belgium.

"BRAZIL -- Medical supplies and coffee.

"BRITAIN -- Economic aid ranging from road building equipment to education and medical help.

"CANADA -- Economic aid ranging from medical assistance to food and construction of a science auditorium at Hue University.

"DENMARK -- Medical assistance.

"DOMINICAN REPUBLIC -- An offer of cement.

"FRANCE -- Professional and training personnel, and low-interest credits for economic development.

"GREECE -- Medical supplies.

"GUATEMALA -- Medical supplies.

"HONDURAS -- Drugs and dry goods for refugees.

"IRELAND -- Flood relief.

"IRAN -- Petroleum products and a medical team.

"ISRAEL -- Pharmaceutical supplies for flood victims.

"ITALY -- A surgical team and science scholarships.

"JAPAN -- Economic aid ranging from medical supplies to transistor radios and aid in building a dam to produce power.

"LAOS -- Flood relief.

"LIBERIA -- Medical assistance.

"LUXEMBURG -- Plasma and blood transfusion equipment.

"MALAYSIA -- Training of Vietnamese military and police officers in counterinsurgency and supply of transportation equipment.

"NEW ZEALAND -- Combat forces being increased to about 360 men; economic assistance in medicine and education.

"THE NETHERLANDS -- Medical and social welfare assistance.

"NORWAY -- Flood relief.

"PAKISTAN -- Flood relief.

"PHILIPPINES -- A 2,000-man military engineering unit; civic action personnel including military and civilian medical teams.

"SOUTH KOREA -- 45,000 combat troops and medical aid.

"SPAIN -- Medical assistance.

"SWITZERLAND -- Medical help and microscopes for the University of Saigon.

"TAIWAN -- An 18-man military psychological warfare team plus economic aid in agriculture, medicine, education and electrical development.

"THAILAND -- Armed forces totaling about 12,000 men and economic aid ranging from rice to roofing materials and medical supplies.

"TUNISIA -- Scholarships.

"TURKEY -- Medicines and an offer of cement.

"URUGUAY -- Relief supplies and medicines.

"VENEZUELA -- Rice for refugee relief and medical assistance.

"WEST GERMANY -- Nonmilitary instruction, medical aid, refugee help, credits for industrial development."

WHAT I SAW IN NORTH VIETNAM

By Setsure Tsurushima

[At a conference of European vanguard youth organizations held in Brussels March 11-12 (see World Outlook April 7, p. 361), a message was read from Setsure Tsurushima, a secretary of the International War Crimes Tribunal who visited Vietnam as a member of the Japanese team delegated to gather evidence of the commission of war crimes. The text of this message is as follows.]

* * *

During my stay in Vietnam as a member of the investigation team of the IWCT, I could see two different aspects of the Vietnam war which are in sharp contrast to each other.

One is terrible. American planes attacking hospitals, churches, pagodas, schools, killing men and women, young and old, and dropping fragmentation bombs which are used only to destroy human life.

A destroyed hospital in Tanh Hoa province in the southern part of north Vietnam, where there has been severe and heavy bombing by the Americans, showed clearly in what manner and for what purposes the Americans are bombing. The hospital was destroyed by several explosive bombs of which we could see their craters. We could see in the damaged sections of the roof of the hospital, the large red cross which had been painted on the roof as well as marks left by machine-gun fire from the airplanes. After destroying the buildings the American planes strafed the patients, who were trying to flee.

Another example of this same aspect of the war is the bombing of the dikes. How systematically they are bombing these dikes and the purpose of this bombing is very clear.

Concentrated bombing of the dikes took place in July, August and September. From February to June 5, 1966, there were 55 such air raids. In July the figure was 69. In August and September 136 occurred.

As you know, Vietnam is a part of the monsoon area. The rainy season is in July, August and September and these are the months when the water level is the highest.

For example, Sontay province has a flow in the rivers of 3,400 cubic meters per second on a yearly average and 13,400 cubic meters per second during the rainy season.

One who remembers the great disaster when the dike of the Red River broke

in August 1945, which brought death and famine to millions of people in eight provinces, can understand just how serious is the bombing of the dikes during the rainy season. The purpose of such bombing can only be to cause flooding which destroys towns and villages, killing many people and causing terrible famine.

This aspect, I think, was described clearly in the words of the chairman of the executive committee of Thanh Hoa province. As he is from a national minority which lives in the highlands, we asked him what the effects of the bombings have been on the lives of wild beasts and animals. He said, "Elephants are going and tigers are coming."

The foliage which the elephants eat has been gravely destroyed, and the elephants, which are lovely and peaceful animals, have been frightened by the bombing and are fleeing Vietnam, while the tigers are coming in to eat corpses and helpless animals. American bombing, therefore, is succeeding in driving out all the peaceful animals and in bringing in the more vicious wild beasts.

However, human beings are much more creative. They can change wild jungle areas into fertile fields. The struggle of the Vietnamese people against imperialist aggression is resulting in yet another aspect of the Vietnamese war.

We could see the Vietnamese working day and night, harvesting sweet potatoes, planting rice paddies, repairing the roads and dikes which American planes had bombed.

I could realize that the productivity of paddy fields has increased tremendously since Independence. Before the world war, the productivity of paddy fields in north Vietnam was less than two tons per hectare each year, but now they are producing more than four tons of rice per hectare each year. Their goal is five tons per hectare, and in some areas they are already harvesting more than five tons per hectare.

Keeping in mind the enlargement of the cultivated area, one can easily understand how wonderful is the development of the agriculture which is so important to Vietnam.

And changing rice growing from extensive to intensive techniques as a result of the evacuation of the population from the big cities to the countryside is promising an even greater increase in agricultural productivity.

Much more important than that, however, is this: Peasants are organized more tightly in the cooperative system because they cannot repair the roads, dikes and even their houses destroyed by the bombings without cooperative methods. Medical networks are established on the basis of a cooperative system; every hamlet has an assistant doctor, every village has some medical facility which is connected to the medical center of the district, and medical doctors are living together with workers and peasants. Teachers are also living together with peasants because school can be held only in the early morning and in the evening. Under the pressure of the war, the Vietnamese people are establishing socialism in the classical form of communes, or the soviet system.

But what I would like to draw your attention to is an examination of how the American imperialists are causing wild beasts to come into Vietnam, and how the Vietnamese people are staging their struggle from the international point of view.

The American imperialists are mobilizing troops not only from the U.S., but also from South Korea, Thailand, Australia, etc.; the Japanese capitalists are supplying chemical products, etc.; and the British imperialists are keeping some troops to serve at the military bases in Thailand. On the other hand, what about the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people? It is true that this is the first time since the Spanish Civil War that the workers and youth in the capitalist countries are staging cam-

paigns supporting a struggle in a small, developing country. The Chinese, the Koreans, the Cubans, and the Algerians had to carry on their struggle by themselves without the assistance of people in other countries, while we are staging campaigns to support the Vietnamese people in Belgium, France, Italy, Britain, the Scandinavian countries, the U.S., Japan, etc. The Vietnamese Revolution is having a great moral influence on people all over the world.

But the campaigns of solidarity with the Vietnamese people have not yet been strong enough. They must be strong enough to respond to the escalation of imperialist aggression with an increased escalation of the struggle of the peoples.

Friends! It is extremely urgent to establish an international organization to stage the struggle of solidarity with the Vietnamese people in order to aid the overthrow of the imperialist world system. I believe the meeting here should be part of this struggle together with the Vietnamese people, and I am sure that a new stage of the international struggle against the imperialist world system is just now beginning!

Out with the wild beasts in Vietnam!

Down with the world imperialist system!

Long live the conference of the vanguard organizations of European youth to coordinate support for the Vietnamese Revolution and the struggle against NATO, to open the door of the new stage of the international anti-imperialist struggle!

WELSH NATIONALIST LEADER CONDEMNS WAR IN VIETNAM

[The following extract from a speech made by Gwynfor Evans, president of the Welsh Nationalist party, in a recent by-election campaign in Rhondda, has been translated by World Outlook from the March issue of the party's Welsh language monthly Y Ddraig Goch.]

[It may help to explain why the Labour party suffered such a steep decline in the vote in this usually Labour stronghold. From 80% of the vote, Labour dropped to under 50%. The Nationalists scored 40%.]

* * *

Wales needs freedom to create a just and benevolent social system for its own people. We can do miracles merely with the opportunity to develop our abundant resources for themselves. Today

these resources are bled to pay part of the £2 billion [\$5.6 billion] the government is squandering on preparations for war.

Wales needs freedom to play its own role in the life of the world. It is intolerable that we, the people of Wales, are implicated in the American actions in Vietnam.

In that poor country a million small children have already been wounded or killed, many of them horribly burned by napalm bombs and white phosphorous.

Wales must help to establish a peaceful, stable, and generous international order. Only a free Wales can do that. And towards this end, Rhondda must now lead the way -- for Rhondda, for Wales, for the World.

WHY THE COLOMBIAN GUERRILLAS WON'T GIVE UP

By Guillermo Bonilla

There are three countries in Latin America (Colombia, Venezuela and Guatemala) where the guerrillas, after some initial setbacks, have finally set deep and solid roots among the local populace and have reached a level of growth both in quantity and quality (number of guerrillas and military equipment) as to make them a real challenge to the governments of these countries. We will confine this article to the development of the Colombian guerrillas.

Colombia has about 17,000,000 inhabitants, sixty percent of whom are peasants. The typical peasant family lives in a hut with a palm-thatched roof and a bare earthen floor, with no latrine, no running water, no electricity.

The peasant and his children work for the landlord from sunrise to sunset, six days a week, for ten or fifteen cents (U.S. cents) a day. The children cannot go to school because there is no school to attend, and because their families need their labor to carry on.

Due to the hopeless perspective in the countryside, many peasants have moved to the cities where they settle in those belts of abysmal poverty that surround the cities in Latin America. The lucky ones find jobs in the factories, but the great majority make a living by begging, stealing, prostitution, or digging for refuse in the city dumps.

In the cities there is a small middle class, politically inarticulate and completely dependent on the upper class for jobs.

The upper class constitutes a very small sector of the population. It owns and controls the means of production -- the land and the factories. The state operates as nothing but a machine to protect and defend their interests.

The upper class maintains its grip through violence. Our armies have no other reason for existence. Relations with neighboring countries have been friendly for a long, long time; nevertheless our armed forces keep piling up tanks, jet planes and all sorts of heavy equipment whose guns are aimed at our own people. The army is used to crush any workers' strike, any student demonstration, any hunger march sometimes engaged in out of sheer desperation.

The Colombian people have traditionally paid allegiance to two political parties: the Liberals and the Conservatives. Both parties include elements of

all social classes; and both parties are controlled by the upper class. People join one or the other, not out of reasoned conviction but out of tradition: "I will be a Conservative because my parents and my grandparents were Conservatives."

Outside of this two-party setup, no other significant political party exists. The Colombian Communist party has never gained wide acceptance among the Colombian masses in its thirty-odd years of existence. In Medellín, an industrial city of more than 700,000 inhabitants, for instance, the CP does not have more than 200 militants. Rather than a real party it is a Moscow-oriented organization of bureaucrats given to a yearly trip to the USSR.

By the early 1940's a brilliant lawyer named Jorge Eliécer Gaitán had become a popular political figure. Because of his strong leftist ideology, he gained immense support among the Colombian masses. Gaitán worked within the Liberal party, but he was for socialism; and when one reads his speeches there is no doubt that he meant business.

The Liberal party, which was in power, refused to support Gaitán as a candidate for the presidential elections of 1946. But Gaitán's following was so strong that he decided to run on his own. This caused a split in the Liberal party. The Conservative party took advantage of the opening to run a wealthy candidate, Mariano Ospina Pérez. Thanks to the divided opposition, Ospina Pérez won the presidential elections in 1946; but the masses rallied behind Gaitán. The upper class became frightened.

In order to stop Gaitán in the next elections, Ospina Pérez unleashed a wave of violence against the rural population. This witch-hunt brought death to more than 300,000 peasants over a period of ten years, becoming known in Colombia as "La Violencia"; one of the darkest periods in our history.

One year after the terror started, Gaitán was denouncing it in the main cities with such effectiveness that the government engineered his assassination on April 9, 1948. Gaitán's death touched off a violent reaction among the masses. Street fighting flared throughout the country. For several days virtual civil war raged in Bogotá. The stores and buildings in the main streets were completely destroyed.

Unfortunately the rage of the masses was a blind force hitting here and there but lacking leadership; and the uprising ran its course. The Conservative

party was able to retain power.

New presidential elections were to be held in 1950. The Conservative party, conscious of its minority position, kept up the terror, and its candidate, Laureano Gómez, was elected with the abstention of the Liberal party.

Gómez increased the repression. The peasants were forced to flee and seek refuge in the jungles. The victims were always peasants, whether Liberals or Conservatives. They organized into armed bands and fought each other with a cruelty beyond belief. People were slaughtered by the hundreds in a single area; their bodies cut to pieces, women raped in the presence of their relatives and then murdered. The rivers of Colombia ran with human blood and bodies.

Things became so bad that the government lost all support save the support of brute force, and brute force turned against it. Gómez was deposed on June 13, 1953. The new dictator, a general by the name of Rojas Pinilla, was regarded hopefully by the people, who thought that peace might come at last. Most of the peasants gave up their arms, thinking that Pinilla was an honest man.

They were mistaken; he proved to be a corrupt military figure interested only in enriching himself and his cronies. Violence erupted all over again.

During this period the Communist party played its only important role. It organized some peasant guerrillas, who gained strength in the southern part of the country, an area that later came to be known as the peasant republics (Marquetalia, Guayabero, El Pato, Rio Chiquito, etc.). But these guerrillas were not organized as the embryo of a future popular army aiming at taking power, but as units of self-defense kept in isolation. This strategy proved to be disastrous and the peasant republics were liquidated.

Pinilla's government became so corrupt that the upper classes had to get rid of him; and in 1957 they organized a nationwide protest by keeping all banks, factories and stores closed. Pinilla, a man without principles, fled the country; and Colombia has been ruled, or rather misruled ever since by a coalition of the two traditional parties.

This coalition, called the "Frente Nacional" (National Front), represents and defends the interests of the upper classes and American investors. As such its interests are not those of the majority of the Colombian populace. They have tried everything from the Peace Corps to the Alliance for Progress and "industrialization" programs, all to no avail. The Colombian masses are hungrier and poorer

than ever. The economy is unable to expand as fast as the population.

Declining prices for coffee (our main export) have decreased the income from abroad. Our natural resources like gold, oil, platinum, are in the hands of American companies that pay little or nothing for what they take out. The military budget is a giant burden on the national income and things go from bad to worse.

In this panorama of poverty and frustration, the masses look more and more to the Cuban example. The American government and its Latin-American puppets manipulate all the main media of communication (press, radio, TV) to distort and falsify the truth about the Cuban revolution; but even so, not everyone has been fooled. A number of Colombians have come to believe that the only way the masses can achieve political power and open up the possibility of carrying out a program in their own interests is through armed insurrection. They have come to the view that under the objective conditions, the best way to get this type of insurrection started is through armed struggle in the hinterlands -- guerrilla warfare.

Several attempts have been made in this direction. In the early sixties, the student leader Larrota tried to join the peasant bands in western Colombia. He was murdered before he could accomplish anything. Tulio Bayer, a physician, directed a guerrilla front in the Eastern Plains; but this front collapsed, too. Likewise in the early sixties a group, splitting from the Communist party, decided to develop a front in the northern part of the country. The leaders of this group, Fabio Vásquez Castaño and Víctor Medina Morón, organized the Frente Guerrillero José Antonio Galán which "opened fire" on January 7, 1965, by attacking the police station in the town of Simacota. The Colombian Communist party openly criticized and opposed this movement, holding that guerrilla tactics was a game for adventurers and provocateurs. According to their view it was necessary to build a strong party and play the electoral game.

Vásquez and Morón kept up their fight with minor skirmishes here and there. They got a real boost when Father Camilo Torres, a Catholic priest who had been very active politically in previous months and who enjoyed tremendous popularity among the students and city workers, decided to join the ELN (Army of National Liberation, the group headed by Vásquez).

Camilo Torres joined the ELN sometime at the end of 1965 and from the mountains sent a message to the Colombian people telling them that he had joined the guerrillas because he was convinced that it was the only way to gain political power and carry out the radical reforms that

Colombian society so badly needs.

This was a hard blow to the government. Up to then the government had referred to the guerrillas as bandits and assassins. But now it was different. The Colombian people knew Camilo Torres very well. They knew that he was a Catholic priest, who had studied sociology in Europe, and that he had been the chaplain of the National University until he decided to leave the priesthood and join the political struggle.

Unfortunately Camilo Torres was killed in an ambush a few months later on February 15, 1966. According to the official account, an army patrol, deep in the jungle looking for guerrillas, was suddenly machine-gunned and several soldiers were killed or wounded. When the guerrillas moved in to take the dead soldiers' weapons, a wounded sergeant machine-gunned them, killing Camilo Torres and several others.

The death of this priest-guerrilla was a big victory for the government and a blow to the guerrilla forces which had placed big hopes in him as a leader. But the movement did not collapse. The survivors regrouped and went on organizing. Later on they opened a second front which they called the Frente Camilo Torres.

The ELN has been very active ever since, and their latest activities indicate that they have grown in strength both in manpower and... firepower. At the end of February, the ELN attacked the town of Vijagual on the Magdalena River. They killed several soldiers, wounded others, and took all the weapons with them after explaining to the local civilian population what the revolution was about. In March they ambushed a payroll train, derailing it with dynamite and gunning the troops from both sides of the tracks. The guerrillas fled without a single casualty on their side and with considerable acquisitions in weapons and money.

In the southern part of Colombia, meanwhile, the survivors of the peasant republics reorganized themselves and formed the FAR (Revolutionary Armed Forces) under the leadership of Comandante Manuel Marulanda Vélez, a veteran guerrilla from the time of "La Violencia." This must be a heavily armed and well-organized group because the Colombian army (which is well-equipped and trained under American supervision) has been unable to bring them under control despite massive efforts to hunt them down. The relationship of this southern bloc to the Colombian Communist party is not very clear at present.

It seems that there was a break after the peasant republics were crushed and that now the guerrillas plan to follow a line of active insurrection contrary to the "peaceful coexistence" line of the CP.

The action of the two guerrilla fronts has compelled the government to keep the country in a state of siege, and to launch a huge military operation to annihilate the guerrillas. But this may prove to be a very difficult if not impossible task. The Colombian guerrillas are now veteran fighters with deep, deep roots among the local population, and the Colombian masses are beginning to see in the guerrillas their liberators from the corrupt oligarchy.

The guerrillas are growing in strength and the machine politicians are losing in popularity. In a country with 7,000,000 potential voters, only forty percent went to the polls in the 1962 presidential elections and only thirty-six percent in 1966. The current president, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, received a little more than 1,000,000 votes. He travels under heavy guard. A few months ago when he visited the National University accompanied by one of the Rockefellers, the students greeted them with bricks, stones, tomatoes and eggs and shouts of "Down with the government!" and "Long live the guerrillas!"

COLOMBIAN GUERRILLAS SUPPORT CASTRO'S MARCH 13 SPEECH

[The Ejército de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army), the Colombian guerrilla force, issued a strong statement in support of Fidel Castro's stand urging revolutionists in Latin America to go ahead and make the revolution and not be dissuaded from it by those who want to follow a line of class collaboration or "peaceful coexistence."

Committee of the Cuban Communist party is as follows.]

* * *

With the exception of Cuba, every Latin-American country today presents the same picture of hunger, poverty and exploitation.

After more than a century of domination by the bourgeoisie, our peoples are still living at the lowest levels of civilization, with ignorance and backwardness

[The text of the declaration issued by the Colombian guerrillas, as published in the April 2 English edition of Granma, the official organ of the Central

rampant. This landowning bourgeois class, incapable of creation, living off the dispossessed (almost enslaved) masses, always tagging along in the wake of the European and United States bourgeoisie, turning us over lock, stock and barrel to the power of Yankee monopoly interests, today faces only decline. This Latin-American bourgeoisie can no longer continue deceiving the peoples as it did in the past when it paraded as the champion of freedom and democracy.

For awareness of what must be done has awakened the peoples of the Americas.

Millions of human beings have had their eyes opened. The picture is clear: Miserable wages, which leave the worker and his family starving; tumble-down, unsanitary shacks, places of suffering rather than shelter; backwardness, with no possibility of escape; in short, the absence of any chance for a decent future. These are the conditions offered by the bourgeoisie in exchange for the riches produced by the millions who face death from hunger or malnutrition, those millions of Latin America's sons, of our brothers throughout the Americas.

The small farmer of Latin America is doomed to perpetual misery. He ekes out only a starvation existence from his tiny parcel of land. He is condemned to waste away from disease, neglected completely by the grasping landowning class.

Along with the exploitation by the bourgeoisie, the tentacles of imperialism have been strangling Latin America, making the continent its captive, the easy, defenseless prey of the imperialist monopolies.

The enormous natural resources deposited in our earth, which could insure our economic development if placed in the hands of the people, are instead ruthlessly wrested from us without the slightest qualms. Chilean copper, Venezuelan iron and petroleum, Bolivian tin, and our own Colombian oil and platinum; all these riches of our continent are extracted from our soil at the cost of blood and sweat, benefiting the true owners of that wealth not at all, but rather causing them growing suffering and poverty.

When the products of the countryside such as coffee, sugar and bananas are not used to feed our own people, but placed in the hands of Yankee imperialists, they mean economic ruin and starvation. The Latin-American bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism are growing rich off the hunger and poverty of the millions of people of the Americas. And they resort to any and all means to perpetuate this regime of exploitation: from sham assistance programs to the massacre of workers

and farmers. And if all else fails, there is always the armed intervention of imperialism.

First they trot out "economic assistance" programs, and when these are unmasked for what they are -- subtle means of economic domination -- something more refined but just as hypocritical is brought forth: the Alliance for Progress. And the Latin-American bourgeoisie bows shamelessly to the new commands from its imperialist masters. And since such fables serve this exploiting class as well, the bourgeoisie plots right along with the imperialists, proclaiming changes and reforms bedecked with democratic trappings.

But the situation does not improve; it grows worse for the peoples of Latin America. The crumbs which the imperialists offer in an attempt to quiet the peoples cannot hold back their discontent.

The most reactionary sectors of the oligarchies come to power, and military gorillas or new-style civilian strongmen appear in those countries where imperialism is attempting to oppress the people through force. Repression is on the increase and the constant threat of armed intervention hovers over such countries.

And this has unleashed a revolutionary wave. As oppression becomes more ruthless, the peoples become more revolutionary. And to fight in a revolutionary way does not consist in bending before Yankee might, but rather facing up to fighting and defeating it.

Even before this situation became quite as clear as it is today, the heroic Cuban people threw off the same yoke that weighs down upon the rest of America. The triumph of the Cuban Revolution, its example and historic significance, marked the beginning of a new stage in the struggle: this time the decisive stage. For the Cuban Revolution has brought new fighting methods to the revolutionary struggle in the Americas.

And the awakening of the peoples which began with the Cuban Revolution is now manifest in other nations.

In Colombia, a nation with a tradition of struggle going back many years, revolutionary experience has crystallized into revolutionary armed struggle.

This new concept has come to the fore as a burning need of the people: the need to organize themselves and destroy the power of the exploiters.

The National Liberation Army (ELN) came into being as a direct product of this need, as a force prepared to carry on revolutionary warfare until final victory. We believe this to be the correct path,

and therefore follow it and proclaim it to our people.

Our experience, our own growth, has confirmed our views.

In Guatemala, as a result of the conditions forced upon the people by the oligarchy and imperialism, the popular revolutionary forces have created the FAR (Rebel Armed Forces), which has successfully advanced the armed struggle and day by day continues to hit hard against the reactionary troops.

In Venezuela the FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), under the leadership of Comrade Douglas Bravo, and the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) have advanced greatly, basing themselves on a correct conception of revolutionary struggle, truly prepared to wage an armed struggle for the liberation of Venezuela.

And in other countries as well, revolutionary movements have shaken off temporary difficulties which hampered them and have today launched their revolutionary armed fight.

An entire continent is making ready for the great armed struggle of liberation, a battle to be waged against the exploitation of the oligarchies and imperialist domination.

Imperialism, of course, will not let itself be taken off guard. Preparations are being made to savagely suppress the people's liberation movement. The Inter-American Defense Council and the Inter-American Peace Force are instruments of aggression being prepared by the imperialists for use against the peoples of the Americas.

Revolutionaries must answer this campaign by uniting all truly revolutionary movements. But such unity must be sought on a solid basis, on the basis of the stand each takes against imperialism.

And the only correct stand to take against the imperialists is that of being

prepared to fight, to confront the enemy with arms.

We, of the ELN, who are fighting against the enemies of the people with weapons in our hands, and who are determined not to relinquish our weapons until final and decisive victory is ours, will always stand beside true revolutionaries, those who in Guatemala, Venezuela or any other country are making a positive contribution to the liberation of the Americas. We consider such men our true comrades-in-arms and we declare our most fervent solidarity with them.

The revolutionary situation in the continent is forcing the oligarchies into their final critical stage. The oligarchies seek a way out of this crisis by turning to groups which might possibly give them a democratic façade, an appearance of independence from Yankee domination. In such maneuvers they have even asked for economic assistance from countries of the socialist camp.

We feel that any aid whatsoever from the socialist camp for countries such as Colombia -- where aid is projected for Lleras Restrepo's ruling oligarchy -- will only serve to give those in power more resources with which to crush the revolutionary struggle. This is hardly a consequent [consistent] way to help oppressed peoples win their liberation from the exploiting oligarchies and imperialist domination.

Consequent with our position and revolutionary concepts, we consider that the position adopted by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, as expressed by Major Fidel Castro on March 13, to be correct and appropriate. Moreover, we consider those statements concerning revolutionary tactics and strategy, as well as the general position of Revolutionary Cuba in relation to revolutionary struggle in the Americas to be quite correct. We also believe that the Cuban Revolution has every right to unmask its detractors, as well as those who pass themselves off as a revolutionary party.

PHILIPPINE GUERRILLAS GAINING IN STRENGTH

Reports continue to come from Manila on the revival of the People's Liberation Army [Hukbong Mapagpalaya Nang Bayan -- "Huks"]. The latest is a special dispatch to the New York Times [April 16] according to which the intelligence service of the puppet government of the Philippines estimates that more than 26,000 peasants support it, nearly half its previous top strength. The same source declares that the Huks have 1,000 "political" members and an armed fighting force of 156 regular troops and 136 part-time guerrillas.

The movement was thought to have been "liquidated," but the incapacity of the regime to ameliorate the country's bitter poverty and other ills is serving to renew the movement that began in the form of resistance to the Japanese occupation.



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