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# CHE GUEVARA

# Breaks His Silence

*"Vietnam and the World Struggle for Freedom"*

# FULL TEXT

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VIETNAM AND THE WORLD STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

By Ernesto "Che" Guevara

[The text of an article sent by Comandante Ernesto "Che" Guevara from "somewhere in the world" to the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America was made public by that body and carried by Prensa Latina in its bulletin of April 17.

[Prensa Latina reports that it is to appear in the first issue of a new magazine called Tricontinental which will begin publication in Havana in June.

[The translation below is by World Outlook.]

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The slogan is to create two, three ...many Vietnams.

"It is the time of the furnaces, and it is only necessary to see the glow." (José Martí.)

It is not twenty-one years since the end of the last world conflagration and various publications, in an infinity of tongues, are celebrating the event symbolizing the defeat of Japan. There is an atmosphere of apparent optimism in many sectors of the different camps into which the world is divided.

Twenty-one years without a world war, in these days of maximum confrontations, of violent encounters and abrupt turns, appears to be a very high number. But, without analyzing the practical results of this peace for which all of us are prepared to struggle (misery, degradation, constantly increasing exploitation of enormous sectors of the world), it is appropriate to ask whether it is real.

It is not my intention in these notes to give an account of the various conflicts of a local character that have occurred since Japan surrendered. Neither is it our task to cite the numerous and growing civil struggles that have broken out in these years of so-called peace. It is sufficient to offer as examples countering the excessive optimism, the wars in Korea and Vietnam.

In the first, after years of ferocious struggle, the north part of the country was left with the most terrible devastation in the annals of modern war; ravaged with bombs, without factories, schools or hospitals -- without any kind of housing to shelter ten million inhabitants.

In this war, under the deceptive banner of the United Nations, dozens of countries intervened under the military leadership of the United States, with the massive participation of troops of that country and utilization of the conscripted south Korean population as cannon fodder.

On the other side, the army and people of Korea and the volunteers from the People's Republic of China were supplied and assisted by the Soviet military apparatus.

The North Americans tried out every kind of means of destruction, excluding thermonuclear weapons but including bacteriological and chemical arms on a limited scale.

In Vietnam fighting has been carried on almost uninterruptedly by the patriots of that country against three imperialist powers: Japan, whose power collapsed with the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; France, which recovered its Indochinese colonies from this defeated power, disregarding the promises made in a time of duress; and the United States, in the latest phase of the conflict.

There have been limited confrontations in all continents, even when in the Americas, for a long time, all that occurred was attempts at freedom struggles and barracks overturns until the Cuban revolution sounded its trumpet call, showing the importance of this region and drawing the rage of the imperialists upon it, compelling it to defend itself on the beaches at Playa Girón first and later during the October crisis.

The latter incident could have touched off a war of incalculable proportions by bringing on a clash over Cuba between the North Americans and the Soviets.

But obviously, at the present moment the contradictions are centered in the territory of the Indochinese peninsula and the neighboring countries.

Laos and Vietnam were shaken by civil wars until they passed beyond that after North American imperialism intervened with all its power and the whole zone became converted into a dangerous, sputtering fuse leading to a powder keg.

In Vietnam the confrontation has acquired extreme sharpness. It is not my intention to go into the history of this war either. We will merely indicate some of the significant milestones.

In 1954, after the crushing defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the Geneva accords were signed, dividing the country into two zones with the stipulation that elections were to be held in eighteen months to determine who would govern Vietnam and how the country would be reunified.

The North Americans did not sign that document, beginning maneuvers to displace Bao Dai, a French puppet, with a man who fit in better with their aims. This turned out to be Ngo Dinh Diem, whose tragic end -- that of a lemon squeezed by imperialism -- is known to everyone.

In the months following the signing of the accord, optimism reigned in the camp of the popular forces. They dismantled redoubts of anti-French struggle in the south part of the country and waited for the agreement to be carried out. But the patriots soon grasped that there were to be no elections unless the United States felt capable of imposing its will at the ballot box, something it could not do, even with all the methods of electoral fraud it knew.

Again they initiated struggles in the south part of the country and these have been gaining in intensity up to the present moment in which the North American army has reached almost a half million invaders, while the puppet forces are declining in number, and above all, have completely lost the will to fight.

It is about two years since the North Americans began systematically bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in another attempt to put a brake on the militancy in the south and to impose a conference from a position of strength.

At the beginning, the bombings were more or less isolated and were presented in the guise of reprisals for alleged provocations from the north.

Then they increased methodically in intensity until they became converted into a gigantic battle carried out by the air forces of the United States day after day, with the aim of destroying every vestige of civilization in the northern zone of the country. It is an episode in the somber and famous escalation.

The material aims of the Yankee circles have been achieved in good part despite the intrepid defense put up by the Vietnamese anti-aircraft batteries, the more than 1,700 planes brought down and military supplies provided by the socialist camp.

There is a painful reality: Vietnam, this nation representing the aspirations, the hopes for victory of an entire disinherited world, is tragically alone.

This people must endure the pounding of North American technique, operating almost scotfree in the south, with some possibilities of defense in the north, but always alone.

The solidarity of the progressive world for the Vietnamese people has something of the bitter irony faced by the gladiators in the Roman Circus when they won the applause of the plebs.

To wish the victims success is not enough, the thing is to share their fate, to join them in death or victory.

When we analyze the isolation of the Vietnamese we feel anguished over its logical meaning for humanity.

North American imperialism is guilty of aggression. Its crimes are immense and known to the whole world. We already know this, gentlemen!

But they are likewise guilty who at the decisive moment vacillated in making Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory -- yes, at risk of a war of global scale, but also compelling the North American imperialists to make a decision.

And they are guilty who keep up a war of insults and tripping each other, begun some time ago by the representatives of the two big powers in the socialist camp.

We ask, in order to get an honest answer:

Is Vietnam isolated or not, doing a dangerous balancing act between the two disputing powers?

And -- what grandeur has been shown by this people! What stoicism and valor in this people! And what a lesson for the world their struggle holds!

For some time it has not been clear if President Johnson was seriously thinking of initiating some of the popular reforms necessary to soften the sharpness of the class contradictions that are appearing with explosive force and more and more frequently.

What is certain is that the improvements announced under the pompous label of the Great Society have gone down the drain in Vietnam.

The greatest of the imperialist powers feels in its heart the drain caused by a poor, backward country and its fabulous economy feels the effect of the war.

Killing is ceasing to be the best business for the monopolies.

Defensive arms, and not in sufficient number, is all these marvelous soldiers have, besides love for their country, their society, and a courage beyond compare.

But imperialism is sinking in Vietnam; it sees no way out and it is searching desperately for a way that will permit it to emerge with dignity from the dangerous situation in which it finds itself.

But the "four points" of the North and the "five" of the South have caught it in a pincers, making the confrontation still more decisive.

Everything appears to indicate that peace, this precarious peace to which they give that name only because no global conflagration has occurred, is again in danger of being broken by any irreversible and unacceptable step taken by the North Americans.

And for us, the exploited of the world, what should our role be in this?

The peoples of three continents are watching and learning a lesson for themselves in Vietnam.

Inasmuch as the imperialists are utilizing the threat of war to blackmail humanity, the correct reply is not to be afraid of war. The general tactic of the peoples must be to attack vigorously and uninterruptedly wherever a confrontation occurs.

But in those places where this miserable peace which we endure has not been broken, what should our task be?

To free ourselves at any price.

The world panorama is one of great complexity. The task of winning freedom still faces the countries of old Europe, those sufficiently developed to experience all the contradictions of capitalism while remaining too weak to follow the course of imperialism or to initiate this road. In these countries, the contradictions will become explosive in the next years, but their problems and, hence, their solutions are different from those facing our dependent and economically backward peoples.

The fundamental field of imperialist exploitation covers the three backward continents -- the Americas, Asia and Africa.

Each country has its own characteristics, but the continents, as a whole, also have theirs.

The Americas constitute a more or less homogeneous whole and almost every-

where North American monopoly capitalism holds absolute primacy.

The puppet, or in the best of cases, weak and timorous, governments are unable to resist the orders of the Yankee master.

The North Americans have reached virtually the pinnacle of their political and economic domination. They can now advance little; any change in the situation could be converted into a decline in their primacy. Their policy is to maintain their conquests. The line of action is reduced at the present time to the use of brute force to block freedom movements no matter what their nature.

The slogan, "We will not permit another Cuba," is designed to cover up treacherous aggressions like the one perpetrated against Santo Domingo; or, before that, massacres like the one in Panama, and the clear warning that they are ready to send Yankee troops anywhere in the Americas where a change in the established order endangers their interests.

This policy enjoys almost absolute impunity. The OAS [Organization of American States] is a convenient mask, however discredited it is; the UN is of an inefficacy bordering on the ridiculous or the tragic; the armies of all the countries of the Americas are ready for use in mowing down their own people.

In practice what has been formed is an international of crime and betrayals.

In addition, the indigenous bourgeoisies have lost all capacity to oppose imperialism, if they ever had any -- and constitute only a source of supplies for it.

No other changes can be made; it's either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution.

Asia is a continent with different characteristics. The freedom struggles against a series of European colonial powers resulted in the establishment of more or less progressive governments whose subsequent evolution was, in some cases to deepen the primary objectives of national liberation and in others to revert toward proimperialist positions.

From the economic point of view, the United States has little to lose and much to gain in Asia. The changes have favored the U.S.; it is struggling to displace other neocolonial powers, to penetrate new spheres of action in the economic field, sometimes directly, sometimes utilizing Japan.

But special political conditions exist there, above all in the peninsula of Indochina, which give Asia characteristics

of capital importance and which play an important role in the global military strategy of North American imperialism.

Its blockade of China extends at least from South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, South Vietnam and Thailand.

This dual situation -- such a strategic interest as the military blockade of the People's Republic of China and the ambition of its capitalists to penetrate the big markets which they do not yet dominate -- makes Asia possibly one of the most explosive regions in the world today, despite the apparent stability outside of the Vietnam area.

Belonging geographically to this continent, but with its own contradictions, the Middle East is boiling, and no one can forecast what the cold war will lead to between the progressive countries of this zone and Israel, which is backed by the imperialists.

One more rumbling volcano in the world, Africa, appears almost like virgin territory for a neocolonial invasion.

Changes have occurred which, to a certain degree, have compelled the neocolonial powers to give up their former absolute prerogatives. But when the processes continue without interruption to their conclusion, colonialism gives way, without violence, to a neocolonialism, the consequences of which are the same so far as economic domination is concerned.

The United States formerly did not have colonies in this region and now it is struggling to penetrate the former preserves of its partners.

It can be said that Africa constitutes, in the strategic plans of North American imperialism, a long-range reserve; its current investments are of importance only in the Union of South Africa and it is beginning to penetrate into the Congo, Nigeria and other countries, where violent competition is flaring up (of a "peaceful" nature up to now) with other imperialist powers. It does not yet have big interests to defend except its pretended right to intervene any place on the globe where its monopolies are making good profits or where big reserves of raw materials are to be found.

All the above leads up to posing the possibilities for the peoples to win their freedom in the immediate or near future.

Analyzing the African scene, we see that the Portuguese colonies of Guinea, Mozambique and Angola are struggling with some intensity, with particular success in Guinea and variable successes in the other two.

Also we still see a struggle between Lumumba's successors and the old accomplices of Tshombe in the Congo, a struggle that appears at the moment to be inclining in favor of the latter, those who have "pacified" a big part of the country to benefit themselves, although war remains latent.

In Rhodesia the problem is different -- British imperialism utilized all the machinery at its disposal to hand over power to the white minority which now holds it illegally. The conflict, from England's point of view, is completely against these officials, except that this power, with its customary diplomatic skill -- it is also called hypocrisy in good Spanish -- maintains an appearance of distaste for the measures taken by the Ian Smith government and is supported in its crafty attitude by some of the Commonwealth countries which follow it and is attacked by a good part of the countries of black Africa, whether they are economic vassals of English imperialism or not.

In Rhodesia the situation could become highly explosive if the efforts of the black patriots to rise up in arms materializes and this movement is actually supported by the neighboring African nations. But today all these problems are aired in bodies as innocuous as the UN, the Commonwealth or the OAU [Organization of African Unity].

Nevertheless the political and social evolution of Africa causes us to forecast a continental revolutionary situation.

The freedom struggles against the Portuguese must end victoriously, but Portugal signifies nothing in the imperialist list.

The confrontations of revolutionary importance are those that hold at bay the whole imperialist apparatus, although we would not, because of that, cease struggling for the liberation of the three Portuguese colonies, for the deepening of their revolutions.

When the black masses of South Africa or Rhodesia initiate their genuinely revolutionary struggle, or when the impoverished masses of a country set out against the ruling oligarchies to redeem their right to a decent living, a new era will have opened in Africa.

Up to now barracks coups have occurred in which one group of officers replaces another or a regime that no longer serves their caste interests and those of the powers that surreptitiously control them; but there have been no popular convulsions.

In the Congo, these characteristics were given a temporary impulse by the memory of Lumumba, but they have been losing

momentum in recent months.

In Asia, as we have seen, the situation is explosive, and Vietnam and Laos where the struggle is now going on are not the only points of friction. The same holds true for Cambodia, where at any moment North America can launch a direct invasion; Thailand, Malaysia must be added, and, naturally, Indonesia, where we cannot believe that the final word has been said despite the annihilation of the Communist party of that country after the reactionaries took power. And, of course, the Middle East.

In Latin America, the struggle is going on arms in hand in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia and the first buds are already appearing in Brazil.

There are other centers of resistance that have appeared and been extinguished.

But almost all the countries of this continent are ripe for a struggle of such nature that, to end in a triumph, it cannot be accommodated to anything less than the establishment of a government of socialist nature.

In this continent practically only one language is spoken, save for the exceptional case of Brazil, with whose people those who know Spanish can speak, in view of the similarity between the two languages.

The similarity of the classes is so great among these countries that they can be identified as an "international American" type, much more so than in other continents. Language, customs, religion, a common boss unites them.

The degree and forms of exploitation are similar in their effects for exploiters and exploited in a good number of countries of our America.

And rebellion in them is ripening at an accelerated rate.

We can ask: This rebellion -- how can it be fructified? What kind of rebellion will it be?

We have maintained for some time that given its similar characteristics, the struggle in the Americas will, in time, acquire continental dimensions. It will be the scene of many big battles in behalf of humanity, in behalf of its liberation.

Measured against the scope of this continental-wide struggle, the present struggles keeping it going in an active way are only episodes, but they have already provided their martyrs who will

figure in the history of the Americas for having given their quota of necessary blood in this final stage of struggle for the full freedom of mankind.



FABRICIO OJEDA -- VENEZUELAN MARTYR

Written there are the names of Comandante Turcios Lima, the priest Camilo Torres, Comandante Fabricio Ojeda, the comandantes Lobatón and Luis de la Puente Uceda, the biggest figures in the revolutionary movements of Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Peru.

But the active mobilization of the people creates new leaders -- César Montes and Yon Sosa raised the banner in Guatemala; Fabio Vázquez and Marulanda did it in Colombia; Douglas Bravo in the west of the country and Américo Martín in El Bachiller, leading their respective fronts in Venezuela.

New buds of war are appearing in these and other American countries, as has now occurred in Bolivia, and these will continue to grow, with all the vicissitudes which this dangerous occupation of the modern revolutionist involves.

Many victims will die, victim of

their own errors, others will fall in the harsh combat that is looming; new battlers and new leaders will arise in the heat of the revolutionary struggle.

The people will continue to form their fighters and their leaders within the selective framework of the war itself, and the Yankee agents of repression will increase in number.

Today there are advisers in all the countries where armed struggle is going on and the Peruvian army, advised and trained by the Yankees, managed, it seems, to inflict a defeat on the revolutionists of that country.

But if the guerrilla centers conduct their activities with sufficient political and military skill, they become practically unbeatable and necessitate new deliveries by the Yankees.

In Peru itself, with tenacity and firmness, new figures, although not yet fully known, are reorganizing the guerrilla struggle.

Little by little, the obsolete arms that sufficed to repress the small armed bands, will be converted into modern arms and the groups of advisers into North American combatants, until the time arrives when they find themselves obliged to send growing numbers of regular troops to assure the relative stability of a power whose national puppet army disintegrates in face of the battles undertaken by the guerrillas.

This is the Vietnamese road; the road which the peoples must follow, the road which the Americas will follow, with the special feature that armed groups can establish something like coordinating committees to make the repressive task of Yankee imperialism more difficult and to help their own cause.

The Americas, a continent forgotten in the latest political struggles for freedom, which is beginning to make itself felt through the Tricontinental by means of the Cuban revolution which is the voice of the vanguard of its peoples, will undertake a much more outstanding task -- the creation of the second or third Vietnam, or the world's second or third Vietnam.

In short, it must be remembered that imperialism is a worldwide system, and it must be beaten in a worldwide confrontation.

The strategic objective of this struggle must be the destruction of imperialism.

The participation which is up to us, the exploited and backward of the

world, is to eliminate the bases sustaining imperialism -- our oppressed peoples from whom capital, raw materials, technicians and cheap workers are extracted; and to whom new capital, means of domination, arms and all kinds of goods are exported, adding up to absolute dependence.

The fundamental element of this strategic goal will be, then, the real liberation of the peoples, a liberation that will be obtained through armed struggle in the majority of cases, and which, in the Americas, will have almost unfailingly the property of becoming converted into a socialist revolution.

In focusing on the destruction of imperialism, it is necessary to identify its head, which is none other than the United States of North America.

We must carry out generally a task, the tactical aim of which is to draw the enemy from his surroundings, compelling him to fight in places where his habits run counter to the prevailing reality.

The adversary must not be underestimated; the North American soldier has technical ability and is backed by means of such magnitude as to make him fearsome. He lacks essentially the ideological motivation which his most hated rivals of today have to the highest degree -- the Vietnamese soldiers.

We can triumph over this army only to the extent that we succeed in undermining his morale. And this is done by inflicting defeats on him and causing him repeated suffering.

But this narrow line of victories entails immense sacrifices by the peoples, sacrifices which must be demanded from now on, in full frankness, and which perhaps will be less painful than those which they will have to undergo if we were to continually flee from the fight in order to try to get others to draw the chestnuts from the fire.

It is clear that the last country to free itself will probably do so without an armed struggle; and the suffering of a war as long and as cruel as those conducted by the imperialists will be spared this people.

But perhaps it will be impossible to avoid this struggle and its effects in a conflict of worldwide character and it will suffer as much or more.

We cannot forecast the future, but we must never give way to the miserable temptation to be the standard-bearers of a people who yearn for freedom but reject the struggle that goes with it and wait for victory like a beggar.



It is absolutely correct to avoid any useless sacrifice. Because of this it is extremely important to be clear on the actual possibilities which dependent Latin America has to free itself in a peaceful way.

The answer to this question is clear to us -- the present moment may or may not be the one indicated to initiate a struggle, but we cannot permit ourselves to harbor any illusions, we have no right to believe that freedom can be won without a struggle.

And struggles will not be mere street fights with stones against tear gas, nor peaceful general strikes; nor will the struggle be one in which an infuriated people destroys the repressive framework of the ruling oligarchy in two or three days. It will be a long, cruel struggle in which the front will be in guerrilla hideouts, in the cities, in the homes of the combatants; in which the repression will seek easy victims among their relatives. In the stricken peasant populace, in the towns and cities destroyed by the enemy's bombs, we are pressed into this struggle; there is no other way but to prepare for it and decide to begin it. The beginning will not be easy; it will be extremely difficult. Every repressive means, every bit of demagoguery and brutality within the capacity of the oligarchies will be placed in the service of their cause.

Our mission, in the first moments, is to survive, then to act, the perennial example of the guerrilla carrying on armed propaganda in the Vietnamese meaning of the term; that is, the propaganda of gunfire, of battles that are won or lost, but which are waged, against our enemies.

The great lesson of the invincibility of guerrilla warfare catching on among the masses of the dispossessed. The galvanization of the national spirit; the preparation for more difficult tasks, for resistance to more violent repression. Hate as a factor in the struggle; intransigent hate for the enemy, which takes one beyond the natural limitations of a human being and converts one into an effective, violent, single-minded, cold killing machine.

Our soldiers must be like that; a people without hate cannot triumph over a brutal enemy.

The war must be taken as far as the enemy carries it; into his home, into his places of diversion, making it total.

He must be prevented from having a moment's tranquility, a moment's calm outside the barracks and even within them -- attack him wherever he is to be found;

make him feel relentless pursuit wherever he goes.

Then his morale will begin to decline. He will become still more bestial; but signs will be noted of the decay which begins to appear and which will develop into genuine proletarian internationalism, where the banner under which the struggle is carried on is the sacred cause of benefiting all humanity, so that to die under the colors of Vietnam, Venezuela, Guatemala, Laos, Guinea, Colombia, Bolivia, Brazil -- to mention only the current scenes of armed struggle -- is equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African and even a European.

Every drop of blood spilled in a land under whose flag one was not born, is an experience that is treasured by anyone who survives and who can then apply the lessons learned in the struggle for freedom in his own place of origin. And every people that frees itself is a phase in the battle for freedom of the very peoples that have already won a victory.

It is time to moderate our disputes and to place everything at the service of the struggle.

That big controversies are agitating the world struggling for freedom, all of us know; and we cannot hide it. That they have acquired a character and a sharpness that makes a dialogue and reconciliation appear extremely difficult, if not impossible, we know that, too.

To seek ways to initiate a dialogue which the disputants reject is a fruitless task.

But the enemy is there, pounding day after day and threatening new blows and these blows will unite us today, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

Whoever first obtains and prepares this necessary union will win the gratitude of the peoples.

In view of the virulence and the intransigency with which each cause is defended, we, the dispossessed, cannot take part in any way by declaring a position on the differences, even when we at times agree with some of the arguments on one side or the other, or to a greater degree with those of one side rather than those of the other.

At this moment of the struggle, the form in which the present differences are made public constitutes a weakness, but in the situation confronting us, to hope to reach an agreement on them through words is an illusion. History will determine which positions will be wiped out and which will be confirmed.



In our world of struggle, everything involving a dispute around tactics, methods of action for the attainment of limited objectives, must be analyzed with the respect due other's appreciations. As for the great strategic objective, the total destruction of imperialism by means of struggle, on that we must be intransigent.

We would sum up as follows our aspirations for victory: destruction of imperialism by means of eliminating its strongest bulwark -- the imperialist domain of the United States of North America.

To take as the tactical line the gradual freeing of the peoples, by ones or by groups, involving the enemy in a difficult struggle outside of his terrain; liquidating his bases of support, which are his dependent territories.

This means a long war. And, we repeat it once again, a cruel war.

Let no one be mistaken on this when he sets out to initiate it and let no one vacillate in initiating it out of fear of the results which it can draw upon his own people. It is almost the only hope for victory. We cannot evade the need of the hour.

Vietnam teaches us this with its permanent lesson in heroism, its tragic daily lesson in struggle and death in order to gain the final victory.

Over there, the imperialist troops find the inconveniences of those accustomed to the standard of living which the North American nation boasts. They have to confront a hostile land, the insecurity of those who cannot move without feeling that they are walking on enemy territory; death for those who go outside of fortified redoubts; the permanent hostility of the entire population.

All this continues to provoke repercussions inside the United States; it is going to arouse a factor weakening the full vigor of imperialism; the class struggle inside its own territory.

How close and bright would the fu-

ture appear if two, three, many Vietnams flowered on the face of the globe, with their quota of death and immense tragedies, with their daily heroism, with their repeated blows against imperialism, with the obligation it would signify for imperialism to disperse its forces under the lash of the growing hate of the peoples of the world!

And if we were capable of uniting so as to give our blows greater solidity and certainty, so that aid of all kinds for the people locked in combat would be even more effective.

How great the future would be, and how near!

If we, on a small point on the map of the world, carry out the duty which we hail and place at the disposition of the struggle this small bit which we are permitted to give: our lives, our sacrifice, it can happen that one of these days we will draw our last breath on a bit of earth already ours, watered with our blood. Let it be known that we have measured the scope of our acts and that we consider ourselves no more than elements in the great army of the proletariat; but we feel proud at having learned from the Cuban revolution and its great main leader the great lesson to be drawn from his attitude in this part of the world: "What difference the dangers to a man or a people, or the sacrifices they make, when what is at stake is the destiny of humanity."

Our entire action is a call for war against Yankee imperialism and a cry for the unity of the peoples against the great enemy of the human species: the United States of North America.

Wherever we are surprised by death, let it be welcome if our call for war has reached even one receptive ear and another hand reaches out to take up our arms, and other men prepare to sing the mournful songs to the chattering of machine guns and new calls for war and for victory.

-- Che

#### AS CHE WAS SAYING

The Pentagon has just sent "three or four" military advisers to Bolivia to precede a larger group which will provide antiguerrilla training for the armed forces of the Barrientos dictatorship. This was confirmed by State Department sources April 13. The advisers will not themselves participate in any military

operations, it was said. As in Vietnam at the beginning, they will "only advise and train" the Bolivian army so as to make it "more effective" in putting down guerrillas. The State Department spokesman denied that the move was due to any current clashes. It had been planned for some time, he said.

## BRITISH VOTERS DEAL WILSON A STIFF BLOW

By Brian Gormley

The gravest blow since being elected to power was delivered to the Labour party April 13 when Labour control of county councils across England and Wales was reduced to a shambles. In all of England, Labour now controls only one county council -- Durham -- and two in Wales.

Its most serious defeat was in London, where Labour has held the county council since 1934. Here the party was reduced to a fraction of its former strength, now holding only 18 seats to the Tories' 82.

The average swing throughout the country against Labour was 12.9% of the vote. In parts of London, especially in the solid working-class districts in the East End (Hackney), the swing went up to 20.9%. In Islington, it rose to 26.6%. Even in Wilson's home riding in Lancashire, Huyton West, the percentage shift to the Tories was up by 21.8%. The total percentage of people voting was down in most places. Many Labour supporters abstained, especially among the working class, while the party's middle-class support tended to remain stable. Traditional Labour voters crossed class lines to vote for the Tories.

It is significant to note that the votes for the Communist party candidates remained static, or even decreased. In London they lost a third of their votes, polling 66,000 in comparison to 92,000 in 1964.

The hammering which the Labour party took is the first public demonstration by the mass of the British working class of its dissatisfaction with the Wilson government's support of British capitalism. Party canvassers report that they hadn't voted for Labour to get Tory policies of increased rates and rents.

Labour's "incomes policy" was the main irritant. "We are not voting for a government that's freezing our wages," election workers were told.

The sharpest criticism has come from within the House of Commons from Jim Dickens, Labour MP for Lewisham West. Speaking at Ruskin College, Oxford, he said the defeat "must be laid squarely on the played-out, deadbeat policy of deflation adopted by the government to appease the Bank of England and the City at home, and the International Monetary Fund and European central bankers abroad." He castigated the recent budget, which was presented in the midst of the elections, as "a bankers budget, which proposed to hand

back £26 million a year to surtax payers while doing nothing about child poverty."

He stated that the government's "contemptible support" for the bombing of Vietnam had knocked the stuffing out of Labour party workers.

Everyone is aware of where the responsibility for the debacle lies. Even the right wing expected their support to be down. But no one predicted, even on the left, such an avalanche of opposition votes.

The election defeat has had a stunning impact upon the Labour party itself, especially its vast bureaucracy, a great proportion of which was embedded in local governments around the country. It has also put a scare into the British bourgeoisie that Wilson might be stampeded into abandoning his economic policy and the general rightward course of the government.

The Guardian, in an editorial on April 15, was quick to warn: "If the government is convinced that its policies are right, it would be gravely mistaken if it panicked now and allowed itself to be blown off course."

More specific advice is given by James Magrath, a leading political columnist for the Sunday Times. Commenting upon the effect the defeat will have on the Labour MP's, he stated: "The more panicky troops are already evincing symptoms of shell-shock as they groped for their Friday trains to home. And Mr. Wilson knows, from his own past, the cynical reality. There is never any gratitude in politics when the chips are down. The Prime Minister is probably also going to learn the loneliness of the long-distance runner.

"This situation," he went on, "will call for a pronounced change in technique on the Prime Minister's part in the months to come. This is the time for the velvet gloves, for cosseting [pampering] the doubters and the fearful without making any real concessions."

It is obvious that Wilson and the Labour brass will attempt to "play it long." But whether he can do that without making major concessions, or even causing a major crisis in the party remains to be seen.

No matter what happens, the stage is being set for a major revolt at the next annual conference in October, bringing to a head the already latent divisions inside the party on the right's east-of-

Suez policy, the prices and incomes policy, the "wage freeze" and support for American actions in Vietnam.

In the coming months local elections will be taking place throughout the country. If the trend continues, Labour will lose eight cities -- Liverpool, Bristol, Nottingham, Leicester, Bradford, Newcastle, Aberdeen and Dundee. On the basis of the swing, Leeds, Manchester and Glasgow are now in doubt.

Can Wilson "play it long" without paying a terrible price? Can he stick to his dogma, enunciated to a Labour party audience, in Fulham last Saturday? Defiantly he stated, "to trim national poli-

cies to short-run electoral considerations would be a betrayal of our responsibilities to the nation."

Because of the shakeup, it is possible that the biggest opposition in the history of the party will be formed and it is certain that the constituency parties will be in a state of revolt. Not only has the right wing's policy proved to be bankrupt in meeting the needs of the British working class, but they now are shown as lacking in popular support.

It's this latter aspect which the Labour leadership has been using to justify desertion, even of official conference resolutions.

#### REPORTED GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES DISTURB BRAZILIAN CONGRESS

There have been persistent reports of guerrilla activities in Brazil since the military coup d'état April 1, 1964. Some have been unconfirmed; others indicated only the involvement of very small forces. In addition, the military brass have consistently denied that anything worth bothering about has occurred.

Nonetheless the very persistency of the reports has led to some uneasiness in ruling circles. On April 18 it was announced that the minister of defense, General Aurelio Lira Tavares, had been

asked to appear before the Brazilian congress to submit to questioning, particularly on the news that guerrillas had been encountered in the mountainous region of Caparao in the state of Minas Gerais.

On the eve of the Punta del Este conference the Brazilian press reported guerrilla activities in this area; and during the conference the army announced that it had captured eleven guerrillas, including their leader, a former parachute captain, Juarez Nogheira.

#### POLICE ESTIMATE ON GIANT ANTIWAR MARCH SCORED AS A LIE

The efforts of the New York police to minimize the giant antiwar demonstration in that city April 15 by claiming that "only" 125,000 turned out, has stirred sharp protests.

The figure was so fantastically different from the reality that even the New York Times felt it had no recourse but to open its columns to the dispute. In its April 19 edition it ran a 22-inch story on the subject.

As against the police figure, Robert Greenblatt, an assistant professor of mathematics at Cornell University and one of the cochairmen of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, said, "There was a minimum of 400,000 people there."

Dr. Martin Luther King, who has had long experience in speaking to big crowds, estimated that the number of people packed into the United Nations Plaza at the time he spoke was somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000.

In addition, all the streets approaching the Plaza were jammed, the line of march still extended back to Central Park, and Sheep Meadow, the assembly point, was still crowded.

After the speeches had ended at the UN Plaza, the march still continued for well over another hour despite persistent efforts of the 3,000 police to disperse the crowd by turning them away from the Plaza.

The last contingents entered the big square before the UN headquarters at about 6 p.m. in face of a heavy downpour. They had been waiting at the assembly point since 11 a.m. for their turn to march.

In the photograph on the next page the line of march is shown near the exit at Central Park.

The size of the crowd can be judged from the fact that the marchers poured past this point steadily for about six hours.







ENDING THE  
**GI'S HOME NOW!**  
DETROIT YOUNG SOCIALISTS ALLIANCE

WHITE MEN SHOULD  
FIGHT WHITE RACISM  
NOT VIETNAMESE  
FREEDOM FIGHTERS  
STOP THE WAR NOW!

STOP THE WAR NOW!

STOP THE WAR NOW!

STOP THE WAR NOW!

STOP THE WAR NOW!

An Eyewitness Account

LIFE IN NORTH VIETNAM UNDER THE AMERICAN BOMBS

[The following account of a trip in north Vietnam in the area close to the seventeenth parallel appeared in the April 16-17 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde.

[The author, Dr. Jean-Michel Krivine, is head surgeon at the Lariboisière hospital in Paris. He went to Vietnam as a member of the second investigation team of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

[A few statements made by Dr. Krivine upon his return to Paris have appeared in the daily American press but were evidently torn out of context and badly distorted.

[Le Monde states that the following is taken from the journal which Dr. Krivine kept of his trip. The translation is by World Outlook.]

\* \* \*

"Bac-si (doctor) Krivine, do you know how to ride a bicycle?"

It was four p.m. Since last evening we have been in the province of Ha-Tinh, 350 kilometers south of Hanoi. Another 300 kilometers to go if we were to take the most direct route, RN 1.

This morning I was awakened by three simultaneous sounds -- gunfire from the Seventh Fleet (six shots, silence, another six shots, etc.), American jet planes passing very high overhead, finally children reciting their lesson in a kindergarten a dozen meters from our room. We are staying in a rambling hotel in the open countryside surrounded by rice paddies and straw-thatched huts.

In traveling, we have to wait for nightfall and utilize heavy, high-centered military vehicles with four-wheel drives -- like our command-car of Soviet manufacture which appears heavy enough to go anywhere. In the daytime, planes can spot the trucks and it is better then to go on foot or bicycle.

We left in a single file. There were a dozen of us, accompanied by Dr. Thien, assistant director of the province's health department. Along the paths we were regarded with curiosity -- few Westerners come here -- by peasants trotting with heavily loaded shoulder poles, youths in "colonial hats" covered with leaves, children astride their buffaloes.

We stopped in front of a heap of bricks and tiles that had once been the Huong-Khe district hospital. A young girl

approached my guide and whispered something in his ear. The guide laughed. "She asked me if you weren't an American pilot," he said. "If you were there were a couple of things she wanted to tell you!"

We straddled our bikes again and went to the province's hospital at Ha-Tinh. Everything had been razed to the ground. There were only craters, bricks and broken tiles at the foot of broken walls. This modern, 300-bed establishment was destroyed by bombs dropped in 1965 during eighteen attacks, I was told. Quite calmly, Dr. Thien said that all nine hospitals in the province had been destroyed. Nonetheless, they were continuing to function in the countryside, staffed with their regulation personnel in distant places. Moreover I will be given the opportunity to visit these establishments.

Here were other devastated buildings. A grade school, a big brick building designed for 1,500 pupils, was left with only its walls standing. To the right of it, a normal teachers school was in total ruins.

In the evening we left for the province of Quang-Binh. After rolling along for some hours, lights out, on unrepaired roads, our truck had to stop. Voices could be heard, an animated conversation... An official of the escort explained:

"Impossible to continue. We have to cross the Gianh and the ferry was damaged by an explosion a couple of hours ago. An explosion, but not a plane. The comrades think it was a mine. It's 3 a.m. We'll have to stay nearby. We'll leave when the ferry is repaired."

After some inquiries, we ended up at a farm -- a floor of bare earth, brick walls, a tile roof. In the dim light of a Chinese oil lamp, I can make out a big clock, a sewing machine, a few chairs, a table and a green chest that must contain all the prized possessions of the family.

We were awakened at dawn by salvos from the Seventh Fleet, closer than usual. Helped by his wife, the head of the family had carried out "do-it-yourself" repairs. With earth, stones and galvanized iron, he had reinforced the roof. Interlaced bamboo poles strengthened two walls.

We started up a conversation. American planes had attacked this hamlet with fragmentation bombs and napalm in 1966. For several kilometers around, however, there were only rice paddies, fields and straw-thatched huts. A fragmentation

bomb fell within one meter of the home -- the scars are visible on the walls of the house and a big branch on a nearby tree was cut in two. The couple and the three children had time to get inside. No one was injured.

A number of huts were set on fire by napalm, the traces are still visible in the fields.

We are to stay several days in the province of Quang-Binh, one of the most heavily attacked, since the seventeenth parallel is not far away. The planes come in regularly, shells from the Seventh Fleet, and, coming down toward Vinh-Linh shells from the ground artillery. But in all the places where I stopped (and some of them were unscheduled), I could see the peasants tending their fields, fishermen returning from the sea, children going to school, the sanitation service keeping up their work in an astonishingly efficient way, people smiling...

Thus we visited a fishing village attacked many times by a wide assortment of weapons of which I could see the signs -- high-explosive bombs, fragmentation bombs, 20 mm. shells, napalm. Everything had been smashed and burned, but the inhabitants had built lower straw huts communicating directly with each other through trenches and no one had left the area. Along the coast we saw a battleship of the Seventh Fleet. Overhead a reconnaissance plane circled. Separated into small groups, taking advantage of the protection of incompletely burned trees, we were able to reach the village.

Under a roof made of palm leaves, protected by a low wall, forty first-grade pupils were listening to the teacher. When we entered, an eight-year-old girl gave the signal and the class began singing a patriotic song, clapping their hands in time. Then came games during the recess, the children conducting themselves in a disciplined way as is usual in a shelter.

To enter the community pharmacy, which is underground, it is necessary to get down on all fours. Inside, a young girl in a white smock was working. She had taken a preparatory course for six months and had been here since April 1966. She didn't want to leave her village. On three narrow shelves she had arranged her products, the variety of which was surprising -- antibiotics, analgesics, antidotes for diarrhea, traditional remedies based on plants. "We don't keep everything here," said the pharmacist. "My supplies are stored in several places. Besides that we have two pharmacies in the village with a dispenser in each one."

The community's infirmary is like-

wise underground, but it is more spacious with its two wooden beds, its wardrobe, its table and chair. The twenty-year-old nurse, who received nine months training, likewise did not want to leave her village. She explained how she treated burns and shock. No one could deny her competence, her vivacity, and her sense of responsibility. She worked with three subordinate nurses under the guidance of an assistant physician. Altogether, in various shelters, the infirmary had eighteen beds. The case of this coastal village is not unique. In every community where we stopped, I found a center of this kind headed by one or two assistant doctors who had three years training and were helped by four or five nurses.

The road to Vinh-Linh is as muddy as you would want. Fortunately, the "shock brigades" responsible for keeping up communication routes had placed white sticks repainted each day when it rains. The young girls in charge of this work were with us -- they must keep each road open and utilizable all the time by a heavy truck moving with its lights out. During my trip we were never halted by an unrepared road or blown up bridge. Sometimes it took us ten hours to travel 100 kilometers [62 miles]. The jolts might be impressive, but we got through.

Traveling to Vinh-Linh in this way is not exactly relaxing -- the command car looked like a ship plowing through a sea of mud. Imperturbably, the chauffeur drove through twelve hours of darkness, using a dim camouflaged headlamp. His hearing was as keen as his eyes -- despite the noise of his engine, he noted planes passing overhead. We finally came to deep trenches cut in the muddy ground. They led to a huge shelter of reassuring solidity.

The following day at noon, a truck took me to the Vinh-Linh provincial hospital for a visit. Ordinarily this is a "quiet" hour, but caution was called for just the same because the Americans often shift tactics. I could see the Ben-Hai River and the famous Hien-Luong bridge. While he waited, the chauffeur patched up the truck's camouflage.

The hospital is totally destroyed. Great splashes of napalm frame the red crosses on the portico. I had already seen a spectacle of the same kind at Dong-Hoi in the province of Quang-Binh. According to a doctor, who accompanied me, the building, which had 250 beds and was completely isolated in the fields, was attacked eleven times in 1965. From this heap of ruins, I took a piece from the wall of the operating room on which napalm that had not burned was still sticking.

An extraordinary sight for the



foreign visitor -- the inhabitants appear to go about their occupations tranquilly. Production is considered to be at least as important as the anti-aircraft defense, and the cooperative, which had harvested five tons of rice per hectare, was as proud of this success as of its militia which had brought down planes. The slogan "Hang on in the bomb craters and produce," has been taken so seriously that I saw old bomb craters in green slopes converted into ponds where the peasants raised fish. (The 3,000-pound bombs currently being used blast holes 28 meters in diameter and eight to ten meters deep.) [About 90 feet wide and 36 to 33 feet deep.]

This calmness, this will to live and to win, these treasures of ingeniousness...all this takes one's breath. Imagine in Paris a "stomach" operation being performed without error in a bomb shelter by the light of a bicycle lamp, not hav-

ing more than four deaths when a hundred homes in the village are burned, working a centrifuge at 2,400 revolutions a minute through the friction of a bicycle wheel, taking heavy trucks across bamboo bridges installed at night, to have almost completely wiped out malaria, cholera, trachoma...and illiteracy.

At the Viet-Duc hospital in Hanoi, I watched an operation conducted by Dr. Ton That Tung, a surgeon of worldwide fame. He remained faithful to his old French instruments. He told me the long story of Vietnamese surgery, the difficulties that were encountered. He said, laughing: "They destroyed everything. Everything we built since 1954 is in ruins -- hospitals, schools, factories, new homes. We don't have anything more to lose except independence and freedom. But to keep that, believe me, we are ready to endure everything."

#### SARTRE REPORTS EMBASSY PROMISE THAT HUGO BLANCO WILL NOT BE SHOT

##### Paris

Jean-Paul Sartre, speaking at a mass meeting April 10 in defense of the victims of Peruvian repression, announced that the Peruvian embassy had assured him that Hugo Blanco would not be executed. He said he had received a letter from the Peruvian embassy guaranteeing that Hugo Blanco would not be shot.

Despite this assurance, he urged that the campaign in defense of the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader be continued: "We will not cease our struggle until the day Hugo Blanco is free!"

This was well received by the audience, as the Peruvian authorities are not to be trusted.

Sartre told the audience of more than 1,500 that a revolutionary bond united the freedom struggle led by Hugo Blanco and that of the Vietnamese. The world-famous French philosopher said that in face of the international aggression of imperialism, it is necessary to organize internationally against it.

The sizable meeting was organized by the Committee of Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru. The hall was filled to overflowing and two or three hundred people were unable to get in.

The meeting was chaired by Daniel Mayer, president of the League for the Rights of Man. He emphasized that the

meeting was only part of the vast movement of support for the political victims of Peruvian reaction. This was shown by the messages of various international organizations which have undertaken similar protest actions.

Other speakers included Laurent Schwartz, the renowned mathematician; the Peruvian writer, Mario Vargas; the journalist A.P. Lentin; and P. Vandeeburie, president of the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France). They stressed their wholehearted support for the imprisoned Peruvians, and emphasized various aspects of the political and social situation in Latin America, especially in Peru.

Simone de Beauvoir was present as well as representatives of a number of trade unions. These included the Confederal Bureau of the Confédération Générale du Travail [General Confederation of Workers], the Fédération de l'Education Nationale [National Teachers Federation], and officials of Force Ouvrière [Labor Force].

The chairman of the meeting read messages sent by Hugo Blanco. (See World Outlook, April 21.)

Participants affirmed their determination to continue the committee's work in support of the revolutionaries of Peru.

The meeting closed with the singing of "The Internationale."

Howard Petrick Case

FT. HOOD BRASS TURN IT OVER TO PENTAGON FOR DECISION

By Lew Jones

The Petrick case was too hot for them. That appears to be what the military authorities at Ft. Hood decided when they suddenly closed the investigation -- so far as they are concerned publicly.

They passed the buck to the Pentagon. And so Pfc. Howard Petrick, the socialist youth who stuck up for his constitutional right to discuss and defend his opinion that the U.S. is completely in the wrong for having gone into Vietnam in the first place and still more wrong in staying there a single day, has become the subject of an extraordinary council of war among the top generals of the Pentagon.

These military strategists and political representatives of the ruling class must decide what to do about an American who believes in exercising the right, guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution, of freedom of speech -- actually exercising that right, not just paying lip service to it, and exercising it where it counts most today, inside the U.S. army.

This abrupt and spectacular turn in the case came as a direct result of the immediate, widespread response to the appeal for solidarity sent out by friends of the courageous GI.

Within days after the case broke in the press, expressions of support were coming in from all over the United States, backing Howard Petrick and expressing admiration for his firm stand in behalf of one of the main principles that guided the American revolutionists of 1776.

The Ft. Hood authorities seem to have been impressed by this response even before the mammoth antiwar demonstrations in New York and San Francisco April 15.

At those demonstrations, the name of Pfc. Howard Petrick became known to hundreds of thousands of persons. In view of the response among these antiwar demonstrators, there was absolutely no doubt that the case would become the most famous since James Kutcher, the legless veteran of World War II, won his right to hold a government job and still maintain his Trotskyist views.

On April 19, Petrick was informed by the Ft. Hood brass that they were closing the case so far as they were concerned and referring the whole matter to the U.S. Department of the Army in the Pentagon.

The hasty reversal of the witch-hunt procedure at Ft. Hood is quite understandable. The question now is -- will the Pentagon take a similar view? This remains to be seen.

The instant support for Howard Petrick was most impressive. It included statements by Dagmar Wilson (Women's Strike for Peace), Staughton Lynd (a well-known pacifist), Linda Dannenberg (executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee), Herbert Aptheker (a leader of the Communist party), and a number of antiwar groups.

A sampling of the first responses, published in the April 24 Militant, takes the better part of a page of the weekly newspaper.

The case at once attracted wide attention because of an unusual number of features.

A member of both the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party, Petrick was drafted into the army last July. His service record was excellent and he was soon well liked by the other GI's.

On March 20 he was granted a leave. He used the time in the most educational and profitable way possible by attending a national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance which was held in Detroit, Michigan.

Upon returning to Ft. Hood, he found that his locker had been searched and his socialist and antiwar literature confiscated.

The same evening he was questioned and provided with a military attorney, who advised him that he faced a possible court-martial on charges of "subversion," creating "disaffection" and making "disloyal" statements. The lawyer said that the charge of "disloyal" statements carries a maximum penalty of three years' imprisonment for each count.

The free speech issue was clearly posed inasmuch as Pfc. Petrick had never disobeyed an order and his service record was excellent. It was extremely difficult for the army officials to bring any charge against him except having political thoughts they disagreed with and expressing them to other members of the armed forces.

It was expected that charges would be brought against Pfc. Petrick within

days. But in view of the GI's evidently large number of friends in civilian circles, the brass obviously decided to make a tactical retreat.

Indicative of the character of the support being received by Petrick is the statement made by Timothy Wheeler, a youth staff writer for The Worker and a member of the Communist party.

"I regard the interrogation and harassment of Pfc. Howard Petrick as a blatant violation of his rights as guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution," said Wheeler. "This is an attempt to stifle the growing antiwar sentiment in the military against the Vietnam war and the draft. His case is one of a growing number of cases of revolt against the Vietnamese war in the military and all Americans of good conscience should take immediate steps to support him against this harassment and to defend him in the event of a court-martial.

"Furthermore, this harassment is an attempt to drive a wedge into the peace movement, to divide certain sections from other sections. This attempt must be repudiated by the movement as a whole."

Pfc. Petrick's parents have stood squarely behind him. His father, Nicholas Petrick, a shop steward in the United Electrical Workers Union, made the fol-

lowing statement:

"I don't like the way the Army went about it. If they had asked Howard, I believe he would have told them anything they wanted to know. I don't think he has done anything wrong, either. He has the right to think and say what he wants, just like any other citizen."

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is providing the services of the eminent constitutional attorneys, Leonard B. Boudin and Victor Rabinowitz, as Pfc. Petrick's civilian counsel.

Friends of Pfc. Petrick have formed a provisional defense committee to publicize the case and to raise money to pay the legal costs involved. The committee, the "Provisional Committee to Aid Pfc. Howard Petrick," urges support from every quarter.

The committee feels that a vigorous defense effort at this point may help the army to reconsider its entire approach to this case.

Statements of support and contributions should be sent to the committee at P.O. Box 562, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.

Additional information on the case may also be obtained by writing there.

#### CZECHS ADD THEIR BIT ON "NEW CRITICISM" OF TROTSKY

##### Brussels

Literary productions in which references are made to Leon Trotsky, generally within the context of the "new criticism" offered on this subject by the school of Stalinism, continue to appear in Eastern Europe. The latest, according to a report in the Austrian press, is a book written by two faculty members of the department of philosophy at the University of Prague, History of the International Labor Movement (actually this is primarily a history of the Communist International).

The authors, Vladimir Kasik and Vladimir Suchopar, are reported to go into some detail in describing Trotsky's warning to the party of the danger of the apparatus bureaucrats taking over the party. They tend to agree also with Trotsky's view that the Communist parties were largely responsible for failing to prevent the rise of fascism in the thirties.

After these left-handed tributes,

the authors then cite as "proof" that Trotsky was defeated "democratically" by a majority of the Soviet party, the fact that many of Trotsky's followers ultimately capitulated to Stalin's bureaucratic terror. In particular, they point to Radek and Piatakov who surrendered to Stalin in the late twenties.

This display of free choice loses some of its luster when we remember that both these men were liquidated not very democratically by Stalin in the Moscow frameup trials of the thirties. These trials, the authors admit, had "grave results upon the masses of the world" and were responsible for the bad relations between "Communists and Socialists in the West." It is not clear from the review whether the authors make a forthright condemnation of the trials as frameups.

The authors analyze the "cult of the personality" and give evidence of the contempt with which the working class was regarded by the so-called practitioners of the "cult," and the near disaster it brought the country.

POLICE VIOLENCE MOUNTS IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Santo Domingo

The discovery of a trussed-up corpse in a river, attempted murders, acts of violence, disturbances, protests, raids...It seems like the beginning of a mystery novel, but unfortunately this is not the case.

These are some of the notorious incidents which have occurred in less than a week's time while the president of this country -- who owes his post to fraudulent elections during the occupation of the country by United States troops -- was attending the conference in Uruguay [the conference of the presidents of American states at Punta del Este].

The discovery on March 10, a day before the opening of the conference of presidents, of a man's body in the Yuca River in Villa Mella, twelve kilometers north of the city caused a sensation here.

The evidence indicated that the man was killed somewhere else and later thrown into the river. He had a bullet in the head and showed lacerations around the neck, the mouth, and the eyes. He has still not been identified.

Other offences which aroused indignation were the violations of the parliamentary immunity of some deputies in the form of assaults and beatings.

Of these, the most scandalous episode was the beating administered by a soldier to Américo Pérez Mercedes, a deputy of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano [the PRD, ex-President Bosch's party]. The attacker also abused the deputy with obscene language.

Pérez Mercedes had to be hospitalized as a result of the assault which, as the legislator explained, was inflicted merely because he belonged to an opposition party.

Both houses of the legislature unanimously condemned this act. Another PRD legislator, Senator Secundino Gil Morales also had run-ins with the police authorities.

In addition, on March 10 a military man who fought on the Constitutionalist side in 1965 was shot at by unknown persons. The attack against Captain Angel R. Marrero of the Dominican air force came from a moving car while he was returning to his home in Santo Domingo accompanied by his wife and three-year-old daughter, and resulted in minor injuries.

On March 13, three opposition dep-

uties declared that the repression "which has reigned in this country for some time has recently taken an upturn."

In line with this, they announced that several PRD members, whose whereabouts was still unknown, had been arrested in Monte Plata, seventy kilometers northeast of Santo Domingo.

The deputies, Jottin Cury -- who was minister of foreign affairs in the Caamaño government -- Enmanuel Espinal, and Francisco A. Guerrero, declared that "the leaders and members of our party are victims of police persecution so extreme that it makes it impossible for many of them to live in their own neighborhoods and go about their customary work."

On March 14, the secretary general of the PRD denounced the persecution of members of his party and acts of violence against them.

On the afternoon of March 14, he accused the police of "raiding the home of former Constitutionalist Colonel Manolo Bordas for the second time in less than three days.

"Although neither of these raids turned up anything, the authorities are issuing provocative stories to the press that the police found arms in Bordas' home in the first raid.

"Likewise, during Doctor Balaguer's absence, government agents surrounded with evident hostile intent a house in which former Constitutionalist Colonel Gerardo Marte Hernández was staying. The car of a deputy had to be used to rescue him from his pursuers."

Peña Gómez announced that "several trade union leaders were arrested by the police in La Romana [a sugar-producing city 110 kilometers east of Santo Domingo] in a new wave of terror against the working class in that locality. Yesterday afternoon [March 13], Andrés González, Tito Jiménez and his father, as well as Comrade Julio Morales were still held in jail. Military and police patrols are moving provocatively in the city."

He added that "the recrudescence of persecution and terror during Doctor Balaguer's absence is nothing but part of a political plan the aim of which is to revive the Communist-anti-Communist antithesis in order to have the country revert back to the days of the civil war and to open still wider the wounds which hatred has left open in the hearts of Dominicans."

Furthermore, on March 12 a young

lawyer, Doctor Rufino Paniagua, who was attorney general of the Constitutionalist regime during the April 1965 civil war, was seized in San Juan de la Manguana, 133 kilometers from Santo Domingo, and his head shaved in the army barracks. Paniagua lives in Santo Domingo and went to San Juan owing to the death of a relative.

The soldiers in the barracks threatened to shoot him.

The afternoon daily paper El Nacional said the following in an editorial of March 14:

"Outrages continue to be the order of the day. The police and armed forces are no longer satisfied with assaulting civilians, now they are attacking deputies, and this to such an extent that the latter find themselves forced to suspend their sessions as a final way of protesting.

"Nonetheless, the legislature must remain in recess until:

"(a) Ex-Corporal Tapia Tapia is handed over to the civil courts. [Ex-Corporal Tapia Tapia is accused of having

killed a child and wounded several persons with a grenade which he threw last year. He is at the San Isidro Air Base, protected by several high officers who have refused to turn him over to the courts.]

"(b) Those who killed Guido Gil are tried. [Doctor Guido Gil, lawyer, trade unionist, and member of the Central Committee of the Movimiento Popular Dominicano (Dominican Peoples Movement), the pro-Chinese Communist party, was kidnapped and probably murdered by the police more than two months ago.]

"(c) They arrest the ones who are machine-gunning unarmed persons without risk to themselves.

"(d) The commissions which are investigating the crimes produce results which can stop the murderers.

"Because the truth is that it is not worth the trouble to maintain the appearance of three separate powers when those in uniform do whatever suits them. It is better to stop pretending and admit that it is the military and the police who are in command."

#### DETROIT EDUCATORS CABLE APPEAL FOR HUGO BLANCO

Detroit

Professors, poets and a student leader issued an appeal here April 13 in behalf of Hugo Blanco. They sent a telegram to Peruvian President Francisco Belaúnde Terry which read:

"A man cannot be condemned to death for fighting against hunger and re-

pression. General amnesty for peasant leader, organizer, Hugo Blanco and his companions."

The appeal was signed by 13 professors from Wayne State University and Montieth College, also student council president Chuck Larson; and Buckeye poets, Allen Vannewkirk and Halma Perry.

#### MOHAMMAD ALI PROVES HE IS A REAL CHAMPION

Muhammad Ali, world heavyweight boxing champion, has announced that he will refuse to take the required oath at his scheduled induction into the U.S. Army on April 28 in Houston, Texas.

Ali is one of America's highest paid professional athletes, a type generally notorious for their conservatism and superpatriotism. Ali's action is a sign of how deep the opposition to the war in Vietnam runs in the U.S., particularly among black men.

In a scathing indictment of the war, Ali said he would not go into the army "simply to help continue the domination of white slave masters over darker people the world over.

"Why should they ask me, another so-called Negro, to put on a uniform and go 10,000 miles from home and drop bombs and bullets on brown people in Vietnam while so-called Negro people in Louisville are treated like dogs and denied simple human rights?"

Muhammad Ali, better known as Cassius Clay, is an adherent of the Black Muslim organization. He declared, "I will not disgrace my religion, my people or myself by becoming a tool to enslave those who are fighting for justice, equality and freedom."

The boxer could receive five years in prison for refusing to be drafted.

U.S. PRESSURES CANADIAN BANKS ON CASHING CHECKS FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

Toronto

How petty and spiteful can the world's biggest and -- to judge from appearances -- strongest government become?

The question is being raised in Canada where, it seems, the State Department (or the CIA?) has been putting the heat on some very big banks over a very small account.

The story was made public in a statement to the press April 13 by Myra Dickson, secretary-treasurer of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. "The Toronto-Dominion Bank," she said, "has refused, on head office instruction, to honour any cheques payable to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee originating in the U.S."

Mrs. Dickson said that she was first informed of the bank's policy "by an official of the Wellington and Church streets branch, who refused to accept a Fair Play account involving U.S. cheques, saying that pressure from the bank's U.S. affiliates would prevent it from honouring the cheques. The official affirmed that the case was parallel to the Quaker medical aid to Vietnam, which the U.S. government has attempted to halt, claiming that it constitutes trading with the enemy."

If this seems unbelievable, it is nonetheless true. "I have now received formal confirmation of this new policy, in a written note sent to us along with several returned cheques by the Roncesvalles branch of the bank where we have had an account for some time," said Mrs. Dickson. "The note specified that Head Office instruction prevented the branch from honouring the cheques."

The representative of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee asked some pertinent questions: "Has the Toronto-Dominion Bank taken on itself the responsibility to declare Cuba to be an enemy power? Has the bank given in to the U.S. govern-

ment policy of blockade and harassment of Cuba? This would seem in contradiction to Canada's long-standing diplomatic and trade relationships with the present Cuban government, as well as with Canada's invitation to Cuba to participate in Expo 67."

"Is the Canadian government unaware of this policy decision?" continued Mrs. Dickson. "The government is responsible for supervision of the banks and it is hard to imagine that it would not be informed of such a fundamental change of policy by a major bank."

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Mrs. Dickson explained, is an educational organization consisting of Canadians. It has worked for over six years to acquaint the Canadian public with the facts and ideas of the Cuban revolution. "We have held countless public meetings," she said, "and sold tens of thousands of pamphlets -- thousands of them to U.S. residents -- containing speeches, documents and reports of Cuba since the revolution. The cheques refused by the bank were in payment for educational pamphlets sold to U.S. residents."

Mrs. Dickson asked whether the U.S. government had a hand in the bank's move. The U.S. government "was involved in the similar harassment of the Quakers, and has forbidden its citizens from visiting Cuba to see the truth of the situation there. Does this mean they are trying to prevent U.S. residents even from reading factual reports of what is happening in Cuba?"

"The bank's action is a grave attack on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee -- indeed on Cuba itself. We demand that the Canadian government instruct the bank to honour these cheques. We will make every effort to inform the Canadian public of the Toronto-Dominion Bank's action, and persuade it to reverse its policy."

HOW MAO'S THOUGHT REACHED NEW ZEALAND

Wellington

Australian and New Zealand students after visiting China in February said that most "Red Guards we met had never heard of Winston Churchill, or even of Trotsky, though they know all about 'Comrade Ted Hill' (head of Australia's tiny pro-Chinese Communist party)."

Another Maoist folk hero, Vic Wilcox, chairman of the pro-Peking New Zea-

land CP, disclosed privately that he went to China a few years ago when his party was wavering between Moscow and Peking. There he spent two days with a couple of top Chinese leaders who finally persuaded him of the rotten revisionism of the Soviet line.

The two, it turns out, were Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, now being purged for their "long standing" Khrushchevian deviation.

ELEVEN LATIN-AMERICAN STUDENT GROUPS WITHDRAW FROM IUS CONGRESS

[The April 16 number of the English edition of Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba, reports that eleven Latin-American student delegations attending the Ninth Congress of the International Union of Students (IUS) at Ulan Bator, Mongolia, March 27 to April 5, withdrew from the gathering when the Executive Committee of the IUS refused to put on the agenda the question of expelling the University Federations of Chile (UFUCH).

[Previously, at meetings of the IUS Executive Committee held in Prague March 13-16, the Latin-Americans had charged that the UFUCH, which is headed by the youth of the Chilean Christian Democrat party, had been exposed as one of the recipients of CIA funds.

[The representatives of the eleven Latin-American organizations cited the information brought to public attention by the U.S. magazine Ramparts.

[After these delegates withdrew, only a minority of seven Latin-American organizations were left at the congress.

[This minority was further reduced when two members of the three-man delegation of the University Federation of Venezuela withdrew and, along with them, one member of the two-man delegation of the National University Students' Federation of Colombia.

[The representatives of the eleven Latin-American student organizations issued the following statement explaining their action.]

\* \* \*

The organizations which have signed this statement have assumed an important position: We withdraw from the sessions of the Ninth Congress of the International Union of Students, being held at Ulan Bator, Mongolia, from March 27 to April 5. The basis for this decision has been stated verbally by each one of our delegations in the Congress. Pending later declarations by our organizations, detailing the basis of this attitude, stemming from a synthesis of our individual opinions on the IUS, and its principles, nature and activities during the last few years, we address ourselves to the international revolutionary, democratic and progressive student movement in order to clearly explain the basic criteria for our present position.

We do not wish to repeat what facts show clearly, but we once more affirm that our guiding principle is a de-

termined struggle to the death against imperialism (primarily Yankee imperialism), colonialism and neocolonialism, and for authentic and genuine independence, national liberation and a true peace with dignity. We are struggling for these fundamental objectives, which we regard as principles whose defense and validity in practice constitute an absolute and immediate imperative.

These principles completely determine our concept of unity. We are struggling for that unity and for the incorporation of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces and will not admit within our midst reactionary organizations that do not reflect the dreams and aspirations of the student bodies of their respective countries in their policy or activities. To accept them is to flagrantly violate our own principles, which we have defended and will resolutely continue to defend. All our efforts in this Ninth Congress of the IUS have therefore been aimed at strengthening anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist principles through discussion. Unfortunately, frank and objective discussion was lacking in the discussion of point three of the agenda, the Latin American organizations' charges against the Union of University Federations of Chile (UFUCH), owing to anti-democratic and arbitrary procedures.

Our arguments and accusations, contained in a well-documented report, were ignored and evaded, particularly by the UFUCH, and later, totally or partially recognized by other organizations, and even by a member of the Chilean delegation itself.

However, the result was rejection of the document and of our proposal to expel UFUCH from the IUS until such time as events and the student struggle change the present reactionary policy of that organization. A majority in the Congress has rejected expulsion of UFUCH, that is, has approved its remaining within the ranks of progressives and revolutionaries as if it were really one of them. This decision constitutes a violation of the principles on which the International Union of Students is based, because UFUCH through its reactionary and proimperialist Christian Democrat leadership that dictates its political line of action, is not representative of the dreams and aspirations of the progressive student movement of Chile; because UFUCH's objectives and actions have accorded with those of Cuban counterrevolutionaries in exile; because UFUCH has maintained a proven divisionist attitude within the heart of the Latin American student movement, the best examples of which have been its participation in the divisionist



conference of Guatemala, in the so-called 4th CLAE that was held in Natal, Brazil, and its boycott of the 4th CLAE Congress of Latin American students held in Havana, Cuba.

Because the UFUCH, as was proved in a scandal, accounts of which appeared in the press, is a body whose actions reflect close ties with organizations financed by the CIA such as the World Organization of University Students and the International Students' Conference (ISC), and some UFUCH leaders collaborate directly with the Central Intelligence Agency; because UFUCH maintained an irresponsible attitude, the role of accomplice in the brutal crime committed by the government party that controls it, against the workers of the El Salvador Mine; because, in yet another violation of the IUS's constitution on anti-colonialist and unitarian principles, it has systematically opposed the participation of those student unions whose countries do not have universities, the latter fact a direct result of colonial exploitation. This is also reflected in UFUCH's demagogy. Since 1964 it has belonged to the Executive Committee of the IUS together with organizations of the colonial countries, while at the same time maintaining a colonialist attitude in collaboration with the ISC, systematically denying IUS representativeness in such a way as to attack the members of the Executive Committee, the IUS itself, and its principles. These examples, among others, corroborated by reality and exhaustively explained and duly recorded by the Congress itself, prove beyond a shadow of a doubt the reactionary and pro-imperialist nature of UFUCH, imposed by its Christian Democrat leadership.

A majority of the Congress, far from having demonstrated the contrary, and ignoring the solid arguments presented, chose to maintain the UFUCH within the UYS, thus violating the most elementary principles upon which that organization was founded.

This action is not at odds with the IUS's general policy, the erroneous conception of unity and cooperation which it has been following, its false concepts of the bases for unity within the student movement; rather it has been a direct consequence of this policy. Experience itself will confirm our stand and make it clear to those honest elements in whom we place our confidence. Again we state, in order to clear up honest doubts and silence the obstructionists, that with this attitude we do not attack Chilean students since we consider that the reactionary Christian Democrat leadership has betrayed their highest aspirations; not only does it not represent them, but is in flagrant contradiction

with them. To believe otherwise is to side with the ideology responsible for the massacre of workers at the El Salvador Mine; it is to believe that Chilean students support that reactionary ideology. We have a much higher concept of Chilean students, whose people have written glorious pages in history.

We will never accept a situation where a majority of the Congress seeks to decide on such a grave and delicate problem, directly concerning questions of principle, on the basis of superficial discussion and an artificial analysis -- as shown in the a priori statements that some delegations irresponsibly issued in opposition to our charges and arguments, just after the discussion had begun.

Much less do we accept a situation where the conclusions are a product of the arbitrariness and abnormality which have in essence characterized the course of the debates and their final conclusions. Nor do we accept the charge that our attitude is divisive, much less sectarian, as has been insinuated in various disrespectful and intolerable addresses.

We fight for unity, that unity which is upheld in the uncompromising principles of the world-wide revolutionary democratic and progressive student movement, which was faithfully reflected in the spirit and content of the 4th CLAE, held in Havana, under the slogan of "For anti-imperialist unity among Latin American students." Let us remember that the UFUCH did its very best, unsuccessfully, to establish a boycott of that conference and destroy it.

We are confident that our action is a direct contribution to the cause of the fighting peoples, whose struggle is to build the world of the future; we are in complete solidarity with their efforts. Our determination is inspired in the defense of anti-imperialist principles and in the preservation of their real values -- not only theoretical but also practical and effective. We consider it a concrete contribution to solidarity with the embattled peoples, and especially with the heroic people of Viet Nam.

We prefer this determined attitude to the false, sterile discussions in which organizations such as UFUCH are active participants. There are serious charges based on facts, against the UFUCH, and those who today defend its position directly or indirectly will be answerable to history.

We are aware of our responsibility. We are and will continue struggling for the fulfillment of the highest aspirations of our students, and our peoples, prepared to travel the most difficult roads, moving with sure step ever forward to victory.

The document is signed by the following Latin American student organizations:

Federation of University Students for the Independence of Puerto Rico (FUPI).

University Students' Federation of Cuba (FEU).

University Federation of Venezuela (FCU).

Federation of University Students of Ecuador (FEUE).

National University Students'

Federation of Colombia (FUN).

National Students' Union of Haiti (UNEH).

Students' Union of French Guiana (UEG).

General Student Union of Guadeloupe (UGEG).

PYO Student Council of Guyana.

Dominican Student Federation (FED).

National Student Union of Brazil (UNEB).

ASK MESSAGES BE SENT TO WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

In a press release issued April 17 the International War Crimes Tribunal announced that it will hold its first sessions April 29 to May 9 in Paris at the Municipal Theatre, Issy-les-Moulineaux (Salle des Sports).

Despite the tremendous pressure brought to bear by the American government to discredit the body of eminent men brought together by Bertrand Russell to investigate U.S. war crimes in Vietnam, the tribunal will carry through its projected hearings.

At this opening session the tribunal will deliberate on two questions:

"1. Has the United States government...committed acts of aggression according to international law?

"2. Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character, for example, hospitals, schools, sanatoria, dams, etc., and on what scale has this occurred?

"In carrying out its enquiry the Tribunal will examine evidence from individual witnesses, as well as from the investigating teams of lawyers, doctors, surgeons, and other specialists who have spent the past months in Vietnam and Cambodia on behalf of the Tribunal..."

Messages of solidarity should be sent to the War Crimes Tribunal. Particularly important are declarations of support from trade-union, peace, political, student and youth organizations. The Paris office of the tribunal is: 22 rue Etienne Marcel, Paris 2, France.

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