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# The Internal Conflict at OLAS Conference



AT OLAS CONFERENCE. Delegates at final plenum of Latin-American Solidarity Conference listen to Stokely Carmichael. A sharp struggle was waged at gathering, held in Havana

July 31-August 10, for clear line favoring revolutionary course on continental scale. Final resolutions, marking break with class collaborationists, were passed unanimously.

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THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE AT THE OLAS CONFERENCE

[The following article, datelined from Havana, appeared in the August 11 issue of Marcha. The author is Carlos María Gutiérrez, one of the editors of the Montevideo weekly, who attended the July 31-August 10 conference of the Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (Latin-American Organization of Solidarity).

[As will be seen, the author is of the opinion that the outcome of the OLAS conference was the formation of a new international. In fact, he entitled his article, "OLAS: Nace una Internacional" (OLAS: an International Is Born).

[While this would seem to be at least a premature conclusion, the conference, with its claim to speak for all of Latin America, could certainly be taken to represent a step in that direction just as was the case with the Tricontinental conference before it.

[The article is of unusual interest, in our opinion, because of the facts it offers on the struggle that went on in the closed sessions over some of the most important issues that faced the delegates.

[The translation is by World Outlook.]

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Today, Wednesday, the OLAS conference was supposed to have ended, but things fell behind schedule and the agenda will not be completed until possibly Friday the eleventh. This was due to two factors that were not counted on at the opening: first, the capture of two groups of CIA agents on the coast of Cuba (one on July 18, the other on Sunday the sixth) and their appearance at two press conferences that took up more than a day for the delegates and journalists; then the monolithic resistance put up by the Communist parties adhering to the Soviet line, or the delegations they control, to the majority theses of the conference.

The Cubans and the other delegations sharing their views did not wish, in the opening days, to force their hand; this atmosphere of unity -- which I sought to reflect in my first dispatches -- also included certain delegations of antithetical composition, such as the Uruguayan (with its mosaic of organizations) and the Chilean in which the Socialists and Communists held parity. But by the third day of the deliberations, the basis of the dispute was well defined and the attack levelled against the orthodox Communist parties by the tendency that was inflexibly delineating itself had become so sharp as to cut off further

verbal offerings on the altar of unity.

The parity delegations, like the one from Chile, simply began to neutralize each other in voting; in the others, where the CP's exercised control, they began to rigidly apply the system of majority rule. The Uruguayan delegation, practically from the second day of the conference, divided into two unequal parts: the majority included the CP, the Agrupación Avanzar, the MPU [Movimiento Popular Unitario], the carolino group APUM of Frade, and the three pseudo autonomous bodies (the Comité Obrero, the Comité Universitario and the Movimiento de Trabajadores de la Cultura) which the FIDEL [Frente Izquierda de Liberación] improperly placed on the National Committee of the OLAS and whose delegates have voted for the CP positions with undeviating faithfulness. The minority included the MRO [Movimiento Revolucionario Oriental], the Socialist party, and the Grupo Batllista 26 de Octubre. In the case of Uruguay what existed practically was not a delegation but two sectors, one of which systematically followed the views of the CP as set forth by Arismendi, and the other, a minority, which limited itself equally systematically to standing firm in the commissions for its positions which -- a typical paradox of the OLAS -- were nevertheless those of the majority in the general context of the conference.

This absurd situation, in addition, was foreseen in Montevideo, in view of the inadequate composition of the National Committee, and was no surprise to anyone.

But on top of the internal disputes of the delegations, significant things began happening in the work of the commissions beginning last Wednesday. Two aspects of the same confrontation were visible in this -- the outspokenness of the Cubans, especially the chairman of the delegation, Armando Hart, and the aggressiveness of the orthodox Communist delegates. The mechanics of the conference was as follows:

The four work commissions elaborated resolutions of a general type. At this level these were already considered to be conference resolutions subject to mere formal approval at the final plenum. Next, the presidium of the conference worked up a draft declaration which was approved by everyone and which would complete the group of general resolutions. Hence the importance of the declarations in the commissions, whose deliberations were not mere rough drafts of personal views or discussions but the expression of the definitive thought of the two clashing lines.

Commission I, in a relatively brief time, worked up its draft of a general resolution; and Commission IV, charged with drawing up the statutes for the OIAS, also completed its task without trouble. (Elsewhere in this issue, Carlos Nuñez analyzes the projected texts.) On the other hand, the deliberations of Commission III were marked with incidents, delays and heavy birth pangs which brought out -- openly, late last night -- the real objectives sought by the two contending sides. The revolutionary process in Latin America appeared to have reached a point where the narrow political schemas of the orthodox Communist parties were not sufficient to contain the new theses. The at times sectarian mentality and cult of discipline toward its leaders were likewise ill adapted to a direct dialogue in the new style of the Cubans, a style not invented by them but drawn by necessity from other sources than the old political molds and obsolete analyses.

Last week, when K.S.Karol asked Fidel Castro about the conduct of the Cuban Communist party after the revolution, Fidel answered with an affectionate maliciousness: "It was like having to go into the 1967 Pan-American Games with the Olympic team of 1924." Insistence on respect for discipline under threat otherwise of being considered against unity or something worse (this old alternative with which the CP's have been trying to intimidate the left in Latin America) no longer works.

In Commission III, during all this, it was Armando Hart himself who said, with regard to the discipline to which the defenders of the Venezuelan CP appealed as an argument in order to avoid being condemned for repudiating the guerrillas: "The cult of discipline above everything is an absurdity which we do not understand. Discipline does not stand higher than a revolutionary line."

This new language prevailed in all the deliberations and contributed to the illuminating bracketing of the general problem of liberation adopted by the OIAS, providing a breath of fresh and reviving air. It was specifically in Commission III where the criticism of Soviet strategy in Latin America was voiced mainly in two resolutions which were fundamental, not so much because of what they said or their immediate purpose (the one referring to the USSR is not to be circulated publicly) as because of the intention of the Cubans and the majority of the national delegations to remain with their hands free from the old tactical compromises of the USSR, their evident proposal to wipe the slate clean and begin afresh, especially after the Glassboro conversations. Up until five o'clock this morning, in an impressive work session that began

twenty hours earlier, Commission III discussed to the bitter end the matter of condemning the economic aid which the USSR is granting to the continental oligarchies. The vote was conclusive: 15 in favor, 8 abstentions (from the delegations who were neutralized by their parity composition) and 3 opposed. El Salvador, Bolivia and Uruguay voted in defense of the policy of the USSR. In the commission, in behalf of Uruguay, the delegate José Jorge Martínez of the Comité Universitario del FideL adhered to the position of the Communist parties. And when, during an intermission, Ariel Collazo proposed that this view be modified, Arismendi remained inflexible and along with him the three committees, the APUM of Maldonado, the MPU and the Agrupación Avanzar. ("I am not thoroughly acquainted with the problem," said Alberto Caymaris in a phrase that immediately became famous, "so I am voting against revising the position.") José Diaz as well as Collazo spoke later in the commission to show that the Uruguayan minority agreed with the position of the Latin-American majority.

In the morning, before voting, the Chilean Communist deputy, Jorge Montes, played the final card: the Communist parties, he said, would withdraw from the commission (and perhaps from the conference) if the condemnation of the USSR was insisted upon. Armando Hart had the reply ready: "They accuse us of being anti-Communist and anti-Soviet because we are going to pass this motion. This signifies accusing Compañero Fidel Castro of being anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. You can reach even this absurdity. One comrade has indicated that he would withdraw from the commission. Everyone has the right to withdraw, but this constitutes a threat. You must know that the Cuban Revolution has never bowed to threats from anyone. If anyone wishes to leave, he should understand that the door he takes is to the right."

The resolution on Soviet aid -- which is not to be given to the press but communicated to the USSR and the socialist countries, is short -- scarcely a page. It is entitled, "Denunciation of the technical and financial aid which some countries grant to the puppet governments of Latin America," and it says in its whereases, "that at present a tendency is developing in some states of the socialist camp to grant technical and financial aid to these puppet governments" and that "this aid, far from promoting a rectification, encourages these governments to maintain, scot-free, their criminal complicity with the imperialist economic blockade against Cuba." This aid "contributes to enlarging the resources of the oligarchies and to mitigating the grave economic difficulties confronting these governments, and all this in manifest contradiction with the aspirations of

the oppressed and the exploited." Also that "It operates against the revolutionary movements in those countries where an armed struggle is being mounted because the aid brings additional resources to the puppet governments that are trying to stamp them out" and it concludes that the aid "affects the prestige of the revolutionary cause" and "creates great confusion among the masses and the ranks of the liberating movement." Because of all this, the conference will declare:

"That the technical and financial aid offered to the puppet governments by the socialist countries violates the principles of solidarity and, consequently, should not be granted."

In the resolution on Venezuela prepared by Commission III which was likewise passed with 15 votes for and 3 against (among them, the Uruguayan delegation), the OLAS condemns "the bungling, opportunist position of the rightist leadership of the Venezuelan CP, which by abandoning the road of armed struggle betrayed revolutionary principles and is serving the interests of imperialism and the oligarchies and all their policies of oppression."

In turn, Commission II issued four basic declarations that obviously systematize the new line of the Latin-American revolution. Without doubt they are an important contribution in sharpening up theory. Unlike the precise definitions that were arrived at in Commission III, in these thesis documents -- as in the general draft resolution of Commission I, and in the general declaration proposed by the presidium -- the final public texts were edited in such a way as to provide a more measured and careful balancing of the different points of view.

Commission II submitted four resolutions: on the economic penetration by imperialism, on its politico-military intervention, on its cultural and ideological penetration, and on the OAS. The most important conclusions are as follows:

**Economic penetration:** "In the present historical conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot head the antifeudal and anticclass struggle...The major task of breaking up the neocolonial structure belongs to the workers and peasants of the Americas, in an indestructible alliance, along with the most progressive sectors of the intellectuals, students and other middle layers."

**Politico-military intervention:** "Against the complex scaffolding of penetration, intervention, subversion, occupation and politico-military hegemony of the United States in Latin America, which fits in with a strategy of continental

proportions, the Latin-American peoples must oppose a common revolutionary strategy, based on a profound feeling of solidarity, aimed at taking power by means of armed struggle."

**Cultural and ideological penetration:** "The intellectuals, naturally, not only have to dispense with the shameful patronage of the vehicles of imperialism, in order to pose their revolutionary destiny; they must not only participate with their works or whatever circumstances demand in the struggle for the liberation of the Latin-American peoples. It is necessary for them in addition to set up the corresponding bodies through which to participate collectively, on a continental scale, in backing the great struggle for liberation which is under way."

On the OAS, "the right and the duty of all the Latin-American peoples to combat the agreements of this organization" is proclaimed.

As a summary of the spirit and positions contained in the documents of the commissions, the draft of the presidium's general declaration indicates positively -- although in the careful language of a theoretical document -- the line that triumphed in the conference. The explanatory part contains these postulates:

-- Revolutionary violence offers the most concrete and manifest possibility for defeating imperialism.

-- "In many countries," the special conditions "make guerrilla war the fundamental expression of the armed struggle."

-- "A common strategy" is required, necessitating "a clear, rounded expression of solidarity, the character of which is the struggle itself, extending throughout the continent in the form of guerrilla war and liberation armies."

The main points of the general declaration to be made by OLAS include:

-- Marxism-Leninism guides the continental revolutionary movement.

-- Armed struggle constitutes the fundamental line.

-- "All the other forms of struggle must serve and not hold back the development of the fundamental line of armed struggle."

-- "In those countries in which this task is not posed in an immediate way, the development of a revolutionary struggle must in any case be considered as an inevitable perspective."

-- "It is the historic responsibility of the people in each country and

their revolutionary vanguard to carry the revolution forward in their own land."

-- "The leadership of the revolution requires, as an organizational principle, a unified political and military command to guarantee success."

-- "The most effective solidarity which the revolutionary movements can display toward each other is to develop and bring to a culmination their own struggle within each country."

In all these documents the new revolutionary thesis is unequivocally paramount, and each of its postulates runs counter to the Soviet strategy for Latin America and the schemas that up to now were imparted by the Communist parties to the liberation movements:

-- The national bourgeoisie is rejected as a revolutionary factor, or rather what is rejected is the CP notion about forming "broad" or democratic-bourgeois "fronts."

-- All implications are dropped that the existing political vanguards -- an idea which the CP's, through Arismendi, vigorously advocated in the commissions -- are the necessary points of crystallization for the forces involved and this function is transferred to the armed struggle as proof that the political vanguard is really revolutionary.

-- All other forms of struggle are

made subordinate to armed struggle.

-- All possible ties with imperialism and the oligarchies, whether incidental or indirect with imperialism and the oligarchies are ruled out, even on a mere economic level.

-- Sole validity is granted to the dual condition of a common strategy and a unified command.

It can already be said, as a consequence, that a new Marxist-Leninist international has just been created. Tacitly or explicitly, it has broken with ideological and strategic dependency on Moscow without lining up with any of the other camps. Headquarters naturally gravitate to Havana. As has always been the case with appearance of new internationals, it constitutes a reaction against the ossification of the previous organization. And its appearance, without doubt, falls within the regroupment of revolutionary forces that is occurring in the world socialist camp. Carlos Altamirano, the Chilean Socialist, voiced a premonition when he said here a few days ago: "The contradiction of our epoch is no longer expressed by the terms 'imperialism -- socialist countries,' but by 'imperialism -- peripheral countries.' The Third World, by way of the Tricontinental and now by way of the OLAS, appears to be assuming the task of carrying on. Havana, from here on out, is the capital of the new international which will proceed with the liberation of Latin America."

#### FRENCH CP ATTACKS REVOLUTIONARY LINE OF OLAS CONFERENCE

[The following article appeared in the August 4 issue of l'Humanité. It is of special importance due to its sponsorship by the daily newspaper of the ossified French Communist party which is particularly close to the top layers of the Soviet bureaucracy. The Worker, which reflects the views of the American Communist party, gave the article very favorable attention (August 20).

[The puerile arguments advanced by l'Humanité were answered at the OLAS conference. For instance, Castro responded to the contention that it is quite normal for "socialist countries" to trade with any kind of capitalist countries by stating that what the revolutionaries object to is not trade but the extension of financial and technical aid to the counterrevolutionary regimes participating in the U.S. blockade of Cuba.

[The question of a united front between Moscow and Peking to better help the Vietnamese people is beside the point in this context, since the Cubans were

among the first to urge its necessity. As for the authority cited by l'Humanité, Luis Carlos Prestes -- with his line of an electoral road to power and reliance on the national bourgeoisie -- he is among those bearing the heaviest responsibility for the defeat in Brazil.

[Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba, apparently considered the article so self-refuting that it ran the full text (August 23) without bothering to comment on it.]

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The Wednesday evening plenary session of the conference of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity was particularly marked by violent anti-Communist and anti-Soviet diatribes from representatives of "ultrarevolutionary" groups.

Francisco Prada, "political secretary of the unified command of the National Liberation Front and the National

Liberation Army" (Venezuela), declared that by "renouncing the armed struggle and guerrilla warfare, the Venezuelan Communist party had betrayed the Latin-American revolution." "These revisionists (of the VCP) seek to sabotage the revolution," he added. Later he attacked the USSR without naming it, stating: "We see Vietnam tragically alone."

Gerardo Sánchez, representative of a leftist group in the Dominican Republic, violently attacked the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for the trade they carry on "with dictatorships like the one in Brazil." The same accusation was launched by the Brazilian José Anselmo, who said in addition:

"In face of imperialism only two positions are possible: the one taken by Cuba and Vietnam and, on the other side, the one taken by the oppressors, its allies and accomplices."

It is easy to recognize in these words the language used for some years in Peking. This calls for some observations.

(1) The trade which the socialist countries carry on with different political systems and social regimes does not at all imply approval of these systems. It occurs within the framework of peaceful coexistence and in addition permits countries that are under dictatorial regimes not to depend exclusively on imperialism, and in particular American imperialism. The delegates at the OLAS conference, ready to eulogize the Peking thesis, should be aware of the fact that the People's Republic of China also trades -- increasingly all the time -- with capitalist countries, no matter what their nature.

(2) To accuse the USSR of abandoning to their fate the Vietnamese people, victims of aggression by the United States, is a flagrant untruth to which the South Vietnamese FNL and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have already given a fitting reply. The same applauders of the Peking thesis would do better to ask themselves how to explain the refusal of the present Chinese leaders to set up a common anti-imperialist front in order to bring aid to the Vietnamese people.

(3) At the time of their underground session last April (see "l'Humanité" of 5/20), the Central Committee of the Venezuelan Communist party drew up a balance sheet on five years of armed struggle, observing that the forces of the left had been severely beaten. The result was a decline for the anti-imperialist and freedom cause, entailing as a consequence for the revolutionary vanguard the risk of being cut off from the Venezuelan masses, if a guerrilla war,

hopeless in the immediate future, were continued. It was because of this that the VCP, courageously drawing the lesson of this failure, decided to modify its tactics, while still maintaining the strategy elaborated in 1961 at the time of the beginning of the armed struggle.

The lesson is analogous to the one drawn by Luis Carlos Prestes, general secretary of the Brazilian Communist party, on the blow dealt to the anti-imperialist movement in Brazil at the time of the military coup d'état in 1964. Speaking of the struggle under way (interview in "l'Humanité" 1/16/67), he declared that "to be victorious, what is required at the head of the masses of the Communist parties is experienced and responsible men, enemies of adventures and effectively guiding the majority of the working class in an alliance with the broad peasant masses."

Recalling that Lenin declared: "A revolution is not stimulated, it cannot be made to order," Prestes added: "Under present conditions nothing is worse than pseudorevolutionary phraseology which contributes to isolating the Communists from the broad masses of workers."

This is the angle from which the leaders of the ultraleftist Latin-American grouplets, inspired by the Peking thesis, could advantageously study the fearful slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Communists which followed the events of September-October 1965 in Indonesia, a consequence of the adventurist line preached in Peking.

Does this mean that the Latin-American Communist parties and workers renounce armed struggle and guerrilla war? Not at all. They refuse only to convert them into a universal panacea and they take into account the conditions applying in each country.

The OLAS conference likewise heard Isais Pardo, representing the Colombian Communist party and its armed forces, who declared: "The Colombian Communists do not abandon an atom of legal action, while at the same time their armed forces continue fighting in the mountains."

Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Uruguayan Communist party, declared in substance for his part: "Armed struggle is a higher form of the struggle for freedom, but there exist other forms for the legal parties."

The delegate from Panama, in addition, denounced the transformation of his country by the United States into a military base and a center for the training of "antiguerrillas" in the service of Washington's satellite governments in Latin America.

JOHNSON EDGES CLOSER TO ATOMIC WAR

The Pentagon has widened the air war in North Vietnam by deliberately bombing the port facilities at Campha and Hai-phong for the first time. According to U.S. military sources in Saigon, these attacks on the docks were made in response to those who have been calling for some means of closing the channel short of mining it.

Johnson decided to escalate the air strikes after a prolonged controversy between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and certain members of his administration who resisted further extension of the bombings.

The raids came only two weeks after Defense Secretary McNamara had told the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee that bombing of the port area was too risky because Soviet, Chinese and other Communist bloc vessels might be hit. Attacks on such targets, he testified, run "the risk of direct confrontation with Communist China or the Soviet Union" and these dangers outweigh the military desirability of striking them.

The overriding of McNamara's arguments indicates that the president is now bent on maximizing the air war even though that involves greater risk of conflict with China and the Soviet Union. Behind and beyond this decision to press ahead regardless of consequences looms the specter of the nuclear mushroom cloud.

General Curtis Le May, former head of the air force, who has been demanding total destruction of the port of Haiphong and all installations allowing North Vietnam to receive supplies from abroad, is also one of the most vociferous advocates of wiping out China under the steamy slogan of "let's nuke the Chinks."

The idea of an atomic war is so ghastly, irrational and inhuman that many people incline to confuse their spontaneous revulsion against such a possibility with its rejection by the U.S. military strategists. However, the Pentagon has prepared contingency plans for nuclear warfare which can be set into motion whenever the command comes from the supreme head of the armed forces in the White House.

Its occupant has considered resorting to atomic weapons at several junctures over the past fifteen years. Kennedy, the most liberal postwar Democratic president, was ready to bring nuclear weapons to bear in the 1962 confrontation with the Soviet Union in the Caribbean.

On September 10 C.L.Sulzberger,

diplomatic correspondent of the New York Times, pointed out that top men at the Pentagon were eager to open their nuclear arsenal early in 1954 when the French were defeated at Dienbienphu. They not only sought to limit the victory of the Vietnamese but to wage preventive war against the entire Communist bloc. Here is what Sulzberger wrote in the September 10 issue of the New York Times:

"Admiral Radford, Eisenhower's Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and profoundly influential on Secretary of State Dulles, wanted to intervene with tactical atomic bombs to help France at Dienbienphu. But, according to men then prominent in American officialdom, his real hope was to get the United States engaged first in Indochina, then in China, in order to provoke a preventive war against the latter before it became a great power.

"Radford realized that more than Chiang Kai-shek's troops on Taiwan would be needed to crush Communist China. This meant the use of American military force. Radford reckoned that if the Soviet Union were to intervene in such a war it would have to be hit with thermonuclear weapons and the Strategic Airforce. At that time Russia was just edging into the super-weapons race and had no long-range delivery system.

"The Radford theory was that the relative advantage of the U.S.A. was fading, that the Russians were catching up, and that China itself would eventually be a threat. What he really wanted was to get involved in a preventive war against China -- and even perhaps Russia -- without letting the American people know."

Eisenhower vetoed Radford's course and turned instead toward the Geneva accords which cut Vietnam in two and led to the present situation.

In the light of the new developments, is there much doubt that what the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was urging more than thirteen years ago within the Republican administration is again being projected by the nation's top generals within the present Democratic administration? That would account for the warnings that have come from Senator Mansfield and other highly placed figures in Washington over the past two months.

The ominous extension of the air attacks in North Vietnam, following the flights of planes over Chinese territory, is fraught with tremendous dangers, especially when this reckless policy brings the U.S. imperialists no closer to victory in Vietnam than it has done up to now.

IS THE STRUGGLE SHARPENING INSIDE CHINA?

By Dick Roberts

"It is a singular paradox of our time that in the epoch of radio, of television, of communication satellites, one can be so badly informed about what is really happening in the most populated country in the world: People's China."

The author of this pointed remark, François Honti, did not raise the question in idle speculation. Writing for the September issue of Le Monde Diplomatique, Honti warned that the lack of information about the concrete realities of the political developments in China could lead to a disastrous misjudgment in Washington.

"Step by step, [Washington] has come to bombing a few kilometers from the Chinese border, convinced that the Chinese are too engaged in their quarrel to be able to envisage an action of military importance, and that Hanoi does not want to see the penetration of the Chinese army in Vietnam. But will these hypotheses, perhaps valid for a certain moment, apply under all circumstances?"

"...an error of calculation on [Washington's] part could have disastrous consequences for the entire world."

Honti's fears about the implications of Johnson's precipitous escalation in Vietnam and the deepening crisis in China are by no means relieved by the current assessments of Chinese developments in the pages of New York newspapers.

"The once-unthinkable has become the possible," Wall Street Journal Hong Kong correspondent Robert Keatley wrote August 31. "China's 'cultural revolution' seems to be slipping still further out of control, and the world's most populous land rolls ever faster toward what could be major civil war or even total chaos."

And Keatley went on to describe a number of reported clashes in major Chinese cities which have led Hong Kong correspondents to label the past month "bloody August."

Least of all are Honti's warnings relieved by the pages of the official Peking press. August and September have seen an escalation of the Mao-Lin propaganda assault against "top persons in authority taking the capitalist road."

There has been a new intensity of propaganda aimed at taking the "Cultural Revolution" into the army.

But details explaining the events which have filled dispatches from Peking and Hong Kong have been totally lacking.

"Bloody August" has neither been confirmed nor denied.

Hong Kong correspondents paid closest attention in mid-August to alleged fighting in Canton, Kwangtung province, only 100 miles from Hong Kong itself. Summarizing these reports, Agence France-Presse noted in the August 31 Le Monde:

"Life returns little by little to Canton, which in recent weeks produced violent combats to the point of machine-gun fire between rival red guard factions, according to travelers arriving in Hong Kong.

"These travelers say that many of the streets of the big Chinese port are barricaded with sandbags and zigzag brick walls. These barricades seem to have been raised because of the troops' fear of the possibility of military intervention in the city.

"According to the travelers, the combats between red guards took place between August 16 and 20, but ceased with the departure of the leaders of the rival factions for Peking, where they held a 'peace conference,' attended by first minister Chou En-lai."

Wall Street Journal reporter Keatley had a more lurid version: "Red guards, peasants, workers and apparently even soldiers are battling indiscriminately; mobs have raided police stations and stolen weapons, and the sounds of rifle and machine-gun fire sometimes can be heard in the streets.

"Reliable witnesses have seen bodies hanging from lampposts, and about 100 people are thought to have died in rioting at a July 23 funeral."

Le Monde reported September 3 that a Canton radio had proclaimed the formation of a Maoist "revolutionary committee" August 31. According to the Canton radio, the committee sent the following telegram to Peking:

"The class struggle in Canton has been ferocious and difficult. Hundreds of thousands of Canton workers have joined together in a struggle to take command of the cultural revolution. Together with the proletarian revolutionaries, we have carried the campaign of criticism to new summits, and we have removed from the party, administration and treasury the agents of the Chinese Khrushchev in the province of Kwangtung."

Other centers of turmoil according



to similar reports include the provinces of Szechwan and Kweichow. An AFP dispatch in the August 21 New York Times stated:

"Several hundred Red Guards marched in silent procession through the center of Peking today in memory of 'revolutionary rebels massacred in Szechwan.'

"The procession came after posters here had reported serious clashes in the vast southwestern province, which borders on Tibet.

"Banner slogans carried by the marchers announced that 'the revolutionary rebels of Szechwan are swimming in blood' and called on the Communist party's Central Committee to 'settle the urgent Szechwan problem.'

"The small handful of Szechwan leaders who follow the capitalist line are making progress in all domains,' another banner said."

Tillman Durdin, the New York Times correspondent in Hong Kong, reported September 10 that "Kweichow, in southwestern China, has experienced particularly violent disarray..."

"A Kweichow radio broadcast Aug. 24 reported that 'misled masses' organized by the anti-Maoist faction had indulged in 'beating, smashing, looting, arson, killing, deliberately instigating struggle by violence and general sabotage of revolutionary aims.'

"The Kweichow radio also reported Aug. 23 that 'the handful of party officeholders taking the capitalist road' had spread rumors that worsened relations between the army and the people and 'in broad daylight slandered, beat up and even cruelly suppressed and persecuted heroic People's Liberation Army fighters.'"

While there have been constant references in the Hong Kong dispatches to fighting between Red Guard factions, Peking remained totally silent about such a possibility until the beginning of September.

September 8, Agence France-Presse in Peking reported that a Red Guard organization, demonstrating in the center of Peking, had been declared "counterrevolutionary and outside the law" by Chiang Ching, Mao's wife, and a leading figure in the "Cultural Revolution."

Chiang Ching declared that the group "was playing the bourgeois game" under the pretext of ultraleftist slogans.

The Agence France-Presse correspondent was surprised that the "outlaw" faction, which calls itself the "516th Regiment," was allowed to demonstrate in

its own name after this denunciation. Other Red Guard organizations have been criticized, he reports, but this is the first time one has been allowed to remain active.

Turning to the Peking press, two themes predominated in August: a heightened attack on Liu Shao-chi and Peng Teh-huai; and a new exaltation of Lin Piao.

The attack on Peng Teh-huai is noteworthy because it included the first public printing of the "Resolution of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Anti-Party Clique Headed by Peng Teh-huai." This meeting was held in Lushan in 1959.

If the document is authentic, it is interesting because of what it indicates about the nature of the struggle in the Communist party hierarchy between 1959 and the launching of the "Cultural Revolution" more than five years later.

Key themes of the document, issued in Mao's name, include the following (from Peking Review, August 25):

"This struggle at Lushan is a class struggle, a continuation of the life-and-death struggle between the two major antagonistic classes -- the bourgeoisie and the proletariat -- which has gone on all through the socialist revolution in the last ten years....

"Peng Teh-huai's anti-Party activity at the Lushan meeting was by no means accidental, nor was it an isolated incident. It was a wild, desperate onslaught by the dying bourgeoisie against the flourishing socialist cause of the proletariat....

"The long-standing anti-Party activities of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique headed by Peng Teh-huai constitute a grave danger to the socialist cause of the Party and the people....

"This kind of struggle, it seems, will continue in China and in our Party for at least 20 years and possibly half a century. In short, the struggle will cease only when classes die out completely."

Apparently this is supposed to explain why Red Guard factions, eight years later, are still having so much trouble with the "anti-Party clique." It's not just "a handful of top persons in authority," it's a vast residue of "bourgeois" forces.

But these implications are never spelled out. The organizational institutions of "China's Khrushchev" -- if they exist -- are never mentioned. One is

always left with the impression that masses of "proletarian revolutionaries" are pitted against a few "demons and monsters."

Official adulation of Lin Piao is being carried to new heights. On August 9 Lin addressed what Peking described as a mass congress of the "Peking Garrison Activists."

Lin's message, according to pages and pages of Hsinhua dispatches, was carried from one section of the army to the next, from one side of China to the other. It provoked serious and deep-going discussion and it raised the army to new levels of understanding and ability.

That message, in its entirety, was "Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and create new merits in the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution."

Some insight into the specific character of the "Cultural Revolution," however, was provided by Hsinhua's coverage of one event in early August. This was the reported formation of a "revolutionary committee" in Sining, Chinghai province, August 12.

"This victory," according to Hsinhua, August 14, "was won by the local proletarian revolutionaries in the course of seizing power from the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road."

Hsinhua explained that "an extremely acute and complicated struggle took place in Chinghai between two classes, two roads and two lines. Party government power in the province has been usurped by the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road...."

"The 'August 18' and other proletarian revolutionary organisations fought

back courageously and defended Chairman Mao, the party central committee and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with their blood and their lives."

Hsinhua does not give any further details on the nature of the "August 18" movement. But if these words are to be taken seriously, they support the contentions of Hong Kong journalists that the factional struggle is massive and sometimes bloody.

Furthermore, its end is nowhere in sight. This theme is paramount in the concept of "20 years" to "a half century" of "class struggle." But it is also explicit in other references to the Chinghai "victory."

August 15, Hsinhua reported the reception of this news in other provinces. "Proletarian revolutionaries in Hupeh, Hunan, Honan, Kiangsi, Szechwan and Inner Mongolia, who have been growing ever stronger in the fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, are overjoyed at the good news."

Of the six provinces mentioned, five of them were listed by Tillman Durdin as scenes of sharp clashes in August, the single exception being Hupeh province. "Revolutionary committees" (coalitions of municipal, Red Guard and army "cadres") have been established only in six provinces all told according to the Maoist press. And this drive has been under way since January.

Will Johnson seize the occasion of China's internal conflict to escalate the Vietnam war into an attack on China herself? The danger appears to be real. That is why the nature of the fragmentary news coming out of China provokes serious concern.

#### "MING PAO" PUBLISHES INTERVIEW WITH PENG SHU-TSE

The June issue of Ming Pao, a liberal Chinese monthly published in Hong Kong, carried the interview with Peng Shu-tse entitled "Mao's 'Cultural Revolution'" which appeared in the February 10 issue of World Outlook. The translation into Chinese was done by the well-known translator, Kao Shung.

Ming Pao, "A Non-Profit Magazine for the Promotion of Knowledge and Cultural Exchange," has the largest circulation of any Chinese magazine outside of mainland China. Its stand can be judged from the fact that it supports the work of the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell.

#### U.S. TROOPS TRAIN BOLIVIAN ARMY

According to an August 30 Reuters dispatch from La Paz, U.S. special-forces commander Robert Porter admitted that an

800-man Bolivian counterguerrilla army is being trained by U.S. soldiers. No details were given.

THE CONTEST IN THE AMALGAMATED ENGINEERING UNION

By Ken Varney

London

The elections in the Amalgamated Engineering Union have attracted considerable interest in Britain. The outcome will indicate whether the country's second largest union has shifted to the left in a way comparable to the huge Transport and General Workers Union.

The outgoing president, Sir William Carron, is a notorious "anti-Communist" who also serves as a governor of the Bank of England. Among his "achievements" is construction of an apparatus inside the union to fight "Communism and Trotskyism."

Carron decided to retire. As successor he is backing John Boyd, a well-known right-winger who wholeheartedly supports Harold Wilson's wage-freeze policies.

Of the twenty candidates who stood in opposition, only three commanded sufficient support to survive the first ballot. These are Reg Birch, North London organizer, a former member of the National Committee of the Communist party who was expelled from that organization because of his Maoist sympathies; Hugh Scanlon, Lancashire organizer, a member of the left wing in the Labour party who enjoys a reputation of being somewhat militant; and Len Edmundson, Northeast England organizer who commands considerable support in the Newcastle and Teeside areas. Edmundson stands politically somewhere between Scanlon and Boyd.

In previous elections, Reg Birch ran close to Carron and he was considered to have a good chance in the current contest. However, the Communist party, which exercises considerable influence in the union, decided to back Scanlon.

In the first ballot, Scanlon received the same number of votes as Boyd, some 35,000. Birch got approximately 11,000 and Edmundson about 7,000.

As no candidate had a clear majority, it was necessary under the union rules to hold a runoff between Boyd and Scanlon.

The bourgeois press has sought to influence the outcome in behalf of Boyd. The campaign of the gutter press has included such sensationalist items as a cooked up story that Birch would swing behind Boyd. Despite this pressure, Scanlon appears to be in the lead.

If Scanlon wins the election, it will be regarded as a victory for the left. It should be noted, however, that Scanlon has persistently refused to go on record in favour of ending the "anti-Communist" posture of the bureaucratic hierarchy. He clearly wishes to maintain an opening to the right.

However if the AEU registers a shift to the left by electing Scanlon, the effect could be considerable since it would alter relations in the Labour movement to the disadvantage of Wilson and his grossly procapitalist policies.

BRITISH CP CONTINUES TO DECLINE

[The British Communist party has undertaken a number of rather desperate measures in the recent period in hope of counteracting a steady decline in membership, influence and prestige. The moves were aimed at refurbishing its image among petty-bourgeois circles. Thus it changed the name of its official publication, the Daily Worker, to the Morning Star.

[A wit quipped that perhaps it would have come closer to reality to baptise the paper the Evening Star.

[How serious the situation has become for the Communist party on the eve of its forthcoming congress can be judged from the following article submitted by the Surrey District Committee to the party's weekly review, Comment, which

published it in the September 2 issue.]

\* \* \*

A major question for Congress is why in this favourable situation there is a serious decline in our mobilisation, organisation and influence. Claiming that our mobilisation is growing, that the Morning Star is advancing and that there is a "very great improvement in attendance at our public meetings" does not help. Selecting certain positive features is not a substitute for analysis. These always exist and must be seen as part of the whole.

There is a decline in practically every measurable aspect of our work since the last Congress. The claimed membership is slightly up, but the dues payment, a

better reflection of the real situation, is down to 58 percent. Sales of Comment declined by 1,096 (13 percent) in 17 months. The Morning Star sales, despite the large expenditure of reserves and its increased size, are below the paid circulation of the Daily Worker at the time of the last Congress. This includes a loss of one-quarter of the weekend extras. The financial situation has caused staff cuts in many districts and at party centre.

These facts are a reflection of the serious and growing problem in many branches.

Despite the new councillors elected our overall vote is falling steadily. Between the two General Elections our vote dropped by 16 percent. In this year's local contests the votes in most big towns fell, e.g., Glasgow by 7 percent and Greater London by 28 percent! Among the reasons for this are serious errors which the Party leadership is making.

Our electoral policy is a distortion of The British Road to Socialism, giving us the worst of all worlds. It helps isolate us from the Labour movement and not only hinders the development of left unity, but our independent work as well. As our votes fall the mobilisation of our members around our candidates gets less. It has led to a neglect of the mass movement, a failure to fight sufficiently on Vietnam and other peace, industrial and social issues, and not enough help to the various broad organisations' campaigns.

Above all this is seen in industry, where our support of the campaigns against TU legislation, the various wage demands and the lockouts has been totally

inadequate.

The aim is apparently a new respectable image, but with it we have unfortunately lost much of our campaigning fervour and fighting spirit. Two examples were the disastrous decision to change the name of the Daily Worker and the way it was rushed through immediately after the Congress, for which we paid a heavy price; and our attitude to the World Communist Movement. Our Party refuses to support the proposal of 67 Communist Parties for a world conference. This undermines the feeling of international and class loyalty.

The new EC must give a dynamic lead to overcome the problems. It should be instructed to do so with a fresh approach and emphasis, including:

A much greater proportion of the Party's effort to be directed to industry, the mass movement, and our work as part of the Labour movement;

an electoral policy based on this, in which we contest only where our mass work and Party development justifies it;

the redevelopment of the paper along fighting, class lines, so that it will grow with the help of a much greater proportion of our members and supporters;

assisting the unity of the world communist movement by supporting the call for a world conference.

This will provide the basis to resume the party's advance, particularly in the factories.

Surrey District Committee

#### SOCIALIST SCHOLARS PROTEST LATIN-AMERICAN POLITICAL JAILINGS

Hundreds of participants at the Socialist Scholars Conference held in New York City September 9-10, signed petitions in behalf of political prisoners in Bolivia and Mexico.

The petition addressed to the president of Mexico, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, expressed shock at "the accelerating repression of political dissenters in Mexico today," since the student strike at the University of Mexico in the spring of 1966.

At that time the Argentine journalist Adolfo Gilly and others were arrested, followed in August by the jailing of Víctor Rico Galán, writer for Siempre, and thirteen others.

This summer another fourteen per-

sons were jailed, denied bail, and like those arrested earlier, are as yet to be brought to trial.

The petition addressed to President René Barrientos Ortuño of Bolivia asked for justice for Régis Debray, and also protested against the incarceration of dozens of political prisoners in primitive jungle camps where living conditions have caused many to become critically ill.

Among the many prominent signers of the petitions were authors José Iglesias and Truman Nelson, and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leader Ivanhoe Donaldson.

The petitions were delivered September 12 to the Mexican consulate and the Bolivian consulate general.

CEYLONESE TROTSKYIST LEADER SPEAKS IN NEW YORK

Bala Tampoe, a leader of the Ceylonese Trotskyist movement and secretary general of the 25,000-member Ceylonese Mercantile Union, addressed the Militant Labor Forum in New York, September 1, during an extended tour of the United States.

Tampoe had been invited to the U.S. to participate in a six-week seminar on U.S. domestic and foreign policy at Harvard University. During this visit he spoke at a number of meetings.

The subject of Tampoe's Militant Labor Forum talk was the "Colonial Revolution in Southeast Asia." The Trotskyist leader outlined the history of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) of which he is secretary, and the unfolding of colonial revolution following World War II.

Above everything else, Tampoe felt that the Japanese occupation of various British, French and Dutch colonies had precipitated the revolutionary movements following the war. It showed that "an Asian colored nation could defeat the white imperialist master nations."

The first wave of anti-imperialist struggle, culminating with the victory of the Chinese revolution, Tampoe continued, had declined as bourgeois parliamentary illusions afflicted mass colonial parties.

The key to anti-imperialist struggle in both India and Ceylon, Tampoe said, was to develop mass anticapitalist parties. He noted that both nations, although formally independent, are dominated by British interests and their economies are trapped in stagnation until these capitalist ties are broken.

Speaking of the seminars in which he participated at Harvard, Tampoe said that the overwhelming impression he got was that "the U.S. is hopelessly stuck in Vietnam and doesn't know what to do."

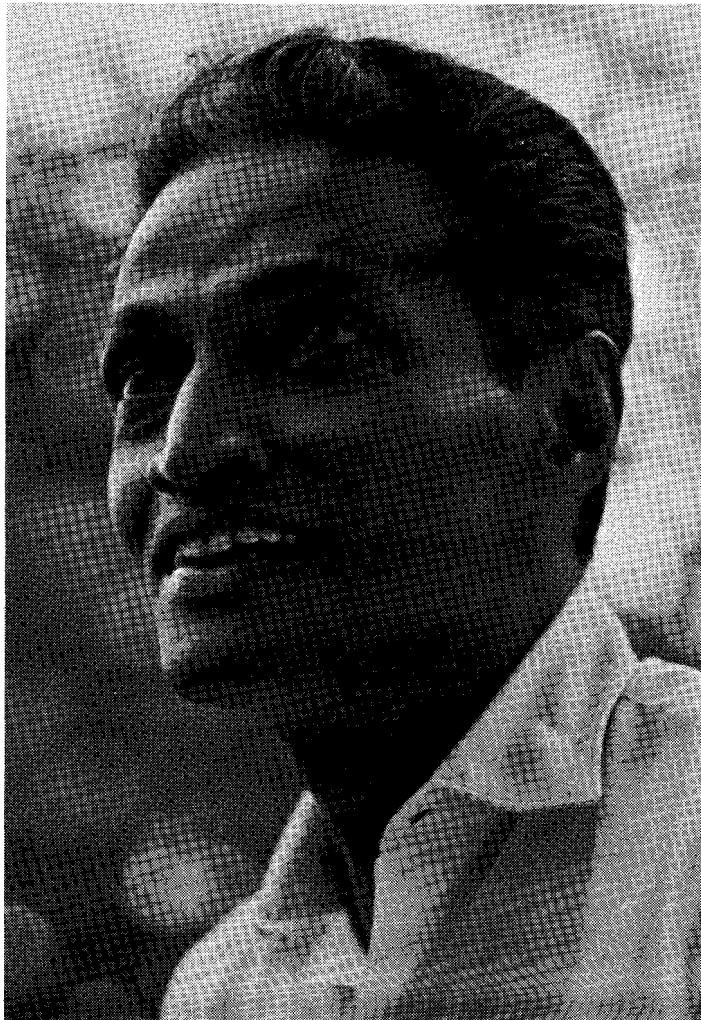
A lively question period followed Tampoe's presentation in which he further detailed the history of particular problems facing revolutionary movements in Southeast Asia.

One member of the audience pointed out that the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in 1964 had played exactly the same role in Ceylon as the class-collaborationist parties Tampoe had criticized. It entered a bourgeois government and thereby saved it.

The major blame for this betrayal, the questioner felt, should be placed on the leadership of the Fourth International-

al in Paris.

"It would be a big mistake," Tampoe stated, "to say that the degeneration of the Trotskyist mass party in Ceylon was



BALA TAMPOE

the responsibility of the Fourth International leadership.

"It took place as a result of conditions in Ceylon as well as external conditions in the world situation, and it involved a degeneration of the leadership of the Fourth International in Ceylon itself."

Tampoe explained that he had been a member of the politbureau of the LSSP for ten years and had seen his closest and most trusted comrades degenerate. But he said that situation was not unlike Trotsky's fight in the Third International. One can't blame Trotsky for the degeneration of the Third International.

"It is not the responsibility of some people in Paris," he said. "I won't hold some people in Paris responsible if I degenerate. I might have gone with them, I had the prospect of becoming a labor minister...."

"And it is important to remember when we broke with them, even though we were a minority, the Fourth International not only endorsed us, but expelled the majority."

Tampoe was asked whether a military defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam would not be a great spur to the world colonial revolution. The Ceylonese Trotskyist warned against putting hope on a military dislodgment of Washington's vast force in South Vietnam.

Washington cannot win militarily,

#### DISSENT RISES AMONG CZECHOSLOVAKIAN INTELLECTUALS

An international literary dispute was opened with the publication of a manifesto reportedly signed by more than 450 Czechoslovakian intellectuals which appeared in the September 3 Sunday Times of London.

The manifesto accused party representatives of ordering the "crossing-off at first of 12 and later of 4 of the names of the most courageous colleagues from the list of candidates" for the top committee of the Writers' Union.

The statement charged that the candidates had been "put under police surveillance and prohibited from publishing their works." The events were reported to have occurred during and after the fourth congress of Czechoslovak writers held in Prague June 27 to 29.

The fact that the Times withheld the names of the signers "to prevent reprisals" led to questions as to the authenticity of the document. Czech authorities have hotly denied that the document is genuine, although in a curiously guarded manner.

The secretariat of the central committee of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union said the manifesto "was not published either by the union...or by its elected bodies....What is more, the union has no knowledge that the document was drawn up by Czechoslovak writers or any group of them independently."

Rude Pravo, the main party daily newspaper, commented September 8 that: "It does not express the views of the majority of Czechoslovak writers, though

he felt, but it also cannot afford to lose militarily.

The great danger lies in Moscow's success in forcing a new détente in Vietnam, he said, comparable to the 1954 Geneva accords.

This is undoubtedly the reasoning behind Washington's new emphasis on bringing the Vietnamese question to the UN, Tampoe felt. He raised the possibility that Washington had reached an agreement on the nature of a détente in the recent talks with Kosygin at Glassboro, New Jersey.

But politically, Tampoe ended, the U.S. has already suffered a major defeat and is getting into deeper trouble each day the war proceeds. "Seventeen million Vietnamese have shown that it is possible to stand up against the military giant."

it may express the views of a small group."

A categorical denial of the authenticity of the statement or the truth of its charges is carefully avoided.

The Sunday Times defended the legitimacy of the manifesto in its September 10 issue:

"Without prejudicing the security of the unorthodox channels between Prague and the West, it can be stated that several copies of the document left Prague by different and well-established routes, one being the use of a special courier. By September 1 three of these copies had reached their destinations.

"They were identical, thus excluding the possibility that the manifesto was re-written, edited or altered by emigré Czech writers after reaching the hands of the initial recipients..."

The London Observer reported September 10 that Czech authorities "have clamped down on all State book publishing houses and magazine printers."

"All publications, films, television and radio programmes," they said, "will be strictly censored."

Prominent Czechoslovak party and government officials are reported to have opposed the hard line toward the intellectuals backed by President Novotny. The Observer claims that Novotny's critics include the premier, Dr. Josef Lenart; Dr. Vacilav David, foreign minister; and Karel Hoffmann, minister of Culture and Information.

LETTER FROM YIOURA

[The following letter, written from the prison-island concentration camp of Yioúra, Greece, was printed in the August 1967 issue of Memo, the national bulletin of Women Strike for Peace (WSP).

[According to an introductory note, the letter was written on a scrap of paper dated June 15, 1967, and reached London the same month.

[The explanatory appeal following the letter was written by Norma Spector and printed in the same issue of Memo.

[WSP is in the forefront of the antiwar movement in the U.S. and has played a most active role in organizing mass demonstrations seeking the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.]

\* \* \*

On the morning of April 21, Athens was not awakened by the milkman but by the rumble of tanks. Those few shops which had time to open, quickly shut down again. Streets were deserted. Noisy Athens appeared a strange city -- inhabited only by the army and police.

People were asleep as police rushed into their houses and got them out of bed. Tanks and armored cars stood outside your door. Telephones were cut and the big city turned into many small isolated houses. Those who had time to turn on the radio heard the decree declaring martial law signed by an anonymous Prime Minister and anonymous cabinet members!

Police hastily arrested men and women giving no answers to their protests, not allowing them to take even blankets with them. Everyone was told "the Chief of the local police wants you for a few seconds."

Thus, in a few hours 1,500 people were brutally torn away from society; 1,500 households overwhelmed by anxiety over the fate of relatives. The city's life seemed to have stopped, nobody conversed with the arrested people. Only the Piraeus General Security gave a strong warning of what was to come by barbarously beating those arrested.

After a while soldiers with bayonets fixed and machine guns ready squeezed the human freight into jeeps and transported it to three camps set up in Athens...at the racecourse, the football grounds of AEK [Athletike Enosis Konstantinoupolis -- Athletic Union of Constantinople] and Karaiskaki. Thus began the operation "persecution" which ended in so many people being thrown onto the strange uninhabited island of Yioúra

which has no port, no water, no vegetation.

Democrats, resistance fighters, communists, socialists, liberals from the cities and countryside, workers and intellectuals, fathers and mothers, old, ill, crippled...all found themselves in Yioúra. Not even the seventy-year-old Vlassis, nearly bent double; not even the crutches of the crippled, not even the pregnant women, or four-year-old Makis who was with his mother, moved the law of the military fascism. The country's leading intellectuals like eighty-year-old Vasilis, Rotas, the engraver Vaso Katraki, the poet John Ritsos, were thrown into Yioúra. Ilias Iliou, the parliamentary leader of EDA [United Democratic Left] was sent to Yioúra to demonstrate that the May 28 elections were off.

A CAMP ON THE RACECOURSE: The racecourse camp went through five days and nights of horror. Four hundred and seventy people were squeezed under the stands. There were no toilets and when people had to relieve themselves they were escorted by soldiers with fixed bayonets. In front of the door soldiers in tanks aimed their guns day and night from two tanks.

Machine guns pointed at the prisoners continuously...On Sunday afternoon, people were not allowed out for their natural needs and the door was closed. Silent anxiety spread through the room. At about 11:45 a major of the guards entered and called the M.P. Ilias Iliou to come out. He was pulled to the left side of the door as he went out...and with sticks hit on his hands, legs and head, then bloodied his face with punches. A doctor among the arrested gave him first aid when he was returned 20 minutes later. Terror reigned in the room.

On Monday morning the major in charge pretended that he did not know anything, and assured the prisoners about the safety of their lives. The same evening they beat up two others.

On Tuesday morning they brought in the Cypriot Ilio Ioannides and the Mayor of Kalithea. That afternoon, while Resistance hero Panayiotis Ellis was returned from the toilet, the black-beretted captain shot him twice at point-blank range, suddenly and with no reason. Ellis died instantly, his lung pierced.

The prisoners began shouting and protesting. The director was forced to meet a delegation who demanded assurances for our lives...For five days the prisoners in the racecourse lived lives of doom. Everyone was psychologically ready, calm and determined, sending his last thoughts

to relatives and waiting helplessly. At 2 a.m. of Wednesday morning, they were awakened to start their journey to Yioúra.

**AEK FOOTBALL GROUNDS CAMP:** Two dressing rooms were used for the prisoners. One hundred and eighty people lived in the larger room for five days and were not allowed out at all. A tunnel used by the football players to go to the playing field was used as a toilet by these 180 people. About 100 people were squeezed into the other room.

The prisoners slept on the bare floor in shifts because there was not enough room for all of them to lie down. There was no fresh air at all. The guard consisted of army units, under the charge of a black-beretted major who ordered the soldiers to keep up continuous shooting into the air. The camp gave the impression of being a battleground. Shots followed every demand by prisoners to be allowed to go for water or to the toilet.

**KARAIKAKI CAMP.** The Karaiskaki football grounds were used for prisoners from Piraeus. There were two toilets and two water taps for the 600 people. None were allowed to go out at all. Very few were properly clothed, and here, too, they slept in shifts on the floor.

The Piraeus prisoners arrived at the camp after being brutally beaten in the security building. Arriving in such horrifying condition were the mayor of Peristeri; trade-union leaders were especially brutally beaten; resistance fighter Diakrousis was beaten till he was unconscious and the same thing happened to Venieri, an old woman and mother. The dentist Elli Ioanidou had all her ribs broken and was beaten over the liver. The military doctor, when he saw these people, said, "Were they beaten by cannibals?" And the army told the police: "We will not accept them in the condition in which you are bringing them to us."

**TRANSFER:** For five days those arrested were completely cut off from their relatives. Nor did the arrested know what was going to happen to them. We lived in fear...until we were awakened for the journey to Yioúra, the hell haunted by human bodies and condemned by the world, that was being reopened by 1,350 Athenian and Piraeus citizens.

By May 15, 6,299 people inhabited the rock island. The climate is such that it kills even the natural vegetation. Strong winds sweep it every day. The weather changes from hour to hour; south winds, north winds, dampness, cold and heat.

One thousand seven hundred and forty-two have been put in the only "building" on the island; a dungeon used

by the ancient emperors and described by Court of Appeals Judge Bizimis in his report as "hellish." Here the new city of fascism is being built.

**FOOD:** It is supposed that 17 drachmas is spent on the food of each prisoner daily. This, however, is impossible. Transport to and from Syros is difficult and is done rarely because of the weather. Thus, the prisoners are being given the remnants of the army food supplies which have gone bad. For days we ate only bread.

The parcels and money sent us by relatives are being held in Syros. The Ministry's announcement about meat, eggs, etc., as being food for the prisoners could be a joke if one could laugh with the hunger of 6,500 people.

The water must be transported from Piraeus and stored. There is barely enough for drinking and is just bearable for that. We cannot keep ourselves clean and the situation is made worse by the lack of a sewage system. The uninhabited island, suddenly occupied by 6,500 people is becoming a source of infection.

Initially, open space was the only toilet. After old sewers (trenches) were repaired by us, leading to small gullies, the sea in these places has become foul. Thus, even the sea cannot help us keep clean.

**HEALTH AND FAMILY CONDITIONS OF PRISONERS:** Of the 1,171 prisoners in Sector C, 425 (35%) are gravely ill. Whole families were brought to Yioúra, mothers with babies, 58 husbands with their wives. Twenty-one mothers have been separated from infants of one month to three years of age. Eleven of these women are here with their husbands (so the infants are not even with their fathers). Sixteen mothers are here with children under six years old. Forty-three mothers are here with children up to teen-age...

\* \* \*

(Helena Bena was arrested on the night of the coup. She is a prisoner on the island of Yioúra. Helena is one of thousands; but she is also one of us. She was the representative of the Greek women at the Hague Conference and Demonstration organized by WSP against the NATO proposal for a Multilateral Force.

(Helena has a four-month-old baby, born prematurely -- she had been trying to have a baby for some years -- and the baby was barely three months old when the police forcibly separated the infant from its mother.

(Because we know Helena Bena we can make a special appeal on her behalf: Ask your Congressmen to make inquiries



about her and urge her release. Also as a matter of humanity, urge humane treatment of prisoners. Ask Congressmen to inquire about the prisoners. Pressure for their release.

(People who escaped the coup and thousands shocked by the repressive measures of the junta are organizing a resistance movement. They need money desperately.)

(If you can raise or send any, it should go to: League for Democracy in Greece, 376 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1, England. Money is also needed to send blankets, soap, food, medicines, etc., to the prisoners (probably through the International Red Cross) and perhaps you may find it easier to raise money for such specifics. Please...these are people who have been fighting with us for peace. -- Norma Spector.)

### REPORT FROM THE GREEK UNDERGROUND

#### Athens

The military coup d'état of April 21, 1967, constituted one more reactionary intervention in the political life of the country by the palace and the military camarilla in the long series instigated and backed by big capital and American imperialism. The plan successfully carried out by the foreign and domestic reactionaries over the past three or four years called for:

(a) Driving the Center Union from power and dismembering it by forming court-dominated governments made up of renegades from its top staff.

(b) Inflicting hard blows on the working-class and mass movement and breaking up the left organizations; creating a "strong state" through an absolutist concentration of power and abrogation of the people's remaining democratic liberties and constitutional rights.

(c) Supplanting these governments of Center origin with more repressive rightist caretaker governments so as to set the stage for fraudulent, strong-arm elections which would return the rightists to power via a "constitutional" road.

(d) Resorting to military dictatorship as the "unavoidable solution" if, despite these measures, a Center Union electoral victory appeared likely, the pretense being that "the country is in danger" and must be "saved from Communism."

(e) Creating an analogous political climate in Cyprus with the support of Grivas and the Greek officers sent there, the aim being to overthrow the Makarios government and pave the way for "solution" of the Cyprus question within the NATO framework.

Only permanent mobilization of the masses and deepening of the mass movement could have countered the reactionaries' strategy. Had this been done, the royal offensive against the people's constitutional rights could have been halted in

its tracks by a popular counteroffensive. New organs of struggle (committees) directly and democratically representing the masses could have been formed which, in addition to expressing the will of the masses, would have also expressed the historically progressive solutions to the acute political and structural crisis that was precipitated in the summer of 1965.

This was demonstrated in practice. During the period when the masses were aroused and held sway in the streets of Athens and the other large cities, raising radical and antimonarchical slogans ("referendum," "down with the monarchy") and going beyond the bourgeois-democratic leaderships and the bureaucratic apparatuses both in slogans and initiation of militant actions, the court-sponsored governments toppled one after the other.

But from the time the masses were drawn from the streets into auditoriums for formal demonstrations or were mobilized in passive flocks to hail and applaud barnstorming "democratic leaders" (who called for elections as a panacea), the schemes of the reactionaries began to show progress: stabilization of the third court government presided over by Stephanopoulos; establishment of the transitional Paraskeropoulos government and the ERE [Ethnike Rizopastike Enosis -- National Radical Union, the party of the traditional right] government headed by Canellopoulos; and finally the advent of the military dictatorship in April, on the eve of the "electoral campaign."

The major lesson of the class struggle was again underlined in these events -- when the oppressed retreat on the social front and abandon the battlements, the oppressors gain ground and press forward.

The Center Union and the EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras -- Union of the Democratic Left] -- leaderships, for their part, functioned as a barrier against the upsurge of the masses thus facilitating the evolution toward dictatorship. They used their press to take the steam out of

the mass mobilization instead of increasing the pressure; and they lowered the consciousness of the masses instead of raising it. (George Papandreou declared on several occasions that any questioning of the system of government would be a "national calamity.")

And Andreas Papandreou, despite his left demagogy and antimonarchical thrusts never went to the point of proposing that the fate of the institution of monarchy be decided by the vote of the people.

The EDA several times called the antimonarchical slogans "extremist," "adventurist," "Trotskyite provocations"; and its goon squads attacked all supporters of such slogans among the masses. After he "advised the king on the solution he must seek," the EDA chairman Pansalidis told a press conference April 1: "I believe the king favors preparing direct elections for the month of May." (Avghi, April 2, 1967.)

The EDA's political objectives (and those of the Greek Communist party) went no further than such empty nostrums as "a democratic solution and return to normal democratic life," "support a really democratic government," and "long-range pursuit of basic democratic conquests on the road to National Democratic Change." (Avghi, April 16.)

Avghi's headline for April 21, the day of the coup, eloquently expressed the EDA leadership's parliamentary cretinism: "The Volas Rally, a Magnificent Send-Off on the Road to Victory."

At a time when the palace was stepping up its assaults against the people's formal "constitutional" rights -- attacks that were thinly veiled beginning in 1963 but which became blatant after 1965 -- the EDA's leading parliamentary representative, Ilios Helios, called in parliament for "democratization of the court!"

The position of the Center Union ("democratic" lieutenant of the capitalist class) is clearly in line with the historic role of bourgeois liberalism in our time: oppression of the people when in power, demagogy when in opposition.

The history of Greek liberalism shows it to be a central prop of the monarchy. We should remember that Eleutherios Venizelos [the leading Greek liberal politician from prewar days until the mid-1930's] was not only the parliamentary reporter for personal responsibility\* in 1922 but also made a key contri-

bution to the 1935 restoration.\*\* Sophocles Venizelos and Themistocles Sofoulis paved the way for the royal dictatorship of August 4, 1936.\*\*\*

George Papandreou, who was head of the "National Union" government in 1944, launched the assault on the EAM [Ethniko Apeleueriko Metepo -- National Liberation Front] and restored the bourgeoisie to power in Greece after the war; he also devoted himself to rehabilitating the monarchy.

The EDA's policy was the expression of the party's petty-bourgeois radical character. Despite the support it enjoyed from a large worker and peasant rank and file as well as from the urban petty-bourgeois masses, it followed in the train of the bourgeois-democratic party and propagated notions of petty-bourgeois reform based on collaboration with the "national bourgeoisie" and peaceful democratic progress among the masses.

As for the Greek Communist party, which was a revolutionary working-class party long ago, its policies were the same as those of the EDA, thus demonstrating the profound nature of its petty-bourgeois bureaucratic degeneration.

The Greek Internationalist Communist party [the Greek section of the Fourth International] correctly noted in time the court's absolutist orientation in recent years. It warned of the threat of dictatorship and denounced the reactionary utopia of peaceful democratic progress. In setting the overthrow of the monarchy as the immediate strategic objective, it sought to popularize the "referendum" slogan, and envisaged a general strike and a popular uprising.

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the population exchanges. [Close to two million Greeks living in Asia Minor were forced to flee after the Greek defeat. Turks living in Greece were also expelled -- W.O.]

\*\* [Following the Greek debacle in the war with Turkey, the king was expelled and no monarch was permitted to reign until 1935. At that time the king was welcomed back by a rightist government and the institution of monarchy was reaffirmed by a referendum boycotted by the liberals and republicans -- W.O.]

\*\*\* [The 1936 Greek elections produced a stalemate between the republicans and liberals led by Sophocles Venizelos and a coalition of right-wing parties led by Kondylis, Tsaldaris and Metaxas. The king chose Metaxas to form a government. Once in power he established a military dictatorship on August 4 of that year which lasted until the German occupation -- W.O.]

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\* Of King Constantine in the "Great Catastrophe" of the Greek-Turkish war and

It called for building a worker-peasant-student front as the tactical means for accomplishing these objectives.

It must be noted, however, that its prediction in February 1967 that "all signs indicate that the elections will take place in May" was a grave error. This view was based on circumstantial and superficial evidence (the royal pronouncement setting the date of the elections, behind-the-scenes negotiations between the Center Union and the ERE, George Papandreou's enthusiastic praise of the royal declaration).

The warning given by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in its declaration of September 6, 1965, on the Greek crisis proved particularly apt: "The present situation in Greece is unstable. It can give way to a military crackdown and a new dictatorship if the upsurge of the masses does not turn into a revolutionary struggle." [See World Outlook, September 17, 1965.]

The coup d'état of April 21, 1967, which came as an abrupt surprise even for the ERE then in power, is a step in the reactionaries' long march toward creating an anti-Communist "strong state" in Greece. It was organized in accordance with a plan and carried off with lightning success by a small group of high officers who did not belong to the supreme military command but held key positions in the military apparatus: tank units, mountain counterinsurgency groups [Lokhos Oreionon Katadromon -- LOK], and artillery. They shouldered aside their superiors, the royalist generals, and sent them into retirement a few days later.

King Constantine (who had also cultivated the idea of a military dictatorship in concert with the top levels of the military hierarchy if the Center Union won the elections by a large majority) issued a declaration to avoid personal responsibility such as fell to his Uncle George on August 4, 1936. But he accepted the guidance of the putschist colonels, designated chief magistrate Kollias -- their creature -- as prime minister, and cooperated in the swearing-in ceremony. He quickly adapted himself to the new situation and gave it the sanction of his royal "authority," subsequently declaring that the "army will always be the guarantor of stability." Therefore, the crown and the military caste stand allied and are jointly responsible for the April military dictatorship.

The new regime rests solely on the state repressive apparatus. It has no base among the masses of the people. It is confronted with the opposition of every political party in the country.

The leaders feel the hostility of the people and the clamor of worldwide democratic opinion rings in their ears. Their concern over their isolation and their minority position is testified to by their actions: the extent of the terror, the banning of parties, the dissolution of hundreds of trade-union organizations, the proscribing of 800 leftist books, the anti-Communist fever, the press censorship and military justice, the determined obscurantism, the "Communist plot" stories and "dangers to national security," the frauds and falsifications (e.g., Papandreou's purported letter to Paterpos and the falsifications of some EDA ledgers), the arrogant pretense of "national salvation," the spasmodic reactionary measures, the protagonists' speeches, their comical claims that their regime of "authentic democracy" realized the profound aspirations of the entire people, etc.

But what of the masses of the people? Paralyzed by the narcotic of "peaceful democratic progress" and the poison of "rule by the people" and by claims that democracy is either "prevailing" or "will prevail"; ideologically disarmed, tired of the parties and disappointed in them and their leaders, fed up with old slogans, unorganized, they were in such a state of weakness that they did not respond to the coup d'état.

But they despise and curse the new tyranny. The dictatorship has banned their traditional organs of struggle (which had proved ineffective in the hands of bureaucratic leaders anyway); but the popular unrest, mounting as time goes by, is seeking new outlets and ways of expressing itself. Unemployment is rising. The oppression is becoming more and more unbearable. The pall of obscurantism thickens. The country is sinking deeper into an economic quagmire. The measures enacted by the dictatorship have created chaos. All of this is slowly but surely setting the stage for a new awakening of mass activity.

For the time being, the manifestations of opposition to the dictatorship are of small-scale and conspiratorial nature. They emanate from vanguard elements. But these manifestations are occurring more frequently as time goes on and are becoming more systematic and spreading from city to city. The difficult, onerous conditions of struggle serve to promote understanding among the militants and layers of the masses concerning the role of the palace, the military camarilla, the bourgeois press, the parliament, the mass parties and their leaders, the trade unions and the trade-union bureaucracy, imperialism and the bureaucratic governments of the workers states. There is growing consciousness of the need for new orientations, new leader-

ships, new forms and instruments of struggle.

The April 21 dictatorship is not fascist. Its similarities to fascism are formal and superficial (its methods and demagogy). It lacks the support of the petty-bourgeois masses enjoyed by fascism. It is a court-military dictatorship of Bonapartist character.

This kind of regime has a short life. If the masses do not succeed in overthrowing it by revolutionary means, it will collapse on its own due to the impasses created by its mere existence. For this reason it is preparing the way for its successor, which will obviously be a reactionary one but more "respectable," if more hypocritical -- rule by the royalist nationalist parties, with the military junta still in control behind the scenes, based on a constitution remodeled along absolutist lines with a pseudoparliamentary facade and a ban on left parties.

The dictatorship's primary goal is to annihilate the left movement, to terrorize the masses, and to honeycomb the state apparatus with police agents.

Even the American imperialists are showing slight enthusiasm for a government which has become a laughingstock abroad and which has drawn upon itself the dissatisfaction of certain layers of the bourgeoisie who feel that their interests have been hurt by the measures introduced. Washington, faced with pressing needs not only in connection with Vietnam but with Latin America and at home (the black revolt), seems in no great hurry to come to its aid economically.

If, in addition to this, we take into consideration the thinly veiled rivalry among the apprentice dictators (Pattakos, Papadopoulos, Makarezos, Spantidakis), the latent inflation (the state has issued 700 million drachmas [30 drachmas = US\$1] since April), the fact that

the regime is too weak to win even a limited base of support within the country, the growing popular unrest, which though silent today will make itself felt in the near future, we can reasonably predict that it is questionable whether or not the government will survive until April 1968. The course of international developments will certainly have an effect on this one way or the other.

The revival of the mass struggle will bring down the dictatorship. It is the supreme duty of the revolutionary Marxist vanguard to bring this about. By making every effort to increase the number of clandestine centers, by spurring the masses on to demand that their elementary needs be met (equal wages for men and women, work for the unemployed, wage parity with the Common Market level -- issues around which the government demagogy revolves), to compel acceptance of the right to strike and other trade-union and democratic rights which have been abolished as well as a general amnesty for the militants, we will continue, together with the masses, to build a worker-peasant-student front against the dictatorship and the palace, against capitalism and imperialism.

And as this front goes forward, it will lay the groundwork for a socialist solution to the crisis. Fighting against fatalism and discouragement, striving to forge antidictatorial movements and demonstrations with a militant spirit (refusing to sign any government-dictated statements), understanding the factors which promoted the evolution toward dictatorship, profiting from the lessons of the experience, renewing confidence in the strength and potential of the working class and the oppressed people, grasping the profound democratic interconnection between the new militant vanguard and the exploited masses: these are the prerequisites for success.

August 1967

#### CUBAN ART SHOW IN LONDON

The "first exhibition of Cuban contemporary art" will be opened in London, according to the September 3 Sunday Telegraph. It is sponsored by Ewan Phillips who recently visited Cuba.

Phillips told the London newspaper that Cuba is the "first Communist regime to advocate experimental art." He said that Che Guevara had played an important role in creating this atmosphere.

"Cuban artists are quite free to paint what they like," Phillips stated,

"but it's difficult for them to get paints and so on. And it's difficult for them to live through their art; there's no great buying by the trade unions as in other socialist countries.

"They have to do other work, like teaching or poster design. Cuba has the best posters I've ever seen, and I'm hoping there'll be a show of them here later on."

Phillips' exhibition will be at 22a Madox Street, London, W.1.

THE ORDEAL OF REGIS DEBRAY

By Robin Blackburn and Perry Anderson

[The following article appeared in the August 27 issue of the London Observer.

[Perry Anderson is a research fellow in Latin-American Sociology at Reading University. Robin Blackburn has been making a study of the Cuban Revolution at Nuffield College, Oxford, and will begin teaching sociology at the London School of Economics in October.

[The two young British intellectuals went to Bolivia at the invitation of Bertrand Russell to investigate the Debray case. This is the report they wrote upon returning to London.]

\* \* \*

The ordeal of Régis Debray -- the 26-year-old French intellectual on trial for his life as an alleged terrorist in Bolivia -- began a few days before last Christmas when a letter reached him in Havana.

The letter was from Ché Guevara, once Castro's chief lieutenant and now the legendary hero of Latin American revolutionaries. In it, Guevara said he was ready to give his first interview to the world since his mysterious disappearance from Cuba in 1965 and that he had selected Debray for the assignment.

What happened then to make Debray the focus of international protest? How did he end up in the military prison of a tiny oil town in the tropical backlands of southeastern Bolivia, where we have just seen him?

We went there after Bertrand Russell had invited us to investigate the Debray case. In two interviews, speaking a mixture of Spanish, French and English to confuse his jailers, Debray gave us his account of the events which followed the arrival of Guevara's letter on the twenty-first floor of the Hotel Habana Libre on 21 December 1966. We have checked his story against the accounts of his fellow prisoners, his military interrogators and jailers, and the officer who will prosecute him.

Guevara's choice was a logical one. Debray had been lecturing in philosophy at Havana University. He had won high regard with the Cuban leadership for two long essays on the continental strategy of revolution and was just completing his first book, "Revolution Within the Revolution?", a blueprint of the new Cuban tactics in Latin America.

Debray's instructions from Guevara were to wait for a contact in February at a left-wing bookshop in Paris, La Joie de Lire.

He flew to Paris two months later when his appointment at Havana ended. On 15 February he was approached in the bookshop. The message: he was to go to La Paz, the 12,000-ft-high Andean capital of Bolivia, where, at 6 p.m. every Tuesday, a man called Andrés would be waiting for him outside the Sucre Palace Hotel.

Debray duly went to La Paz. He was carrying with him official accreditation as a journalist from his French publisher, François Maspéro, and the Mexican magazine Sucesos: both credentials were confirmed by the Presidential office of the Bolivian Government. He had a valid French passport (the French consul in La Paz, Madame Teresa de Villancour, who has seen the passport, confirms that it contains the entry stamp of Bolivian frontier officials).

He made contact with Andrés, who took him to a girl who used the Bolivian "underground" name of "Tanya" but whose real name seems to have been Laura Martinez. With her, he set off south from La Paz by one of the antiquated buses that the Bolivians quaintly call gondolas.

At Sucre, 200 miles away, he and an Argentine travelling under the name of Fructuoso booked into the Hotel Grande on 3 March. Fructuoso was, in fact, a painter named Ciro Roberto Bustos, who claims that he was summoned to an opposition political conference in Bolivia at the same time, but who was probably also summoned by Guevara independently, perhaps to make drawings of him in his new role -- Bustos was an exceptionally skilled draughtsman.

The two men stayed in Sucre until the morning of 6 March. They then continued their journey south. A few days later they were in the small town of Camiri, in the oil zone. From there, Tanya took them north into deserted and densely wooded hill country.

In early March, Bolivia was still in an uneasy civil peace. The military dictatorship of General Barrientos, set up after a putsch two years earlier, was becoming increasingly isolated from popular appeal, but there was no sign yet of outright revolt. Debray was thus travelling to a journalistic assignment in peacetime conditions.

Still guided by Tanya, he was led

to the Casa Caramina, a remote ranch in the Nancahuazú region. There he found himself in a guerrilla training base, from which an insurrection was about to be launched. It had been bought some eight months before by "Coco" and "Inti" Perédo, two Communist brothers who have since emerged as the leaders of the Bolivian guerrillas.

Debray had still not seen Guevara. He was informed, however, that he would soon do so. But events now moved very fast. An oil engineer in the zone reported to the Army suspicious movements in the Nancahuazú zone. A large military patrol was dispatched to investigate. The outbreak of revolutionary war in the Bolivian southeast was thus suddenly precipitated while Debray was waiting for his interview.

On 23 March the Army patrol ran into an ambush along the banks of the Nancahuazú River. Three officers were killed and 15 men captured.

Once hostilities opened, the guerrillas abandoned the Casa Caramina and went over to mobile columns in the dense jungle. It was in these conditions that Debray finally made contact with Guevara. He says the circumstances of his interviews were difficult: Guevara was commanding units on forced marches -- not the best conditions for prolonged interviews.

By the first week of April, Debray had completed his mission. On 5 April he and Bustos tried to get out through the town of Gutierrez. But the Army had already occupied it. After two more weeks of marching with the guerrillas, they decided to leave at the other end of the military sector, in Muyupampa, a town northwest of Lagunillas on the road to Sucre.

Meanwhile, in Lagunillas, a young Anglo-Chilean free-lance photographer called George Roth was riding a horse into the hills in the hope of finding the guerrillas. Roth, who had been filming the Bolivian Army's operations, rode out on 16 April with a wave to the military commander, who knew of his intentions.

Two days later, guided by a local peasant, Roth stumbled into the guerrilla encampment outside Muyupampa. There he found Debray and Bustos. The guerrillas were by now anxious to be rid of all three men, who were hampering their operations. Thus, 10 hours after Roth discovered the guerrillas, the three men were expelled from the encampment and began to make their way down to Muyupampa on foot.

At 6 a.m. on 20 April, Debray, Bustos and Roth walked into the small

township, unarmed, in civilian clothes and carrying cameras. They were trying to hire a jeep to drive to Sucre and La Paz when they were arrested by the local agents of the DIC -- the Bolivian political police.

Debray was unworried by this; journalists in Bolivia are frequently hauled in for interrogation. A French Dominican missionary, Père Schwartz, saw him a few hours after his arrest and asked if he should report it to the French Embassy in La Paz. "Don't bother," Debray said. "We will be released in a matter of hours."

While the three men were in the police station, a Bolivian journalist, Hugo Delgadillo, of Presencia, saw them. He chatted with them and photographed them. Nothing abnormal seemed to have happened.

In fact, unknown to Delgadillo, a deserter from the guerrillas had identified Debray and Bustos as having been with the guerrillas. When the police learnt this, they telephoned command headquarters in Lagunillas.

An hour later, the Fourth Army Division's solitary helicopter picked up the prisoners. They were taken to the Army barracks at Choreti. "At eight o'clock in the morning, I was arrested," Debray told us. "By eight in the evening, I was being tortured." Bustos and Roth received similar treatment. It was only when a superior officer, Major Sánchez, arrived and intervened that the torture stopped. A local doctor called to attend to the prisoners two days after their arrest found them barely conscious.

Debray was shown an obituary of himself, published abroad, and told: "It will be easy for us to shoot you now; why should we bother to present you to the world, when it believes you already dead?" Bustos was also brutally maltreated and pressure put on him to give "evidence" against Debray.

Debray says that he was now endlessly interrogated by Bolivian intelligence officers, American CIA agents, and Cuban exiles sent down from Miami. On 24 April, four days after Debray's arrest, the register at the Hotel Beirut records the arrival in Camiri of two U.S. military officers, Major Theodore Kirsch and Joseph Keller (rank unknown). In May, another group of U.S. officers -- Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Price, Major Theodore Kirsch again, and "James Evetts" and "D. Fabian" (ranks unspecified) -- visited Camiri.

The extreme precariousness of the Bolivian military regime helps to explain the treatment of the prisoners. The prime allegiance of the Government bureaucracy and civilian police is still to the pre-

vious regime; the destitute Indian peasantry has no reason to support the military, and the tin miners, who earn most of the country's foreign exchange, are opposed to a Government which has cut their wages by 50 percent, imprisoned their trade-union leaders, declared large-scale redundancies [layoffs] and sent troops against them. On 24 June, 29 miners were shot at the San José mine, according to Government communiqués. In 1965, Debray himself wrote: "Bolivia is the country where the subjective and objective conditions (for armed struggle) are best combined. It is the only country in South America where a socialist revolution is on the agenda...."

This was the country chosen by Ché Guevara for his reentry into the Latin-American scene. His arrival at the Casa Caramina some time in late 1966 or early 1967 was the detonator for the explosive political situation in Bolivia.

In four months, the Bolivian guerrillas have inflicted worse casualties on the Bolivian Army than its Venezuelan or Colombian counterparts have in a year. The Army says 55 men, including nine officers, have been lost since 23 March. It has captured only one genuine guerrilla, Jorge Vázquez, and has killed five others.

The guerrillas have moved steadily northwards from the oil zone of Camiri and Monteagudo towards Santa Cruz, Bolivia's second largest city. By early July they had reached the Santa Cruz-La Paz highway, the country's most important strategic and commercial road, over 300 miles north of their initial base.

On 6 July, they seized the town of Samiapata, about 300 miles west of Santa Cruz. The raid was directed by a man sitting in a jeep on the hill outside the town, hidden by bodyguards; the peasants who brought him bread and cheese were made to stay at a distance from the vehicle and were prevented from getting a glimpse of him. The precautions indicate that the unseen commander was Guevara. Indeed, the whole campaign to date has borne his stamp -- a series of swift moves which have distinguished the Bolivian guerrilla movement from others in Latin America, and have constantly surprised and outmanoeuvred the Bolivian Army, whose only "victory" so far has been the "capture" of Debray.

This suspicion that Guevara was in Bolivia has clearly contributed to the violence in the interrogation of Debray. Roth, who had never even heard of Debray before their chance encounter in the hills, is still afraid even to speak of his treatment under interrogation.

Debray's fate has provoked a major international outcry. His father is a

distinguished Paris lawyer and his mother a prominent right-wing politician, for 20 years vice-president of the Paris municipal council. President de Gaulle and the Pope have both intervened with the Bolivian authorities. Writers, professors and academicians of all political shades from Sartre to Mauriac came out in his defence. In Britain and the U.S. Herbert Marcuse, Noam Chomsky, Graham Greene, Bertrand Russell and others have protested.

Debray, Bustos and Roth are all convinced that only the international publicity saved them from being silently eliminated. The first person from the outside world to establish that Debray was alive was Monsignor Kennedy, an American prelate related to the late President, who was allowed to see him on 6 June.

Camiri is set in a bowl of hills, with only one dusty road leading into it. One-storey houses, rectangular streets and saloon-like bars give it the air of Dodge City in a Western. The last civilian mayor, indeed, was fond of firing shots into the air in restaurants when service was slow -- before he was himself shot down in 1964 in the town hall during a petrol workers' riot.

The trial has been postponed until 8 or 9 September. Debray and Bustos are being accused with five Bolivians who are allegedly captured guerrillas. In fact, two -- Salustio Choque and Vicente Rocabado -- are deserters from the guerrillas and pawns of the Army. The others are men expelled from the combat zone for physical deficiencies by the guerrillas themselves.

Bustos, despite ceaseless pressure to testify against Debray, told us in his cell: "I will certainly not be giving evidence against Régis. He is innocent of all the charges. He behaved like a journalist."

Roth has been provisionally released in La Paz and swore to us with great emotion that "nothing I have said incriminates Debray, and nothing will induce me to invent evidence against him." The one genuine guerrilla prisoner, Jorge Vázquez, has, according to the Army, "escaped" from the hospital where he lay seriously wounded. He has almost certainly been killed by the Army.

Debray, meanwhile, remains locked in his tiny cell in the Casino Militar. The chief jailer, Colonel Luis Reque Taran, a former Bolivian attaché in Washington, told us: "I wouldn't be surprised if the Communists planned a raid to kill Debray. He has told us everything about the guerrillas and they will want to kill him for that." (In fact, as one of his military interrogators has confirmed, Debray has told the Army nothing about the guerrillas.) Of the charge that he

"inspired" the guerrillas, he commented: "They hardly need a 26-year-old Frenchman to teach them how to fight."

He believes Guevara has already left Bolivia: "He has, after all, continental responsibilities."

TOKYO YOUTHS BREAK UP TRIAL OF ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS

Demonstrators have continued to prevent the trial of the ten youths accused of destroying facilities at the Nittoku Metal Industry Co. in Tokyo last October 19.

They raided this plant which produces machine guns for the United States in protest against Japan's cooperation with U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The demonstrators interrupted the trial August 28, breaking their way through a police cordon. They were evicted from court after "a fierce fight

in the corridors," according to the Japan Times.

This was the second time an anti-war demonstration has succeeded in postponing the trial. New hearings are scheduled for September 21.

In another demonstration of opposition to Washington's invasion of Vietnam, a young man sneaked into the U.S. embassy compounds September 7 and poured flaming gasoline over three cars. The embassy is heavily guarded but the youth escaped.

CHILEAN CP LEADER JOINS FOES OF OLAS

[The following brief Agence France-Pressé dispatch appeared in the August 31 Le Monde.

\* \* \*

SANTIAGO DE CHILE, August 30 (AFP) -- "We are against any attempt at coups d'état and any kind of antidemocratic action," the secretary general of the Chilean Communist party, Senator Luis Corvalán, declared Tuesday [August 29].

"That," he added, "doesn't mean I defend the policy of the government.

"We think," the senator continued, "that guerrillas are a form of struggle

against reactionary governments. But in Chile, at present, guerrillas don't have their place."

[Commenting editorially on the dispatch, Le Monde stated, "Mr. Luis Corvalán's declaration is a reaction to the deliberations of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity (OLAS) held at the beginning of August in Havana.

["A little before the opening of the conference, Mr. Corvalán had already criticized Castroist theses on armed struggle and the priority accorded to guerrillas in political formations, in an article published by Pravda."]

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