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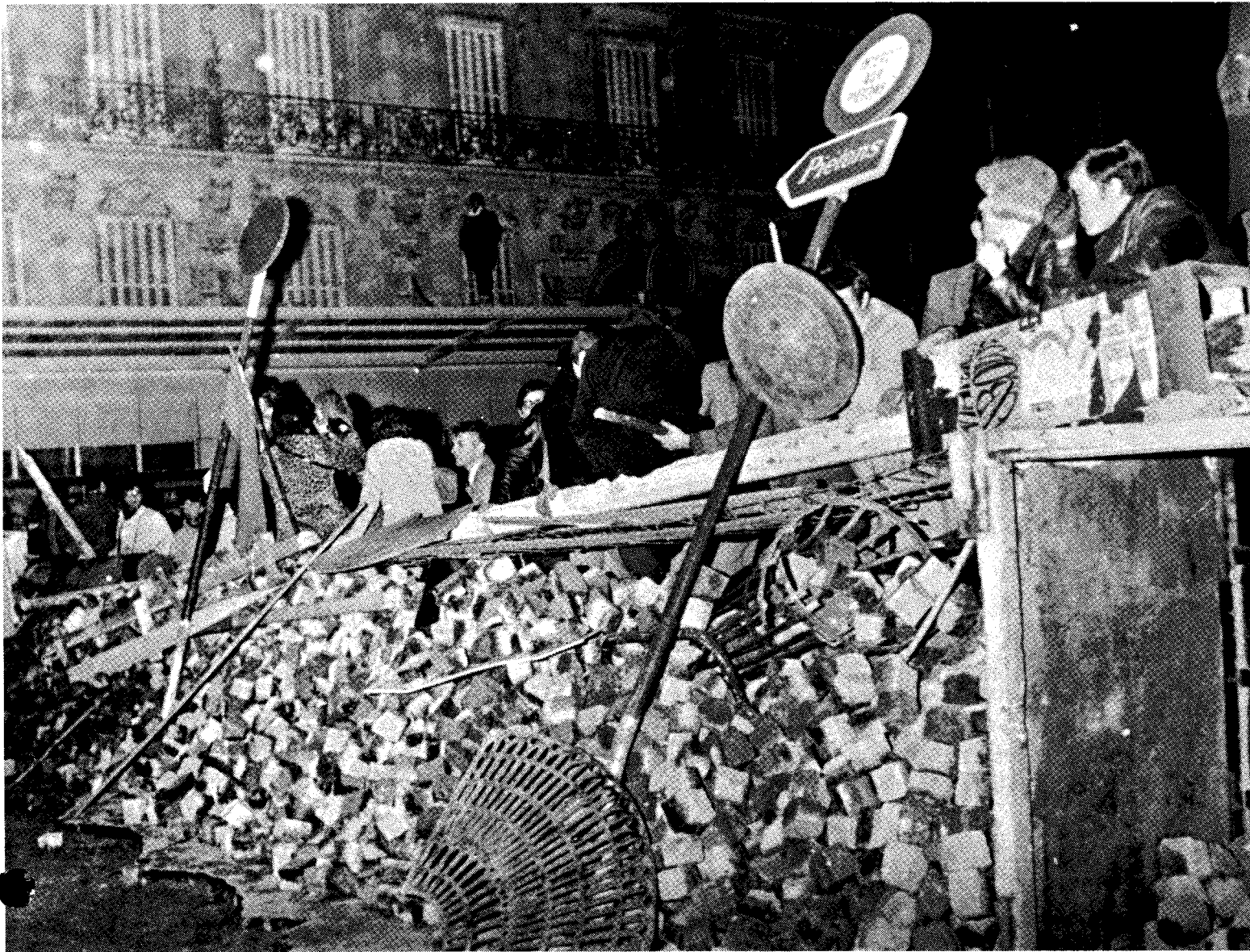
the Americas

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Workers Join Students in Giant Paris Action



Paris students man barricades in the tradition of their revolutionary forefathers. Police stormed the barricades with all the ferocity traditional to the counterrevolution; then the workers

stirred and on May 13 staged a general strike and parade in solidarity with the students that turned into the biggest demonstration seen in France since the end of World War II.

AN "UPSURGE" OF ANTIWAR SENTIMENT AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The student strikes that swept the campuses of the United States April 26, both at the high-school as well as university level, coupled with the huge demonstrations in New York, San Francisco, and scores of other cities on April 27, were dramatic evidence of the rising antiwar mood of the American people.

Another indicator, the mail to Congress, confirms the trend.

The response to questionnaires sent out by congressmen to their constituents reveals an "upsurge of 'dovish' sentiment on the war in Vietnam," according to a report in the May 5 New York Times.

James H. Scheuer, a Democrat from the Bronx, reported that the response to 2,000 questionnaires sent out by his office showed "a sharp increase in sentiment for the United States to pull out of Vietnam immediately."

Asked to check which position "best describes your own feelings," 46.1 percent of those responding marked the line that suggested "complete and immediate withdrawal from Vietnam."

Last year the response to the same position in a similar survey was only 19.8 percent.

The number of those favoring further escalation of the war "with as many armed forces personnel and as much matériel as the President deems necessary" declined from 19.2 percent last year to only 7.3 percent in the latest survey.

Those favoring escalation of the bombing in North Vietnam and increased use of armed forces in South Vietnam dropped from 16.7 percent last year to 7.3 percent this year.

Representative Richard L. Ottinger, a Democrat of Westchester County in New York, tabulated 30,000 answers to a questionnaire which he sent out. Of those who were asked "Do you approve of the present course in Vietnam?" only 23 percent said "yes," while 70 percent said "no," and 7 percent were undecided. Representative Lester L. Wolff of Nassau County reported similar results in a survey he conducted.

The returns are all the more significant in view of the fact that the questionnaires were mailed out before the April demonstrations and before Johnson announced he would not run again. Recent mail shows that the trend is deepening, one congressman reporting that sentiment in his generally conservative district is now running ten to fifteen to one against the war.

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WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL SHOWS CAPTURED FILMS OF U.S. ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM

[The following is the text of an interview granted by Ralph Schoenman, executive secretary of the International War Crimes Tribunal and of the Bertrand Russell Foundation, to Paul Eberle of the Los Angeles Free Press.

[The interview was taped following the showing of excerpts from a film on Vietnam that will soon be completed if sufficient funds are donated. It includes footage captured from American soldiers as well as film secretly donated by American newsmen.

["I saw the two reels last week at a small gathering in a private home in Beverly Hills," Paul Eberle reports. "The films were incredibly shocking; I would not recommend that you see them before having dinner. But you should see them, nevertheless."

[The interview was printed in the May 3 issue of the Los Angeles Free Press.]

* * *

Free Press: First of all, how did the War Crimes Tribunal get started?

Ralph Schoenman: The Tribunal was implicit in the work of Russell in a period of the past seven years, to say to people: "Look, the United States is doing in Vietnam what the Japanese did in Southeast Asia and the Germans in Eastern Europe -- concentration camps, experimental weapons, chemicals, gas, napalm, and all the rest of that. He wrote letters to the New York Times, which were not published, and a few were published but were cut. And he was attacked in all the various ways that you know. They said that he was either senile, or that he was manipulated by that young bearded Svengali (Schoenman), or whatever. But never were the ideas he expressed taken at their face value. And, after several years of doing that, he began to look for an appropriate forum for investigating exhaustively this record of crime.

Now the press said that the tribunal was a kangaroo court -- that we made up our minds in advance, and that everybody on it was known to have an opinion on this war before they joined the tribunal, and that we weren't interested in the crimes of the Viet Cong -- that we couldn't care less about the right of defense, and so on. This, again, is what we call "invincible ignorance," because it didn't matter how many times we told the press what the conception of the Tribunal was: they ran it down this way. The facts are quite different.

What we said was that there was a huge record of prima-facie crime. You found it in the American press. Pictures of American soldiers in gas masks. The caption reads: "Smoking out the Viet Cong -- Phosphorous More Deadly than Gas." McNamara bragging about how he dropped 680,000 tons in the first nine months of 1966 -- that's five million pounds every day. More in a period of nine months on a country the size of an American state than was dropped over all of the Pacific Theatre in all of World War Two. Now, it's perfectly clear that that's genocide!

When Hanson Baldwin runs articles in the New York Times in which he talks about "the new benevolent incapacitators," what's he talking about? He's talking about nerve gas, and the new gas that explodes the pupil of the eye.

FP: Don't they also use gases that prevent the victim from sleeping?

RS: Yes, they prevent you from achieving unconsciousness. They use gases that create sensations of weightlessness. Hallucinations. Hair falls out. Gases which burn out the lungs. The so-called defoliants, which are arsenic compounds -- 54.9% arsenic. And there are cyanide compounds and plague bacteria. And two kinds of fragmentation bombs -- one which is tiny slivers of steel which are razor-sharp -- ten thousand of them in a mother bomb -- and these lacerate everything in their path. One hundred million slivers of steel in thirteen months in Sah Wha Province. The Americans dropped hundreds of millions of tiny steel pellets -- they're called the guava bombs. Thirty thousand in a mother bomb; each has a velocity greater than an automatic rifle bullet. It enters the body, severs nerves, perforates organs, severs the spinal column or lodges in it. It penetrates the brain. The whole country is pockmarked with these pellets. The victims are inoperable: what do you do with a victim with a liver like a sieve? Loss of motor control, with a body filled up with these pellets, which have just torn up the inner parts of the body.

What can you do with the person? The pellets are made out of a steel alloy that degenerates and deteriorates, causing an access. These are genocidal weapons. We've known about this. Russell has had God knows how many clippings from papers, magazines and army journals. What are we supposed to do about it -- say that it doesn't exist? Set up a commission which would like to know what is happening in Vietnam? Of course, we knew what was happening in Vietnam! We knew what the Nazis were doing in Eastern Eu-

rope. What we were saying was that there is a prima facie case, and we're like a grand jury bringing in an indictment because of the overwhelming character of this prima facie case.

We're not looking around for people who have an agnostic view, who say "Wouldn't it be nice to know what's happening in Vietnam?" You find me a person who doesn't have opinions about what's happening in Vietnam and that's a person who has no right to serve on such a Tribunal. This follows from a very confused idea of the meaning of objectivity or impartiality. It's a philosophical point.

There has never been a judge -- there has never been a member of a commission or a tribunal anywhere -- that did not have very well-known and predictable opinions about a range of questions that might come before him. You know what cops and judges think about rape and murder, and burglary -- if they're not doing it. If they're doing it, of course, they get medals for it. Promotions. But you know what they think about it when it's the black brother who does it, or poor whitey. You know what they think about people who are demonstrating or having insurrection in the streets. Of course you do. And that's true everywhere in the world.

So the only test of impartiality is the evidence, and how accessible it is to people, and how massive it is, and how verifiable it is. Not the judge's mind, because tabula rasa doesn't exist. They confuse an open mind for an empty one.

We were setting up a tribunal consisting of people who had passionate convictions about these crimes occurring and felt the need to find the means through which these crimes could be investigated exhaustively and the record set out. So if you think that Jean-Paul Sartre would fake evidence or exaggerate it, the best way to test that is to look at the evidence itself and see how well it stands up and how well it can be verified.

Then, finally, the crimes of the Viet Cong: We would not regard the resistance of the people of Vietnam a crime any more than we would regard the resistance in Warsaw -- the uprising in the ghetto -- to be a crime. But that didn't stop us from looking at the Vietnamese revolution in the most exhaustive way. It is a heroic chapter. We have no hesitation in putting it fully on the record. On the contrary: we want people to know about the resistance of the Vietnamese. If they conclude it's a crime, they can draw whatever conclusions they want. We draw ours. As to the right of defense at the tribunal: first of all, you see, we could never set up a trial because we don't have state power. We couldn't make

old Scar-belly come down into the dock any more than we could make Rusk or McNamara. We can't force them there -- we can't subpoena them there. We can't even make them accept lawyers whom they would consider adequate to their defense.

So we never tried. We set up a commission of inquiry. Furthermore, what we did do (is that) we asked them to come voluntarily before the tribunal. We knew they wouldn't do it, and they didn't do it. So we said, all right: send someone on your behalf to represent you, and if you won't do that send your documents to us -- or your white papers, and your other papers. We'll put them in evidence. And they wouldn't do that.

So we went and got every official piece of evidence that had come forward from the United States government, trying to justify their position, and we put it in evidence -- and we had it discussed endlessly in relation to what we could determine to be fact. And we sent 150 people to Southeast Asia, from every discipline: biochemists, surgeons, chemists, radiologists, neurologists, doctors, lawyers, agronomists, scientists, political activists -- and they examined all these things I've been talking to you about: white phosphorus, and chemicals and gas; the bombardment and the genocide in the south and the concentration camps; the systematic destruction of hospitals and schools, and sanatoria, and churches, and dams and dykes and cultural institutions -- the violation of international agreements like the Geneva Convention and the UN Charter and the Kellogg-Briand Agreements.

And so we hope we've been able to put people through a few changes -- but that remains to be seen. Our main job now is to disseminate the findings of the tribunal hearings that took place in Copenhagen and Stockholm.

We've got film: fantastic film! It shows precisely what the U.S. Army does in Vietnam. Electrical implements standard equipment for every search and destroy mission. Field generators, to which they attach electrodes to every available membrane. They torture people with electricity. They give them the water treatment. Mass burials! They made them line up, dig their own graves, and then shot them down into their graves, holding back one or two to fill them up. And they trained these special forces with Auschwitz films -- we got elaborate testimony of American soldiers about that.

So all of this we want to get out to people. Now we're trying to do that, right now. How? By printing up the evidence in the form of pamphlets and in book form, and in making film. There's so much film -- raw footage, you know.

FP: How long will the completed film run?

RS: We're trying to make a one hour and fifty minute film. That film will show the tribunal at work, the investigative teams reporting, personal victims, soldiers giving evidence -- and above all, it will show the actual investigative work of the investigators in the field. The war, how it operates, what it does to people, how the weapons work as they are dropped. You see? As you saw just now on that film -- some indications of what this war means to the people of Vietnam, and to the American soldiers.

FP: And to whom do you plan to show this film?

RS: As soon as we get the film done we want to distribute it to every antiwar group, every Afro-American group, the Black Student Union -- we want to get it into the hands of church organizations, vegetarian organizations -- it doesn't matter. Anybody who will be able to show it. And then we want to get it on educational television, and we will probably bounce it off European television.

FP: Where did you get the actual footage of the atrocities we saw in the film?

RS: That one sequence was really a research job. It wasn't footage that our investigating teams took, although there was plenty of that too. But some people in the United States have already seen some of the work of the Japanese investigating teams who went with the tribunal. But what you saw (tonight) was written up in the Saturday Review last week by a Marine Colonel. He was shocked enough to say that this is what the Germans were doing in Eastern Europe, and that we can't deny it anymore, and that the film is the evidence.

Well, what that film has is film captured from American soldiers, footage stolen from those people who were trying to hide it, and footage that was given us by the North Vietnamese -- who got it either by people sending it to them, or from Japanese or French television stations, or by the capturing of American bases and overrunning American command posts and coming upon the film evidence, like we did with the Germans.

So that's the sources of that material -- many different sources, but all of that stuff was filmed in the field. And what it shows is the horrible effects of napalm.

People just don't understand in the United States what napalm really does. You can't recognize the features of the individual. It's just an undif-

ferentiated mass of membrane and contorted scar tissue -- no features left. Then we have film showing the American soldiers machine-gunning peasants with their wrists tied, just lying in the field, with the soldiers pumping them full of machine bullets. Electrical torture, and the concentration camps, in which huge numbers of people are put. These poison chemicals. U.S. soldiers gassing people, wearing gas masks and pumping into these shelters in which Vietnamese people are hiding -- pumping the gases -- and then you see these soldiers as they put in what they call tear gas, and then pulling out the dead bodies and just piling them up. And then, standing and posing for pictures.

That's on film: just young kids. The job we face now is getting this out to the American people, because we believe that when people see this film all the bullshit has to stop. It's very difficult to come on with the usual lies in the face of this.

FP: You mean, like, the claim that we bomb only "military" targets?

RS: Yes, or that the Vietnamese are invaders of their own country, and that they ought to immediately evacuate their own country so that the American soldiers can reclaim what was theirs, and all the rest of that.

FP: Does anybody know how many people have been killed and maimed over there?

RS: In Vietnam? We have that information: something on the order of two million people.

A million children have been killed and maimed, as of about a year ago.

And that's only children, in South Vietnam. I would estimate that, taking the total number of people killed and maimed -- now including Americans -- that's about two million people.

FP: Will the evidence presented at the Tribunal be published in book form?

RS: Yes, we have an office in Los Angeles at 407 North Maple Drive, in Beverly Hills, and we have an office in La Jolla where students working with Herbert Marcuse are editing the materials. And we are preparing the Tribunal evidence for publication in the form of pamphlets, and also the volume which we intend to have published. And the film. It's just a question of money. We have a tax-deductible organization now called "Studies in the Third World," so we're raising funds in order to finish up the printing, and the film. We have an office in New York, too. And I'm doing speaking and showing the film for the purpose of raising money, in

order to complete this work as soon as possible.

FP: How long will it take to complete the film?

RS: About three months, from the time we raise the full budget.

FP: How much do you need?

RS: We've raised about fifteen thousand dollars, and we have a budget of about forty-eight thousand for the full film. That would get it done and finished. We're hopeful we can get it done before the elections.

FP: Is the U.S. government still claiming that we are bombing only military installations?

RS: Yes. And how can you drop five million pounds of explosives a day over a tiny country like that and then talk about the distinction between civilian and military targets? This is the systematic destruction of an entire country! Beyond this, we have documented very massively that the pattern of bombing is to destroy hospitals, sanatoria and leprosaria, with intent.

For example, the world-famous leprosarium in Quin Lat in Vietnam: there you had thirty-nine separate raids on the leprosarium. Now the leprosarium was situated far away from everything else and had big Red Cross flags flying -- and it was attacked in thirty-nine separate attacks. First, high explosives to destroy the structure; second, napalm to burn people out of the shelters; third, the fragmentation bombs in order to lacerate the victims as they tried to get out of the shelters, or as nurses tried to carry patients. Thirty-nine separate attacks! I've seen this with my own eyes.

I've also been at the tuberculosis sanatorium in Tan Hwa Province, which was destroyed in a whole series of attacks of this kind. Now these are institutions separated from towns and other structures, and these are establishments which are internationally known as such. And they are all marked as such -- clearly. The United States is going after these with a purpose.

And it's not peculiar to those two instances. Wherever there is a hospital or a sanatorium, or a large school complex in North Vietnam, they specifically go after this to destroy it. Why? To destroy the psychosocial institutions -- the fabric of (North Vietnamese) life, in order to break up their will to resist. And to exact such a ghastly price in human suffering from the people of Vietnam that revolutionaries throughout the world will have to pose this question to them-

selves: can my people endure twenty-five years of this nightmare? However they might want to throw off the occupier, can they sustain in the face of this kind of barbarism?

And also, I believe that the intent is to destroy the socialist achievements of North Vietnam. They want to create such havoc, such destruction, such misery, and such a threat to the survival of the people that the regime will have to operate in a state of siege, with an absence of democracy.

So, again: number one: to exact an exorbitant price in national suffering; two: to destroy the fabric of life in order to break the will to resist; three: to terrorize other potential liberation movements -- revolutionary movements -- and four: to destroy the socialist achievements of the country in order to deny the possibility that the socialist construction of North Vietnam can present an example of freedom and democracy to other peoples of Asia.

These things are only a part of the genocidal war. Another very important part is the destruction of the cultural institutions of the country. The Vietnamese are a very ancient people. They have fought for their independence for over a thousand years. Do you know who were the first people to defeat Genghis Khan? The Vietnamese! The Vietnamese history and culture is rich and complex and ancient, and the United States has set out to destroy all the archeological and architectural and cultural representations of its history. Their palaces, their pagodas, their Buddhist sculpture, their temples: smashed! Destroyed!

That's a genocide: to destroy the culture of a people.

It's as if all the monuments of Paris were smashed and destroyed -- the Louvre doused in napalm. You destroy the achievements of how many generations? And deprive mankind of the achievements of culture. That too has been done very systematically in Vietnam. How does this American power look to people outside the United States? How would the people of Europe feel if we destroyed all the museums and works of art in Italy?

...Who was it conceived the whole strategy of counterinsurgency? And campaigned on exactly such a strategy? What is counterinsurgency but a euphemism for using shock troops, special forces trained with Auschwitz films, electrical torture, to put revolutionaries and liberation movements across the map? Who appointed McNamara and Rusk and Westmoreland and Cabot Lodge? Who introduced poison chemicals and toxic gas and concentration camps and napalm, and white phosphorus,

and bacteriological weapons in Vietnam? The Kennedy brothers! So if you're going to hang Eichmann, I would say Bobby is surely next on the list. Because Eichmann, as he put it, only provided the trucks. Now what about this next variant in liberal corporate liberalism -- McCarthy? Well, now: McCarthy voted for every appropriation for the Vietnam war, every appropriation for the House Un-American Activities Committee, right up to now! And, moreover, he made it very clear that after Johnson said, after negotiations, within six months we will withdraw from Vietnam, within six months -- McCarthy challenged him on that and said, "You can't do that. That's too precipitous," McCarthy says. He says, "We have Thailand, we have Okinawa, we have Taiwan, we have the Philippines, we have Japan. We have South Korea. We have Laos, we have Cambodia. We can't withdraw the troops in six months," said McCarthy.

In short, McCarthy and Kennedy are just like Woodrow Wilson with his new freedom and so-called self-determination -- by which he meant, replace European capital with American capital. And took America into an imperialist war. This is imperialism, a system that controls sixty percent of the world's resources with about five percent of the world's population, using the American people as cannon fodder to fight in dirty colonial wars. It doesn't matter which face that system puts forward. When they have a defeat in South Vietnam, they put forward their liberal face, the Kennedys and the McCarthys. But they are as cold-blooded in their killing as those whom they replaceWho was it (that) was in office at the time the United States was butchering people in the Congo, using the CIA and the dregs of the Cuban counterrevolution in mercenary armies? Now you have this same Kennedy family coming forward in the name of -- what?

On January 14 of this year, Robert Kennedy declared that he totally supported Lyndon Johnson, that he regarded him as a great president and embraced his policies. Now what happened between January 14 and the time Kennedy decided that LBJ was not the greatest president and his policies were not so good? Very simple: he got his marching orders from Chase Manhattan. The bankers were up tight. The currency was in trouble. The Tet Offensive. The American Myth had been shattered in South Vietnam.

And so the system decides to put forward its alternative face, its liberal face, its fake face. Now people who want to get raped get raped. If you want to get taken in by these people you can -- but there's no reason to be deceived in this way.

The Democratic party is the party of the ruling class in the United States. It's a rotten old racist party that takes this country into one dirty racist war after another, and it has done that from the beginning of its history and will continue to do that as long as it has any kind of power. And the Republican party is just the other side of the coin.

And you know, there is not an important public official in the United States federal government that hasn't a family or a business connection with the oil industry -- Standard Oil in particular. It's a ruling class.

So all of this makes it perfectly clear that we need to talk alternative politics. And I don't mean Peace and Freedom party politics: I mean socialist politics. I think the Peace and Freedom party is an abortion. It's neither fish nor fowl. It's got no ideological program; it's got no perspective. It does not understand the job of a political party. It confuses two things: a united front like the antiwar coalition, which is a minimal program. Withdraw the troops from Vietnam -- there are all kinds of creatures in such a coalition. Different tendencies, around a minimal program, with a single-issue action campaign. A political party's got a different job.

A political party purports to have an answer to this system: it purports to have an alternative to this system. It purports to have answers to every question put by people. You can't recruit people around mush. Therefore, in my opinion, the problem of the Peace and Freedom party (is that) it lacks a program and it doesn't understand the basic task of a party. There has never been a more opportune time -- in fact, the time is not only ripe, but rotten -- for talking socialist politics to people.

The function of the elections is not to take power, because you know you're not going to take power with elections. They'll take the elections from you as soon as you get near to taking power with them. They'll eliminate those elections. The only function of the election period is to use it -- or, rather, to see it as a means to reach people and educate them. That's the time when you can educate people and recruit them around serious socialist alternatives. And anything short of that only adds to the confusion. We have to break people from capitalist politics. We have to help them to understand that it is this system which is preparing for the extermination of black people in this country. It is this system that holds down the black people in this country just as it holds down the colonial people of Africa and Asia. No capitalist politician has any desire to change

the direction of this operation. So it's socialist politics -- and nothing short of it.

FP: But will the people support that?

RS: Well, you know, the point is

the increasing radicalization of large sectors of people and the putting forth of ideas around which they can group. You see, the revolution isn't made like Nescafe: it's a process. People will come to support socialist politics out of their own suffering, and out of their own experience.

NO RUSH TO SAIGON'S "OPEN ARMS"...

The rate of defections from the National Liberation Front to the Saigon puppet regime has gone down since the Tet offensive. The U.S. military command has admitted this reluctantly because it signifies that morale among the NLF is reaching a new level.

In 1967, according to officials in Saigon, 2,300 men a month deserted to the "allied" side, encouraged by the "Open Arms" program sponsored by the Pentagon's psychological warfare experts.

Writing from Saigon in the New York Times of April 21, Gene Roberts relayed the latest figures: "Today, the allies' arms are open 'about as wide as they can get,' according to one of the program's workers. But relatively few Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops are rushing into them.

"In February, for example, enemy defections dropped to 763, or less than a third of last year's monthly average. The defection rate dipped even lower in March -- to 599 -- and the rate is rebounding only slightly this month. Preliminary reports indicate that the rate for April will be about the same as for February."

The Times reporter said that U.S. officials attributed the sharp drop in the NLF desertion rate to a big boost in morale owing to the "psychological impact" of the Tet offensive.

He added as an additional bit of food for thought that the decline in defections "actually started as far back as last October" when the buildup for the offensive began.

...AFRO-AMERICANS LIKEWISE RESTRAINED IN ENTHUSIASM

How hostile are Afro-Americans to the U.S. army and the national guard? Apparently hostile enough to cause some top generals in the Pentagon to bite their lips and grow red around the neck.

According to an April 24 Associated Press dispatch, "The Army has prevented publication of results of a \$60,000 survey aimed at determining the attitudes of young Negroes toward military service and the National Guard."

The survey was ordered by national guard officials to offset the exposure of brutalities committed by the almost lily-white units that occupied black ghettos last year.

The racist-minded officials apparently hoped to explain the coloration of the guard by proving that black people are against it and therefore won't join it.

The army, on the other hand, which replenishes its ranks through conscription and which drafts large numbers of black youth, would rather not have it revealed what a big percentage of GI's hate to serve in the armed forces.

When national guard officials announced that they were ready to release their findings, the army brass stepped in, ordered them to clam up, and directed that the report be stamped "for official use only."

U.S. SURGEON GENERAL ISSUES WARNING ON USE OF CHEMICAL MACE

The Surgeon General of the United States warned May 3 that the "antiriot" Chemical Mace might be much more harmful than has been admitted hitherto. He said he planned to "encourage" new studies to determine its possible chronic effects.

The incapacitating gas has been used by the U.S. command in Vietnam under the pretext that it is a "humanitarian" instrument of war. Police departments in the U.S. are now stocking it in large quantities for use in the ghettos.

NEW FORCES DESERT SAIGON REGIME -- FORM ALLIANCE WITH FREEDOM FIGHTERS

By Paul Mohr

Radio Hanoi and the Liberation radio in South Vietnam announced May 4 the formation of a new armed organization that is taking part in the struggle against the Saigon regime and the U.S. occupation forces.

The "Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces" is a national structure for the many local revolutionary committees formed during the Tet offensive at the end of January. The new organization held a conference April 20-21 on the outskirts of Saigon after which the names of ten members of its National Committee were made public.

The announcement represented a big blow to the tottering Thieu-Ky regime, inasmuch as the ten are all well-known figures hitherto conservative in their politics -- intellectuals, Buddhist leaders, and even landlords.

The Alliance was described by the Liberation radio as an ally, not a successor to the National Liberation Front. Nhan Dan, newspaper of the North Vietnamese Workers party, said editorially May 5:

"The Alliance represents new forces created at the beginning of the general offensive. The organizations, the units, the personalities which make them up are in close cooperation with the military and political forces of the NLF in the struggle against the United States and the Thieu-Ky clique....

"The NLF highly appreciates the birth of the Alliance and the position it has taken shows that it puts the interest of the fatherland above all....and that it is ready to join its actions to those of all the patriotic forces and persons acting individually to fight against the common enemy."

The new organization appears to represent a bridge for elements who are ready to desert the Ky regime, but not yet ready to join the National Liberation Front. The Christian Science Monitor said May 8 that "reliable Vietnamese sources" believe the announcement of the leadership of the Alliance marks "a crucial turning point" for the Saigon regime.

On the military side, U.S. officials say that the new organization is taking part in the fighting in Saigon alongside the NLF.

The ten leaders of the Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces are a serious defection from layers that were previously neutral or pro-American.

The chairman of the Alliance is Trinh Dinh Thao, a Saigon lawyer. He received his law degree in France. His son, also a lawyer, is married to the daughter of one of the richest jewelers in Saigon.

Vice-chairman Lam Van Tet is a leader of the Cao Dai religious sect. He was prominent in Saigon as chairman of the All-Religions Citizens Front, established in 1964, which contained representatives of the Catholics, Buddhists, Cao Daists and Hoa Hao. Tet is a land surveyor, and reportedly a large landowner.

A second vice-chairman is Thich Don Hau, a Buddhist monk and second in command to Buddhist leader Thich Tri Quang in Hue. Hau is also deputy chairman of the Hue committee of the Alliance. He is reportedly in hiding outside Hue.

The secretary general of the Alliance is Duong Ky. Ky was arrested by the Saigon regime in 1965, and was one of three peace advocates deported to North Vietnam that year. He went from Hanoi to Paris, and returned to Saigon in 1967. He was at one time a professor at Saigon and Hue universities.

Assistant secretary-general is Duong Quynh Hoa, a well-known wealthy woman doctor in Saigon.

Le Hieu Dang is another assistant secretary-general. Dang was deputy chairman of the Saigon student union in 1966 and 1967. He participated in American-aided student summer programs to "rebuild" slum sections of Saigon.

A third assistant secretary-general, Thanh Nghi, is the author of a French-Vietnamese dictionary. He was educated in France.

The other three are listed as Standing Committee members. Nguyen Van Kiet held government positions dealing with primary and secondary education. Tran Trieu Luat graduated from the University of Saigon in 1967. He was vice-chairman of the Saigon Student Union, and is a professor at the University of Saigon. No information is available on the last member of the Alliance committee, Huynh Van Nghi.

The National Liberation Front news agency in Hanoi announced May 7 that armed revolutionary forces, apparently including troops of the new Alliance, had occupied the seat of administration in Cholon and raised the Alliance flag there. The Alliance and the NLF each have their own flag.

1,000,000 STUDENTS AND WORKERS MARCH IN PARIS

By Les Evans

A massive outpouring of a million workers and students in Paris May 13 climaxed a week of the largest student demonstrations ever seen in France. The giant march in solidarity with student activists came in the midst of a one-day general strike in support of the students called by the three largest trade-union federations in France.

Outside of Paris, students occupied universities throughout the country and were joined in local demonstrations by scores of thousands of workers.

The Paris march, forty abreast, lasted four hours and filled the three-mile parade route from end to end. The marchers shouted, "De Gaulle assassin!"

The general strike cut off power in the city. Transportation was shut down in the morning. Later, workers opened the metros and provided free rides for the day.

Both Communist-led and Roman Catholic-led unions took part in the strike and demonstration.

At the head of the parade was a banner reading, "Students, Teachers, Workers Together." The New York Times gave the following account:

"In the first line were the top teacher and labor officials, in neat city suits, arm in arm and singing 'The Internationale' with half a dozen tieless, unshaved, weary but happy-looking student militants....Immediately behind were three red banners and one black one representing the Trotskyite, anarchist and other revolutionary youth groups....

"In the Latin Quarter, where scores of thousands of sympathizers were waiting, a triple row of workmen blocked the Place de la Sorbonne, where a company of riot policemen had stood for 10 days. The stone bust of Auguste Comte in front of the Sorbonne wore a red bandanna."

The police stayed off the streets and students and workers directed traffic.

The massive and militant student demonstrations that began May 2 have been the largest student actions that have yet taken place internationally in the new wave of youth radicalization that has swept from the United States to Japan, Germany, Italy, Poland and now France. It is also the first occasion where the working class has directly allied itself with the students, although workers have par-

ticipated in student-led demonstrations in Japan and Germany.

The French protest began March 22 at the University of Nanterre outside of Paris. Students were demanding smaller classrooms, construction of larger facilities, an end to "sudden death" examinations that could end a student's education, and more communication with professors.

Officials closed the university May 2 and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a leader of the demonstrations, was brought up on disciplinary charges by the university and held for questioning by the police.

The following day the movement spread to Paris, protesting the harassment of Cohn-Bendit. Riot cops surrounded students in the quadrangle of the Sorbonne and carried out a brutal attack, arresting more than 500 students and injuring hundreds of others.

The New York Times described the police assault as "unbelievably brutal, according to impartial eyewitnesses."

The Sorbonne, France's oldest and most prestigious university was closed May 4 for the first time since its founding in 1253.

Bloody battles broke out between students and mobile riot police throughout the Latin Quarter May 6. Figures released afterward put the number of injured from May 3-6 at more than 1,000 and over 800 were arrested.

Students made barricades from overturned cars and fought police with paving stones. Cops used tear gas, rubber truncheons and wooden clubs. Many students were beaten with rifle butts.

A two-hour battle was fought in Maubert Square, about 100 yards from the Sorbonne. The Times reports: "By 9 p.m. more than 10,000 demonstrators blocked Boulevard St. Germain from the abbey to Rue de Seine. Buses were overturned to form barricades and wave after wave of police counterattacks were repelled.... Armored police tank trucks sprayed tons of water on the barricades from high-pressure hoses, with practically no effect. Police vehicles racing reinforcements to the scene were bombarded from roofs with stones and firebombs. The windows of countless paddy-wagons and police buses were smashed in, and scores of overturned and burning cars littered Boulevard St. Germain and Rue de Rennes."

Many of the roof-top missiles that landed on police were thrown by workers and their wives, supporting the students. Many housewives dropped flowerpots on cops' heads, and workmen went into the streets to heave a stone or two at the police.

Innumerable wounded students were taken into homes by workers to save them from arrest.

Students were reportedly highly organized, leaders directing advances and withdrawals with whistle signals. Student lookouts on motorcycles relayed information on the deployment of the police.

President de Gaulle intervened May 8 to warn that "violence in the streets would not be tolerated." The same day massive student demonstrations took place throughout France. The Paris daily Le Monde estimated the participants at more than 60,000. A march of more than 30,000 took place in Paris while a nationwide student-faculty strike closed down schools and universities across France.

Teachers federations took part in many of the student demonstrations that were held in Grenoble, Lyons, Nancy, Aix-en-Provence, Clermont-Ferrand, Marseilles and Nice. Fifteen were injured in clashes with police in Lyons.

The sharpest battle with police to date took place the night of May 10-11. Thousands of students took part, fighting at more than sixty barricades throughout the Latin Quarter. It was dawn before the fighting ended. About 400 students were arrested.

The police had attacked a demonstration of 30,000 on the Boulevard St.-Michel. The cops used tear gas and concussion grenades against the crowd. About 4,000 militants manned barricades and defended themselves from the police assault. Students sang the "Internationale" as the police advanced. As the youth were slowly driven back, they set fire to their barricades and many parked cars along the side of the streets. Many were badly beaten with rifle butts by police when they were captured.

The New York Times reported that the final order for the police to attack the demonstration "was taken at the highest levels of government..." The demonstration the night of May 10 was described as "the largest gathering of students ever seen in Paris."

The students had decided to erect barricades and occupy a thirty-block area ringing the Sorbonne. But they were under strict instructions from their leaders to fight only if attacked. The students were

demanding the withdrawal of the police occupation from the Latin Quarter, the re-opening of the Sorbonne and the University of Nanterre, and an amnesty for all arrested students.

The government finally capitulated on the immediate demands on the eve of the general strike, May 12. Premier Georges Pompidou issued a statement that the Sorbonne would reopen the next day and suggested that arrested students would be released. Spokesmen for the leading student and teacher organizations said the premier's statement was inadequate in not agreeing to a major overhaul of the universities.

Many of the student activists call themselves Trotskyists and are opposed to the incorporation of the universities into the capitalist "establishment." The initiators of the present action, the March 22 Movement at the University of Nanterre, are a coalition of a number of radical organizations. They take their name from the day demonstrations began on their campus. All tendencies are represented in the coalition except the Communist party, which had attacked the formation and voluntarily excluded itself.

This resurgence of the student movement marks the first sizable actions since the end of the Algerian revolution in 1962.

The new student movement sees itself as part of the new upsurge of revolutionary youth around the world. During the mammoth May 13 demonstration of a million people, many young people chanted "Berlin, Warsaw, Rome -- Paris!" They are part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism, capitalism, and the usurpation of power in the workers states by a privileged bureaucracy.

Many of the organizations leading the student struggles in France grew up in the last few years outside of and in opposition to the conservative leadership of the French Communist party. When the demonstrations began at Nanterre at the end of March, l'Humanité, the newspaper of the French CP, attacked the students as "little bands of Trotskyites, Maoists, and anarchists led by papa's boys belonging to the upper middle classes."

One of the most significant sides of the mass actions that followed was their effect in forcing the Communist party to reverse its stand and come to the aid of the students.

The student rebellion is continuing after the general strike. Students still occupied most of France's eighteen universities May 14. The eyes of the youth of the world are on the students of France.

BOSCH CALLS FOR BOYCOTT OF DOMINICAN ELECTIONS

Santo Domingo

Juan Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary party [PRD -- Partido Revolucionario Dominicano] has ordered its members not to vote in the municipal elections scheduled for May 16, and has appealed to all Dominican revolutionists to adopt a similar stand.

In an advertisement which appeared in the conservative daily *El Caribe* of May 1, the PRD denounced the "fraudulent nature of the elections" and stated that it would not recognize the outcome as legal. "Violating the constitution and the law," said the statement, "the government has laid the basis for an electoral farce and is now trying to get the PRD to abide by electoral laws which the government is violating every day."

The PRD said that although the Revolutionary Social Christian party [PRSC -- Partido Revolucionario Social Cristiano] had "decided to engage in the government's electoral game, consenting to participate in the coming elections, they cannot claim that we grant any juridical validity to its outcome."

The PRD statement spoke bitterly of the repressive atmosphere. "Hundreds of political oppositionists, those of our party as well as other organizations, have been arrested and maltreated under the present government in violation of rights guaranteed by law and without the victims having done anything to warrant the government's punitive action."

The PRD pointed to the interminable chain of violations of democratic rights involving "members of our party such as the cases of comrades Comandante Juan Bisonó Mera and Comandante Basilio Perdomo, the one killed by a police sergeant, the other by a police lieutenant."

"These violations of human rights," continued the statement, "have occurred not only in the months preceding the current electoral campaign but even after the government solemnly announced that it had taken the necessary measures to assure extremely free elections. The latest examples of this antidemocratic policy were the unjust arrest of many Constitutionalists, among others Comandante Angel Arturo Pujols and the fighter Gladys Borrell, who, together with other distinguished comrades, were brutally beaten as a shocked crowd looked on when they came to lay a floral wreath at the Avenida Independencia Cemetery last April 24."

The PRD placed the principal blame for these crimes on the police as the executive instrument of the policies of



JOAQUIN BALAGUER

"Trujilloism"; because "Trujilloism knows no other way of governing than by suppressing the adversary."

The PRD charged that President Balaguer and his closest collaborators "have adopted a policy of absolute economic serenity with regard to American enterprises."

The statement was signed by the Political Committee, the Executive Committee, the National Council of Discipline, and the parliamentary bloc of the PRD.

The document states many truths, particularly concerning the Balaguer government which came to power under imperialist guidance in 1966 when the country was occupied by U.S. troops.

But it leaves many things unsaid, such as the default in revolutionary leadership in 1966 which greatly facilitated the work of the imperialists.

The objective conditions in Santo Domingo remain favorable for revolutionary developments. But the key piece that is still missing is a party, equipped with a program of transitional demands and able to lead the masses in the struggle for power.

"DETENTION CENTERS" -- THE ANSWER TO UNREST IN AMERICA'S GHETTOS?

A "report" issued May 5 by the Un-American Activities Committee, the notorious legislative "fact-finding" body maintained by the U.S. House of Representatives, has been received with jibes in the press. Prepared by Phillip Abbott Luce, a renegade from the Maoist Progressive Labor party, it advocates the use of "detention centers" -- concentration camps in plain words -- to counter the black power movement in the United States.

The proposal is advanced as part of the answer to "guerrilla warfare," in case it breaks out. Those engaging in such action, the report maintains, would be declaring a "state of war" in the country "and, therefore, would forfeit their rights as in wartime."

"The McCarran Act," the committee holds, "provides for various detention centers to be operated throughout the country and these might well be utilized for the temporary imprisonment of warring guerrillas."

Obviously released as part of the effort to intimidate the black community in advance of the "long hot summer" which is expected to be a feature of 1968 as it was of 1967, the document contends that in the event of any "guerrilla uprising," it will be necessary to engage in "search and seizure operations" and "most civil liberties would have to be suspended."

For ghettos that proved to be particularly recalcitrant, identification cards would be issued to the slum dwellers by an office for the "control and organization of the inhabitants."

The proposals are so clearly based on Nazi models that even the Justice Department finds it embarrassing. In a May 9 letter to one of the committee members, John C. Culver of Iowa, Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley said there is no legal basis for using detention centers as projected by the committee. The McCarran Act, he said, provides for the use of detention centers in the United States only in the event of a "declared" foreign war or if an insurrection occurs "in the aid of a foreign enemy." In a TV interview May 12, Attorney General William Ramsey Clark added that there are "no concentration camps" in the United States and there are "no plans to prepare any concentration camps..."

The House Un-American Activities Committee is so discredited that its proposals generally draw little more than a "crackpot" rating. Yet it is not alone in being tempted by the idea of "detention centers" as the magic answer to social unrest in the United States.

On April 23, the New York City Council granted Mayor John Lindsay sweeping emergency powers to deal with "riots" or "other public disorders." At his own discretion, the mayor can declare a "state of emergency," as if he were the ruler of a banana republic threatened with being unseated.

He can impose a curfew, prohibit traffic whether vehicular or "pedestrian," ban the sales of alcoholic beverages and such flammable liquids as gasoline, and decree other arbitrary measures for a period up to fifteen days.

In line with his presidential ambitions, the suave Lindsay has carefully cultivated a liberal image. Yet in this matter, his liberal pretenses were rather thin. He "hoped" that he might never need to use the special powers. However, he acted as if the need was already upon him to resort to them.

Thus, in order to rush the measure through the City Council before New Yorkers had a chance to realize what was up, he submitted a "message of necessity." This eliminated the normal legislative processes that would have required the measure to lie over for eight days.

To pass the measure in this way --



-- Conrad in the Los Angeles Times

eliminating even eight days consideration -- required a two-thirds majority in the City Council. The worthies in this body rose to the challenge. They passed it unanimously.

Behind the scenes, other measures are being prepared. In the May 8 New York Times Richard Reeves revealed that "city officials," who remain anonymous in his account, "have developed preliminary plans to handle 10,000 or more arrests a day if there is racial violence here this summer."

These plans, which are being worked up for Mayor Lindsay, project the use of "detention centers outside the city" if the number of daily arrests should exceed 10,000.

If the number remains at 10,000 a day or under, "detention pens" inside the city will be used.

"The estimate of the number of rioters who could be arrested and detained for quick arraignment," continues Reeves, "was made last week on the basis of the arrest and arraignment of about 700 demonstrators at Columbia University."

The Columbia demonstrators were arrested, booked "and transported to detention pens on the 12th floor of the Criminal Courts Building..."

On the basis of that experience, the experts on Mayor Lindsay's staff estimate "that 197 detention pens -- 196 of them in present court buildings and a special 1,600-prisoner pen on Rikers Island -- could handle about 10,000 prisoners a day."

The planners are not confining themselves to the Columbia experience but are drawing on what has been accomplished elsewhere. The ability to handle 10,000 arrests a day "is not considered unrealistic."

POISON-SPRAY PLANNERS NOT FAZED BY "PEACE" TALKS

U.S. air force planners have scheduled a sharp escalation in the use of chemical warfare in Vietnam. The planned cost of chemical defoliants and crop poisons to be sprayed on the small Asian country has been budgeted at \$70,800,000 for the fiscal year July 1968-June 1969. This is over half again as much as the \$45,900,000 spent on this project in fiscal 1968.

This means that Vietnam will be sprayed with some ten million gallons of poison in the coming year. Officials estimated that one million acres were "treated" last year; for next year's acreage,

because 3,000 rioters were arrested during one night of last summer's racial violence in Detroit, a city one-fifth as large as New York."

How carefully the blueprints are being prepared for the consideration of Mayor Lindsay is indicated by the following:

"The number of arrests the city can handle, according to officials working on the plans, is limited by such factors as the capacity of the wire-screened detention pens, the number of vans available for transport, the time needed for each arraignment, and the time prisoners must be held to release them during hours in which a curfew is not in force.

"City officials are also investigating the possibility of seeking the use of state and Federal buildings in the New York area to hold prisoners if the number of arrests is far in excess of 10,000 a day."

Richard Reeves did not report whether estimates had been made concerning the possible reaction of New Yorkers to the experience of having 10,000 or more citizens a day arrested and confined in detention pens. Can they really be counted on to act like sheep?

The police-minded rulers of America, whether in the Un-American Activities Committee or the urbane Mayor Lindsay's staff of experts, are in for a novel experience, it can confidently be predicted, if they actually try to put their ultrareactionary plans into effect.

The millions of America's poor are not likely to let themselves be herded into any enclosures -- whether they be detention pens, concentration camps or gas chambers -- without a fight beyond anything yet seen in history.

multiply that by one and a half.

How drastic the escalation of the poison-spray program will be was suggested by the comment, in a May 13 AP dispatch, that "it may result in a shortage of lawn and garden weed killers used by American homeowners. Chemical producers last year were reported strapped just to keep up with defense orders."

The suburban garden tenders in the U.S. appear to have no choice but to let the weeds thrive. After all, even in a brush-fire war there must be sacrifices.

30,000 DANES DEMONSTRATE AGAINST WAR IN VIETNAM

Copenhagen

As in most other European capitals, a big demonstration was staged here on April 27 against the American aggression in Vietnam. It was the largest demonstration of its kind yet held in Denmark, some 30,000 participants marching to the U.S. embassy, shouting, "Johnson, murderer...U.S. get out of Vietnam," and so on.

Among the speakers, a representative of the Sozialistischen Deutschen Studentenbund [German Socialist Students Federation] said that the best thing to do was to storm the embassy. This was greeted with heavy applause.

After the rally was over, thousands of militants sat down in the street in front of the embassy. Others threw eggs and harder objects at the building, breaking many windows. A few smoke bombs and gasoline cocktails were also thrown but these caused no damage.

The police responded with unusual brutality. Some 500 men attacked not only those who were throwing missiles but also those sitting quietly in the street.

They arrested 28 persons. More than 100 demonstrators and 30 police were injured.

It took the police about four hours to clear the streets around the embassy.

Later in the evening, some of the demonstrators assembled at the main railway station where they were again attacked by the police. Others by way of protest against the police violence, broke the windows at a nearby police station.

Since April 27, the conduct of the police has been much criticized, not only in the left wing but in the more liberal bourgeois papers. It is generally admitted that the police violence exceeded anything seen since the end of World War II.

The police, who also agree that the violence exceeded anything seen in years in Denmark, claim that they used their clubs solely in self-defense.

However, a plainclothesman was among those clubbed down by the men in uniform, a fact that is difficult to explain if the police acted only to defend themselves against attack.

On April 28 scores of demonstrators again appeared at the U.S. embassy. They threw stones, accurately enough to break a few more windows. They escaped without anyone being caught by the police guards maintained at the embassy.

During the following days, demonstrators appeared at the Greek embassy, American and Spanish travel agencies, and a Danish agency specializing in tourism to fascist Spain. Windows were broken at these places and one person was arrested.

In drawing up the lessons to be learned from the employment of police violence against antiwar and antifascist demonstrators, the Vietnam Committees of Copenhagen (a joint body in which nearly all the committees opposed to the U.S. role in Vietnam have representatives) projected the organization of defense groups to afford a measure of protection not only against provocations organized by ultrarightists but also against any violence undertaken by the police.

10,000 IN MEXICO CITY MARCH IN SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAMESE

Mexico City

In response to the appeal of the Student Mobilization Committee in New York, a number of days were devoted here to demonstrating in solidarity with the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Alerting actions began April 22. These included meetings, rallies, the singing of songs, etc. This led up to a march on April 25. The demonstration swelled to some 10,000 participants as the parade wound through the center of the city.

The demonstrators chanted, "Ho-Ho-Ho-Chi-Minh," followed by another sentence that included what in Mexico is a

highly insulting word: "Johnson, Johnson, Chin, Chin, Chin."

Another popular shout was "Freedom for Vallejo" (the trade-union leader who recently went on a hunger strike after being held nine years as a political prisoner). This was followed by another cry in which President Díaz Ordaz was mentioned in association with an unprintable four-letter word.

All this culminated with a student strike April 26. While the demonstrators did not succeed in shutting down the National University of Mexico, their action was nevertheless an impressive indication of the opposition in this country to the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

HARRIMAN SEEKS VICTORY FOR JOHNSON AT PARIS "PEACE" TALKS

The "peace" talks between the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Johnson administration opened in Paris May 10 amid scenes which every revolutionist in the world must have savored.

De Gaulle's police had opened a virtual civil war against the students. The streets in the Latin Quarter were blocked with barricades in the great tradition of revolutionary struggles in France. And the brutality of the police, instead of suppressing the rebellious students, succeeded only in setting off a chain reaction that brought the phalanxes of the powerful French working class into the streets in the mightiest demonstration since the end of World War II.

On May 13 when the Hanoi and Washington delegations sat down to make their opening moves, Paris was shut down tight by a general strike, and a million or more workers and students were marching together, roaring their slogans not many blocks from the conference hall.

The scenes in Saigon at the same time were not much better from the viewpoint of the White House. Vietnamese freedom fighters were still fighting in the city after days of conflict. Such a point had been reached, in fact, that the American command had found it necessary to apply their famous tactic of destroying the city to save it. Within a few blocks of the business district, American fighter planes and helicopters went about this methodically, dumping napalm and high explosives on the "enemy."

Moreover, the new political offensive opened by the Vietnamese freedom fighters and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam appeared to be making headway.

Dispatches from Saigon indicated that the Thieu-Ky puppet regime was facing perhaps "the gravest crisis to date" as peripheral elements shifted toward the "Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces" set up as a possible transition toward an opposing government.

In addition to this, the White House and Pentagon had to bear in mind their deteriorating domestic situation, with opposition to the war rising by leaps and bounds, with the black liberation struggle mounting in intensity as proved by the coast to coast explosion following the assassination of Martin Luther King and with the students moving into action clear down to the high-school level.

The multimillionaire ambassador,

W. Averell Harriman, gave no indication of course that he was keeping these facts in mind. Instead, in accordance with the standard procedures of imperialist diplomacy, he sought to give the appearance of holding a winning hand and of being in Paris only out of a generous and humanitarian concern for "peace."

He made five proposals, which if accepted by the other side, would give Johnson the victory. These were as follows:

(1) Establishment of a "demilitarized" zone with an inspection and control system in which various Asian satellite countries of the U.S. would be "associated."

(2) Along with this, a complete halt to U.S. bombing raids in the north.

(3) "Infiltration" routes from the north through Laos to be given up and placed under similar inspection.

(4) A "staged" withdrawal of U.S. military forces simultaneous with a similar withdrawal of forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from the south. This likewise to be placed under international inspection.

(5) A political "settlement" in the south, in which the "interested South Vietnamese parties" would be brought in.

These proposals were rejected by the delegates of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as constituting no basis for procedure to the halting of American bombing attacks on their country.

A Vietnamese spokesman, Nguyen Thanh Le, told the press after the first session of the conference: "The U.S. has to definitively and unconditionally cease its bombing raids and all other acts of war on the whole territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. That is the primordial and most pressing legitimate demand."

One of the unclear elements is possible behind-the-scenes maneuvers. The desire of the Kremlin to reach some kind of global deal with U.S. imperialism in maintaining the status quo has been indicated in many ways. It is well understood in Washington that the Kremlin would not hesitate in the least to sacrifice the Vietnamese revolution or any other revolution for the sake of such an understanding. The capacity of the Kremlin to deliver is quite dubious, however. While the Vietnamese may bow to pressure from Moscow, it is dubious that they will bow so far as to engage in an outright sellout such as Harriman seeks.

THE SMALL FARMERS IN CUBA

[The following article, "Production: the Only Condition," is the second of a series of three which appeared in the English edition of PEL (Panorama Economico Latinoamericano), a weekly bulletin of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news service. Subheadings appear in the original. We have renumbered the tables referred to so that they follow consecutively from the table cited in the first of the series, which appeared in our issue of April 19, p. 357.]

* * *

The fact that the private sector is guaranteed permanent ownership of their lands and that these lands amount to 38% of total farmland, as shown in the first article of this series, is an eloquent indication of the prospects awaiting this sector. It means that the small farmers can devote themselves to producing without worrying about any new rulings regarding land ownership, outside of those arising from their own initiative. Moreover, private farmers are free to organize themselves in the forms of association they find most suitable and are not subject to pressure from the State in regard to the type and form of agricultural production they should engage in.

This concept was clearly explained in the following declaration: * "...in short, our policy has been and will be one of absolute respect -- absolute respect -- for the desire of the peasant to work in the way he deems suitable, for as long as he wishes."

Nevertheless, permanent ownership of the land and freedom to produce in the form and manner chosen by the small farmer -- although factors of extreme importance -- do not constitute adequate conditions for the development of this sector. In addition to their own efforts, the small farmers require State aid of considerable size and variety, in the form of credits, selected seeds, sires, diversification of crops (especially new lines of products), mechanization and in general a large dose of the modern agricultural techniques so sorely lacking in Cuban farming.

Of course, this type of aid could not be given at the beginning of the Revolution; this was natural if we remember that State agriculture itself had to solve a vast number of problems that had been accumulating for centuries, and others that had arisen from the revolution-

ary transformations which followed one another with vertiginous speed. Factors such as inexperience, the instability of private property, the economic blockade waged by U.S. imperialism, the need to defend the Revolution from internal and external enemies -- a task to which the Revolution gives priority -- were a few of the myriad elements that prevented a swift consolidation of the State agricultural sector and which especially prevented the State from giving additional aid to the private sector.

Thus, it was only a few years ago that the Revolutionary government began a policy of strong support to the private sector, support in the forms mentioned above. In other words, the State sector first had to be strengthened before it could think of giving aid to the private sector.

In any case, we should ask if in the long-term historical perspective, the above-described status and prospects for the future could be considered eternal. The answer must necessarily be given from a dialectical view of the problem. Let us see how the leadership of the Revolution explains it:

"We asked ourselves: Will we have small farmers forty years from now? And we answered: If forty years from now there is a peasant who wants to work alone, isolated, with a yoke of oxen, with very low productivity, who really wants to do this, we'll let him do it for 40, 50 or 100 years."

"Does this mean that private farming will last forever? No. It will not last forever but not by virtue of any law. It will not last forever because of the incredible, unusual development of agriculture in this country, the development of Cuban society, the extraordinary development of technology, the extraordinary development of social and educational programs."

However, even in the short time since the triumph of the Revolution important changes have taken place. The present generation of peasants, now in the process of being educated, differs substantially from their forebears. The educational process achieved with the development of the Revolution in recent years has almost no parallel in the world. The young peasant is being educated politically and technologically; he has a more global vision of the revolutionary process and is ready and willing to serve the Revolution actively wherever he is needed.

* From the speech given by Major Fidel Castro on May 19, 1967, at the closing session of the Third ANAP Congress.

The old peasant today finds him-

self virtually alone. The young will not come out of school and return to goading a yoke of oxen, for example. They are being educated to drive tractors or pilot planes for cropdusting and fertilization, etc., and things of this type. The children of the peasant no longer constitute a traditional labor force as before, but a highly skilled and political one.

In this way, the private farmer of the old generation tends to reduce his own sphere of action, even to change his activity or simply to leave farming and collect his social security pension given him by the Revolution. Let us see what Fidel Castro says in this respect:

"We are already witnessing a great number of cases of peasants who live in the mountains; their sons are in the Army, two daughters are away studying on a scholarship program, another is a nurse in town, a fourth is a teacher in another town, and the old folks live alone and say: 'Look, we're old, our family's scattered and the truth is that we want to move, we want to sell our land.'

"Since we don't want anyone to make illegal transactions, we decided to authorize the sale and purchase of land in the Sierra Maestra, and even to give ANAP (National Association of Small Farmers) the authority to legalize some cases of illegal land sales transacted before.

"...And since authority was given to purchase, within just a few weeks, 4,000 peasants sold their land. We had to ask ANAP officials to hold back: 'Look, take it easy, hold back, because the mountains will become empty.' Then we had another problem: that suddenly the land would become uninhabited. And not only this. We told ANAP: buy land from the peasants who are alone, from the old ones, those who can't work the land. If the peasant is young, able to work and wants to sell, tell him no, that he should stay in the mountains, that we need him there, that coffee must be planted, that he must attend to production.

"This is why we said to the ANAP officials: hold back, hold back, we can't do this so suddenly, by no means; and if some families, because they are old, or they want to retire, or they have children away studying, or want to live in the city or on a state farm, want a house where they can live in retirement, near their children, we must give them what they want in orderly fashion, as soon as we have the facilities...

"...the most needy cases... should be studied...but don't let anyone come down from the mountains if they don't have any place else to live, because we won't solve any problem this way. This is why we ask you to study carefully all

cases of peasants who want to leave the mountains.

"What does this mean? That the development of the Revolution, the new conditions of life that are being created, will progressively convert these lands -- those in the mountains -- into forests and this land will pass on to the state sector. This is why, when a peasant farming in the flatlands wants to sell, the government offers to buy this land; that is, we do not want to increase the number of small farmers. When someone wants to sell, these lands will be bought by the nation."

What is implied in this concept? That as the result of a process of evolution by which the children of peasants will be becoming technicians, they will also acquire other traditions, another mentality, other ideas, etc. They will not be willing to live on a minifundium, not because they will look down upon this type of life, but because "they will understand that no one can produce food for an entire nation by putting himself behind an ox-driven plough, because with that ox-driven plough he will scarcely be able to produce food for himself, his family and perhaps a few more people."

In other words, the generations educated in the Revolution and more so, the generations born and educated in the Revolution will not be willing to maintain a system of work in the countryside that they know will be only an obstacle for the overall development of the country.

That the process of evolution will be the only way to eliminate the private agrarian sector in Cuba, is guaranteed by the following declaration of Fidel Castro:

"And we expect that this (the process of evolution) will be fulfilled completely, as one of the most serious promises made by the Revolution, without any more agrarian laws.

What Is To Be Expected From the Private Farm Sector

The volume of agricultural resources, chiefly arable land, owned by the private sector plays a considerable part in the nation's farm production. This part will continue to be decisive for a certain period of time, while the state sector substantially increases productivity in all spheres of production. Modern farming and harvesting techniques are being introduced. In this respect we can mention two examples. One is the improvement of cattle breeds. Programs of artificial insemination of Zebu cows with high milk-yield breeds include considerably more than one million head in 1967. The mass-scale training of insemination technicians complements

the stock improvement program being carried out by the government. At present, more than 2,000 technicians are working in this specific field and it is hoped that a similar number will be graduated in the next few years. The gigantic program for citrus production is a second example reflecting the use of modern techniques. Similarly, the expansion of coffee production and the improvement of existing coffee plantations by the use of adequate fertilizers is something that has never been done before in Cuba, in spite of the fact that Cuba has traditionally grown coffee for domestic consumption and export. The study and farming of artificial pasture, with the application of fertilizers and carefully selected varieties, the large-scale introduction of forage preservation, are other new aspects in the traditional techniques of animal feeding. Finally, the reforestation of Cuban woodlands, in the process of disappearance, constitutes another gigantic plan of the Revolution. The planting of trees, as well as of other crops here named, all require fertilizer. The Revolution's aim in the sugarcane sector is well known: to farm an area capable of producing 10 million metric tons of sugar in 1970. The building of hydraulic projects is geared to prevent a single drop of water from escaping to the sea, to dam it and use it for agriculture.

All this complex of specific aims now in the process of being carried out -- and these are only the initial plans of the Revolution -- gives us a clear idea of the development awaiting Cuban agriculture, especially in the State sector.

In the measure that these objectives are fulfilled, the position of the State sector will be increasingly important in comparison with that of the private sector, as far as production volume is concerned.

Meanwhile, today's small farmer (who owns around 43% of the cattle herd; contributed 83% of total coffee production in 1966; produced 33% of the sugarcane in 1964; grew 88% of Cuba's famous tobacco, and with a labor force equivalent to slightly more than 50% of the national labor force available in the countryside) is expected to make his resources produce to the maximum in order to fulfill general production plans. This is the only condition that the Revolutionary government tries to establish; in return it is willing to give the small farmer all the technical resources at its disposal. The following is the government's position on this subject:

"What do we want from you (from the private sector) and that are we doing to obtain what we want from you? The

lands that you own must produce to the maximum. Produce to the maximum!

"What are we doing about this? That is, what are we doing to make the lands produce to the maximum and to help you, with the use of machines wherever possible, and technology, to obtain maximum productivity from your lands?

"...Thus today 27,000 small coffee farmers from the province of Oriente are applying technology. Coffee production is increasing rapidly, no longer because of new plantations, but because of increasing the productivity of existing plantations...

"And naturally, since fertilizers have been applied, the peasants explain this (increased productivity) with one phrase: 'The coffee has become new...' that is, with the application of fertilizer the peasants have seen their coffee plants rejuvenated...from the old coffee plantations alone we will obtain two million quintals.

"We propose to offer -- since the Revolution today has the means of doing so -- the maximum of resources to the peasants so that they may elevate productivity, double, triple and quadruple it.

"For example, at present, fertilizer for plantain is being distributed to all small farmers, and for coffee. Four tons of fertilizer per thirteen hectares have been distributed to all cane farmers, and in addition they will receive one and a half to two tons of ammonium nitrate for every thirteen hectares.

"All tobacco plantations will be fertilized, as well as irrigated to the maximum by means of the construction of small dams.

"Today we give the genuine peasant farmer fertilizer, we give him credit, we build him roads, we give him medical assistance, all free...

"Fertilizer has been distributed for vegetables, beans, for all types of crops, for orchards, and to all the small farmers that have citrus trees. In other words, we are working to apply technology." (Table No. 2 shows the amount of chemical fertilizer used in Cuban agriculture.)

"We are beginning to introduce artificial insemination in the cattle farms of the small farmers. Cattle raising is one of ANAP's agricultural sectors where we have to devote our greatest energies. And as we said, artificial insemination is now being introduced.

"What policy do we plan to follow for the livestock sector? Naturally, in

Table No. 2

Cuba: Use of Chemical Fertilizers in Agriculture

<u>Year</u>	<u>Thousands of Metric Tons</u>
1953	104.0
1957	327.5
1960	360.0
1961	446.0
1962	581.0
1965	602.0
1966 (Plan)	933.0

Source: "Eight Years of Agricultural-Livestock Development," by Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, PEL, No. 186, 1967.

the zones near the capital, near the large cities, we are going to develop dairy farming, but in general, in the provinces of Las Villas, Camaguey and Oriente, we are going to propose three things to the farmers: first, the planting of artificial pastures, including legumes and gramineas; second, fertilization of pasture lands; third, guidance of the small farmer not toward milk production, but to cattle breeding."

"Dairy cattle give the peasant farmer much work, many headaches: the daily milking, for example. It is much easier if he has some thirteen hectares planted to pasture, land for cattle planted with artificial pasture, to fertilize it, to keep from 30 to 40 cows there and produce 25 or 30 calves a year. With the minimum amount of work to attend them, that is, rotate them from section to section, watch them, almost just look at them -- just looking at them! -- a peasant farmer can take care of a herd of 30 to 40 cows and receive a good income, a good income without too many problems. Milk gives more problems and it can be better produced in state farms.

"Take for example the region of Bayamo. When the entire plan for the Bayamo region has been developed, the Bayamo state farms will be producing one million and a half liters of milk daily. The collection of this milk will be easy, because there will be several hundred dairies. The same milk if produced by the small farmers would have to be collected from 10,000 different places every day, 10 liters picked up here, 15 there, 20 over there. The milk would be produced in 10,000 different ways and under 10,000 different hygienic conditions; so, in short, it is a product that the state farms can produce perfectly well.

"This does not mean that if a peasant in Bayamo is a dairy farmer and wants to keep on being a dairy farmer, that we

will not help him. We will help him, we will also give him the facilities of artificial insemination, we will give him the resources, everything."

(Table No. 3 shows the number of artificial insemination technicians and plans.)

Table No. 3

Cuba: Artificial Insemination Plans and Technicians

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Insemination Technicians</u>	<u>No. of Cows in Insemination Plans</u>
1961	200	--
1962	273	50,000
1964	330	114,000
1966	2,000	1,200,000

Source: Same as Table No. 2

Application of Technology

The agrarian reform in Cuba was carried out at an extraordinarily fast rate. The armed revolution triumphed on January 1, 1959, and in May of the same year, only five months later, the agrarian reform law was decreed and implemented in its broadest outlines. First, the imperialist-owned latifundia were nationalized: later, a part of the nationally owned latifundia. In general terms, the small farmers remained, as they were in the past, disseminated throughout the country from a geographical point of view.

In other words, neither the State sector which undertook to exploit the most extensive farms, and even less, the private sector, interspersed throughout the island, formed contiguous production units, geographically speaking.

In regard to state lands, the government decided from the beginning to maintain at all costs more or less large units of agricultural exploitation. It did not break them up to prevent problems that would arise later if the government had put all its hopes on the production of private property over which it would have no control. And from the viewpoint of applying technology, this road was in reality the only one that would permit mechanization of agriculture in the State sector.

By definition, the private sector, whose average extension per proprietor is something less than thirteen hectares, has more or less serious problems when it tries to mechanize and apply technology to its agriculture. In all, there are concrete possibilities of introducing substantial improvements in the present levels of productivity of the private sector.

And this possibility exists indistinctly in both sectors because Cuban agriculture has been historically one of the most backward as expressed in the comparative indices of productivity and variety of products.

However, apart from this, the Cuban government and people are building a socialist society, that is, are building the bases for the construction of a communist society at the same time. This means that Cuba is trying to organize a society whose basic characteristic must be the abundance of material and cultural elements, in one word, well-being in the broadest sense of the term.

The question then arises: Is it possible to aspire to such a society without revolutionizing production methods, without introducing better techniques of production, mechanization, automation, etc., that would allow us to speak of a society of abundance and prosperity?

This has been a topic of common discussion, one on which the Revolutionary Government has been working intensely. Let us see what Prime Minister Castro has said on the subject:

"But how can we supply the needs of a population that is doubling and tripling if we do not use machines? Obviously, we are already introducing some machines, the tractor for example... Right now we are fertilizing sugarcane with foliar urea. This is a formidable process. One airplane dusts the foliar urea over 1,340 hectares in one day.

"Do you know how many men would be needed to apply the same amount of urea on the land by hand? At least 2,000 men. Two thousand men! Then we would also need some 50 trucks to transport these 2,000 men; we would need 20 fertilizer deposits in 20 different places; we would have to transport the sacks of fertilizers to all the fields; and if it rained, we would have to apply the fertilizer immediately because nitrogen must be applied on humid land.

"With one airplane, one man and the necessary aviation aides, one nitrogen deposit, the urea in this case, a single man piloting an airplane -- the fertilizer would have to be transported only to the air strip -- in one day, at the most convenient moment when the soil was humid, he could apply urea to 1,340 hectares.

"In the past, the cane cutters had to work 15 and 16 hours because they had to cut the cane and lift it piece by piece on to the wagons. Can a nation become rich while its people cut cane by hand, lift it piece by piece on to a wagon, for 15 and 16 hours daily?

"Forty million tons of cane loaded by the agricultural workers of this country, one by one into the wagons? Today much more than half the cane is loaded mechanically and this year, even for the small farmers, new machines will arrive for the next harvest.

"In other words, this will alleviate the working conditions of men: cane will be loaded by machine. The day will come when it will all be cut by machine too, because this is a problem that must be solved, that we have no choice but to solve. We have to solve it and we will solve it.

"However, when the problem arose (of fertilizing with urea) and we thought of fertilizing the cane fields of the small farmers with an airplane too, then we got into a mess...because an airplane would have to become practically a grasshopper jumping from farm to farm. What are we to do? Well, we're going to give the farmers the ammonium nitrate.

"Naturally we calculate that it will have the same results, as far as production is concerned as four tons of ammonium nitrate spread in the fields. That is, by applying it by hand we would have to use four times more fertilizer. Of course, the airplane would do -- supposing that it covers around 600 hectares a day on the average -- the work of 1,000 workers per day.

"And here is where the problem comes up: here is a technique which could save an enormous amount of work but we cannot apply it. The man must go, the small farmer, like an ox, scattering nitrogen along the furrows and we cannot use a machine as formidable as the plane to do the same work with one-millionth the effort expended by that man."

In regard to mechanization, "the number of machines we have has increased considerably, the number of bulldozers for road work, for hydraulic projects, for clearing of land. And we will give still more resources to the small farmers; and we also believe we can gradually authorize, as you (members of ANAP) ask, the groupings (regional administrative units of the state agricultural sector)* to take charge of giving aid and supplies to the small farmers."

* The grouping is the administrative unit of state agricultural production. It is divided into state farms, which are subdivided into departments, and this in turn into parcels. The groupings have all the responsibility for production and at the same time are endowed with decision-making powers so that within the limits of the plan they may direct, organize and administer agricultural production.

(See Table No. 4 for the import of tractors.)

Table No. 4

Cuba: Tractor Imports in the 1952-58 and 1960-66 Periods

Year	Units	Index 1952 = 100
Average 1952-58	1,770	75.2
1960	3,081	137.1
1961	5,614	249.9
1962	4,291	191.0
1963	3,443	152.2
1964	3,880	172.3
1965	6,574	292.6
1966	3,839	170.9
Average 1960-66	4,388	195.7

Source: JUCEPLAN (National Planning Board). Taken from La Economía de Cuba (1902-58 to 1959-66) OLAS. Cuba, 1967.

"In the beginning we thought that the strongest factor we could use to develop ANAP's agriculture were the groupings themselves, but two years ago, three years ago, the groupings were still not sufficiently organized; there was no adequate control. Many times they were not even able to fulfill their own goals and plans. And we were worried about the possibility that if the groupings had the resources to develop ANAP's agriculture, the agriculture of the small farmers, there would be problems; they would many times fulfill the plans of the state farms to the detriment of those of the small farmers. However, this situation has changed today.

"Today many of the managers of our groupings have a true interest in aiding the small farmers, a true interest in increasing the production of the small farmers. Thus, in the future we will hold the secretary of the Party and the manager of the grouping responsible not only for state production but also for that of the grouping of small farmers.

"Production will not be measured in terms of the amount of cane produced by the state grouping, but of the amount of cane produced by the region (including the small farmers); the amount of vegetables produced by the grouping and the region. So that we will not do this abruptly; we shall do it according to the resources of each region. We are not going to do this overnight to avoid problems in the future.

"Now, for example, in the Manzanillo zone, the grouping will aid to develop the rice production of all the region's small farmers, that is, it is going to help them prepare the land, solve

their problems of irrigation, seeds, fertilizers, harvesting, everything.

"In the Bayamo region the grouping will also help the small farmers with their rice crops. Here, too, the grouping will help the cattle raisers in the region to plant pasture. In the Guane region the grouping -- the Guane Plan -- will also aid the small farmers to meet the goals for tobacco and citrus production, in everything.

"In other words, as each grouping acquires certain levels of organization and resources, it will have the responsibility to aid and develop the agriculture of the small farmers. We think that this should not be done suddenly, we should not do it overnight. It should be done within a period of six to eight months, region by region, in the measure that we are sure that the change will favor agricultural development. Then all the fertilizer we have will be sent to the regions, for state agriculture and that of the small farmers, together with the wire, the equipment, rope, resources, everything. This way things will be much easier."

In short, "it is necessary for ANAP and state farm agriculture to keep apace of each other as much as possible in technology in the country's interest. We cannot apply, for example, some techniques such as the airplane, but within our possibilities, we can mechanize cultivation, we can introduce tractors, fertilizers, seeds, a series of techniques that still, despite the disadvantages of farming small parcels of land, can be applied considerably.

"What we expect from this Congress, which has been a good one, a well-organized one, is that it will stimulate the efforts of the small farmers to apply technology in agriculture, to technically revolutionize their agriculture so that we need not go through the suffering, the shame of walking through those fields and still seeing our agriculture in a backward state from the technical viewpoint.

"What we expect from you -- naturally with the aid of the Revolution, with maximum aid from the revolutionary government -- is to give a technological push to agriculture, to do rational things, to remember the interests of the country, to act as true revolutionaries to deepen consciousness, to censure the speculator, to fight against the introduction of vices, of indolence among the peasant farmers.

"And in the next congress -- I say this to the delegates -- the farmers should not be represented by a farmer who has not mastered the problem of production techniques. Because the next congress will be an eminently technical congress.

"In the next congress we shall ask

all the peasants how they used fertilizers, what formula they used, what is a formula, what does this mean, what does that mean. You must all begin studying. Are we in agreement?

"Within two years we shall have

a meeting here of a technical nature and we will want to know, in these two years, in which undoubtedly we will have advanced much politically, from the viewpoint of revolutionary consciousness, how much we have advanced technically."

PROTEST MOUNTS AGAINST FRAME-UP TRIAL OF KHALIL TOUAME

Support is mounting for Khalil Touame, the Arab student leader at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem who was sentenced to nine months in prison March 13 for his political opposition to the Zionist regime in Israel.

Touame, a member of the Israeli Socialist Organization, which has both Arab and Jewish members, was convicted under the 1945 Emergency Regulations for "harboring" Ahmed Khalifa, a political leader of the Palestinian Arabs.

The ISO notes in a recent press release that at the trial it was established that during the period when Touame allegedly harbored Ahmed Khalifa, the two appeared together openly and publicly, took part in social meetings in which many Israeli students were present, etc. The prosecution did not contest the fact that during the same period, Khalifa continued to come to the shop, owned and managed by him, in East Jerusalem.

It is especially noteworthy, the ISO points out, that the military judge explicitly said that it was not proved that Khalifa belonged to a terrorist organization or was involved in violent resistance. If the verdict stands, it follows that Khalifa's mere membership in a political movement, one of whose aspirations is the "Liberation of Palestine," was enough to make him an enemy of the state; and the fact that he lived in Touame's flat was enough to condemn Touame to prison.

Khalil Touame is appealing the sentence, but defense efforts are meeting with harassment such as pressure from the police against people collecting funds.

Some of the protests in support of Khalil Touame include a day-long meeting on the Hebrew University campus where a petition was signed by hundreds of students; a cable to Israeli Prime Minister

Levi Eshkol from the International Union of Students; intervention by Amnesty International; a letter of solidarity by Arturo Schwarz of the Quaderni del Medio Oriente, Milan; a protest signed by dozens of professors and students at Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston; cables of solidarity from the Organization of Progressive Jews in Brussels; a cable from Bertrand Russell.

Other organizations and individuals who have made their support of Khalil Touame known to the Israeli government include the German Jewish poet Erich Fried, British M.P. Stan Newens, Socialist Student League of Germany [SDS], Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire of France, and a letter of protest to Eshkol signed by dozens of lecturers and students of Dakar University in Senegal.

The ISO adds that "this affair, grave though it is, is but one case -- not as severe as others -- of repression by the Israeli authorities against Palestinian Arabs, both citizens of Israel and inhabitants of the occupied territories....Dozens, perhaps hundreds of people (the exact number has not been made public) are imprisoned by administrative order, without trial. The Israeli courts have no authority to order the release of such prisoners. There is an increasing number of deportations, demolition of houses (several hundreds!), house arrests and restriction of the freedom of movement -- all without trial and by administrative orders only."

The ISO is appealing for protest actions such as picket lines, letters and cables to the Israeli authorities to help arouse world public opinion.

Reports of actions and copies of statements of protest should be sent to the Israeli Socialist Organization, % Dan Omer, P.O.Box 2092, Jerusalem, Israel.

SCOTTISH NATIONALISTS DEAL STUNNING BLOW TO BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

In the May 8 municipal elections, the Scottish Nationalists won nearly 100 seats, polling more than 350,000 votes. Six years ago, the party claimed only

2,000 members. Its meteoric rise at the expense of the Labour party is one more proof of the suicidal results of Harold Wilson's procapitalist policies.

"THE REUTHER-MEANY SPLIT"



WALTER REUTHER

One of the most significant by-products of the intensification of social struggles in the United States in the last few years has been the appearance of divisions in the American trade-union movement. A thoughtful article in the May-June International Socialist Review probes the most important of these, the rift between George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Walter Reuther, head of the one-and-a-half-million member United Automobile Workers Union.

In "The Reuther-Meany Split," Frank Lovell, long-time member of the UAW and a leader of the Socialist Workers party, investigates the roots of the dispute.

Meany, noted for his conservatism even in the rightist labor officialdom,

has been a consistent champion of the "partnership" of capital and labor, and unstinting in his praise of U.S. foreign policy, especially the war in Vietnam.

Reuther dissociated himself from Meany by resigning from the policy-making AFL-CIO Executive Council prior to the 1967 auto contract negotiations. He has indicated his intention to pull the UAW out of the AFL-CIO altogether.

Lovell begins by tracing the differences in origin, development and style of the two men and the unions they lead. "Reuther's power base," he says, "rests upon a union which arose in the process of fierce struggle against both the auto barons and the hidebound AFL bureaucracy His resort to the techniques of social demagoguery and his devious maneuvers ... in contract negotiations are all part of his necessary adaptation to the pressures of a vocal, oftentimes recalcitrant and sometimes rebellious membership."

Meany, on the other hand, "is a bureaucrat's bureaucrat.... His power base is in the bureaucracy itself to which he is completely beholden."

Meany makes no pretense of being a militant union leader, but Reuther does covet that image. Lovell carefully reviews Reuther's strategy in the 1967 contract negotiations with the auto companies and his conduct of last year's strike against the Ford Motor Company.

The fundamental issue at stake in the negotiations was the "escalator" clause in the union contract, the provision for a quarterly wage increase to match rising prices. Prices, including auto prices, are going up, but the auto corporations wanted to put a fixed limit on wages.

After nearly two months on strike the settlement at Ford announced last October 22 marked the death of the escalator clause tied to cost-of-living increases. The new contract put a sixteen-cent ceiling on escalator clause payments for the three-year period of the contract.

Lovell demonstrates that this serious setback flows from Reuther's policy of class peace with the auto barons. He sharply criticizes the UAW "one-at-a-time" strike strategy, under which only one of the three big auto companies is hit at a time. Of great interest is Lovell's description of the growing opposition to Reuther within the UAW, the formation of rank-and-file caucuses, and the deepening refusal of a larger and larger section of the membership to accept the contracts negotiated for them at the top.