

# WORLD OUTLOOK

a labor press service

Vol. 6, No. 8

March 1, 1968

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*Underground Report:*

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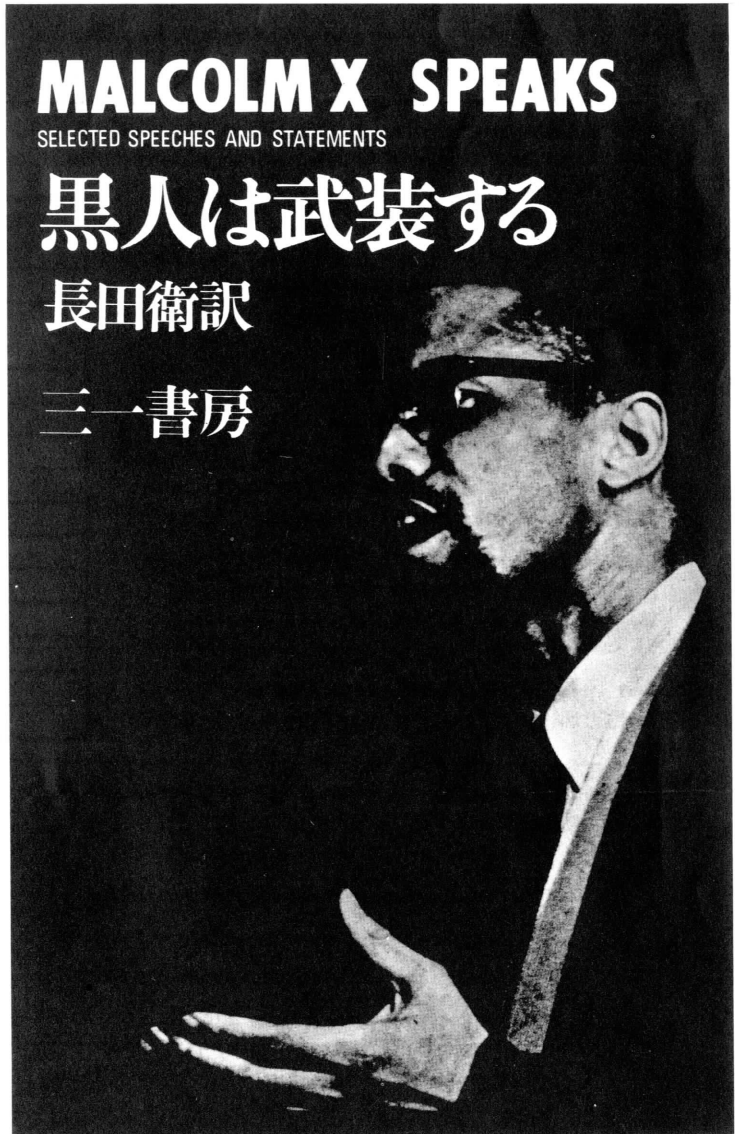
### MALCOLM X SPEAKS

SELECTED SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

## 黒人は武装する

長田衛訳

三一書房



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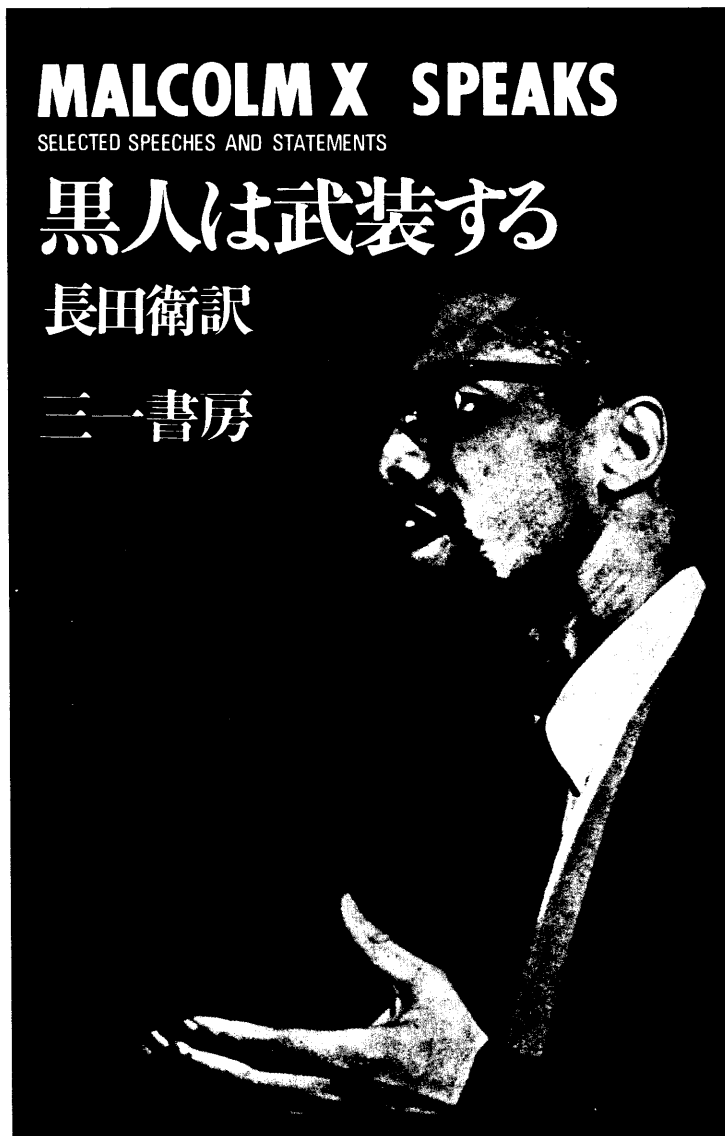
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"CHOICE 68"

The student directors of the "National Collegiate Presidential Primary," or "Choice 68," to be held on U.S. campuses April 24, have released sample copies of the ballot that will be distributed to more than 5,000,000 students during the mock election.

In addition to listing fourteen actual or prospective presidential candidates, the ballot includes referendums on the policies of the U.S. government in Vietnam and in the black ghettos of America's cities.

This offers the mass of American college youth an opportunity, for example, to state their view on immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. The ballot should prove popular, since youth in the United States are denied the right to vote in official elections until they are twenty-one, although they are subject to the draft at the age of eighteen and constitute one of the main sources for induction into the armed forces.

The candidates are listed on the ballot in alphabetical order, with Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers party heading the list.

The ballot provides for a second and third choice of candidates for president, but does not provide for a vote on vice-presidential candidates. In the case of the Socialist Workers party, Fred Halstead's running mate is Paul Boutelle, an activist in the black liberation struggle and a spokesman for black power.

The referendum on the war offers variants corresponding to the main differences in the American political field at present, as can be seen in the reproduction of the ballot on page 170. But in the poll on the "urban crisis" -- that is, the future of the black people in the U.S. -- the questionnaire is restricted to probing attitudes on government spending. It thus avoids giving students an opportunity to express an opinion on the black power movement and the struggle of the black people to win control over their own lives.

The referendum of campus opinion promises to be of major interest in the development of this year's election campaign. Reaching into every state and involving probably 2,400 or 2,500 campuses, it will provide a way of measuring the political level and thrust of millions

of students between eighteen and twenty-one who are too young to vote in the official presidential election in November. It is in this very layer that antiwar sentiment runs deepest.

The results of the campus primary will attract national and international attention. This is guaranteed by the fact that it is being sponsored on such a broad basis. In addition, it is being publicized by the widely circulated bourgeois publication Time Magazine. The publishers announced that they are financing the poll as a "public service" (with publicity benefits, of course, for Time Magazine).

Lyndon Johnson himself felt forced to meet with the eleven student directors of "Choice 68," who wanted to poll the president as to his opinion on the poll.

Johnson has not shown great interest of late in any polls, even those registering slight improvements in his declining popularity. A poll of this nature, especially on the American college campus, the source of such chants as "Hey, Hey, LBJ, How Many Kids Have You Killed Today?" seems unlikely to suddenly fill him with enthusiasm. Nevertheless, he found himself in a position where he could do nothing but voice approval of the project.

The vote on "Choice 68" will take place April 24. That is two days before the international student strike against the Vietnam war called for April 26 by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. April 27 has been set for demonstrations against the war in every major city in the world.

The poll comes in the middle of a ten-day period -- April 21-30 -- that has been designated for campus action against the war by both the Student Mobilization Committee and the Students for a Democratic Society.

"Choice 68" will provide the student antiwar movement in the U.S. with an unusual opportunity to register massive opposition to Johnson's policy of aggression in Vietnam.

The indicated slogan for the American campuses seems to be, "Vote Against the Vietnam War April 24; Strike Against the Vietnam War April 26; March Against the Vietnam War April 27."

"Could Produce Serious Repercussions Abroad"

PENTAGON REFUSES TO RELEASE SECRET PLAN FOR WORLD DOMINATION

By George Novack

Despite the mountain of evidence accumulated over the past twenty years, many liberals refuse to believe that the executive heads of the U.S. ruling class are methodically proceeding to police the world in defense of capitalism. The Marxists are wrong, they claim, in attributing deliberate designs of world domination to Washington. The policy makers there do not pursue any single foreign policy line but stumble unthinkingly into one mess after another.

Thus each case of counterrevolutionary intervention into the affairs of other peoples is construed in isolation and not seen as one more piece in a consistent pattern of imperialist aggression.

This thesis would be much harder to uphold if an informative document which the Pentagon has in its possession were made public. This is a study, completed two years ago by the Douglas Aircraft Corporation, under army sponsorship, at a cost to the taxpayers of \$89,500. It was originally entitled "Pax Americana" but was later given the less provocative label of "Strategic Alignments and Military Objectives."

It was revealed in Washington February 15, that Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, requested the Department of Defense last November 29 to declassify, or remove security restrictions, from the document. Fulbright told the department he was making the request because the study involved foreign policy and "the important conclusions of the report" were in agreement with "so many recent statements made by Government officials."

The Department of Defense has refused Fulbright's request to release the secret study, even though it concedes that there is relatively little "militarily sensitive" information in it. But politically the document is highly explosive. For it reportedly sets forth plans on how the United States can "maintain world hegemony in the future."

This was acknowledged by Paul C. Warnke, assistant secretary of defense, in his answer to Fulbright last December 14 that, even if all classified contents were deleted, the department would still be opposed to publishing the text because its conclusions might be construed as United States policy and thus "could produce serious repercussions abroad."

Since the conclusions dealt with military objectives and alignments over the next twenty years, he said, "it would be inappropriate to make official estimates of what their validity may be now."

Democratic Senator Hartke of Indiana, who first called Fulbright's attention to the existence of the study, called upon the Defense Department to "come out in the open with this." He said, "I think in a self-governing society that the American people are entitled to know what military involvements are being planned which are contrary to general American principles.

"The unfortunate situation we are involved in in Southeast Asia could have been avoided if the American people had been aware as to what was being planned and what was going on," Hartke continued. "Secretary of State Rusk should appear in public before the Foreign Relations Committee and explain the document."

Fulbright has linked the recommendations of the Douglas Aircraft report with a number of policy statements on the U.S. role in Asia made by Johnson and top advisers. One is the president's declaration on July 12, 1966, that "the crucial arena of man's striving for independence and order" was Asia, and that the United States was determined "to meet our obligations in Asia as a Pacific power."

Another was the proclamation of Vice-President Humphrey after the Honolulu Conference on Asian Affairs in April, 1966, of a "Johnson doctrine," which he said was "a pledge to ourselves and to posterity to defeat aggression, to defeat social misery, to build viable, free political institutions."

Fulbright, Hartke and their fellow senatorial "doves" are not anti-imperialists opposed in principle to a global strategy for American capitalism. But they do have serious tactical disagreements with the administration's deepening involvement and overcommitments in Southeast Asia and they fear the perils of head-on collision with China or the Soviet Union. By insisting on the exposure of official military aims in that area they wish to embarrass the White House and arouse public opinion to pressure Johnson to revise his course.

However, the administration is not

in the least disposed to draw back. The designs of the president and his generals bring to mind the Japanese general and premier, Baron Tanaka, author of the infamous "Memorial" which he submitted to the Japanese emperor in 1927.

This document outlined in detailed steps a program of imperialist expansion, beginning with the establishment of Japanese control in Manchuria and leading to domination of all China, Indonesia, the South Sea Islands, the Maritime Provinces of the USSR, and eventually India and the whole Pacific basin. He even envisaged ultimate Japanese control of Europe.

At the time the document was branded as a Chinese forgery by the Japanese, although most foreign chancelleries were convinced of its authenticity. (Shortly before his death Leon Trotsky wrote an interesting account of how the Soviet intelligence service secured the "Memorial" from the archives of the Japanese government and made it public through the U.S. press. His article was published in Fourth International, June 1941.)

Beginning with the military intervention in Shantung and then the invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Japan proceed-

ed along precisely the lines charted in the "Tanaka Memorial."

After the initial successes in the 1930's and early 1940's, this overambitious venture of Japanese militarism ended in catastrophe for its promoters. A similar fate befell Hitler who, in Mein Kampf, likewise spelled out in advance his scheme for conquering Europe and the rest of the world.

Driven by their sacred mission to perpetuate the profit system, and intoxicated by the prodigious power at their command, the ruling circles of the United States feel that they are invincible and will succeed where their predecessors failed. They believe that the plans for world hegemony which their hired specialists have put down on paper can be translated into permanent realities.

What a delusion! The resistance they have already encountered in Cuba and Vietnam, and the further revulsion their course will provoke abroad and at home, will eventually lead to their own downfall, too. The point is to prevent these nuclear-armed imperialist brigands from dragging the American people and the rest of mankind into the abyss along with them.

#### A LETTER FROM HUGO BLANCO

The USLA Reporter, published by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin-American Political Prisoners, announced in the February issue that it has received a few dozen samples of postcards painted by hand by Hugo Blanco and other political prisoners jailed in Peru's notorious El Frontón prison.

The prisoners make the postcards for sale. With the money they are able to get somewhat better food than is served on the prison menu. They hope that through the good offices of the committee, orders for the postcards can be obtained from countries outside of Peru.

The vivid colors of the postcards do not reproduce well, but the USLA Justice Committee is preparing a display that will give an indication of the colors and will announce details on how the postcards can be ordered.

In an accompanying letter, Hugo Blanco told about the postcards, and then continued:

"I ask that you publicize widely two articles sent by my comrade Eduardo Creus, a prisoner on this island. One is about my codefendants and the other re-

fers to the case of Cartolin-Molina. [The USLA Reporter says this material will be published in the next issue.]

"Other news:

"Abancay: The campesino leaders Juan Villegas and Dionisio Salinas, dynamic union organizers, are in jail here. Since the government recognizes the right of association and so they could not be accused of 'the crime of unionization,' they have been accused of 'crimes against the public peace and the security of the state.' Their names should be added to the list of political prisoners in Peru.

"Lima: 'Miss Universe 1967' [a Peruvian] arrived after her trip to Vietnam to encourage the North American troops. There was a demonstration in the city that repudiated that servile attitude of collaboration with imperialist aggression; they threw rotten eggs at her and distributed leaflets supporting the Vietnamese people. The riot squad brutally attacked the demonstrators, injuring many and imprisoning eight students."

The address of the USLA Justice Committee is P.O.Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001. A subscription to the USLA Reporter is \$2 for ten issues.

CANADIAN CP REPORTS ON ITS INVESTIGATIONS IN THE UKRAINE

By Ross Dowson

The accumulating facts, now completely irrepressible, on the ruling bureaucracy's violation of the national rights of the Ukrainian people within the USSR has thrust the whole question up and into the open in the Canadian Communist party.

The Central Executive Committee of the CPC has just released in its bulletin, Viewpoint, a report that is certain to have considerable impact not only on the CP rank and file but in particular on its block of Ukrainian-Canadian supporters. The latter have long served as the base of the most abject Moscow-liners, such as national leader Tim Buck, in their fight against dissidents, whose continued defection has left that party a hulk of its former self. It should have an impact on Communist parties around the globe.

The report was prepared by a mission that visited the Ukraine over a period of twenty-two days last spring. It was presented to a Central Committee meeting early last fall. The mission urged that its report "be made public through meetings, press, articles, interviews," and not "be treated as an inner-party question." It added the admonition that "we have to fight tendencies in our ranks which express themselves in such remarks as 'Unless this question of the Ukrainian language is resolved in the Soviet Union, there is no future for our organizations in Canada.'"

The report was finally released in the January-dated Viewpoint, which appeared on the stands late in February. The fact that Tim Buck himself was among the delegation of six only increases its significance.

The mission went to the Ukraine in response to the increasing evidence of the violation by the Soviet bureaucracy of the Leninist concepts of the rights of national minorities written into the constitution which it claims to uphold. Reports of great Russian chauvinism expressed in the downgrading of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture, and rumours of widespread arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals -- much of this information brought back by Canadians who are known supporters of the USSR as workers state -- have caused considerable disturbance and a continued decline of the Ukrainian sectors of the CP.

As to be expected, the report contains the usual statements that "Never before has official governmental policy fostered the development of the national culture so all-sidedly." And such tradi-

tional assurances as "the problems are recognized and are being dealt with"... "the trend is in the right direction"... "There are many indications that in the recent period there has been some change in the direction of official policy in the Ukraine -- a correction of previous distortions both of national nihilism as well as expressions of great nation chauvinism."

But what is truly significant is the frank admission by the delegation of the most outrageous violations of the elementary democratic right of the forty million Ukrainians to speak, read and write their own language, and similar violations of the elementary civil rights of writers and students charged with harboring bourgeois nationalist concepts.

The practice "until recently," the report states, was "of signs in Ukrainian railway stations being only in Russian; of menus in Ukrainian railway restaurants being in Russian, French, English, German, etc., but not in Ukrainian."

The mission reports that one of its members asked: "When will you at last start to produce records in the Ukrainian language. People in Canada have been waiting for them until they have gray beards." "Very soon now," the director replied, "construction of our plant for making records is almost completed. We expect to start production very soon."

The mission records its dissatisfaction with official replies that there are no schools in the Ukrainian language in Moscow because there is no demand for them.

"Our delegation is not satisfied with such replies. In what way are Ukrainian workers in other republics different from Russian, Polish and others who desire to continue with their native languages in Ukraine? Are national feelings among Ukrainians weaker than among other Soviet nationalities? Or is it possible that Ukrainians living in Moscow or elsewhere outside of Ukraine, hesitate to request schools in the Ukrainian language lest they be branded as 'nationalists'? 'Is this a case,' they ask, 'where the remnants of Russian chauvinism, mistakes made during the Stalin era, still linger?' The answer that there is no demand for the Ukrainian language outside of Ukraine is similar to the answer given years ago that there was no demand among Soviet Jews for the study of and publication in the Yiddish language."

The mission enquired about the ar-

rest and imprisonment of Ukrainian writers. "We were told that they were not recognized writers, that they were not imprisoned for their writings, that they were convicted as enemies of the state. But the specific charges against them," the report notes, "were not revealed."

Furthermore "although we do not claim to know what considerations of state security led to the trials of these writers being conducted in secret, we must make the point that such in camera trials never serve to dispel doubts and questioning."

They also point out "we were told of cases of bourgeois nationalism among writers but in no instance could we get the specifics of the charges. Bourgeois nationalism was not defined."

"There has been a tendency in some quarters," they caution, "to brand as bourgeois nationalism or some kind of deviation, demands for the greater use of the Ukrainian language in public institutions. Such carry-overs from the Stalin era do not help in correctly resolving the language problem."

The mission was unfavorably impressed in discussions with the minister of education and the secretary for ideology in the Central Committee. Their attitude, "the attitude that language was secondary and unimportant, that it is technique, the building of Communism alone which counts, was one that we found to be widespread. Our delegation can only assume that this reflected a distorted concept of the language question in relation to the nation."

In their conclusions, the mission notes "Any concept that in a Socialist Canada it would be immaterial to us what language is spoken in Quebec; that once we have Socialism then the national question doesn't matter or concern us any more, is not only false, but would hamper the struggle to win support for our party in Quebec."

The mission makes no effort to analyse why on this, the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, great Russian chauvinism continues to

exist, that rights of the Ukrainian nation, supposedly a free associate member of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, are everywhere violated. To be sure, this situation prevailed in the Stalin era -- the report calls them remnants of that period. But the CP never went any deeper than to attribute the horrendous crimes against socialist democracy under Stalin to the paranoia of an individual, the personality cult. Why, fifteen years after the death of Stalin, such violations of socialist democracy and national and civil rights should continue to take place under Kosygin and Brezhnev, they do not explain.

Indeed the mission goes out of its way to clear the bureaucracy, which usurped power and which seeks to maintain its privileged position at all costs, by reporting that M.A. Suslov, member of the Politbureau and secretary of the CPSU in Moscow spoke to them, in contrast to leading officials in the Ukraine, of the close relationship between language and culture.

The Canadian CP leadership has been compelled to admit some of the facts of the violations of Ukrainian national rights in the USSR. But it is doubtful their assurances that everything is now working towards rectification -- they have given similar assurances on behalf of the Soviet bureaucracy at every turn since they were compelled to face Khrushchev's revelation on Stalin -- will prove acceptable to their dwindling supporters. All the less so now that such courageous Soviet intellectuals as Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Daniel are openly appealing for support in their opposition to the frame-up and sentencing of writers Yuri Galanskov and Aleksandr Ginzburg.

The CP's weekly Canadian Tribune will have to explain its continued silence on these gross violations of Soviet legality. Quebec supporters of the CP will also want to know why the bilingual Viewpoint carries the French and English of one article in the January issue but not the French of the report of the delegation investigating violations in the USSR of the rights of a national minority.

### THIRD WORLD STUDENTS ASKED TO BACK APRIL 26 STRIKE

The newly organized "National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union," whose headquarters are in New York, has endorsed the April 26 student strike against the war in Vietnam and is appealing to "all students throughout the Third World to join the black students of the United States" in the projected action.

"This is an act of solidarity against the racist oppression of Black America, racist United States aggression against the Vietnamese people, and the violation of the right to self-determination of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America," the organization declared in a statement to the press February 22.

Report from the Underground

THE GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS HOLD THEIR OWN

[The interview below was granted by José Dones L., a member of the Guatemalan Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre, to Leonardo Michel, a Latin-American correspondent of World Outlook. The MR-13, headed by Yon Sosa, is fighting side by side in Guatemala with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarios, another guerrilla formation headed by César Montes.

[The text has been translated by World Outlook.]

\* \* \*

Question: How would you characterize the major features of Guatemalan political life in the past year?

Answer: The new terror promoted by the military (with the wholehearted support of the Yankee ambassador and the innumerable imperialist organizations operating in the country) quickly reached proportions as yet unheard of -- even in the worst days under Peralta Azurdia.

Mushrooming ultraright secret organizations -- linked, of course, to the military and, in particular, to the police -- introduced new forms of white terror. The "White Hand," the NOA [Nueva Organización Anticomunista -- New Anticomunist Organization], CADEG [Consejo Anticomunista de Guatemala -- the Anticomunist Council of Guatemala], RAYO [Resistencia Anticomunista y Organizada -- Organized Anticomunist Resistance], CRAG [Consejo Revolucionario Anticomunista Guatemalteco -- Guatemalan Anticomunist Revolutionary Council], etc., sprang up.

All these organizations are operating in Guatemala City and in other urban centers. Any activist or ordinary citizen considered by them to be a "Communist," who falls into their hands, is murdered after their customary tortures.

These groups are made up of notorious reactionary figures, policemen (above all the judicial policemen, who are the most murderous, cruel and bestial), military officers, etc.

It is common knowledge that they receive considerable support from the minister of defense, Rafael Arreaga Bosques, and from the director of the National Police, Francisco Sosa Avila. The imperialist agency AID [Agency for International Development] also supplies arms to these groups. The OAS [Organisation de l'Armée Secrète] terror against the

Algerian people will give you an idea of the rightist onslaught which has been unleashed in Guatemala.

In a recent joint publication of the two guerrilla movements, a list was given of the financial angels of these groups. As the vanguard of the Guatemalan people, the armed revolutionary movement has pledged soon to carry out sentences of death against these persons.

\* \* \*

On November 7, 1966, a repression against the peasant population also began. Vast military movements were directed chiefly against the western part of the country where the social base of the guerrillas is the most extensive and where Comandante Yon Sosa is active. Rangers trained by Yankee military advisers, helicopters, and all sorts of men and matériel needed for antiguerrilla warfare were thrown against the rebels.

The government had utilized the preceding months of relative calm to carefully prepare the plans for its counteroffensive. The guerrillas withdrew before the attack, as they do in such cases. Despite this retreat, however, major leaders of the MR-13 were killed. It must be remembered that eleven national leaders of the MR-13 were included in the mass murder of twenty leaders in early 1965. Among them were Francisco Amado Fernández; Fernando Arce Berehens; the Mexicans, David Aguilar Mora and Eunice de Aguilar; the comandante's cousin, Iris Yon Cerna; Carlos Barillas; Luis Licón; the two Martínez brothers and others besides.

The authoritative and experienced national leaders were lost, with the notable exception of Yon Sosa. The movement was virtually beheaded. A national leadership had to be recreated at the same time that the enemy pressed their furious offensive with its mounting cost in lives.

The list of those who perished and were murdered in the fighting in the mountains is a long one. I will mention only the peasant chairmen of the committees of Los Planes and Patzun, who were murdered in February 1967: Domingo Flores, Víctor Ramírez, Mariano Ruiz, René Barrios, José Cerros, Chepe Beltrán and the two women, Mirtala and Dina.

As the military went into action,



the cowardice and impotence of President Méndez Montenegro increased; he did not command, he was the puppet of the military. As always happens in these cases, the extremist military officers plotted a coup d'état, in which the head of the air force was involved. This time it failed but a future military coup is not excluded, above all if they come to need him less and less.

To sum up: the year 1967 in Guatemala was characterized by the struggle rising to a higher level. In face of the mass terror unleashed by the most extreme counterrevolutionary forces and veiled by the "constitutional" dictatorship of Julio César Méndez Montenegro, the counteroffensive of the people is beginning to take the form of an authentic people's war. We are rapidly moving toward a crisis which in the next few months will be decisive for the political life of our country -- the outbreak of civil war and a concurrent intervention by the Yankee marines. We are approaching our objective of creating a second, third Vietnam.

Q: What influence has the recent OLAS conference had on the Guatemalan guerrilla movement?

A: As is well known, the MR-13 was the target of an unjustified attack by Comandante Fidel Castro in January 1966 in his closing speech at the Tricontinental conference. Fidel's unjust attitude (which was rectified little by little), coupled with the hard blows our movement suffered at the same time due to the repression, plunged us into an exceedingly harsh and difficult situation. Only the determination of the ranks to continue the fight, the tremendous integrity and fortitude of Comandante Yon Sosa, and the clarity of our revolutionary socialist principles and program enabled us to climb back up out of the deep abyss into which we had fallen.

At the beginning, in an impromptu fashion and later in a premeditated way, we restored our contacts with the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias -- Revolutionary Armed Forces]. It was the FAR, it must be said honestly, who took the initiative of moving toward a reunification of the two revolutionary organizations, which have functioned separately since late 1964.

One of the principal sources of division was in our conception of the Guatemalan revolution. We maintained, basing ourselves on the Declaration of Sierra de las Minas, that we had inevitably to set a socialist objective if we wanted to give the armed movement the momentum to carry it to victory. The FAR compañeros, however, who were then led by Comandante Turcios, espoused the tra-

ditional conception of the Guatemalan left and of the Latin-American left in general -- struggle for a national-democratic revolution.

Afterwards, other factors deepened the split. We cannot deny that at times a divisive tendency and certain sectarian and opportunistic attitudes on both sides succeeded in producing a dangerous rivalry which could only benefit imperialist and national reaction by dividing our forces and social support as well as confusing the Guatemalan people who saw us struggling fiercely for leadership over them.

The last major point of dispute was over the past presidential and congressional elections. While the FAR favored participating in the elections, we were in favor of abstention and, if we did participate, for voting for a principled socialist program. Although history has shown how correct our attitude was, it has also shown the eminently honest, revolutionary attitude of the FAR. While it has committed errors (as we have also), it has learned by experience, the great teacher.

Today, the socialist program, which before was a factor of contention between us, perhaps the most important, is so no longer. OLAS has raised the banner of socialism over the entire continent -- this banner for which the heroic Comandante Che Guevara died in Bolivia and which, moreover, is his legacy, whose heirs we are, as Régis Debray said. When Che wrote in his letter to the Tricontinental that the Latin-American revolution would be "either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution" he made it clear that our struggles and tactics must be aimed at the achievement of anti-capitalist objectives, a worker-peasant-student front, structural changes and, finally, a workers and peasants government.

Formal contacts between the two movements began while Comandante Turcios was still alive. First a patrol from the Edgar Ibarra front paid a visit to the Alejandro de León front, where Yon Sosa was based. Later Turcios sent Comandante Yon Sosa an invitation to take part in a meeting to discuss the political situation in the country. Unfortunately, Comandante Turcios' premature death, as well as being a severe blow to the revolutionary movement, prevented this historic meeting. But his policy of unity with the MR-13 continued to be advocated by his successor César Montes.

In a meeting two months ago between the two comandantes of the two movements, these steps took a concrete form. It was resolved there to create a United Front of Concerted Action [Frente Unico

de la Acción Organizada], which is to be operative wherever guerrilla groups belonging to both organizations are found.

Our common socialist program, the need to coordinate action in the armed struggle and to respond to the offensive of the white terrorists by revolutionary war point the way to a forthcoming and advantageous reunification.

Q: Could you give me a rough idea of the extent of imperialist military intervention in Guatemala?

A: It is known that there are military "experts" and advisers in the Guatemalan army. But up till now this aid has been primarily material. AID [Agency for International Development] is the means used to finance the credits for purchases of military equipment, not only for the army but for the anti-Communist terrorist organizations.

Q: How many victims has the white terror claimed?

A: I can say for sure that no one knows exactly, not even the butchers themselves. The victims of the white terror turn up decapitated. It is very difficult to identify all of them. Men and women turn up dead one morning along the coast of Conosa, in Antigua, in Chiquimula, in the department of Izabal -- large numbers of bodies turn up every day. Many of the victims' bodies come to light very far from their homes. The overall estimate by the revolutionary movements of the victims of the military terror in the last year puts the figure at 3,000.

The crimes which the Guatemalan tyrants, the puppets of the CIA, are committing against the Guatemalan people and its active vanguard must be made known to the whole world. All members of revolutionary groups or persons "suspected" as such who are arrested by the police or captured by the army in its continual raids are subjected to bestial tortures, which would be unbelievable if we did not know that the imperialists are using them today in Vietnam on a level of mass extermination.

As in Vietnam, Méndez Montenegro's "constitutional" government in Guatemala castrates prisoners, tears off their lips, cuts off their left hands and ears, tears out their fingernails, forces them to assume degrading postures and inflicts innumerable other tortures on them (one of the most common is putting a plastic bag filled with DDT powder on their heads -- this torture destroys the lungs). In addition, the women are gang-raped. Many of the tormented and dying prisoners are finished off with machete blows. Finally, not even their bodies are respected -- it is a common practice of the army to

decapitate them. Thus, they turn up mutilated on some river bank or in some hollow, or else they are dumped in a common grave.

Q: What about the rumors in the bourgeois press that Yon Sosa was wounded?

A: In the department of Izabal, at the beginning of the big military offensive against the guerrillas, Yon Sosa was in fact wounded in both legs. He is completely recovered now.

Q: Finally, we would like your opinion on the MR-13's break with the Posadistas.

A: That question requires some preliminary explanations. First of all, I want to make it known that the MR-13 was always under the impression the Posadas group belonged to the Fourth International. As you will be able to see in the first issue of the new series of our organ Revolución Socialista we say that among the various causes which delayed their expulsion for more than a year was the question of "definitively breaking with the Fourth International (Trotskyist)." The statement which the Fourth International published regarding the MR-13's first revolutionary people's tribunal which expelled these compañeros is very interesting.\*

One more thing should be said. These four compañeros were not expelled because of their ideology but because they did not acknowledge their enormous error. By their attitude they showed that they would do the same thing in similar circumstances.

If they were not shot at the tribunal, it was because it was recognized that for them the motive of their action was just and beneficial. One of them admitted his error but the other three displayed their arrogance and lack of self-criticism by failing to do so. It was for this reason that they were expelled. Perhaps this would not have been the decision if they had recognized their fault.

The death of Francisco Amado and the other compañeros, including members of this group, became known later. When

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\* This refers to the statement of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on the expulsion of members of the Posadista group from the MR-13 for taking funds, seized in expropriations, and diverting them without agreement or even consultation to help finance Posadista publications in other countries. [See World Outlook, July 29, 1966; and Cuarta Internacional, No. 6.]

the trial took place the fate of these compañeros was not known with certainty. Perhaps the MR-13 would have handled this affair differently if it had known about the death of the majority of its leading compañeros. What I tend to doubt is that these circumstances would have changed the behavior of the three.

On the other hand, to conclude, I want to say that the socialist program, this fundamental element of our struggle reached Guatemala through them. This is a historic fact. It does not mean that we would have been incapable of discovering it independently. This, in fact, was the tendency of the most advanced groups before their arrival. For example, the

group from the Juventud Patriótica del Trabajo [Patriotic Worker Youth], to which I belonged, split from that organization when they began developing a socialist outlook. Although this outlook was vague, it was tending to develop in the direction of clearer and more precise positions. Their contribution [the Posadistas] was to shorten this period of clarification. This positive achievement of their activity in Guatemala remains despite their errors in other areas, errors, which like the one which precipitated their expulsion, were tremendous at times. If this is true, it is because the socialist program is not the property of any particular group but of the entire authentically revolutionary movement.

### WHY KHE SANH IS CRUCIAL FOR GEN. WESTMORELAND

The rumors persist in Washington that Gen. William C. Westmoreland, who up to now has been a favorite of the White House, may soon be eased out as commander of the U.S. troops in Vietnam.

Johnson, however, has strenuously denied that he is considering informing Westmoreland that his resignation has been accepted. Instead, Johnson has indicated he might promote his favorite to head the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

According to a dispatch by Keyes Beech, datelined Da Nang and published in the February 21 New York Post, the outcome of the impending battle of Khe Sanh may determine whether Westmoreland's career is finished or is to be crowned with fresh commendations from Johnson.

U.S. marines on the firing line in Khe Sanh, according to the account, are saying privately that this "remote patch" is not worth defending. They say, "the only reason we are there is because Westy says so."

Khe Sanh has become a "symbol" in the military career of the general. "... Westmoreland and his chief lieutenants are convinced that Giap must inevitably try to take Khe Sanh. And because of this conviction they are determined that he will not take it."

Johnson was so enraged at the victory scored by the National Liberation Front at the beginning of February that he made all the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff sign a paper stating there will be no "Dienbienphu."

Westmoreland now seems to have staked his career on delivering according to that contract. But the question remains -- will he again be outgeneraled by Vo Nguyen Giap? What then?



CAREER BLIGHTED?



CAREER BLIGHTED?



CAREER BLIGHTED?

TALK CONTINUES IN SAIGON ABOUT USING NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The "rumor" allegedly started by an "unknown person in New York" that the White House and Pentagon are considering using "tactical" nuclear weapons in Saigon caused ripples of apprehension around the world. It was taken almost everywhere to be a trial balloon sent up by the Pentagon to see how stiff the clamor might be and also as a first move to accustom the American people to the idea.

Johnson, as was to be expected, denied that consideration was being given to employment of "tactical" nuclear weapons in Vietnam at present. And Prime Minister Harold Wilson, during his visit to Washington, denounced the suggestion as "sheer lunacy."

Most of the world took Johnson's denial and filed it where it belonged -- in the "credibility gap."

Despite Johnson's signal to soft-pedal the subject, talk continued in Saigon about resorting to the bomb. The talk was intensified, according to a report by Beverly Deepe in the February 21 Christian Science Monitor, by "a high-explosive political backlash" to the "short-term military advantages gained by killing large numbers of Communist forces." In other words, the mass slaughter conducted by the American forces is arousing such revulsion among the Vietnamese people as to stir them to new intensive efforts to rid their land of the hated invaders; and to meet that development, the U.S. command may decide to turn to the bomb.

Miss Deepe reported the explanation of "one reflective senior Vietnamese official, who has consistently been pro-American":

"This destruction in the cities is more and more looking like Hungary in reverse. And neither the outside world nor the Vietnamese are likely to forget this or to forgive the Americans for it. It's

no good saying the Vietnamese Government requested your helicopters to rocket or authorized them in tight tactical situations. The Vietnamese government officials will only look like butchering assassins for the Americans.

"The Americans have bombed North Vietnam for three years now -- with total disregard for the political repercussions of it. Now, American and Vietnamese firepower is being used to shell supposedly government-controlled cities, without regard for the effects on the civilian population and their homes. If you once extend this policy, the very next step is nuclear warfare. No? What else will be the next step if the two-thousand pound bombs dropped by B-52's do not dislodge the Communists from their entrenchments and artillery tunnels near Khe Sanh?"

The correspondent of the Boston newspaper, who has been sending vivid factual accounts of the situation in South Vietnam, continues:

"In private, unofficial conversations, an increasing amount of talk with hard-line military officers is cropping up to the effect that they would prefer to use nuclear weapons rather than let Khe Sanh fall, if the options actually narrow down to these two extremes.

"More Vietnamese, including both low-ranking military officers and businessmen, also are talking about the possibility of some kind of nuclear warfare.

"The recent statement by Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, that he did not believe nuclear weapons would be needed to defend Khe Sanh made little impression on the few Vietnamese who read it. In this, as in other cases, many Vietnamese have displayed a tendency to believe whatever is officially denied."

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The Bache Outlook, house organ of Bache & Co., a Wall Street brokerage firm, offered the following comments on the meaning and possible repercussions of the National Liberation Front victory in Vietnam at the beginning of February:

"The war in Vietnam is shifting into a new indiscernible phase and the market is not likely to stage a meaningful rally until this phase is fully dissected.

"Also not to be overlooked is Korea and, parenthetically, the U.S. strategy in other world trouble spots and its limitation in the role of world policeman.

"This unsettlement, however, has brought a giddy market into a much more reasonable position, a position that could begin to attract more conservative institutional funds."



FIVE OF CHE GUEVARA'S COMRADES SEEK REFUGE IN CHILE

In a dispatch from Santiago, February 19, Agence France-Presse reported that six survivors of the group of guerrilla fighters who were operating in Bolivia with Che Guevara were rumored to have succeeded in eluding their pursuers and entering Chile.

According to the rumors in Santiago, they were under the leadership of Guido Peredo Leigue, known familiarly as "Inti." Three Cubans, said to have been close collaborators of Guevara in Havana, were reported to be in the group.

They entered Chile, still according to rumor, through the Isluga pass at an altitude of more than 12,000 feet. Snow storms and severe winds blocked flights of reconnaissance planes and thus the guerrillas were able to make their way into Chile over trails known only to smugglers and the guides of llama pack trains.

The chairman of the Chilean Senate, Salvador Allende, asked the minister of the interior to grant them the right of political asylum. The Communist party made similar representations.

The government at first announced that the refugees would not be escorted back to the border but would be brought to Santiago where they could ask for the right of asylum in accordance with the laws of Chile.

However, the minister of the interior underwent a remarkable change of mind by the following day -- possibly after a telephone call from the American embassy. He said that the right of asylum could be granted only to persons who first applied for it in a Chilean embassy in a foreign country.

He further stated that if members of Guevara's group were found in Chile

they would be placed under strict police control until the government decided what to do with them.

On February 23, the Chilean police permitted five members of the group to hold a press conference in Santiago. It was announced that they had crossed the border the day before at Zavalla and had surrendered to the police.

Harry Villegas, who said he had been Che Guevara's bodyguard for nine years, declared: "With us the guerrilla movement in Bolivia stopped. But there will be a thousand more battles which will mean victory for us."

Asked why the guerrillas were unable to win wide support among the peasants, Villegas said, according to the Associated Press: "Because peasants are always with the forces of power and strength. We did not reach the necessary phase of power."

Villegas continued: "We came to Bolivia about a year ago and started training to combat the army, which is the worst in the Americas, even with Yankee help. The army took us by surprise in our first battles. After that, we were taken by surprise again."

He described the hardships suffered by the guerrillas -- only a small bird called the loro for food, two months of walking, and illness from bad weather.

He predicted that the guerrilla movement will be reborn in Bolivia and will flourish in Latin America because "there is hunger, poverty, exploitation dictatorships."

According to the UPI, there are "indications" the Chilean government will expel the five guerrillas, perhaps sending them to Czechoslovakia.

MOSCOW POLITICAL POLICE WARN GINZBURG'S RELATIVES AND FRIENDS

A number of relatives and friends of the four defendants in the Aleksandr Ginzburg case [see World Outlook, January 26 and February 16] have been warned by the political police in Moscow.

Lyudmila Ginzburg, the mother of the young intellectual, and one of his friends, Miss Irina Zholkovskaya, were called into KGB headquarters February 10 and given a lecture on their "carryings on against society," according to a February 19 Agence France-Presse dispatch. They were warned that in case of any

repetition of their offense they were liable to penalties of three years in prison for spreading false rumors.

The relatives and friends have been circulating petitions for a retrial because of the violations of Soviet law committed by the court. Signers include the writers Konstantin Paustovsky and Vasily Aksyonov.

Others called in by the KGB include Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, Pavel Litvinov and the historian Yakir.



ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS march down West Berlin's main street, the Kurfürstendamm, last October 21, protesting U.S. inter-

vention in the civil war in Vietnam. As in current demonstration, marchers carried many photographs of Che Guevara.

#### WEST BERLIN'S BIGGEST ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION

The size of the February 18 demonstration astonished everyone. More than 20,000 turned out and it was a very spirited march, protesting the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The two heroes whose names were chanted continually were Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara.

The demonstration had been banned by the police until yesterday. In face of mounting protests and the determination of the sponsors of the demonstration, the SDS [Sozialistischer Deutsche Studentenbund -- German Socialist Students League], to go ahead despite the ban, the courts reversed the police ruling.

About three-quarters of the demonstrators were from the city itself. The rest were from other places in West Germany and other countries in Europe.

The marchers carried pictures of Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Red banners gave color to the demonstration.

A prominently displayed slogan, carried by a number of contingents, read in English: "Hey, Hey, L.B.J., how many kids have you killed today?"

A rally was held in front of the Opera House where an antiwar student demonstrator, Benno Ohnesorg, was killed last June 2 by the police. The students have renamed the spot where Ohnesorg fell the "June 2 Square."

At a rally following the march, Rudi Dutschke, spokesman of the SDS, was heavily applauded when he said: "Tell the Americans the day and the hour will come when we will drive you out unless you yourselves throw out imperialism."

The participants cheered resolutions calling for a campaign to convince GI's in West Germany to desert and seek political asylum, for European workers to stop producing war materials for the U.S., and for dismantling the NATO bases and kicking the U.S. out of Europe.

It was the largest demonstration of its kind yet staged in the city.



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LEADERS OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL HOLD MEETING

Paris

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, met in the first part of February. The main item on the agenda was consideration of the new situation in Vietnam following the inspiring victory of the Vietnamese freedom fighters and a discussion of what revolutionary socialists throughout the world can do to bring fresh help to these heroic battlers.

One of the lessons of the victory, in the opinion of the leaders of the Fourth International, is the possibility of checking imperialism by meeting its military escalation through effective countermeasures.

In a statement, adopted after the discussion, the IEC pointed to Washington's reaction to Korea's seizure of the spy-ship, the U.S.S. Pueblo, as showing "that American imperialism is disconcerted by counterblows elsewhere than Vietnam and that Che Guevara's appeal for the creation of a 'second, a third Vietnam' -- far from being irresponsible or romantic -- corresponds to the opportunities and needs of the moment."

The IEC called on workers everywhere to come to the immediate aid of the Vietnamese revolution and in doing so "to go beyond the stage of passive demonstrations and collecting money and medical supplies, however useful and necessary that may be." The IEC pointed to the example of the Australian longshoremen and Japanese unions in refusing to load or unload or transport American troops and ammunition.

The Fourth International leaders also appealed to the Soviet Union in particular to step up material aid to Vietnam, to reaffirm its alliance with the People's Republic of China and to abandon the strategy of so-called "peaceful co-existence." [For full text of the statement see World Outlook, February 23, p. 167.]

Among other points on their agenda, the leaders of the Fourth International considered a preliminary report on the tasks of the revolutionary Marxists in Western Europe, where new opportunities are opening up, particularly in relation to building support for the Vietnamese revolution and mobilizing a new generation of revolutionary-minded youth.

The situation in Latin America was

likewise discussed, particular attention being paid to developments since the conference of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity in Havana last summer. The setback suffered by the guerrilla movement with the death of Che Guevara in Bolivia was held to be temporary. The latest events in Cuba around the case of Anibal Escalante were assessed in the light of the preliminary information.

The report on the international situation, presented by Pierre Frank, was adopted unanimously. The report made by Ernest Germain on the tasks and perspectives in Western Europe was adopted with one abstention. Livio Maitan's report on Latin America was similarly adopted with one vote against.

A report was made on preparations for the next world congress of the Fourth International. It was decided to open a discussion period in preparation for the congress. All members of the Fourth International are entitled to participate in the discussion and to contribute articles expressing their views.

The agenda includes the present political situation in the world, developments in China (particularly in relation to the "cultural revolution"), problems of tactics and strategy in the Latin-American revolution, tasks and perspectives in Western Europe (especially as they relate to the new vanguard movement of the youth), and the Algerian revolution as it stands today.

Discussion had already been opened in the international Trotskyist movement on developments in China and on projected new statutes for the organization.

The IEC also agreed unanimously on a series of measures to strengthen solidarity with revolutionists suffering persecution in Bolivia and Greece.

This was the third meeting of the International Executive Committee since 1965. It was elected at the Second Congress of the Fourth International following the Reunification Congress in 1963 which healed a ten-year split.

The work of the gathering, as well as the preparations for the Third Congress since the reunification (the ninth congress of the movement since its founding in 1938), testified to the solidity of the Trotskyist movement and the success with which the wounds of the old split have been healed.



REPORT BY MAJOR RAUL CASTRO ON ACTIVITIES OF ANIBAL ESCALANTE GROUP

[Continued from last week.]

● Approaching foreigners

(This section is very important.)

Anibal Escalante made several attempts to spread to countries abroad the differences that his group had with the Party line, and to that end he took advantage of contacts that he had with foreigners, briefing as to information that should be given them and making attempts to travel to the USSR and other countries where he could explain his position.

When Dr. Emilio de Quesada was appointed to travel to a medical congress in Europe together with Dr. Alonso, at the end of 1966, Quesada received orientation from Anibal Escalante to speak with a Soviet woman, Galia Dubroskaia, member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or the Komsomol, and take her a letter of introduction, with the intention of expressing the group's divergences from the Party line. Galia had served as Anibal Escalante's interpreter during his stay in the Soviet Union. The interview took place, and Quesada maintained close relations with her during his stay in Moscow.

Moreover, Quesada requested and received permission to stay in Czechoslovakia for several days, an opportunity he used to speak with Dr. Frantisek Kriegel, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Anibal Escalante had been consulted concerning this interview and the way in which the opinions of the group should be presented to Kriegel.

The interview took place as arranged, and Quesada gave a full report of the problems and how they viewed the situation in Cuba.

Kriegel sent word to Anibal Escalante that "If the internal situation was that way, he (Escalante) must be careful, as they might kill him."

Dr. Kriegel had been in Cuba as adviser to the Ministry of Health and had met Quesada there.

In addition, several commissions from the Party of the German Democratic Republic visited Cuba in 1966 in order to help set up a printing press for our Party, responsibility for which had been assigned to Octavio Fernández (in custody) by the Commission for Revolutionary Orientation (COR). The first of these groups, which arrived in July 1966, included Paul Hockart, Hohannes Kogler and

Manfred Linke.

Octavio Fernández carried on conversations mainly with Hockart (the head of the group), to whom he presented the points of view held by the group, contrary to the line of the Party.

Hockart offered to work very hard to insure good results, so that "a Communist will triumph in his job" and also promised to send Octavio Fernández an invitation to the Leipzig Fair, stating that, once there, he could present his points of view in more detail.

This delegation left, and in September 1966 another arrived which included Hohannes Kogler, Manfred Linke and Somerman. Kogler, as head of the group brought a letter for Octavio Fernández in which Hockart told Octavio that he could have complete confidence in Hohannes in regard to any problem whatsoever.

Octavio Fernández was instructed by Anibal Escalante to explain their points of discrepancy to this group as he had to the first. Anibal was also in favor of holding a meeting with these Germans, and a date was set, but the meeting did not take place because they were unable to find an interpreter they believed they could trust.

Later Hohannes Kogler took Octavio Fernández to his embassy for an interview with Karlheinz Mobus, the GDR consul at that time. There he explained the group's views in greater detail, and the invitation for Octavio to visit the Leipzig Fair was repeated.

Before this delegation left Cuba Hohannes told Octavio that any problem could be entrusted to the GDR commercial adviser in Cuba, Otto Schreiber. Fernández had several interviews with Schreiber covering a number of questions, including what they chose to call "the French loan to Cuba and economic and political ties with that country."

Octavio Fernández invited the technicians to visit La Corona Cigar Factory, where they were received by the administrator and Renay Hernández (in custody), union secretary of the factory at that time. After the visit, Octavio, Renay and the Germans left together and discussed their viewpoints.

● Contacts with a journalist from the Soviet Union

Shortly prior to the OLAS (Latin-American Organization of Solidarity) Conference, Octavio Fernández met Vadim



Lestov, a Soviet journalist, at the entrance of the Party's Central Committee headquarters. Lestov told him that he was going to the USSR and would return to Cuba after the 50th anniversary celebrations.

Octavio Fernández informed Aníbal Escalante of this meeting, and Escalante suggested that he see this Soviet journalist and tell him of what was happening, such as the dismissal of former PSP members, the replacement of Armando Acosta, economic problems, the problem of the labor movement, the anti-Soviet trend, and relations with France, and, in addition, that an invitation be sought for Aníbal and his wife to visit the USSR, where, under the pretext of looking into matters of poultry genetics, Aníbal himself would present the situation in the Soviet Union.

Octavio Fernández, together with Inaudi Kindelán, visited the Soviet journalist in the Riomar Building, where he lived, and discussed all of the points indicated by Aníbal Escalante, including his need to visit the USSR to present his views and under what circumstances he wished to go. Vadim Lestov stated that, although he would see that the information and the request reached the director of the newspaper Izvestia, who is an alternate member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, it was preferable that a written report be prepared and signed by Aníbal Escalante, Octavio Fernández and Inaudi Kindelán. He insisted that the report be presented in writing because various opinions existed in the USSR concerning the problems they were presenting and, for example, the Soviet Ambassador in Cuba, Alexander Alexeiev, did not share these views, so that this could appear to be a personal matter brought up by him; and, therefore, a written report signed by them was necessary.

When Octavio Fernández told Aníbal Escalante of the results of this interview and that the written report must be submitted to Vadim Lestov that same evening, or early the next morning at the airport, before his departure for the Soviet Union, Escalante objected to having to prepare a document to present these views and also criticized Octavio for having included Kindelán in the interview. Aníbal had each one's functions very compartmentalized and apparently did not have sufficient confidence in Kindelán. That is, when Aníbal learned that he must sign something, he began to invent obstacles, as Octavio realized when Aníbal told him that he (Octavio) should be the one to sign.

Nevertheless, he agreed to help prepare the document by dictating the major points to be dealt with to Octavio, who was to type it on another typewriter

-- one that was not Aníbal's. Octavio took the notes to the ice cream factory managed by Raúl Fajardo Escalona (in custody), who gave him permission to type the report there. He began to work, but, because of the hour -- workers were beginning to arrive in the office, which made the job difficult -- and because of the danger and seriousness of preparing such a report -- in addition to the fact that Aníbal had sent him off to do it without himself being willing to sign it -- Octavio Fernández decided not to prepare the document. He went to his home and burned the notes.

When he informed Aníbal Escalante that he had not delivered the document because of lack of time, Aníbal told him not to worry about it any more, that he would make the arrangements himself.

(As I stated previously, Octavio had burned the document for the reasons given.)

- Lack of loyalty to Party and country

During interrogation Octavio Fernández Bonis (in custody) reconstructed the document dictated by Aníbal. Its content is extremely interesting, since it reveals with absolute clarity the ideas and aims -- as well as the absolute lack of loyalty to the Party and their country -- of the accused. They were the same opinions that Aníbal tried to get to the Soviet leadership by every possible means, in a shameless attempt to obtain their support and bring about their interference in matters which are incumbent only and exclusively upon our people and our Party. In essence, and according to Octavio's version, the document dictated to him by Aníbal to be delivered to Lestov, who, in turn, was to have it reach the director of Izvestia, read as follows:

"With De Gaulle's new attitude in France after his failures in Vietnam and Algeria, appearing before the world with the same past-century slogan of 'liberty, legality (sic) and fraternity' and adopting a correct attitude of peaceful coexistence, of free trade with all countries, even of tactical confrontation with Yankee imperialism, although strategically coinciding with it because of their class position, a new trend has been set in motion in our country, stimulated by a credit extended by France in an effort to draw us closer politically as well.

"With this aim in view, a series of activities, both cultural and social, have been organized -- the Salon de Mai, tourist groups, etc. -- thus permitting a rapprochement between groups. This group is headed by Llanusa, Marcelo Fernández, Alfredo Guevara and Carlos Franqui. Logically, this is in keeping with the policy

of drawing us farther and farther away from the Soviet Union.

"Recently, the book Revolution in the Revolution? by Régis Debray was established as study material for Party nuclei. Debray was expelled from the Communist Youth of France under suspicion of being a member of the French Intelligence Service. His book fails to recognize the Party's role and that of the working class in the struggle for power.

"In keeping with this policy of publishing new material and ignoring the manuals and other books containing certain experiences -- philosophical as well as economic -- the Editora Política was eradicated, and a new organization, The Book Institute, was created to publish books which do not express fully Marxist concepts.

"Promotion of Party cadres is being carried out among comrades of petty-bourgeois rather than proletarian extraction, so that all Party work reflects concepts and methods which are alien to the working class.

"Party candidates are asked their opinion concerning the USSR in order to determine whether or not they sympathize with it. If the answer is affirmative, discussions are held with the comrade to make certain problems clear to him.

"This policy has, of course, led to the gradual replacement of long-time Communists, because their position is considered pro-Soviet.

"In Latin America we find ourselves practically divorced from the great majority of Communist Parties as a result of our opinion on how the struggle should be carried out. This may cause us serious problems with regard to solidarity toward our Revolution and unity of action against imperialism.

● Twisted reports on our economy

"Our economy at present is running at a deficit. The sugarcane harvest this year, after six months, reached the figure of 6,100,000 tons -- making it an unprofitable harvest. The difficulty was lack of cane and organization.

"So far as the prospects of our having a sugarcane harvest of 10 million tons by 1970 are concerned, this is very doubtful, since measures for increasing the industrial capacity of installations are not being put into practice at a pace appropriate to this end; moreover, there is another serious problem that we must face: the cutting of cane will not be conclusively solved by the cane conditioning centers.

"As may be observed, to judge from the present size of our sugarcane crop, the years that remain and the difficulties we have met, it will be almost impossible to reach 10 million tons by 1970.

"Therefore, our economy in 1970 will not be able to reach the levels necessary to achieve an adequate solution for the country's problems.

"With respect to production in general," continues the report, which, according to Octavio, the three were going to send to the Central Committee of the CPSU, "it, too, is below the levels required to meet the needs of the people. The policy applied through all production lines is based on a budgetary system which rests on moral incentives, absolutely setting aside material incentives, failing to recognize the laws of social development.

"This whole situation of not applying self-financing and, therefore, material incentives, has caused a slackening of production. Voluntary work is resorted to to meet the goals of production, and this, when it doesn't produce enough to meet costs, results in production of inferior quality.

"The role of the trade unions in this stage of the building of socialism is overlooked. They have been practically stripped of their role in production, completely underestimating the aid that they can give us as a leadership organization of the working class, helping to plan and organize production, develop socialist emulation and see to it that the workers constantly educate themselves politically and culturally."

The report continues: "This underestimation of the workers is reflected not only here but also in the workers' dining rooms, whose food value index is low. All this results in a general malaise in the working class."

These were the fundamental ideas that Anibal wanted to send to the Soviet leadership, according to the testimony given by one of his closest collaborators.

● Interview with a Soviet adviser

Later, Anibal, intent on his purpose, met with a Soviet adviser of the Ministry of the Interior with whom he was acquainted. The Soviet adviser expressed annoyance with a note from the Revolutionary Government, which appeared in the press, concerning the 200-mile limit arbitrarily established by the reactionary military Government of Argentina with the aim of obstructing the operations of Cuba's fishing fleet. The adviser was of the opinion that the note was damaging to the

interests of the USSR, and he tried to explain his country's position in paying the fines levied by the Argentine Government. The conversation passed to other international problems; the Cuban and Soviet positions were discussed, and Anibal presented the viewpoints expressed in the aforementioned document.

The adviser asked Anibal if he had discussed these viewpoints in Moscow and if he were willing to do so. Anibal asked him, if such an interest in the matter existed, to please arrange passage to the Soviet Union for him and his wife, as this would be a good opportunity for him to present his viewpoints.

During his interrogation, on December 10, 1967, Anibal declared that he had met Pedro, who was later named adviser to the Cuban Intelligence Service, at the 19th Congress of the CPSU and that the first time he saw him after the triumph of the Revolution was around November 7, 1965, anniversary of the October Revolution, at a dinner at Pedro's house to which he -- Anibal -- had been invited. He declared that he attended the dinner accompanied by his wife and that at no time during the visit did any conversation take place on his opinions or the policy of the Revolution.

On that occasion Anibal invited Pedro to lunch with him as a gesture of reciprocity.

Some time later, Pedro visited Anibal at his farm, and, from there, the two men and their wives went to lunch at a country restaurant -- where, again, there was no conversation of a political nature.

● Conversation with the new adviser

Later -- although the exact date has not been determined -- Pedro telephoned Anibal, inviting him to his home for a farewell dinner, since he was leaving the country. (That is, Pedro had finished his job here, he was ready to leave, and he invited Anibal to his house for dinner.) Anibal declared that he attended the dinner without asking if other guests would be present and that Pedro didn't say whether or not anyone else would be present -- but that at the dinner (such a coincidence!) he met numerous Soviet citizens, among them the new adviser, Pedro's replacement, who proved to be the husband of a classmate of Anibal's daughter in the Moscow Conservatory of Music.

On one occasion, when Anibal was already long involved in all these maneuvers, Comrade Manuel Pifeiro, Vice-Minister of the Interior, happened to drive by the Soviet Embassy, and, seeing his Ministry's adviser leaning on an automobile and engaged in conversation

with someone inside the car, he decided to play a joke and brought his car to a sudden stop beside the parked automobile. To his great surprise and the embarrassment of the adviser, Pifeiro saw that the tête-à-tête was between none other than Anibal Escalante and his own adviser.

Anibal declared that he saw the adviser again when he -- Anibal -- went to pick up his grandson at the children's nursery of the Soviet Embassy. It was then the adviser invited Anibal to a farewell dinner because he, too, was leaving Cuba. (Thus, each adviser put Anibal in touch with the next.)

Anibal does not remember this adviser's name. (Although he believes that this man held an official position of less importance than Pedro's and showed less political maturity, or something to that effect, thus indicating that they must have discussed a great deal of politics.)

Anibal attended the dinner alone, and there the conversation dealt with Anibal's political opinions and other themes of international politics...

(Anibal has a grandson in the Soviet Embassy's children's nursery. On that occasion we checked on it, because I spoke with the Ambassador and with the chief of the advisers at the Ministry of the Interior. The latter was quite offended, because he believed Pifeiro should have told him about it.)

(I said to him: "You're practically suggesting that I have Pifeiro arrested for not showing respect for you, and I don't intend to do such a thing." And I made it clear to him: "We are Pifeiro's superiors, not you." This was said in a most fraternal tone but also with firmness.)

(He said to me: "How can you possibly believe that we...?" and I replied: "We don't believe anything, but if you weren't so obtuse about this you'd interpret it as a warning, and it would be very painful for us to find some Soviet official here -- diplomatic or not -- involved in matters of an internal character.")

(We already had other indications.)

On August 29, 1967, a letter written by Anibal Escalante and addressed to Comrade Armando Hart was received at the Central Committee. In this letter Anibal requested authorization to travel to the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to do research work on poultry genetics.

(He had failed in his efforts with the journalist as well as with Pedro, Pifeiro's adviser, and now he was approaching the Party, using various pretexts, to

carry out his trip.)

Aníbal had already sent a message -- via a student -- to Galia Dubroskaia asking her to arrange a trip to the USSR by ship. (Another try.)

On the occasion of the Latin American Journalists' Seminar, the Dominican journalist José Amado Camillo visited our country and established contact with Yolanda Pulido, Aníbal Escalante's former secretary, who now works for the TASS agency, and asked her to arrange a meeting with Aníbal. The meeting took place at Yolanda Pulido's home. It lasted for more than two hours, and at its end Aníbal Escalante advised the Dominican to send Dominican Communist Party material and other things not to his house but to Yolanda Pulido's.

Other contacts were made between the microfaction and foreign elements, always with the same purpose, to get their points of view known abroad and seek support for their positions.

In this connection a document was seized from Ricardo Bofill Pagés (in custody), former head of the Publicity Department of the State Fruit Growing Enterprise, which totally distorted the history of the struggle against the tyranny, sustained the infamous accusation that the old Communists were being persecuted, and reiterated the all-too-familiar charlatany about the bourgeois extraction of the leaders of the Revolution and the existing anti-Sovietism.

The document was found hidden under a seat in Bofill's automobile. He had promised to deliver it to a Soviet citizen within a few days, but his arrest frustrated the plan.

The Soviet citizen to whom Bofill was to deliver the document was Mikhail Roy, a journalist of the Novosti agency, now in Cuba. The same man had also made contact with Edmigio López Castillo (in custody) so as to request information on Comrade García Peláez, who had recently been appointed Ambassador to the USSR. For this purpose, López Castillo approached Octavio Fernández, who worked at the COR and could furnish more detailed information.

The three of them met on a street corner in Vedado and went for a long ride in the automobile owned by the Soviet journalist. During the ride, Octavio Fernández gave Mikhail Roy whatever information he had concerning Comrade García Peláez. Roy asked Fernández if he thought García Peláez was anti-Soviet and if his appointment was due to a change in Cuba-USSR policy.

Later Octavio Fernández told Aní-

bal about the meeting.

(If you want to ask a person some ordinary questions, you invite him to your house or you go to his house, to his office, or here or there; but when you're involved in conspiratorial activities, both persons involved utilizing the classic intelligence method to gather information, you make a date on a street corner, you are picked up, you go for a long, slow ride to Santa Fe -- as in this case -- and then are dropped off somewhere else.)

Edmigio López Castillo knew Rudolf P. Shliapnikov, known as Rodolfo, who held the post of Second Secretary in the Soviet Embassy. On one occasion, when Rudolf and Edmigio López Castillo, his brother Ricardo, and José Antonio Caballero were holding a meeting in Edmigio's house, Félix Fleitas and Alfredo Batista -- all microfactional elements -- arrived and joined in the conversation, criticizing the revolutionary leadership.

Félix Fleitas said that he had been trying to get in touch with the others for quite some time to learn their opinion on the existing policy, and that there were old-time Communists in Cuba who wished to seek asylum in the Soviet Embassy. Rodolfo, the Second Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, interrupted him, saying that that was not the way, that it was necessary to wait.

● Looking for protest from abroad

In this conversation Félix Fleitas also said that the long-time Communists would never betray the USSR, since they agreed with its positions; that the Soviets had to do something here because the situation was very bad, and that they ought to protest about the policy of criticizing the USSR that had prevailed in recent speeches.

"Rodolfo" -- that is, Rudolf P. Shliapnikov -- explained to them that if they, the Soviets, were to send a note to Major Fidel Castro he was capable of publishing it, and that this was not desirable. Therefore, they couldn't do anything, for then the same things would be said to the Soviets here as to the Yankees.

Fleitas told Shliapnikov that Cuba intended to buy petroleum, and Rudolf told him that it must be the petroleum of Leoni; Fleitas added -- jokingly -- that it seemed that Cuba was thinking of breaking with the USSR.

At this, Rodolfo, joking, laughingly replied, "Look, all we have to do is tell the Cuban Government that repairs are going to be made in the port of Baku

that will last for three weeks," setting everybody off in loud laughter. It should be kept in mind that this conversation was held among microfactional elements and a Soviet official at the home of one of these elements.

There are several pages appended here relative to this interview.

At the end of November 1966 Rudolf P. Shliapnikov, "Rodolfo," was invited to an assembly at the Ministry of Labor. He was invited not by any minister, but by one who will be named later.

Rudolf spoke at the assembly. At the end of the meeting Rudolf; Abel Castaño Speinler, a former organizer of the National Tobacco Workers' Union who had taken a course on trade unionism in the USSR; and José Pereda, who was Secretary General of the Young Communist League in the Ministry of Labor and had also studied in the USSR, had a talk in Pereda's office, where they drank a toast, after which Rudolf stated the following: The conditions have been created in Cuba for another Hungary; imperialism is working in an objective manner in accord with the concrete conditions of this Revolution directed fundamentally by the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie; notice that there is great internal discontent; that it must be pointed out to this Revolution that in Hungary it was not the peasantry that suffocated the uprising, but that confusion had been very widespread and the task of confronting the situation fell to the Department of State Security and that, nevertheless, here in Cuba even this Department showed manifestations that the petty bourgeoisie was to be found even within that organism."

(As I recall, it was not precisely the Department of State Security that put down the counterrevolutionaries there.)

Arnaldo Escalona, Orlando Olivera, Félix Fleitas (all in custody) and Escalona's wife, Hilda Felipe, attended a luncheon with two Soviet citizens -- the captain and political commissar, respectively, of a fishing vessel -- carrying forward their plan to defame the Revolution and influence the opinion of every Soviet citizen in contact with Cuba.

A Soviet citizen of Spanish origin named Rafael García, who works with other Soviet technical personnel at the Fishing Terminal, served as interpreter in this conversation.

Arnaldo Escalona stated: "Look. Tell them -- the Soviets -- that the main leaders of this Revolution and this Party do not have a Communist background. The majority were anti-Communists. The Party is rife with petty-bourgeois elements. There is a leftist adventurist deviation,

and that adventurism is in command; they consider Cuba the hub of the world. From here, we give orientation to the whole world and don't accept advice from anyone, orders from anyone; but we give orders, we want to give orientation. In the 22nd Congress (all of this in a very ironic tone), in the Party Congress of the USSR, the Cubans made speeches telling the Soviets what they had to do. We suppose that the Soviets laughed and said, "Ah! These boys! These boys!"

Orlando Olivera: "The son teaching the father. Look! the Party, because its leadership is petty bourgeois -- which doesn't mean that the Party is backed by the petty bourgeoisie. No? You understand me -- its orientation is simply nationalist, reflects a chauvinist class tendency, and that is the problem with the international line.

"The economic resources," continued Olivera, "that we have, that are obtained in dollars, are invested to subsidize, to give anti-Communist orientation throughout Latin America and on other continents, to attack the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of every country. It is not that we hold these ideas, but recently we spoke with two members of the Central Committee of the Dominican Communist Party -- one of them is Justino del Orbe -- and they told us that in their country there are two organizations that are anti-Communist but call themselves Marxist: the 14th of June Movement and the MPD."

Olivera continued: "That is, that the daily effort and sacrifice of our workers are being invested to carry out anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaigns throughout the world.

"The problem is that Fidel wants Cuba to be the hub of the whole world and he himself to become more important than Marx. And for that we have to invent in philosophy, we have to invent in economy, we have to invent in everything, so that he can achieve a stature greater than that of Marx, Engels and Lenin."

Arnaldo Escalona speaks again:

"I was saying that here the highest political organization in our country does not meet, and, moreover, within the Central Committee the old leaders of the Communist Party of Cuba are in total disagreement with the policy that is worked out here by one man, because here policy is made by no one but Fidel Castro; the highest organism exists but has no opportunity to discuss or express its opinions. And months go by and the former leaders of the Party don't even see Fidel. That is something that perhaps you don't know; perhaps you do. But if you don't know, I mention it so that the comrades -- that is, the Soviets -- understand the situa-

tion that exists, even within the highest political organization."

● Members of the microfaction praise their "achievements"

Félix Fleitas interrupts: "Look, let me make this explanation, because I want to tell you this: Comrade Arnaldo Escalona was the revolutionaries' lawyer under the tyranny. He defended Communists as well as those from other revolutionary organizations. But because he was so well known he had to leave the country, because they were after him."

Escalona breaks in: "I learned this from Georgi Dimitrov's conduct during the Reichstag fire trial: when a Communist faces his judges, he must uphold his principles and fully denounce the enemy's policy."

Hilda Felipe speaks: "Well, look, I want to say that I'm the only woman at this meeting, and a woman may not always have the highest political development. But a mother knows when something is going wrong; nature has given us that instinct. And I'm very concerned, because I have the impression that at one of these meetings we're all going to be arrested. And when I say all, I refer to the long-time Communists."

Arnaldo Escalona interrupts: "Look, during the war I worked with a group that fought here in Havana, and that was a dangerous task then. For example, we trans-

ported bombs, went to the Sierra, hid people, did things for which we could have lost our lives. The comrades know me, they know all this. And I wasn't as concerned when I faced the Batista army as I am now, because I don't know who I'm facing. And the feeling we have is shared by all the members of the old Party."

(I would like to know what bombs he transported and what persons he took up to the Sierra or about any other dangerous activities he engaged in, aside from defending some prisoners. Nevertheless, he considers himself a disciple of Georgi Dimitrov.)

Fleitas speaks: "In March 1962 Aníbal Escalante went through a political crisis in Cuba, and we consider that since that time the working class has been stripped of power. Aníbal Escalante went to the Soviet Union, and now he is in Cuba. This comrade is the revolutionary leader whom the long-time militants consider one of the firmest in the struggle for giving power to the proletariat, for the proletariat to assume power, alongside the Soviet Union; he is the one who encourages many of us Communists at this time, encourages us to remain firm in our principles," concludes Fleitas.

(This data suffices to illustrate the shameful activities of these elements in connection with persons in other countries.)

[To be continued.]

VIETNAMESE FREEDOM FIGHTERS APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

[The following appeal to the American people was issued February 7 by Superior Thich Thien Hao on behalf of the South Viet Nam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People, of which he is vice-president.]

\* \* \*

Dear friends,

The South Vietnamese people are living boiling moments of seething struggle. Patriotic people of all strata all over South Viet Nam have mounted strong attacks on the key organs of the U.S. government and the Saigon administration. Millions of people all over the countryside and in over 87 towns, cities, provincial and district capitals, including the cities of Saigon, Danang and Hue, which are regarded by the U.S. and the Saigon administration as their safest bases, have risen in one accord to achieve the right to be master of the nation, and to live in freedom, peace and

happiness. Many patriotic organizations have been set up. People from all walks of life, including patriotic personalities, intellectuals, industrialists, businessmen, religious believers, have joined patriotic anti-US and antipuppet organizations. What is most significant is that many soldiers of the Saigon army have left the army and set up insurgent groups to fight the enemy beside the People's Liberation Armed Forces.

The above events completely flout [expose] the plea made by President Johnson that 470,000 American troops are in South Viet Nam at the "request of the South Vietnamese people." The "Thieu Ky government" rigged up by the White House which has tried to make it a "constitutional" government through the recent farcical "elections" has been exposed as a gang of rotten henchmen of the U.S. At the same time, General Westmoreland's boastful claims about the "victories" of the U.S. and allied troops in South Viet Nam have been flouted [exposed].



What has triggered this uprising in almost all towns, cities and provincial and district capitals in South Viet Nam?

The present uprising is the inevitable result of so many sufferings caused to the South Vietnamese people by the domination throughout the past 13 years of a dictatorial and fascist rule set up by the U.S. government.

The hatred burning for a long time now in the South Vietnamese people's hearts has increased in face of the violation by the U.S. and Thieu Ky clique of the order on the suspension of military attacks on the recent occasion of Christmas, New Year's Day and the Lunar New Year Festival issued by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. Especially on the Lunar New Year Festival, while the NFL ordered a cease-fire for seven days the Thieu Ky junta shortened the period of truce set by them from 48 hours to 36 hours and finally cancelled their truce, and sent planes to raid heavily populated areas, massacring our compatriots right in the traditional festive days of our nation.

To save the honor of our Fatherland and to punish the murderers, the South Vietnamese people, with the strong support of the People's Liberation Armed Forces, are closing their ranks and firmly heading forward to attain at all costs their legitimate goals: independence, sovereignty, freedom, democracy, peace, neutrality, food, clothes and land, and a healthy life. They are demanding that the U.S. government withdraw the American and satellite troops from South Viet Nam and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their own affairs without foreign interference.

Dear American friends,

In face of the new development of the situation in South Viet Nam, on behalf of the South Viet Nam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American people, I earnestly call on the Americans of all strata -- prominent personalities, intellectuals, religious and social activists, mothers, wives, youths, students, laborers, businessmen, Americans of various nationalities and American residents abroad, to side with the South Vietnamese people, sympathize with them and support their struggle. We earnestly call on you, in the interests of the Vietnamese and American peoples, for the sake of the life and happiness of our children now being shattered in this war, for social justice and world peace, to take stronger actions: demand that the U.S. government stop at once its aggressive war in Viet Nam and the draft of American youths for that dirty war, withdraw all U.S. troops so as to end early that war, in



"DIFFICULT TO DISLodge." The tenacity of the Vietnamese freedom fighters in holding against the most formidable military power in history has won the admiration of the entire world. The heroic determination of the Vietnamese is explained in part by the participation of women side by side with the men in the armed struggle against the imperialist aggressor.

the interests of our two peoples.

We also call on you to raise your protests against the U.S. aggressors and Thieu Ky clique of henchmen, who are resorting to persecution and retaliation against the surging patriotic forces, that is against the entire South Vietnamese people, by bombing the An Quang pagoda and other places, massacring many women and children and setting up public execution grounds to intimidate the patriotic forces.

In face of the present urgent situation, the South Viet Nam People's Committee for Solidarity with the American People launches an emergency appeal to the





American youth, reserve military forces and soldiers stationed in the United States and in foreign countries who will be dispatched to South Viet Nam, to resolutely refuse to go to South Viet Nam to kill our people, who never have any grudge against your people, and try by every means to avoid being sent to South Viet Nam to serve the U.S. criminal and

immoral war there.

These actions are in your own interests, to defend your children and the honor of your own country, and at the same time in support of our people's just struggle.

We wish you success for the friendship between our two peoples.

ZANGAKUREN STUDENTS HAVE IMPACT ON POLITICAL THINKING IN JAPAN

The visit of the nuclear-powered carrier, Enterprise, at Sasebo in January, and the militancy of the Zengakuren students in protesting in the face of police violence [see World Outlook, February 9, p. 100], "seem to have left a deep imprint on the consciousness of Japan's citizenry," according to the February 17 Japan Times Weekly.

As evidence, the journal cites the debates between Zengakuren students and passers-by continually occurring near the Shinjuku station in Tokyo where the youth have been collecting signatures and money for their campaign against the war in Vietnam. The aim is to collect two million yen [¥362.5 = US\$1]. "The money will be used to buy helmets (priced ¥300 to ¥400) and wooden sticks in preparation

for the next 'combat.'"

Crowds keep gathering around the students to argue politics. The main topic is whether "violence" is justified as a means.

The people -- "common people who feel they have never had a say in politics" -- appear to have been aroused by the events in Sasebo, reports the Japan Times Weekly.

They are critical of both the students and the police for engaging in battles. "But they appear to be conceding that the students have a political role to play and a voice in the making of Japan's contemporary history."

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