

WORLD OUTLOOK

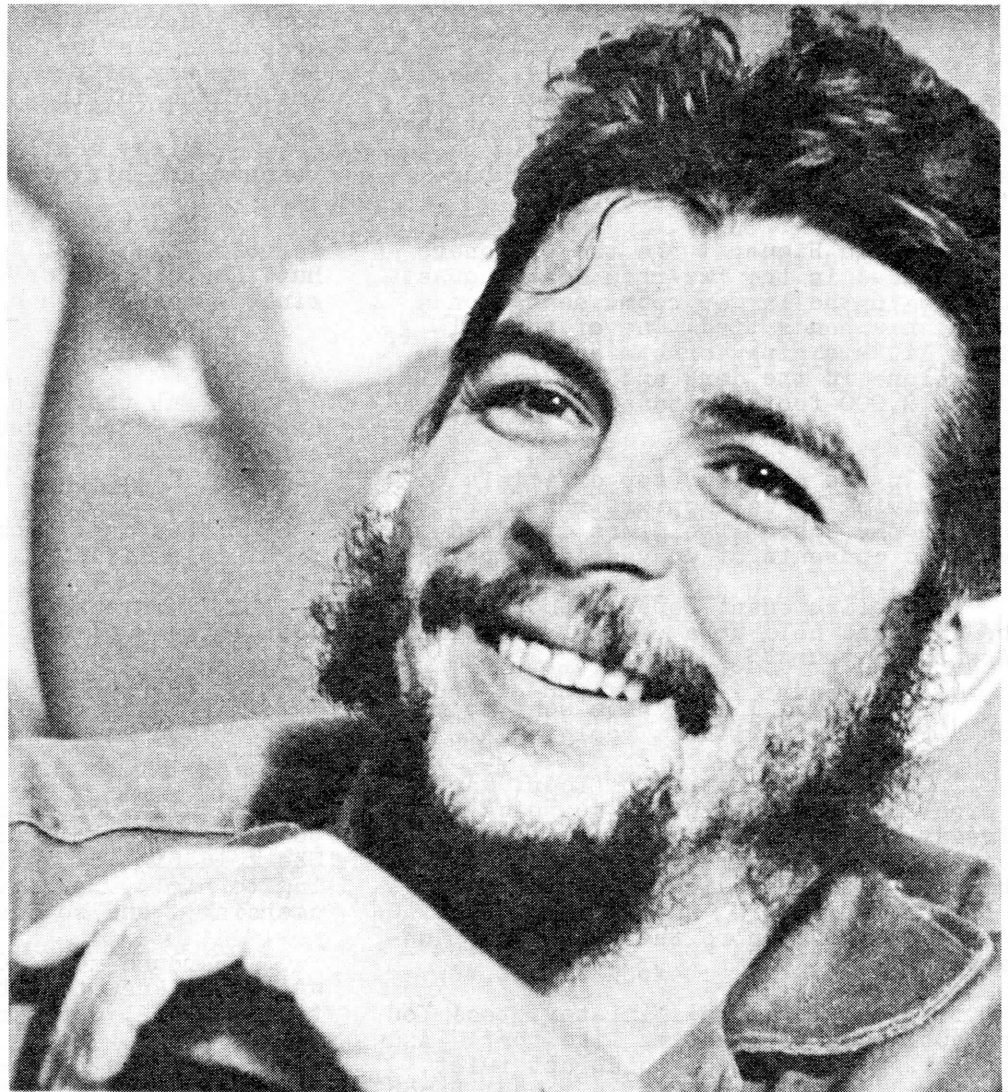
a labor press service

*Around the World with
Johnson in Five Days*

Vol.6, No.1

January 12, 1968

More About Che



50¢

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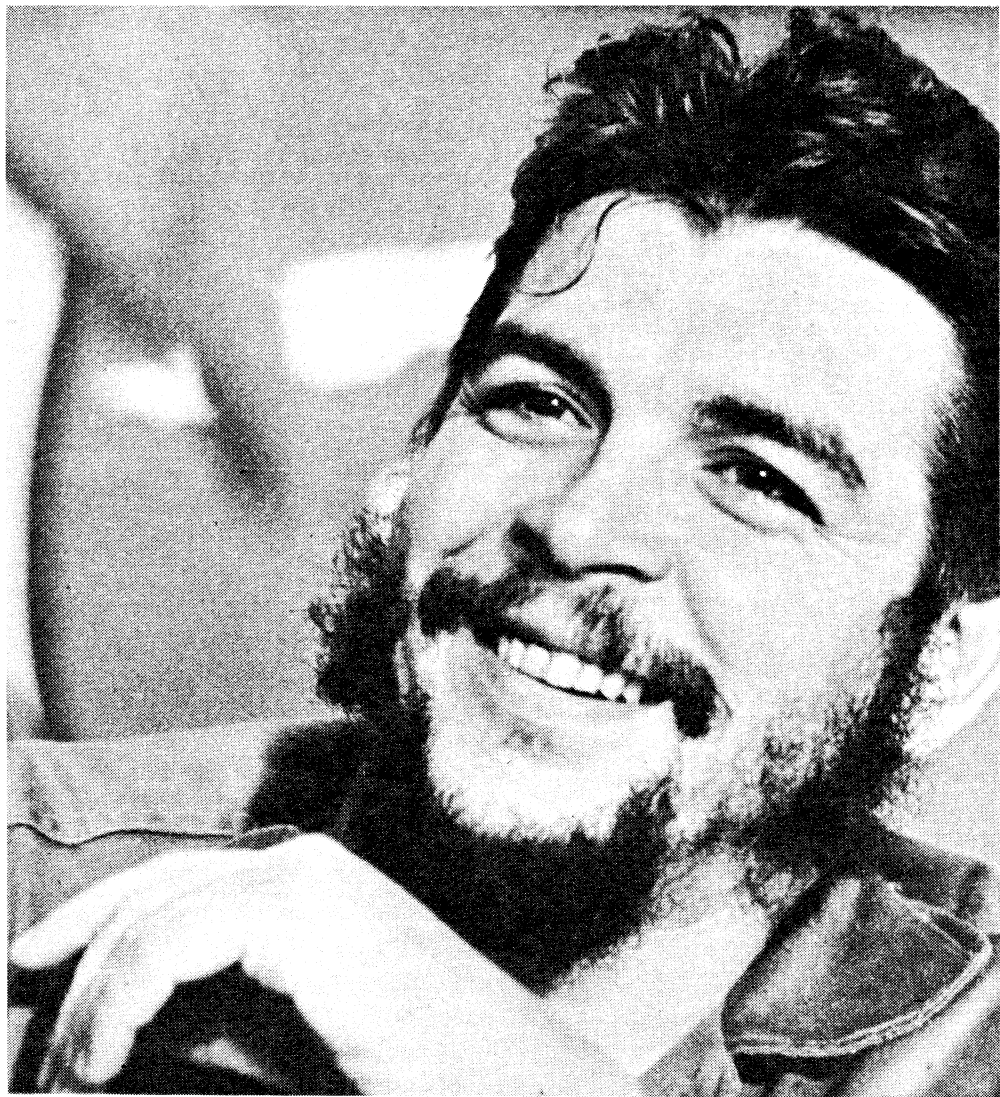
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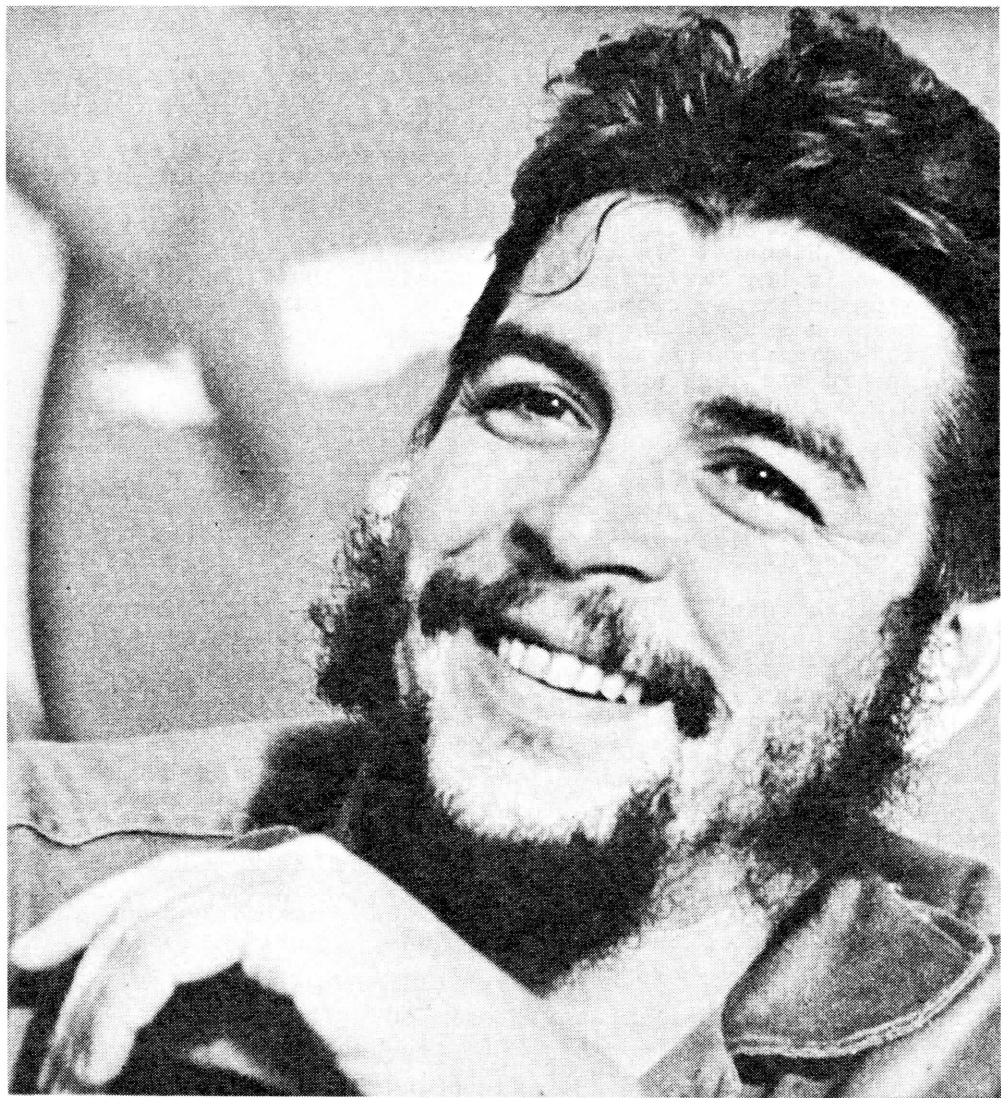
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MORE ABOUT CHE GUEVARA

Further details concerning the murder of Ernesto Che Guevara at the hands of the Barrientos military dictatorship in Bolivia were made public by the French weekly magazine Paris-Match in its December 30 issue. The information was obtained by Michèle Ray during a stay of six weeks in La Paz and the zone where the guerrillas were active.

Guevara was captured on October 8. His gun had been put out of commission by a bullet and he had been wounded. Willy, one of Che's comrades, attempted to carry the wounded leader on his back. According to the Bolivian army account, Willy put Che down and started firing. He was killed in the answering fire. This version turns out to be untrue. Four soldiers surprised the two guerrillas, and Willy did not have time to put Guevara down and get his gun. Both men were captured alive.

Supported by two soldiers, Guevara was marched into the tiny village of La Higuera. He had his knapsack but not the bag containing his documents. This he had managed to hide in the brush where it was found two days later.

In La Higuera, the two prisoners were placed in the two-room schoolhouse, Guevara in the larger room, seated on a bench, his hands tied. One of the soldiers lit his pipe for him and he was left alone in the dark and the icy chill of the 8,000-foot altitude, his wound unattended.

In the morning, top officials began arriving by helicopter from La Paz. Outside the school, soldiers disputed over the contents of Guevara's knapsack.

Sublieutenant Perez wrenched open the door and held up a pair of cuff links. "Are these yours?"

"Yes, and I want them sent to my son." Perez left without replying.

Espinosa, another officer, wanted a pipe. But the one in the knapsack had already been taken. He came into the room, took Che by the hair, shook him, and tore the pipe he was smoking from his mouth.

"Ah! So you're the famous Che Guevara!"

"Yes, I am Che! Minister, too! You are not going to treat me like that!" And with his good foot and an abrupt twist, he kicked Espinosa against a school bench.

A male nurse, Fernando Sanco, was finally brought in to attend to Guevara. "A bad wound in the leg...but that was

all. I washed it with water and a disinfectant."

Colonel Selich from La Paz sought to interrogate the prisoner, but in vain. He decided to reinforce the guard.

During the morning of October 9, Che appeared to want to talk to someone. He asked for the village schoolteacher.

The 22-year-old Julia Cortez tells the story as follows:

"I was afraid to go, afraid of finding a brute...And here was a man of attractive appearance, with a look that was soft and mocking at the same time... It was impossible for me to meet the glance of his eyes."

"Ah! You are the 'schoolteacher'! Don't you know that you shouldn't put an accent on the 'se' of 'ya se leer'?" he said by way of preamble and pointing to one of the outlines on the board.

He was gently ribbing the schoolteacher and his eyes were laughing.

"You know, in Cuba, there are no schools like this. You could call it a hut. How can the children of the campesinos study...It's antipedagogical!"

"Our country is poor."

"But the rulers and the military chiefs drive Mercedes and have a lot of other things...Verdad! That's why we are fighting."

"You came from very far away to fight in Bolivia."

"I am a revolutionary and I have been in many places."

"You came to murder our soldiers."

"You know, in war you lose and you win."

Julia Cortez reported the incident to Jorge Torrico, a Bolivian journalist. She told him, "I kept my eyes down talking to him...His gaze was insupportable, piercing...and so tranquil."

Around noon, Che sent for her again. He knew that he had but a short time to live. Certainly less than an hour.

But she refused. "I don't know why. I regret it now. Maybe it was because of his eyes, his gaze..."

Among those who came by helicopter, according to Aníbal Quiroga, the mayor,

were General Ovando, General Lafuente, Colonel Zenteno, Admiral Hugarteche, "and also an agent of the C.I.A., Gonzalez."

The admiral, upon landing in the helicopter, distributed money to each of the "Rangers."

All the officials came into the schoolhouse to stare at Guevara.

They got nothing from him in response to their questions except a scornful look. Seated on a bench, his hands tied, his back to the wall, he defied them.

Just the same, they tried to get him to talk. Admiral Hugarteche came up close. The admiral jumped back as if stung, his cheeks turning red. Che had spit in his face.

A little before 12:30, the high government officials left. Their orders were specific.

Another guerrilla, Benjamin, nicknamed "El Maestro" had been captured. He had been found by the Rangers, completely prostrated by the capture of Guevara. He did not even try to flee. He was put in the other room with Willy.

At one o'clock Che stood up. He had heard voices outside. An argument.

"I want to go in, too."

"I'm going in first."

"You take Willy and 'El Maestro.'"

The door opened and Mario Teran, a noncommissioned officer, came in, carrying an M2 on his hip.

"Sit down," he said.

"Why? You're going to kill me," Che said calmly.

"No. Sit down."

Looking down, avoiding the eyes of his prisoner, Teran acted like he was going to leave. Suddenly, a burst from his gun. Che crumpled. Behind him, on the wall, the bullets made two holes the size of fists, stained with blood.

Perez, a revolver in his hand, came in as Che lay dying. He finished the man on the floor with a bullet in the throat.

Two or three others followed Perez. All of them wanted to take a shot at the body. "All right," said the officer, "but not above the waist." They shot at his legs.

It was now the turn of Willy and "El Maestro." When the door opened, they knew what was in store.

Sergeant Huanca, a gun in his hands, faced the two men, both of them tied up and seated on the floor.

"You've killed him," said Willy. "I don't care about dying; I'll die with him."

A burst of fire and Willy and "El Maestro" fell over. On the wall, around the holes made by the bullets, there was blood.

Julia Cortez, in her home fifty yards away, heard the shots. She hurried to the schoolhouse. The man whose gaze she had not been able to endure, lay in a pool of blood. Tears came to her eyes.

"From all sides the peasants came, mingling with the soldiers who went to look for stretchers to lay the bodies on," Michèle Ray reports. "There was great agitation. Those who had seen, those who knew what had happened, explained to those who were arriving. Within ten minutes everybody knew about it. This is the reason why, two months later, the outside world is still 'barred' from the village."

An officer opened Che's clothing and counted the wounds. There were five on his legs, one on the left side of his chest, one in his throat, one on the right shoulder, one on the right arm. Nine wounds and not seven as the doctors at Vallegrande said.

At three o'clock, when the stretchers were waiting at the side of the helicopters, the Dominican father, Roger Schiller, arrived by horseback. Later he explained that he had heard about Che's capture early in the morning but he could not reach the village in time.

"I went to the school," he said. "It had to be cleaned. I found a bullet on the floor. Take a look at it. It's battered. I'm keeping it as a souvenir. Blood was running on the floor. In the classroom where Willy and El Maestro were, there was blood everywhere."

The Dominican father said that he learned that a woman had come out, looking for some water to wash Che's face, and she had said, "How beautiful he is; the way Christ looked!"

The officers in charge were concerned about other aspects of the martyrdom of Che Guevara. The soldier who had taken a roll of pictures of Che after he was seized and while being marched toward La Higuera was made to burn the entire roll of film while everybody watched him.

WHAT IS A GUERRILLA?

By Ernesto Che Guevara

[Since the death of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, October 9, 1967, the Cuban press has been filled with reminiscences by those who knew the martyred guerrilla leader. Many of Guevara's articles and speeches have also been appearing as part of a project to publish everything by him that can be found. The following item, an unusually succinct statement of Che's concept of a guerrilla fighter, appeared in the December 3 issue of the English edition of Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba. The editors of Granma do not indicate its source or the date it was written.]

* * *

The guerrilla is a liberation fighter par excellence: elected of the people, vanguard combatant in their struggle for liberation. Guerrilla warfare is not, as often thought, a small-scale war, a war conducted by a minority grouping against a powerful army. No, guerrilla warfare is war by the entire people against the reigning oppression. The guerrilla movement is their armed vanguard; the guerrilla army comprises all the people of a region or a country. That is the reason for its strength and for its eventual victory over whatever power tries to crush it; that is, the base and grounding of the guerrilla is the people.

One cannot imagine small armed groups, no matter how mobile and familiar with the terrain, surviving the organized persecution of a well-equipped army without this powerful assistance. The test is that all bandits, all brigand gangs, eventually succumb to the central power -- and one must bear in mind that for the inhabitants of a region these bandits often represent a liberation struggle, though the sheerest caricature of one.

Each member of the guerrilla army, the people's army par excellence, must embody the qualities of the best of the world's soldiers. The army must observe strict discipline. The fact that the formalities of orthodox military life do not correspond to the guerrilla movement, the fact that there is no heel-clicking or snappy saluting, no kowtowing explanations to superior officers, does not, by any stretch of the imagination, mean that there is no discipline. Guerrilla discipline is within the individual, born of his profound conviction, of the need to obey his superior, not only so as to maintain the effectiveness of the armed group of which he is a part, but also to defend his own life. Any slight carelessness by a soldier in a regular army is

controlled by his nearest comrade. In guerrilla warfare, in which each soldier is a unit within himself, an error is fatal. No one can be careless. No one can commit even the smallest slip, as his life and those of his comrades are at stake.

This informal discipline is often not apparent. For the uninformed, the regular soldier, with a whole complex system for showing recognition of superior officers, seems far more disciplined than a guerrilla, any guerrilla, following his chief's instructions with simple and stirring respect. Moreover, the liberation army is a pure army with no room for even the smallest of man's weaknesses; it has no repressive apparatus, no intelligence service to prevent individuals from falling victim to temptation. Self-control is the operative force. Rigid awareness of duty and discipline.

Besides being a disciplined soldier, the guerrilla is very agile, physically and mentally.

One cannot conceive of static guerrilla warfare. Night is the setting. Depending on his knowledge of the terrain, the guerrilla moves at night, takes position, attacks the enemy and withdraws. That does not mean that he must withdraw very far from the theater of operations; only that the withdrawal must be swift.

The enemy will immediately concentrate all its repressive forces at the point attacked. It will begin aerial bombardment, send in tactical units to surround the area, send in soldiers to take up a delusive position.

The guerrillas need only present a front to the enemy. By withdrawing a short distance, waiting for the enemy, attacking and withdrawing again, they have accomplished their specific mission. Thus, the army can be exhausted over a period of hours or even days.

The people's soldier attacks from ambush at the propitious moment. There are other basic axioms in guerrilla tactics. Knowledge of the terrain is a must. The guerrilla must be familiar with the place of attack, and he must also know all the paths of retreat as well as all means of access and those that are closed, the homes of those who are friends or enemies, the safest places, those where a wounded comrade may be hidden, those where a temporary camp may be set up -- in other words, he must know the theater of operations like the palm of his hand. And this is possible because the people, the great

nucleus of the guerrilla army, are behind each action.

The inhabitants of an area are porters, informants, nurses, the source of new recruits -- in short, they constitute the highly important assistants of their armed vanguard.

But in view of all these things, in view of the guerrilla's myriad tactical needs, one may ask, "Why fight?" The re-

sounding answer is: "The guerrilla is a social reformer. The guerrilla takes up weapons as the wrathful protest of the people against their oppressors; the guerrilla fights to change the social system that subjects his unarmed brothers to opprobrium and poverty. He acts against the special conditions of the Establishment at a given moment. And he is determined to smash the Establishment's patterns, with all the force that circumstances permit."

GUERRILLA FIGHTERS HUNTED IN PHILIPPINES

[The following article appeared in the December 15 issue of Laging Una, a newspaper of the Filipino people published in Los Angeles, California.]

* * *

Confessing failure of its efforts to find, capture or kill the two top leaders of the dissident Huk movement, the Philippine government Dec. 12 raised the rewards offered for them, "dead or alive." For Supremo Pedro Taruc the reward was increased from \$25,000 to \$32,500, and for Faustino del Mundo (known in the Huk ranks as Commander Sumulong) from \$20,000 to \$30,000.



PEDRO TARUC

could close in on them. While elements of the Philippine Constabulary hunt the Huks in the rice-growing Central Luzon area where Pampanga, Nueva Ecija and Tarlac provinces meet, the Huks are not restricting themselves to defensive and evasive tactics.

Similar appeals to human cupidity in the past yielded positive results. Traitors and informers led several Huk leaders into ambushes or reported their whereabouts so that government troops

In a series of actions during the first half of this month 11 Constabularymen and eight government informers were killed. The Huk guerrillas lost seven killed and two captured. One of the Huk casualties was Avelino Bagsik, known as Commander Zaragoza, killed in a three-hour firefight. He was leader of the Huks in Tarlac and there was a \$10,000 reward on his head.

The Defense Department in Manila told Los Angeles Times roving correspondent Arthur J. Dommen in mid-December that they estimated the strength of the Huks at 153 armed men, screened by "sympathizers, informers and suppliers of everything from guns to money."



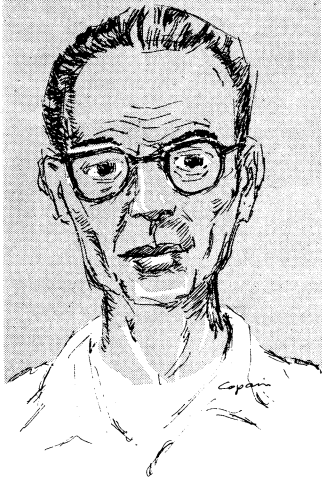
SUMULONG

What manner of men are these that they defy the armed might of the Philippine government? Correspondent Dommen, with the lack of bias for which Times men are noted, said they are "a varied collection of ordinary criminals, juvenile delinquents, ignorant peasants and protection racketeers who see in the Huk label the chance to double the psychological effect of the terror by which they exist. He found this out during a two-day stay in Manila.

2,000 GUERRILLAS REPORTED IN WEST IRIAN

A new outbreak of major guerrilla activity in Indonesia is reported in the January 8 issue of the American weekly Newsweek. Two thousand guerrillas are said to be operating freely in the jungles around Sukarnopurna, the capital of West Irian (formerly, Netherlands New Guinea), and other population centers on

that island. Indonesian gunboats have reportedly shelled smaller towns and villages which have risen against the bloody dictatorship of General Suharto. Newsweek reports that amid spreading fighting, the guerrillas have blocked the flow of food supplies from the interior to government-controlled settled areas.



PEDRO TARUC



SUMGLONG

JOHNSON PREPARES TO "GO FOR BROKE" IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

By George Novack

The big question in Washington as 1968 begins is whether the White House has given the Pentagon a green light to expand the war in Southeast Asia. McNamara's removal, the rumored departure of U.S. Ambassador Goldberg from the United Nations, and General Eisenhower's projection of the policy of "hot pursuit" over the borders of Cambodia and China are taken as premonitory signs that such a step is in prospect.

Johnson is not only commander-in-chief of the U.S. armed forces; he is also a Democratic politician who must contrive to be returned to the presidency this year. His main moves at home and abroad are shaped with a view to promoting his reelection next November.

The polls report that Vietnam is by far the issue of greatest public concern. The American people are more and more exasperated with the course and conduct of the war which has dragged along without any end in sight as the costs and casualties keep mounting. A large and growing minority want the troops withdrawn and brought home immediately. But many others hope that the war can be quickly ended in the opposite way by resort to more drastic military measures.

This attitude was described by Congressman Resnick, a candidate for the Democratic Senate nomination against Republican Senator Javits in New York. He stated in Saigon December 19 that "the overwhelming majority of the American people and the Congress are in favor of invading Cambodia, Laos and North Vietnam and dropping the bomb on anyone who tries to stop us...I think they want us to get in there and wipe them all out." Resnick is a Johnson supporter.

Johnson banks upon this mood of bellicose impatience to facilitate the Pentagon's plans for a sharp escalation of military operations. He is getting ready to "go for broke" in Vietnam on the assumption that more vigorous action there will serve to stifle domestic dissent and guarantee victory at the polls.

The propaganda buildup is already under way. On December 18 the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Earle G. Wheeler, presented the Pentagon's analysis of the military situation in Vietnam to the Economic Club of Detroit. He stated that "to stem the erosion of the Viet Cong's power base, the Communists have sought to divert allied forces from the heartlands of South Vietnam to the border areas. By operating close to their sanctuaries, they anticipated engaging allied forces in

areas most advantageous to the Communist forces."

The general stopped just short of recommending action to deal with the border sanctuaries but his point was plain. New York Times Washington correspondent Tom Wicker wrote the next day that Wheeler's remarks "tend to confirm what many here believe -- that the Johnson administration now is committed to the military defeat of the Communists in Vietnam and is not seeking a compromise solution."

On December 14, the day before Congress adjourned, Under Secretary of State Katzenbach testified at a closed hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. According to committee sources, he declined to give a positive answer one way or the other on whether the administration intended to extend military actions in Laos, Cambodia or North Vietnam. At the same time he confirmed reports that the administration was considering giving field commanders greater latitude in adopting tactics of "hot pursuit" of North Vietnam and NFL forces into Cambodia.

This so alarmed critics of Johnson's policy that leading senators of both parties persuaded Kentucky Republican Senator Cooper to deliver a speech in the closing minutes of the congressional session urging the administration not to widen the war. Any moves into Cambodia and Laos, Cooper said, "would only lead to a further and more dangerous expansion of the war" and make a negotiated settlement more difficult, if not impossible.

Cooper's appeal was backed by Senate Majority leader Mansfield, Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Republican Senator Javits of New York and Democratic Senator Hart of Michigan, who fear what Johnson may do after Congress is adjourned.

A Los Angeles Times-Washington Post dispatch from the national capital on December 20 outlined what the Pentagon has in store. It said that the highest levels of the Johnson administration are considering a plan to use South Vietnamese troops to pursue the National Liberation Front into neutral Cambodia. The South Vietnamese will make the first public breach of the Cambodian border, and American commanders would then feel free to reinforce them with U.S. troops.

This proposal goes beyond even a policy of "hot pursuit." It is understood that U.S. Ambassador Bunker has approved

the plan, which has been recommended by commanding General Westmoreland. "Sources in Washington say that the decision to move into Cambodia is all but made," the report continued. "They say that the American strategy to fight along the borders makes military arguments controlling, and that the military has the ear of President Johnson."

It is very likely that Johnson discussed this matter with the satellite Asian heads of state who attended memorial rites for Australian Prime Minister Holt in Melbourne on December 22. Johnson has usually prefaced escalation of his intervention in the civil war in Vietnam with phony peace maneuvers. It is no different this time.

As his staff prepared new military moves, he informed the American voters in a Christmas Eve television interview that he had generously offered new peace terms to the Vietnamese Communists and made a Christmas pilgrimage to the Pope in Rome. The public was not told that his "offer" was tantamount to a demand on the NLF and Hanoi to surrender unconditionally to the imperialist invaders of their country. The North Vietnamese have justly derided and rejected Johnson's five-point overture as a mask for intensifying the war. This is confirmed by a New York Post dispatch that the President conveyed a warning to Hanoi through diplomatic channels to accept his latest proposal for negotiations or face a major escalation of the Vietnam war.

Johnson seems set on this course despite the public warning to Washington from the Soviet Union on December 9

against extending military operations into Cambodia and Laos. The Kremlin is a pledged guarantor of the neutrality of both these nations. Evidently the U.S. policy makers do not attach much weight to Moscow's admonitions.

On January 6, 1967, I wrote in World Outlook [Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 9]: "Johnson...is bent on staying indefinitely in Vietnam. He has staked the prestige, and even the fate, of his leadership upon gaining a favorable outcome of the intervention in Southeast Asia which he and his advisers regard as indispensable for the global military strategy of U.S. imperialism.

"Despite the billions of dollars expended and the massive deployment of men and equipment in that area, this goal is no nearer realization than it was two years ago. Nonetheless, Johnson hopes to come before the electorate in 1968 as the tough and dauntless commander-in-chief who beat the 'Commies' in Vietnam and did not buckle before his 'panty-waisted' critics. He has raised Vietnam into a make-or-break issue for his administration."

There is no reason to revise this appraisal a year later. Scorning the counsel of his critics in ruling circles to cut losses and negotiate a compromise settlement, he is about to plunge ahead in a gamble which risks bringing the whole world to the brink of destruction.

The antiwar movement has the gigantic task of trying to put a strait-jacket on the dangerous men now in charge of affairs in Washington.

NEW WARNINGS OF WIDER WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The New Year began with a series of warnings that Lyndon Johnson is on the verge of carrying the Vietnam war into Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam, or even China. The warnings came from critical senators, former generals and government officials, who are in a good position to know what Johnson is up to.

Lieut. General James M. Gavin, retired, referring to Eisenhower's proposals for a virtual invasion of Laos and Cambodia, said December 29:

"I can't conceive of them being said without briefings from someone in the Pentagon. So this...is what we're going to do."

Earlier in December Roger Hilsman, former Under Secretary of State for Southeast Asian Affairs, told a New York audience that the "present situation will

lead inexorably, unless our present objectives are changed, to a land war in North Vietnam."

Senator Wayne Morse said in a January 1 television interview that the U.S. was headed for a war with China. The New York Post reported that Morse said such a war "cannot be won either with conventional or nuclear weapons" and that "if war with China did come, that America would have 3,000,000 troops in China within three years."

Morse further declared: "I am shocked at how we can walk out on all our moral ideals in connection with the way we're prosecuting the war. We'd better win it, because, don't forget that only defeated nations are tried, and if we should lose it the verdict of the world would make the Nuremburg trials insignificant."

DISSATISFACTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA LEADS TO OUSTER OF NOVOTNY

The Czechoslovak press disclosed January 5 that Antonin Novotny had been deposed as the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party. He is to be allowed, however, to remain as president of the country. The new first secretary is Alexander Dubcek, a member of the Presidential Council and first secretary of the Slovak Communist party. The regime thus appears to have reached at least a temporary resolution of the deepest crisis it has suffered up to now.

Novotny had run the Communist party since 1953 and served as head of the country since 1957. He utilized his double posts to impede the spread of liberalization in the country.

For four years he had been at odds with a number of his colleagues in the party Presidium who wanted a faster pace of reform. Resentment among the Slovaks over disregard of their rights as a minority was especially acute. Novotny acknowledged this indirectly in his New Year's address when he promised that development of the neglected Slovak regions would have to take precedence in the coming year. His promise turned out to be too little and much too late.

The current struggle began two months ago when all three Slovak members of the Presidium -- Premier Joseph Lenart, Alexander Dubcek and Michal Chudik -- demanded that the president quit both jobs. They blamed Novotny for blocking the three-year-old plans for economic reform. They accused him of discriminating against Slovakia, the underdeveloped eastern region of the country. Dubcek's accession to Novotny's post is intended as a dramatic concession to this sentiment.

The Slovak trio were later joined by Vice Premier Oldrich Cernik, state planning commissioner, who accused the president of clumsy leadership in economic and party affairs. A Central Committee meeting last October 30-31 adopted a resolution on revisions of the party structure which, contrary to custom, has not yet been made public. It concluded that "it is incompatible with Leninist principles to suppress criticism, not to listen to remarks, and to place oneself above the party." These complaints were aimed at Novotny. Official organs of the party were conspicuously cool toward the president on the tenth anniversary of his accession to office some weeks later.

Novotny's head-on collisions with the intellectuals and students have sharpened the differences within the leadership. On October 31 more than 1,000 students from the Strahov campus of the

the Technical College of Charles University marched with burning candles toward the government's Hradcany Castle to protest the lack of light and heat in their dormitories. The demonstration was spontaneous and nonpolitical.

The students were blocked from the government buildings, shoved, cursed and beaten. The official count says twelve students and three policemen were hospitalized but students estimate the injured as close to fifty.

Although the grievances were promptly attended to, the political repercussions of the fracas continue. One student leader reportedly remarked that some of the most convinced Communists in the university have begun to question the regime's action. "They want to know why, if it was so easy to fix the lights, we had to demonstrate to get it done," he said. "But more importantly, they want to know how our Socialist police can crack down on Socialist students with a legitimate, nonpolitical complaint."

Students at Charles University believe that the police crackdown was ordered because the government fears that the disaffection of the Czechoslovak writers is spreading to the campuses. (See: "Defiant Czech Writers Provoke a National and International Debate" by George Novack, World Outlook, December 15, 1967.)

The speeches of the dissident writers at the Congress of the Writers' Union in June have since been the prime topic of private discussions among the students. They now say that the police action against the demonstrators confirms the criticism of the rebel writers. "The writers said Novotny must finally come to terms with the mistakes, the excesses, and the crimes of Stalin," one language student observed.

Neal Ascherson, London Observer correspondent in Prague, reported on December 16 that he watched "students selling their magazine on the street and calling on passers-by to read about the 'bestial' acts of the police and proclaiming that the party cultural journal had defamed the students. Their magazine, in an article headed 'The Logic of Untruth,' openly sets the students alongside the protesting writers and compares their opponents to Pontius Pilates."

This could be a scene from Berkeley or some other turbulent campus in the United States.

The criticisms of the Old Guard Czech boss coming from the Slovak representatives, dissenting students, rebel-

rious intellectuals, proponents of economic reform and other elements in the population yearning for improvements raised hopes that the meeting of the CP Central Committee beginning December 20 would see Novotny removed from office.

However, Novotny managed to hang on temporarily to both positions through the intervention of Soviet CP Secretary Brezhnev, who flew to Prague December 8 without advance notice to argue against the ouster of his friend. Some say that Brezhnev made the move after an appeal from Novotny. Others claim that his sudden action was urged by Walter Ulbricht, head of the East German Communist regime, who feared that if Novotny were ousted this would aid the Bonn government in its efforts to gain greater influence in the East European countries at the expense of the German Democratic Republic. Ulbricht may also have feared that Novotny's downfall might signal his own eclipse, since he faces similar troubles.

According to New York Times correspondent David Binder, before Brezhnev arrived in Prague, the anti-Novotny group had grown to include eight of the ten full members of the Presidium. But Brezhnev succeeded in obtaining concessions from the president which induced two of the Slovaks, Premier Lenart and Michal Chudik, to switch sides.

Two incidents at the Presidium sessions which preceded the inconclusive Central Committee meeting show how tense and rancorous relations are among the top leaders. Novotny's self-criticism in December was a consequence of the accusation of "bourgeois nationalism" he made at the previous Central Committee gathering last October against Alexander Dubcek, first secretary of the Slovakian CP.

This attack had an ominous ring because such accusations formed the basis for a purge of the Slovak party in the 1950s. Moreover, Dubcek had done nothing but welcome the gestures toward democratization in the discussion on revising the party structure. Instead of accepting Novotny's charges, the Presidium made him backtrack and even raised the question of

replacing him as first secretary.

Toward the close of the Presidium meeting with Brezhnev, a stormy quarrel flared up between Novotny and his second-in-command Jiri Hendrych who is in charge of ideological matters. Each blamed the other for the collapse of party authority over the writers last June and for the repression against the students in October. After that Hendrych went over to the anti-Novotny faction, which left the presidium split five to five.

It had been predicted that in view of the forces arrayed against him, Novotny could not hold on to power very long. It was reported that he might have been ousted in December had his opponents been able to agree at that time on a successor. Perhaps the rising pressure from below led them to rally around Dubcek.

The Communist rulers of Czechoslovakia face this dilemma. The pressures for social, economic, cultural and even political change are so strong that they must be heeded without much delay. But they fear to open the floodgates of reform too wide lest the surge toward liberalization become unmanageable.

Lack of faith in the government is rife among the workers, intellectuals and youth. The spectacle of Brezhnev's intervention on Novotny's behalf, with its reminder of the regime's humiliating dependence upon Moscow, should further lower the fast-fading prestige of the leadership among the party ranks. The difficulties stemming from the economic reforms have provoked considerable dissatisfaction. The Central Committee itself acknowledged at the end of its May 3-4 plenum that there is an undesirable growth of inventories, a large volume of unfinished capital construction, and a growing gap between production and foreign trade.

The masses want rising living standards, more freedom, less regimentation. Will Dubcek prove capable of satisfying these demands? Or will his accession prove to be but the prelude to events that will pass over his head?

VIOLENT CLASHES WITH GUERRILLAS REPORTED IN ANGOLA

The guerrilla war in Angola has spread to the center of the country, the New York Times of December 30 reports. After having confined their operations primarily to the border regions for the last six years, the Angolan guerrillas are reported to have recently scored major gains in the central region, far from their reputed base in Zambia.

Violent clashes at several points

in the coastal region of Cabinda in north Angola have also been recently reported by the Angolan Peoples Liberation Movement.

A Reuters dispatch carried in Le Monde on January 2 reports that a Liberation Movement spokesman on Radio Brazzaville announced that thirty Portuguese bodies were left behind in these engagements, while the guerrillas lost six dead.

ALGERIA IN THE YEAR FIVE

By Larbi Hamdane

[This article, translated by World Outlook from the December, 1967, issue of La Quatrième Internationale, the organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, the French section of the Fourth International, was written before the attempted coup in Algeria December 14. It nevertheless provides useful material for understanding why the right-wing group headed by former Chief-of-Staff Col. Tahar Zbiri thought they could overturn Boumedienne the way Boumedienne overturned Ben Bella on June 19, 1965, and take the country still further down the road away from socialism.]

[Boumedienne managed this time to retain power against the military plotters. He may not be so successful in the next attempt. It is to be noticed in particular that Boumedienne made no attempt to mobilize the masses against the danger, or even to rally the unions. Instead, according to the press, while trying to liquidate his opponents in the military apparatus, he has also dealt some blows against the unions, which still remain too independent for his taste, as the article by Larbi Hamdane indicates.]

[The "year five" refers to the historic victory of the Algerian freedom fighters over French imperialism in 1962 which opened the way for the country to go socialist, a direction of development that was slowed down by Ben Bella's policies and then reversed by Boumedienne's coup d'état.]

* * *

The balance sheet of his government and, above all, promises for the future made up the gist of Boumedienne's speech on November 1, the fourteenth anniversary of the Algerian uprising. Since his record in power is quite meager, the Algerian president emphasized the future: economic planning, industrialization, agrarian reform, departmental reform,* reduction of the inequality of development among the regions, elimination of illiteracy, development and democratization of education, strengthening of self-management and, in addition, compulsory military service -- and all this "with order and discipline."

Such are the perspectives outlined in this address, which made no appeal to the masses to achieve this program but bid them put their confidence in the gov-

* Algeria like France is divided into départements which constitute the second level of government. -- Translator.

ernment "with a spirit of sacrifice."

The real situation of the country invites much less optimism than the official self-congratulation would have us share.

In fact, since the Mideast crisis, whose repercussions have not ceased to shake the Arab countries, a growing malaise has been apparent; thus the most fantastic rumors are circulating about the resignation or flight of various ministers; and the tone of the trade-union press and the resolutions of gatherings of the workers have never been so firm and clear in their denunciation of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy.

A split has developed in the society. In placing himself to the left of the Arab countries for a whole period and in particular to the left of Egypt and especially at the most intense moment of the crisis, Boumedienne undoubtedly heightened the fears of the right; at the same time, by proceeding to a partial mobilization of the masses and demanding certain sacrifices of them, he roused the masses to increased resistance to the attempts of the bourgeoisie and the government to exclude the workers from the economic and political direction of the country.

Thus the press and official pronouncements have been full of the need for order, discipline and national unity, centering their fire exclusively against the foreign enemy. Révolution et Travail, the organ of the UGTA [Union Générale de Travail Algérien -- the Algerian General Labor Federation] appeared with the heading "Unity and Vigilance Against Reaction."

Moreover, since the Khartoum conference, Algerian policy appears much less clear than before, disengaging more and more from the conflict in the Near East and leaving the role of vanguard of the Arab countries to Syria. The impression is given that a compromise has taken place among the quite diverse tendencies within the Algerian leadership.

In the most recent period, the emphasis has been put instead on the so-called conference of the "77," held in Algiers from October 10 to 25. The object of this economic conference, comprising the countries of the "third world," was to prepare for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development which will be held in New Delhi in February 1968 at which all the UN countries will be represented.

But eighty percent of the governments represented at Algiers were mere lackeys of imperialism: Thailand and Colombia were the spokesmen for Asia and Latin America; delegates were present from South Vietnam and from South Korea, while Cuba, China and North Vietnam were absent and the only socialist country represented was Yugoslavia. The concluding resolution, without a political preamble, was only a list of wishes ("What is needed is...What would be required is...") presented to the imperialist countries with the aim of improving the terms of exchange in world trade and obtaining additional "aid" from these countries.

The conference was held in the context of the colonial revolution, of the pressure of the masses of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The exploiting classes of the "third world" use the threat this represents to bargain for additional gains -- "this or revolution." They regale their peoples with perspectives for economic developments based not on independent struggle but on negotiations with imperialism on a worldwide basis, masking of course their own parasitic role in the economy.

What role should a revolutionary government have played at such a conference? First, it should have exposed and explained the limitations of such a meeting. It should have declared its refusal to accept the laws of the capitalist world market even if adjusted and mitigated. It should have denounced the role of the exploiting classes allied with imperialism in the countries of the "third world," exposing also the "third world" notion and proclaiming that the road to development for these countries leads through the socialist revolution. It should have declared that the way to economic liberation is first of all to mobilize the energies and resources within these countries rather than go begging favors from imperialism. It should, finally, have denounced the futility of counting on the capitalists to completely recast the mechanisms of the world market and let it be known that justice in world trade cannot be achieved except through the liquidation of capitalism and imperialism throughout the world, thus appealing for a socialist revolution in the industrialized capitalist countries.

But what in fact was the attitude of Algeria both at the conference and in the press and radio comment?

Except for Boumedienne's opening speech, which attacked neocolonialism and "peaceful coexistence" and thus created some stir among the delegations, the position of the Algerian delegation was to avoid political confrontation, to secure at any cost the success of the conference, that is, unanimous agreement on this doc-

ument made up of wishes innocent of political implications. Bouteflika's concluding speech represented a great retreat from Boumedienne's speech fifteen days earlier.

All the propaganda media were put to work to convince the Algerian people of the "historic" importance of this conference; and, while there was considerable discussion of the growing gap between the "affluent north and the disinherited south," none of the commentary made any allusion to class contradictions in the individual countries and on a world scale. It is clear that the Algerian leadership, whose rise to power helped to bring about the failure of the "Second Bandung" in Algiers in 1965, attempted to use this conference to refurbish its international reputation. Therefore, they made every compromise essential to its "success." Both by its political line in some cases and its compromises on other points, the position adopted shows clearly the limitations of the Algerian leadership; they gave a boost to neocolonialism, as the praise of the French bourgeois press confirms.

Sending a message of condolences to Fidel Castro on the death of Che Guevara, "who contributed greatly to the awakening of the peoples of the third world," while signing a document together with the Bolivian government appealing to the imperialists to work for the development of this same "third world": such are the blatant contradictions of a petty-bourgeois leadership caught between the anti-imperialism of the masses and the steadily mounting weight of reactionary forces within the state apparatus.

Inside the country, we see an erosion of the conquests of the revolution and economic stagnation.

Agrarian reform and economic planning have figured in all official pronouncements for many years but there has not even been a start toward putting them into practice. The departmental reform is certain to have no more effect than the city government reform. Five years after independence, fifty percent of school-age children are not in school. In agriculture, self-management is stagnating; in industry, it is going backward. The government is setting up "national corporations" with state capital or on the basis of combined state and private capital, whose essential characteristic is the total exclusion of the workers from management and the re-inforcement of the bonds between the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie.

This evolution toward a form of "state capitalism" thus represents a very marked setback for self-management.

As for industrial development, by

1970 it will amount to no more than the construction of the steel complex at Annaba and the petrochemical complex at Arzew and will fall far short of providing the number of jobs necessary for significant reduction in unemployment. As for the institution of compulsory military service, one cannot but approve the principle. But how is this to be applied? The sole guarantee for the revolution would be arming the workers and peasants.

Faced, in fact, with the skepticism and hostility of the masses, the government is seeking to broaden its base by reinforcing the FLN [Front National de Libération -- National Liberation Front -- the governing party]; this is why an FLN congress has been announced. But since the leadership does not want to expose itself to mass pressure through the party, this reinforcement will mean nothing but an enlargement of the apparatus.

The sole means of expression available to the masses, though it is a very important one, is the UGTA and its organ Révolution et Travail, which has been appearing more or less regularly again since last May 1.

The present leadership, elected at the Second Congress in March 1965, despite its limitations, has never integrated itself into the regime and today is in open conflict with the policy of "national corporations" developed by the Ministry of Industry. The most recent issue of Révolution et Travail is full of resolutions of assemblies of trade-union delegates and cadres denouncing the as-

saults on self-management and the reinforcement of the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the Third Congress of the UGTA just announced for the end of next February takes on very great import.

At present the UGTA is very weak both quantitatively and qualitatively. In order to wage an effective struggle against the mounting reaction, it is vital that it be strengthened and given new life. Workers' assemblies must be organized for this purpose; moreover, representation at this congress should not be based on dues, often long unpaid, but on participation in rank-and-file assemblies. This must be a congress of concrete decisions. It must determine to take the essential measures to inform and educate the masses. The union itself must free itself from all bureaucratic snares: otherwise resolutions for the defense of self-management and socialism will remain meaningless.

Preparation for this UGTA congress must be regarded by all revolutionary militants as the top-priority task for these next months: this congress will either be a congress of all the workers which will restore their confidence in their union and enable them to confront the bourgeoisie and bureaucratic regime or else the UGTA will not be set aright and the erosion of the revolutionary conquests will continue to mount. This congress, much more than the conference of the "77," will be "historic" for the Algerian workers and for the socialist revolution in Algeria.

BLACK POET IN NEWARK GHETTO SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS IN PRISON

LeRoi Jones, the well-known black poet and playwright, was sentenced to two and a half to three years in prison and a \$1,000 fine January 4 in a frame-up trial on charges of "illegal possession of weapons" during the ghetto outbreak in Newark, New Jersey, last summer. The harsh sentence was virtually the maximum possible and allows no probation.

The trial was staged and hysteria whipped up by those who view the spontaneous rebellions of the black masses as the result of a plot instead of the racist oppression under which they are forced to live.

The crude racism of the court was nowhere clearer than in the judge's explanation of the severity of the sentence. He did not attempt to justify it on the grounds of the poet's alleged actions during the rebellion. The judge openly declared that he "based the severity of Jones's punishment to a large extent" on

a poem published in December in Evergreen Review, a widely read literary magazine.

In the poem LeRoi Jones merely articulated the anger of the black masses. But Judge Kapp viewed the poem as incitement to rebellion, a high crime in the eyes of those entrusted with upholding the white capitalist power structure.

Two codefendants got smaller sentences and fines. The three were arrested last July 14 while driving to Jones's home in Newark. Jones was seriously beaten by police who claimed to have found two pistols and a small amount of ammunition in his car. Jones and the others in the car have consistently denied any knowledge of the guns, charging they were planted by the police.

After being sentenced Jones declared to the judge: "You are not a righteous person, and you don't represent Almighty God. You represent a crumbling structure..."

AROUND THE WORLD WITH JOHNSON IN FIVE DAYS

Some thought it was for the birds (see cartoon below); others put it in the tradition of Phileas Fogg, who organized his life in accordance with the dictum, "The unforeseen does not exist."* The immediate entourage of the great man saw it as a stroke of genius that probably solved at one blow the most difficult problem facing the Johnson administration -- how to dump the unpopular image of the president and replace it with something attractive enough to win the elections for the Democratic party in 1968.

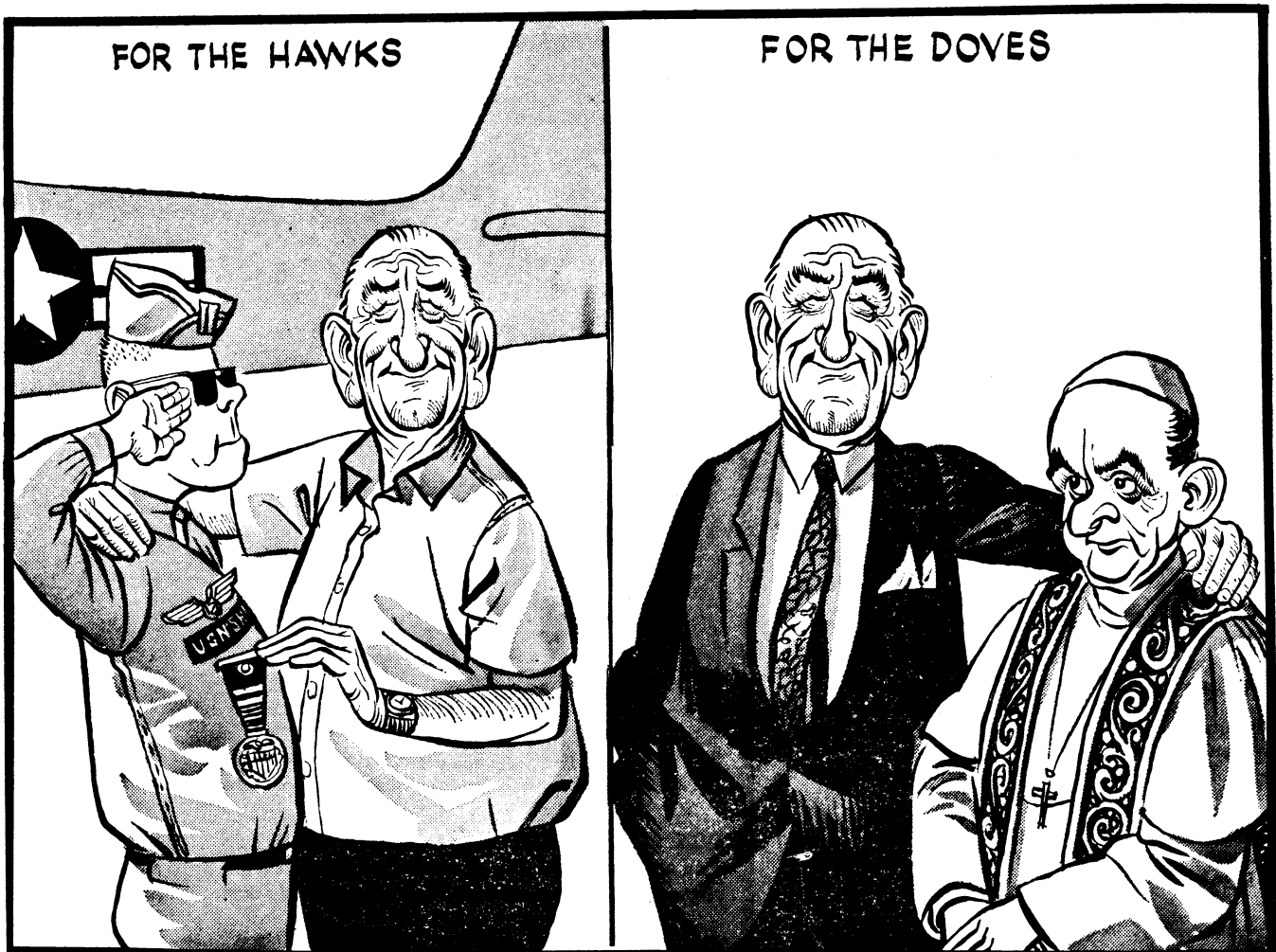
The latest poll gives substance to their optimism, Johnson now having a 46% popularity rating, a handsome rise from his November showing of 41% and a most gratifying change from the dismal October low of 38%.

* Jules Verne credits Mr. Fogg with having been the first tourist to make it around the world in eighty days.

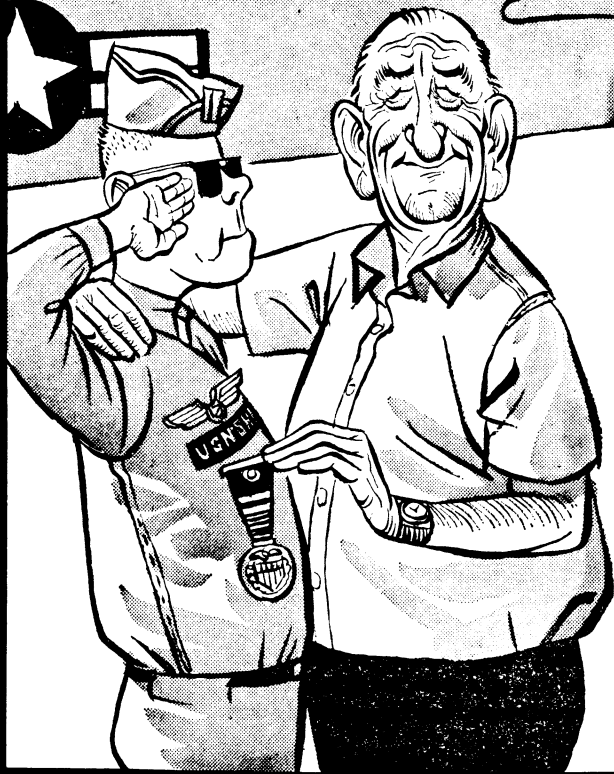
The president had already been "wired for sound" -- equipped with a microphone under his coat -- so he could pace the boards while declaiming at his press conferences; and he had been taught to play the role of a "stand up comic," a political Bob Hope whose jokes, quips, wit and humor were sure to keep the electorate in a laughing mood. But the new image still needed a dramatic touch, a piece of showmanship to get it on the road.

It was at this point, on December 17, that Harold Holt, the prime minister of Australia, was last seen alive. From the meager evidence, the conclusion was that he left the beach, swam out alone into deep water, and something happened.

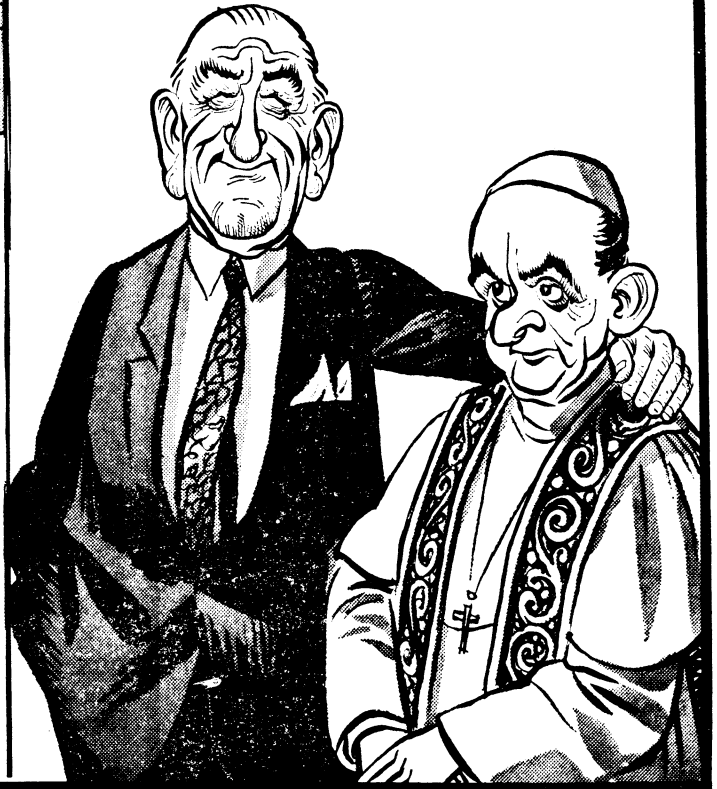
No one anywhere in the world, of course, has seriously advanced the hypothesis that the CIA fed the prime minister of Australia to the sharks so as to create a favorable opportunity for



FOR THE HAWKS



FOR THE DOVES

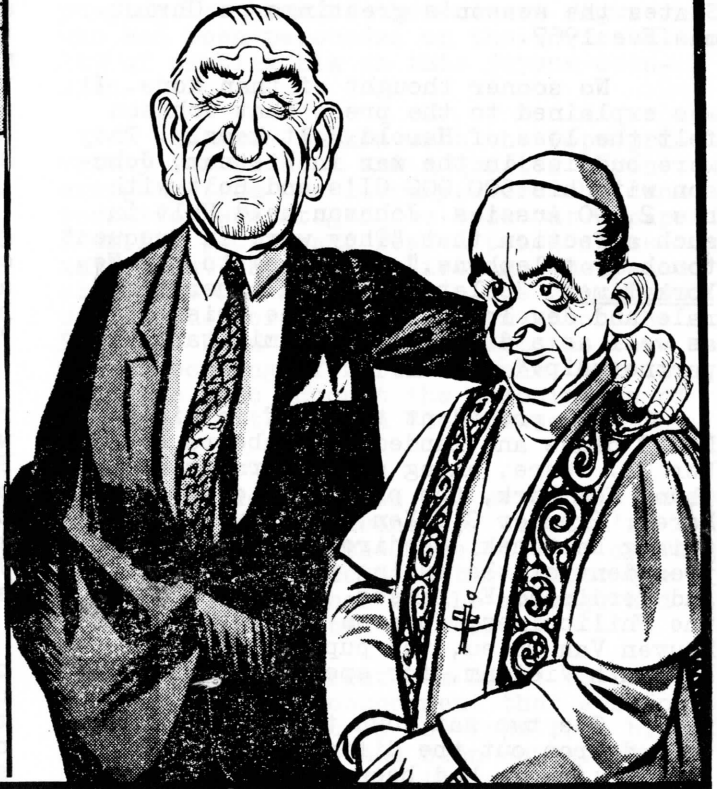


-- From the Toronto Daily Star.

FOR THE HAWKS



FOR THE DOVES



-- From the Toronto Daily Star.

Johnson to put his new image on display; but the timing -- just before Christmas -- could not have been more auspicious for a state funeral.

It gave the president a plausible excuse to show how fast a modern Phileas Fogg can really move when he sets out to make a record. "Lyndon Johnson in orbit is the ultimate in American tourism," explained the New York Times, and the idea of his "frantic airborne dash" was "not so much for the experience of the thing as just to capture it on film and live off it for a year at home -- in this case the fateful year of 1968."

By putting in an appearance at the funeral services for Holt, Johnson could contact a dozen heads of states in one swoop. Besides the prestige this would add to the president's new image, political hay could be made by lining them up more firmly for hotter pursuit of the war. As a bonus, a side trip could be arranged to visit the boys in Vietnam at a most propitious time of year, politically speaking. Some bargain Christmas shopping could be done at the army PX's, a saving not to be sneered at. On the way home, he could drop in on the Pope to help His Holiness offer a peace message to the world. And, with split-second timing in the example set by the illustrious Mr. Fogg, Johnson could still wind up posing in front of the ten-foot Christmas tree in the White House with cameras and tape machines to record the tranquil scene of his wishing the people of the United States the season's greetings on Christmas Eve 1967.

No sooner thought of than done. It was explained to the press that Johnson felt the loss of Harold Holt keenly. They were buddies in the war in Vietnam, Johnson with his 500,000 GI's and Holt with his 2,000 Aussies. Johnson held Holt in such affection that "They were in frequent touch by telephone," according to the New York Times, "bolstering each other's morale and developing a genuine friendship as well as a diplomatic and military partnership."

The president took off in his No. 2 plane and landed in Canberra December 21. There, among such mourners as Chung Hee Park, the president of South Korea; Premier C.K. Yen, the envoy of Chiang Kai-shek; Shojiro Kawashima, vice president of the ruling party in Japan; and Ferdinand E. Marcos, president of the Philippines; Johnson singled out Nguyen Van Thieu, the puppet president of South Vietnam, for special attention.

The two sat down to reason together and iron out the differences in their stories (there had been rumors of a clash over perspectives in Vietnam). They settled everything in a few minutes, and is-

sued a joint statement, which Johnson may have brought along in advance, declaring their mutual determination to carry on with the war in Vietnam to the bitter end.

The funeral the following day in Melbourne was a brilliant success, getting top billing in all the communications media internationally. Johnson fit in remarkably well with the other mourners, as could be seen from the photographs. He sat with a bereaved countenance behind Prince Charles of England, with the more attractive, left side of his profile facing the cameras.

The services over, no more time was lost in Australia. At Korat, Thailand, Johnson delivered a midnight pep talk to American combat fighters as their colleagues took off from a nearby strip for a bombing foray in North Vietnam. He spoke strongly for keeping up the bombing of North Vietnam and told the fliers: "Let no man in any land misread the spirit of our land. The spirit of America is not to be read on placards and posters."

With that thrust against the anti-war demonstrators in the United States, Johnson took off for Camranh Bay, the safest U.S. air base in Vietnam. There he stopped for an entire hour.

Thirty-three C-130 transports had brought in 2,450 troops to be lined up and reviewed by their commander in chief. He pinned medals on some of them as the cameras ground away, pressed a few hands, and offered a pep talk in which he said that the North Vietnamese fighters were not yet beaten but knew they had "met their master in the field."

"We're not going to yield," he said. "And we're not going to shimmy."

Upon leaving, he shook hands with generals, civilian officials and soldiers crowding the ramp. Then, according to the account, he made a fist with his right hand and told Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker: "Give it to them."

At Karachi, where an hour was spent refueling, Johnson whiled away the time with Mohammed Ayub Khan, the president of Pakistan, but this rated only a paragraph or so in most dispatches. The next major target was Rome and a Christmas peace message to be issued by Johnson from the Vatican with the Pontiff at his side so as to give it the Papal seal of approval.

But trouble had developed in Rome over diplomatic protocol, hierarchical rigmarole, wounded feelings, petty vanities and other obscure and frustrating niceties of the complex Italian political scene. It was not until three hours before the landing that the "ultimate in American tourism" knew he would be re-

ceived by the Pope. Up to then, the press claims, he had been prepared to accept the alternative of landing in Madrid and seeing Generalissimo Franco, another leading Catholic.

But it hardly seems in character for Johnson to have had any doubts about the Pope. He felt in his bones, it seems certain, that the impending visitation would prove irresistible to the good vicar. After all, how long has it been since any Pope could boast of having shaken hands with the Almighty himself, and in the flesh, even if in the shape of a Protestant?

What actually happened in Rome remains something of a mystery despite the handouts of the White House press service picturing a smashing success for Johnson and a remarkable meeting of minds between the world's holiest Catholic and the world's most omnipotent Protestant. Tantalizing bits of the truth can, however, be pieced together from various sources.

On December 23, sometime before Johnson's plane landed at 6:55 p.m., the well-informed correspondent of the Paris daily Le Monde, Jacques Nobécourt, wrote from Rome that neither the Italian authorities nor the Holy See were notably elated at having been selected as hosts for a presidential whistle-stop.

Besides the uneasiness of the hosts, the guest was in a bristling mood when he arrived. William McGaffin of the CDN news service wrote: "The President was furious while he waited 10 minutes at Ciampino Airport for the helicopter to pick him up."

The ten minutes were lost in completing the reassembly of his helicopter, which had been disassembled in the U.S., packed on a military freight plane, and carted across the Atlantic for his use in Rome. The president's bubbletop, armor-plated limousine had also been air-freighted to Rome for use in moving him from his helicopter to any church or government building.

Six thousand police had been mobilized to protect the route to the presidential palace in Rome where the heads of the Italian government always meet visiting dignitaries. But that plan did not correspond with Johnson's idea of how to outfox any peace demonstrators that might show up despite all the secrecy. As William McGaffin put it, the plan was that "he would be denied exposure to crowds, much as he loves them, to avoid the danger and embarrassment of an anti-American demonstration."

The heads of the Italian government were told that Johnson would take off in his helicopter and meet them at

Castelporziano, the 5,000-acre country estate where President Sarragat relaxes from the cares of office in the summer.

The hosts had no choice but to meet the wishes of the "ultimate in American tourism." They dutifully showed up and Johnson granted them an audience of twenty minutes.

He then took off, guarded by armored helicopters that had been flown in from the Sixth Fleet. It was 8:20; and the night was pitch-black.

Jacques Nobécourt reports in the December 26 Le Monde that the armored helicopters circled the Vatican City for a quarter of an hour looking for a tennis court where they were supposed to land. It was hard to find in the dark. They swooped over the Papal gardens and zoomed through St. Peter's Square. One of them attempted a landing and broke all the cables set up to broadcast the Christmas mass. With that success, the others tried landing -- the first attempt of its kind in the history of the Eternal City, "in complete darkness and without knowing the place." The pilots, with the whole know-how tradition of the American military machine behind them, did a superb job of putting the president down safely, knocking over only a small antenna of the Vatican broadcasting station.

The president was then whisked into his armor-plated, bubbletop limousine; and in a couple of minutes he was pumping the hand of the eminent figure who had been persuaded on the advisability of meeting him on this joyous occasion.

Johnson talked with the Pope privately for an hour and a quarter. Upon emerging from the library where the conversation was staged, he took out a paper from his pocket and read a peace statement about the war in Vietnam. The peace statement did not refer in the slightest way to the sorrow and concern which the Pope has been expressing about the continued bombing of North Vietnam, but it did take into account the admonitions of the Pope to the North Vietnamese.

The declaration had evidently been prepared well in advance of Johnson's conversation with the Pope. It, of course, got front-page attention throughout the world, as the author of the message had obviously calculated it would.

Human interest was added to the meeting by the announcement that Johnson had brought a gift to the Pope from his daughter Luci, who had been converted to Catholicism. The gift, in perfect harmony with the spirit of the evening, was a bronze bust of her father.

The party of tourists took off from the Vatican, and at 10:38 the president's helicopter landed again at the airport. Johnson took time out to choose some trinkets from an assortment offered him by a jeweler from the via Condotti. At 11 p.m. the flight was resumed to Washington. All of the president's business in Rome had been completed in four hours and five minutes, according to the schedule jotted down by the correspondent of Le Monde. It was a record few tourists can show evidence of having matched.

What went on between the Pope and the president in the hour and fifteen minutes they spent together? This was a closely guarded secret until the mystery was cracked by Newsweek. According to this source (January 8 issue), "the meeting between the President and the Pope had, in fact, been less than completely harmonious."

The meeting was sought by the White House, said Newsweek, because Johnson was concerned that the Pope might make some kind of peace move that would embarrass the U.S.

"The meeting itself turned out to be a correct but impersonal encounter. According to diplomatic insiders, the President in folksy Texas fashion sought to bridge the gap by telling the Pope how pleased he was about his daughter Luci's conversion to Catholicism. But the Pope, who had a ten-page memo on the desk in front of him, immediately launched into a discussion on Vietnam.

"Why, His Holiness wanted to know, couldn't the U.S. prolong the 24-hour Christmas truce and indefinitely suspend the bombing? The President sought to explain that so long as U.S. troops were fighting in Vietnam he was duty-bound to give them all the possible military support at his disposal. Visibly upset by this reply, the Pope sharply demanded: 'Perchè [Why]?'"

Newsweek said that after the meeting, a knowledgeable official in Rome reported: "Everyone left unhappy. The encounter ended as a frigid meeting between two diplomats."

In Washington, "another source in a position to know admitted: 'I would be less than honest with you if I said there was a complete meeting of minds.'"

The exposure brought a howl from the White House. At his news conference January 2, Johnson denounced Newsweek, saying, "It is just made out of whole

cloth. It just didn't happen. The people who participated in the conference from our side were startled and shocked at their information. We told them it was just completely untrue. So that is our version. You can take Newsweek's or ours, whichever you want."

It boils down, obviously, to measuring whose credibility gap is gaping the widest, Newsweek's or the president's. There is little doubt, naturally, which version most people will take.

Johnson's own dissatisfaction with the way things went in Rome was indicated by his announcement nine days after returning home that Ambassador Frederick Reinhardt, the career diplomat in charge of American affairs in Italy, is to be replaced by Gordon Ackley, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, described by Johnson as "one of my most trusted and closest friends and advisers."

Johnson must be credited with a model demonstration of how primitive Phileas Fogg's achievement stands in comparison with what the ultimate in American tourism can do. Johnson's record was around the world in 112 hours -- some sources say 120 hours -- during which he took in the funeral of a prime minister, joined a pope in saying Merry Christmas to the world, and racked up a couple of dozen other spectaculars. But the accomplishment was followed by a most unexpected anticlimax.

In his January 2 news conference, Johnson took up the "balance of payments situation" faced by his government. Emergency measures are to be applied and further steps are envisioned, he said. One of them is to bring American tourism under heavy fire. There's just too much of it going on; and Johnson doesn't mean American tourism in Vietnam or anywhere else that troops are needed. He means civilians who want the experience and education of going to places like Europe in peacetime. A penalty tax of \$5 or \$6 a day may be slapped on them for going outside the Western Hemisphere.

While laws are being considered, patriotic Americans can do something about it right now, in Johnson's considered opinion. "We believe," said the president, "that the most effective action that could be taken would be for the citizens themselves to realize that their traveling abroad and spending their dollars abroad is damaging their country."

The man should know.

JOHNSON DUCKS DEMONSTRATORS IN ROME

By Tullio Venturi

Rome

When the news flashed through Rome that Johnson was on his way to visit the city, preparations were begun immediately to give him an appropriate reception. But not much came of it. One reason was the extraordinary secrecy and precautions of the authorities and Johnson's evident fear of an antiwar demonstration. A more important reason was the role played by the Italian Communist party, which, as the largest party in Italy, should have assumed responsibility for organizing a welcoming party.

But the Italian CP is trapped in a dilemma. On the one hand its leaders feel the need to show militant sectors of its followers that it favors doing something in support of the Vietnamese revolution. On the other hand the leaders want to create as little embarrassment as possible for the Socialist party which is in the government, the CP policy being to serve as the loyal opposition and to do no more than exert pressure on the SP to do what it can to change the government's policy.

Because of the growing radicalization of the youth, the CP is reluctant to call demonstrations, as these tend to get out of hand. When it does organize a demonstration, it seeks to keep it down in size, the easier to control it, and it tries to police the participants, directing its blows particularly against "Trotskyists" and similar elements who seek to give the demonstrations a militant edge.

Johnson's journey was thus troublesome for the CP leaders. They thought the problem could be solved by a trick; namely, to call for a demonstration in their official paper but without specifying the exact place of assembly. Thus the bulk of the demonstrators would be party members with inside information about the details and the plans.

The police did not rely too much on the capacity of the CP leaders to keep things in hand even with this procedure. Thousands of cops were mobilized to guard strategic spots, above all the U.S. embassy.

Johnson's bodyguards, in turn, did not rely too much on the capacity of the Rome police department. The American president was shuttled about the city in an armored helicopter and his schedule of appointments was kept strictly secret until after he had left for the Azores.

The demonstration to protest Johnson's visit was therefore not impressive. Not more than 1,500 assembled at the peak of the affair.

They moved toward the U.S. embassy but this was guarded by such a big detachment of police that it was impossible to get anywhere near it. The marchers therefore paraded through the center of the city.

Difficulties occurred during the march when CP squads sought to tear down a big banner carried by some leftist groups that read: "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution."

After the march passed the residence of the president of the country, it broke into two sections. One, led by the CP bureaucrats, continued parading and then concluded with a speech from a member of the CP national leadership. This was a rather small contingent.

The other section, which was both larger and more militant, proceeded to the Quirinale (the palace of the president) where they set up picket lines.

A CP squad sought to get at least part of this group to join the other section of the march. Their efforts were firmly rejected.

Not much that was new came from the demonstration other than the appreciation reached by fresh layers of the youth on the actual role of the CP leadership and on the need to better organize the left.

The police showed that they were unconvinced that the CP leaders can always control their own demonstrations. They proved by their attitude that they were more realistic than the CP bureaucrats.

LIVING COSTS CONTINUE TO SKYROCKET IN ARGENTINA

The cost of living in Argentina has risen thirty percent in the past year, the military dictator General Onganía admitted in his year-end speech. At the same time, he said, his government intended to impose

new taxes on basic necessities. He also shattered hopes that the government would end the year-long wage freeze, which, of course, has not been accompanied by price controls.

HO CHI MINH'S GREETINGS TO ANTIWAR MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.

[On December 30, the United Press International carried on its wires the following New Year's greetings from Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam to Americans opposed to U.S. involvement in the civil war in Vietnam. While many papers in the United States may have referred to the message, few provided the text.]

* * *

I send you, friends, my best wishes for the new year 1968.

As you all know, no Vietnamese has ever come to make trouble in the United States. Yet half a million United States troops have been sent to South Vietnam who, together with over 700,000 puppet and satellite troops, are daily massacring Vietnamese people and burning down Vietnamese towns and villages.

In North Vietnam, thousands of United States planes have dropped over 800,000 tons of bombs, destroying schools, churches, hospitals, dikes and densely populated areas.

The United States Government has caused hundreds of thousands of United

States youths to die or to be wounded in vain on Vietnam battlefields.

Each year, the United States Government spends tens of billions of dollars, the fruits of the American people's sweat and toil, to wage war in Vietnam.

In a word, the United States aggressors have not only committed crimes against Vietnam, they have also wasted United States lives and riches and stained the honor of the United States.

Friends, in struggling hard to make the United States Government stop its aggression in Vietnam you are defending justice and, at the same time, you are giving us support.

To insure our fatherland's independence, freedom and unity, with the desire to live in peace and friendship with all peoples the world over, including the American people, the entire Vietnamese people, united and of one mind, are determined to fight against the United States imperialist aggressors. We enjoy the support of brothers and friends on the five continents. We shall win, and so will you.

DR. SPOCK AND OTHER PROMINENT ANTIWAR FIGURES INDICTED

New York

The U.S. government has launched its first major attack on the movement against the Vietnam war in this country. A federal grand jury indicted five prominent opponents of the war January 5.

The five were charged with "conspiring to counsel young men to violate the draft laws." They face up to five years in prison and fines of \$10,000 each if convicted.

The government, aiming to terrorize and intimidate the antiwar movement, chose for its victims some of the most widely known and respectable figures associated with the moderate wing of the movement.

Most famous of those indicted were Dr. Benjamin Spock, the author and pediatrician, and William Sloane Coffin Jr., chaplain of Yale University.

The other three under indictment are Marcus Raskin, codirector of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.; novelist Mitchell Goodman; and Michael Ferber, a graduate student at Harvard University.

According to the indictment, the five agreed "to sponsor a nationwide draft resistance program that would include disrupting the induction processes at various induction centers, making public appeals for young men to resist the draft and to refuse to serve in the military services and issuing calls for registrants to turn in their draft cards."

Dr. Spock declared that one reason for the indictments was that "Lyndon Johnson and the Administration are feeling more desperate all the time because the war is still going against them."

He correctly said that his conduct was "legal in the highest sense" and pointed to the Nuremburg decisions as justification for his actions because the American government "is up to crimes against humanity."

Spock said he was not afraid to go to jail but that he would fight all the way to the Supreme Court. "The Government is not going to quit easily and neither are we," he said.

The case is certain to become a rallying point for the entire antiwar movement. It is plainly conceived by

America's rulers as a political attack to silence dissent. Thus if the prosecution is successful it would be only the beginning of wholesale indictments of antiwar activists across the country.

The government's intention of opening a head-on confrontation with the antiwar movement is clear from its decision to attack the most respectable rather than the most radical wing of the movement. These are men of some stature in the United States.

Dr. Spock is the country's leading authority on child care, and his book, Baby and Child Care, has sold more than twenty million copies. Both he and William Sloane Coffin come from families on the fringes of the ruling class itself.

Spock's father was general counsel of the New Haven Railroad, and Coffin's father was vice-president of W. and J. Sloane, the large chain of luxury furniture stores.

Marcus Raskin was a member of the

White House staff during the Kennedy administration, when he was a disarmament advisor on the staff of the National Security Council. He was also a member of the U.S. delegation to the 18-nation Geneva disarmament conference in 1962 and served on a special presidential panel on educational research and development.

Mitchell Goodman, 44, is a graduate of Harvard College and served as an artillery lieutenant during World War II. He has published one novel and has written for the New York Times, the Atlantic Monthly, Redbook and Esquire. He has taught writing at Stanford University and the City College of New York.

The response to this attack by all opponents of the war must be to unite in the broadest possible movement of defense. If the political character of the government's assault can be made clear to the mass of the American people by the time these men are brought to trial, Johnson may discover that this was not exactly the most auspicious way to open his presidential campaign in 1968.

GENERALS TOLD TO PROVIDE AMMUNITION TO REELECT JOHNSON

Faced with rising opposition to the war in Vietnam at home in an election year, it appears that Lyndon Johnson has embarked on a new kind of escalation of the war. Unable to win the war on the ground or in the air, he seems determined to win it in the newspapers and over radio and television in order to impress the American voters in 1968.

R.W.Apple Jr. writing from Saigon in the January 1 New York Times reports that "American officials at almost all levels, both in Saigon and in the provinces, say they are under steadily increasing pressure from Washington to produce convincing evidence of progress, especially by the South Vietnamese, in the next few months."

Johnson, presumably under his authority as commander-in-chief, seems bent on converting the whole U.S. military machine in Vietnam into an adjunct of his campaign for the Democratic party nomination. Apple quotes a Vietnamese official:

"I was in a briefing the other day," a middle-level civilian said, "and the man briefing us came out and said it: 'An election year is about to begin. And the people we work for are in the business of re-electing President Johnson in November.'"

Apple also cites cablegrams from the State Department and the Pentagon urging commanders, in reporting on the South Vietnamese army, to "get the idea across

to the American public that they are fighting well."

A new censorship has begun in South Vietnamese papers. Saigon officials "have told their subordinates to try to head off newspaper articles that reflect adversely on the Government's commitment to the war."

Even daring to tell the truth to the Americans is regarded by many as a punishable offense. The Times correspondent writes:

"A minority of officials have said they were afraid if they told Washington what they regard as the truth -- that there is little or no chance of dramatic, demonstrable progress before November -- that they would lose their jobs."

Many of the half million GIs in Vietnam may not have planned to become campaign workers for Johnson. But it should be a great consolation to know that whatever their personal fate may be, the "successes of American arms" will be reported with the greatest possible optimism.

Among the president's accomplishments should be listed the commitment of an American force larger than that used in Korea, where top strength was 472,800; and the report in the December 30 Le Monde that there are now more than four million homeless refugees in South Vietnam as a result of American prowess.

THE AMERICAN CP "REHABILITATES" CHE GUEVARA

[The following letter, printed in the January 6 issue of the National Guardian, an independent radical weekly published in New York, is indicative of a rather widespread feeling among young people in the United States of a militant cast of mind who have come to know the policies of the Communist party from first-hand experience. The author, Jim Kennedy of Albuquerque, New Mexico, is identified as an organizer for the Students for a Democratic Society, who, until last spring was a youth spokesman for the Communist party.]

* * *

Last spring, May to be exact -- the Communist press was strikingly silent about Che's letter to the Tricontinental. At the same time the CP press was waxing strong with defense of the Venezuelan Party, under attack from Cuba because it had collaborated with the Leoni dictatorship and had abandoned the guerrillas. But while the "Marxist" press, as they fancy themselves, was silent, CP leaders were not so. At that time I was managing the CP-controlled bookstore in Chicago. I had obtained from a JOIN organizer a number of posters of Che for sale in the store. I had also purchased reprints of Che's article for sale. A few days after displaying the posters, Jack Kling, state secretary of the CP in Illinois -- and in Gus Hall's words "the Party's principal political officer" there -- came in and demanded their removal. Said Comrade Kling of Che's picture: "Our store has no

business displaying or selling that ultra-leftist's picture." During the same time, at a public discussion held by the Party on Latin America -- in which the strategy of armed struggle was attacked -- Kling, echoing the views of men like Hall, termed both Che and Fidel as "left adventurers and ultra-leftists."

Now that seems all forgotten. With Che's pen stilled, the time is ripe for his "rehabilitation." Those who placed themselves in league with the worst sell-outs in Latin America can now try to make Latin America's first citizen theirs. Those whose studied silence on the conference for the Organization of Latin American Solidarity spoke ideological volumes now feel they can celebrate Che -- or at least his removal, his demise.

Well, they are wrong. Che was a communist -- he didn't just appropriate to himself that label as some "parties" are wont to. He, the consummate revolutionary, cannot so easily be laid to rest. He is not silent...

He will never be the property of those who play the coalition game with the party of U.S. imperialism. He belongs only to those who will fight for man's liberation. No amount of praise, tongue in cheek, by the reformists can make him safe; no laying claim to his name by those who six months ago burst into anger at the thought of him can castrate his memory, his example, his call to revolutionary struggle.

THE UNDERTAKER PRESENTS HIS BILL FOR AMERICANS KILLED IN VIETNAM

The cost of burying a casualty is proving to be something of a shock to thousands of American families.

Many of them were under the impression that this is taken care of by the government. After all, if they furnished the boy, shouldn't the government furnish the coffin and the grave?

A case in Chicago was reported by the CDN news service. Edwin Gray, 20, was hit in the throat by a bullet November 9. The army embalmed him and flew him in a steel coffin to O Hare Airport.

That was where the family found themselves being handed the tab. The first item was "hearse pickup...\$85."

For two days use of the funeral chapel, the bill was \$150. To which was added \$150 for "personal services" and \$40 for "two floral vases."

Church services ran to \$35, and memorial booklets and holy cards to another \$16.50.

This was only the beginning. A vault sent the bill up another \$160. Then came "cemetery charges"...\$115. Carrying the coffin to the cemetery cost \$49.50.

Carting the flowers to the grave ran the bill up an additional \$40.

Then there was the curious item of \$6 for "pallbearers' gloves."

The bill finally presented to the father was \$1,003. The government gave him a check for \$300.

The funeral director, a sympathetic type, explained the facts of life to the family. "The cost of living is going up. So our prices are going up, too."

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AS REPORTED AT THE TIME

REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA! As reported by the New York Tribune and the New York Herald, 1894-1921. Edited by Edward W. Pearlstien. Viking, New York. 297 pp. \$10. 1967.

For revolutionists, it was bitterly ironic upon the fiftieth anniversary of the October 1917 revolution that a more accurate picture of the facts pertaining to that mighty historic event was presented in the bourgeois press than in the Soviet Union itself.

Describing Leningrad today -- the St. Petersburg of 1917 where the decisive uprising of the workers occurred -- Anatole Shub observed in an article:

"It is not so much irritating as pathetic that 50 years after the revolution, Soviet authorities still are reluctant to tell the story straight. Thus, in the Lenin Room in the Smolny Institute, all the scenes of the revolution are portrayed in drawings and painting -- although thousands of photographs exist. Documents signed by anyone else but Lenin are likewise withheld, so that the makeup of his first Cabinet, for example, becomes a kind of state secret."

Why are the Soviet authorities still "reluctant" to tell the truth about the revolutionary actions that shook the world fifty years ago? Why do they insist on keeping a curtain drawn on all but one of the leaders of the revolution out of which arose the workers state they now head? Why the secrecy and the shame?

The reason is that they owe their present standing to Stalin who established the rule of the bureaucracy and became the executioner of the entire generation that led and carried through the October revolution.

It is because of their own unsavory past that even a decade after Khrushchev's admissions about the crimes of Stalin, they still refuse to let the historians in the Soviet Union "tell the story straight" about 1917.

The latest version of Communist party history, for instance, while mentioning Leon Trotsky and no longer picturing him as an "enemy of the people" in the style of previous editions of Stalinized history, still presents him as a minor figure of dubious distinction.

If the heads of the Soviet government were capable of shame or embarrassment, a good many faces in the Kremlin would redden over the publication of a book like Revolution in Russia!

The volume was put out to coincide with the interest aroused by the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian revolution of 1917. Its main feature is facsimile reproductions of the columns of two New York newspapers reporting events in Russia during that stirring period. Both newspapers, as voices of American capitalism, were thoroughly hostile to the revolution; yet, biased as their coverage was, they presented a much more accurate picture of the events of those days than is available in the current Soviet histories.

Only by meeting the challenge offered by a book like this and reproducing the columns of the Russian papers of the time could the Soviet government present a more accurate and truthful account of the events as reported by the press. This would most certainly counter the distortions appearing in the Western papers; but, on the other hand, it would prove devastating to the current Soviet history books -- and those sponsoring them.

The editor of the selections, Edward W. Pearlstien, provides a running commentary on the news dispatches reproduced in the book. His comments at the beginning of the chapter, "The Bolshevik Revolution," indicate the picture that emerges from the newspaper accounts in 1917. Here is what he writes about the preparations for the November 7 uprising:

"The actual task of organizing the revolution fell to Trotsky. Lenin, having laid out the strategy, now withdrew nervously into the background, even though he was not entirely confident in his lieutenant, who had joined the Bolsheviks late and whose broad abilities he felt just barely remained on the safe side of dilettantism. But Lenin was still a fugitive and could not appear openly, and as far as most of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd were concerned, Trotsky represented Bolshevism. Lenin, to be sure, was the acknowledged leader, the towering, if somewhat remote, originator of ideas. Trotsky, however, they knew personally. He often appeared in the factories and barracks and had aroused them with clarion speeches that invariably seemed to articulate their ill-formed thoughts. The Kronstadt sailors, who were more inclined toward anarchism than Bolshevism, adored the fiery revolutionary and obeyed him without hesitation. The workers had more or less the same attitude. Moreover, the insurrection was to take place in the names of the soviets, as well as the Bolshevik Party, and Trotsky was president of the Petrograd Soviet.

"Trotsky proved that in addition

to his talents as a formulator of doctrine and an orator, he had the instincts of a true commander. The Military Revolutionary Committee was made into an insurrectionary general staff with Trotsky at its head. On November 3, he procured from the Petrograd garrison a resolution 'endorsing all political decisions of the Petrograd Soviet' and pledging 'to put at the disposal of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets all its forces, to the last man.' The commander of the garrison was replaced with commissars appointed by the Committee. Guns were issued to the Red guards, the workers' militia organized at the time of the Kornilov rebellion. Plans were carefully worked out for the occupation of the key buildings in Petrograd, such as the telephone exchange. Meanwhile, Trotsky ran from factory to barracks to factory, inspiring, explaining, expounding, crying out for peace, bread and land.

"It was perfectly obvious to everyone what was afoot.

Petrograd, Nov. 2 [1917]. The Maximalists continue their preparations for a demonstration, the date of which is being kept secret, but is believed to be set for November 4. It is persistently rumored that they intend to take armed action to seize the supreme power.

The government is receiving offers of help from all quarters and will prevent the proceedings by force, if necessary.

"Yet the government and the moderate socialist parties failed to take any precautionary action. They were certainly informed of the Bolshevik intentions early enough, because Kamenev and Zinoviev revealed the decision of the Bolshevik Central Committee in a statement denouncing it, which was published on October 31 in Maxim Gorky's newspaper, New Life. But on the day following these revelations Trotsky publicly denied that the Soviet was planning an armed uprising, a slippery statement which was literally true, since only the Bolshevik members of the Soviet were initiated into the plan. This momentarily put the authorities off their guard, a naïve reaction stemming, undoubtedly, from wishful thinking. Even when the thinly camouflaged preparations of the next few days

left no room for doubt, however, they let delusions lull them. Without any basis they convinced themselves that the insurrection would be crushed. Kerensky himself sank into a veritable catatonic fatalism. The fact was that the regime and its affiliates had collapsed. By not voting for a coalition at the Democratic Conference, the moderate socialists had completely undermined the Provisional Government, while they had lost the support of the Petrograd workers and soldiers because of their temporizing. Finally, on November 4, Trotsky, looking for an incident he could use as a casus belli, goaded Kerensky into action by ordering the Petrograd garrison not to obey any orders unless they were issued by the Military Revolutionary Committee. Also on the 4th a gigantic demonstration of soldiers, Red guards, and other workers was held as a peaceful display of strength in order to give the less fervent workers a sense of confidence and at the same time to discourage opposition. As Trotsky had calculated, Kerensky took action.

"At 5:30 A.M. on November 6, troops closed down the Bolshevik newspapers Workers' Road and Soldier, and orders were issued for the arrest of the Bolshevik leaders. Regiments presumed loyal were called in from outside the city to protect government buildings, especially the Winter Palace, where they were joined by a battalion of women soldiers. The Bolshevik leaders of the insurrection promptly met and drew up their final plans, assigning tasks to various people. That night the uprising began."

These comments are backed by the dispatches from Russia published by the two New York papers. They make fascinating reading even with their distortions, errors and hopes in the triumph of the counterrevolution.

Besides source material of this kind, the book contains many rare photographs of revolutionary scenes and the real revolutionary leaders -- the kind of photographs which today's Soviet leaders would rather not see but which will one day reappear in the history books of the Soviet Union and the other workers states after the Soviet workers bring the arbitrary rule of the bureaucratic caste to an end and restore proletarian democracy.

BRAZILIAN CP REJECTS ARMED STRUGGLE

The Brazilian Communist party has condemned the revolutionary line of OLAS in a statement published in the Jornal do Brasil. The pro-Moscow Communist party declared against the strategy of armed force to overthrow the military "national renewal" regime and called for "mobilizing,

uniting and organizing the working classes and other patriotic forces for a struggle against the dictatorial regime." The statement, adopted at a secret party congress early in December, also said that "now more than ever we must solidarize ourselves with the Cuban revolution."

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY OVER CYPRUS

[The following statement was issued December 15, 1967, by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.]

* * *

The conflict between Greece and Turkey over the status of Cyprus has flared up again, reaching extreme acuteness. At the moment the danger of an armed clash appears to have been averted. But the conflict testifies to the utter incapacity of the capitalist regime to assure self-determination for the Cypriot people.

The tension between Turkey and Greece arose from the contradictory needs facing the putschist regime in Athens. On the one hand it required credit for "solving" the Cypriot question; on the other hand, in order to crush the powerful radical workers movement in Cyprus, it had been trying to set up a military dictatorship in Nicosia under its representative, Grivas.

To simultaneously achieve these mutually exclusive objectives was impossible without partitioning the island, something which the immense majority of the people of Cyprus cannot and will not ever accept. Thus the contradictory requirements motivating the military regime in Athens could not be brought into harmony. The attempt to definitely "solve" the problem which was undertaken by the Greek officers and the Turkish leaders last June ended in nothing. The reason was the impossibility of compelling Turkey to accept an "enosis" [union] of the island with Greece in which Grivas would become the key piece. From then on, all the ultrachauvinist propaganda of Grivas turned against the Greek leaders and against Grivas himself.

Makarios, the head of the state in Cyprus, who maintained power thanks to his ability to preserve a precarious balance between Grivas and the left (AKEL, the surrogate for the Cypriot Communist party), declared, with the support of the rightist leaders of the AKEL that after enosis Cyprus would have the same relations with NATO as Greece. This should open the eyes of those who, in the past, have been taken in by his "progressiveness."

This contradiction was the cause of the recently precipitated crisis.

The Greek Cypriots and the Turkish population that was implanted in the island in 1571 generally reached agreements peacefully up to 1955 when British Prime

Minister Anthony Eden got Turkey to intervene in order to block the independence movement. But at a certain point, the tactics followed as always by NATO and imperialism, of ruling by dividing, turned against its authors. Two states belonging to NATO were at the point of clashing with each other.

A military confrontation between Greece and Turkey would have had incalculable consequences for the people of the two countries. But it would also have been a catastrophe for the military capacities of NATO, a self-destructive development with even worse consequences for the Greek colonels, who would not have survived it. Hence the comings and goings of Cyrus Vance, José Rolz Bennett and Manlio Brosio, the emissaries of the United States, the United Nations and NATO. Hence, in the weak position in which it was caught, the precipitous retreat of Greece, including pulling out Grivas and troops in a way unprovided for by agreement (1959 Zurich treaty). In face of Turkey, the Greek colonels, lacking any social base, could not impose their will.

A "solution" was found within the framework of NATO. Cyprus, in truth, is a major piece on the chessboard of NATO's military dispositions. Thus they agreed to the progressive departure of Greek and Turkish troops that was not provided for in the Zurich and London treaties. Independence was temporarily guaranteed through the Security Council. The UN troops, whose mandate had just expired, will be maintained there.

Grivas is leaving; but NATO remains. It is not excluded that a partition will be put into effect by "cold" means, guaranteeing the adherence of the two "morsels" of Cyprus to NATO. In Cyprus, an entire grouping in the AKEL, which has never given up its arms and which is organizing, is increasingly opposed to any form of enosis. To impose a NATO solution on Cyprus, imperialism will have to confront a growing sector of the population. The only way the Cypriot people can really exercise self-determination is through Cyprus regaining all the bases, including those agreed on through treaties (Greek, British and Turkish bases). It is necessary to put an end to the mandate of the UN and its troops. It is necessary to guarantee self-determination for the Turkish Cypriots in the homogeneous Turkish areas, with equality in language and extraterritorial cultural autonomy guaranteed in the mixed towns and villages.

This is the banner of genuine independence and self-determination borne by the Cypriot section of the Fourth International!

MEXICAN EDITION OF GUEVARA'S WORKS

Mexico City

Most of the works of Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara have now appeared here in collected form in a 644-page volume entitled Obra Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Works] just published by Ediciones Era. This volume -- with a preface by Roberto Fernández Retamar, who also made the selection -- includes Che's two books, Guerra de Guerrillas [Guerrilla Warfare] and Pasajes de la Guerra Revolucionaria [Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War]; 16 speeches in Cuba and abroad, plus 16 articles and a series of letters.

Included among the speeches are his famous address to the First Latin-American Youth Congress in August 1960, "Qué Debe Ser un Joven Comunista?" ["What Must a Young Communist Be?"]; the two speeches at Punta del Este in August 1961; the speech in Geneva at the World Conference on Trade and Development in March 1964; the speech and rebuttal at the UN General Assembly in December 1964; and the final speech which he gave in Algeria in February 1965 during the Afro-Asian Solidarity Economic Seminar.

Among the articles are "Qué Es un

Guerrilla?" ["What Is a Guerrilla?"]; "Notas Para el Estudio de la Ideología de la Cuba Revolucionaria" ["Notes for the Study of the Ideology of Revolutionary Cuba"]; "Cuba, Excepción Historica o Vanguardia en la Lucha Anticolonialista?" [Cuba, a Historic Exception or the Vanguard in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle?]; "Contra el Burocratismo" ["Against Bureaucratism"]; "Guerra de Guerrillas: Un Metodo" ["Guerrilla Warfare, a Method"]; "Sobre la Concepción del Valor" ["On the Concept of Value"]; "La Planificación Socialista; Su Significado" ["Socialist Planning; Its Meaning"]; his preface to Nguyen Giap's book People's War, People's Army; his famous essay "El Socialismo y el Hombre en Cuba" ["Socialism and Man in Cuba"]; and, of course, his "Message to the Tricontinental Congress." The letters include his last letters to Fidel and to his family.

The importance of this collection is apparent from the description of its contents. (It was prepared by Retamar before Che's tragic death as was the preface.) It costs 70 pesos (a little more than U.S.\$5.50) and can be obtained from Ediciones Era, Aniceto Ortega 1350, Mexico 12, D.F.

In this issue

Page

More About Che Guevara	2
What Is a Guerrilla? -- by Ernesto Che Guevara	4
Guerrilla Fighters Hunted in Philippines	5
2,000 Guerrillas Reported in West Irian	5
Johnson Prepares to "Go For Broke" in Southeast Asia -- by George Novack	6
New Warnings of Wider War in Southeast Asia	7
Dissatisfaction in Czechoslovakia Leads to Ouster of Novotny	8
Violent Clashes with Guerrillas Reported in Angola	9
Algeria in the Year Five -- by Larbi Hamdane	10
Black Poet in Newark Ghetto Sentenced to Three Years in Prison	12
Around the World with Johnson in Five Days	13
Johnson Ducks Demonstrators in Rome -- by Tullio Venturi	17
Living Costs Continue to Skyrocket in Argentina	17
Ho Chi Minh's Greetings to Antiwar Movement in the U.S.	18
Dr. Spock and Other Prominent Antiwar Figures Indicted	18
Generals Told to Provide Ammunition to Reelect Johnson	19
The American CP "Rehabilitates" Che Guevara	20
The Undertaker Presents His Bill for American Dead in Vietnam	20
Book Reviews.	
The Russian Revolution as Reported at the Time	21
Mexican Edition of Guevara's Works	24
Brazilian CP Rejects Armed Struggle	22
Documents:	
The Conflict Between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus	23

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