

# BULLETIN

25¢

VOL. II, NO. 3 March 1968

## GUATEMALA: OUR LATIN VIETNAM

[The following was written by Blase Bonpane, one of the three priests withdrawn from the Maryknoll Order for their revolutionary Christian activities in Guatemala. Reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times*, February 11, 1968.]

The Central American republic of Guatemala may well be the Vietnam of tomorrow. American activities so far in the smouldering Guatemalan civil war suggest that the United States, in betrayal of its highest ideals, is preparing to take on the futile task of commanding the tides of freedom to roll back.

Guatemala smells like Vietnam did a few years ago. There are the same U.S. military advisers by the hundreds, the same corrupt power structure, the same fear of communism to the point of paranoia, the same group of peasants weak in themselves but firmly determined that no foreigner is going to overcome them on their land.

Those who lead the Guatemalan revolution look at the U.S. involvement and say: "You Americans, with a half million troops, with bombs, with napalm, with an air force, with the best military expertise in the world, with the finest technical aid, have not been able to contain the situation in half of one small Asian country.

"What is going to happen when you are confronted with 10 Latin American countries? If you learn your lesson from Vietnam—we might say, if you repent of Vietnam—you will not be destroyed. If you repeat the Vietnam experience in Guatemala, in Colombia, in Bolivia, in Brazil, in Mexico, in Peru, we Latin Americans maintain that there will not be a United States."

As a North American priest, I believe that this insight of the Latin American, both the intellectual and the common-sense peasant, is correct. Those who guide U.S. foreign policy have found the formula for the destruction of the greatest nation in the world. The formula is to try to contain or to destroy valid popular revolutions. We cannot do it. The lesson of our history should teach us that raw power cannot be set against the will of man.

In Guatemala, the U.S. is standing militarily behind an oligarchy of 2% of the Guatemalan people who possess 80% of the land and resultant power. We Americans have supplied the army with weapons, with training, with helicopters, with planes. We have aided the national police to hire new personnel and provided them with new carbines, so that pairs of policemen are now found on every street-corner. We have bought the police cars for the secret police.

In a very real way, the Guatemalan army is our army. If it were at the service of the people it might be encouraging to know that we had staffed an instrument of law and order in Latin America. But this army is in the service of corruption. It is in the service of a society in which most people are hungry.

Over half the Guatemalan people are suffering from malnutrition. A wage of 50 cents a day in Guatemala is above average, but meat is 40 cents a pound and eggs 50 to 60 cents a dozen. This means that people don't eat and children die unnecessarily. Of the 70,000 a year who die in Guatemala, 30,000 are children. Guatemala's child mortality rate is 40 times that of the United States.

Destitute people find it hard to think. We don't find revolutions beginning among the destitute. Revolutions are begun by people who "turn on" the destitute. In most of the world's revolutions this has been a small, middle class group of intellectuals who explain to the poor their plight.

During my 15 months in Guatemala, I was the national director of the Workshops on the Social Question. At the National University of Guatemala, we operated what might be called a "center of awareness."

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# JEAN-PAUL SARTRE ON SOUTH AFRICA

There exists today in Africa a cancer which threatens very soon to become generalized: this is *apartheid*, practiced systematically by the Government of South Africa. Apartheid is both a practice and a theory.

The practice is euphemistically called separate development, that is to say, the application by a minority of 3 million people of European origin of a system of politics which is aimed at keeping in slavery (the word is not too strong) 14 million inhabitants of African, Asian and mixed origin.

These 14 million inhabitants have no political rights. They can neither vote nor assemble nor form trade unions. They are forced to carry passes to justify their presence here or there, which presents such a great number of obligations that they cannot fulfill them all, so that they are always in the position of facing possible arrest. At the same time they are the object of a systematic development, tribalism, enforced by the central government in such a way as to prevent the birth of a national consciousness.

~~They have no economic rights. They cannot possess anything.~~ Seventy five per cent of the population is, or is going to be, confined to 12 per cent of the land. Elsewhere they are concentrated and stuck in townships, which are a mixture of slum and concentration camp, from which they are allowed to emerge only with a pass to go and do their work in the white town, which they leave again when they have finished. They must also submit to being refused to qualify professionally, that is to say, "job reservation", which is the law by which qualified professions are reserved for whites, and which prevents Africans going higher than manual or semi-skilled work.

They have no cultural rights. The regime boasts of having 70 per cent of African children in schools, but in effect they are taught according to what the ex-Prime Minister Verwoerd said: they are taught their place, that is to say first and foremost that a black is inferior to a white, that a black is inferior to a man, in effect that they are sub-men. They pay to learn that they are sub-men. The result is that only 20 per cent of the pupils go through the second year of school, and this figure falls in the third year to about 2 per cent.

This entity, political and practical, which we call *apartheid*, is forced to rely on police terror. *Habeus Corpus* has practically been suppressed for 14 million inhabitants. In the townships there are constant police raids, sometimes every night for weeks. Searches, beatings-up, arrests of any kind. They can keep in the police station without an appearance before a judge, for 180 days, any person likely to be a State witness, and naturally during those 180 days the police don't hesitate to use torture. The verdicts which follow are pronounced behind closed doors. In practical terms an African has no way of protecting himself. He is constantly a suspect, and a suspect who can from one day to the next be arrested and held for years. Moreover very often a man who has served his sentence is kept in prison under the excellent pretext that in this way he is being protected from his enemies and also from the temptation to relapse into political "error". This then is the practice of *apartheid*.

This practice is justified by one theory: it is integral racism, the absolute superiority of the whites over all the other races. The necessity for procuring cheap manual labor for which the wages are almost nil necessitates keeping men in slavery. Consequently the whites of South Africa naturally label

as "sub-men" those whom they treat in effect as sub-men.

There is no other country where anti-Semitism is more adhered to and more rigorous than in South Africa. They don't like the English very much either and they call them the Anglo-Jews. That reminds us of something we heard once before. Moreover, terror is exercised against the white liberals themselves: there is a law against Communism which permits them to arrest anyone; the 180-days law which applies also to the whites in cases where they are suspected of interesting themselves in the cause of the blacks, enables terror to live and nourish itself in the white circles themselves. The whites spend their time in angry fear of the blacks and in fear of themselves.

In addition the same terror exercises itself in the intellectual domain. The majority of the foreign instruments of culture are prohibited. There are a great number of books (including those of Karl Marx of course) which are banned. There is no television. The literature of that area is nil. One leads a luxurious and dismal life where one stifles oneself little by little. The result, as sociological research has been able to show, is that the standard of white schools is abnormally low. The law which preserves qualified employment for the whites, given that the whites are not very numerous, has resulted in a scarcity of qualified manual labor: they are obliged to seek immigrants for South Africa from various western countries.

In short one can say that down there the very principle of racism leads the whites to render themselves very inferior to those whom they oppress. For them, as for the blacks, it is hell, with this difference, that it is a hell which they have chosen.

I stated that this cancer risked becoming generalized. It is largely because there is a tacit agreement and real bonds between South Africa, Portugal and the illegal regime of Rhodesia, and this agreement is more aggressive than defensive. Many Afrikaners (Boers) don't hide the idea of an imperialism which would stretch over the whole of Africa. Moreover, this idea, that a strong state can practice *apartheid* (that is to say racism) right to its most implacable consequences, with total impunity, is one of the sources for the resurgence of Nazism in Europe and the United States. It encourages young fascist movements, and these fascist movements which also find a real base in Southern Africa, insert into their programme, among the three or four major principles, the defense of *apartheid* and the defense of the South African Government.

In Africa itself the African states have condemned *apartheid* at the OAU. Their just indignation threatens to dangerously modify their concept of multi-racial unity and, justifiably, the trust which they placed until now in their European friends.

With admirable courage, in spite of all the difficulties, a certain number of organizations struggle against this ignoble regime. Organizations have been created, one might say, in the worst conditions. They move, under the direct influence of the situation and of the terror, from non-violent resistance to the setting up of organs of action, which will carry out violence.

The day when the conflict breaks, it will not be civil war, but a war of independence, a war of liberation, which could

# ANGOLA'S FREEDOM FIGHT

By Agostino Neto,

President of the Angola Popular Liberation Movement

The struggle of the Angolan patriots is now developing in comparatively favorable conditions. We have organized three fronts: the eastern, central (only 60 kilometers from the capital) and the northern (in Cabinda). The major guerrilla operations are in the eastern part of the country, bordering on Zambia. This not very densely populated area is partly forest land, partly bare plain. The Portuguese garrisons there are virtually isolated. At times their only means of communication and supply are by air.

The Portuguese pilots do not only drop arms and food to the besieged garrisons. Employing the same vicious tactics as the Americans in Vietnam, they also bomb the peaceful villages in the liberated zone. True, the Portuguese pilots now have to act with care because the patriots have repeatedly succeeded in shooting planes down.

The Portuguese have also borrowed the Americans' "strategic villages" practice. In areas of guerrilla activity they burn down all the villages, kill the people, destroy the livestock. What peasants remain alive are resettled in Portuguese-controlled districts. They hope by this means to deprive us of the help of the people. Their hopes are in vain. We have no difficulty in forming fighting detachments. In fact, the number of volunteers is too many, so that we are even obliged to ask peasants to stay home and continue the struggle in secret.

As soon as we free a portion of our territory from the enemy we set up Action Committees in the villages and districts to assume all the functions of government. They organize agricultural work, open schools, train schoolteachers, technical specialists and doctors' assistants. Where doctors are concerned, though, we're still badly off. We're short of skilled personnel.

Recently the first agricultural cooperatives were organized in the liberated areas. People's stores have been opened in place of the little private shops formerly run by Portuguese who have fled the liberated areas. When life in the village begins to run smoothly our party generally holds elections to the people's councils.

As you see, our activity is conducted on two fronts—the military and the civil. And though things are now somewhat better than they were before, we still have plenty of difficulties. In Portugal's case colonization proceeded differently than in Britain's, France's or Belgium's. Portugal is herself an exceedingly poor country and it was Portuguese of the poorer classes who went to the colonies in search of work. Whole generations of Portuguese have been born and bred in Angola since the early days. Now there are more than 200,000 of them—out of a total population of approximately five million. Most of the white colonists have never been to Portugal. They count themselves Angolans. There are some who sympathize with our struggle, but there are others who want to see the white settlers in power, want an "Angolan Portuguese" government, after the pattern of Rhodesia. Needless to say, they also have the support of racist South Africa, which gives Portugal economic and financial assistance.

The colonists are also trying to split and weaken our movement from within, but without much success. They have set up a so-called "Provisional Government of the Angolan Republic," headed by the traitor Roberto Holden. While pretending to be fighting Lisbon, he is in reality trying to undermine the struggle against the colonialists. Roberto even has his own military base where his men are trained by American instructors. To throw dust in everyone's eyes, the instructors sent by the U.S. are Negroes. They are training something like an Angolan body of "Green Berets" in "anti-guerrilla warfare." They are apparently to be used later to fight us.

U.S. interest in Angola is easily explained. The U.S. realizes, of course, that the Portuguese colonists won't hold out for long. And Angola, as you know, is rich in diamonds, iron ore, uranium, manganese and gold. Moreover, highly promising reserves of oil were recently discovered.

At present we have against us approximately 50-60 thousand Portuguese soldiers. An additional 30 thousand are expected soon. Nonetheless our prospects are not bad. We hope to spread the patriotic struggle to new areas. Our main task is to prepare the conditions for a general armed uprising. We have organized training centers and a whole series of bases at which guerrillas receive political and military training. We have also been successful on the foreign policy front. We have the support of the Organization of African Unity.

The socialist countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union, which showed other peoples the way to freedom, are an inspiring example to us. The victory of the proletariat in Russia changed the face of the world and created a base for the liberation of all, the colonial peoples included. It is only natural that it was the Soviet Union, in continuation of its Leninist policy, that moved the U.N. adoption of the Colonial Countries and Peoples. We are indebted to you for the birth of our national awareness. Your assistance has contributed to our military and political successes. [Reprinted from *New Times* (Moscow), February 14, 1968.]

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## SARTRE

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entail conflagration throughout Africa. For one cannot imagine that the African states would allow their brothers to be massacred without intervening, and the conflict will not remain within the limits of Africa alone. There is no doubt at that moment the peace of the world will be directly threatened. UNO will be troubled. For is it not founded on the principle: to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination? Since 1963 the Assembly has asked the member states to break diplomatic relations with South Africa and to boycott her products, to stop trading with her. So where are we today? The Special Committee which was constituted by UNO to study the problem of the racial policies of South Africa declares: "South Africa has been encouraged to pursue its disastrous policies through the persistent opposition of certain great powers who are the principal commercial partners of South Africa". This is August 1966. Who are her principal partners? The UNO text says: "England, the United States, West Germany, Japan, Italy, Canada and France." [From a speech by Sartre as reprinted in *Comment* (London), January 6, 1968.]

Ever since the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine, nearly 150 years ago, it has been the aim of the US to keep Latin America as its own jealously-guarded "sphere of influence". From the first, the US applied the Doctrine in two senses: first, that no foreign power should intervene in the (then newly-independent) Latin American countries; and second, that the US was entitled to intervene there as its interests demanded. One need only mention such events as the War against Mexico in 1846-48 (which took away half that country's territory containing huge oil and copper deposits), the seizure of the Panama Isthmus from Colombia, the turning of Puerto Rico into an outright colony and Cuba into a semi-colony— . . . to show that the second meaning of the Monroe Doctrine has always been the paramount one to the US monopolies.

With the ebb and flow of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement in the continent, as with the more recent growth of the anti-imperialist struggle in the world as a whole, US policy has taken on various outward forms: the "Big Stick" policy of Theodore Roosevelt; the "Good Neighbor" policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt; the "Alliance for Progress" of John F. Kennedy. But the basis has always remained the same—the maintenance at all costs of US domination.

In the early years following the Second World War, an attempt was made by the US to present to the world a facade of "representative democracy" in the Latin American countries. It sponsored and backed a number of so-called democrats as Presidents—a few of them actually served a full term of four or five years without being overthrown by a military coup. But the economic stranglehold of the US bankers inevitably prevented any real democratic change from taking place. To maintain it, the US needed the collaboration not only of the semi-feudal landowning class but also that of the bourgeoisie, the rising capitalist class.

It is traditional for the US to rely on the landowners, who safeguard the monopolies and receive in return arms, and training for their officer castes. But in recent years it has had to win over both the "compradore" bourgeoisie—that portion of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie which has common interests with the North American monopolies—and the "national" bourgeoisie as well. The victory of the Cuban revolution, with its nationalization and radical agrarian reform, was used as a bogey to frighten this latter group. And when this bogey proved only partially successful, resort was had to a form of bribery. The Alliance for Progress—a set of meaningless promises—was launched in the name of Kennedy just as the "Good Neighbor" Policy was attached to the name of Roosevelt.

The declared aim of the Alliance for Progress was to introduce some agrarian reform, to establish some elements of "representative democracy" and so to patch up the chronic financial crisis of every country on the continent that American economic and political interests would be safeguarded. To realize this aim, the US agreed to furnish a sum of \$2 billion a year—made up from \$1.1 billion to be allocated from the United States budget and \$300 million equally from private US investors, international financial bodies, and investors in Europe and Japan.

After six years' trial, it can be said (and is being said with increasing sharpness among some of its recipients) that the Alliance for Progress has flopped. The crisis has only worsened; the anticipated flow of capital to Latin America has

not taken place, and what has been invested has been more than matched by the outflow back to the US in the form of profits from earlier investments. Moreover, the credits granted have not been used to promote real economic development in the recipient countries. They have been used to repay debts to the United States, to buy US consumer goods, to patch up deficits in the balance of payments, to build roads, aqueducts, even some hospitals—but not for industrialization, not for any basic economic development which would lead to genuine independence. . . .

Agrarian reform, which was based on the concept of a gradual transformation from feudal-type landed estates to capitalist-type farms, has equally failed—the landowners will never willingly give up their feudal rights, and why should they when they can reap enormous profits from semi-serf labor without having to expend capital on mechanization? Democracy, as the years have gone past, has suffered ever more brutal attacks. . . .

The failure of the Alliance has led the United States to an increasingly open renewal of naked intervention, meanwhile continuing to pay lip-service to its declared aims. In April 1966, for example, President Johnson made a speech in Mexico City in which he not only lauded the Alliance for Progress but reaffirmed the principles of his country's foreign policy, which he said were "founded on self-determination, non-intervention and the peaceful settlement of disputes". These words were uttered at the moment when US marines and paratroopers were occupying Santo Domingo. . . .

In 1962, Mr. Thomas Mann, then State Dept. Secretary for Latin America, announced that the US government would no longer differentiate between the "representative democracies" (the only ones stated to be eligible for help from the Alliance for Progress) and regimes that had come to power as a result of military coups. Each would be judged thenceforth from the viewpoint of US interests and the results they obtained. It is not surprising that the Brazilian and Bolivian military cliques got the message and shortly set up dictatorships by military force. (It should not be forgotten, of course, that even under Kennedy the US was supporting the utterly fascist regimes of Stroessner in Paraguay, Duvalier in Haiti, Somoza in Nicaragua, etc.)

But since these military cliques are as incapable as the landed oligarchies of resolving the deep crisis of the Latin American economy—indeed they intensify it by their incompetence—or of holding back for any length of time the national demands of the people, President Johnson stepped in with a new "doctrine" which affirmed the right of the United States to "maintain order" in any country whenever its authorities were deemed to have lost control of the situation. It was under this "doctrine" that over 25,000 US marines and paratroopers were landed in the Dominican Republic to prevent the victory of the people over the "gorillas".

The doctrine was carried a stage further in September 1965 when . . . the House of Representatives Resolution No. 560. . . was passed by 312 votes to 52. Resolution No. 560 proclaims the "right" of the United States to use its armed forces in any country of the continent to prevent *subversive activity*. . . . Resolution No. 560, though perhaps more crudely outspoken than any previous US declaration, did not begin but carried on the policy of intervention.

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## DIET DIPLOMACY : PREVENTING THE COMMUNIST SPREAD

Following the Inter-American Conference at Bogota in April 1948, the US decided automatically to recognize all existing governments which had been set up by force in the continent. In October of that year it recognized the government which resulted from the Odria coup in Peru. In November 1949, the democratically-elected government of Romulo Gallegos in Venezuela was overthrown with the assistance of the petroleum companies and North American diplomats. In Paraguay in the same year General Rolon overthrew the constitutional government: Washington recognized him immediately. In 1950, General Hugo Ballivain and his "gorillas", who refused to accept the election of Paz Estensoro in Bolivia, received instant recognition. In 1952 General Fulgencio Batista returned from the United States to Cuba where he organized a *coup d'etat* against the constitutional government; he too was supported by Washington.

The operation against Guatemala in 1954 is well remembered: after two years of plotting by the US monopolies (mainly United Fruit) the progressive government of Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown by naked armed aggression in which some Central American dictators also took part.

Since 1954, twelve out of the twenty states of the continent have undergone a seizure of power by force; in every instance the plotters have been known to enjoy US aid either in taking or keeping their power. . . .

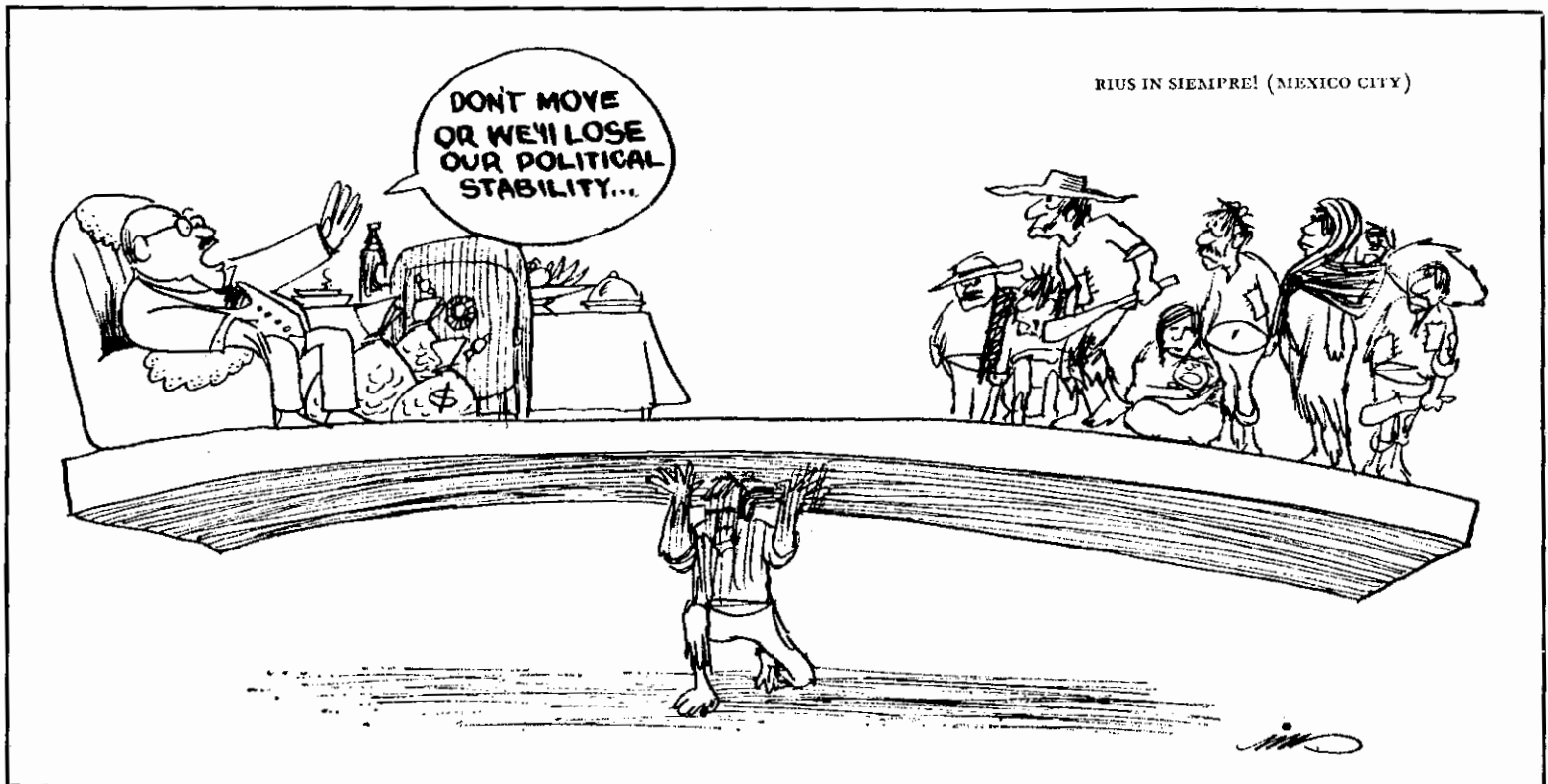
Between 1945 and 1962, "military aid" from the US to Latin America amounted to more than \$616 million, and it has not diminished since. Vice-Admiral Jijon, who led the junta that took power in Ecuador, was a graduate of a US naval college; Colonel Arellano of Honduras served in the US Air Force; General Roman, one of the triumvirate in Santo Domingo, was educated at Fort Knox military school; General Barrientos Ortuna of Bolivia trained at another US school of aviation.

The great world protests that followed the incredibly crude attempt by the US to make believe that it was Cuban emigres (untrained, without arms or support of any kind!) who organized the Bay of Pigs operation in Cuba in 1961, and the blatant intervention of US troops in the Dominican Republic in 1965, have driven the US imperialists to try and find some way of covering up their aggression under flags other than their own. They are endeavoring, so far without success, to persuade the Organization of American States to agree to the setting up of an "Inter-American Armed Force".

The Organization of American States, offspring of the Pan-American Union which was set up—under US guidance and control—in the 19th century, holds periodical conferences, organized, financed and controlled by the US government. Since 1948 it has been a regional organization of the United Nations, which helps the US to prevent the United Nations from concerning itself too much with their Latin American "preserve". The idea behind the creation of the Inter-American Armed Forces is to get the Latin American countries to give up their territorial integrity and sovereignty and submit to a unified command, under which the US will continue its intervention and counterrevolutionary role. The unified command, of course, would be run by the United States. In an article in the *US News and World Report*, a former planning officer for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Major-General Max S. Johnson, explained: "Any Inter-American Command set up to prevent the spread of communism in this hemisphere would almost certainly have to be commanded by a US officer of high rank, with perhaps 98 per cent of the military means, as well, furnished by the United States." Note the aim revealed in the above— *to prevent the spread of communism*. . .

The effort to set up this Inter-American Force, however, has not yet been successful; most of the Latin American governments have been forced by pressure of their own public opinion to oppose it.

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This is not to say that the US lacks the means of "preventing the spread of communism" in the continent. The Latin American countries spend \$600 million a year on their military expenses—between 13 and 30 per cent of their budgets. Through the Inter-American Defense Council, through its military missions and special military schools, the US continues to try and convert the national armies into a sort of Foreign Legion—i.e. foreign to *their own* nation. Tens of thousands of Latin American officers are trained either in the US itself or at the military bases which the US maintains on the continent. The training is more political than military, aimed to ensure that when these officers pass out they will keep up their relations with the US military authorities who follow their careers and see that their governments give them leading posts.

The military leaders thus become not only good servants of the landowning class from which they normally spring; they also replace the US marines whose presence can no longer be tolerated in "independent" countries.

This explains both the importance of United States military aid and its desire to bring the Inter-American armed force into being. There are some 750,000 men in the Latin American armed forces: they are not evenly distributed—Chile, Brazil and Argentina have the largest armies; Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and Peru have between 20,000 and 60,000 men each; the rest have fewer than 20,000, down to Costa Rica which has only a police force (armed, of course). United States military aid increases every year. Its objective is no longer stated to be the "defense of the Western Hemisphere" against some hypothetical extracontinental threat. That was the reason given when the frontiers were "geographical". Today the frontiers are "ideological" and training is given less in traditional methods of warfare than in anti-guerrilla techniques and the "maintenance of order" inside the country. "Military aid to Latin America," said US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, "is an integral part of the Alliance for Progress".

US marines, paratroopers and airmen occupy important bases on the continent. There are about 10,000 in the Panama Canal Zone, 9,000 in Puerto Rico, still more than 6,000 in the Dominican Republic, and 3,500 at Guantanamo in Cuba. U-2 spy planes operate from Puerto Cabezas in Nicaragua, Fernando de Noronha in Brazil and Ezeiza in Argentina. It was at Retalhuleu in Guatemala that the Cuban counter-revolutionaries received their training for the Bay of Pigs operation. Ecuador has had a US military base since 1962; Venezuela has launching ramps, submarine nests and jet planes.

For just as the revolutionary movement has learned in Latin America to develop new and multifarious forms of struggle, imperialism also learns. And just as it learned earlier to improve its actions against struggle in the industrial centers and cities, so in the past few years it has made headway in learning from guerrilla warfare in the countryside and in sending its advisers, instructors and others to train up the Latin American armies for their new role.

It is common knowledge that the CIA operates in every country and that it was mixed up (to put it mildly) in the Bay of Pigs invasion, in the uprising in the Dominican Republic and innumerable other plots and coups. There is also the FBI, which openly admits having agencies in Mexico City,

Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and the Dominican Republic. The John F. Kennedy "Peace Corps" has 4,300 "volunteers" in 18 Latin American countries, and teams of scientific experts carry out socio-political investigations such as the "Camelot Plan" in Chile, a scheme which was denounced with such vigour that President Johnson had to call it off.

This is in addition to all the *usual* ideological penetration and outright corruption which imperialism uses. Press, radio and television and cinema are overwhelmingly owned by US capital. There are the "cultural missions", the US libraries in all the big cities, and even the activities of various religious sects like Jehovah's Witnesses and Moral Rearmament. North American professors come and go to the Latin American universities. Scholarships and grants are handed out to "suitable" professors and students so that those destined to become leading figures may be taught the philosophy and virtues of the American Way of Life and the ideals of the "Free World".

Finally, there is corruption, outright or concealed. It takes all forms, from the simple purchase for dollars of politicians, military men, police, trade union leaders and so on, to the more subtle "aid for the development of trade union activity" carried on by the AFL-CIO's American Institute for the Development of Free Trade Unionism. The objective of this institute, as explained by Mr. George Meany in *Free Trade Union News* of February 1965, is "to teach young Latin American workers the main principles of trade unionism in *our country*". (my italics, N.G.). Courses at the various national centers of the Institute last three months; students receive \$70 a month and teachers \$300. Its function can be seen from a single illustration: immediately following the "gorilla" coup d'etat in Brazil in 1964, graduates of the Brazilian center of the Institute were *appointed* to take over the trade unions whose leaders had been imprisoned by the military.

This is a brief and incomplete description of the desperate efforts being made by US imperialism in its counteroffensive against the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. From lavish promises of reforms and "aid", to coups d'etat to install reactionary dictatorships, the counter-offensive is being waged on a continental scale and none but continental measures can succeed in defeating it. [Excerpted from *Marxism Today* (London), Feb, 1968.]

## **PUERTO RICANS SHOW GRATITUDE**

An organization called the Armed Commandos of Liberation (CAL) announced that it would effect "ever more telling blows against the Yankee invaders and their imperialist financial investments until they leave our country."

In a document made public on February 23, the new group, which claims credit for the series of dynamitings of properties of firms owned by U.S. citizens which occurred in the past 48 hours, stated that this action represents the initial phase of "national liberation."

By order of the colonial authorities, strict vigilance was established today over properties of important enterprises owned by U.S. citizens here, following the issuance of the CAL document. [Granma (English Edition), March 3, 1968.]

In Guatemala, university students total about .4 of 1% of the population. This tiny minority is extremely important and rather vociferous. In our program in the national university we started the students off with 8 days of work, study, eat, sleep. During the 8 days we studied capitalism, socialism, Marxism, communism, papal encyclicals on social questions, sociological data of Guatemala, possible solutions to the Guatemalan phenomenon. On the course's eighth day we invited the student into the field to meet the farmer and to work with him in understanding what we had discussed.

The students, working mostly on weekends, discussed with the peasants such concepts as the dignity of man, the common good, community, the right to organize, how to organize, especially how to organize peasant's leagues, that is farmers' union. When a break occurred in the regular school schedule, we invited the students to direct six-week courses in literacy, hygiene and health. . . .

I am called a Communist in Guatemala. So is anyone who is interested in the organization of labor, in seeing the peasant earn more than 40 cents a day, in a just division of the land—anyone who spends too much time concerned about the very poor.

I have been told by wealthy people: "we will stop you." After the wealthy charged my friends with being Communists, they charged that we were plotting armed revolution. This second accusation was really the most dangerous and led several students to flee for their lives.

Church money was given to various students to help them get out of the country, and I think that the accusation that Fathers Arthur and Thomas Melville had used church money for other than church purposes is false. I think they used church money to help students flee the country for their lives, and I think that would always be a good place to use church money. It was urgent that these students leave because they would be shot down without a hearing by the secret police. That's how Guatemala now operates.

The violence that now surrounds life in Guatemala is hard to imagine. It permeates everything. The army and the far right have this year murdered close to 3,000 of their opponents.

We'd better get used to socialistic states in Latin America, because we're not likely to see anything more mild than Mexican socialism and other solutions will probably be farther left.

We don't want Cuba or any other country pointing missiles at us. But neither can we expect to determine what kind of government other countries are going to have. This implies a great change in the psychological relationship of the U.S. to Latin America. All through our history we have acted as if the Latin nations were our colonies. The sooner we learn these independent nations are not our colonies, the fewer guerrillas we are going to have in the mountains.

The guerrilla is not just a loud-mouthed ruffian. My image of him is a soft-spoken, well-read, dedicated person who has reluctantly made the decision, backed by the majority of Latin American sociologists, that the only way to change the current power structure in Latin America is violence.

Frequently the guerrilla comes to this conclusion because he is a Christian. The development of the Christian mystique in the armed movement in Latin American may be the catalytic agent that will bring about revolution in these countries more rapidly than we had imagined.

I believe that the well-read student can say honestly that the status quo is so intolerably violent that it is killing my brother: my brother is suffering as a result of the institutionalized violence in which he lives. He is dying because he doesn't eat. He is dying because he doesn't have any land. He is dying because he cannot organize his labor. He is dying intellectually because he has no schools.

To take a nonviolent position in the face of such violence is to approve of violence. The Latin American guerrilla of a Christian temper, taught by Pope Paul's Christmas message, agrees that Christianity is not pacifism and believes that the witness of his fighting is necessary at this time.

I am a patriot. It sickens me to see my country on the wrong side in Guatemala. I think the U.S. is the greatest country in the world, and I don't want to see it on a self-destruction course. These new five, six, seven, eight new Vietnams that could erupt in Latin America would be the end of the United States because we would find that our boys wouldn't go. It would be embarrassing to have someone on top call a war and find that no one wants to go.

The fact that two priests, Fathers Art and Tom Melville and Sister Marian Peter—three of my closest friends—have entered into the Latin American revolution directly does not surprise me. Their act is a valid witness for the church in Latin America. Things are that bad.

I think what they're doing is going to result in many people having a better way of life and is going to bring attention to the great errors that the U. S. makes by muscling its way into Latin American countries.

Hence, if I think there's any message from all this for the United States, I would say that we should discontinue our vast military aid to Latin American countries. We could give our attention to projects of social betterment. Then also, we could understand that we are opposing currents of thought and desires in Latin America that are already formed and growing. These currents are not specifically communistic, but with our current posture, only communistic nations are taking advantage of these currents of thought and desire.

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# GREECE: INVESTORS' PARADISE

Greece is one of the two countries in Europe that is exempt from the stopping of the United States direct investments in 1968—a decision following President Johnson's message early this year on the balance of payments . . . . The position taken by the U.S. Government is an unequivocal and official confirmation of international confidence in the Greek economy; beyond that, it automatically makes Greece a focal point of attraction for private U.S. capital.

*By a happy circumstance* [our emphasis—ed.], this turn of events finds Greece not only ready to receive American capital, but with the essential prerequisites already created for the attraction of foreign capital. According to serious international authorities on economic affairs, Greece . . . is the ideal country for foreign capital investment.

Since last summer, Greece has taken two considerable steps to encourage further foreign capital investments. Firstly, all applications for the import of capital are processed and replied to by the Government within 15 days. . . . Secondly, the Government has enacted Law 89 . . . [which] makes it possible for offices established in Greece by foreign commercial and industrial firms to enjoy complete tax and import-duty exemption and to re-export their capital and profits whenever they wish. . . .

The political situation, constant since April 1967, is of such stability as to guarantee orderly and undisturbed future operation of the regime of a Crowned Democracy along sound constitutional lines—a welcome change from the upheavals of the two-year period from 1965 to 1967 . . . . Naturally, the opportunities Greece offers for investment by foreign capital have not so far gone begging. Since the enactment of Law 2687, investment projects totaling some \$800 million have been approved, most of which have reached completion. A substantial proportion of this total—about \$102 million—concerns applications approved in the eight-month period from May to December 1967.

The share of imported capital investment accounts for more than 37 per cent of the total capital invested in Greek private industry. This per-centage does not include capital funds imported from abroad for Aluminium-Hellas, Esso-Pappas, and the fertilizer plants of the National Bank and Commercial Bank of Greece.

Under the provisions of Law 89 (1967), 20 applications

by foreign commercial and industrial firms to establish offices in Greece had been approved by early 1968: seven from the U.S.A., two from Panama, and one each from West Germany, England, Liberia, Canada, Venezuela, the Netherlands, Sudan, Lebanon, Cyprus, Kuwait and France . . . .

The ultimate indication of international confidence in Greece's economic future and in the soundness of her economic policy, is the contract signed between the Government now in office and Litton-Benelux for the economic development of Crete and Peloponessus. Under the terms of the contract, Litton has assumed the obligation to invest \$840 million in Greece within 12 years . . . .

Futhermore to facilitate foreign businessmen in their transactions with Greece, a number of internationally active U.S. Banks—The Chase Manhattan Bank, The Bank of Nova Scotia and the Bank of America—recently decided to set up branch offices in Greece.

Opportunities and facilities available to businessmen investing capital in Greece are so numerous and enticing that the country enjoys a reputation among economic circles abroad as a paradise for foreign capital. Such a description would perhaps be more aptly applied to describe Greece's tourist attractions. It is, however, a fact that Greece is the ideal land for foreign capital investments. [Excerpts from an advertisement in the *NY Times*, March 3, 1968, sponsored by the Government of Greece and U.S. business interests.]



Published monthly by: Tri-continental Information Center,  
1133 Broadway—Room 640, New York, New York 10010.  
(212) 242-6512. Subscriptions: \$3.00, U.S.; \$3.50, Canada  
and Mexico; \$5.00, other foreign.  
Director: Michael Myerson  
Editor: John Gallo

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