

BULLETIN

25¢

Vol. II,

No. ⁴5,

April 1968

LBJ'S "HONORABLE PEACE" IN PARAGUAY

by Michael Myerson

NEWS ITEM:

Washington, March 20 (UPI)—President Johnson said tonight that a "quick peace, an easy peace" in Vietnam was not necessarily a just and honorable peace. Toasting Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, the President of Paraguay, Mr. Johnson said that "frequently you can lose more lives with a phony peace than a just one."

NEWS ITEM:

Washington, March 21—Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, President of Paraguay for the last 14 years, vigorously denied today charges that his regime was a military dictatorship. . . . While members of his entourage nodded agreement, President Stroessner said that he had "never lifted a finger against anyone." Moreover, there are no political prisoners in Paraguay, he declared. He said that Paraguay "fully supported" the United States in Vietnam. In response to questions by United States newsmen, he noted that the question of sending Paraguayan forces—even in token numbers—to join the allied troops in Vietnam had never arisen. . . . United States officials said that General Stroessner, expressed interest in expanded economic aid from the United States and from international lending agencies and also in greater private U. S. investment.

— The New York Times, March 22

General Alfredo Stroessner came to power in Paraguay by military coup in May 1954. In July of that year he had himself elected President without opposition. Four years later he was reelected, also without opposition. And, again he was "elected" for a third term.

Following his third term, *Time* magazine commented: "Stroessner got off to a dictator's ironfisted start, organizing a tough secret police, suppressing all opposition, packing the prisons . . . His term expires in 1968, and constitutionally he is barred from running again. But in Stroessner's Paraguay, the builder can always reconstruct a constitution" (May 8, 1964). Surprise of surprises, the constitution was reconstructed, and last month's Washington visit came on the heels of Stroessner's fourth "election" victory.

Where was the opposition, an innocent might ask? In Stroessner's first four years as President, approximately 300,000 Paraguayans left for neighboring countries. (*Current Biography*, 1958). The exiles totaled half a million three years later (*New Republic*, Feb. 6, 1961), and by 1963 the figure reached 600,000. For a country whose total population is 1,800,000, this means one-third of the population is in exile. The U. S. State Dept. has not yet pictured Paraguay as a nation "voting with its feet."

Those who remain in Paraguay fare must worse. In "Latin America's most complete and efficient dictatorship . . . Stroessner has . . . jailed, beaten up, or tortured most opposition leaders." (*Newsweek*, June 5, 1961). Example: "The students of Asuncion, capital of Paraguay, decided to celebrate their nation's independence with a giant parade. President Stroessner decided otherwise. Last week, when the marchers set out, Stroessner's police fired warning shots from machine guns. The students walked stolidly on. Then the police piled into them, clubs and sabers flailing. Girls and boys fell in heap and when some of the marchers fled into a nearby church, the police went after them with pistols." (*Ibid.*).

Opposition parties are denied recognition; even mildly critical newspapers are shut down. *Time* magazine, never noted as a hardy supporter of national liberation, declares that since grabbing power, Stroessner has ruled "by black-jack and gun butt." (Oct. 10, 1961). Asuncion lives in "police-state stillness. . . . Telephones are still tapped. Plainclothes cops

continued on page six



General Stroessner and friends

ERITREA: A Name to Watch For

At present, the name of Eritrea may perhaps not mean much to some people. Possibly it might bring to mind a certain remote region which, with careless imprecision, they might locate in the Middle East as easily as in Africa, or a cause for debate in the annals of the U.N. or for the remembrance of bygone colonial glories on the black continent for the middle-aged Italian. However, for the General Staffs of the USA and Israel, the Pentagon and Moshe Dayan, Eritrea means the strategic region dominated by their ally Haile Selassie, a place where they have important bases and war materiel. . . .

Eritrea has a tribal population in which the negroid type, characteristic of the intermediate regions between the north and south of the Sahara, is prevalent. This population surpasses 3,000,000 inhabitants, members of the Torua, Bashida, Aflanda and other tribes. Cultural and religious control during modern times has been contested by Christianity and Islam, the latter obtaining more influence and gaining ground due to the proximity of the Arabs. . . .

After 60 long years of Italian occupation, and some more years of the British brand, Washington and London started scheming to find a formula for political transition by means of which they could finally deliver the country over to Emperor Haile Selassie. By means of the UN, "federation" with the regime of Addis Ababa was imposed on the Eritrean people, who thus lost all their dreams and aspirations for the independence and national dignity proper to a people with its own history, language, customs, traditions and frontiers.

This "federation" never really existed at all, and, if there were any doubts left, Ethiopian troops occupied Eritrea on November 13, 1962; all its institutions and organizations were dissolved, and total annexation was effected. The following day, the Emperor's representative in Eritrea convened the already defunct Parliament to announce the Emperor's decision that Eritrea be fully united "with the homeland." This announcement was made in Amharic, the Ethiopian language, which the majority of the congressmen did not understand, and of course no votes were cast on the measure. . . .

"Always fighting against the kingdoms of Gondar and Lallibela" is the phrase most frequently found in the historic documents of the Portuguese and British travelers who, on their trips to the regions of the Red Sea, were witnesses to the traditional battles of the men of this "Land of the Sea" against the Ethiopians and their expansionist policies. The Italians and British also learned of this people's resistance to colonial occupation. The geographic annexation carried out by Ethiopia marked the beginning of Ethiopian rule based on the military boot and the naked bayonet; unlimited repression; and the conversion of the country into a royal fief and fief of the Coptic Church, where any cultural originality is trampled upon and abolished. The country was then converted into a series of military bases for foreign troops, with US and Israeli forces controlling all naval installations in Massawa and Assab, the airbase at Asmara, and the "tracking" and telecommunications station in Kagnaw and with their instructors training the land, sea, and air forces of Haile Selassie's army and navy, his intelligence and counterintelligence corps, and his torturers and henchmen in charge of repression, including the growing anti-guerrilla forces which are now called "commandos."

Nothing could testify more eloquently to the situation in

which the Eritrean people find themselves at the present time than the endless exodus of men, women and children toward Sudan, a long trek that has already been undertaken by over 30,000 persons. These people prefer exile in hostile Sudan, the renunciation of the precarious living wrested from their land in exchange for the abysmal misery of the refugee in that country, choosing this rather than death by hanging or by burning with napalm, being blown up by bombs or rockets, or being hunted like wild beasts in the mountains or on the plateaus. Garabeet, Ashur, Adfaki, Sanheet, Tukumbia, Sawa, Falkat: these are the names of villages and hamlets which, due to the repressive actions of imperial troops, have been decimated or have even completely disappeared from the geography of Eritrea. This has been the fate of the Eritrean people, "federated" and "assimilated" by Ethiopia. These are the roots of their present rebellion.

Sometime before the "integration" was produced in 1961, the people of Eritrea expressed their absolute rejection of the interventionist pretensions of Emperor Haile Selassie. The first armed actions were carried out: these consisted of sabotage and attempts against the Ethiopian installations and officials. In the late 1950s the revolutionary movement began to gain cohesion, rallying around an organization which was called the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM).

Effective work resulted in its obtaining arms from police forces of Eritrean origin and in the rise of courageous and capable militants and military cadres, who originated the armed struggle and trained the first guerrilla groups during 1961-62. Later, the deaths of some of the leaders, an intensive repression that was unleashed, the isolation of the guerrillas from the urban and political groups, and the exile of numerous leaders resulted in a weakening of the ELM, and a narrowing of its scope.

It was at this time that the Liberation Front of Eritrea (ELF) emerged, composed principally of many young militants of the ELM who were anxious to actively continue the process of armed struggle as a means for attaining national independence. In this way, the ELF took a top leadership role in the revolutionary process of Eritrea.

At the present time, the guerrilla forces and urban fighters belonging to the Liberation Front, grouped in the Eritrean Liberation Army (ELA), are intensifying their actions, both in number and in importance. Their armaments have improved considerably, and their actions have been concentrated lately in the northern and central provinces. The destruction of bridges, roads and means of transportation; ambushes to annihilate and harass the enemy; and successful attacks against Haile Selassie's armored vehicles and certain garrisons are characteristic of the strategy and present tactics of the Eritrean patriots, who are increasing their control over large areas in which the detachments of the ELA operate.

The ELF has divided the country into five zones of operations and has placed a commander with a small general staff in charge of each zone. Each zone of operations has several detachments of guerrillas and groups of urban fighters, whose actions are closely coordinated. There is also a Supreme Council of the Liberation Front, which is the organ for the political and military direction of the struggle. The President of the Front is Idris Mohamed Adam. He; the Secretaries for Revolutionary (Military) Matters,

Cyprus Independence Under Assault

The Cyprus crisis has now been going on spasmodically for more than four years, jeopardizing the independence of Cyprus and imperiling peace and security in the Eastern Mediterranean. The responsibility for it lies with the United States and NATO.

The Republic of Cyprus came into existence on August 16, 1960, after its people's long and selfless national liberation struggle against the British colonialists. Somewhat earlier, however, under the agreements concluded in February 1959 in Zurich and London by Britain, Greece, Turkey and Cypriot representatives, the British Government acquired the "right" to maintain two bases on a territory of about 100 square miles and to use 30 other places on the island for military purposes.

The concentration of modern war materiel and armed forces at these bases furthers the strategic interests of the colonialists in the Mediterranean and the Arab East. They are also being used for interference in the affairs of Cyprus. Greece and Turkey, which concluded a "treaty of alliance" with Cyprus, also got the Cyprus Government to agree to their maintaining army contingents (950 and 650 officers and men respectively) on the island, ostensibly to "protect the lives and property" of their fellow-countrymen (80 per cent of the island's population of 590,000 are Greeks, and 18 per cent are Turks), who incidentally had for centuries lived together in peace and friendship. The "guarantor" countries (Britain, Greece and Turkey) reserved the right to intervene jointly or separately in the domestic affairs of Cyprus "in emergency cases." There are now 20,000 British troops on the "sovereign" British bases there.

Despite these obstacles raised with the assistance of U. S. diplomacy, the new state soon proved its viability. To prevent it from pursuing an independent home and foreign policy, the NATO bosses began to stir up discord between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots and this led to the outbreak on December 21, 1963, of clashes in which hundreds of people were killed or wounded. On February 2 of the following year, Britain and the U. S. demanded that the

Cyprus Government consent to the landing of a NATO peace-keeping force.

This attempt to occupy the island was frustrated by the Cyprus Government and the people with the support of peace-loving states, and in the summer of 1964, the U. S. State Department drew up the so-called Acheson Plan. This provided for the establishment of a base in Cyprus by NATO or one of its members, for Enosis (abolition of the Republic of Cyprus through its incorporation with Greece) and territorial compensation to Turkey.

Although this plan was rejected by the Cypriots, its variants are still being made the basis of the NATO plan to "solve" the Cyprus problem. Seeking to consolidate, at the expense of the independence of Cyprus, the "unity" of NATO's southeastern flank, which is badly shaken by the Greco-Turkish differences, the U. S. A. at the same time hopes to strengthen its own position in the area. There are three large American broadcasting stations in Cyprus, employing about 1,500 specialists in propaganda and subversion. In March 1965, the Cyprus authorities uncovered big U. S. spy rings in which official American representatives played an active role.

To further their treacherous plans, the American imperialists made extensive use of the military fascist regime which seized power in Greece on April 21 last year and its agents in Cyprus, who rallied around General Grivas. This reactionary general went to Cyprus with an assignment from the Greek army and NATO. He soon became commander of the Cyprus armed forces and began to appoint reactionary Greek officers taking their orders from Athens to command posts in the National Guard. He was also in command of the Greek division which was secretly sent to Cyprus that same summer and was subordinated to the Greek General Staff. This force was not meant to defend Cyprus against danger from without; it was used to persecute patriots and democrats, stage provocations against Turkish Cypriots and exert pressure on the Cyprus Government. Agreement has now been reached on the withdrawal of these troops.

continued on page eight

ERITREA

continued from page two

Intelligence, Information, Finances, and Foreign Relations; and the Commanders of the five zones comprise that organ—which also has a People's Revolutionary Command for carrying out its work and performing military tasks in an effective manner.

The guerrillas and urban fighters are generally young men, dispossessed of everything—even of their nationality—who usually come from the most greatly exploited strata of the Eritrean people, from the various tribes and different religious groups of which the nation is composed. . . .

"These Eritreans are just a bunch of separatists." "This is a war of Muslims against Christians." These and similar phrases are often heard when the question of Eritrea is brought up. Occasionally they attain the strength of powerful arguments and serve to annul international recognition and solidarity support of the Eritrean fighters. The propaganda and psychological warfare used by the Addis Ababa regime persistently employ these arguments. . . .

How is it possible to relate this supposed "separatism" with the student demonstrations held in Addis Ababa in April 1967 in support of the struggle of the Eritrean people? On the other hand: could it be possible that among the thousands of Eritrean patriots there are no Christians? The falsity of this supposition has been fully demonstrated by the composition of the guerrilla detachments and groups of urban fighters, as well as by the blood shed by both Christians and Muslims. Ethiopian planes have never discriminated between Christians and Muslims when they bombed the fields, the villages, the hamlets, and the cattle. And there are both Muslim and Christian traitors.

The Eritrean patriots are fighting for the liberation of their homeland, for the expulsion of the US and Israeli invaders, and for a social revolution that will truly and definitively liberate the people of Eritrea. Idris Mohamed Adam, President of the Front, has said: "Ours is a real revolution, not a separatist movement or religious war. And, as this is well known by our enemies, it explains their attitude towards us." [Reprinted from *Tricontinental* (Havana), January-April 1968.]

ARMED INSURRECTION

A meeting of the Central Committee of the People's Unity Party of Haiti held last May discussed the situation in the country, the political line of the Party and organizational measures designed to improve its work and to further the struggle for liberation.

The meeting was significant in the sense that for the first time a national political organization defined . . . the steps to be taken to get rid of the Duvalier dictatorship, to abolish the semi-feudal pro-imperialist regime, and repel imperialist intervention against the just struggle of our people for bread and freedom.

The meeting underscored that the tactical ways could be considered only in the context of armed struggle. It was essential, the meeting noted, for the Party, for all the democratic forces to prepare for a revolutionary armed struggle.

This struggle is not the subjective choice of the Party, for it has been imposed on our people by those reactionaries in Haiti who exercise their political power in a way that precludes anything like legal channels. The struggle has been imposed on us by the U. S. imperialists, the accomplices of Duvalier. They deny the people's right to put an end to absolutism, and are ready to intervene in the internal affairs of our country irrespective of the forms of our liberation struggle. And lastly, the way of armed struggle has been imposed on our people by the misery to which semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism have condemned them—privatization, a high mortality rate, malnutrition, illiteracy. . . .

In order to maintain its predatory policy, which affects all classes, the Duvalier clique has set up a monstrous repressive machine. The regime's shock force are the Tontons

Macoutes, Duvalier's praetorian guard, who are used in the struggle against the people without any legal or moral restrictions. They are posted at all links in the machinery of state which has thus become the direct instrument of the violence. The public has no protection whatever against these marauders. . . .

Forcible sequestration of property and forced labor are widespread in the country. The top officialdom, who have waxed rich on direct plunder, have become part of the traditional landlord-feudal class constituting the backbone of the regime.

The more than half a million landless peasant families constitute an army of semi-serf and seasonal workers, who receive virtually no remuneration for their labor. About 175,000 tenant farmers with plots of two hectares or so own a mere 10 per cent of the land, whereas 3,000 big landowners own 70 per cent.

This system of land ownership explains the destitution of our peasantry and the plight of our agriculture. Export of coffee, the staple crop, decreased from an annual 30,000 tons in 1950-56 to 23,000 tons in 1961-66.

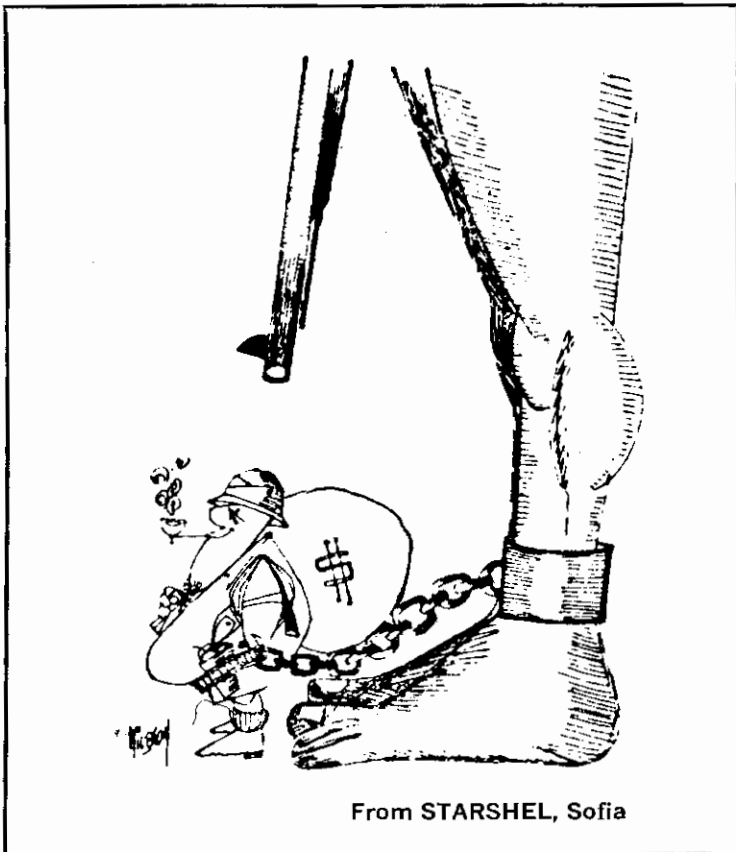
Dreaming of turning Haiti into a second Puerto Rico, Duvalier has granted the U. S. monopolies all kinds of privileges which enable them to fleece the country. The concessions granted to Caribbean Mills, West Indies Fruit, Compagnie Vachon and Hampco are cases in point. In 1957 the Reynolds Aluminium Mining Company received a concession to mine bauxite (400,000-500,000 tons a year). The U. S.-Canadian group SEDREN has been mining copper since 1960. Both these products, accounting for 18 per cent of our exports, are taken out of the country duty-free.

Hampco exports \$1.5 million worth of meat annually although Haiti can ill afford it, having only 640,000 head of cattle. The fact that Hampco and Minoterie belong to Bobby Baker . . . throws added light on the community of interests between imperialism and its henchman, Duvalier.

In 1955 foreign monopolies controlled 20 per cent of our exports; today the figure is 60 per cent. The growth of our foreign debt is making our economy increasingly dependent on the International Monetary Fund, which is run by the United States. . . . The standard of living has declined to a point endangering the very physical existence of large numbers of the population. The national income per capita (\$70) is steadily shrinking. In 1950-55 exports totaled \$50 million a year; in 1960-65 they were down to \$35 million. Budget revenue for the same period dropped from \$30 million to \$23 million.

Haiti, under the double yoke of imperialism and feudalism, has the "privilege" of figuring as the most backward country on the Latin American continent, and one of the poorest in the world. And the corrupt regime of Papa Doc is plunging it deeper still into the slough of misery and destitution.

The tragedy that has befallen our society has engendered different reactions among the public. The over-riding one



From STARSHEL, Sofia

N BEGINS IN HAITI

is fear. Wracked from hunger, terrorized by the secret police, helpless in the face of their oppressors, many have resigned themselves to their fate. Submission and inertia have taken the place of struggle. Thousands are emigrating to Africa, Canada, the U. S. A. and Europe.

Many among the urban population long for deliverance from the Duvalier nightmare. . . . Despite heavy losses, the Party is continuing its work, urging and encouraging the people to resist. It distributes leaflets and other clandestine publications; for the past four years its newspaper, *Voice of the People*, has appeared regularly twice a month.

Of late the Party's activity has entered a new phase, that of armed action with limited, concrete objectives. It took action in April last year to foil the celebrations for the 60th birthday of the tyrant. Revolutionary punitive groups ambushed Duvalier's police, among them Lysius Jacques, deputy chief of the palace guard; they set fire to the estates of the big landowners in the Cul de Sac region.

These actions caused an unprecedented internal crisis in the Duvalier setup. Fearing a conspiracy among his immediate associates, the tyrant had 19 officers of his bodyguard shot. Many officers, ministers and deputies were arrested or sought refuge in foreign embassies.

This is the first time that the Left has taken the offensive, thereby directly influencing the political situation in the country. However, this is only the beginning. Many Haitians, still in the grip of fear, find it hard to believe that there are people in the country who are ready for action against Duvalier. Our Party therefore sees its task as one of stimulating the liberation struggle, of proving to the people that the Communists, jointly with all genuine patriots and fighters for the people's cause, can overthrow the dictatorship and replace it with a people's regime.

The establishment of the Duvalier dictatorship (in 1957) caught the democratic forces unawares. True, they were very weak at the time. The trade union movement had only come into being and there were no student organizations of any kind. The few individual Marxists were isolated and had no militant perspective.

In response to the police terror and influenced by the revolutionaries in the (Cuban) Sierra Maestra, the first Communist groups were formed among workers, intellectuals and students. The Manifesto put out by the Party in 1959 . . . urged a united front of the entire nation to fight imperialism and feudalism, and to win a new independence and establish a people's democratic government. Even though underground, the Party participated in the formation of a broad democratic movement and began to work among the peasantry and the industrial workers.

The authorities retaliated immediately against the nascent Left organizations. The National Student Union was dissolved. Many revolutionaries were persecuted and killed. . . .

In 1963 the Party united with the People's Party of National Liberation (PPLN) and the National League of Resistance Committees to form the United Democratic Front of National Liberation (UDFNL). . . . Together, we achieved considerable success in consolidating the Trade Union Center,

founded in 1959, and which right up to 1963 opposed the dictatorship. The Front, for its part, was in favor of waging the anti-Duvalier, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle on a wider plane.

It was precisely because the UDFNL failed to adopt more active forms of struggle called for by the times that it was unable to rally the masses and become a real united front of all sections of the population anxious for national liberation. In 1965 heavy blows were struck the Front . . . paralyzing its activity for a while.

The first experiment in establishing a united front showed that mass actions in one or another form are essential if a political alliance of progressive organizations is to be effective. . . .

Our task today is to recreate the national front—which is an effective weapon—on the basis of the UDFNL program and within the framework of an armed organization, which, in present-day conditions, can more effectively than any other rally patriots not belonging to the vanguard. . . .

The CC meeting acknowledged that "as regards the forms of struggle against the Duvalier tyranny, our Party constantly vacillated, showing an inadequate understanding of the Leninist theses which we failed properly to apply to our conditions." While declaring that we supported "all forms of struggle" we failed to *prepare for armed struggle*. We considered that the essential thing was to focus on tasks that are invariably a component of revolutionary activity but are not primary in the concrete conditions of so brutal and despotic a regime as the Duvalier regime.

We posed the question of armed struggle as "one of the possibilities," depending "on the development of the situation" and the attitude of the ruling classes. This was a relativist approach, one that did not correspond to our conditions, for in our conditions armed struggle is an historically permanent category of the political struggle. The regime of the ruling classes, at present embodied in Duvalier, is a regime of brutal violence thereby closing all avenues to a non-violent way out of the present situation. They have thus engendered the *objective necessity* for armed struggle by the masses. . . .

Another mistake led us to assume that armed struggle could begin only with the eruption—in the future—of a political crisis, a revolutionary situation such as described by Lenin. Only in these conditions, we maintained, would revolutionary violence be justified. But a national crisis has *already* matured in Haiti, the decline of the regime is evident. And these conditions engender a revolutionary potential of exceptional force. The violence of the secret police is so outrageous that even people far removed from Marxism now realize that only by force of arms will it be possible to oust Duvalier. . . .

"In the preparations for armed revolutionary struggle, our Party proceeds from the concepts of a *people's war*, which necessitates a *people's army* to develop actions over a long period; what is more, the rural areas must become the principle theatre of operations. . . . Such a people's army

Gen. Stroessner: Long-time U.S. Ally

continued from page one

still lounge near opposition homes. Cells are packed with political prisoners. . . . Hundreds of others waste away in concentration camps that he maintains in the 'Green Hell' of the Chaco jungle." (*Ibid.*, July 7, 1961).

For the courageous, the police administer beatings with rubber hoses, electricity-in-bathtub tortures, repeated over and over, a week at a time (*The Nation*, Feb. 23, 1963). One reporter writes of political prisoners who split rocks by hand for Ansuncion's hand-paved streets (John Gerassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America*, N. Y., 1965). Says Gerassi: "Arbitrary arrests, 'disappearances, and rapid executions without trials were still very much part of Paraguay." He cites cases where judges freed prisoners 10 years ago who still remain in jail today. Another prisoner waited three years for trial, finally was condemned to 10 years in a concentration camp; instead he was shot." Five years after taking power, Gen. Stroessner stated: "Now we have stability and progress. We . . . will soon be ready for the luxury of democracy." (*U.S. News & World Report*, Dec. 28, 1959).

If the political life of Paraguay is miserable, the social conditions of the masses of its population are terrifying. The following statistics compiled by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (as of 1961) tell part of the story: one doctor for every 3,700 persons; one hospital bed per 1,250 persons; one of every 2,000 persons has leprosy; per capital annual income is \$95 (as terrible as this seems, things are actually much worse, because figured into this average are the wealth of the oligarchy and the graft of the army); life expectancy of 32 years for all persons. Infant mortality is 93 per 1,000 (this last statistic from the *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 26, 1958). *Time* reports 80 per cent illiteracy (July 7, 1961), but Gerassi is convinced "that no more than two per cent of the population has ever attended school." Less than 100 miles of paved roads can be found in the California-sized republic (*Newsweek*, June 5, 1961). Most of what passes for streets last only until the next rain.

And things are getting worse. Per capita income in the rural areas has actually declined in recent years (*The Nation*, Feb. 23, 1963). To make up for the constant emigration from Stroessner's terror, a 30-year program began in 1959 to bring 150,000 Japanese immigrants to Paraguay (*Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 3, 1958). In 1940, Paraguay had 2,732 industrial firms; today there are 700, a drop of 75 per cent (Gerassi).

It is not difficult to locate the sources of the misery: the oligarchy, the military, and foreign control. While 70 per cent of the population is forced to live off four per cent of the land (*The Nation*, *op.cit.*), 25 landowners hold 130,000 square kilometers, an area equal to Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands combined. Three-quarters of the entire nation, 317,500 square kilometers, are owned by only 1,552 people. Graft is rampant: in a tiny country which must import one-quarter of its food, Stroessner's Agrarian Reform Institute has a budget of \$275,000 of which \$261,000 goes for administrative salaries (Gerassi). While gastric diseases remain the chief killer of infants, "85 per cent of the urban population and the entire rural population have

no water system of any kind. . . . The Capital has sewers for one-third of its population, but the service does not exist elsewhere in the country" (Tad Szulc, *Winds of Revolution*, N. Y. 1965). The fanciest new building in the country, aside from the swank U. S. embassy, is the headquarters of Stroessner's Colorado Party, "built by compulsory deduction of five per cent from the wages of government civil servants" (*The Nation*, *op.cit.*). Seventy-five per cent of Paraguay is forest land, yet wood exports have dropped from 229,000 tons in 1956 to 142,000 tons in 1961, even though the demand for lumber continues to increase (Gerassi).

Perhaps the largest graft in the General's country is reserved for the military. The Army uses the entire meat supply of the country, selling whatever surplus exists abroad for its own profit (*Ibid.*). All statistics available show 50 per cent of the national budget appropriated to the army and the police. Paraguay has learned well to emulate the colossus of the north. In Asuncion, police and the military outnumber workers 40,000 to 20,000 (*Ibid.*). The navy, while much smaller, comes into its fair share of power. The entire "fleet" consists of only two gun-boats and 600 men, of whom seven are admirals (*Time*, April 13, 1959). But, as *The Nation* points out, "the navy of this landlocked country . . . serves as the training school for government Six of Paraguay's present leading officials are admirals" (June 3, 1961).

General Stroessner has long been a "free world" ally of the United States. Just a few days after he overthrew the previous government, *Time* revealed that "Stroessner visited the U.S. last June (1953) as the guest of the army" (May 17, 1954). When Vice-President Richard Nixon made his famous saliva-riddled tour of Latin America in 1958, Stroessner was the only South American President to greet his arrival at a national airport (Gerassi). And Asuncion was the only capital to spare Nixon any incidents, as mass arrests beforehand guaranteed against demonstrations (*Collier's Yearbook*, 1959). The General's army, "his Praetorian guard . . . is equipped with the latest U.S. weapons and is bolstered by a U. S. Military Advisory Group (*The Nation*, June 3, 1961). This is of course not without reason: "75% of Paraguay's production—industrial as well as agricultural—is controlled by foreign firms" (*Ibid.*). In one 18-month period, beginning July 1961, the United States granted some \$20.5 million to Stroessner. Not one to be ungrateful, the General was the first "ally" to respond to the U.S.'s call to join its 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic. *The New York Times* (March 25, 1968) explains that it was to return this favor that Stroessner was invited to Washington last month.

Thus the longest-reigning dictator in the hemisphere, who claims now that he "never lifted a finger against anyone" arrived in the United States seeking expanded economic "aid" and greater private investment. Thus President Johnson could toast the General and receive his acclamation for the aggression in Vietnam. When Johnson spoke to Stroessner of a "phony peace vs. a just one," it was a consultation between experts on the subject. The peace Johnson seeks in Vietnam is the "peace" he and Stroessner can point to in Paraguay, the peace of the cemetery.

VIETNAM'S DE FACTO REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

The events that have taken place in South Vietnam during the last month have probably more significance than might be supposed from reading the various military communiques that were issued. For the first time, in fact, it is possible to perceive a tendency towards the setting up of a South Vietnamese revolutionary government. . . .

For the last month . . . in the Hanoi press, much space has been devoted to the democratic National Alliance Front, set up in the Thua-Thieu Province, of which Hue is the capital, at the very beginning of the Tet offensive. There is also mention of the National Alliance of Peace Forces which was created in Saigon. It is pointed out that in its February 3rd appeal the central committee of the NLF welcomed the appearance of these organizations. On the one hand the NLF in the Thua-Thieu-Hue Province expressed satisfaction on February 5th over the creation of the Alliance Front, and two days later the third NLF communique again emphasized the importance of these events.

If we are to judge by published accounts, the situation is the following. On February 14 in Hue there was a meeting of "the delegates from the revolutionary forces from political and religious organizations, from popular uprising committees of the three districts of the city of Hue, and from the six districts of the Province of Thua-Thieu." This congress elected a "popular revolutionary committee" led by Professor Le Van Hao. He stated that the "puppet administration" had disappeared and that the new committee "combined leadership of the revolutionary movement and the power of state" as having thus become "the provisional power in the Thua-Thieu Province."

The question arises as to what new element this power introduces with regard to the NLF. According to official documents the NLF, described as "the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people," has never hidden the fact that it did not control either the entire territory or the entire population. As it happens, however, and here this document assumes its real significance, in September 1967 the NLF published a political program calling for the formation of a national union of all forces hostile to the Americans and to the Saigon authorities. This program even points out that they should "gradually achieve a National, democratic, local administration." From the beginning of the late January offensive observers were obliged to consider that the power of the Saigon Government was entirely finished in the Province of Thua-Thieu. It consequently became possible to apply the Front program and in a very well circumscribed sector, to coagulate about the NLF, in an Alliance Front, persons and groups not yet officially committed in the struggle. This explains the possible use, after complete eviction of the former "puppet" authorities, of the expression "power of State."

The Hue experience is quite evidently being played up by the Vietnamese. Nguyen Van Tien, the Hanoi representative of the NLF, emphasized on Tuesday the importance of that city, "which, after Saigon, is the second city in the South, a great administrative center, the former Imperial City, as well as a Buddhist center." According to Tien, revolutionary committees may be formed elsewhere—"in the majority of the provinces"—as soon as the Hue experience has been analyzed and assimilated; that is, as soon as it is possible to apply it in other places. Mr. Tien gives no date, other than in "a few months." "Then," he says, "when most of the provinces will have set up committees

of this sort, it will be possible to move on to the next stage, which will be to give these committees a supervisory head."

According to Tien, a part of the population is already in flight from American bombing of the cities, especially those from the area comprising the first three wards of Saigon. "But," he said, "that is not the essential point. The essential point is that at present we control parts of cities in which we are acquiring experience in urban fighting. We are accustomed to fighting in rural and mountainous areas, but not in the cities. The first resistance struggle taught us nothing about this. Now, for the first time in the South, we must wage this kind of war, organize civilian defense, supply routes and sanitary services. Formerly, too, the cities were surrounded by control posts, strategic hamlets, etc. Since the attacks these have been liquidated, and a corridor between the country and the cities has been opened up. This makes it possible, as in North Vietnam, to disperse the women, children and old people who are not indispensable to the defense and administration of the neighborhoods under our control. If we can hold the cities, then we stay. Otherwise, as in the case of the Hue Citadel, we occupy the environs and increase guerrilla action, thus forcing the American forces to disperse. Before, the areas surrounding the cities were the enemy's rear. Today, just the opposite is true: the rear has become ours and our front is now in the cities.

"As regards American pacification," said Tien, "it's done with. The Americans had two goals: on the one hand, search-and-destroy, and on the other pacification. Today we're the ones who are searching and destroying the Americans, right into their very entrenchments . . ."

Mr. Tien said too that because a certain number of persons were in prison in Saigon, and for the sake of prudence, it was too early to give the names of the leaders of the National Alliance peace forces. But from this conversation with him, as also from certain recent documents, it seems possible to accept the eventual hypothesis of the creation in the South of a "power of State" on a national scale. Many factors lead us to the conclusion that in a none-too-distant future a *de facto* Government which will assume *de jure* status will appear in the South, in the name of "National Union." We have every right to think that this power, just as in the case of the Hue committees, will declare itself provisional until such time as the elections provided for in the NLF political program can take place. [Reprinted from *Le Monde*, March 4, 1968.]

..... Enclosed is \$..... for..... subscription(s) to the TCIC Bulletin.
(\$3.00, U.S.; \$3.50, Canada & Mexico; \$5.00, other foreign)

..... Enclosed is \$..... as a contribution to the Center.

..... I wish to receive more information about the Center.

..... Here are some activity suggestions, additional domestic and/or foreign contacts for the mailing list, etc.

.....

.....

.....

My name.....

My address..... Zip.....

HAITIAN COMMUNISTS

continued from page five

cannot be created over night, it must take shape gradually, proceeding from our existing forces and possibilities and by applying the appropriate forms of struggle and actions." Our peasant activists and our proletarian vanguard should initiate a broad "fugitive movement" which will help arouse a spirit of indignation and action in the ranks of our principal political ally and make for the establishment of a worker-peasant alliance already at this level.

The "fugitive" tactic adopted by our Party dates from the glorious traditions of the people's struggle in Haiti. During the period of slavery the Negroes who ran away to the mountains formed groups of fugitives who at night descended into the villages where the slaves lived and sowed the seeds of revolt. These actions became the forerunners of the powerful uprising that laid the foundation of the Haitian nation in 1804. . . .

"Taking into account modern technical means, the theory and practice of counter-guerrilla warfare, the experience accumulated by the fraternal peoples, specifically the Vietnam people, and particularly the situation in Haiti, it should be noted that a movement of fugitives in our time has more of a political than military perspective. However, it should help to rally the hungry masses in our country."

The beginning of guerrilla action which would head the general dissatisfaction in a military-political direction, could act as a powerful spur to rallying the peasants for a national-liberation army. Our Party fully realizes that guerrilla warfare is one of the highest forms of the mass struggle. The guerrilla movement can become invincible only if it springs from the masses, and expresses their aspirations.

These tactical concepts call for a series of new measures to organize and reinforce political work. . . . We must not regard the Party leadership as a purely political body, as something apart from the military headquarters. In our conditions the Party leadership must become the general military-political headquarters, capable of leading the masses in all circumstances . . .

We must be ready to foil the machinations of imperialism and its henchmen among the traditional opposition. Determined to prevent our people from achieving their aims, U. S. imperialism and its Haitian yes-men are resorting to all means to preserve the regime of oppression even after Duvalier disappears from the scene. The CIA and Haitians in the United States are, accordingly, plotting all kinds of maneuvers (coup d'etat, armed intervention, assassination

of the tyrant), to be carried out at the right moment. We must draw the necessary lessons from the events in the Dominican Republic and in our plans consider the possibilities of U. S. intervention and how to repel it. We must establish an effective military-political organization to direct a people's counter-offensive. It is a matter of reacting quickly to any political upheaval and in the ensuing situation to advance towards our national liberation goals. . . .

As for the "lower" classes, their position is simply intolerable. The spontaneous uprisings in Artibonita and in the Cul de Sac valley are indicative of the mood of the peasantry. It now rests with the revolutionaries, and the Communists, in the first place, when the people will take action. [Reprinted from *World Marxist Review*, February 1968.]

Cyprus Independence

continued from page three

The Athens military junta, interfering more and more in the internal affairs of the republic, set out to draw up plans for organizing a military putsch, to overthrow the Cyprus Government and implement the Acheson Plan. Much was written last June about the notorious Astrapi (Lightning) Plan worked out with the active participation of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency and envisaging the above-mentioned measures.

The armed clashes provoked by the Greek junta and its agents in the Ayios Theodoros area of Cyprus in mid-November were a link in the chain of subversion against Cyprus. The democratic Cyprus paper *Haravghi* stressed the political damage they did to Cyprus and the difficulties they raised to a peaceful settlement of the issue. Tension heightened between Turkish and Greek Cyprus. The U. S. Sixth Fleet became active in the Mediterranean and the situation in the area became precarious.

In undertaking their military actions against the Turkish Cypriots, the Athens adventurists and their U. S. patrons hoped to split the island by armed force and to liquidate Cyprus as an independent state. However, the junta was forced by public pressure to agree to a partial withdrawal of Greek troops from Cyprus. The "peace-making" efforts of U. S. diplomacy and NATO were designed to rescue the fascist military regime in Greece, to reconcile the NATO partners Greece and Turkey at the expense of the Cypriot people. But this was foiled by Cypriot resistance. . . . [Reprinted from *International Affairs* (Moscow), January, 1968.]

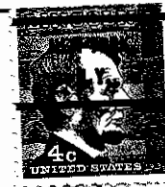
Published monthly by: Tri-continental Information Center,
1133 Broadway—Room 640, New York, New York 10010.
(212) 242-6512. Subscriptions: \$3.00, U. S.; \$3.50, Canada
and Mexico; \$5.00, other foreign.

Director: Michael Myerson
Editor: John Gallo

Tri-Continental Information Center Sponsors:

Franklin Alexander	Frank Emspak	Frank Kofsky
Donna Allen	Abe Feinglass	Paul Krassner
James S. Allen	Robert Fitch	Sidney Lens
Herbert Aptheker	Richard Flacks	Michael Locker
M. S. Arnoni	D. F. Fleming	Lincoln Lynch
James Aronson	Andre Gunder Frank	John McDermott
Rev. Lee H. Ball	Ruth Gage-Colby	Rev. Wm. H. Melish
Norma Becker	Tana de Gamez	Jack Minnis
Alvah Bessie	Maxwell Geismar	Tito Nolasco
Carl Bloice	John Gerassi	James O'Connor
Robert S. Browne	Marvin Gettleman	Sidney Peck
Ron Clark	Fred Goff	Peter Steffens
Ernest Demoio	Carleton Goodlett	Albert Szent-Gyorgyi
Ruby Dee	Robert Gover	Rev. Willard Uphaus
Douglas Dowd	Rev. Thomas Lee Hayes	Stephan Weissman

TRI-CONTINENTAL
INFORMATION CENTER
1133 Broadway, Room 640
New York, New York 10010



Bulk Rate

Joe Shaver
P.O. Box 485
Cambridge, Mass. 02139