



The Havana Conference

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DURING the first two weeks of January while President Johnson was still conducting his "peace offensive," a tricontinental Communist conference was in progress in Havana whose overriding purpose was to organize world-wide subversion against the United States. With Fidel Castro as host and officially designated as the First Conference of the Solidarity of Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the assembly brought together some six hundred delegates and observers from eighty-two countries in the three continents. From January 3 to January 15, the delegates debated, plotted, harangued, and egged each other on to even greater militancy against the United States and its "imperialist stooges." Hanoi and the Vietcong were duly represented. So were China and the Soviet Union, with large delegations whose rivalry—and eventual adjustment—provided one of the high spots of the conference. More immediately important was the high-pitched determination, repeated in scores of speeches and resolutions, to

step up the pace of terror and subversion in Latin America.

Although the Havana Conference received little or no coverage in the major U.S. newspapers, it was followed closely in Europe, where *Le Monde* of Paris, for example, published a series of detailed articles. In Latin America it caused profound dismay and was promptly denounced by an extraordinary session of the Organization of American States. Ambassador Ilmar Penna Marinho of Brazil, chairman of the OAS Council, said of the Havana Conference that "Except for the placing of nuclear weapons in Cuba in October, 1962, no event threatens more dangerously the territorial and political integrity of our continent."

Penna's alarm was echoed by most other members of the OAS Council and by the Latin-American press generally. In Panama, a commentator of Radio Mia, noting the huge U.S. effort to contain Communism in Vietnam, observed that "Communism exists next door to Florida, and there they do nothing. . . . It may be that they are afraid of it, or are

keeping promises made to the Russians, while that insane bearded man raves daily about invading Latin America." *El Universo* in Ecuador underscored the importance which the Soviet leaders attach to the conference, and that "While the Russians continue to seek compromises with the United States, they are not disposed to pay any price" to this end.

The Soviet Hand

There was not much question that Moscow was the chief planner as well as omnipresent manager of the conference. Last December 9, a month before the delegates gathered in Havana, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko rose in the chambers of the Supreme Soviet and briefed its members on the tricontinental conference. "The Soviet Union," Tass quoted him, "in taking part in the Havana Conference . . . will do everything to help consolidate the front of struggle against imperialist aggression." On January 2, the two Soviet supreme leaders, Leonid I. Brezhnev and Alexei N.

Kosygin, followed up with a message of greeting to the conference. As reported by Tass, the message read in part: "Today, Havana attracts the attention of all fighters against the forces of imperialist aggression and colonialism, and for the national and social liberation of peoples. . . . The U.S. imperialists are challenging all progressive forces."

The head of the thirty-four-man Soviet delegation was Sharaf R. Rashidov, a candidate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee of Uzbekistan. Speaking before the conference in Havana on January 6, he paid lip service to Russia's avowed "struggle for peace." But, foreshadowing one of the final resolutions of the conference, he made a sharp and significant qualification: "We believe," he said, "that relations among sovereign states with different public systems should be based on peaceful coexistence. . . . it is clear that there is not, nor can there be, any peaceful coexistence between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors."

Rashidov then told the conference what was expected of it. "The Soviet delegation," he said, according to the Tass dispatch, "came to this conference to promote in every conceivable way the unity of anti-imperialist forces of the three continents, so as to unfold on a still greater scale our common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, headed by the U.S. capitalists." Specifically, he pledged "fraternal solidarity with the armed struggle being waged by the Venezuelan, Peruvian, Colombian, and Guatemalan patriots for freedom against the stooges of imperialism."

THE DAY-TO-DAY work of the conference was carried out by numerous committees on social, political, and economic affairs, as well as a special Tricontinental Committee to Aid Vietnam. These provided the temporary machinery of the conference. What emerged by way of a permanent setup is more to the point. According to the chief of the Venezuelan delegation, Pedro Medina, "Only two organizations came out of the conference and they will

rule—a General Secretariat which will receive all information concerning the three continents, make plans on the basis of the needs of each continent, and deliver its recommendations to an executive organ . . . named the Committee of Assistance and Aid for the Peoples Fighting for Their Liberation." This committee, which emerged as the central policy and strategy body for wars of subversion, included Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban members along with representatives of nine other participating nations. As for the General Secretariat, Havana was designated its headquarters, for the next two years at least, and Captain Osmany Cienfuegos, the chairman of Cuba's three-man Foreign Relations Committee, was named Secretary General. The question of its permanent headquarters was scheduled to be reviewed at the Second Tricontinental Conference, to be held in 1968 in Cairo at the invitation of President Nasser.

The twelve-nation Secretariat also has equal representation from the three continents. Asia is represented by South Vietnam (Vietcong), North Korea, Syria, and Pakistan; Africa is represented by the United Arab Republic, Guinea, one member to be chosen from the Portuguese colonies, which the delegates have decided are to be "freed," and the Léopoldville Congo; Latin America by Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Chile. One of the



jobs of the Secretariat, as laid down at Havana, is to establish in each continent an action group to carry out the resolutions of the conference. The first of these was established four days after the conference adjourned, when the Secretariat announced the creation of a Latin-

American Solidarity Organization, with Havana as its permanent headquarters. It immediately began to issue calls to action.

The New Breed

One of the major Soviet aims of the Havana Conference was to give direct support to guerrilla leaders rather than to the established Communist Parties of their countries. This became clear with the list of delegates, many of whom were little known or had never been heard of before. Absent was Fabricio Ojeda of Venezuela; in his place came Pedro Medina, leader of the Venezuelan National Liberation Front. Luis Corvalán, Secretary General of the Chilean Communist Party, and many other old-line Communist politicians were also missing. Senator Salvador Allende, the defeated Marxist candidate in Chile's presidential elections of 1964, headed the Chilean delegation, but he played only a minor role.

"The real stars," according to the correspondent of *Le Monde*, "were the lean, bronzed men who had arrived, after so many detours, from the guerrilla camps of the four 'fighting' zones of the hemisphere: Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru. . . ." *Népszabadság* of Budapest also commented on the makeup of the delegations, emphasizing that the conference was not in the "hands of catastrophic politicians" but in the firm grip of Castro-type revolutionaries. The reason why Moscow had chosen at Havana to throw its weight behind the guerrillas, rather than the Communist Parties, was underscored by *Le Monde's* conclusion that the conference was clearly aimed at obtaining results "in direct action, and more precisely in armed action." It observed correctly that "With the exception of those in Venezuela and Colombia, the orthodox Communist Parties in Latin America up to now have shown no great enthusiasm for guerrilla wars."

The special publicity given to guerrilla spokesmen obviously reflected Soviet determination to capture control of the conference by giving the lie to China's familiar hard-line attack against Moscow's "appeasement" of the U.S. and its failure to lend all-out support to

militant "wars of liberation." Throughout the conference, the Chinese delegates, as reported by Radio Peking, kept up a drumfire of criticism on this well-worn theme. In the end, the apparent contradiction between Russia's avowed policy of peaceful coexistence and the support it gave at Havana to the principle of "armed struggle" was resolved by typical Soviet logic. A special resolution on "Peaceful Coexistence" which was passed at the closing session of the conference on January 15 declared: "Peaceful coexistence applies only to relations between states with different social and political systems. It cannot apply to relations between social classes, between the exploited and the exploiters within separate countries, or between the oppressed peoples and their oppressors." This simply restated the Soviet line put forward a few days earlier by Rashidov.

The final declaration of the conference fully endorsed the thesis of "armed struggle." According to Tass, it "calls for expressions of militant, active, dynamic solidarity . . . for intensifying the anti-imperialist nature of the national liberation movements." The Chinese, it would seem, had reason to be satisfied. Even Castro's public and bitter denunciation of Peking the day before the conference opened, for backing down on its sugar-for-rice deal with Cuba, did not discourage them. On January 19, after the close of the conference, the New China News Agency reported: "The Tricontinental Peoples' Solidarity Movement ran into various difficulties at the outset. However, in accordance with the will of the people of the three continents, the movement is sweeping forward with irresistible momentum. . . ."

To many observers, however, the most substantial success of the Chinese at Havana—and probably their major reason for being present—was to prevent the Russians and their Cuban allies from gaining exclusive control not only of the movement in Latin America but above all of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization. This group grew out of the Bandung Conference of 1955 and the Chinese have long regarded it as their own special charge, even to the point of attempting to

exclude the Soviets from membership. Although the point was left somewhat cloudy, it appeared that AAPSO, while participating fully in the new tricontinental organization,



would maintain its separate identity. For example, it was announced at Havana that AAPSO will hold its own conference next year in Peking.

The Jobs to Be Done

The final declaration of the Havana Conference is global indeed. The most significant of its general resolutions "proclaims the peoples' inalienable right to complete independence and the use of every form of struggle necessary, including armed battle, to win that right." It hailed the Vietnam war as "an inspiring example for the national liberation movement of the peoples of three continents." It urged a concerted campaign directed at the "governments of all peace-loving countries to recognize, *de facto* and *de jure*, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as the sole genuine and legal representative of the South Vietnamese people." It urged "the most powerful support" for American Negroes and the civil-rights movement, and stated that "In the uprisings in Watts Los Angeles and Chicago, the Afro-Americans openly declared that they were fighting against racism and U.S. imperialism in a common cause with their Vietnamese brothers."

As to Latin America, it called for maximum militancy by those "who are fighting with arms in their hands against the forces of domestic oligarchy which are in the service of the United States, as in Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, and Guatemala, or are being subjected to brutal persecution under military tyranny, as in Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, and other countries."

"Latin America," the document said, "is the rear of the most powerful and barbarous imperialism in the world and the mainstay of colonialism and neo-colonialism." It went on to map efforts to sabotage U.S. investments abroad: "Every blow dealt the U.S. and domestic oppressors by the Latin-American peoples has decisive effect in weakening U.S. imperialism." There are sections that deal with the "liberation" of Puerto Rico, which it classified as "under U.S. occupation," and the Dominican Republic, which, it said, has "set a valiant example of resistance to U.S. aggression." Puerto Rico's chief delegate, Norman Pietri, in addressing the conference on January 10, cited "the imperative need to win national independence in order to promote . . . total eradication of Yankee military installations in Puerto Rico and the threat they pose to the rest of Latin America."

Finally, the inspirational theme was summarized with a peroration: "Faced with the criminal alliance of the reactionary forces, the people of various countries in the three continents have reacted with active, vigorous, and militant solidarity, and with their readiness to reply to every act of imperialist aggression by revolutionary action, carrying on this battle until the complete liquidation of all forms of imperialist, colonial, and neo-colonial oppression."

AS ALREADY NOTED, the Latin-American Solidarity Organization, created on January 19, was the first of the three continental action groups to emerge from the Havana Conference. According to Agence France-Presse, the twenty-seven Latin-American delegations met with Fidel Castro and Pedro Medina of Venezuela. Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos, the Cuban chiefs

of staff of the army, and the principal Communist leaders were also present. In the course of the meeting it was decided that the organization would be permanently established in Cuba and that it would include representatives from all the Latin-American countries, as well as Puerto Rico and Trinidad-Tobago. With Medina as its Secretary General, it will presumably come under the general control of Captain Cienfuegos and his tricontinental Secretariat.

Its operations are already under way. On February 12, the Latin-American Solidarity Organization backed a call to action by the Tricontinental Committee to Aid Vietnam, another permanent organization that emerged from the conference. This appeal urged the recently departed delegates to launch "a wave of sabotage against Yankee interests throughout the world." It also called for "demonstrations, sit-ins, protests, meetings, and denunciations in front of United States embassies all over the world." A call also went out from Havana to "boycott production and refuse to load ships, or to transport arms or any kind of war material bound for North American troops."

Once again Puerto Rico came in for special attention. On February 10, according to *El Imparcial*, Puerto Rican "freedom fighters" established a "Free Puerto Rico" embassy in Havana, and on the same day signed a "pact of solidarity" with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam at its Havana headquarters. The Puerto Ricans claimed that they were "recognized as the only legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people." Shortly thereafter, twenty-six Latin-American Communist delegations agreed to establish National Committees of Solidarity with Free Puerto Rico in their countries.

All members of the tricontinental organization must contribute funds to the Aid Vietnam Committee. One way to raise money was described by Pedro Medina in an interview broadcast by Radio Havana. The Vietcong delegation had presented the helmet of a U.S. pilot shot down over North Vietnam to the Venezuelans. In turn, he said, "The Venezuelan NFL gave the helmet to

the Tricontinental Committee to Aid Vietnam." He continued, "We will wage a campaign with it, on the island of Cuba and in Latin America, and we will carry it to every continent to give more impact and more brilliance to the week of solidarity with Vietnam which is scheduled for March on all three continents." Similar "solidarity" demonstrations are planned for the United States mainland and Puerto Rico.

The Cuban Spearhead

Havana was a natural choice as the operational headquarters for worldwide subversion and wars of national liberation, for it is dedicatedly anti-American and pro-Soviet, and has a well-developed apparatus of subversion already active in the hemisphere. Following the Cuban missile crisis of October, 1962, many of the obsolete Soviet military establishments in Cuba were converted into guerrilla training camps, and new camps have also been constructed. The U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee listed ten such installations as early as 1963. Today, according to some intelligence estimates, there are forty-three camps equipped to train as many as ten thousand activists a year—guerrillas, terrorists, propagandists, experts in sabotage and espionage, and specialists in sophisticated radio equipment. The basic training period lasts four months, with longer periods for certain categories.

When the guerrilla candidate arrives in Havana by a clandestine route, he is given a questionnaire on areas and personalities vulnerable to subversion techniques. He is asked, for example, about targets for sabotage and the terrain surrounding those targets, about homosexual tendencies among members of his home-town police force, army units, and politicians, and about tax irregularities condoned by local bureaucrats. This information, checked and rechecked by contacts in the country in question, provides a starting point for campaigns of subversion.

Castro's Soviet-financed fishing fleet is especially useful in bringing guerrilla recruits to Cuba and re-infiltrating them into their homelands. According to a defecting crew

member of one of the ships, "Cuban patrol boats and fishing vessels are continually introducing arms and men into Mexican territory."

The Cuban training program is co-ordinated with international Communist subversion. Vietcong, Soviet, Red Chinese, and Spanish Communist instructors teach recruits from Africa as well as from Latin America. Cuban Negro instructors have been used to train African recruits in special camps established in the Provinces of Las Villas and Oriente. One, identified as Sádez Gómez García, was killed while operating with guerrillas in the eastern Congolese district of Maniema. A diary found on his body indicated that he had arrived in the Congo from Cuba via Moscow, Prague, and the Tanzanian capital, Dar-es-Salaam. Defected Castro officers state that two hundred Africans have returned to Dar-es-Salaam following eight months of "leadership training" in the Minas del Frío guerrilla camp in Cuba. On September 17, Congolese government forces patrolling Lake Tanganyika intercepted and sank a troop and supply boat, the *Ajax*, which had been running Cuban-trained Congolese guerrillas from Tanzania into the eastern Congo. Last June, twenty-seven Senegalese were tried in Dakar and found guilty of subversion. All twenty-seven, it was brought out at the trial, also had completed eight months of training in Cuba.

Lumumba University in Moscow, according to a broadcast from the Soviet capital, is training thousands of Latin-American students. The broadcast, beamed to Latin America in the Quechua language of the Indians of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, said that when these students return to their homelands, "They will teach their brothers the modern techniques they have learned. But they will do more than teach. . . . They will fight alongside peasants and humble people to ensure that their countries have freedom."

The collaboration between Cuba and Soviet-bloc embassies in Latin-American subversion is exemplified in Ecuador, which broke relations with Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in April, 1962. After an uprising launched by a youth organization that took its inspiration from Castro,

the government found that the Czech legation had been handing over funds to the Ecuadorian Communist Party obtained through the sale of Skoda trucks and other Communist-bloc products. Poland was also involved. Bolivia broke with Czechoslovakia in October, 1964, when the embassy in La Paz was shown to have delivered 500,000 Bolivian pesos to rebellious tin miners that were used to buy Czech weapons.

VENEZUELA, under almost constant attack for years from Cuban-supported guerrillas and terrorists, discovered last October that the Communists had set up an efficient underground arms factory on the outskirts of Caracas. There were "enough explosives to blow up Caracas," according to a Cabinet Minister, and the Director General of the Interior Ministry declared that "specialists from Havana, Moscow, and Peking are trying to get into Venezuela to execute terrorist operations" planned for 1966—what they called "The Year of the Explosives."

Castro-trained men have also infiltrated the notorious bandit groups of Colombia that have extorted more than a million dollars' ransom from relatives of 148 Colombian ranchers kidnapped over the past few years. Kidnapping has been used to raise funds by guerrillas in Guatemala, as well as to create an atmosphere of terror to disrupt the recent elections there. And in the remote valleys and mountains of Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, and Guatemala, minor government officials and pro-government peasants are sometimes murdered, Vietcong style. Che Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare* is the handbook for Latin-American rebel leaders: it preaches the same tactics urged by the Tri-continental Conference "to sow seeds of discord everywhere and keep the oligarchs busy putting out the fires."

The Soviet Union has backed up its investment in direct support for subversion by diplomatic maneuvers in the United Nations. It has striven constantly to divert OAS complaints against Cuban subversion from the OAS to the Security Council, where the Soviet veto could block any punitive measures. It has also succeeded in heading off in the world body any

definition of aggression that would include "wars of liberation."

At the same time, Moscow has pursued its double-track policy of "peaceful coexistence," attempting to maintain friendly diplomatic relations with the very governments its agents are working to destroy. In Uruguay, on the verge of



bankruptcy and beset with social problems as a result of a disastrously overextended welfare state, the Soviets found one of the hemisphere's weakest points. The oversized embassy in Montevideo has long been the center of a clandestine network extending throughout Latin America. In December Soviet agents were accused by the government of having engineered a strike that paralyzed the country for days. This intervention, according to one Latin-American expert in Washington, was an "act of supreme contempt" for Uruguay's weakness.

The Uruguayan Foreign Minister asked the Soviet ambassador for an explanation of his government's role at the Havana Conference and was not impressed by the answer that Sharaf Rashidov was speaking "privately." National Council President-elect Alberto Heber Usher called the reply "insulting." Heber has now vowed to muster the votes in Uruguay's ruling nine-man National Council to break relations with Moscow as a first step toward diplomatic rupture with the Communist powers.

IN OTHER Latin-American countries, particularly those most exposed to subversion, the leaders did not mince words either. Peruvian Premier Daniel Becarra de la Flor said that the Soviet Union was involved in "tacit aggression," and that dele-

gate Rashidov's statements in Havana now made Soviet activities in Peru official. Minister of the Interior Gonzalo Barrios Bustillos of Venezuela recommended the use of force to combat the subversion planned at the conference, which he told Agence France-Presse "is nothing more or less than a consequence

of the blind struggle the Communists are waging against the United States, particularly in Southeast Asia." In 1964, the Cuban newspaper *Revolución* had made more or less the same point, declaring that "Colombia and Venezuela form the embryo of a vast Latin-American Vietnam."

The resolution which the OAS passed on February 2 "emphatically" condemned the policy of aggression and intervention adopted at Havana. Chile and Mexico abstained, saying that while they deplored intervention from whatever source, they considered the resolution exceeded the Council's powers. The U.S. alternate delegate, Ward Allen, voted in favor, but was less fiery than some of his Latin-American colleagues. The resolution denounced in particular "the open participation . . . of official or officially sponsored delegations of member states of the United Nations" which on December 21 had voted in the General Assembly in favor of a nonintervention and self-determination resolution. Among those voting in favor was the Soviet Union, which a few days later sent its delegation to Havana.

The central issue was stated before the OAS by Colombian Ambassador Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, who said, "If there is to be war and no peace, let it at least be known who declared it."



Chicago's Scholarly Cop

HAL BRUNO

WHILE much of the rest of the country is experiencing an increase in the crime rate, Chicago's honestly compiled statistics show a twelve per cent decline in major crime in 1965; where civil-rights leaders in other cities demand civilian review boards, they praise the manner in which Chicago police have handled demonstrations and nipped riots before they reached the point of Harlem, Watts, or North Philadelphia; where it once was an accepted fact of life that the police were corrupted by hoodlums and controlled by politicians, even the most cynical Chicagoan today admits that the system is honest and it is only individual officers who go wrong.

None of this was true when Orlando W. Wilson took command of Chicago's scandal-ridden police department six years ago. At that time, he was expected to be mere window dressing to save the Democratic machine from election defeat after the revelations of "the babbling burglar" uncovered shocking criminal activity on the part of Chicago's police. "The Professor is no match for these thieves," said those who knew Chicago. But they didn't know "O.W."—as he is called—and didn't know that Mayor Richard J. Daley really meant it when he repeated his favorite slogan "Good Government is Good Politics" and pledged full support to Wilson's cleanup job.

The conditions Wilson found had their roots in the prohibition era,

when many of the police captains had first walked a beat and learned Chicago's laissez-faire law-enforcement philosophy. The citizenry was not much better than the crooked cops it condemned, for there was a sort of warped civic pride in the legend of Al Capone. A smart motorist had a five-dollar bill attached to his driver's license, just as a smart burglar carried a roll of bills to "make bond" in an alley if necessary.

IT SELDOM was necessary, for there was widespread inefficiency as well as corruption. A person calling the police on a busy Saturday night was liable to wait an hour or more for a squad car to show up. On a major investigation, detective units worked as rivals rather than as members of the same department. A citizen who complained about police wrongdoing was treated like a criminal and his complaint would be lost in the shuffle if the officer involved had political "clout." The newspapers campaigned and exposed, but made little impression on a jaded public opinion.

Police-district boundaries roughly corresponded to ward boundaries, and certain aldermen had veto power over who was assigned to command their neighborhood station. The quality of police protection varied from district to district, depending on the captain and his political sponsor. Many ran their districts as baronies for their own profit. There *were* honest, hard-working policemen who hated the

system but were unable to do anything about it and wouldn't break the code of silence inside the department. Those who did were transferred from station to station, given unpleasant assignments, and blocked from promotion by low efficiency marks. Some managed to rise in spite of everything, but they were the exception. The police commissioner himself, Timothy J. O'Connor, was personally honest, but the system prevented him from getting rid of the dishonest men he despised.

After Chicago's apathy was shattered by the scandalous exposures of January, 1960, newspapers were flooded with letters relating further horror stories of police villainy. Some were written on the flimsy yellow paper used for official police reports, indicating that policemen themselves were fed up and were finally blowing the whistle for outside help.

The Right Man

Orlando Wilson had started his police career in 1921 as a beat patrolman on the Berkeley force while earning his bachelor's degree at the University of California. His professional reputation was built in the eleven years he was chief of the Wichita, Kansas, police and his service during the Second World War as a colonel in the military government in Italy and Germany. He was dean at California's School of Criminology and had directed reorganization surveys for a dozen police departments when Mayor Daley asked him to head an advisory panel assigned to choose a new commissioner for Chicago. After three weeks of deliberation, the other members of the panel turned to Wilson as the best man for the job. He hesitated at first to accept the challenge. Later, he agreed to a three-year contract with the understanding that he would have a free hand, a large budget, and Mayor Daley's full support.

Wilson, a thin, austere man who speaks in precise academic phrases and measures every word, seemed out of place in the flamboyant Chicago setting. He started small, taking the title of superintendent instead of commissioner, making such seemingly minor changes as painting