



WELLINGTON RALLY of 5,000 persons was part of antiwar demonstrations that took place throughout New Zealand April 30.

Protests in the country's most successful antiwar actions to date included a strike by the Seamen's Union. See page 467.

35,000 in New Zealand March Against the War

Hilliard Freed

On May 4 a federal judge in San Francisco threw out a government indictment against David Hilliard, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther party. Hilliard had been charged with threatening the life of the president in a speech at the Novem-



DAVID HILLIARD

ber 15, 1969, mass antiwar demonstration in San Francisco.

During the speech, Hilliard was alleged to have named Nixon, in threatening to "kill" anyone standing "in the way of our freedom."

Hilliard's defense attorneys argued that Hilliard was using the language of the ghetto, and that there was, therefore, no threat to Nixon's life.

The government claimed that it had in its possession wiretaps of Hilliard's phone conversations, but refused to turn the tapes over to the defense.

District Court Judge William P. Gray ruled that the government "had ample opportunity to seek a magistrate's sanction" for the wiretapping, but did not. Therefore, Hilliard's rights under the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution had been violated, and he had a right to hear the tapes.

When the government denied Hilliard this right, Gray dismissed the charges. □

In This Issue

		FEATURES
Ernest Mandel	469	The Open Decline of the Dollar U. S. A.
	466	Hilliard Freed
	470	Jury Finds Panther 13 "Not Guilty"
	471	Rightists Fire on Houston Socialist Office
	475	Court Battle Continues in Mandel Case
	477	Stennis's Plan to "Limit" War Powers
		ANTIWAR
George Fyson	467	New Zealand's Biggest Antiwar Demonstration
	468	Havana Rally Supports Antiwar Actions
	468	Filipino Opinion on April 24 Marches
		CEYLON
	472	Attack on Rebel Youth a Threat to Working Class
	475	Peking, Moscow Woo Bandaranaike
		MEXICO
	474	Echeverria Exiles Six More Students
		IRAN
	474	Troops Fire on Demonstrating Workers
		UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC
Gerry Foley	476	Opponents of Sadat Placed Under Arrest
		PHILIPPINES
	476	Women on the March in Manila
		GREECE
	477	More U.S. Praise for the Colonels
		PAKISTAN
Gour Paul	478	The War for Liberation of Bangla Desh
	479	Mao Increases Aid to Yahya's Army
		PERU
	480	Hector Bejar Comes Out for Military Junta
		JAPAN
Wataru Yakushiji	482	Trends in the Elections
		SOVIET UNION
	482	Trial of Nine Jews Opens in Leningrad
		BOLIVIA
	483	"People's Assembly" Installed on May Day
		ARGENTINA
	484	Lanusse Survives Attempted Coup d'Etat
		JORDAN
	488	U.S. "Advisers" Reported in Jordan
		DOCUMENTS
	485	Official Text of Heberto Padilla's "Self-Criticism"
		DRAWINGS
Copain	466	David Hilliard; 467, Keith Holyoake; 477, John Stennis; 480, Hector Bejar; 483, Juan Lechin; 484, Alejandro Lanusse

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

MANAGING EDITOR: Les Evans.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Gerry Foley, Allen Myers, George Saunders.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Ruth Schein, Steven Warshell, Jack Wood.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; biweekly in July, not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors,

which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 95 rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin, Paris 10, France.

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Copyright © 1971 by Intercontinental Press.

New Zealand's Biggest Antiwar Demonstration

By George Fyson

Wellington

The April 30 New Zealand-wide antiwar demonstrations involved far greater numbers than ever before in active opposition to the Indochina war. Protests took place in every major city and many smaller towns.

In comparison with the July 17, 1970, mobilisation, previously the most successful protest, which drew 4,300 people across the country, on April 30 more than 35,000 marched in the streets. This included a giant crowd in Auckland, estimated by the organisers to be close to 17,000. Auckland is New Zealand's largest city, with a population of 600,000.

The central demand of the mobilisation was for the immediate withdrawal of all New Zealand, United States, and allied armed forces from Indochina.

Figures from other centres include 8,000 marching in Christchurch, 5,000 in Wellington, 2,200 in Dunedin, and 2,200 in Palmerston North — which is a town of 50,000 persons. A total of twelve cities and towns held antiwar marches, some places seeing their first protest ever. And everywhere the numbers exceeded the most optimistic predictions of the organisers.

Although for the most part the mass media gave negligible coverage to the developing mobilisation before April 30, it was featured in all the newspapers afterwards. The news media also highlighted the peaceful, orderly character of the protests.

Support for this mobilisation came from a broad range of forces, and one of the noticeable new features in the weeks leading up to April 30 was the appearance of leaflets, articles, and other material supporting the mobilisation, issued by all sorts of groups.

University students still made up the highest percentage of marchers, but the proportion was less than in the past. High-school students have begun organising, and they formed antiwar committees and high-school students associations in many parts of the country where no such things



HOLYOAKE: Might be possible to withdraw, especially if demonstrations continue.

had ever existed before. Dozens of high-school groups issued their own leaflets and posters for the mobilisation.

Church groups, including figures from most denominations, were active in many centres, and issued a national mobilisation leaflet, as did a newly formed women's group in Wellington. In both Auckland and Wellington, groups of women against the war marched under their own banners for the first time.

Several trade unions and prominent unionists endorsed the mobilisation, and the New Zealand Seamen's Union held a national strike in support of the demonstrations. This is the first time such action against the war has been taken by trade unionists in New Zealand, although the Federation of

Labour policy calls for the immediate withdrawal of N.Z. troops from Vietnam. In the future other militant unions can be expected to take similar action. The Wellington Trades Council issued a national leaflet building the mobilisation.

Support from the Labour party was the best for any antiwar demonstration yet. Although the party itself did not officially endorse the mobilisation, it said that members were free to participate, and several Labour Members of Parliament and branches endorsed the action. Labour M.P.s, along with prominent trade unionists and church leaders, spoke at many rallies following the marches.

The mobilisation was launched at the highly successful National Antiwar Conference of more than 600 persons in Wellington March 13-14. [See *Intercontinental Press*, April 12, page 332.] In many centres, including Auckland, entirely new coalitions were built after the conference to organise the mobilisation.

Auckland is the stronghold of the Maoist N.Z. Communist party, which refused to support either the conference or the mobilisation. In their weekly paper, *People's Voice*, they ran several articles attacking the mobilisation organisers as "counterrevolutionary."

In the view of the CP, the slogan calling for immediate withdrawal of N.Z. and U.S. troops was insufficient. Instead, they proposed "anti-imperialist" slogans such as "Victory to the N.L.F.," "Smash imperialism," and "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war."

When they saw at the last minute how big the mobilisation was becoming, they tried to pretend they supported it, while still distancing themselves from the organisers. In the marches they carried a few placards with their own slogans, but their influence on anybody at all was negligible. The CP's pitiful display over this mobilisation was a heavy blow to their prestige.

Apart from the Communist party,

the antiwar movement was strongly united behind the mobilisation. In particular, the N.Z. Trotskyists, the Socialist Action League, played a most important role in building the mobilisation, both on a national level and in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. On April 30 a record 3,000 copies of the League's paper, *Socialist Action*, were sold.

Two days before the mobilisation, the prime minister, Sir Keith Holyoake, announced at the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization conference in London that it was possible that the information gathered at the conference might form the basis for a decision to withdraw all New Zealand troops from Vietnam. At the same conference, the U. S. Secretary of State William Rogers said that the policy of Vietnamization was working. In 1965 the New Zealand government sent a few hundred troops to Vietnam

to give political support to the U. S., and in the same way today it is making tiny withdrawals and talking about the approach of total withdrawal in order to lend credibility to Nixon's "Vietnamization" and "withdrawal" propaganda.

The April 30 mobilisation was a fitting answer to Holyoake. It made clear that increasing numbers of New Zealanders are not satisfied with the withdrawal of one artillery battery and its redeployment in Malaya. New Zealanders are coming to reject the idea of "forward defence," which is in reality part of a plan for the continued exploitation of Southeast Asia.

Future mass mobilisations against New Zealand's involvement in Southeast Asia and its support of the United States war in Indochina look like being even more successful than April 30, which to most participants was just a beginning. □

Havana Rally Supports Antiwar Actions

Thousands of workers rallied in Havana May 6 to show their solidarity with the peoples of Indochina and the U. S. antiwar movement. The meeting was apparently timed to coincide with demonstrations in the United States marking the anniversary of the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of students at Kent State University and Jackson State College.

A Reuters dispatch printed in the May 7 *Los Angeles Times* said the rally was addressed by the first secretary of the Cuban Workers Confed-

eration, who read a communiqué that said in part:

"The Cuban Workers Confederation sends to the progressive forces of the United States its warmest revolutionary greetings and reaffirms its solidarity support to their combative mobilizations and demands, and on this occasion pays homage with internationalist feelings to the four martyrs of Kent."

Similar statements were reported to have been issued by other mass organizations. □

Filipino Opinion on April 24 Marches

[The following editorial, "Nixon and April 24," appeared in the April issue of *Laging Una*. Published in Los Angeles, California, *Laging Una* is widely read among Filipinos living in the United States.]

* * *

Besides an adeptness at serving the interests of Richard M. Nixon, the present occupant of the White House is good at one other thing: showing his contempt for the scores of millions of Americans

who oppose his prolongation of the Vietnam war.

While perhaps half a million people were in Washington April 24 to protest the savage war, Nixon, as one critic put it, was in retreat at Camp David—"in retreat from the American people." During an earlier antiwar demonstration in the capital, Nixon stayed in the executive mansion and made a point of telling the world afterwards that he had paid no attention at all to the protesters—that he had, as a matter of fact, watched a football game on television while they marched.

Just as he shows his contempt for the

people, as the above-cited actions indicate, Nixon says he pays no attention to public opinion polls—except when they may be useful in advancing his personal interests. Thus one assumes that he was quite unimpressed by the mid-January Gallup Poll that showed 73 percent of the people in favor of getting all American troops out of Vietnam by the end of this year.

The April 24 turnout in Washington and one of comparable size in San Francisco were the largest and most impressive demonstrations of protest in the history of the country. There was no mistaking the sentiment of the people as they congregated and marched. "Out Now!"—meaning total and immediate American withdrawal from Vietnam—was the slogan seen and heard everywhere.

The rise in antiwar sentiment had become so unmistakable that a number of Washington politicians found it expedient to associate themselves with it by giving endorsement to the April 24 demonstrations. In Sacramento, the County Board of Supervisors in its collective capacity even called upon Congress to "cease its approval of men and money required to continue the war in Indochina."

The infectious spirit of the antiwar movement in this country caused sympathetic protests in many foreign countries, including Denmark, Zambia, Ireland, Italy and Britain.

None of this impressed Vice President Spiro Agnew, Nixon's crude propagandist who would like to muzzle everyone who will not sing the praises of his master. Said he: "The American people must not be misled simply because some 200,000 demonstrators marched in the streets of Washington. After all, they are less than 2 percent of our population."

The protesters who marched represented many, many times their own number, as the public opinion polls eloquently suggest. Those who march do so for themselves as well as for those who cannot. This is quite beyond the comprehension of dull-wits like Agnew and Nixon, who prefer to believe that the "great silent majority" is on their side.

If all the opponents of Nixon's war policies had descended on Washington, there would not have been even standing room to accommodate more than a fraction of them. But the man in the White House deludes himself with the notion that only a "noisy minority" objects to his plans for prolonging indefinitely the dirty war in Indochina. □

No Need to Scream

The Associated Press reported May 1 that two acoustical scientists, who have studied noise levels in U. S. cities, predict that by 1985 persons wishing to conduct a conversation on the street will "have to scream at each other" if they are more than three feet apart.

What about portable loudspeakers to solve the problem?

The Open Decline of the Dollar

By Ernest Mandel

Brussels

Eleven years ago I made the following assessment of the international economic situation: "The dilemma confronting the state in the age of declining capitalism is the choice between crisis and inflation. The former cannot be avoided without intensifying the latter. . . ."

"The capacity of the currency to resist—which, by definition, is limited in time—thus appears as the insurmountable barrier against which, in the long run, the moderating intervention of the state in the economic cycle is brought up short. The contradiction between the dollar as an anticyclical device in the United States and the dollar as money of account on the world market has already become insurmountable."¹

This diagnosis has not been contradicted by the events. It indicates a *dilemma* that most of the bourgeois commentators on the present monetary crisis seem not yet to have understood.

Fifth Stage of Chronic Crisis

In fact, the crisis of the international monetary system set up in Bretton Woods at the end of the second world war has become quasi-permanent. The fifth stage of this crisis opened in 1967. But while the first gusts hit the pound sterling and later the French franc—whereas the pressure on the dollar seemed to be eased by the U.S. halt in gold sales—this time the dollar itself has been caught up in the whirlwind. "The dollar standard," which some insisted on condemning as a permanent drain on the riches of capitalist Europe for the benefit of capitalist America, has not lasted even two years.

On this side of the Atlantic, the bourgeois experts claim to believe that the whole trouble derives from the deficit in the U.S. balance of payments. If

the house of the dollar were "put in order," everything would presumably be for the best in this bourgeois best of all possible worlds.

The disingenuous advocates of this view forget that in 1970, with a record military budget and an inflation rate of 6 percent annually, 25 percent of U.S. productive capacity went unutilized. They forget, in other words, that the cause of the trouble is not inflation but the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system. The absurd survival of private ownership of the means of production and the commodity character of products means that they can only reach the "ultimate consumer" if they are sold, and sold, moreover, at a price that assures their owner the average rate of profit.

Both inflation and the Vietnam war, in the last analysis, are only a consequence of this chronic disease eating away at the vitals of declining capitalism—the widening gap between the society's productive capacity and the buying power of the workers. The formidable inflationary pyramid was erected long before the Vietnam war—which only accelerated its growth—in order to overcome this gap. With the U.S. facing six million unemployed even in spite of this inflation, the friendly advice of the European banks to halt the inflationary trend merits a short, four-letter reply. Where would the European capitalist economy be today with twelve or fifteen million unemployed in the United States?

But those on the U.S. side of the Atlantic who pretend not to understand what the fuss is all about are no less naïve. "A mere technical problem caused by speculation," they declare to console themselves. Really? In a society based on private property and thus on competition, the rich (it makes little difference whether they are speculators, bankers, industrialists, or coupon-clippers) are impelled to unload any consistently depreciating currency.

If the dollar is in crisis, it is not only because it is depreciating. It is above all because it is depreciating

faster than other currencies (first of all the Deutsche Mark and the Swiss franc). It is not speculation but the uneven rate of inflation that has led at last to the breakdown of the system of fixed exchange rates established at Bretton Woods.

The most notable aspect of this affair is that the main speculators have been the multinational companies, that is, above all the big American companies with numerous subsidiaries abroad. *Thus, it is the American capitalists themselves who are speculating against the dollar, as it was the British capitalists who speculated against the pound sterling five years ago.* The capitalists have just one fatherland—the realm of fastest possible profits.

But both the American and European capitalists are fooling themselves, or more precisely fooling their public, because they give only one side of the reality, only one aspect of the situation arising in fact from the insurmountable dilemma noted above.

Coming Challenge to West Germany

Today West Germany holds exchange reserves greater in *absolute terms* than those of the United States. The sensational climb of West German imperialism back to a position of dominance in capitalist Europe—already foreshadowed by the role of the Bonn cabinet in the last monetary crisis—is now being openly flaunted.

The German bankers have in fact decided unilaterally to devalue the dollar—that is the underlying meaning of last week's crisis. The fact that they can do this on their own, that they can impose their will, is a measure of how much has changed in the capitalist world in the last ten years.

But the capitalists across the Rhine do not find their victory in the least reassuring. They have not succeeded in bringing their "little Europe" associates into the project of monetary consolidation. Even the post-Gaullists are saying—a bit belatedly—that a wobbly "greater Europe," with a British counterbalance to German hegemony, is better than a "little Europe" forever under the thumb of Frankfurt and the Ruhr.

The Common Market is experiencing the gravest crisis of its history. The projected monetary and industrial

¹ *Traite d'Economie Marxiste*, Paris, Julliard. Tome II, page 34. (*Marxist Economic Theory*, New York, Modern Reader, Vol. II, page 532.)

integration—which was supposed to make it possible to create a European currency taking the place of the pound sterling and, who knows, perhaps even the dollar, as an international reserve currency—seems seriously compromised.

The fact is that in the monetary tempest, in view of the purely incipient stage reached by the interpenetration of European capital, every monetary crisis touches off the classic reaction of "sacrosanct self-interest" so characteristic of the private property system. Let me quote myself once again, this time from something I wrote in 1968:

"While inflation—so long as it remains moderate—is not incompatible with a more or less normal functioning of monopoly capitalism in the principal imperialist countries, it contains the danger of increasingly disturbing the world exchanges as soon as it provokes a serious crisis in the international monetary system through the inflation of international reserve currencies. This is the stage now making its debut in the history of neocapitalism. The imperialist powers will search for and apply partial remedies. Each of the remedies will reflect, apart from any desire to reform the system itself, the special competitive interests existing at each specific stage. Inflation itself will not be throttled."²

The French capitalists who had already profited from the devaluation of the franc to improve their positions on the foreign market—above all in Germany—are now hoping to widen their outlets again thanks to the fixed parity of the franc. This calculation is shortsighted. The policy of monetary stabilization decided on by the Bonn cabinet, under the pressure of the banks, threatens to show up as a recession in Germany. And a German recession would mean not an expansion but a contraction of French exports.

"Let the Workers Pay"

The whole precarious stabilizing maneuver now in progress—much more precarious now than even in the fall

2. *Quatrieme Internationale*, January 1969, page 34. ("The Crisis of the International Monetary System" in the *International Socialist Review*, March-April 1969, page 47.)

of 1968 and in 1969—has one single fundamental aim: to make the workers pay the costs of "the fight against inflation," above all, the American and West German workers. While inflation is the cause and not the consequence of wage demands, the latter are the favorite targets of the "stabilizers." On this point at least, the Nixon administration, the Pompidou regime, Mr. Heath, and Professor Schiller [the West German economics minister] are unanimously agreed: "The unions must moderate their demands."

Since the monetary crisis combines with a serious slowdown in economic growth (three of the major imperialist countries are now in a recession—the U. S. A., Great Britain, and Italy—and a fourth, Japan, has just barely avoided one), the margin of maneuver for the "social conciliators" is shrinking singularly.

The result of this narrowing economic leeway has been an open attack on the right to strike in Great Britain and thinly veiled threats of a similar assault in the United States. In Germany, the Social Democrats are going to change their "stance" fundamentally in the coming weeks in an effort to knock "some sense" into the heads of union leaders caught between two fires—the pressures for "moderation" from Bonn and the radicalizing pressures from the rank and file (i.e., the wildcat and warning strikes of the fall of 1969 and 1970).

It is well to remember that everything that happens in the capitalist

economy is not the simple result of automatic mechanisms. The economic class struggle is an important factor, as is the revolutionary struggle. The present crisis results not only from dwindling reserves and sharpening internal contradictions in the system. It also reflects the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese popular masses, which has cost imperialism tens of billions of dollars. Likewise, it reflects the revolutionary flareup of May 1968 in France, the "hot autumn" in Italy, the wildcat strikes in Germany and many European countries, and the rise in the combativity of the workers in Great Britain throughout 1970. The monetary crisis is the reflection of an economic and social system whose very foundations are increasingly under attack.

The long period of neocapitalist expansion and "prosperity" is a thing of the past. The thin cows are following the fat ones. And if the fat cows did not prevent May 1968, the years of the thin cows are preparing still other surprises. "Let the workers pay"? But the Western working class is not ready to pay. It is not demoralized. Its combativity is not on the wane. It has suffered no great defeats. The decline of the dollar foreshadows a rise in workers' struggles, including the American workers. The worsening international monetary crisis is a serious invitation to meet the international speculations of the capitalists with an international workers' struggle.

May 10

'Right On!

Jury Finds Panther 13 'Not Guilty'

On May 13, thirteen members of the New York Black Panther party were acquitted on twelve counts of conspiracy to bomb buildings and murder policemen.

The verdict represented a major victory in a case that had become one of the most important symbols of the U. S. government's attempt to destroy the Black Panther party and intimidate the antiwar and Black liberation movements.

The charges were brought against the Panthers in 1969, on the eve of the massive April 5-6 antiwar dem-

onstrations. They were accused of conspiring to bomb police precincts, department stores, railroad and subway installations—and the Bronx Botanical Gardens!

Twenty-two Panthers were charged, but only thirteen were actually brought to trial. Bail was set at \$100,000 for each of most of the accused, and consequently some of the thirteen have spent nearly two years in jail.

The government's case in the trial which lasted fifteen months, consisted exclusively of testimony from police spies who had infiltrated the Panther

party. These witnesses, continually contradicting each other as well as their own earlier statements, admitted under cross-examination that they had never actually heard the defendants discuss any plot to bomb buildings.

Despite this, a verdict for acquittal had not been expected, because of presiding Justice John M. Murtagh's prejudicial conduct during the trial.

The jury itself was surprised at how quickly it came to unanimous agreement. The deliberations lasted only three hours. "We had lunch and began talking and were amazed to find out right away that we all felt about the same," said Frederick Hills, one of

the jurors. "There just wasn't enough evidence," said Joseph Gary, another member of the jury.

The not-guilty decision also applied to Michael Tabor and Richard Moore, two of the defendants who fled to Algeria during the trial. Murtagh had told the jury members that they should consider the flight of the two as evidence of a consciousness of guilt.

A crowd of Panther supporters in the courtroom shouted, "Right on!" and "Power to the people!" as the decisions were announced.

Despite the victory, five of the defendants were not released and are still being held on other charges. □

despite the Klan's publication of a paper called the *Rat Sheet*, which listed the names, addresses, and phone numbers of persons connected with the CDDRH and urged readers to harass them.

"Not surprisingly," the widely read magazine *Newsweek* observed in its May 3 issue, the beleaguered leftists are coming to regard the police as much a part of the enemy as the Klan."

The magazine described the behavior of the Houston city government:

"The mayor . . . has refused to investigate the local Klan and contents himself with periodically counseling both left and right against acts of violence.

"The ultimate effect of these attitudes, of course, is to leave the field pretty much in charge of the rightists."

Newsweek also talked to Converse, who was quoted as saying:

"I am proud to know that I have a hard-working bunch of patriotic men that are putting forth a little more effort to do something about saving this country, and doing away with people who believe in being subversive and belonging to the Communist cause.

"To me," Converse told the magazine, "if you kill a man overseas for being a Communist, you should kill him over here. I don't see any difference."

At a news conference called following the latest attack on the SWP, Alan Saltzstein, a faculty member of the University of Houston who is chairman of the CDDRH, demanded that the police take action now to arrest those responsible.

"Must we wait until someone is killed?" he asked.

As the remarks of Frank Converse and the continuing terrorist acts indicate, Saltzstein's question was not merely rhetorical.

The committee has asked supporters of civil liberties to send protest letters and telegrams to the Houston city council and copies of all such messages to the CDDRH at its office: 4334 Leland, Houston, Texas 77023. □

Decimal Changeover

A Londoner named David Shilling has changed his name because he got tired of being called "Mr. Five Newpence" after the changeover to decimal currency.

Reasoning that "in five years' time we'll all be called by number," he chose the name David 27-6.

Defense Committee Protests Police Inaction

Rightists Fire on Houston Socialist Office

The campaign headquarters and bookstore of the Socialist Workers party in Houston, Texas, was attacked with gunfire early in the morning of May 14. Terrorists fired twenty-two rounds of 30-caliber ammunition through the windows of the building. Fortunately, no one was injured.

This was the second potentially murderous assault on the SWP in the last two months. On March 12, terrorists threw a fragmentation bomb into the bookstore, causing several thousand dollars' damage. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 5, page 306.)

The latest attack occurred not long after police had made their first arrest in the hundreds of incidents of right-wing terrorism that have been committed over the past two years. On May 4, Paul Morratto, who is public information officer of the United Klans of America, was charged with having placed a fake bomb in the studios of Houston's Pacifica radio station last January 16.

The delay in Morratto's arrest indicated that it was finally made only because of the pressure brought to bear on the city administration by the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston (CDDRH), which was formed after the initial attack on the SWP headquarters.

The committee has enlisted the support of a wide range of liberal, radical, civil liberties, and antiwar organizations and individuals and has

conducted a public campaign demanding that police arrest those responsible for the right-wing terrorism. It has also called on the city to conduct a public investigation into the attacks on liberal and revolutionary groups, and has demanded that the police and the fire department arson squad open their files so that the public can determine why none of the cases of terrorism have been solved.

The city government has appeared anything but eager to find those guilty, despite the public admission by Frank Converse, Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, that he knew of present and former members of the Klan who "would just as soon take your life as slash your tires."

Converse has also stated that the Klan has members in the Houston police department.

Following the March bombing of the SWP headquarters, local police and federal investigators went so far as to imply that the SWP had set off the bomb in order to gain publicity.

Lieutenant M. L. Singleton, head of the police Criminal Intelligence Division, turned over to a local radio station an "intelligence report" that listed such supposedly incriminating information as the fact that some of the SWP candidates have visited Cuba and that Debbie Leonard, the candidate for mayor, has lived in Seattle, a city where bombings have occurred.

The police persisted in this attitude

Attack on Rebel Youth a Threat to Working Class

Colombo

The fact that the armed struggle arose simultaneously in, and was confined to, the provinces in which the Sinhala-Buddhist population of Ceylon predominates, and in which the SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom party—the bourgeois party headed by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike] scored sweeping electoral victories in the general election of May 27, 1970, is of the utmost significance politically. It is this fact that has stricken the United Front government with political terror!

Be it noted that the SLFP alone won 11 out of 19 seats in the Southern Province (the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja party] and CP won 4 each), 14 out of 16 in the North Western, all 8 seats in the North Central, and 20 out of 22 seats in the Central Province. In every one of these provinces, police stations attacked by the insurgents, with hand-bombs in almost every reported case, were captured and destroyed by them, thus giving them control of considerable areas of the countryside till the government was able to launch an effective counter-attack on their strongholds.

Though the government claims to have foiled an intended attack on Colombo on the night of April 5, and has broadcast the "confession" of a "terrorist" that the prime minister was to have been captured "dead or alive" on that night, there has been no manifestation in Colombo or in the most thickly-populated Western Province, in which it is located, to suggest that those who organised the armed uprising on April 5 had planned to make any attacks in Colombo or its immediate environs on that day, or that they had planned a "one-day revolution."

All the evidence indicates, on the contrary, that the armed uprising was essentially in the nature of a desperate "do or die" counteroffensive of the JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front] against the government's all-out effort to "search and destroy" its hidden arsenals of explosives, whilst arresting, incarcerating, or subjecting its adherents or

suspected adherents to police "third degree" interrogations, for the purpose of smashing up its organisation and terrorizing its members and supporters.

There is no doubt that had Wijeweera [Rohan Wijeweera, leader of the JVP] not been arrested and held incommunicado after the island-wide invocation of emergency powers by the government on March 16, and had there been any prospect of an early end to the daily searches, arrests, and "interrogations" that followed uninterruptedly thereafter, there would have been no armed uprising on April 5 in the areas where it did take place, in an obviously organised and surprisingly effective and successful manner in its initial stages.

It was doomed, however, to be a life-and-death struggle in the areas where it began, since it is obvious that the JVP had no mass base in the main plantation areas or in the Western Province, where the working class and the urban middle class predominated. The JVP had no means of organising an armed insurrection in Colombo, or even in the main provincial centres of state power, at the time that the government launched its offensive to smash it up under the emergency.

In the short period that the insurgents were able to maintain effective control over certain areas, they are reported to have established a rudimentary local administration of their own, and to have distributed food supplies from cooperative stores or private stores that they had seized.

Though government propaganda is to the contrary, all reports and talk we have heard are to the effect that the insurgents had mass support in the areas in which they expelled or destroyed the police forces. Even if they have now been compelled to take to the jungles following aerial and artillery attacks on their strongholds, there is little reason to believe that they have lost their hold on considerable sections of the rural and even the urban population in those provinces in which the armed struggle was launched.

In the circumstances, whether they

will surrender on the mere promise that no violence will be done to them is doubtful, despite the dire threat that they will be "killed or maimed fighting for a cause that is already lost," if they don't, "by a concerted offensive by the Armed Services," as declared by the Prime Minister.

There are said to be thousands of insurgents still at large, though large numbers, numbering in the hundreds and even thousands, as many people believe, have been killed in the current police and military efforts to liquidate them. Tales of horror, reminiscent of Algeria and Vietnam, are widespread amongst the civilian population, with considerable foundation in fact, judging by some of the reports.

We may well find the insurgent movement continuing as "rural guerrilla warfare" on a small-scale but dispersed basis, which the government would describe as "banditry," and which would provide it with a ready pretext for maintaining the present conditions of a police state indefinitely.

Though the working class has not become involved in the insurgent movement, and though its treacherous and class-collaborationist leaderships of all coalition hues have been denouncing the "terrorists" and pledging full support to the government's actions against them, it is becoming more and more apparent that sympathy for their life-and-death struggle is as widespread in the working class as amongst the civilian population generally. There are also grounds for the belief that sections of the army were in sympathy with the insurgents, or were not by any means as anxious as the police to "search and destroy" them.

This sympathy was undoubtedly heightened by the tales of cold-blooded killings and burnings of captured and even suspected insurgents, and by the fact that the American and British imperialist governments, as well as the Indian and Pakistani governments, were giving aircraft and arms and ammunition to the United Front government to destroy youths in our country. The fact that the areas of the

insurgency are predominantly populated by Sinhala-Buddhists undoubtedly strengthened popular sympathy for them amongst the majority of the population, especially because the youth of both sexes were involved in such large numbers, and because the uprising took place after they had been subject to police repression for three weeks.

The widespread and increasing mass discontent with the government because of the high prices and shortages of essential foodstuffs, unemployment, etc., and its obvious failure to implement its election promises to the masses had already given rise to widespread sympathy for the JVP in the areas of the present insurgency, before the open repression began on March 16. The armed uprising in those areas was thus in the nature of a popular uprising, and the resort to aerial warfare against the insurgents, with aid from foreign governments, has given it something of the character and appearance of the "people's liberation struggle" in Vietnam.

The belated despatch of MIG fighters to the aid of the government by the Soviet Union was obviously a power-political move, to counter the effect of Anglo-American military aid and to help the government to keep up some semblance of a continuance of its policy of nonalignment.

From a historical point of view, the JVP-led uprising, limited though it may be in scope, and resulting as it did in the establishment of the conditions of a police state in Ceylon, has nevertheless served the positive purpose of providing the whole world with a clear example of the essentially reactionary character of any form of national bourgeois regime in the former colonial world, and its dependence upon imperialism to sustain it in any armed confrontation with any substantial section of the mass movement that even threatens the overthrow of the regime. It has also now revealed to *the masses* the fact that the pretence of bourgeois democracy in Ceylon is at an end.

The Essential Services Orders, whereby almost the entirety of the organised working class has been deprived of its democratic rights under the Emergency, have been followed by the sudden enactment of a whole series of regulations under the Wages Board Ordinance by the Minister of Labour, whereby even minor misde-

meanours or negligence or slackness at work, or even distribution of hand-bills in workplaces without the prior sanction of the employer, have been made "offences" under the prevailing labour law itself!

These regulations were passed unanimously in the House of Representatives, without any debate, when it met on April 21 and adjourned after a declaration of complete support for the government's measures against the insurgents by J. R. Jayewardene, on behalf of the opposition, and without any statement being made by the government at all! That parliament is now a farce is thus fully evident, while the working class is now beginning to realize that it stands next in line to the rural masses for all-out repression if it lifts its head against the regime.

The General Council of the CMU [Ceylon Mercantile Union] met on April 24, a poya day holiday, and had a continuous session from 9:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., without any break for lunch. Except for two LSSP speakers and one CP(M) [pro-Moscow Communist party] speaker, every speaker — and there were several — either disagreed with or denounced what the government had done in the period leading up to the armed uprising of the JVP on April 5.

Of about 250 members present, only the two LSSPers and the CP(M) man voted against a resolution declaring that the General Council was not of the view that the armed uprising was a "terrorist action," as made out by the government. Even the two LSSPers merely declined to vote, and only the single CP(M) man voted against a resolution that the prime minister should be informed that it would be an act of "inhumanity" for the government to launch a concerted military offensive to kill or maim those insurgents who may not surrender, as now called upon by the government, since the prime minister herself has admitted that they cannot possibly overthrow the government and have taken to the jungles. A resolution protesting against and calling for the repeal of all Emergency Regulations and the new Wages Board regulations, which restrict or suppress the democratic rights of workers, was unanimously adopted. [For the text of the CMU's letter to Bandaranaike, see *Intercontinental Press*, May 17, page 448.]

The holding of the General Council meeting itself, in the context of the prevailing atmosphere of outright repression, was an important development on the working-class front in the present situation. The sentiments expressed there, and the response they received, further served to show that the most conscious section of the working class, which is to be found in the CMU General Council more than anywhere else today, is not only sympathetic to the struggle of the youth in the areas of the uprising for survival in the face of the military-police onslaught against them, but is keenly aware of the mortal danger that now faces the working-class movement itself. Whatever may be the immediate outcome of the current struggle, therefore, it is most likely that it will have distinctly revolutionary effects upon the consciousness of the working class on a wide scale. □

Trotskyists Active in Spain

Some 300 youths staged a demonstration in Barcelona April 23, according to the April 26 issue of the Paris daily *Le Figaro*.

"The demonstrators distributed numerous leaflets, and shouted slogans," according to the French newspaper.

The content of the leaflets and the slogans was not mentioned, but *Le Figaro* said the group identified itself as belonging to the "Revolutionary Communist League," a Trotskyist organization.

According to another dispatch that appeared in a Spanish newspaper, which we have been unable to identify, a similar demonstration occurred April 17 in Sabadell, Tarrasa, and Rubí, all of them in the province of Barcelona.

The demonstrators distributed illegally printed leaflets and pasted up similarly illegal bulletins. The leaflets were signed by the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League). □

Next Step: Air?

Water in Japan has become so badly polluted that scientists have found a way to use it as construction material.

Reuters reported April 22 that Professor Toyotoshi Yamanouchi of Kyushu University has developed a process for hardening the sludge on river and sea bottoms into building blocks.

Echeverria Exiles Six More Students

Mexico City

On April 28 the Echeverría government exiled another six of the student leaders imprisoned in Lecumberri. The six—Tomás Cervantes Cabeza de Vaca, Sócrates Amado Campos, Carlos Martín del Campo, José Taidée Aburto, Marco Antonio Avila Cadena, and the teacher Fausto Trejo—were sent to Uruguay.

Thus, within two days, twelve students have been forced into indefinite exile. On April 27, another six students, making up the nucleus of the leadership of the CNH [Consejo Nacional de Huelga—National Strike Council], which led the 1968 struggles, were taken abruptly from Lecumberri and flown to Peru.

This group included Raúl Alvarez, Saúl Alvarez, Luis González de Alba, Gilberto Guevara, Eduardo Valle Espinoza, and Federico Emery.

Yesterday, April 30, the Comité Coordinador de Comités de Lucha de la UNAM, del IPN, de Chapingo, y de la Universidad Iberoamericana [Coordinating Committee of the Struggle Committees of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, of the Instituto Politecnico Nacional, of the Chapingo Agricultural School, and the Iberoamericana University]—called the COCO for short—held a press conference in which it stated its position on a series of subjects. These included the struggle in Nuevo León, where students in the state capital of Monterrey are leading a major mass mobilization against the local government, the release of the political prisoners, the struggle of the Colombian students, and the educational reform, as well as other subjects.

The COCO representatives discussed the case of the recently released political prisoners because the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist party] members imprisoned in Lecumberri issued a press release criticizing the students just sent into exile and four of their own comrades sent into exile two weeks previously. These four PCM student leaders—Pablo Gómez, Arturo Zama, and two others—were suspended from the

PCM for "accepting" exile.

The COCO expressed the opinion that it was not the compañeros forced into exile who committed the political error but those who criticized them. "With all due respect," the COCO stated, "we disagree with the view of these imprisoned compañeros [of the PCM] and give a vote of confidence to the political prisoners in accepting whatever they think it convenient to accept, and to our released compañeros."

The student movement is reorganiz-

Iran

Troops Fire on Demonstrating Workers

In the last week of April, according to the May 5 *Le Monde*, Iranian troops opened fire on a demonstration of some 2,000 workers at Karaj, an industrial city forty kilometers west of Teheran. Three workers were killed and a dozen wounded.

At an inquiry, witnesses testified that the troops opened fire when the workers decided to march on the main highway. Employed by the Djahan textile mills, they were demonstrating for an increase in wages.

According to the May 3 *London Times*, the workers "were marching on the capital to demand a larger share in profits. They carried banners in support of the Shah, who introduced profit-sharing into Iranian industry."

The banners carried by the workers are not to be taken as a direct gauge of their attitude toward the shah. A number of incidents could be cited to show that some of the more militant sectors are trying to utilize the shah's demagoguery in furthering their own demands.

For instance, last year at a steel foundry being built with Soviet assistance in central Iran, some workers were laid off on the excuse that they were not needed. They organized a demonstration in which they quoted

ing on the basis of the new feeling of strength it has gained from the most recent events. The COCO has begun the enormous job of preparing for a congress of Mexican students, and foresees the possibility of creating a national student organization.

The press conference was highly democratic. A large crowd packed the School of Medicine auditorium where the meeting was held. Those representatives of the Juventud Comunista [Communist Youth] who were upset by the harsh public criticism to which their party and the Communist political prisoners were subjected had ample opportunity to express their opposing views, although these were not shared by the majority of the assembly. □

the shah's statement that "no worker should be without a job." They won.

In another instance, workers near Karaj won an agreement to replace the twelve-hour day with an eight-hour day.

Another example occurred in a strike action. The workers wanted to hold a closed meeting. To assure that they would not be interrupted by the SAVAK (secret political police), they pasted a huge portrait of the shah over the door to the meeting place. When the SAVAK agents arrived, they had to wait for permission from their superiors before tearing down the shah's portrait, breaking down the door, and entering the meeting place.

By the time the SAVAK agents had completed the formalities, the workers had left by another exit.

Besides unrest among the workers, the shah continues to be faced with deepening radicalization among the students.

According to the dispatch from Teheran that appeared in the May 3 *London Times*, the Iranian government may now close the university. With 18,000 students, it is the largest in Iran.

"The riot police, armed with truncheons, shields, gas masks and sub-

machine guns, stormed into the university on Saturday evening [May 1] to break up a group of between 400 and 600 students who were chanting anti-Government slogans and support for 'the victims of Siah Kal,' the *Times* reported.

"Bystanders, including girls and lecturers, as well as those who had taken part, were clubbed by the police and about 250 students were arrested. A

number were released but more people, including some lecturers, are reported to have been detained for questioning."

Siah Kal, the *Times* continues, is the small village near the Caspian shore in the north of Iran where fighting broke out "between Maoist-led guerrillas and the police" two months ago. "The guerrillas sustained heavy casualties and 13 were executed by firing squad." □

While Ceylon's Revolutionary Youth Fight On

Peking, Moscow Woo Bandaranaike

"Ceylon Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike today [April 18] received Chinese Ambassador to Ceylon Ma Tzu-ching.

"They had a cordial and friendly talk."

This brief note appeared in the April 26 issue of *Selected News Items*, weekly publication of the Peking news agency Hsinhua. The same issue printed a statement by the Bandaranaike government denying that China was smuggling arms to the young socialists of the JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna — People's Liberation Front] who since April 5-6 have been locked in combat with the army and police.

Hsinhua's comment was: "The Ceylon radio broadcast yesterday a communique issued by the Government of Ceylon refuting malicious rumors aimed at disrupting Ceylon-China relations."

As in every issue, the masthead of *Selected News Items* of April 26 bore "quotations from Chairman Mao":

"The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other"; "to defeat the reactionary rule of imperialism, it is essential to form a broad united front and unite with all forces that can be united with, excluding the enemy, and to carry on arduous struggles."

The line of these quotations was not even carried into the interior of that same issue of *Selected News Items*. Instead, the Mao regime affirmed its willingness to "unite" with the representatives of the Ceylonese rebel youth.

The courageous resistance of the Ceylonese rebels to the armed repres-

sion of the Bandaranaike government has also posed a challenge to the socialist pretensions of the Kremlin:

"An eight-engined Soviet turboprop Antonov transport aircraft unloaded thousands of small arms here Wednesday in support of the Ceylon government's renewed drive against its Marxist opposition," said a dispatch from Colombo in the May 7 issue of the *Washington Post*.

Although the Colombo regime seems to have nothing but friends among the great powers of the world, it has still failed to liquidate the insurrection, according to correspondent Jacques Decornoy, writing in the May 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

"There are still a lot of them [the rebels] and they are regrouping in the mountains nearby,' a naval officer turned infantryman told me. . . .

"Ceylon will never be the same again,' a notable commented on his terrace overlooking the beautiful setting of Kandy. 'They [the rebels] say they have not seen the government's promises carried out. . . .' an officer told me in the Kegalle district."

The insurgents were holding out despite having only homemade weapons, Decornoy wrote. "The fact is that the rebels in Ceylon could have held the land they originally occupied and perhaps changed the course of events if they had been equipped with a few hundred automatic weapons, like those the forces of order are using against them, along with tanks, cannon, mortars and helicopters."

The Western journalist could not help being impressed by the contrast between the revolutionary idealism of

the Ceylonese youth and the cynical opportunism of a whole gamut of "socialist" forces:

"An administrator noted that in his region, where Sinhalese and a large minority of Tamils live, the insurgents have never exploited cultural or ethnic antagonisms. If this remark is true, a new page has been turned in the history of the island, where clashes between these communities have often been violent. In particular, this fact merits the attention of the coalition government, which includes personalities whose respective programs are represented as 'socialist,' 'Trotskyist' [the Lanka Sama Samaja party leaders referred to here no longer call themselves Trotskyist], and 'Communist.' Likewise in Ceylon, imposing declarations of principle have not satisfied a section of the youth in face of the way they were practiced. They are dying because they wanted to fill the gap between theory and everyday life." □

Mandel Case

Court Battle Continues

New York

The U. S. Department of Justice has appealed the favorable federal court ruling on March 11 in the Ernest Mandel case. In that ruling, the exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act were knocked out, and the right of the noted Belgian Marxist to secure a visa to visit the United States was upheld.

Meanwhile the lower court has consented to stay the execution of its order allowing Mandel's visit, pending the Justice Department's appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Mandel, who was twice barred from coming to the United States in 1969, has received invitations from a number of leading Eastern universities, including the economics department at Harvard, to speak next fall.

Leonard Boudin and David Rosenberg, attorneys for Mandel and the eight academic coplaintiffs in his suit, intend to ask the highest court to overrule the stay so that Mandel can fill these speaking engagements. The outcome of these legal moves is uncertain. □

Opponents of Sadat Placed Under Arrest

By Gerry Foley

"I was stunned. I told myself, this is an attempted coup. What is really painful is that my own house had been bugged." Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat made this claim in a special broadcast to the nation May 14, following the arrest of six government ministers and three leaders of the only recognized political party, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU). The persons arrested had resigned their positions the previous day.

After the Egyptian people's long experience of suffocating political surveillance and repression under the Nasserite regime—which, judging by the events of the six-day war, did not greatly inconvenience Israeli intelligence—Sadat seemed certain that such a charge would win sympathy.

The Cairo chief's May 14 speech marked a major political crisis for the nationalist regime, one of the gravest perhaps since the young officers' coup

of 1952 that overturned King Farouk. The split in the government, revealed by the ouster May 2 of Vice President Aly Sabry, has now culminated in an extensive purge of the ASU leadership.

The issues in Sabry's removal were not clear. Speculation centered around three facts. He was considered an advocate of close ties with the Soviet Union. He was believed to support a harder line toward Israel than Sadat cared to follow. His ouster came a few days before U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers was due to arrive in Cairo. The immediate cause of Sabry's fall, reportedly, was his attack on Sadat for agreeing to form a new Arab federation of Egypt, Syria, and Libya without discussing the project with the ASU apparatus.

"As former secretary of the Arab Socialist Union," correspondent Ro-

land Delcour noted in a dispatch from Cairo in the May 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, "it was quite natural for Sabry to embrace the cause of the Arab Socialist Union activists, who were unhappy about not being consulted by Sadat on the proposed federation."

Although this report suggested that a clique struggle in the swollen state and party bureaucracy may have been involved in Sabry's dismissal, there is some indication that his supporters attempted to make a political appeal to the masses.

According to Associated Press dispatches, supporters of Sabry tried to distribute leaflets attacking Sadat in two Cairo suburbs May 10 but were jailed. One of the leaflets reportedly accused Sadat of preparing to make concessions to Israel that would "lead Egypt into a catastrophe similar to that of June 1967."

On May 13, on the eve of Sadat's radio speech, Minister of War Mohammed Fawzi and Minister of the Interior Sharawy Gomaa resigned, along with Sami Sharaf, minister of state for presidential affairs; Mohammed Fayek, minister of information; Helmy el-Said, minister of electric power and the regime's economic expert; and Saad Zayed, minister of housing and the main liaison between the government and the ASU under Nasser.

Philippines

Women on the March in Manila

[The following article appeared in the April issue of *Laging Una*, "the Voice of the Filipino People," published in Los Angeles, California.]

* * *

Women's Liberation, the worldwide feminist movement seeking equality for women, made its debut in the Philippines Mar. 15 when hundreds of Manila women left their classes, homes, market stalls and jobs to join in an opening rally aimed at high prices.

The women marched under the banner of the Katipunan ng mga Kababaihan Para S Kalayaan, coordinating body of progressive women.

The unusual sight of women marching in a Catholic country where the church frowns on such activity pro-

voked some violence from men along the line of march. At one or two points stones and bottles were thrown at the marchers.

Kabataang Makabayan, the organization of Nationalist Youth, issued a manifesto welcoming the "political awakening" of women. It declared that the "only way women of our country can uphold and protect the interests of the masses is for them to participate fully, directly and actively in political and productive activities."

Linda Oalican, a representative who spoke for the marchers, said the rally was "but the beginning of a more active involvement of Filipino women in the struggle against American imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, and in the struggle for national democracy." □

At the same time, three top party officials, one of whom also held a top post in the government, resigned from the country's only legal political formation. These included the general secretary of the ASU, Abdel Mohsen Abul Nur, a confidant of Aly Sabry and his successor in that post, as well as Diaddin Daoud, the party's No. 2 man; and Labib Shukair, a member of the Executive Committee of the ASU and president of the National Assembly.

In the May 15 issue of *Le Monde*, Eric Rouleau described the present crisis as the outcome of a "veiled civil war."

"It was Mohammed Hassanein Heykal, the editor in chief of *Al Ahram*, who began the hostilities," he wrote. "A former confidant of Nasser, he carved out a privileged place for himself next to President Sadat, for whom he performed many political services. He rapidly made a name for himself as an ideologue, and in his weekly

column every Friday he expressed views which enraptured some and infuriated others.

Heykal's main point can be summed up as follows: Israel will never agree on its own to give up the occupied territories, even in exchange for genuine peace. Resumption of hostilities is therefore inevitable. But Egypt risks being the loser because of its opponent's technical superiority and the passivity of the other Arab countries. Everything would change . . . if the great powers decided to intervene to force Israel to comply with the November 22, 1967, Security Council resolution. Since the U.S. was the only power capable of pressuring the Jewish state, the Cairo government should strive to 'neutralize' the Zionist lobby in America and persuade Washington if not to support the Arabs at least to adopt an 'objective' and 'impartial' attitude."

These views were opposed, Rouleau claimed, by high figures in the ASU led by Fawzi, Sabry, and Gomaa. The last, "the strong man of post-Nasserism," was supposed to be the real chief.

In combating the bloc led by the minister of the interior, Sadat relied on democratic appeals to win popular support, denouncing police repression and bureaucratic cliquism.

"From the beginning," Rouleau continued, "the Sadat group has played the card of 'renewed democracy,' of civil liberties. These slogans please the 'new bourgeoisie'—to say nothing of the old—which dreams of abolishing the system of state controls, thanks to which, however, it has been able to enrich itself.

"The chief of state has freed political prisoners (especially members of the [ultraright] Muslim Brotherhood), restored a certain autonomy to the courts, announced that he will end the system of special powers and establish a definitive constitution. But he is also abolishing the system of state trusteeship and reassuring some owners by restoring the property of some of them."

Because of the bureaucratic and demagogic character of the conflicting groups and the lack of freedom of expression in the country, it may be some time, however, before the implications of the Egyptian crisis are fully known. □

May 24, 1971

'Foul Up and Smoke Up'

Stennis's Plan to 'Limit' War Powers

Antiwar sentiment in the U.S. has become so widespread that even the most conservative members of Congress have begun to feel the pressure. The more astute of them have clearly decided it would be wise to put on a few dove feathers for protective coloration.

The newest arrival at the dovecote is none other than Senator John C. Stennis of Mississippi, a long-time supporter of Johnson and Nixon's attempts to subjugate Southeast Asia. Stennis announced May 9 that he would introduce a bill to limit the president's powers to make war.

Stennis's limitations on the president were themselves quite limited, as it turned out. His bill would permit Nixon to send troops to war either to repel an attack on the United States or to protect Americans abroad. Since there are Americans in virtually every country in the world, and their need for protection is known to vary with the needs of Washington's foreign policy, the restrictions would not be likely to burden Nixon very severely.

The senator did not feel that there was any great rush to adopt his proposal. He estimated that approval would have to be preceded by "a year of debate and discussion."

Last but certainly not least, Stennis explained that his legislation would not apply to the Indochina war. To bring in that unpleasant subject, he said, would



STENNIS: Adds dove feathers to pacify the voters.

only "foul up and smoke up the resolution with a debate about the present war."

More U.S. Praise for Greek Colonels

Richard Nixon's affection for the Greek military dictatorship continues to grow. Following Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans's lavish praise for the junta during his recent visit to Athens [see *Intercontinental Press*, May 10, page 421], other departments of the administration have been ordered to join in.

At a Council of Europe meeting in Strasbourg on May 14, Martin Hillenbrand, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, was reported to have told the gathering that the Papadopoulos regime had won broad support from the Greek people.

One year ago, the Council of Europe expelled the Greek government because of its violations of human rights. Hillenbrand and his boss evidently consider this action a grave

injustice. An Associated Press dispatch reported:

"... [Hillenbrand] said at a private session of the Council's political committee that the United States believed that torture of political prisoners in Greece was not extensive, committee sources said."

Some of the delegates were said to have criticized the U.S. government for supplying arms to Papadopoulos, but Hillenbrand brushed aside this carping, according to AP:

"The alternative [to the junta], Mr. Hillenbrand said, would be a regime headed by younger, nationalist officers who would follow nonaligned policies modeled on those pursued by . . . Nasser."

And that, according to Nixon, is what makes the colonels so "popular." □

The War for Liberation of Bangla Desh

By Gour Paul

Bombay

On March 25, a new nation of 75,000,000 persons was born in Bangla Desh. Whatever the outcome of the war of liberation that the Bengalis have begun, the myth of a united Pakistan is irretrievably broken. It is the end of a state standing on the solitary leg of religion, without any roots in history, language, ethnic origin, or culture.

In fact, the resolution of the 1940 Muslim League conference in Lahore, which sponsored the concept of Pakistan, acknowledged the impossibility of forging one nation from geographically separated peoples alien to each other in every respect when it enunciated the principle that "geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted . . . that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the Northwestern and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

Bengali nationalism, which was evident from the first in the struggle against West Pakistani attempts to impose Urdu as the sole official language, threw overboard the Muslim League as early as the 1954 general election. The first elected provincial government was formed by a "united front" of the Awami League, the Peasants and Workers party, and Nizami-Islam.

The program of the front called for a "fully autonomous and sovereign" East Bengal that would control all areas except defence, foreign affairs, and currency.

As a result, the popular ministry, which was formed by 97 percent of the legislators, was dismissed by the West Pakistani Centre on May 30, 1954, less than two months after it took office. On May 31, the appointed governor imprisoned many of the "people's tribunes," including Sheik Mujibur Rahman, who had been a minister in the dismissed government.

Thus the total war launched by Yahya Khan on March 25, 1971, had

its dress rehearsal nearly seventeen years earlier.

The present unity of the masses of Bengalis was not generated overnight or by superficial causes. The colonial exploitation of East Bengal by the West Pakistani bourgeoisie is evident in the Western domination of the military, the government bureaucracy, and the economy.

While this domination has prevented the development of an independent Bengali capitalist class, it has been felt most severely by the working masses.

Industrial development of Pakistan during the twenty-four years since independence has been hailed by many economists as unprecedented. During the period from 1961 to 1971, per capita income increased 29 percent and the gross national product 73 percent.

But Dr. A. R. Khan of the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics has shown that in spite of this increase in per capita income, real wages of workers have decreased 10 percent during the decade. Similarly, a survey by Dr. S. R. Bose of Dacca University demonstrated that real wages of agricultural workers substantially decreased during the period from 1949 to 1966. The decrease was more severe in East Bengal than in West Pakistan.

Another scholar from the same university found that in the four years from 1964-65 to 1968-69, the common people of East Bengal suffered the following decreases in their per capita allotment: food, 3.2%; edible oil and fat, 34.8%; clothes, 54.2%.

During the years 1963-68, East Bengal accounted for 62.30% of Pakistan's exports but only 33.71% of its imports. Of the foreign loans received from 1961 to 1970, 80% went to the Western wing.

This colonial exploitation has had two important results.

First, numerically weak and very negligible, being deprived of an economic base and governmental power, capitalists of East Bengal have failed

to throw up a powerful political leadership that could contain the people's discontent within a constitutional framework.

Secondly, exploitation by the Western wing is so direct and open, and the economic crisis of the masses is so desperately acute, that the struggle for political emancipation of East Bengal is bound to be linked very closely with the fight for freedom from all economic exploitation.

However, not only the masses, but more or less the whole local state apparatus has rallied and is fighting the Pakistani military machine. Hence one must be very careful about blindly applying a formula that arming the people will automatically lead to the abolition of capitalism.

Of course, it is a ray of great hope that arms are coming into the hands of toilers and students. Reports are reaching us that the toiling masses have in many places evolved their own organs, called "Sangram Samiti" (Struggle Committees).

But it would be a mistake to forget that there is not a power vacuum of the sort that would permit the automatic transformation of organs of struggle into organs of power. There is no immediate question of replacing the old state apparatus by the emerging new one. The old state machinery is being destroyed only bit by bit, in the course of the war.

This does not mean that a victory of the liberation struggle will strengthen the old state apparatus. Even if the struggle is temporarily defeated, a new Bengali people will emerge from this sea of blood. In the developing people's war, the demands of the exploited will be decisive.

Reports already show that a sizable section of the Awami League leadership has crossed over into India, while in some areas of East Bengal, particularly in the northern regions, people are fighting in their own militia units.

Will free Bangla Desh survive?

While categorical assertions are impossible, it appears that the first phase

of mass butchery has completely failed to achieve the calculated results. It has, on the contrary, steered the determination of the freedom fighters.

With about 50,000 soldiers currently deployed in East Bengal, Yahya Khan's army cannot hold the necessary strategic positions: cities, towns, airfields, ports, communication centres, railway stations, bridges, steamer junctions, etc. Experience has shown that the Bengali forces can overcome army units of less than battalion strength, particularly if the latter lack air support, which will be unavailable during the monsoon.

On the other side, the Bengali forces consist of 3,000 members of the East Bengal Regiment; 12,000 from the East Pakistan Rifles; 12,000 to 15,000 Mujahids (Home Guards) and Ansars (Volunteer Corps). They also include those police who survived the initial massacres. More important politically, an unascertained number of student volunteers have gone through brief training and formed guerrilla bands. The Bengali combat strength, however, is not commensurate with its numbers because of the lack of arms and ammunition.

The economy of both wings will break down if the war continues, as it will in all likelihood.

West Pakistan is already in the grip of an economic crisis. Its foreign exchange reserves are nearly exhausted, and it can no longer defer devaluation. During peacetime, Islamabad spent \$5 per capita yearly on the war machine. At least twice as much is required today, not only because of the Bengali rebellion, but also to control other sensitive spots such as the Northwest Frontier Province and Baluchistan. (The demand for an autonomous Sindh Desh has already been raised.)

To add to these difficulties, Islamabad's huge colonial market in Bangla Desh has been sealed off indefinitely.

In East Bengal, acute famine will start very shortly. The region has a chronic food deficit, and the war has stopped internal trade, destroyed food stocks, and driven at least 1,500,000 peasants from their fields into India.

The abnormal conditions in East Bengal will seriously affect the economy and the people of neighboring Indian states. In addition, epidemic or plague is a likely consequence of the lack of medicine, contaminated

water, etc. Such an epidemic would not stop at the Indian border.

While Indira Gandhi still refuses to recognise the government of Bangla Desh and to send it needed arms and ammunition, her government cannot escape the consequences of its inac-

tion. The more protracted the war, the more assuredly will the Bengalis establish guerrilla bases in the sympathetic territories of West Bengal and Assam—states that are already among the most explosive in India.
April 30.

Mao Increases Aid to Yahya's Army

"People in various towns of East Pakistan," Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency, declared May 9, "continued to bring out processions, denouncing the Indian Government for interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan by sending armed infiltrators to East Pakistan, according to the 'Pakistan Times.'"

The Mao government's support for Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan's genocidal war against East Bengal has gone beyond the point of merely falsifying information. The Associated Press reported April 28:

"Western diplomats [in Rawalpindi] said today that they believe China is supplying military equipment to Pakistan and has agreed to outfit new units in the western province to replace troops sent to suppress the Awami League in East Pakistan."

On May 2, the press agency reported that Chinese aid to Yahya would include the outfitting of at least one armored division.

Mao also agreed to provide Yahya with an interest-free loan of \$207,000,000, the latter's government announced May 15. The *New York Times* reported May 16:

"Sources in Islamabad... said the loan was not tied to the purchase of Chinese goods and that the money could be used for purchase of commodities anywhere. This brings to \$307-million the current Chinese aid to Pakistan, the Government said."

The Chinese loan came when the Pakistani economy was at the point of bankruptcy because of the expense of the military offensive against Bangla Desh. The May 3 issue of the German weekly *Der Spiegel* reported that in April the government's currency reserves had shrunk to approximately \$82,500,000—a level well below that considered necessary for carrying on foreign trade.

Even Richard Nixon, although will-

ing to help Yahya, recognized that the public revulsion over the massacres of unarmed Bengalis made such aid politically impossible. Benjamin Welles reported from Washington in the May 14 *New York Times* that Nixon's secretary of state had asked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to arrange a public hearing for M. M. Ahmed, Yahya's top economic adviser.

Ahmed had met with Nixon on May 10. The obvious intent of a public hearing would have been to allow Ahmed to make a plea for funds to the American people. But William Fulbright, the committee chairman, has a liberal image to maintain, and he turned down the White House request.

Even as Mao came to Yahya's rescue, opposition to the war began to show itself even in West Pakistan. Clare Hollingworth reported from Karachi in the April 29 *London Daily Telegraph* that a "secret Bangla Desh movement" had been formed there, apparently made up primarily of Bengalis living in West Pakistan. Hollingworth said the group had raised money to send Bengalis abroad for military training.

Pakistanis outside the country have had a better opportunity than those at home to learn the truth about what is happening in East Bengal. A letter in the April 26 *Toronto Globe and Mail* gave an example of their thinking:

"I am from West Pakistan but let me assure my East Pakistani brothers that all the democratic elements in West Pakistan are with them. Once the West Pakistanis know what has happened they will rise against the gangsters in power."

As the struggle in Bangla Desh continues and the number of refugees—which has already reached 2,600,000—swells, Mao may turn out to be the only friend Yahya has left. □

Hector Bejar Comes Out for Peru's Military Junta

[Héctor Béjar, one of the leaders of the 1965 guerrilla struggle in Peru, has decided to support the bourgeois government of Lieutenant General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

[Held in San Quintín prison since his arrest in Lima in 1966, Béjar was among the political prisoners released by an amnesty issued by General Velasco December 21, 1970. The amnesty covered about 100 prisoners, including Ricardo Gadea and Peru's most prominent revolutionary figure, the Trotskyist Hugo Blanco.

[Béjar's decision to go over to the side of the government was handled by the communications media as sensational news. The next sensational item, in all likelihood, will be a reciprocal gesture by the regime by way of thanks.

[Béjar gained wide fame when his book *Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience* was awarded the Casa de las Américas prize for 1969. The Cuban award assured broad circulation for the book and it has been translated into various languages, including English.

[The book was noteworthy for the critical attitude taken by the author toward the guerrilla experience in Peru. The defeat made a deep impression on him, and his essay was mostly an effort at probing the reasons for the failure.

[In his book, Béjar acknowledged the importance of Hugo Blanco's leadership of the peasant struggle in the early sixties and the probability that the revolution could have been won at that time if the left as a whole had come to Blanco's support. Among other things, the deep-seated prejudices against Trotskyism created by the Communist party stood in the way.

[Despite the many accurate criticisms of the guerrilla struggle in Peru made by Béjar, he did not draw the logically indicated conclusions. He disagreed with Blanco's policy of attempting to draw the peasants into the struggle as a mass force by extending their unions and organizing militias to engage in defensive battles that could have led to a struggle for power.



HECTOR BEJAR

[Nor did Béjar draw the indicated conclusion concerning the necessity to build a combat party like the one constructed in Tsarist Russia under the leadership of Lenin. In fact, Béjar held a negative view on party building. While he appeared to have not drawn final conclusions, his doubts showed that he had not made a profound study of Lenin's contributions, still less Trotsky's. (For a criticism of Béjar's views, see "Béjar's Essay on the Peruvian Guerrilla Struggle" by Joseph Hansen, *Intercontinental Press*, January 19, 1970, pages 44-48.)

[Béjar's lack of appreciation, or his wrong appreciation, of the role a combat party can play in the revolutionary struggle helped to pave the way for his capitulation to the Velasco regime. His switch of 180 degrees—from viewing armed struggle per se as a surefire method of winning a revolution, to backing a military politician at the head of a bourgeois re-

gime—is not as illogical as it seems. In both instances, Béjar dismissed the alternative of building a revolutionary party. We see once again how ultra-leftism can change into opportunism.

[In this instance, the conversion is all the more dramatic in that the fighter who held that the Peruvian armed forces constituted the main instrument of repression and chief obstacle to the revolution, and who took up arms to defeat them—only to be captured and imprisoned—now bows to those very same armed forces and declares that they are performing a revolutionary mission. Béjar's explanation for this is illogical in the extreme—the most reactionary instrument of the capitalist state became the most progressive because the other instruments were weaker!

[Béjar's turn is in line with the position on the Peruvian regime voiced by Fidel Castro; namely, that a "revolutionary process" is occurring in Peru, although not a "Marxist-Leninist revolution." While the Cuban government is duty bound to take advantage of every opening to break the imperialist blockade of the Cuban revolution, it is injurious to that revolution to sow illusions in a regime like the one in power in Peru today.

[Velasco is playing a shrewd political game. The concessions he has granted to the masses, including some blows against U.S. imperialism, are sufficient to gain considerable prestige—if not a revolutionary aura—for his regime among the peasants and workers. (They, of course, should accept everything granted, defend the gains vigorously, and seek to extend them.)

[One of Velasco's main objectives is to disarm the left. Through his reforms he hopes to dazzle the figures that have struggled for years, often in the most heroic way, against the Peruvian oligarchy and its imperialist backers. His objective is to win them over completely by opening up positions for them.

[If they accept, his regime gains in its efforts to create a revolutionary image. More importantly, they are thus trapped into sharing the political

responsibility for what he does or does not do.

[In the long run, as Velasco is well aware, the reforms will not succeed. A new crisis will face the country. When this happens, those former revolutionists who decided to support his regime will stand discredited. They will be unable to provide revolutionary leadership to the masses.

[In short, Velasco's objective is to decapitate the left and leave the masses without leadership when the next big social and political crisis breaks out in Peru.

[For the record, we are publishing below a Prensa Latina dispatch announcing Béjar's decision to support the Velasco regime and his rationalizations for his capitulation. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

LIMA, April 10 (PL)—"The Peruvian army is today carrying out the anti-imperialist tasks that the country's tragic situation requires," Héctor Béjar, the guerrilla leader released last December, declared here today.

"In Peru there is indeed a revolutionary process and an anti-imperialist battle that we are obliged to further with absolute loyalty," Béjar said in an interview granted to "Prensa Latina."

Of the guerrillas who fought against the Army in 1965, Héctor Béjar is the first to adopt a position of frank collaboration with the Governing Military Junta headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

We have transcribed below some of the replies given by Béjar—winner of the 1968 [sic] first prize in the literary contest of the Casa de las Américas—in the course of an extensive interview copyrighted by "Prensa Latina."

What was the ideological origin of the guerrillas of 1965?

Béjar: Some, like Luis de la Puente Uceda, were from Apra Rebelde. Others, like Juan Pablo Chang and me, were from the Communist Youth, which we had left because of differences with the party. The lack of political coordination then became one of the causes of our military defeat.

—What other causes were there for such a military defeat?

Béjar: A complete analysis has not yet been made. I believe we missed in timing. The best moment for an

insurrection had already passed, the period when the worker-peasant struggles of 1962-1963 were on the rise. If our effort had coincided with that of Hugo Blanco, perhaps the guerrillas in Peru would have had a different fate. Other causes were the difficulties encountered by the combatants in adapting to the rural surroundings. They were university students or petty bourgeois from the urban zones.

—They speak about a crisis of the "Armed Road." Is this true?

Béjar: Today a reevaluation is required. The guerrilla struggle is a heroic and fruitful stage that cannot be crossed off with a stroke of the pen. Today a socialist Latin American conception is being sought for. But guerrilla struggle continues to be the only place for a revolutionary where the possibilities of change are systematically closed.

—The guerrillas are criticized for having forgotten the mass struggle. Is this criticism correct?

Béjar: In their contacts with the peasants, the guerrilla fighters did more mass work in 1965 than the critics of the traditional left did in their whole lives.

—What was the attitude of the Marxist left while you were fighting?

Béjar: They stood aside, waiting for us to succeed so they could come in on the crest of the wave. Trotskyists, Maoists, and mixtures of both. Because of this it is unjust and superficial to attribute exclusive responsibility to the Communist party.

—How would you characterize the present situation in Peru?

Béjar: In 1965 we were a country dying from colonization; in '71 we are a country in process of decolonization. Penetration by the monopolies has been cut off. The Peruvian state is beginning to take control of the decisions. The absence of a Marxist political vanguard backed by the masses, the decline of the oligarchy, the decrepitude of the organizations that once stood for the people, have resulted in the army being the one to carry out the anti-imperialist tasks demanded by the situation.

—What do you attribute this to?

Béjar: To the fact that the armed forces are not an abstract entity separated from the national reality, impermeable to the profound social contradictions of our epoch.

—What deficiencies do you see in the current process?

Béjar: The notable isolation of the leading team with respect to the people. The counterrevolution is doing everything possible to deepen the indifference and lack of confidence, and even instigating confrontations. The government must open an audacious dialogue with the workers, students, peasants, to overcome this, going over the heads of the bureaucratic leaderships.

—What must the banners of the left be?

Béjar: Support the construction of a new society, struggle so that it will not be either the present dehumanized capitalism, nor rigid bureaucratic dogmatism. . . . "Which has tried to pass itself off on us as the only model of socialism" (added by Béjar in his own handwriting).

—Definitively: Do you or do you not openly support the Revolutionary Military Government?

Béjar: To the workers and students who believed in the guerrillas as a hope for the salvation of Peru, I must tell them with absolute frankness and clearness that I do support this process and not because of opportunism or any sinecure. I support it because it is a stage of transformation, which, in order to reach culmination, requires the participation of the people and of all the revolutionaries, because a revolution can begin without the people, but it cannot fully culminate without them.

—And what should this "participation" be like?

Béjar: Like a revolutionary compromise that should not limit our critical capacities in order to loyally support what will further the process and reject what will damage it. Our support must not be like experimenting around in a laboratory nor as an instrument of party aims.

—And if this support is not forthcoming, what then?

Béjar: Then we will have isolated ourselves in a sterile intellectual chapel or will have converted what should have been a great battle against foreign domination and for Peruvian socialism into a suicidal rivalry between power groups. □

Only three-tenths of one percent of the elected officials in the United States are Black, according to a report of the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Trends in the Japanese Elections

By Wataru Yakushiji

Osaka

A decline in support for the ruling Liberal Democratic party [LDP], a continued ebb in the fortunes of the Japan Socialist party [JSP], and a rapid advance of influence for the Japan Communist party [JCP]—these were the trends visible in urban areas on April 11 and 25, when throughout Japan elections were held for eighteen prefectural governors, more than 1,000 mayors, and local assemblies at various levels.

The LDP, which won an overwhelming majority in the 1969 parliamentary election, suffered a stunning defeat in the race for governor of Tokyo. It also lost the Osaka governorship, which it had held for years.

In Tokyo, the incumbent, Ryokichi Minobe, ran against an LDP ex-commissioner of police and defeated him by 1,700,000 votes (3,615,299 to 1,935,694). In Osaka, Ryoichi Kuroda, who was supported by the JSP and JCP, defeated the LDP governor, who had held the office for ten years, by the narrow margin of 15,000 votes (1,558,170 to 1,533,263).

In comparison with parliamentary elections, in which urban areas are underrepresented, local elections give a more accurate reflection of the existing political climate.

The LDP, while maintaining its position as the largest party, won only 46.9% of the votes in elections to forty-four prefectural assemblies, a decline from 48.3% in the previous elections in 1967. The JSP registered significant losses, going from 22.2% to 19.4%.

The JCP showed a marked increase from the 4.0% it won in 1967, receiving 7.4% and trebling the number of seats it holds.

The vote for the Komeito and Democratic Socialist party [DSP] remained almost unchanged.

The trend was even more marked in the larger urban areas. In Tokyo, all 128 of the JCP's candidates for twenty-three ward assemblies were elected. In Osaka, this purely reformist party gained almost five times as many

seats in the prefectural assembly as it previously held.

Although the current workers' spring offensive for wage increases created favorable conditions for reformist working-class parties to make electoral gains, the results were even more clearly a rejection of the Liberal Democrats' rule by the masses.

A major issue is the problem of environmental destruction. The key to the "miraculous" economic development that began in the early sixties has turned out to be widespread air and water pollution.

The JCP was able to a certain degree to channel the desire for a solution to this problem into support for its reformist policies. To the discontented, the JCP appeared a somewhat more dependable force than the JSP. Thus the sole gainer from the JCP-JSP coalition appears to be the Communists, a situation that has held true for several years.

Some highly significant statistics, not reflected in the elections, were reported in the March 15 issue of *Mainichi*, one of the country's largest newspapers. An opinion poll it conducted

in Tokyo March 5-7 showed that the number of persons who support none of the parliamentary parties had increased to 36%, while 29% supported the LDP, 18% the JSP, 6% the DSP, and 4% each the Komeito and JCP.

As almost all the political scientists point out, these statistics reveal that more and more people, especially urban residents, consider the established parties incapable of solving the problems the masses face in their daily lives.

This makes it clear that the JSP-JCP coalition has not succeeded in channeling the discontent of the masses into supporting their plan for a center-left government. The working population is looking for a way out that is controlled neither by capitalists and imperialists nor by reformists and class-collaborationists.

More and more people are discovering that the way out is to organize themselves to struggle against the conditions imposed by capitalism. The task of revolutionists is to organize these forces into a vanguard, and the Trotskyists have been making progress in this.

They have been militantly engaged in the struggle against maintenance of imperialist bases on Okinawa. This struggle will come to a head in June, when the U. S. and Japanese governments plan to sign a treaty for reversion of the island to Japan that will include the continuation of the military bases. □

Soviet Union

Trial of Nine Jews Opens in Leningrad

On May 11 nine Soviet Jews went on trial in Leningrad. TASS, the Soviet news agency, asserted that the nine were accomplices of the twelve Soviet citizens convicted in January of treason for plotting to hijack a jet to Israel. However, the exact charges have yet to be revealed. Two of the nine are charged with "treason."

Bernard Gwertzman, in the May 10 *New York Times*, reported that "Jewish sources" claim that the nine are charged under Articles 70 and 72 of the Russian criminal code. Article 70 covers anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and carries penalties

ranging from six months to seven years in prison. Article 72 deals with "especially dangerous crimes" against the state and "participation in anti-Soviet organizations." Conviction under this article carries penalties up to and including death.

The Leningrad nine were first brought to trial on January 9, but the case was postponed, largely because of international pressure on behalf of the defendants in the first hijack trial. In addition to the case of the Leningrad defendants, there are nine Jews in Kishinev, Moldavia, and four in Riga, Latvia, awaiting trial on

charges also related to the first hijack case.

The trial has been closed to foreign correspondents and very little has appeared in the Soviet press about it.

According to the daily TASS foreign releases on the trial, several of the defendants have "confessed." Gwertzman reported in the May 13 *New York Times* that Jewish sources told him that two of the nine are maintaining their innocence.

The defendants are described by the same sources as being active Jewish nationalists. Several of them signed petitions to the United Nations protesting restrictions on Jewish life in the Soviet Union and the ban on emigration to Israel.

Because of the official secrecy, it is not possible to tell whether the nine actually participated in a hijacking plot, whether they knew of such a plot but did not report it, or whether the charge is a government fabrication.

The Soviet bureaucracy has been notorious for its anti-Semitism since Stalin's rise to power. But more than anti-Semitism is involved in the current cases.

Various nationalities in the Soviet Union have become increasingly restive. This includes such powerful forces as the Ukrainians. The Tatars have even engaged in demonstrative actions.

One of the purposes of the current trial of dissident Jews is to intimidate all the nationalities that feel oppressed in the Soviet Union. □

Greece-Albania Ties

The Albanian government and the military junta in Greece agreed May 6 to reestablish diplomatic relations, which have not existed between the two countries since October 1940.

Trade relations were resumed between them in January 1970. Last November, direct telephone links between Tirana and Athens were reopened for the first time since 1940.

Terms of the resumption of relations were not announced. □

Law and Order Under Nixon

Five Cuban counterrevolutionaries in Hartford, Connecticut, convicted of trying to sell stolen rifles to other *gusanos*, were given suspended sentences May 4.

Bolivia

'People's Assembly' Installed on May Day

"Bolivia's organized workers seized upon May Day to install Latin America's first 'people's assembly' in La Paz yesterday amid celebrations which echoed across the continent," Richard Wigg, correspondent of the *London Times*, reported from Buenos Aires May 2.

"The idea of anything resembling workers' soviets and a further move to the revolutionary left in Latin America's 'southern cone' inevitably

which ended with the organized workers, peasants, and students shouting: 'Arms for the people,' 'Death to imperialism,' and demanding a 'socialist Bolivia.'

"General Torres, who leads a six-month-old Government pledged to 'revolutionary nationalism' (which stops some way short of outright socialism) had on Friday revoked the concession held by a United States group of companies for working Bolivia's big Matilde zinc mine.

"The 'people's assembly,' devised by the Bolivian Confederation of Labour under Señor Juan Lechín, the veteran tin miners' leader, has installed itself in the Bolivian Congress building, left vacant since a military coup in 1969.

"The clear intention of the forces behind the assembly is that it should exercise pressure upon the military Government, but President Torres last week said that the body had no constitutional power for him. He repeated his regime's promise for subsequent elections to a National Assembly in which all classes would find their legitimate representation.

"The people's assembly has allocated 60 per cent of the seats to trade unionists. The remnants of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (M. N. R.), which made the 1952 revolution, are excluded, being regarded now as too far to the right."

From the dispatch, it is difficult to judge the precise meaning of this development. Juan Lechín, often described in the past as the "John L. Lewis of Bolivia," is notorious for his socialist demagogy and his real policy of class collaboration. It would be quite in character for him to head a popular move of the kind described in order to betray it.

By the same token, it is clear that the revolutionary upsurge in Bolivia is continuing and that the question of governmental power is coming to the fore.

That is why General Torres is, of course, opposed to acknowledging even the existence of such a body as a "People's Assembly" that stakes its own claim to wielding government power. □



JUAN LECHIN

brings a shiver of fear to all right-wing forces, especially in Argentina and Brazil," Wigg continued; "but in Chile, where a Marxist Socialist Government is in power, the workers were told by President Salvador Allende that everyone must tighten his belt, working harder without making 'exaggerated' wage demands.

"President Juan José Torres joined in the early stages of the May Day march through the Bolivian capital,

The Art of Posters in Politics

Posters of Protest and Revolution selected by Maurice Rickards. Walker and Co., New York, N.Y. 228 plates. \$12.50. 1970.

Maurice Rickards has based his selection on an extremely broad definition of the words "poster" and "revolution." He has included not only posters but also printed proclamations. In terms of content, revolutionary works here appear side by side with reactionary, and even fascist, propaganda.

In his introduction, Rickards traces in broad outline the historical development from the proclamation to the true poster. With the appearance of new struggles, he finds, the process tends to repeat itself: "It is in the long-drawn conflict that the broadsheet style gives way to the pictorial poster."

Rickards's favorite era of the poster is the Spanish civil war, which he believes "produced some of the best posters the world has seen." On the other hand, it would be hard to argue that some of the innovations of Soviet artists in the years immediately following the revolution have ever been surpassed:

"... Russia in the 1920s was quick to move into the world of the new technologies. Typical of its readiness to embrace new ideas was the introduction, many years before its adoption by the rest of the world, of the propaganda train. These, with coaches painted along their whole length with propaganda pictures and messages, constituted mobile posters of truly spectacular scale. . . . The outside of the carriages carried suitably attenuated scenes—Lenin sweeping away the litter and debris of the capitalist past, Red Army cavalry charges, workers' processions and the like—captioned with similarly extended slogan strips. Inside, the carriages provided walk-through exhibition areas, teaching aids and literacy campaign material."

It is surprising that Rickards in his research was apparently unable to discover Trotsky's role in the creation of the propaganda train. He has likewise omitted one of the most famous of Soviet revolutionary posters, which shows the Red Army commander in

the form of a lion crushing the counterrevolution.

It is disappointing that Rickards has left out such masterpieces in order to include the sterile productions of the socialist realism of a later period.

The latter style is firmly entrenched in Chinese poster art, as the selection in this book demonstrates to the point of monotony. The idealized masses rallying under the banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought appear to have been mass-produced by machinery.

Cuban revolutionary posters, with their original and varied styles, are

a refreshing contrast; there are far too few of them in the book, however.

The book does contain a large number of works from the French May, which, like the Cuban, are sprightly and imaginative. But, unfortunately, none of the French posters are in color, and many are reduced to a size that makes their inclusion almost nominal.

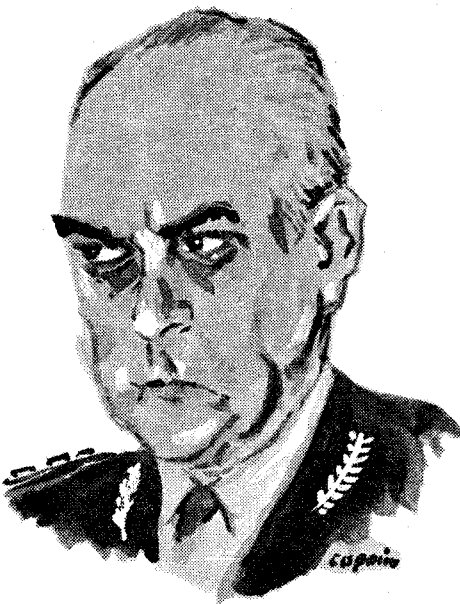
The use of color is much too sparing throughout the book, and detracts from many works.

An additional defect is the book's lack of organization. The examples are arranged neither by style, country, chronology, subject, nor any other discernible pattern. The index, which could have helped to overcome this problem, is simply useless. Most of the entries in it are wrong.

—David Burton

Argentina

Lanusse Survives Attempted Coup d'Etat



ALEJANDRO LANUSSE

Only seven weeks after it seized power by a military coup March 23, the regime of General Alejandro Lanusse faced an armed challenge from an opposing group of officers. A plot to overthrow the government was discovered May 10, according to a May 15 Associated Press dispatch.

Five army officers were arrested May 11, a dispatch in the May 13 *Washington Post* reported. Two others, including Gen-

eral Eduardo Labanca, allegedly the plot leader, were being sought.

"Authorities discovered a clandestine radio station and found 1,500 capsules of paralyzing gas in the car of one conspirator," the dispatch continued.

On May 14, seven colonels were forcibly retired, and one of them was arrested, according to a May 15 AP dispatch.

Government agents reportedly uncovered the conspiracy in the city of Tucuman in the country's impoverished and turbulent northern region.

Most reports in the international press speculated that the dissident officers opposed the liberalizing course adopted by Lanusse after he ousted former President Roberto M. Levingston.

In particular, right-wing officers appear to have been upset by indications that Lanusse was preparing to permit the return of former President Juan Peron, who was ousted by a military coup in 1955.

Peron permitted the development of a strong trade-union movement and clashed sharply with the old landed oligarchy, to which the military caste is closely tied.

After four years of strong-arm military rule, it might be expected, moreover, that attempts to return to more flexible methods of government would produce splits in the armed forces. □

More Scientific Wonders

Not long ago, we reported a scientific study that discovered poor people are not as happy as the rich. Now the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has spent \$5,000,000 to find out that the poor don't eat as well either.

Official Text of Heberto Padilla's 'Self-Criticism'

[Last week we reported the jailing in Havana of the Cuban poet Heberto Padilla and his subsequent release after having written a "self-criticism" of some 4,000 words while in prison.

[On the same day he was released, our report continued, Padilla appeared at a meeting of the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, where he made a long "self-criticism." We do not know whether the text of this was the same as the one he had written in prison—most likely it was.

[The April 30 issue of the publication *Direct From Cuba* published what it calls a "synthesis" (summary?) of Padilla's "self-criticism" at the meeting of his union. We are reprinting this below, plus the introductory remarks provided by the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina.

[It will be noted that Padilla names other members of Cuba's community of artists and writers present at the meeting. According to *Le Monde*, all of those named took the floor and made "self-criticisms" in the example set by Heberto Padilla.

[As we noted last week, Heberto Padilla's book of poetry *Fuego del Juego* (variously translated as "Out of the Game," "Outside the Game," "Outside the Rules of the Game," or "Out of Bounds") was awarded Cuba's 1968 national prize for poetry by a literary jury of non-Cubans, who were nonetheless supporters of the Cuban revolution.

[A newspaperman as well as a poet, Padilla was chief London correspondent of Prensa Latina, a reporter in Moscow for the Spanish-language *Novedades de Moscu*, and a reporter for *Granma*.

[He was fired from *Granma* in 1967 for publicly protesting the wide distribution given to what he called a mediocre short novel by Lisandro Otero, vice president of the Cuban Council of Culture. Padilla said that among other books, the novel *Tres Tristes Tigres* (Three Sad Tigers) by Guillermo Cabrera Infante, which he called the best work of prose written in Cuba since the victory of the revolution, had not been published because of opposition from certain bureaucrats.

[The imprisonment of Heberto Padilla stirred up a storm of protest among intellectuals in Latin America and Western Europe who have been staunch supporters of the Cuban revolution.

[In coming issues we plan to publish further material on this important case, including remarks by Fidel Castro.

[All footnotes appear in the version of the "self-criticism" supplied by *Direct From Cuba*.]

* * *

Havana, (PL)—On March 20 Heberto Padilla was arrested by the State Security apparatus of Cuba. His name circulated for 38 days—to the most distant parts of the globe—and was linked up with all sorts of speculations in the western

news-agencies concerning the poet's fate. Described as a nonconformist, a victim or martyr of the Cuban Revolution, Padilla suddenly became an exotic image representative of the problems of dissidence in other socialist countries of Europe. His name was associated with names such as Boris Pasternak and Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Front page headlines were devoted to him, and the image of the poet turned into a myth that hovered uncertainly in the background of the mystery.

Padilla himself reveals in the following pages his *via crucis*, his intimate moral and intellectual tragedy. "My life has divided into two", he declared before his friends and comrades of the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba twenty-four hours after his release. In these revelations he analyzed this process of deterioration and confusion—distinguished by resentment and personal vanity—which he had suffered from, both as an individual and as an author.

In approximately 4000 words Heberto Padilla denounced his betrayal of the dreams he had shared, his withdrawal, his systematic obstruction of the revolutionary development of his country. He reserved the hardest, the most aggressive, the most wounding phrases to describe his attitude in the last years.

This then is the synthesis of the long confession which on the night of April 27 in the very rooms where he had attacked the social system which had treated him so magnanimously, the poet made his declaration in front of more than 100 Cuban writers and artists.

Many of the names he mentions—people who have the same attitude—are those of poets convulsed by the trap of international fame, avid to gain prestige in one way or another, outside of the limits of Cuban national culture, according to his later confessions.

This is the secret key to the mystery, the link lost among the infamous speculations and sensationalism and the splendor of sincerity.

* * *

Comrades, last night at around half-past twelve, the Revolutionary Government released me and has given me this opportunity to address my friends and comrades writers concerning a series of topics about which I am going to speak.

I want to make it quite clear that this meeting, this talk, is at my request. The Revolution, as you perfectly well know, has not imposed this meeting on anyone. I made a written declaration and presented it to the leadership of our Revolutionary Government.¹ I wrote that I felt it

necessary to explain many of my points of view, my activities and attitudes to all of you here who are my comrades, because I believe that my experience may have some value, I would say of an interesting, exemplary kind, for many of my friends and comrades.

All of you know perfectly well that on March 20 I was arrested by the State Security apparatus of our country. I was arrested for being a counterrevolutionary. However serious and however impressive this accusation may be, it was founded on a series of attitudes, on a series of positions, on a series of activities, on a series of criticisms—no, no, not criticisms; that is a word I wanted to accustom myself to when I was in contact with the comrades of State Security, but it is not the right word to describe my attitude—I mean, instead, a series of insults and defamations to the Revolution, which constitute and will always constitute my shame when I look at the Revolution.

Under the disguise of the rebel writer, the only thing I did was to conceal my disaffection for the Revolution. But I asked: was this really a disaffection? I discussed this with State Security. And when I saw the number of activities, opinions and judgments that I had made among Cubans and foreigners, and the number of insults and defamations, I stopped in my true size, this is the man I really was, this is the man who committed these errors, this is the man who objectively worked against and not for the Revolution.

I would like to find a dictionary of aggressive words to perfectly define my conduct. I would like to express my infinite gratitude for the number of times so many of my revolutionary friends approached me and warned me that my attitudes were very negative and were harming the Revolution. And I will never forget the man who turned a deaf ear, I will never forgive him. But these were my errors.

I defamed, I constantly insulted the Revolution, both with Cubans and with foreigners. I went extremely far in my errors and in my counterrevolutionary activities—one cannot mince words. When I went to State Security, I was particularly afraid of this word, as if this word did not have a very clear significance and a very specific value, is it not so? A counterrevolutionary is one who works against the Revolution, one who does harm to it. And I was acting in such a way as to harm the Revolution. I was far more interested in my intellectual and literary importance than in the importance of the revolution. I have to admit it. My return to Cuba from Europe in 1966 was the landmark of my resentment. The first thing I did some months after my return to Cuba was to take advantage of an offer from the literary supplement *El Caíman Barbudo* on the occasion of the pub-

1. The reference is to a letter-manuscript, dated April 5th and distributed by PRENSA LATINA.

lication of the novel by Lisandro Otero² *"Pasion de Urbino"* to attack in the most ruthless and unjust way a friend of long standing, my true friend, Lisandro Otero. And whom did I defend? I defended Guillermo Cabrera Infante.³ Who was Guillermo Cabrera Infante and what had he always been? Guillermo Cabrera Infante had always been a resentful person not only of the revolution but of society in general, a man of extremely poor social origin, a poor man, a man who, I don't know for what reason, had become embittered from his youth and a man who was from the beginning an irreconcilable enemy of the revolution.

And what excellent, extraordinary, artistic values can Guillermo Cabrera Infante's novel *Three Sad Tigers (Tres Tristes Tigres)* have? What exceptional value, what exceptional contribution did it bring literature to justify my profiting by the occasion *El Caiman Barbudo* offered me to attack a dear friend?

Ah, but I must be sincere with my friends: I took advantage of this opportunity to annoy Lisandro as I myself was annoyed at him. But the fact is, my annoyance with Lisandro became a political problem, and this attitude of mine had political consequences which were going to do direct harm to the revolution.

Because in the little venomous note I wrote for *El Caiman Barbudo* I attacked no less than three organizations of the revolution. I attacked for example my own organization, the National Union of Writers and Artists. I attacked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for having dispensed with the services of the counter-revolutionary Guillermo Cabrera Infante. I even attacked heartlessly the comrade from State Security who had reported the activity of Guillermo Cabrera Infante and I spoke of literary style as if literary style had anything to do with the truth and as if the truth were not more important than the literary style.

But in life a man makes mistakes. I have made such mistakes: mistakes that are unpardonable. I know for instance that I have in no way deserved this meeting tonight, that I don't deserve to go free, I sincerely believe this. I believe it in spite of the international fuss being made over my person because I think that over there they are living through other experiences, living in other worlds and that they have a totally different vision of the Cuban situation—a situation I have falsified in a certain way or in every way.

And these friends who have supported me, who have internationally shown their solidarity with me, do not know the life I've led these last few years. Many of them are unaware of the fact that I had engaged in these activities, that I had carried out and assumed such position.

I was saying that ever since my return from Europe my entire life was marked

by resentment. I refer to the reply I gave to the comrades of *El Caiman Barbudo*, which was a kind of declaration against the revolution.

I who should have been grateful to a revolution which allowed me to travel, which allowed me to head an enterprise, which allowed me to represent one of its ministries in different European countries, was in fact defending a counter-revolutionary, a declared enemy of the revolution, in other words, Guillermo Cabrera Infante.

But I wanted to stand out [state how?] things must be judged for their true worth, I wanted to show that the only courageous writer in quotes was Heberto Padilla and that the attacked and in quotes, revolutionary writer was Guillermo Cabrera Infante.

This was how I began, this was my most definite enemy activity, my most specific activity aimed at doing harm to the revolution: to assume ostentatious theories about a man who had absolutely no revolutionary merit to justify my doing so.

I took up these positions. And, what is worse I took up such positions in a terrain where I should never have ventured to do so. A terrain where these positions are out of place. That is, the terrain of poetry.

Cuban poetry at the beginning of the revolution was exemplary poetry, such as corresponded to the youthful stage of our revolution. And it was I who started—and this was a sad initiative—I who started the resentment, the bitterness, the pessimism—all those elements that are all synonymous with counterrevolution in literature.

You know that I am referring to *"Out of the Game" (Fuera del Juego)*. Let us sincerely examine *"Out of the Game."*⁴ Do you think when you read this book that you are really reading a revolutionary work? Is it a book that invites you to revolution, to the transformation of society?

I began my book, as if I had been an old philosopher suffering from a liver complaint, with a poem called *"In Hard Times" ("En Tiempos Dificiles")*. This book is full of bitterness and full of pessimism. This book is based on reading material, it does not express an experience of life, it does not reach the heart of the Cuban matter. This book expresses disenchantment and whoever likes it is simply projecting his own disenchantment into it.

There are cliches for disenchantment. And these cliches were ones I always mastered. Here tonight there are many of my friends I am now looking at who know this. That is to say the driving force of my poetry has been pessimism, scepticism and disenchantment. And this book *"Out of the Game"* is marked by this scepticism and bitterness. This scepticism and bitterness do not arouse enthusiasm, they do not encourage revolution. These poems contain a defeatist spir-

it, and a defeatist spirit is counterrevolutionary.

And thus it is that I came to assume attitudes, to poison myself and to separate myself from my friends.

After that, who were my friends? Ah! the foreign journalists who came to Cuba. Did they come here to admire the greatness of the revolution? I won't say all because some really do love and support our revolution. But those who approached me, specifically me, did they really and truly seek the greatness of the revolution, the effort of our people, the tenacity, the energy of our leaders? No. They sought out the disaffection of Heberto Padilla, the marginal resentment, the fellow who could analyze Cuba's situation more sonorously than rationally.

They knew the game they were playing: they praised me, interviewed me, took cute pictures of me.

For example, I remember the American, Lee Lockwood's book, where my photo appears. I have a cigar and a copy of the newspaper *"Granma"*—it's a clever photo and I don't want this photo to demean in any sense Lee Lockwood himself, but under this photo is a caption which perfectly sums up the pose that I adopted in this photo. It says: Heberto Padilla, poet and enfant terrible—I fell in love with this image.

My name circulated, my book *"Out of the Game"* won a prize in the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, my book won the prize by unanimous decision: five members voted in favour, five writers of the first rank gave me their unanimous support.

The Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, the executive board of the union, wrote a critical prologue against the book. What did this critical prologue matter to me since alongside it appeared the passionate defence of the five members of the jury? This was what mattered.

In addition the vote of the British critic, Cohen, appeared saying that the book *Out of the Game* would have won a prize in any Western country.

It is precisely this geographic and political term—the Western world—which made the difference in what could have been one type of prize or another. Because a prize of the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba had to be a revolutionary prize, it had to be precisely the most revolutionary prize, because it is precisely the prize of the Union of revolutionary writers.

The book received the prize, and it was immediately published in France by *Le Seuil*, a publishing house which translated the fifty or more poems in less than a month at full speed, and which placed a cover on the book: "Is it possible to be a poet in Cuba?", implying that it was not possible to be a poet in Cuba.

I spoke with many foreigners. For example with Karol, K. S. Karol, the Polish-French journalist writer. I made pompous analyses of the political situation in Cuba to Karol, I spoke to him always with a defeatist attitude, with a critical, bitter counterrevolutionary tone about the Cuban revolution. And Karol was a man who wanted to hear those things, because Karol is an embittered man, a Pole who's an exile in Paris; Karol wanted to hear

2. At present cultural attache in the Cuban Embassy in Santiago de Chile.

3. Resides in London. He was director of the supplement called *Lunes* in the newspaper *Revolucion*. He betrayed the Cuban Revolution in 1966 and is a collaborator of pro-imperialist publications.

4. Book which was awarded in a contest held by the National Writers' with a prologue criticizing the book by the UNEAC and with a note written by the jury.

those things and put them in his book; Heberto Padilla is one of the few revolutionary and agreeable persons.

And the same thing occurred with the counterrevolutionary French agronomist, Rene Dumont, who was elated when he saw me, who set up an interview with me, called me, and asked my opinions. I violently attacked the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, I spoke against the magazine *Verde Olivo*. I said that the *Verde Olive* had treated me unjustly, always using police arguments. I told him that the writer in Cuba meant absolutely nothing, that he was not respected, wasn't worth anything, and I constantly attacked the Revolution. And let us not forget the times that I've been unjust and ungrateful to Fidel, something which I shall never cease to regret. Only the wish, the vehemence with which I would like to rectify this ingratitude and injustice could, if not make up, at least clarify what was nothing but cowardice and a counterrevolutionary attitude on my part.

I said outrageous things to Dumont and to Karol, both of whom wrote libel against the Revolution. With Hans Enzensberger, the German poet and essayist, I had innumerable conversations which could be a compendium of all my attitudes and my bitter, hostile position towards the revolution.

Hans Magnus Enzensberger, who later published an essay against our Party, would listen to me, and paid attention to me much more than other comrades who were his friends.

Enzensberger listened to all my criticism, all my analyses, which were always defeatist. And I'm sure that I contributed to deform his vision of our Revolution, which was not very enthusiastic anyway.

For example, there was the case of a German sociologist who arrived in Cuba. This sociologist, Kisler, told me that he was a friend of Enzensberger, and that Enzensberger had asked him to visit me.

He told me that he was writing a thesis for his university about the developing countries. He asked me about the power-structure in Cuba and a series of the [other?] questions; and I immediately gave him my opinions, unjust opinions, absurd opinions, opinions which made no sense, opinions which actually I couldn't back with any arguments, because I was not the man who could do it. But I gave my opinions to this young German sociologist who was making notes for his big thesis.

This young German, this young German who spoke with enthusiasm about Che, who went around with a tape of Ovando's interview at the time of Che's death; this young German who told me that all of Ernst Bloch's ideas in his book "The Principle of Hope" were embodied in the image of Major Ernesto Guevara; this man, comrades, was nothing less than an enemy agent.

I had those conversations and those attitudes with the enemy. But I didn't care about that: I continued to give my opinions. What I cared about was the signifier, the book published abroad. That is why the French publishing house *Le Seuil* wrote me two letters and I cunningly didn't reply. But the book sold; the editor unscrupulously wrote in the flap

of the book "Is it possible to be a poet in Cuba?" in order to sell the book.

Julio Cortazar intervened in what the newspaper described as my defense (the attack being the introduction to the book by the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba). Cortazar in a certain way tried to prevent the beginning of an anti-Cuban campaign, but essentially he defended me. "Neither traitor nor martyr", Julio said. He also recognized that my poems contained pessimism, bitterness, that they were the product of a man straddling two epochs, etc. But he defended me, and actually that defense benefited me abroad and here.

I felt very frustrated, very outraged, when the months passed and that scandal did not bring any beneficial results for me. That was when I wrote a letter to Fidel, when they gave me a job at the University.

But what the work in the University did was to reaffirm all my negative positions. I imagined that they would respect me, that I was an important intellectual, that I had political ability of great sagacity. These were my mistakes, and actually here lies the core of my errors; the dazzlement with the great capitals of the world, with international fame, with foreign cultures. This is the point of departure of all my errors; errors about which I want to talk of, which I would like to talk, and talk, and talk about, like every man who wants to free himself of a past that pains him.

And if I say this in front of you, it's because I see errors very similar to those I committed in those comrades who are here, whose faces I can see.

Perhaps among your papers, among your poems, among your short stories there are pages as humiliating as those pages which happily will never be published and which were among my papers. Such as that novel—whose name I will not even mention now—that novel, parts of which I've thought over during my arrest by State Security. That novel whose main character was disaffected, who continuously insulted the Revolution, continuously insulted the revolution [sic]. And it was a subtle little novel, where a series of elements were being managed for the pleasure of everyone; an insignificant little novel which fortunately will never be published because I've torn and will tear every bit I find of that novel, which is humiliating, not only politically—I'm saying this with sincerity—not only politically, but morally.

I've already written some new poems here in State Security; even about spring. What an incredible thing about spring! Because it was beautiful and I felt its sounds outside. I had never seen spring, because it was something I didn't think about, something which was always there. I wrote beautiful things in the middle of my anguish and my sadness. Moral anguish has very strange characteristics and because I felt that the imprisonment I was suffering was one of the most particular kinds I've ever lived through in my life. I felt that my imprisonment was not an honor to boast about as a sacrifice against a tyranny, but a just, moral, imprisonment because it punished an evil against the Revolution and against the

Nation. I wrote those poems feverishly. I wrote those poems; it was a desperate, lucky catharsis.

You know that I've spoken my truth, and that I could speak the truth about many of those who are present here. I am sure that if I got up and I pointed out many of the comrades who were on the road to the same situation, those comrades would be incapable of contradicting me because they know that I'm speaking the truth. Because it would not be honest or revolutionary on their part (because they have not been arrested and will not be arrested; nor should they feel more revolutionary than I who was arrested) it would not be honest of them to contradict me here.

Because if I should now mention, for example, my own wife, Belkys [sic],⁵ who has suffered so much because of all this, and if I told her how much bitterness, disaffection and resentment she has inexplicably accumulated during these years; which I myself, dire [due?] to a series of defects in my character, have inflicted on her, she would be incapable of standing up and contradicting me. I could say the same thing of one of my closest friends, a friend who has treated me as one of his family, a friend who has done so many positive things for our revolution at other moments, but who lately has proved to be bitter, disaffected, and sick and for that same reason counter-revolutionary: Pablo Armando Fernandez.⁶

And I could say the same thing, comrades, about another dear friend, Cesar Lopez,⁷ whom I admire and respect, who wrote a very beautiful book; someone who is very much loved and respected, who won a mention in the *Casa de las Americas* for his book "*The first book of the city*". But the fact is that Cesar Lopez has made a defeatist analysis with me, a negative analysis about our revolution. In addition Cesar Lopez has carried that epic of defeatism to his poetry.

And what I say about Cesar I can say about many of my friends whom I thought about, comrades, because I spent many days, very many days, because the days in one month are long.

For example, I thought how different was the poetry of that formidable Jose Yanez,⁸ whom we all know, the man of two years ago, from the recent Jose Yanez whom we have all heard in his new poems, how different he is. Yanez reappeared with poetry unworthy of his age and his time.

And I thought of another young man, a young man with exceptional talent, a young man whom I feel great affection for and who has always felt affection for me too, who has told me he feels

5. Belkis Cuza Male, poet.

6. Pablo Armando Fernandez, poet and novelist. Author of *The Book of Heroes* and *The Children Say Goodbye*.

7. Cesar Lopez, poet. Author of *The First Book of the City*.

8. Jose Yanez, poet. Works in the *Gazette of Cuba*, organ of UNEAC.

affection for me and who admires me. I thought of Norberto, of Norberto Fuentes,⁹ who I saw only a moment ago, I hadn't been able to see him before.

We talked of his most recent novel that is not coming along well, a novel in which he expresses dissatisfaction, a novel in which he says that he still has not found his form. And I said to myself: And isn't this a moral demand, a way of deep reply made by his organism which tells him I don't know, which in some way must refocus all these problems. And I said: Yes.

Comrades, the Revolution could not, it could not tolerate this situation; I understand it. I have discussed it; I have spoken for days and days, I have used all the arguments in my arsenal; but that accumulation of errors must have some value, it must have, it must have the value of an example for every one of you.

For example, I thought, I remembered Manuel Diaz Martinez.¹⁰ And I said to myself: How could it have been possible that Manuel Diaz Martinez, whom I admire so much, whom I owe so much friendship to, whom I must thank for so many expressions of solidarity, how is it possible that Diaz Martinez could have this disaffected, sad and bitter attitude.

I know that my experience, comrades, is going to be an example, it must serve as an example for others.

I know, for example . . . I don't know if he's here, but I dare to mention his name here with all the respect that his work merits, with all the respect that his conduct merits in so many spheres, with all the respect that his person merits. I know that I can mention Jose Lezama Lima.¹¹ I can mention him for a simple reason: the Cuban Revolution has been fair with Lezama, the Cuban Revolution has published two of Lezama's books this year in beautiful editions.

But Lezama's opinions have not always been fair towards the Cuban Revolution.

And I said to myself: Lezama is not fair and has not been fair in my talks with him, in conversations that he has had in front of me with other foreign writers, he has not been fair with the Revolution.

Why? How can you explain a Revolution whose principles are marxist-leninist, how can you explain it except by the broadness of its criteria, by the extraordinary comprehension that this Revolution has, that it publishes a work by Lezama, which bases itself on other political and philosophical concepts, on other interests?

I thought of all these comrades. I thought a lot there, a very very lot, in Security, in that cell, in that cell which was not exactly the somber cell where the soldiers barely responded laconically to questions, to appeals—as comrade Buzzi had told me, I don't see him here,

9. Norberto Fuentes, short story writer. Author of the book *Los condenados de condado*.

10. Manuel Diaz Martinez, poet. Works in the *Gazette of Cuba*, organ of the UNEAC.

11. Jose Lezama Lima, poet and novelist. Author of *Paradiso*.

I don't see him here. Is he here? Ah, yes, there's comrade Buzzi.¹²

And I said to myself: what an unbelievable thing! If I were to say this to Buzzi, I am sure that Buzzi would be the first to take it to heart, the first to immediately correct his ways in the light of my experience; because Buzzi, months after he had finished his sentence,¹³ obtained an honor mention from the Casa de las Americas—a thing which the Revolution did not prohibit—and in addition to obtaining the mention they published his novel with very positive criticisms from revolutionary writers and from foreign writers in the Union Edition. Also, the Revolution did not keep Buzzi from receiving the National Novel Prize nor did State Security keep him from making a trip to the Soviet Union.

Because, comrades, I must be sincere in ending this. It is my duty to tell you that I came to this conclusion, as I thought about the sector of culture: that if there is—with exceptions, as there always are—a sector dragging its heels behind the Revolution, politically dragging behind the Revolution, it is the sector of culture and arts. We have not been worthy of this Revolution, despite the 12 or 13 dramatic years we have lived with it.

I shall never tire of thanking the Cuban Revolution for the opportunity it has offered me of dividing my life in two parts—that which I was, and that which I will be.

And as for the man who doesn't believe me—let him not believe me, that's the worse for him. Let him not see me to-

12. David Buzzi, novelist. Author of *The Naked*.

13. Was sentenced for trying to escape from the country illegally. He served his sentence, was freed and began his literary career.

U.S. 'Advisers' Reported in Jordan

The Nixon administration has supplied Jordan's King Hussein with a minimum of \$30,000,000 in arms since the civil war last September, John K. Cooley reported from Amman in the May 4 *Christian Science Monitor*. The armaments have more than replaced those Hussein lost in his attempt to wipe out the Palestinian fedayeen.

"This aid," Cooley wrote, "has included artillery, a great deal of ammunition, and later-type tanks than the more than 50 M-47 and M-48 U.S. Patton and British Centurion tanks lost in that fighting. Deliveries of a second squadron to supplement Jordan's existing one of 18 F-104A fighter-interceptors are also reported to have begun."

morrow! Because the man of tomorrow will not be like the man of the past. For, comrades, we live—forgive me for using this tone—we live in a war trench of Latin America!—a glorious trench in a modern world! We live in a trench fighting the imperialist penetration of our Latin American nations!

We live in a trench, and I hope that no one else will feel the shame I have felt, the boundless sadness I have experienced during all these long days I have had to think over my errors. I hope the Revolution will never again have to call us to account. I do not want that! It can never happen again! In all sincerity, I do not think the Revolution has to go on constantly being generous with people whose duty—because we're not just simple citizens, but people who know how to analyse things very clearly, however ignorant we may be politically. . . I do not think that the Revolution should be generous once more, that it make almost a vice of its incredible generosity in a process which has now been in existence for several years.

Let us be soldiers! That phrase which we repeat so much, that commonplace which we should like to erase every time we write. Let us be soldiers of the Revolution, because these exist. I have seen them, these courageous soldiers, devoted to their work, every day. Let us be soldiers of our Revolution, and do whatever the Revolution asks of us!

And let us think, let us learn the true meaning of living in an extraordinary trench, which is an example to all the modern world. For comrades, to live in a trench which is besieged and blockaded by all sorts of cunning enemies is neither easy nor comfortable, it is hard and difficult. But such is the price of freedom, such is the price we must pay for independence and sovereignty, such is the price we must pay for the Revolution! □

Cooley also reported that Nixon is providing U. S. "advisers" to the forces of the Hashemite monarch:

"At least one U. S. Army mobile-weapons training team has long been assigned to the Jordanian Army. . . .

"U. S. officials are unwilling to comment on Palestinian charges that the U. S. has since then [September] supplied counterinsurgency training, including instructors, to the Jordanian forces."

Cooley noted that the U.S.-backed buildup means that Hussein is preparing for peace with Israel. He reported that there is speculation in other Arab capitals that Hussein's army might be turned against Syria if that country's government and Egypt refuse to come to terms with the Zionists. □