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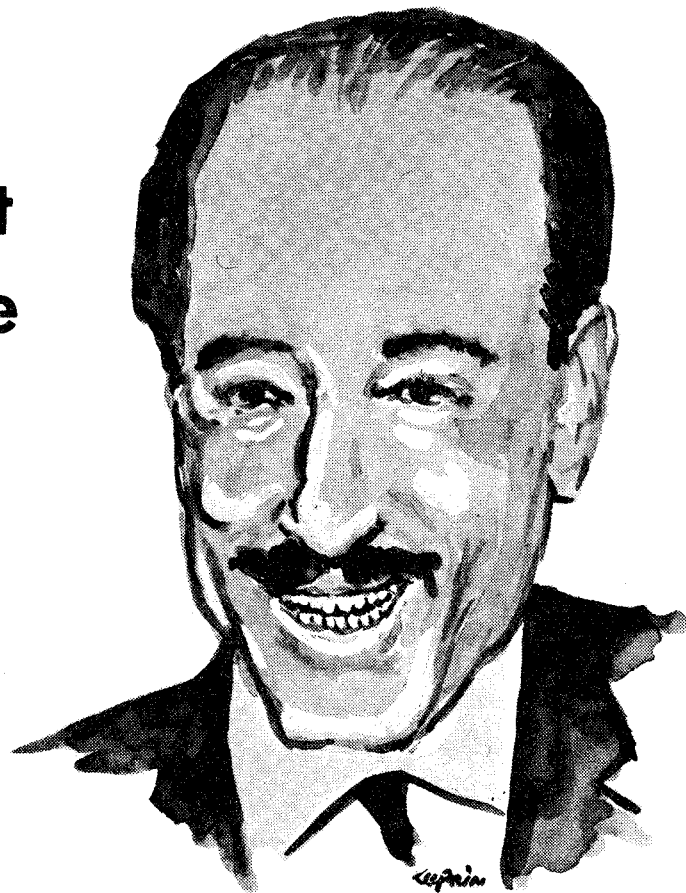
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May 31, 1971

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Eyewitness Account of Bengal Massacre

Education, Culture, and Art in Cuba



SADAT: Egypt's new strong-man sparing no effort to let public know who is boss. See page 491.

30,000 Marchers Commemorate the Commune

Scouts for Hoover

"Be Prepared" is the motto of the Boy Scouts of America, and FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover takes it seriously. Stolen documents released May 17 by the Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI describe a plan for preparing scouts to spy on their neighbors.

The program, dubbed "Operation SAFE" (an acronym for Scout Awareness for Emergency) by the FBI, was intended to provide "extra eyes and ears for the police department" of Rochester, New York, the city where it was introduced experimentally. The May 18 *New York Times* described how the program works:

"Scouts are given identification cards with police, F. B. I. and other emergency numbers on the reverse side, according to the document, and are asked to watch for and report on unusual activity or lack of activity in neighbors' homes, plus numerous other things, including criminal acts and 'suspicious acts—persons loitering . . . around schools, neighborhoods and parks.'"

In case anyone was under the illusion that the FBI wanted junior snoopers to keep an eye on criminals, an analysis of the documents in its possession was released by the Citizens Commission May 12. This showed that only one percent of the material was concerned with organized crime. Forty percent of the FBI's activity, to judge from the documents, consists of spying on political groups, mainly those on the left. Another 14 percent of the material concerned draft resisters and soldiers absent without leave.

The FBI documents apparently did not indicate whether the scouts had responded to Operation SAFE by introducing merit badges for sharp-eyed youngsters who observed their neighbors loitering in the area of antiwar demonstrations, political rallies, etc. Presumably the junior "eyes and ears" would have to be trained in such woody skills as wiretapping and lock-picking as they advanced through the ranks from snoop second class, to junior eavesdropper, to fink first class.

Having mastered these skills, a boy would then be eligible for the highest scout rank of all: FBI agent. □

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Sadat's Purge—A Shift to the Right?

By Gerry Foley

A major political struggle seems to have been unleashed by the jailing May 13 of nine leaders of the Egyptian state and party apparatus. In an editorial May 20, the well-informed Paris daily *Le Monde* commented: "The fact that the chief of state [President Anwar el-Sadat] ordered the ousted leaders Sabry, Gomaa, Sharaf, and General Fawzi sent to the Abu Zaabal prison—which has been reserved for incorrigible criminals and which was the place Communists were sent to in the past—indicates Sadat's fear of his enemies making a comeback."

Following the first arrests, Sadat moved swiftly against opponents in the mass media, apparently in an attempt to seize full control of all means of communications: "Several leading figures in Egyptian radio and television were arrested for changing the schedule of programs last Thursday [May 13], the first day of the crisis, notably Mohammed Uruk, director of 'Voice of the Arabs,'" *Le Monde* reported May 19.

"According to the Middle East News Agency, which reported these facts, Uruk gave orders for the regular programs to be replaced last Thursday between 10:00 p.m. and sign-off by broadcasts of military marches and patriotic songs.

"The newspaper *Al Gumhuriya* announced Tuesday morning [May 18] that several secretaries and members of the Cairo section of the Arab Socialist Union are being questioned for spreading false rumors. . . . The Cairo ASU secretary, Abdel Meguid Farid, who was one of President Nasser's closest collaborators, was allegedly the originator of these false rumors."

According to UPI dispatches, the purges were directed against a secret organization of 500 to 800 persons which the deposed minister of the Interior, Sharawy Gomaa, was supposed to have built up in the Arab Socialist Union. Members of this network were allegedly placed in the public services, the government-controlled industries, and some papers.

To preside over the purges, Sadat

set up a provisional secretariat of the ASU, consisting of eight persons.

About 130 members of the armed forces were arrested, according to a report in the May 20 *Le Monde*, which noted: "The paper *Al Ahram* indicates, moreover, that the purge has also extended to the Arab Socialist Union youth movement and that a certain number of its provincial secretaries have been put under house arrest."

New York Times correspondent Raymond H. Anderson reported May 17 from Cairo: "As many as a third of Egypt's 24 provincial governors, a number of ambassadors and a group of journalists and second-level officials are expected to be removed from their posts soon."

In a dispatch from Beirut in the May 19 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Godfrey Jansen wrote: "He [Sadat] is purging the administration more swiftly and thoroughly than Mr. Nasser did even when he took over the corrupt monarchical structure in the early 1950's."

Sadat's purges seem to be going hand in hand with a campaign of mass political intimidation: "On the psychological level, the president is sparing no means to impress people that he is now the only 'boss,'" *Le Monde* reported May 19. "Photographs of the chief of state, hitherto rare in government offices . . . are now obligatory. The papers are full of ads paid for by the big state bodies or unions declaring their support for the chief of state, and illustrated by his picture. Numerous banners and posters honoring the president of the republic have been put up nearly everywhere in Cairo."

A *New York Times* dispatch from Cairo May 17 noted: "President Anwar el-Sadat has agreed to a request by police and security officers that he be their commander in chief, it was reported today."

Le Monde's editorial writer indicated May 20 that Sadat has based himself on right-wing elements: "For the moment President Sadat has scored points by assuring himself the support

of the clergy and the old and new bourgeoisie. The composition of the new government itself, shifted strongly to the right, can only reassure the free-enterprisers at home, and the United States abroad."

Official circles in the great powers seemed to interpret the purges as preparatory to Egypt's accepting U.S. terms for a settlement with Israel and a retreat from the nationalism of the Nasserite regime's earlier years.

"It is true that the State Department has made no official statement, but official and press commentary indicates that Washington is favorable to the team that has firmly grasped the levers of power in Cairo," an editorial in the May 16-17 issue of *Le Monde* noted.

Following the first arrests of May 13, the international press has referred more and more frequently to the ousted group as "the Nasserite left" or a "pro-Communist" or "pro-Soviet" wing of the ASU. The extent of the purges indicates that the antagonism between the Sabry-Gomaa grouping in the state and party bureaucracy and the forces backing Sadat may be deep. But since the leaders now jailed did not wage a public struggle against the Sadat leadership, except, perhaps, belatedly and abortively, it is not clear what positions they stood for.

It does seem clear, however, that if the "Nasserite left" contained militant anti-imperialist or revolutionary elements, these forces made a serious error by implicating themselves with the repressive state apparatus.

Although apparently moving to the right and ultimately toward an even more repressive system, Sadat was able to use democratic appeals against the ousted group, seemingly with telling effect. An article May 17 by Abdel Rahman el-Sharkawy in the Cairo daily *el-Akhar* evoked the sentiment the dominant group is trying to exploit:

"If anyone ever raised his voice calling for reforms in the revolution, or demanded that a blemish on socialism be removed, or dared to criticize the 'petty Caesars,' he would be thrown to the lions or into the darkest dungeons—accused of conspiring against socialism and the revolution." □

In a referendum May 4 in Fargo, North Dakota, 71 percent of the voters favored withdrawing all U.S. troops from Vietnam by the end of this year.

Bunker Evaluates Four Years in Vietnam

The only thing wrong with the war in Indochina, according to Ellsworth Bunker, is that Lyndon Johnson promised too much.

"I think we talked too much in the early days," the U. S. ambassador to Saigon told correspondent Alvin Shuster. "I think that many of our mistakes were compounded by overoptimism as to how the situation was developing and how it could develop. My theory has been that the facts speak for themselves."

The problem, of course, is that the American public has always been denied access to the facts until they have been dressed up a bit by Johnson or Nixon's propaganda experts. This difficulty was diplomatically overlooked by Bunker in his interview with Shuster, which was reported in the May 10 *New York Times*.

During his four years as White House representative in Saigon, Bunker has clearly done a great deal to win the hearts and minds of the people. Their affection for him was indicated by Shuster:

"The local press has nicknamed him Ong Gia Tu Lanh or 'Mr. Refrigerator.' Sometimes the papers call him 'the governor' of South Vietnam."

"The governor," who is expected to leave his post after overseeing the reelection of General Thieu to the presidency in October, had full confidence in the ability of his subjects to win Nixon's war, but he expressed some concern about public opinion in the United States:

"I thought from the beginning that if we stayed with it, it would come out all right. Now my only doubts are whether we are going to stay with it, not because of the situation here, but because of the situation at home. I've never had any doubt that if we have the determination, the patience and the will, we would achieve reasonable success here."

The facts, it seems, are not speaking for themselves quite loudly enough. Accordingly, Bunker amplified a few selected "facts" as he saw them.

Thus, the need for U. S. air power and "advisers," perhaps as many as 100,000 of them, for several more years meant that the "Vietnamese have

confidence now in their ability to handle the military situation."

Warming to his task, Mr. Refrigerator described Thieu as a man of "considerable intellectual ability," and ventured the "hope to see fair, honest elections" in October.

Most persons of any intellectual ability whatsoever would have thought that in an honest election Thieu would not have a chance. This only illustrates how much facts that speak for themselves need to be interpreted by a skilled translator if they are to be properly understood by the American public.

Or as Mr. Refrigerator put it in some well-chosen words of advice for whoever succeeds him:

"Stand fast. And let the facts speak for themselves." □



BUNKER: Mr. Refrigerator has no trouble warming to Thieu.

Denmark

Opposition to Entering Common Market

Copenhagen

No sooner had the Danish government decided to let the voters themselves, by means of a binding referendum, settle the question of Denmark's membership in the Common Market, than *Bertlingske Tidende*, the conservative progovernment paper, published a startling public opinion poll. It showed that there is no longer an absolute majority in favor of Denmark joining. Only 37% said they approved Common Market membership, if England also joined. On the other hand, 30% were opposed. Only six months ago 15% opposed joining and 54% favored it. The largest percentage favoring membership was in 1958, when 60% were for it and only 7% against.

The poll also showed that more than half the supporters of Common Market membership would waver if Great Britain did not come in, and 38% said outright that they would oppose membership in that case. Thus, only about 17% of Danish voters favor member-

ship in the Common Market under all circumstances.

The poll showed that the public is becoming increasingly aware that incorporation into the Common Market would affect not only money and markets but also the country's right to determine its own political and economic future.

Everything indicates that the government knew about the poll and shifted its tactical posture accordingly. Both the government and the Social Democratic party still favor entering the Common Market. It would have been risky to go into this year's legislative elections if the party candidates had to argue for their position on the Common Market.

Now the politicians can point to the referendum as an excuse and wait until after the election to take a public position. □

That'll Teach Them

Fifty-two children aboard a school bus in Baltimore, Maryland, were arrested May 4 because one of them broke a bus window.

Antiwar Group Defies Witch-Hunt

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), sponsor of the April 24 antiwar demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco, won a temporary restraining order May 21 prohibiting the Public National Bank of Washington from turning over any more of the coalition's records to the House Internal Security Committee (HISC).

Earlier in the week, HISC had subpoenaed the bank records of NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) as part of a witch-hunting attack on the antiwar movement.

Richard Halloran described the committee's hearings in the May 21 *New York Times*:

"The House Internal Security Committee heard evidence today [May 20] that members of the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party were among the leaders of the recent antiwar demonstrations here [Washington].

"The committee chairman, Richard H. Ichord, Democrat of Missouri, contended that both parties were subversive, revolutionary, and intent on the overthrow of the United States government."

Ichord has a long history of red-baiting attacks on the antiwar movement, going back to before the November 15, 1969, march on Washington. In this case, however, the HISC hearings come as part of an assault on the movement launched by the Nixon administration in connection with the mass arrests of demonstrators in Washington May 3-5.

Brushing aside the obvious illegality of those arrests, which resulted in most of the cases being dismissed when they came before a judge, the administration was quick to praise such tactics and recommend them for use elsewhere. Attorney General John Mitchell issued a statement May 10 describing as "heroes" the "valiant Washington policemen who kept the City of Washington functioning and protected the rights of their fellow citizens."

"I hope that Washington's decisive opposition to mob force will set an example for other communities," Mitchell said, adding that his views "are fully shared by the President of the United States."

Vice President Spiro Agnew took up the same theme the next day in a

speech to the Illinois General Assembly. Quite accurately, he compared the Washington arrests to the police assaults on the demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic party convention in Chicago. Agnew, however, firmly approved of both actions.

"Both these police forces deserve commendations," he said.

In accordance with his usual rhetorical style, the vice president preceded his praise of the cops with scurrilous name-calling of the Washington protesters, whom he described as "the same scruffy individuals that caused the disruptions in Chicago in 1968."

"I think they were absolutely the most spoiled, the most undisciplined and the most unrepresentative young people I've seen in my career," he added.

Agnew to the contrary, the hundreds of thousands who demonstrated in April and May are far more representative of the beliefs of most Americans than are Nixon, Mitchell, and Agnew. The May 22 *New York Times* reported the following about a recent Gallup poll:

"In the poll, taken last month, a specially selected sample of 1,599 Americans of voting age was asked the following question:

"Do you think the Nixon Administration is or is not telling the public all they should know about the Vietnam war? "

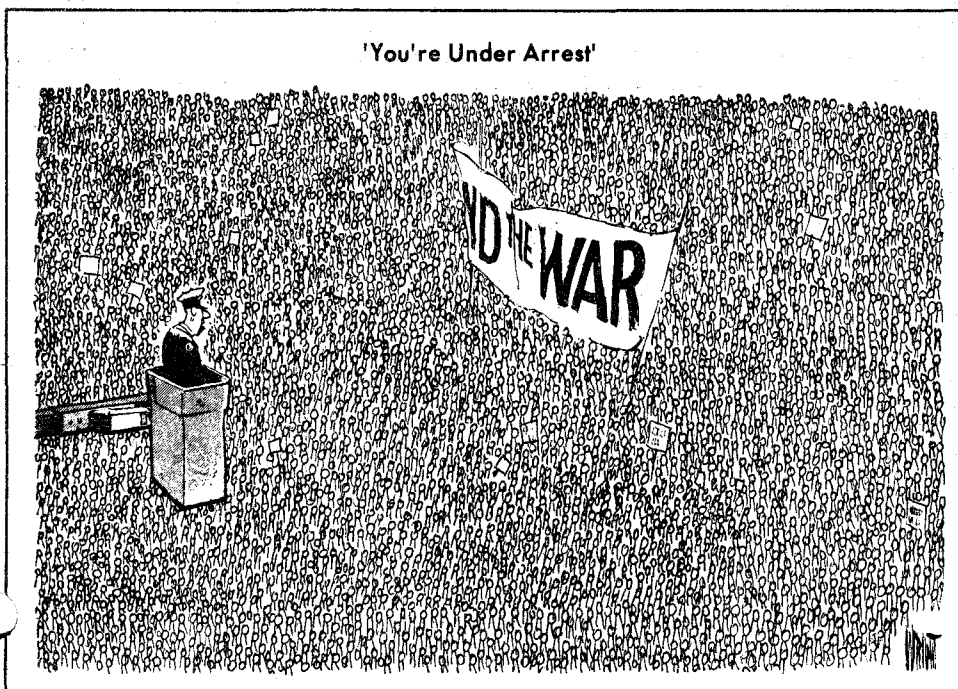
"Sixty-nine per cent of the respondents said that it was not, 21 per cent said they believed it was, and 10 per cent had no opinion."

The poll also found that 72 per cent disagreed with Nixon's claim that "If we leave South Vietnam in a position to defend herself, we will have peace in the next generation."

The presidential and congressional attacks on the antiwar movement are clearly an attempt to divert the public discontent with Nixon's policies and to intimidate the growing numbers willing to act against the war.

At a May 21 press conference, NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon put the government on notice that such tactics would not work. Gordon announced plans for a national antiwar conference to be held in New York July 2-4.

NPAC, he said, "will continue our legal, peaceful protests until all the troops are withdrawn from Southeast Asia." □



Wright in the Miami News

30,000 Marchers Commemorate the Commune

"There are not many parties in France that could mobilize close to thirty thousand young people—during a weekend—to celebrate a historic anniversary," the Paris daily *Le Monde* wrote in its May 18 issue, commenting on the Trotskyist demonstrations May 15-16 in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871. The authoritative French paper gave space to a long article by Jean Benoît describing this new phenomenon in the politics of the country, and of Europe. Our translation of the article follows.]

* * *

The joyous revolution, the slogan that flowered on the barricades in May 1968, undoubtedly inspired the first "revolutionary thinking" of the activists who gathered around the young Fourth International speakers Saturday [May 15] at 8:00 p.m. in the Seventh University district on the Quai Saint-Bernard. In three springs, the atmosphere has seldom been more enthusiastic, or more carnival-like, under the futuristic towers of the Halle-aux-Vins.

The colors were indeed joyous that shone in this dense crowd of youths in their twenties, sitting on the flagstones in the red glare of floodlights. Joyous, too, were the Arab tambourines and Peruvian flutes, the revolutionary hymns storming against the high aluminum and glass walls of the School of Science, even the huge portraits of Lenin and Trotsky that dominated the gathering. And the welcome that was given to the delegations from the provinces was joyous as well. They came from Lyon, Le Havre, Grenoble, Marseille, Aix-en-Provence—in all nearly three thousand demonstrators from more than fifty cities arriving late, loaded down with flags.

There was a striking, even somewhat disconcerting contrast between this carnival atmosphere and the gravity, one would even be tempted to say severity, of the speeches.

In keeping with their promise at the November 20-21, 1970, conference of nineteen Trotskyist organizations in Brussels, the leaders of the Ligue

Communiste and Lutte Ouvrière invited representatives of a certain number of foreign movements to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Commune in Paris. Twelve countries sent delegates. And two Asians appeared on the platform, one from Bengal and the other from Ceylon, bringing greetings from their revolutionary formations.

There was a kind of anomaly between the gaiety of the meeting—young people shouting, clapping their hands, and jumping around—and the gravity of the subjects discussed by these delegates from afar. They talked about imperialism, the massacre of minorities, the tragedy of the third world and the exploited.

Marcel Rodinson, Henri Weber, and Daniel Ben Saïd were to evoke "the crisis of capitalism in Japan, in the United States, and throughout Europe," at the same time as "the contradictions in the Communist world and even in the Trotskyist movement." However, according to the analysis of these leaders, the next three years will be decisive for the revolutionary movement in the majority of countries. "The Commune is a hundred years old," Ben Saïd shouted, "and in these hundred years virtually nothing has changed in the eternal conspiracy of the exploiters against the exploited. Does that mean that we are celebrating the Commune out of bravado, to cheer ourselves up? No, because since May 1968 we have driven a sizable wedge into the breach made in capitalism and also in the Stalinist bureaucracy. Since May 1968 the Commune has been gaining new life, here and throughout the world."

On the question of the desecration of the graves of Maurice Thorez and Marcel Cachin, which he attributed to "provocateurs," the speaker exclaimed: "We have never bowed down before idols of flesh and we will not make a fetish of tombs and mausoleums. These things don't interest us. What interests us in the Commune is not the personal qualities of its working-class leaders but the meaning of the struggle."

Shouts of "Nixon, Murderer," "Palatine Will Win," "May 68, Poland, Indochina; Stalinism, No, Socialism, Yes" preceded the "Internationale." It was sung with fist raised, or with the four fingers of the right hand spread, at first in a pop rumba rhythm, then—when part of the crowd protested—in a more orthodox version.

After a call by Alain Krivine for "a calm and dignified mass demonstration at the Mur des Fédérés," the evening ended at 11:30 p.m. with songs of the Spanish republic played on stage by the guitarist Vasco Ibañez. The only altercations that occurred, on the outskirts of the university grounds, did not go beyond the stage of argument. A few dozen anarchists opposed paying the admission fee of 10 francs, which was charged to cover the cost of housing the delegations from the provinces.

Sunday morning [March 16], members of the Ligue Communiste went to the markets in the Twentieth Arrondissement and in Ivry-sur-Seine to distribute papers and to call the population to the mass meeting in Belleville. If there were ten thousand persons at the Halle-aux-Vins, there were thirty thousand when the Trotskyist activists met the second time at 3:00 in the Place des Fêtes. Preceded by giant banners with the portraits successively of Karl Marx, Trotsky, and Lenin, the members of the Central Committee of the French section of the Fourth International marched in front of the foreign delegations—British, Italian, German, Austrian, Belgian, Swiss, Swedish, and Danish, in all about 1,000 persons. Then came the members of Lutte Ouvrière and the numerous Parisian and provincial sections of the Ligue Communiste.

Several hundred young people in helmets served as monitors at the head, rear, and along the sides of the march. The procession proceeded without the slightest incident from the Eglise de Belleville to Père Lachaise, going down the Rue des Pyrénées and through the Place Gambetta.

It was about 5:30 when the first

wave of this sea of red flags entered the cemetery by the north gate, channeled by the keeper of Père Lachaise and guards in képis. The last rows of demonstrators were still at the Rue de Belleville. It was to take more than two hours for this human tide to flow through the cemetery paths to the Boulevard de Ménilmontant.

Passing between the Mur des Fédérés and the graves—now undefiled by any trace of paint—of Maurice Thorez and Marcel Cachin, young people removed their helmets, gently whistling the "Chant des Martyrs" [Hymn to the Martyrs], while Alain Krivine laid a wreath at the foot of the plaque commemorating the Communards shot in 1871. A few feet from the monument to the forced laborers of Mauthausen, a group of Germans softly sang the "Internationale."

This ceremony would not be complete without speeches. Stoically, the Trotskyist activists stood in a driving rain, listening for more than an hour to Alain Krivine and Ernest Mandel, one of the leaders of the Fourth International. The latter arrived that same evening from Brussels, after, it seems, experiencing some difficulties in crossing the frontier.

Stressing the large number of demonstrators, Alain Krivine said that "for the first time the Mur des Fédérés has looked down not on usurpers of the Commune's tradition but on real continuators of the revolutionary struggle of the communards," and that "for the first time also since 1927 the Trotskyist groups stand out as the only international revolutionary force." He added: "The capitalists are right to tremble. They do not face an anarchist or spontanéist agglomeration, but from now on they will have to reckon with an organized force."

The Ligue Communiste leader's warning was also directed "at the bureaucrats of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party], who have tried to blame the leftists for desecrating the graves of Thorez and Cachin, to hang a new Reichstag fire on us."

Krivine concluded: "We will fight this fight for as long as it takes, but today our movement is already assured of victory. This is only a beginning, continue the struggle."

Ernest Mandel, for his part, paid homage to the Paris Commune, "which

laid the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proved capable of making a reality, along with workers' councils, of genuine internationalism." Mandel considered that "those who aborted the revolutionary opportunities of June 1936 and May 1968 dare not hold their heads up when they talk about the Commune." In contrast, Mandel saluted the audacity of the "communards of 1871," which was all the more admirable, he said, since more than a hundred years later the problems they attacked have not yet been solved.

During the demonstration, which ended at about 6:30, other speakers called for cheers for Cohn-Bendit

Mao Smooths the Way

U.S., Britain Plan Aid to Yahya

"Washington, May 19—The United States and Britain are reported to have agreed to head an international effort to shore up the precarious financial position of Pakistan." (Benjamin Welles in the *New York Times* of May 20.)

"Rawalpindi, Pakistan, May 19—The Chinese presence in Pakistan has become increasingly noticeable as new aid from Peking is announced, newspapers praise Chinese policies and columns of blue-uniformed Chinese officials march through airport waiting rooms.

"Last week China pledged a new interest-free loan to Pakistan of about \$20-million, bringing total pledges to date of Chinese aid to about \$307-million." (Malcolm W. Browne in the *New York Times* of May 20.)

In a statement in Washington May 12, Rahman Sobhan, a representative of the East Bengali autonomist party, the Awami League, appealed to the U. S. government not to aid the Yahya Khan regime:

"The attendant loss of 50% of the country's [Pakistan's] foreign exchange earnings which came from Bangla Desh through its export of jute products is of more immediate concern [to Yahya Khan]. 80% of the free foreign exchange from Bangla Desh exports was used in West Pakistan. This cannot immediately be replaced by increased exports from the West where

"who, even if he is not a member of the Fourth International, deserved a place in this assembly." And they expressed their regret that several foreign Trotskyist leaders were denied the opportunity to come into France. Moreover, cries of "Messmer,* fascist, murderer" followed the announcement of the "death of an Antillean comrade," which occurred, it seems, at the time of the incidents that marked Messmer's visit to Martinique. □

* Pierre Messmer, minister of state for overseas departments and territories, returned to Paris May 17 from an official visit to Martinique and Guadeloupe, where strong protest movements are going on—IP

industry is already down to 40% capacity operations due to shortage of foreign exchange.

"To this end the Pakistan government is pressing for a rescheduling of its debt service liabilities which requires payment of about \$100 million to sundry creditors by the end of June. Over and above this, Pakistan needs fresh aid commitments mainly for commodity imports to stimulate her ailing industry but also to maintain the momentum of development. While her own exchange earnings have fallen drastically because of the cessation of Bangla Desh exports her own exchange needs remain high. In normal times West Pakistan imports were double its exports but today the need to purchase arms and munitions to replenish and augment stores to sustain its war on Bangla Desh have further increased." ("Bangla Desh: Situation and Options," by Prof. Rahman Sobhan, *Congressional Record*, May 18, S7151.)

Obviously, without substantial foreign aid a bitterly poor country like West Pakistan cannot maintain its military occupation of a nation of seventy-five million people a thousand miles distant. And the Western imperialist powers alone can give such support.

"Officials [in Washington], meanwhile, discounted reports that Communist China had offered Pakistan an

interest-free loan of \$20-million not tied to the purchase of Chinese products," Benjamin Welles wrote in the May 14 issue of the *New York Times*.

"China is spending about \$200-million yearly helping North Vietnam," a financial official said. "It hasn't that much left over for Pakistan. It could never, for instance, pick up the entire \$450-million yearly that Pakistan relies on from the 11-nation [Western] consortium to keep going."

The imperialist powers find it politically difficult, however, to give open support to a regime that has maintained its hold on East Bengal through a campaign of massacring and terrorizing the population. Nixon's problem, in particular, is increased by revulsion at the massacres by U. S. and Saigon troops in Indo-China.

In this context, the importance of Chinese aid to Pakistan seems primarily political. It offers Washington an excuse for aiding Islamabad—to prevent the spread of Chinese influence.

"A Pakistani official whose views reflect those of the Government recently told an American, 'If you Americans tell us to go to hell, you must expect that we will turn increasingly to China,'" Browne wrote in the *New York Times* of May 20.

In order to make it easier for its creditors to be generous, the Yahya Khan regime offered a demonstration of its financial soundness. "But Pakistan is said to be indicating willingness to pay in dollars the \$20 million it is scheduled to pay the World Bank," Ronald Koven reported in the *Washington Post* May 11. Yahya proposed to pay his Western creditors exactly the amount of the latest Chinese loan.

In view of Peking's important, perhaps decisive, help to the bloodstained and shaky dictatorship in Islamabad, capitalist spokesmen were hard put to maintain the "red menace" image of the Mao regime. In the *Wall Street Journal* of May 12, Peter R. Kann went so far as to suggest that Mao wanted to set the stage for people's war by letting "the Pakistan army kill off these bourgeois nationalists."

Since the number of Bengalis fleeing into India has already topped 3,000,000 and is expected to reach more than twice that figure, however, it is clear that the Pakistan army is not restricting itself to liquidating "bourgeois nationalists." It is not unlikely, on the other hand, that Peking's atti-

tude will make Maoism or anything associated with it totally obnoxious to the Bengali people.

"The presence of uniformed Chinese officials has not gone unnoticed by

the local population," Browne wrote in his May 19 dispatch. "And, privately, some Chinese have expressed a certain sense of discomfort at living in Pakistan." □

'Hell Was Let Loose in Bengal'

Bengali Eyewitness Describes Massacres

[The following undated account of the Pakistani army's assault on the population of East Bengal was written by Bengali communist activists directly involved in the struggle for a free Bangla Desh. We are reprinting this eyewitness report exactly as it was written, except for minor changes in spelling and punctuation.]

* * *

The British Labour M. P. who visited some areas of Bengal during the second week of April 1971 would hate to use the term "genocide" for the army atrocities in Bengal, yet he could find no other substitute for this word.

On the 19th March, the Punjabi army went to Jaydevpur, situated 40 kilometers north of Dacca, to disarm the Bengali soldiers of the East Bengal Regiment. The unarmed civilian workers of the machine tool factory and ordnance factory, in support of the East Bengal Regiment, barricaded the roads of Jaydevpur. The Punjabi soldiers resorted to firing, which resulted in the death of 25 workers.

On the 22nd March, a ship full of arms and ammunition reached the port city of Chittagong. The port workers not only refused to unload the ship, but they surrounded the port so that the army could not unload the ship. [An] innumerable number of country boats also surrounded the ship in the waterfront. The people joined the port workers, and effective resistance was put up to render the task of the army impossible. Fifty thousand people stood face to face with the army, who ultimately resorted to indiscriminate firing resulting in the death of hundreds of people. By the 23rd of March, East Pakistan Rifles, Bengali police, and the East Bengal Regiment liberated Chittagong completely from the Pakistan army. Yahya Khan had previously ordered

the battleships "Babar" and "Jahangir" to sail for Chittagong from Karachi. They reached Chittagong on the 26th March and began to shell the city and the port by their long-range guns. The bombardments of the port and city continued for long 48 hours at a stretch and the entire city was razed to the ground. Under the covering fire of the battleship guns, the paratroopers of the Pakistan army occupied the city and killed everyone they came across. They picked up a number of civilians in a truck and at gunpoint ordered them to raise the slogan "Joi Bangla," meaning Victory to Bengal. The persons who were hiding nearby came to respond to the slogan and were systematically machine-gunned. Later, the prisoners were also gunned to death.

What will be the figure of casualties in Chittagong? Perhaps one hundred thousand, perhaps two hundred thousand, but the exact figure will never be ascertained. Heaps of dead bodies lay on the roads, only to rot and be eaten by the dogs. Chittagong is now a city of the dead.

In Dacca, the army came out from the barracks to face the people on the 25th March. It is on this day that Yahya Khan left at 6:00 p.m., and before departure, passed his order to *kill*. Punjabi soldiers began to leave the cantonment in trucks at sufficient intervals. The people of Dacca thought that the soldiers were on a routine duty to patrol the city to protect the West Pakistani leaders who had come to Dacca for negotiations with Awami League leaders.

By 10:00 in the evening, the army succeeded in deploying the troops in all important key points and city junctions. The negotiations which Yahya Khan made were all fake and a part of grand treachery to airlift sufficient troops into East

Pakistan. Yahya Khan and his killer-generals made meticulous planning and executed the details for long 25 days. The newspapers and radio announced that the talks were in progress and final declaration was to be made on the 25th March. There was no declaration; instead, Yahya Khan silently left for Karachi. The troops started shooting precisely at 10:30 p.m. The people came to the streets and raised barricades, but it was too late, for the troops had already taken up positions and had moved the tanks into the city. They simultaneously attacked the police stations, student hostels, and East Pakistan Rifles headquarters at Pilkhana. They completely destroyed Iqbal Hall, S. M. Hall, and Jagannath Hall, which were student hostels. Approximately five hundred students were killed. They moved to the residential quarters where university teachers were living. They shot Doctor G. C. Dev, Head of the Department of Philosophy; Dr. Azizul Huq, Head of the Department of Mathematics; Dr. Muniruzzaman, Head of the Department of Statistics; Dr. Kabir of the Department of History; and three other teachers of the university. They went to Rokeya Hall, girl student hostel, and raped the girl students and shot them.

The police in Rajarbagh Police Lines offered resistance with their old-fashioned rifles as long as they had ammunition. Before the tanks, their resistance did not last long. Later the entire police headquarters were razed to the ground and burned completely. The most organized resistance in the Dacca city came from the East Pakistan Rifles, who were better equipped and well fortified in Pilkhana. Before the tanks and rockets, East Pakistan Rifles fought valiantly to the last ammunition, to the last man. In fact it was only on the 28th [March] morning that Pilkhana could be overrun by the army.

On the 26th [in the] morning the troops set fire to the bazaars like Naya Bazaar, Moulavi Bazaar, Chouk Bazaar. Workers' colonies in every part of the Dacca city were set on fire by spraying petrol. When the people tried to come out of their houses, the soldiers shot the elders and bayoneted the children to death. By the 28th March, the Punjabi killers burnt all the market places like New Market, Shantinagar Bazaar, Maha-

khali Bazaar, Aulad Hussain Market, Shyam Bazaar, and Nababpur.

So that Fire Service cannot extinguish the fire, on the 26th March, forty fire brigade men were lined up in the fire brigade headquarters at Wise Ghat and machine-gunned. Only three could escape by running. All the villages surrounding the Dacca city have been burnt. The hell was let loose in Bengal.

The roadside villages through which the army convoy moved have all been burnt down and the people have been machine-gunned. In Jessore area, young men have been taken prisoners only to pump their blood out, later to be used for the wounded Punjabi soldiers. After the extraction of blood, the poor victims have been shot.

When the army tried to march to Chandpur from Comilla cantonment, they were facing stiff resistance from the freedom fighters who occupied the hill-tops. The army pushed the women prisoners ahead of their columns so that the freedom fighters were unable

to shoot. Later, the women prisoners were shot by the army.

In Khulna area, the army put deadly poison in the tanks and ponds which used to provide drinking water to the people of that locality.

In Bengal it was a total war waged by the army against the total population. Where the resistance of the people was organised and stiff, the airforce fighters and bombers were called in to bomb the places. There is no weapon in the arsenal of the army which has not been used against the people.

How many people have lost their lives? Maybe half a million, maybe more. It is true that the army have occupied the cities and towns but they can never occupy the sixty-five thousand villages which are the haven of the freedom fighters. The struggle for the national liberation in Bengal is on, and it will continue till our beloved motherland is freed from the Pakistani killers.

Joi Bangla! Long live socialist Bengal! □

On Padilla Case

Intellectuals' Protest to Fidel Castro

[The following letter to Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro was released in Paris May 20. Its sixty signers included Simone de Beauvoir, Tamara Deutscher, Carlos Fuentes, Alberto Moravia, Jose Revueltas, and Jean-Paul Sartre.

[We have followed the text reported in the May 22 *New York Times*.]

* * *

We hold that it is our duty to inform you of our shame and anger.

The deplorable text of the confession signed by Heberto Padilla can only have been obtained by means that amount to the negation of revolutionary legality and justice.

The contents of this confession, with its absurd accusations and delirious assertions, as well as the pitiable parody of self-criticism to which Heberto Padilla and Comrades Belkis Cuza, Díaz Martínez, César López and Pablo Armando Fernández submitted at the seat of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists, recall the most sordid moments of the era of Stalin-

ism, with its prefabricated verdicts and its witch-hunts.

(It is) with the same vehemence that from the very first day was ours in defending the Cuban revolution, which seemed to us exemplary in its respect for the human being and in its struggle for liberation, that we exhort you to spare Cuba dogmatic obscurantism, cultural xenophobia and the repressive system imposed by Stalinism on the socialist countries and of which events similar to those now occurring in Cuba were flagrant manifestations.

The contempt for human dignity implied in the act of forcing a man into ludicrously accusing himself of the worst treasons and indignities does not alert us because it concerns a writer but because any Cuban comrade—peasant, worker, technician or intellectual—can also become the victim of similar violence and humiliations.

We would want the Cuban revolution to return to what made us consider it as a model in the realm of socialism. □

Terrorism Under the Emergency Regulations

[The following letter, pointing out that Ceylon's state-of-emergency regulations provide opportunities for police and military terrorism against the people, was sent on May 14 by the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) to Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. The letter, copies of which went to all members of parliament and to various government officials, was signed by the CMU's general secretary, P. Bala Tampoe, who is also secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.]

[For an earlier CMU protest of the Bandaranaike government's declaration of a state of emergency, see "Union Calls for End to State of Emergency," *Intercontinental Press*, May 17, 1971, page 448.]

* * *

Pursuant to the decisions of our General Council, that we conveyed to you in our letter of 30th March and 30th April, respectively, concerning the declaration of a State of Emergency on 16th March 1971 and the insurrection that followed since 5th April 1971, we think it necessary to draw your attention to certain emergency regulations that have opened the door to police and military terrorism against the people. We refer, in particular, to the regulations that permit of the arrest of persons without warrant, the detention of persons so arrested, and the burial or cremation of dead bodies, by police officers or members of the armed services. These are regulations 7, 39 and 44, respectively, made on 16th March 1971, which were superseded by regulations 19, 20 and 16, respectively, on 15th April 1971, when the State of Emergency was extended for another month.

Regulation 7 of 16th March 1971 permitted the *arrest without warrant* of any person by any police officer or member of the armed services, if that person was committing or had committed an offence under any emergency regulation, or if the person making the arrest had "reasonable ground for suspecting" that the person arrested was committing or had committed such an offence. This regulation also permitted of the removal of the person arrested "from the place of arrest to any other place situated anywhere in Ceylon", and the *detention* of that person "in custody".

Regulation 39 of 16th March 1971 expressly provided as follows:—

"(1) The provisions of sections 36, 37 and 38 of the Criminal Procedure Code shall *not* apply in relation to persons arrested under regulation 7 of these regulations". (Our emphasis)

"(2) Any person detained in pursuance of the provisions of regulation 7 of these regulations, *in a place authorised by the*

Inspector-General of Police may be so detained for period *not exceeding fifteen days*, reckoned from the date of his arrest under that regulation, and shall at the end of that period be released by the officer in charge of that place unless such person has been produced by such officer before the expiry of that period before a court of competent jurisdiction". (Our emphasis)

Regulation 44 of 16th March 1971 empowered an Assistant Superintendent of Police, or the officer-in-charge of a police station or any other officer or person authorised by him in that behalf, "to take all such measures as may be necessary for the *taking possession, and burial or cremation of any dead body*", and expressly provided as follows:—"It would *not* be necessary for any officer or person taking measures relating to the possession and burial or cremation of a dead body under this regulation *to comply with the provisions of any other written law relating to the inquest or to burial or cremation*". (Our emphasis)

Regulations 19 and 20 of 15th April 1971 have reproduced the provisions of regulations 7 and 39 of 16th March 1971; and regulation 16 of 15th April 1971 has reproduced the provisions of regulation 44 of 16th March 1971.

A proper appreciation of the extent to which the people of this country have become subject to arbitrary deprivation of personal liberty and even of life itself, at the hands of police officers or members of the armed services, under the above-mentioned regulations, requires consideration of the fundamental safeguards provided by Sections 36 and 37 of the Criminal Procedure Code, in respect of persons arrested without warrant by the police, under the normal laws of this country, and the safeguards provided by Section 363 of the Code, in respect of persons who may die while in the custody of the police.

Sections 36, 37 and 38 of the Criminal Procedure Code provide as follows:—

"36. A peace officer making an arrest without warrant shall without unnecessary delay and subject to the provisions herein contained as to bail take or send the person arrested before a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the case".

"37. No peace officer shall detain in custody a person arrested without a warrant for a longer period than under all the circumstances of the case is reasonable, and such period *shall not exceed twenty-four hours* exclusive of the time necessary for the journey from the place of arrest to the Magistrate". (Our emphasis)

"38. Officers in charge of police stations *shall report to the Magistrates' Courts of their respective districts the cases of all persons arrested without warrant by*

any police officer attached to their stations or brought before them and whether such persons have been admitted to bail or otherwise". (Our emphasis)

The express removal of these safeguards thus permitted the arrest, at any time of the day or night, and detention of a person of either sex, for up to 15 days, without the person having to be sent before a Magistrate or for the arrest or detention of the person even having to be reported to a Magistrate. In these circumstances, it has been possible, since three weeks before the insurgency began, for a person to be taken into custody by any police officer or member of the armed services, and for the person to be terrorised or tortured into divulging information or making a "confession", or to be held as a hostage unless some other member of the family of that person, who was wanted, surrendered, with no means of redress, for up to 15 days. Thereafter, signs of injuries that might have been caused by torture might well be no longer discernible.

In the above context, the removal, in addition, of the safeguards provided by any other written law relating to the inquest of death or to burial or cremation, by or at the instance of the police, rendered it possible for a person who had been arrested and detained in custody, and who died of injuries sustained while in custody, or who was even deliberately killed while in custody, to be burned or buried, *at the sole discretion of the police*, without any information even of the death of that person being given to a Magistrate or to an inquirer authorised by him, as required by Section 363 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Proof of the death of the person or even proof that the body of the person was buried or cremated after proper proof of death would be impossible, in such circumstances.

We do not think that the declaration of a State of Emergency can justify the removal of fundamental safeguards of liberty and life that have been provided by law in all civilised countries, under any circumstances. In this connection, it may be of interest to you that even when a declaration of a State of Emergency was made on 27th May 1958, during the premiership of the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, these fundamental safeguards were expressly preserved, under the emergency regulations that were made at that time. Reference may be made, in this connection to regulations 7 and 12, respectively, made under the Public Security Ordinance, on 27th May 1958.

Regulation 7 of 27th May 1958, provided as follows:—

"(7) Any officer of police, or member of the Ceylon Army, Royal Ceylon Navy or Royal Ceylon Airforce *acting in the course of his duty as such*, or any other person authorised by the Prime Minister to act under this regulation, may search, detain for purposes of such search, or arrest without warrant, any person whom he has reasonable ground for suspecting to have committed an offence against any emergency regulation. *The provisions of sections 36 and 37 of the Criminal Procedure Code shall apply in the event of*

any arrest under this regulation". (Our emphasis)

Regulation 12 of 27th May 1958, like regulation 44 of 16th March 1971, empowered an Assistant Superintendent of Police or an Officer in charge of a police station or any other officer or person authorised by him in that behalf "to take all such measures as may be necessary for the burial or cremation of a dead body"; but it did not waive the provisions of any other written law relating to the inquest of death or burial or cremation.

Even at this stage, when there is widespread belief that "excesses" and even atrocities have been committed by police officers and members of the armed services, in the purported exercise of their special powers under the above-mentioned regulations, we would urge you to consider whether any consideration of "public security" can be consistent with the continued denial of the fundamental safeguards of liberty and life that have been provided under the Criminal Procedure Code, in the matter of the arrest without warrant and detention of any person in custody, or the burial or cremation of the body of any person, in any circumstances.

G.I. Protests Reported in Saigon

American GIs in Saigon demonstrated against the war April 28, according to Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) reports. An April 29 dispatch by the NLF's news agency, GPA, gave the following account:

"Many groups of U.S. servicemen stationed in Northern Saigon yesterday staged a demonstration protesting against president Nixon's deliberate prolongation of the war of aggression in Vietnam and expressing their full support to the American people's seething demonstrations in the current 1971 'spring offensive'.

"The demonstrators distributed many leaflets demanding peace and warning that they would soon stage many other demonstrations in Saigon to urge Nixon to put an end to the criminal war of aggression in South Vietnam and bring all U.S. troops home."

The agency did not indicate how many soldiers participated in the protests, which would be considered "illegal" by the military authorities.

Presumably the demonstration described by GPA would have been inspired by news of the giant April 24 actions in Washington and San Francisco. □

New Battles Reported

Ceylonese Rebels Continue Resistance

"In spite of official statements claiming that the revolutionists are fleeing into the forests, in particular the Sinharaja forest in the south, the rebels are continuing to launch attacks," the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported in its May 18 issue.

"They [the rebels] burned a textile factory in Meetiya-goda in the south; and a post office, railway station, and public buildings near Kurunegala in the northwest of the island."

In mid-May also the insurgent JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front] reportedly made its first attempt to contact the international press. An alleged JVP spokesman with the code name of Tilak gave a two-hour interview to journalists in Colombo, pledging that the rebels "will never surrender."

"Tilak's statements have aroused particular interest within the Colombo Government and the diplomatic community," *New York Times* correspondent Eric Pace cabled from Colombo May 14, "because the rebel movement has been virtually mute since it came out into the open last month. This silence has encouraged its critics to call it a 'low-grade insurgency' and to stress its local nature."

The purported rebel spokesman told reporters that the JVP had 7,000 men under arms in the countryside, 3,000 of them in the Sinharaja forest.

"Tilak said that his 'boys' had received no equipment from outside, but he asserted that they had seized large quantities of police weapons in their first raids," Pace continued.

A major clash between rebels and repressive forces in the Kurunegala district was reported May 23 in a *New York Times* dispatch. The government claimed that its forces had surrounded and shelled a JVP base, forcing eighty-nine insurgents to surrender.

A dispatch by Pace from Kandy, one of the centers of guerrilla activity, published in the May 23 *New York Times*, stressed that the revolt was fading and the situation returning to normal. Proof of this, Pace wrote, was that the elephants were back at work in the countryside: "The sight of the great beasts padding along the

highways is a sign of normality that is welcomed by traditionalists in this Buddhist island nation.

"After the revolt broke out last month, elephant tenders kept their charges hidden in protected places. They were afraid that if they took them out into the forest, they might be killed accidentally in the fighting—or done away with by rebels who identify them with the status quo."

In contrast with this description of Ceylon settling back into its tropical idyll, tensions seem to remain high.

"Thirty instructors at the teachers' college of Maharagama on the outskirts of Colombo were arrested Friday [May 16], *Le Monde* reported May 18. "They were accused of collusion with the People's Liberation Front. The schools and universities are still closed and the curfew remains in force throughout the island."

Strains and contradictions in the country's political establishment reflected these pressures. "The head of the parliamentary opposition told the Assembly, which is discussing revision of the constitution, that hundreds of bodies of insurgents are floating in the rivers of the country," the May 18 *Le Monde* reported. Ironically, the right-wing opposition seems determined not to let the "left" government escape responsibility for massacring hundreds of young socialists.

On the other hand, in the face of the courageous fight of thousands of Ceylonese youth demanding "real socialism," the regime appears to feel compelled to make new demagogic gestures. "Parliament decided to recognize only two forms of ownership in the new constitution—state and cooperative property," the *Le Monde* report continued. □

Correction

In the article "Mao Increases Aid to Yahya's Army" in our previous issue, we quoted from a *New York Times* dispatch that gave the amount of a new Chinese loan to Pakistan as \$207,000,000. The actual figure is \$20,000,000.

The figure given for the total of Chinese aid—\$307,000,000—is correct.

Cuba—A Necessary Balance Sheet

By Livio Maitan

[The following article was written as the introduction to a collection of documents and other materials relating to the Cuban revolution projected for publication in France as a book. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Our objective in publishing a series of documents that the international Trotskyist movement has devoted to the Cuban revolution is not only to provide activists with useful reference material but also to put in focus the influence that Fidel Castro's victory and the ensuing struggles in Latin America had on the development and revivification of organizations adhering to revolutionary Marxism.

The stage when Cuba was the object of unconditional admiration in wide circles of the vanguard is now passed. Unfortunately, those persons who previously indulged in apologetics, now most often prefer to make summary condemnations, to say nothing of those who have simply turned the page, Cuba no longer being considered in style. Thus, it is up to the Trotskyist movement once again to do the work of analyzing and evaluating a revolutionary experiment, which, whatever vicissitudes the future may hold, will go down in history as one of the crucial experiences of our age.

I.

The genesis of the Cuban revolution, its victory, and the events of the first decade in the life of the Cuban workers state have constituted a crucial test of the revolutionary movement's conceptions and orientations. Like all great historical turning points, the Cuban revolution has swept away a number of old nostrums, false or ambiguous views, and outmoded schemas, and has made it possible to gain a better understanding of the fundamental tendencies in this stage in their complexity and richness.

At the same time, the experience of the Cuban revolution has exposed more clearly the limitations and contradictions that cannot be escaped by a workers state in the present international context, in the context of a relationship of forces prevailing not only between imperialism and the revolution but also within the noncapitalist front.

The writings we are publishing give a precise analysis of the meaning and fundamental lessons of the Cuban revolution. Thus I need only recapitulate them briefly here.

1. The Cuban revolution marked a critical turn for an entire continent, and in this sense, despite the smallness of the country, its importance is comparable to the Russian and Chinese revolutions. The very existence of a workers state in Cuba has represented, and—in spite of the present difficulties—has not ceased to represent, a powerful factor in promoting the crisis and weakening of imperialism, and objectively assisting the revolutionary struggle in an exceptional way.

If it had not been for Fidel Castro's victory, ten years of Latin American history would have been radically different. The profound crisis of the ruling classes and leading groups, the irreversible decline of the petty-bourgeois reformist nationalist movements, the rise and maturing of new vanguards—all this would not yet have occurred, or would not have developed so rapidly or extensively.

Even in Africa and Asia, the lessons of the Cuban revolution have left a considerable imprint and helped to produce and develop revolutionary movements and cadres. This is still more true for the advanced capitalist countries, especially Western Europe. In Europe, as is well known, mobilizations to defend the Cuban revolution marked a stage in the rise of the young vanguards which later stormed onto the political arena in May 1968 in France and in 1968-70 in Italy. For its part, the Fourth International

has no reason to minimize the importance Cuba has had for it. In France in particular, if it had not been for Cuba and for Che Guevara, the JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire — Revolutionary Communist Youth] would not have experienced its rapid rise, nor would the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International] be what it is today.

2. Thanks to the Cuban revolution, not only relatively limited vanguard strata but, above all, broad masses of workers, peasants, radicalized petty-bourgeois, and plebeian elements on the fringes of the productive process have become conscious of the fundamental political and social antagonisms that exist and of the possibility of defeating their No. 1 enemy, the all-powerful imperialism of the U. S. Such a statement might seem a commonplace today. But no revolutionist who knew what Latin America was like before Cuba will minimize the importance of the change that has occurred.

At the same time, the Cuban revolution subjected to a practical test all the arguments about the nature of the Latin American revolution, arguments which no small number of philistines had considered sterile and scholastic. Refuting the conceptions supported by the Stalinists, reformists, and centrists of every stripe, living experience has shown the arbitrariness and fallaciousness of the postulate that there is a bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution as distinct from the socialist one and that revolutionists can and must ally themselves with the so-called national bourgeoisie.

The Cuban revolution very quickly revealed its permanent character, breaking not only with imperialism but also with the indigenous "national" bourgeois ruling classes and "growing over" uninterruptedly into a socialist revolution. Paradoxically (although the paradox is only apparent), this "growing over" occurred even before those who gave impetus to it seemed to realize what was happening.

3. The victory of the Ejército Rebelde [Rebel Army] was an additional proof of the absurdity of all the theorizing about "democratic" or "peaceful roads to socialism" (which is still more ridiculous in countries lacking the parliamentary institutions whose presence in Western Europe might offer arguments to the advocates of these oppor-

tunist views). This victory also implied more specific lessons about the possible forms of a revolutionary breakthrough in the given Latin American context. In this area, discussions have been lively from the beginning, and they are continuing now, although the polemic has entered a new phase.

Correctly, the Cuban leaders, and Che Guevara especially, rejected the thesis that the Cuban revolution was exceptional. This postulate in practice was a smokescreen not only for Stalinists, reformists, and centrists whose formulas had collapsed miserably but also for those who, on paper, declared their support for armed struggle in very generous terms, without, however, drawing the required conclusions about *the specific military tasks* of the movement and the concrete choice of methods. In other words, the Cubans checkmated all these routinist and conservative attitudes based, in the last analysis, on a mechanistic use of historical analogies and on a spontanéist conception of the mass revolutionary upsurge and the insurrection leading to the conquest of power.

Despite all superficial and one-sided interpretations, the victorious outcome of the revolutionary struggle confirmed the need for a revolutionary party. It showed that the existence of a vanguard, even weak at first, but capable in a revolutionary or prerevolutionary context of clearly expressing the interests and aspirations of the masses and establishing real links at least with some layers of the population, is the decisive condition for success. In its own entirely special forms, which may prove to a large extent unique, the Cuban revolution argues, despite appearances, against any denial of the Leninist concept of the party.

4. On the international level, the imperialist attack very quickly gave impetus to the dynamic of permanent revolution in the Cuban process. It was above all after this attack that the leading group understood that Cuba could escape the danger of strangulation and military aggression only by integrating itself into the worldwide revolutionary process. As a result the Cuban government began to establish indispensable alliances with the other workers states. In this, it sought to form a bloc above all with countries like Vietnam and North Korea, which were also in the front line of the con-

frontation with imperialism. And for the most part it retained its political independence in the face of the most powerful bureaucratic leaderships.

At the same time, and this is still more important, Cuba vigorously assumed the role of standard-bearer of the entire Latin American revolution. Che Guevara's enterprise in Bolivia, regardless of how you assess his specific choices and methods, has been the most spectacular expression of the internationalist orientation of the Cuban revolutionists, who are clearly aware that their fate is indissolubly linked with that of the revolution on a continental scale.

II.

The historic importance of the Cuban revolution and the unquestionable qualities of Fidel Castro and the leading group around him cannot lead revolutionists to soft-pedal the limitations, contradictions, and possible negative tendencies that appear, whether they flow from objective conditions or from deficiencies of a subjective order. Again, I will limit myself to a few brief recapitulations.

1. In general, the new productive relations have brought considerable economic development, permitting a very substantial improvement in the overall standard of living of the masses (among other things, by eliminating the scourge of unemployment and underemployment and by eliminating illiteracy and introducing universal education).

However, the initial underdevelopment, all the vestiges of the typical conditions of a backward society (an inadequate technical and cultural level, a limited number of technicians and specialists, the survival of habits belonging to a preindustrial society, etc.), and the imperialist blockade could not help but cause very grave difficulties and tensions, at the same time producing an inevitable economic dependence on the Soviet Union.

The deficiencies in systematic development of projects and economic plans; exaggerated voluntarist notions, especially in certain periods; the adoption of some excessive expropriation measures in the distribution sector, whose consequences for the economy are undeniable and whose political and social justification seems dubious; some concessions to utopian-

ism in the conception of the phase of transition from capitalism to socialism and to communism, underestimating material stimuli—all these factors aggravated the objective difficulties and contradictions by helping to produce the failure of the attempt to harvest 10,000,000 tons of sugar and the tensions that have arisen more generally over the course of the last year.

2. Cuba has not suffered a process of bureaucratic degeneration like that suffered in various forms by the East European and Asian workers states, and the regime has been able to base itself on powerful mass mobilizations. But the tendency that has manifested itself from the beginning to prolong and even give a general theoretical value to fluid political and institutional relationships, crowned by a direct rapport between the leader and the masses, could not fail to have very negative implications in the long run.

In other words, Cuba lacks a structured revolutionary government of the soviet type, that is based on organs subject to election and recall at any time, coordinated from top to bottom and from the periphery to the center, capable of assuring administration of the state by the worker and peasant masses.

Furthermore, for long years the leading group has allowed the unions—an essential instrument for defending the interests of the workers even in the transitional phase—to remain under the control of the old Stalinist bureaucrats of the PSP [Partido Socialista Popular—People's Socialist party, the name of the Communist party under Batista], even relegating them, in hasty generalizations, to an essentially propagandistic role of exhorting the workers to greater productivity.

Finally, the Cuban leaders' statement of the need to build a Marxist-Leninist party, accompanied at the beginning by original attempts at countering the dangers of bureaucratization, has not been translated into action except to an absolutely insufficient degree. It is symbolic that ten years after the conquest of power, the first congress of the party has yet to be held.

In these conditions it has been difficult for the vanguard of the proletariat to accomplish its tasks in reality. And more generally, the working class has been able to exercise its hegemony in

the society only very partially and through multiple intermediaries.

3. The absence of revolutionary democratic structures at the top levels, the inadequacy of the unions, and grave limitations in the functioning of the party have left voids which, in one way or another, had to be filled. Thus a stratum of leaders and functionaries has progressively been created, which in practice has interpreted the decisions made by the leading group at the top to suit its own narrow interests.

In a situation that—despite the historic advance indicated above—remained marked by scarcity, to entrust the leading functions to a narrow stratum inevitably meant the development of conditions of privilege and the mentality associated with them.

There is no doubt that social differentiation and privileges are still very limited and, in any case, qualitatively different from those in the Soviet Union, the people's democracies, and even China. Differentiation, however, does exist and a dangerous political and social dynamic is operating. This is all the more dangerous because the embryonic Cuban bureaucratic strata can take advantage of the relationship of forces on the international level, and, more precisely, the convergence between their interests and their aspirations and the interests and aspirations of the bureaucratic caste in the USSR, which for well-known reasons is now able to subject Cuba to all sorts of pressures, if not actual blackmail.

4. The revolutionary and antibureaucratic orientations of the Cuban leading group, its initiatives in Latin America, its polemics with the Communist parties and the Soviet leadership itself have made a powerful contribution to the crisis of Stalinism and the bureaucratic organizations of the international workers' movement.

However, because of their education and the conditioning they have undergone, the Cuban leaders have not acquired—have not shown—a rounded understanding of the phenomenon of the bureaucratization of the Communist parties and the degeneration of transitional societies. This theoretical deficiency has had serious practical implications and will have more in the future if it is not overcome in time. This is why the revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International pose this problem clearly.

Their lack of clarity about the nature of the Communist parties has led the Cuban leaders several times to harbor illusions about the possibility of these parties contributing to advancing the revolutionary struggle in Latin America. The most dramatic example is the Cubans' attempts to reach an agreement with the Bolivian Communists during the guerrilla struggle led by Che Guevara. In this way, the Cubans' analytical and methodological deficiencies in approaching the problem of the nature of the bureaucratized workers states played a large role in their stand on the invasion of Czechoslovakia. And this position in practice led them to line up with Moscow and the most conservative (and most anti-Castroist) Communist parties.¹

There is no need for me to recall here how much such an attitude damaged the prestige and influence of the Cubans, both among the masses in the workers states oppressed by bureaucratic domination and the young vanguards that are the driving force of the new upsurge in the most industrialized capitalist countries. In the case of these new vanguards more specifically, the Castroist leading group's reticent attitude toward the May 1968 events in France also played a negative role.

5. The historic impetus that the Cuban revolution gave to the Latin American revolution and the aid the Cuban workers state has assured the revolutionists of the continent cannot overshadow the negative facts at the root of the crisis in relations between the Castroist leadership and a series of movements that were inspired by Castroism at the time of their formation.

On the level of generalizations and strategic guidelines, the Cubans gave a boost to erroneous or at least one-sided interpretations of the Cuban revolutionary experience itself (for example, interpretations soft-pedaling the mass influence Fidel Castro already had before the landing, the effect the existence of the anti-Batista movement in the cities had on the develop-

ment of the armed struggle, etc.). At the same time, in the attempt to refute—which was the right thing to do—opportunist theorizing about the exceptionalism of the Cuban road, the Havana leadership went to the point of ignoring or seriously underestimating the actual peculiar conditions involved, which very probably will not be assembled in a revolutionary struggle in any other countries. (I need only note, once again, the attitude of a part of the Latin American bourgeoisie that believed the Batista regime had no future and expected Fidel Castro, once in power, to follow the trajectory of other leaders of petty-bourgeois movements in the area.)

Similarly, while starting off from a correct assessment of the revolutionary tensions on a continental level and the unquestionable necessity of refuting the tendentious analyses of the reformists and centrists, the Cubans formulated an ambiguous and schematic theory of the *foco* [guerrilla nucleus]. In this way, they promoted illusions in many revolutionists, who had courage but no political training or links with the masses, that they could repeat the experience of the Sierra Maestra as soon as a minimum of "technical" conditions were assembled. It is true that this theory has been most systematically and explicitly stated in Régis Debray's little book. It is also true that Cuban documents of approximately the same date (notably the report of the Cuban delegation to the OLAS conference) are markedly different from Debray's book. Moreover, Guevara also had many remarks to make about this work.

This does not take away from the fact, however, that the success of *Revolución en la revolución?* was due to Cuban publicity and support, which it would be legitimate to interpret as approval. Here we touch again on the negative consequences of the Cuban leaders' theoretical weakness, their empiricism both in the way they criticized the Communist parties and in the way they have approached the vital question of the revolutionary party.

Régis Debray's book, which no one defends today but which was greeted with veritable rave enthusiasm when it appeared, was well suited to give the maximum encouragement to the adventurist and spontanéist tendencies already widespread in Latin America

1. As the Fourth International did not fail to stress at the time, Fidel Castro's August 1968 speech also contained a rather sharp criticism of the bureaucracy's misdeeds, which explains why it has not been published in Moscow despite its support for the invasion.

in the aftermath of Fidel Castro's victory. The price the revolutionary movement has paid for these errors has not yet been fully assessed, but it is a high one.

III.

As one of the articles included in this volume² points out, the Cuban revolution has entered into a crucial phase, where opposing conceptions and forces are locked in conflict. This struggle has an international dimension because the relationship of forces between the masses and the embryonic bureaucratic strata in Cuba is also influenced by the relationship of forces on the world scale (and at this level the most powerful bureaucratic force, the ruling caste in Moscow, still has very great resources and considerable margin for maneuver).

Only windbags or ignoramuses can underestimate the terrible difficulties of building socialism in the situation that exists (it must not be forgotten for one instant that, over and above any possible tactical pretenses, Yankee imperialism remains on a war footing). But those who refuse to accept the outlook of resigning themselves to bureaucratic degeneration and an opportunistic softening of policy (which in the last analysis would isolate the regime from the masses and make the island more vulnerable to possible imperialist attacks) are virtually duty bound to try to offer solutions.

It is necessary to maintain an exceptional productive effort for a prolonged period (this is the only way to guarantee that the needs of the people will be progressively met). This involves rationalizing the economy. And to accomplish this, raising the productivity of labor is a *sine qua non*. The leadership must rely on constantly mobilizing and activating the masses. And it can do this only by profoundly reorganizing the workers state on a revolutionary democratic pattern that can enable the working class and the masses in general to participate in fact in administering the political and economic affairs of the country.

2. See "Une etape cruciale pour la revolution cubaine." ["A Crucial Stage for the Cuban Revolution" by Livio Maitan. Available in an English translation in *Intercontinental Press*, November 30, 1970, pages 1041-46.]

The positions Fidel Castro has taken, especially since he was forced to recognize the failure of the campaign to harvest 10,000,000 tons of sugar, indicate that at least a part of the leading group is conscious of the tendencies at work and of the necessity to wage a determined battle for workers' democracy. The reorganization of the unions by holding elections at the various levels represents a first step. A shake-up has occurred here in precisely the sector where the old and new bureaucrats were entrenched.

On the level of statements, what Castro said in a recent speech (December 7, 1970) evoking the historic experiences of the Paris Commune and the soviets in the Russian revolution is significant. He affirmed the need notably for "manifold forms of representation through which citizens can be represented in different ways" and for a perspective of developing institutional structures that can enable the people to "participate through their direct representatives in framing laws and measures of the revolutionary government."

If the leading group resolutely pursues this course, does not put off implementing it, and draws much more than in the past on the already long historical experience of the world workers' movement, it can make a contribution to blocking dangerous tendencies and creating the preconditions for exemplary socialist construction.

It goes without saying that a positive evolution would be conditional at the same time on adopting an orientation corresponding to the needs of the Latin American revolutionary movement in this stage. The attitude of the Cuban leaders in this regard seems to confirm that they are holding to a prudent course, prolonging their pause for reflection.

At any event, it seems, on the one hand, that certain "Debrayist" conceptions have been abandoned or set aside; on the other, that a very definite effort is being made to exploit the situation created by the turn in Peru, Allende's victory in Chile, and—to a lesser extent—Torres's coming to power in Bolivia.

No revolutionist can find fault with the Cuban government for its attempts to exploit differences and crises arising in the enemy front and to break the economic, military, and diplomatic blockade. What would be very nega-

tive would be any inclination toward giving theoretical justifications for opportunist concessions and, still worse, any subordination of the needs of long-term revolutionary strategy to the conjunctural needs of Cuban state policy.

In the case of Peru, for example, it is proper for the Cubans to exploit the openings offered them by the orientation of the present military regime. But what is unacceptable is characterizing the Peruvian army as "revolutionary" and forgetting in fact everything that the OLAS documents and Che Guevara explained about the nature of the revolution in Latin America and the impossibility of relying on alliances with the so-called national bourgeoisie.

As regards the struggles of revolutionists in Latin America more directly, after a period of partial reticence, the Cuban press is again devoting considerable space to the activity of organizations conducting armed struggle (first of all in Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil). And in his speech last July 26, Fidel Castro also devoted considerable attention to this subject.

But what the Latin American revolutionists are waiting for is a redefinition of the Cuban position regarding orientations and methods of struggle. A wait-and-see attitude, which would ultimately, if it became too prolonged, mean opting for empiricism and spontanéism, is no solution whatever for a leadership whose responsibilities are directly proportional to its prestige and which itself has a vital interest in seeing revolutionary victories in Latin America in the near future.

I am convinced that the Cuban revolution has not yet shown its potentialities. This is why I have drawn attention to the tasks which, in my opinion, the Cuban leaders must accomplish. This is why today more than in the past, in determining their perspectives and orientations, the Latin American revolutionary Marxists will be inspired by an awareness of their duty through their anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggle to defend the Cuban workers state. After ten years, this regime has not ceased to represent the boldest and cheekiest challenge to the most powerful imperialism in the history of the capitalist system.

February 4, 1971

Who Was Behind the 'Communist Plot'?

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

In launching the wave of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hysteria that has been sweeping the country since mid-March, President Luis Echeverría was responding to a rising challenge to capitalism not just in Mexico but throughout Latin America.

In fact, the case of the allegedly Soviet-backed guerrillas of the MAR [Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria — Revolutionary Action Movement]¹ has all the earmarks of an international imperialist operation designed to block the expansion of diplomatic and trade relations with the Latin American bourgeois governments sought by the Soviet government and the national Communist parties in this area.

Now that Echeverría, to whom some Stalinists looked hopefully for a liberalized regime and a more independent foreign policy, has opened up a campaign against the Soviet Union, the opportunism of the Mexican CP is showing some of its contradictions.

The new phase of the crisis in Latin America that began in 1968 is deepening. Nixon finds himself in a very difficult position on the continent.

Chile is unquestionably the storm center of tensions. And the MAR case in Mexico may have been aimed in the last analysis at preventing other Latin American countries from following the Chilean example in widening contacts with a whole series of workers states.

The case of the "Soviet-backed guerrillas" has all the characteristics of an "affair" concocted by the CIA. Before now, the Attorney General's office made no attempt to link any of the innumerable *foquista* groups with foreign countries.

The facts of the case suggested an international conspiracy, but not the kind the Mexican press talked about. The concrete evidence pointed to collusion between the imperialist intelligence services and the Mexican po-

litical police. It is unlikely that Mexican intelligence had a network widespread enough to keep the members of MAR under surveillance in Moscow, and to take note of their trips to North Korea and their contacts with other revolutionary groups linked to North Korea.

Some time ago, the case of Carrillo Colón (a CIA agent planted in the Mexican embassy in Havana and caught red-handed by the Cubans) revealed the close ties between the Mexican government—especially the ministries of the interior and foreign relations—and the CIA.

Echeverría, the minister of the interior under Díaz Ordaz, was seriously implicated in the Carrillo Colón case. The scandal almost knocked him out of the running for the presidency.

A number of foreign journalists have already speculated about CIA involvement in the MAR case.

What the bourgeois journalists call the "Soviet offensive" is centered around the Allende government but includes opening diplomatic relations with Brazil, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, and other countries in the area. The repercussions of the MAR case have already spread beyond Mexico, and in this context it is hard to think that international interests are not involved.

The week after the MAR case began to be played up in the Mexican press, the Costa Rican government canceled a meeting with a Soviet commission negotiating the question of opening diplomatic relations. At about the same time, in Guatemala, the new dictator-president Arana announced that he also had smashed a "Soviet plot."

Not only were Soviet diplomatic and trade relations with the Latin American countries threatened but even cultural and educational contacts were put in jeopardy.

Some of the members of the MAR had attended Lumumba University in Moscow, the Soviet Union's main institution for third-world students and the apex of its system of educational assistance to underdeveloped coun-

tries. On this pretext, government spokesmen mounted an attack on this Soviet university as a center for training subversives, a campaign which could obviously have far-reaching implications.

Facing this anti-Soviet onslaught, the different factions of Mexican Stalinism reacted in varying ways. Perhaps the most cravenly opportunistic response came from the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros, who was one of the band of Stalinist assassins who tried to machine-gun down Leon Trotsky and his wife in 1940, and who did murder one of Trotsky's guards, Robert Sheldon Harte.

Siqueiros not only denied that Lumumba University was a school for subversives but argued that the Soviet government, like the one in Mexico City, was anxious to suppress "extremism" and political activity by students.

Siqueiros made the following statement on a television program, where the announcer cited his attempt to murder Trotsky as proof of the irreproachability of his Stalinist credentials: "In face of the facts, and there are an infinite number of recent examples, no one can doubt the sincerity of the Soviet government when it declares its opposition to terrorism and to exporting revolution. In fact, some of those arrested were *expelled from Lumumba University when the Soviet authorities discovered that they were engaging in activities alien to academic life.*" (Quoted from the April 7 issue of *Siempre*, where Siqueiros gives a written version of what he said on TV. Emphasis added.)

Before the anti-Soviet campaign developed, this old opportunist had publicly differed with the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano — Mexican Communist party], of which he is a member, over its criticism of Echeverría. The continuation and stepping up of the repression of the student movement by the new president, the jailing of new political prisoners and refusal to release most of the old, evidently did not seem sufficient cause for criticism to this old Stalinist gunman.

Only when Echeverría attacked the Soviet Union could Siqueiros bring himself to utter a word of criticism. And even then his rejoinder was couched in the most servile and opportunistic terms. "As a Mexican and with the authority conferred upon me

1. See "Echeverría Discovers Another 'Communist Plot'" in *Intercontinental Press*, April 19, pages 360-61.

by my long revolutionary activity and as part of my revolutionary struggle for the self-determination of my people, I want to warn President Echeverría. I want to say, not to the president of the republic but to Luis Echeverría personally, *not to abandon* the course he began of developing close ties with the people.

"The voices raised in this scandalous and extravagant chorus are not the voices of the people, and you, President Echeverría, cannot fail to realize that. This is a chauvinist trap laid by those elements that have an interest in eliminating Soviet influence from the continent. Facing this danger, President Echeverría is more intelligent than those who claim to represent him." (Quoted from the TV speech cited above. Emphasis added.)

A treacherous response came from the PPS [Partido Popular Socialista—People's Socialist party], a right-wing offshoot of Mexican Stalinism. This party was led for most of its existence by the ultraopportunist Stalinist Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who died November 16, 1968, not before adding his voice to the chorus of attacks on the student movement suppressed by the massacre of Tlatelolco.²

The Partido Popular Socialista tried to get the Soviet Union off the hook by blaming all the current subversion on "Trotskyist provocateurs." In an official declaration dated March 19, the PPS said, among other things:

"The people of Mexico know very well that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp have never had any aggressive designs against the Mexican nation. On the other hand, they have experienced and continue to experience manifold and repeated encroachments by American imperialism. This, however, is not the only cause of the present provocation.

"After the Cuban revolution, which initiated the second great revolution of the Latin American peoples—their struggle for economic liberation—American imperialism tried a new tactic. Seeking in vain to halt this process, it has promoted the development on this continent of political groupings that claim to follow Leon Trot-

sky. These groups are all very small but very active and with great economic resources [sic]. Moreover, they have all the means necessary to move from one country to another without problems of any kind.

"What aims are these Trotskyist groups pursuing? Who finances them? It is obvious to all the democratic elements in this country that the principal objective of these groups is to disorient the popular masses. To achieve this, they project seemingly revolutionary positions so as to create confusion and division within the progressive and democratic organizations, and by their provocative attitudes provide a pretext for repression and for killing valiant and honest leaders of the people.

"It is well known [sic] that they throw a lot of money around and that they are supported by bodies linked to the U. S. political police, in particular the CIA and the FBI.

"In our country, this phenomenon is conspicuous. More than a dozen Trotskyist groups have been organized and these have been joined by others that claim to support the Chinese or Maoist line, including the so-called Espartacos [Spartacists]. And these Chinese groups are also made up of ultra-leftist and provocative elements. With the same diversionary objective, the lure of 'Guevarism' has been used to organize other groups.

"All these ultraleftist groups have had an active part in the provocations staged in Mexico, most of which have occurred in student circles. These groups have economic resources. They operate with a certain measure of impunity. They make the most absurd propositions from the ideological and tactical viewpoint. It is these groups that are the tools of the provocation with which we are now familiar.

"A few days ago, the national press reported in abundant detail the arrest of a group of 'alleged guerrillas.' According to these accounts, those involved were ultraleftists who intended to install a Marxist-Leninist regime in Mexico by force. Who are these elements? What is their real political intent? Is it true that from the philosophical standpoint they are adherents of Marxism-Leninism? It is very clear that these elements have nothing to do with the revolutionary struggle of our people or with the objective of

the best democratic forces in the country to advance our revolution and achieve higher levels of social progress in Mexico. They are adventurists manipulated by the political police of the United States of America."

The purpose of this long quotation is only to show that the weapon of gross political slander is still a favorite one in the Mexican Stalinist milieu. These passages show, moreover, the depth of the decay reached by the Lombardists, who are faithfully following the teachings of their master, Vicente Lombardo Toledano.

The response of the PCM leadership to the anti-Soviet campaign was somewhat different from that of the ultra-Stalinist "friend of the Soviet Union" Siqueiros or the degenerate opportunists of the PPS.

In its March 19 statement, the PCM Central Committee said: "The expulsion of the five Soviet representatives is another step revealing the reactionary nature of the present government. It was timed to coincide with American imperialism's extending its military aggression in Indochina and stepping up its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Thus, this step tends to favor Nixon's aggressive plans and helps to exacerbate his international tyranny. . . . The regime, which is the author and promoter of violence, is seeking new opportunities to pursue its attacks on the revolutionary left. We call on all advanced democratic forces to halt the repressive onslaught foreshadowed by the government's measures."

The positiveness of the PCM statement, especially in contrast with the declarations of other Stalinist elements, may reflect, among other things, the pressure of sincere rank-and-file militants profoundly affected by the 1968 student movement. Moreover, a relatively new leadership took over in the PCM after many of the old Stalinist chiefs were jailed in the repression that came after the government smashed the 1959 railway strike.

In acute crisis since 1968 and increasingly divided into warring factions, the PCM has yet to show that it is capable of putting up strong resistance to the government attacks. It will be under pressure to fight, however, from its rank and file and from the student movement and the revolutionary Marxists.

In the union movement, that world

² See "The Youth Movement and the Alienation of Society," by Jose Revueltas, in *Intercontinental Press*, April 21, 1969, pages 395-99; and April 28, 1969, pages 413-18.

of labor fakers, not one voice was raised against the chauvinist campaign except for that of Rafael Galván. In the March 30 issue of *Solidaridad*, the magazine of the Sindicato de Electricistas de la República Mexicana [Electricians' Union of the Republic of Mexico], he wrote: "A serious investigation—inspired by genuine patriotism—of the Yankee embassy, the CIA, the FBI, and other U. S. imperialist bodies would show how great a role they play in deciding Mexican political questions or influencing such decisions."

It remains to be seen, however, whether Echeverría will be able to keep all of the labor movement in line as social tensions rise.

The Mexican Trotskyists responded

to Echeverría's offensive by calling on the left, workers, and student movement to recognize the danger of this attack and form a united front to combat it. Student magazines like *Hoja Popular* and *Acción Popular* followed the same line.

In its issue published after the start of the anti-Soviet campaign, the Trotskyist magazine *La Internacional* carried an article entitled "Organize Without Sectarianism." Among other things, it said: "In this campaign Echeverría is counting on the following factors: on the vulgar chauvinism of the official world; on the impunity that comes from having no organized mass opposition; on Nixon's blessing (who probably cooked up the 'plot' for him through the U. S. agents in

the Ministry of the Interior); on the tremendous backwardness in the Mexican working masses, which they seem to be overcoming only painfully. The reports of spontaneous mass mobilizations in the provinces, most of which are kept out of the papers, testify to the fact that the unrest that existed in the Federal District in 1968 has now taken root throughout the country. This challenge to the regime is increased by the unflagging and firm opposition of the conscious student nucleus which has maintained itself both in the UNAM [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico] as well as the IPN [Instituto Politécnico Nacional—National Polytechnic Institute]. □

Mexico

Exiled Students Appeal for Release of Comrades

[The following statement was sent to us from Mexico City. The fact that it is undated and that it was signed by political prisoners belonging to two separate groups exiled by the Echeverría regime on April 27 and April 28 (see *Intercontinental Press* May 24, page 474) would indicate that the prisoners had heard about the impending action by the government and had drawn up their statement in advance.]

* * *

At the end of April 1971, a group of sixteen Mexican citizens, including the undersigned, left the country. Up until then we had been imprisoned in the Federal District Preventive Jail on charges growing out of the 1968 student and popular movement.

Dozens of persons, tried in various courts on the same charges as we and on the basis of the same events in 1968, are still in jail. Our release implies that the government has no case against us; it also demonstrates with absolute clarity that there is no valid reason, either legal or political, for continuing to hold our comrades tried on the same charges. Therefore, we expect and demand that they be freed immediately.

We should add that we were released

on the same conditions as previous groups of prisoners, on parole or on bail. This means that our cases remain active and that if the final decision is to impose prison sentences, we will have to return to jail to serve the terms handed down.

These conditions represent a clear threat to the dozens of persons released on a provisional basis whose fate is still in the hands of the courts. For this reason we demand a final settlement of the 1968 political trials, with the immediate release of the compañeros still imprisoned and an end to all the unjust prosecutions conducted by the Ministerio Público.

The fight for the release of all political prisoners was one of the causes and objectives of the 1968 movement. Today the practice of jailing persons for their political activities is assuming greater proportions. New cases have accumulated, aggravating the problem considerably. Víctor Rico Galán and his compañeros, as well as other persons prosecuted for their political activities, were already in prison when we were jailed. Now the number of political prisoners has been swelled by the arrest of various groups over the last two years. As in all the previous political trials, the latest victims

of repression were tried under illegal conditions.

The cases of two groups, in particular, have stood out: (1) the thirty students arrested in Guadalajara as a result of their effort to democratize the university in that city; and (2) the more than twenty persons prosecuted on charges arising out of the repression against the MAR (Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Action Movement). The government is using the latter case at the moment as a pretext for wide-ranging persecutions.

The popular opposition groups are only the barometer of grave national problems that cannot be solved by palliatives or declarations but only by a radical and profound transformation of the existing structures. Jailing those who fight for their people helps to aggravate these problems by blocking the avenues of democratic struggle established by the Constitution.

The administrations that have sponsored the repression are themselves responsible for the sharpening of social conflicts—not only in the case of the student movement, where the guilt for the 1968 events is clear, but in all cases where democratic liberties

and legality itself have been compromised.

Unconditional and immediate release of all political prisoners in the country and respect for constitutional legality—thus, recognition of the right of workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals to make their own decisions—are the minimum preconditions for the democratic climate needed to permit expression of the popular will. This was the demand we raised in 1968 and we continue to uphold it today.

We are convinced that Mexicans will demonstrate an increasingly strong, vigorous and broad political consciousness. Our people are seeking their own path in spite of all the obstacles. And we are certain that the final outcome of their strivings will be a Mexico where justice, liberty, and democracy prevail. Wherever we find ourselves and in whatever circumstances, we will be participants in this effort.

We Will Win!

Mexico City
April 1971

Signed: Federico Emery Ulloa, Luis Cervantes Cabeza de Vaca, Fausto Trejo, J. Tayde Aburto, Eduardo Valle, Raúl Alvarez Garin, Gilberto Guevara Niebla, Luis González de Alba, Saúl Alvarez Mosqueda.

Swordfish Contaminated

The U. S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) on May 6 advised the public to stop eating swordfish. The warning came after a three-month testing program found that well over 90 percent of the samples contained excessive mercury contamination.

The agency's survey found that of 853 samples tested, only 42 were within the "acceptable" level of one-half part per million. The average for all swordfish tested was more than twice this level.

Although the FDA warned last December that most swordfish contained large amounts of mercury, it found in a recent check of the Washington, D. C., area that the fish was still available in nearly all stores. Eighty-nine percent of it was reported to contain excessive mercury.

Americans have been consuming an average of 26,000,000 pounds of swordfish per year.

Mercury compounds tend to concentrate the brain, kidney, and liver. In pregnant women, mercury may concentrate in the fetus.

The metal can cause brain damage, mouth ulcers, tremors, and birth defects. □

Soviet Union

Harsh Sentences in 'Hijacking' Trial

Nine Soviet Jews on trial in Leningrad were convicted May 20 of "anti-Soviet activity" and given prison terms ranging from one to ten years.

The Soviet press agency TASS, in announcing the verdict, said that the defendants had "maintained illegal ties with the Government and Zionist circles of Israel," and had sent "information containing vicious slander about the position of the Jews in the Soviet Union" to Israel.

The first reports in the Western press indicated that the nine were accused of complicity in an alleged hijacking plot, for which twelve people were convicted last winter. The *New York Times* of May 21 reported that the two major defendants, Gilya I. Butman and Mikhail L. Korenblit, "were apparently not involved in that attempt directly, but were convicted for helping plan an earlier hijacking that was never carried out."

The fact that the defendants were charged first with one hijacking plot, then with another, and finally convicted of charges not relating directly to hijacking but to "anti-Soviet activity" demonstrates that the Soviet bureaucracy is concerned with more than potential hijackers.

The treatment of the accused is an ominous warning to all oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union and to opponents of the Brezhnev leadership in general.

Butman received the most severe sentence, ten years in prison camp; and Korenblit received seven years.

TASS said that Butman had been found guilty "of being one of the initiators in forming the criminal group and an active participant of a particularly grave crime against the state." Korenblit was found guilty of "participation in preparations to hijack a passenger plane." The others, except for one, were said to be implicated in the hijacking plan "in one way or another."

The sentences corresponded, with minor exceptions, to what the prosecutor had demanded.

The verdicts came as no surprise. The quality of the trial can be inferred from the statements of the defense attorneys. The *Washington Post*

of May 19 quoted from a TASS release describing the summation of Korenblit's lawyer, Yuri Buzinier, who stated that all the defendants except Korenblit were "pawns in the speculative gamble" of Israeli Zionists. Buzinier began his summation by saying that "any attempt to challenge the legality of this trial would be untenable."

TASS said that the same "point of view" about the defendants' relation to Zionism was expressed by all the other attorneys.

The defense counsel for Butman said that Butman and the others were "well aware that they are being tried for their concrete criminal offenses." The defense lawyers asked for leniency on the grounds that the defendants had acknowledged their guilt. □

Israel

Cops Attack Protest

About ten policemen and several dozen demonstrators and passersby were injured May 18, when Jerusalem police attacked a demonstration of Israeli Black Panthers. The Panthers, a militant organization composed of oriental Jews who are fighting the educational, housing, and other discrimination imposed on them, were demanding the dismissal of Minister of Police Shlomo Hillel.

The demonstration, which was joined by members of the anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization and the Israeli New Left (Siah), had a permit from the police. But when demonstrators began marching away from the rally area, cops moved in with clubs and water hoses.

According to the May 20 Paris daily *Le Monde*, some of the demonstrators then broke shop windows and tied up rush-hour traffic in the heart of Jerusalem. A five-hour battle between the cops and the demonstrators ensued.

The police attack was the first time that such massive violence has been used against Jewish dissenters in Israel. □

Declaration of Cuban Educational Congress

[Last week we published the text of Heberto Padilla's "self-criticism." Below we are publishing a declaration by the First National Congress on Education and Culture, which deals indirectly in one section with the storm of protest among pro-Cuban intellectuals in Latin America and Europe over the imprisonment of Padilla.

[The declaration is important not only because of this but because it states the current position of top government circles in Cuba on key issues in the fields of education, culture, art, and freedom of expression. It will be noted by those who have followed developments in Cuba that the new attitude veers toward a decided tightening of controls along the lines to be seen in the Soviet Union, the East European countries, and the People's Republic of China.

[The First National Congress on Education and Culture was held in Havana April 23-30. We have taken the text of the declaration from the English translation that appeared in the May 9 issue of the "Weekly Review" published by *Granma*, official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba. Subheads appear in the original.

[In our next issue, we plan to publish further materials on this subject.]

* * *

The delegates of the 1st National Congress on Education and Culture, after convening in Havana during the period April 23-30, 1971, "Year of Productivity," formulate the following

DECLARATION

This 1st National Congress on Education and Culture has resulted from a suggestion of Major Fidel Castro, our Prime Minister, which was expressed at the Assembly of Havana's Workers in Education, concerning the need to analyze and resolve the problems raised during discussions in the Assembly.

In its convocation, the Congress announced the following objectives:

To take up the concrete manifestations of educational problems at all levels and types of education.

To learn of the factors affecting the work of workers in education.

To propitiate [provide?] an opportunity so as to promote, with the creative contribution of the masses, the study of problems calling for a continued systematic and deep study for their solution.

To offer recommendations that could be the basis for the elaboration of our educational policy.

With this purpose in mind, many meetings at the grass roots and intermediate congresses at the municipal, regional and provincial levels were organized, and the people were asked to contribute ideas and projects related to education and other closely related topics.

We are pleased to announce the par-

ticipation in this Congress of 1800 delegates, representing teachers, educational, scientific and cultural agencies and institutions, and delegates from our Party, the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC), Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), Young Communist League (UJC), Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), Union of Pioneers of Cuba (UPC), and agencies dealing with production and services.

The Congress also debated and analyzed the negative cultural influences trying to penetrate our society, influences which our Revolution is meeting with decision and energy. These considerations having to do with cultural problems, which began to come up in meetings at the grass roots, made it necessary for the Congress' original objectives to be broadened and thus become the 1st National Congress on Education and Culture.

In keeping with the stated objectives, the discussion of topics on the Agenda were conducted in 11 commissions and in plenary sessions.

The body of recommendations that were approved in the general plenary sessions have been selected with care. These recommendations will be instrumental in working out Cuba's educational and cultural policy.

The main aspects that were the subject of debates, resolutions and recommendations were the following:

Absenteeism, dropping out of school and student overageness [remaining in school too long?] call for concrete and energetic measures in connection with the compulsory character of school attendance and the responsibility of both parents and pupils to the school, inasmuch as education is a right and an obligation of all.

The Congress considered, among other measures, the promotion of school activities tending to motivate the pupil to stay in school and, also, a better linking between the curricula at various levels, which will make for an eradication of the problem of pupils dropping out of school. Moreover, it is necessary to step up study work at the Centers for Guidance and Diagnosis in each of the provinces so that, in close collaboration with the teachers, the localizing [locating?] and assignment to special schools of backward students may be effected.

In a socialist society, it is necessary to create a sense of responsibility toward the care and upkeep of collective property. This attitude must be formed beginning in early childhood. In order for this to be accomplished, the child must see the constant example of those who are responsible for his training and take part in activities leading to those objectives.

The introduction of a discipline whereby the norms of socialist morality are taught

and the ill-treatment of social property is considered a demerit in the student's evaluation and in the strict fulfillment of norms regarding the care of the social property of the school are methods for developing a favorable attitude in the pupil's formation.

The many-faceted training of the student and, within this, the teaching of physical education were considered, and the vital importance of lifelong physical and sports activities for the sake of the student's health was pointed out. In this sense, it is necessary to teach wholesome habits to children in order to propitiate [promote?] their healthy development later on.

Education must combine love for the socialist homeland with love for other peoples of the world through the strengthening of activities and tasks aimed at solidarity among the men and peoples that are struggling for their liberation.

We believe that a deepening of the concept of solidarity as an attitude toward all the peoples, especially those struggling against Yankee imperialism; school programming making for a better knowledge of our own people and the peoples that constitute the vanguard of the struggle; the reestablishment of student plenary assemblies; the careful preparation of support days by the schools, making for increased sensitiveness; the creation of historical-cultural committees in every junior high school; the inclusion of topics on the peoples of Indochina and other peoples fighting Yankee aggression or rebelling against imperialist oppression are suggestions that will yield results in education for solidarity.

It is the opinion of the Congress that the creation of correct study habits in the students will fit them for a better adjustment to society and life itself. These habits are influenced by factors in the home, the school and the social environment in general.

For the purpose of improving the student's attitude toward study, we have considered the need to guide the teachers on the aptitudes of the students, the strengthening of the work of vocational guidance, the understanding of the objectives sought by the studies, the creation of conditions for the students to learn to study, the elimination of every measure promoting the practice of cramming by the students, the intensification of self-guided activities and the functional use of the basic tools of learning.

Training for the defense of the homeland has a dual purpose: teaching the handling of weapons and contributing to the integral formation of our young people.

The fulfillment of the orientations issued by our Civil Defense in the schools; giving a boost to interest clubs connected with the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR); including combat training in teacher training schools and in the universities

are some of the proposals aimed at stepping up the revolutionary military training of our young people.

The Congress considered the importance artistic education has for aesthetic-ideological development, including extending that training to all schools and levels of education.

The role of vocational guidance in the training of young people was pointed up, and the importance of the various professions was emphasized as well as the need to carry out activities to bring about a reassessment of the professions that are vital for our country's economic development, with a view to motivate the students to elect those professions.

The furnishing of timely professional information is an important element in vocational guidance, and the need to give a boost to the science clubs so as to favor the cultivation of professional aptitudes was stressed.

Training through work does not mean lopsided specialization but rather a many-faceted development within the framework of the broadest culture.

So that the new generations will have a producers consciousness and not that of a consumer, there must be programmed and periodic participation of the students in productive activities at all levels of study.

The participation of our students in productive work is a great tool of revolutionary pedagogical work and contributes to their ideological formation. It is recommended that all students of intermediate and higher levels of education take part in this activity.

The most advanced form of participation on the junior high school level are the schools in the countryside, which results from solid experience in our socio-economic reality. Young people at these schools combine productive work with study during the entire academic year, and, at the same time, they are educated and contribute their efforts to the development of the country. The partial experiences which have already been obtained must be studied and analyzed with great care.

A subject which was discussed in detail was the influence of the methods of discipline on the formation of the students. Our society needs men who are aware of the norms and values of the Revolution. This is why the relations of the adult with the child cannot be of a punitive or forced nature. Social values only become a part of conduct standards when they are understood, and when relations of solidarity, mutual respect and reciprocity are established between educator and student.

In order to increase discipline in our educational centers, the Congress feels it is necessary to improve the technical and ideological training of teachers and professors, organize seminars to guide those who work with students with behavioral problems, with better school-parent relations, use of the mass media for psycho-pedagogical guidance of parents and teachers, and the establishment of general school conduct rules.

Education should reflect and encourage the changes which result from the revolutionary transformations, both material

and of the mind; it should also, especially, guide and direct the creation of the new man and a new people, who are capable of creating superior conditions of social and individual existence while shedding the hangovers of the past. This great objective which requires explicit definitions will have to be carried out to a large extent by increasingly linking the students with work both as social practice and concrete production.

Education is not limited to specific places; it must also provide for the training of skilled workers, technicians and specialists in the work centers, for which the work centers should use their own educational forces plus the aid of educators, technicians and scientists from other schools and institutions.

In order to organize the progressive transformation of a man representative of the future, integration measures will be needed at all levels. This involves the study and application of the plans and programs which make it possible for this to be achieved and the plans and programs must not be changed too often. Some of these things were covered in discussions which included elementary school programs, foreign language specialties and several university specialties. If the process of formation through education must exist from childhood to the post-graduate level through a permanent process of study and work, personality development, integration and communication with society and other factors it is clear that, as was expressed in the Congress, there must be coordination and great educational unity.

This can only be obtained through education of the highest possible scientific level, which means the improvement of the educators as the guide and example in every field of social activity.

Scientific education is a basic part of education and requires the stimulus of research and experimentation. Great emphasis was placed on having scientific education go hand in hand with both the practice and enjoyment of all forms of cultural activity.

It was felt that the teacher in our socialist society plays a very important role and holds an important position, because he is basically responsible for the ideological formation of the new generations. As such, he must possess outstanding qualities, and we must establish strict standards for educational workers and all those who seek to enter teacher training centers.

The Congress realizes that the work of the teacher deserves a high degree of social consideration and requires the support of the people; but the teacher himself must gain the esteem of society with his hard work, educational quality and his links with the social, economic and political factors which influence the Revolution.

We must make the formation of educators a top-priority affair and take measures which guarantee the efficiency of this formation from the scientific, pedagogical and ideological points of view.

The Congress echoes the unanimous demand that the training programs for teachers of different levels and kinds of education must be uniform and that it

must be obtained as a result of the unity of the ends involved, pedagogical and ideological guidance, study plans, methodology and educational research.

It also recommends the formation of a greater number of teachers' training centers in the provinces, which makes possible the use of the resources of the scientific, cultural and artistic institutions of the community and brings the schools closer to the place of origin and possible destination of the future teachers. Although the Congress is aware of the temporary nature of the emergency teacher training plans and is of the opinion that the regular plans must develop to provide the definitive solution, it recognizes the important role played by the nongraduate teachers in our educational development, who represent the majority of all educational personnel.

We must continue the emergency plans to solve the shortage which is foreseen in the different levels and kinds of education. As a result of this the following measures must be taken: strict controls in the selection of all those who seek to become teachers; longer preparatory courses; instructors with the necessary training and experience to act as teachers; guidance, organization and control of the guided studies program; training before the start of the guided studies program to make possible the formation of study habits and adequate methods for students studying guided courses; analysis of the established evaluation system; prompt distribution and improvement of study programs and materials; organization and planning of these studies to make possible increased punctuality and more time for individual teacher-student study meetings.

The great progress in the field of science, technology and culture and the demands which the revolutionary process of national development imposes on education make it necessary for all the leading educational and technical personnel to study constantly.

For the development of a real science of education the establishment of a standard university major in education is indispensable to meet the needs posed by the development of our education and give a boost to educational research.

In view of the reality of a great number of educational workers without much experience and professional training, we must increase the technical aid which makes it possible for them to handle their job better.

The Congress has the firm belief that technical aid must reach the teacher continuously and systematically, using the most experienced teachers for this without taking them from the classrooms. The methods used in promoting teachers were reviewed and the information which should appear in their records discussed. The teachers must be evaluated on the basis of their conduct and aptitude, technical-educational and political aspects. This evaluation must be periodic and serve as the basis for the promotion of the educator. Measures should be taken to avoid having these changes affect the stability of the courses.

The delegates also considered the problem of the time of the educational worker

which is often unnecessarily used in meetings, and came to the conclusion that it is important to control the time of the teacher and establish a priority scale for the tasks which most benefit education and the revolutionary process in general.

The methods and educational means now being used in our educational system must be subject to a constant reevaluation by the Ministry of Education (MINED), with the participation of the teachers.

Experiments of pilot projects and educational research on the educational means and methods to be used must be carried out before they are adopted.

The methods of modern math teaching, the learning of reading and writing, science education on the basis of integrated processes or with the application of the modern technology of the inductive method, audiolingual and visual method for the teaching of foreign languages and other means and methods of pedagogical technology which are now being applied or tested are considered achievements although they are not exempt from problems.

Experiences which involve the application of modern methods of educational technology, in which lectures, seminars and the independent study of the student are combined with programmed self-teaching materials, as well as those having to do with remedial methods and techniques which are being carried out by instructors of intermediate and higher levels of education are considered of value and worthy of being taken into account and applied on a large-scale basis by the Ministry of Education.

Educational television was the subject of great discussion by the Congress, and recommendations based on the research which was done with a view to overcoming the existing problems and making better use of this accomplishment of Cuban education were made.

The Congress feels it is necessary for revolutionary intellectuals to turn out children's literature and works about the Cuban Revolution and its struggle against underdevelopment, for young people and adults. This was a deeply felt demand of the educators.

The single, accumulated personal file of the student which is to be in effect from preschool to the university was approved; it will show the characteristics and changes which are noticed in the process of development of the student in all aspects. The participation of the students in the plans of the Ministry of Education and the establishment of bodies and methods to guarantee the unity of the educational system was also discussed.

A large volume of information on the plans, resolutions and decisions on the higher levels of the Ministry of Education, international educational trends and other factors; promotion, control and information to the teachers on the studies and research required by our educational movement, as well as the need for mass media and other cultural institutions of the Revolution to strengthen the educational-cultural work of the teacher and the school in the formation of the new generations in our socialist country was processed.

In view of the fact that more than 630,000 students attend multigrade schools—a school organizational form resulting from the dispersion of the rural population—we must devote special attention to obtaining a more efficient functioning of this complicated and temporary type of educational institution.

The important role of school libraries as a decisive agent in the formation of the student and an integral part of the school along with the establishment of an intermediate-level technological institute for school librarians, was considered.

The existence of different school calendars and the lack of coordination between different levels as well as the need to solve this problem was pointed out.

The Congress was of the opinion that both the director and the school inspector have the political, technical and administrative responsibility in the exercise of their educational positions.

The Congress feels that the people are not only the object of massive, continuous and integral education but also the protagonists, an important fact possible only in a revolutionary process; and that the popular educational organizations are the ideal device to coordinate and organize popular action aimed at giving a boost to education and solving its problems.

In view of this, the delegates warmly support the document worked out by the Revolutionary Leadership, which establishes the structure and role of the popular educational organizations.

The Congress recognizes the need for movements such as the "Exemplary Parents," "Brigades of Fighting Mothers for Education" and the "School Sponsorship," warmly saluting them.

These movements are an objective example of all that mass organizations can do through their effective participation. They must be given wide publicity, and members must be encouraged; adequate ties between schools and the work centers, farm bases, Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and other agencies which represent the workers, farmers, women and students must be established.

The Congress especially points out that the mass organizations represented in the popular educational organizations should view the recruitment of students for the teacher-training courses as one of their most important tasks; and, through their channels, they should establish close ties with the families of the students, thus making possible mutual aid and cooperation in the training of the students.

The delegates to this Congress feel that the popular educational organizations are making a great contribution towards the solution of the social problems of the educational worker.

The Congress feels that the popular educational organizations, and particularly the School Councils, should actively participate in ideological work in the area of the school, both in the analysis of the problems and in the measures which are to be taken for their solution.

To better handle this task, the educational and ideological improvement of those doing educational work in the mass organizations and the members of the

popular educational organizations should be systematized with adequate methods. So that this improvement will not be ineffective, it is recommended that the organizations stabilize the situation of these cadres by not changing them too often.

Environmental Conditions

The Congress made a detailed analysis of the influence of the environment on education.

The following subjects were discussed:
— Links between the home and the school.

— Relations between the centers of production and the schools in the community.

— Fashions, habits and extravagant conduct.

— Religion.

— Juvenile delinquency.

— Sex.

— Use of the free time of the student in extracurricular activities in the community.

— Mass media.

— Cultural activity.

The Congress approved the following in each of these fields:

Links Between the Home and the School

1.— That the School Councils must be strengthened in order to get them to play a more direct role in the education of the parents of the children. In places where there is a need for them, we must set up Parents' Schools in general education to the extent this is possible. These will be under the administration of the School Councils; not as an independent institution, but rather as a program of activities, in the broad educational sense of the word, aimed at the comprehensive formation of the student with full development of his mental, physical and social health.

2.— That all resources which exist in the community should participate in the education of the parents, in keeping with the possibilities available to the political and mass organizations.

3.— That publicity should be given to the family-school, parent-child and community-school relations as formative elements in our society as a whole, pointing out the importance of these relations, which we must do our best to make immediately functional.

4.— The family has taken on a role in our society as it links up with collective institutions, making possible the integral formation of man and the construction of socialism. The need to rapidly strengthen the economic base of the country to the greatest possible degree promotes the massive development of men and women. The family structure changes as a result of the mobilization of social factors, and the socialist society makes it possible for the family to serve as the link between children and young people on the one hand, and the social environment, on the other.

5.— That overage and backwardness result from absenteeism and drop-outs which in turn lead to behavioral

problems and that overageness and backwardness are found in most cases of juvenile delinquency.

6.— That the Revolution, in attaching greater importance to the role of the school, made the work of the teacher more dignified and on many occasions reaffirmed the importance of the teacher and his work in the ideological formation of the new generations. The conduct of the teacher and his revolutionary attitude will lead society to recognize his authority.

7.— That the existence of mentally deficient students on different levels, the effects of overageness on the poor academic performance of the students, and the great influence exerted by these factors in the various aspects of misconduct moves the Congress to propose:

a) The number of institutions for the admittance and care of the most acute cases of mental retardation be increased to the extent that they become necessary.

b) That, within our possibilities, a number of new special schools be created, for the accommodation of mentally retarded children.

c) That, with a view to improving the academic performance of students suffering from minor mental disorders as well as those considered to be borderline cases now attending regular schools, the number of specialized institutions be increased within the existing possibilities.

d) That, considering the situation with respect to those students with irregular conduct at the various educational levels, a study be made of the possibilities for creating schools for the treatment of this type of pathology.

8.— That both parents and teachers have an inherent social responsibility in the education of a student, since any type of misbehavior on the part of one or the other will immediately reflect on the behavior of the student. Hence, the bonds of cooperation, understanding and harmony between parents and teacher must necessarily be strengthened.

9.— That it is evident that parents should be taught health habits, considering that bad health habits learned at home can be transmitted to other students, to the detriment of their health.

Relations Between the Centers of Production and the Schools of the Community

The Ministry of Education is invested with the responsibility to impart the knowledge of technology and science to the young generation, utilizing to this end the best educational resources in an efficient, useful, active and functional manner. The high degree of technology required by industry, agriculture and cattle raising poses the need for the kind of student training that will result in an efficient development of production.

Considering the importance that the centers of technological studies have in the development of our country, relations between these centers and the production enterprises in each community are of vital importance, not only because of basic resources for study that exist in the centers connected with the various branches of our economy but also because of the prac-

tical experience that the workshops and their technicians can offer to our students. It is of vital importance that the theoretical study of various subjects be so arranged that it will not limit the student's research to one specific field.

Instruction and practical training must go hand in hand in the study of technology; the relationship between the student and the activities of production constitutes an economic achievement which not only combines work and study but also establishes the fundamental social bond between the school and the factory. Practice is based on experimentation, developing a capacity for criticism that makes it possible for the students to have a vision of the modern processes of production and develop a trained mind, which results in high productivity.

Another necessary link is that between the centers of technological training and the research agencies, for the purpose of incorporating both graduates who are going to teach and working teachers in close, daily collaboration in their research work.

The various proposals examined by the commission handling this matter alert us, with a series of concrete situations, to the need for overcoming the present weaknesses that exist in relations between the technological schools and the centers of production, research and experimentation. In a number of cases, the practical knowledge of the graduate is not used to the fullest advantage, because he is not placed where his services will be employed most efficiently. However, in general, pre-professional practice has been quite successful.

The proposals adopted range from petition for sponsorship to the establishment of a liaison between factories and schools, between the centers of technological and professional teaching and the ministries and enterprises of kindred fields, which would advantageously solve many problems related to the improvement and training of technical personnel, coaching, technical aid, research, placing of graduates and the joint analysis of the syllabuses. All of this would be of value for the country's economic development.

Among other points, the following have been especially recommended: that a policy be implemented to strengthen school-production bonds; that the institutions and enterprises should insist on the continuation of the technical development of the graduates, and that, at the same time, the schools should keep in touch with the graduates and show an interest in their production activities. It is recommended that the student's practical work in productive centers be oriented toward training and learning. Another recommendation is the incorporation into production of the teachers of technical subjects, according to specialization, and that those graduates selected to be teachers should spend some time in research centers of their specialization before starting the actual practice of teaching.

Recommendations that touch on other aspects of the discussion deal with the help that students could give workers who have a low cultural level and with the attention and encouragement that should be given to workers who are studying

under the adult education program.

It is also recommended that there be an exchange of visits between the young people studying in the various workshops and production centers, and approval was given to the advantageous and necessary close coordination between the Ministry of Education, which is responsible for the technical side of the school-workshops, and the administration of the production centers.

Finally, it is worth pointing out the agreement concerning the visits by schoolchildren to production centers for the purpose of facilitating their future professional orientation by acquiring some first-hand knowledge of the process of production.

Fashions, Customs, and Extravagant Behavior

The consensus was that the fundamental aspect to be taken into consideration in evaluating a young person in relation to the Revolution must be his or her social attitude, that is to say, participation in the collective effort made toward the revolutionary transformation of society. Fashions, customs, etc., were thoroughly examined from a sociological, ideological and political viewpoint.

The opinion was that, although it is true that certain forms of extravagant behavior, exhibitionism, etc. should not constitute a focus of attention for the Revolution, since they are limited to minority and generally marginal groups, yet the necessity of maintaining the monolithic ideological unity of our people and the struggle against all forms of deviation among our young make it imperative to implement a series of measures for their eradication.

Fashion was examined from its social aspect as a form of attire, its natural evolution and the need for the development of fashion guidelines by specialized state agencies. A distinction was established between the foregoing and the extravagances that in some cases spring from an indis-

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criminate assimilation of fashions displayed by foreign groups and in others from the counterrevolutionary attitude of minigroups that use them as means of identification among themselves and as protest against the Revolution. In both cases, it was decided that direct confrontation and elimination was necessary.

Attention was called to extravagant groups abroad and their role in the rotten bourgeois society where, although they are not necessarily an expression of revolutionary opposition but rather one of escape from the alienating effect of that society, nevertheless, they do contain a germ of protest. Such antagonism against the capitalist system cannot in any way serve as either an example or a stimulus for our youth, who have the possibility for self-fulfillment in building communism.

The following conclusions were drawn from the debate:

1. The Revolution should take into account the social phenomenon of fashion within the framework of our economic, environmental and ideological characteristics.

2. In studying this phenomenon of fashion, customs and extravagant behavior, we reaffirm the need for maintaining the monolithic ideological unity of our people and the battle against any form of deviation among the youth.

3. We find it necessary to take direct action to eliminate extravagant aberrations.

4. The Revolution must promote a policy consistent with fashion which, by positive action, will neutralize or curb the influx of fashion trends originating in highly developed capitalist countries where their economic, business and ideological base must be taken into account, as well as the fact that, if we accept such trends indiscriminately, they can become a factor of cultural dependency.

5. In view of the influence of certain fashions that are considered to represent a manifestation of rebellion by youth, a campaign should be undertaken to explain the origin, development and assimilation of this phenomenon and its exportation by the decadent societies which pass it on, deforming and commercializing it in a final attempt at cultural colonialization.

Religion

1.—It was clearly established that the activities of the different religions do not constitute an important problem in the ideological development of our people, nor do they affect our society, which is firmly united and active in the building of socialism.

The religious picture in our country was thoroughly examined: its complexity, the attitude of each church, sect and religious group, with the Revolution's correct attitude with respect to each one being clearly established. The following major sects were given particular attention because of their activities in opposition to the Revolution:

a) Jehovah's Witnesses—Its origin, ideological and political dependence on its international center, located in the United States, methods of work, content of its literature and concrete way of operat-

ing in our rural areas.

b) Evangelical Gideon's Band (*Bati-blancos*)—A declining group, carrying on openly counterrevolutionary activities.

c) Seventh-day Adventists—Most outstanding peculiarity: they do not engage in any activities on Saturday (do not work or send their children to school, etc.)

The regions where the influence of these sects is greatest were closely analyzed, and it was definitely established that their influence over the population depends on the following:

a) The method used by their members is to approach the farmers, offering them their help and assistance, sometimes working zealously in this connection.

b) The educational level of the people they approach.

c) The indisputable fact that any time that a group or sect succeeds in penetrating and winning over a small sector of our population it is because, in that particular spot, the work of the political, administrative, mass and educational organizations has been poor.

It was also clearly established that there is ample evidence to prove that the integral revolutionary work carried out by our Party, mass organizations, political organizations and the schools—drawing closer to the people, listening to their problems, showing a feeling for their concerns and difficulties and an interest in their educational improvement—has eliminated the influence of these sects in many areas.

The concrete situation of the Catholic church in our country was also analyzed in the light of the worldwide movement for its reform, the ecclesiastical hierarchy's attitude toward the revolutionary process and the role played today in our continent by the revolutionary movement in certain Catholic sectors, whose criterion is our Revolution. The trend of certain Catholic groups to separate socio-economic from philosophic problems—which makes possible and even stimulates individual contributions in activities connected with the Revolution's economic construction—together with our policy of welcoming everybody's participation in revolutionary work, opens the door to them.

The question was also raised as to the Church's activities among the children and its organization of sports events, festivals, etc., pointing out that this results from our deficiencies in this field, from our failure to use the enormous potentials of the Revolution, which are available to the political, mass and school organizations, and from our weakness in ideological and political practical activities. A factor in the definitive solution to these problems will be the programming of extracurricular activities, attention to organized and leisure time and recreation for children and young people as a policy to be followed.

2.—The Revolution's policy with respect to religious activity is based on the following principles:

a) The religious phenomenon is not to be considered as the center or element of priority in our task. Our fundamental effort must be directed at constructing socialist society, with the obligation in this specific case, however, of guiding and defining the steps the Revolution must take

in its ideological battle.

b) Complete separation of State-Church, School-Church in all fields.

c) No encouragement, support or help will be given to any religious group, or any favors asked of them.

d) We neither share any religious belief nor support any religious group, nor participate in any cult.

e) The Revolution respects religious beliefs and cults as an individual right. The Revolution does not impose nor persecute nor repress anyone for religious beliefs.

f) With socialist construction as its focus, the Revolution offers possibilities and opportunities in its work of transformation to all and everyone independent of whether or not they profess religious beliefs.

g) The obscurantist and counterrevolutionary sects must be unmasked and fought.

3.—The Revolution's fundamental weapon of combat is defined as:

a) Scientific teaching in the school to combat lies, superstition, charlatany and counterrevolutionary fraud.

b) The Revolution's accomplishments: the profound changes in the social, economic and political fields.

4.—Finally, it is noted that, as Marxist-Leninists and materialists, we must not follow a clumsy antireligious line but rather that of scientific teaching, raising the cultural level of the people and placing at the disposal of our teachers the right kind of educational material for this purpose.

[To be continued.]

Who Will Police the Police?

One of the resolutions of the Twenty-fourth congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union called for a "struggle against violations of labor discipline, greed, hedonism, thefts, corruption and drunkenness."

Several first secretaries of regional Communist parties in the USSR have complained of "pilfering of public property," "embezzlement," "bribery," "hooliganism," and "immoral acts among students," according to an article by Paul Wohl in the May 1 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Dinmukhamed A. Kunayev, the first secretary of the Kazakhstan party and a new addition to the Political Bureau, claimed that "some Communists made use of their official position for mercenary motives."

The *Literaturnaia Gazeta* revealed recently that 8,000,000 books were stolen from Soviet libraries during 1969. *Trud*, the daily paper of the Soviet trade unions, claimed in August that the city of Odessa had become a center of smuggling.

It is a long-standing fact that the Soviet bureaucracy has been unable to develop a socialist morality in the USSR. Now, according to Wohl, some party leaders are suggesting that one way of dealing with the problem of crime in the Soviet Union is to reinforce the KGB and other security agencies with "politically mature and qualified cadres." Which would, to paraphrase Malcolm X, be like appointing a fox to guard the chicken coop. □