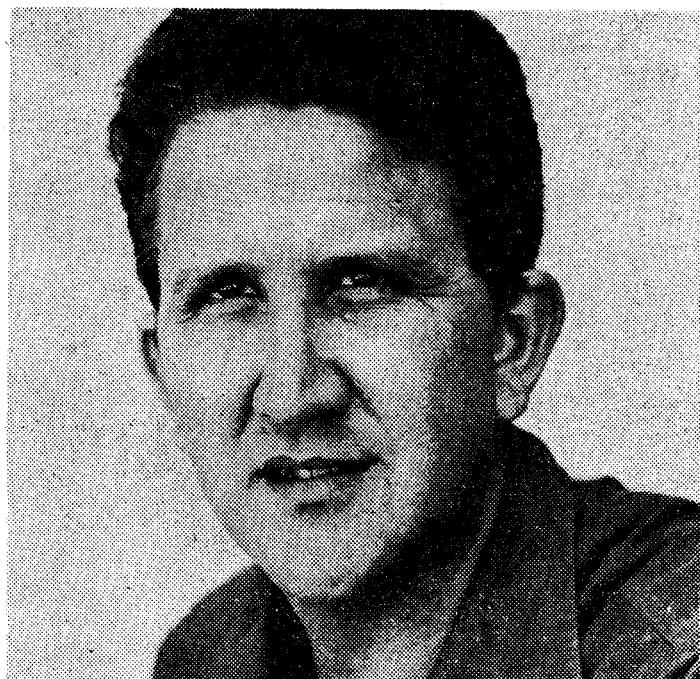


On Heberto Padilla:

Jose Yglesias Puts the Case in Focus



PADILLA: Prison helped him confess that his prize-winning poems were counterrevolutionary.

Seale, Huggins Freed

Labour's Victory in British Elections

Moscow's View of Repression in Ceylon

Mylai Not Unusual

Colonel Oran K. Henderson appears not to understand what all the fuss is about. Henderson, the highest-ranking officer still facing charges in connection with the Mylai massacre, took time to discuss the case with reporters May 24 during a break in hearings that are supposed to decide if he should be brought to trial for concealing information about the massacre.

United Press International quoted the colonel, who commanded the Americal Division's Eleventh Brigade at the time of the slaughter of hundreds of unarmed peasants, as saying: "Every unit of brigade size has its Mylai hidden someplace."

The only peculiarity about his brigade's Mylai, Henderson added, was the existence of Ronald Ridenhour, the veteran who brought the case to public attention.

Henderson has consistently denied that he covered up information about the massacre. The United Press International report noted:

"Henderson stressed he had been completely honest with his superiors in reporting what happened at Mylai, but that the Army's official investigation headed by Lt. Gen. William R. Peers 'chose to believe the worst' about the incident.

"Henry Rothblatt, Henderson's civilian lawyer, was more blunt. He said Peers was ordered 'to make out a case to pick out the logical guy to take [army chief of staff William] Westmoreland off the hook.'" □

Spain's Radioactive Rivers

According to the monarchist daily *ABC*, three rivers in the Madrid area, the Manzanares, Jarama, and Tagus, contain excessive amounts of radioactive wastes. Lands bordering the three rivers contain excessive amounts of cesium 137 and strontium 90.

The Spanish Nuclear Energy Commission admitted April 30 that radioactivity had gone beyond "normal limits" near the Juan Vigon nuclear power station last November, but "there was never any need to take unusual steps, nor to prohibit the consumption of produce grown on the banks of the rivers or irrigated with their water."

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EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

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

MANAGING EDITOR: Les Evans.

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

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

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

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

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The Kremlin's Version of the Repression in Ceylon

By Gerry Foley

"Ceylon loomed up quickly out of the left porthole as our plane reached its cruising altitude after taking off from Madras," correspondent V. Shurygin wrote in the May 19 issue of *Pravda*. "I could see sandy dunes, a narrow yellow strip of beach, and beyond that, in the heart of the island, a green realm of rice fields, coco palms, tea and rubber plantations, and tropical jungles."

It was still the tourist season, Shurygin noted, but "there were unusually few passengers in the airplane. Recent events had disturbed the peaceful life of this island and its thirteen million inhabitants."

The tropical paradise was threatened by "extremists," Shurygin explained. "At the beginning of April groups of extremists made an attempt to overthrow the government and seize power in the country. On the night of April 5-6, units armed with homemade grenades attacked hundreds of police stations located in various regions of the island.

"Measures taken by the government prevented the rebels from achieving the main objective of the plan worked out by their leaders—seizing the capital. Nonetheless, in the first days after the rebellion, the situation on Ceylon was quite difficult. The unexpectedness of the attack enabled the extremists to gain temporary successes in some areas. . . .

"In the battle with the rebels, the army and police were mobilized and a twenty-four-hour curfew imposed. The regime appealed to foreign governments for arms. By the middle of April the regime was in control of the situation."

Shurygin failed to note that the Soviet Union was one of the "foreign governments" that came to the rescue, along with the bloodthirsty Pakistani dictatorship.

This omission was all the more notable because the Ceylonese regime has not missed any opportunities to express its gratitude for Moscow's help. For example, in an interview published in the May 26 *Le Monde*,

Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike told correspondent Jacques Decornoy: "I said April 24, 'We do not intend to remain in our past state of military unpreparedness. Immediate reinforcement of all our security forces will require appropriating considerable money, and our resources are limited.'

"Since the terrorist movement was unleashed, the government has intended to strengthen and equip its security forces adequately, in order to enable them to face situations of this type. This will require buying the essential equipment abroad. Bids have been received from many countries. The USSR offered us very favorable conditions for delivering different types of matériel and we accepted them. The authorities in charge of defense decide what materials they need and how they will be used."

A report in the May 4 London *Daily Telegraph* indicated that the Kremlin is supplying the Colombo government with the kind of matériel needed to wage mass terror against the population in areas where the rebels are active. Correspondent Clare Hollingworth wrote from the Ceylonese capital: "Teams of workmen are moving Russian 500-lb bombs into hangars at the Colombo airport to load on to Russian supplied MiG 17s.

"Although there are no suitable targets for these bombs in any rebel-occupied areas their preparation indicates that the armed forces are proposing to use any means to end the revolt when the amnesty period finishes tonight."

In its generosity, the Kremlin did not overlook the section of Bandaranaike's "security forces" most hated for its cruelty in repressing the rebel youth: "Soviet aircraft also flew in the first consignment of radio equipment for Ceylon police," Hollingworth wrote in the May 8 *Daily Telegraph*. "The police have been hampered during the emergency by the lack of a modern communications network."

Another reason for noting Shurygin's failure to mention the Kremlin's

help in putting down the rebellion is that he repeated the Ceylon government's war propaganda point for point.

The uprising came three weeks after the "left front" regime began an all-out campaign of repression against the JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front]. Thus, it cannot have been completely "unexpected." Of course the government may not have expected the JVP's desperate resistance to be so extensive.

In this context also, it is unlikely that the JVP planned to seize Colombo, where it reportedly has few forces. This story is well designed, however, to justify draconian repressive measures.

About half of Shurygin's article was devoted to praising the Colombo regime. In particular, he pointed admiringly to the growth of the public sector of the economy: "The enterprises in the public sector built with the aid of the Soviet Union are playing an important role in the economy. . . . A number of plants are being built with the cooperation of other socialist countries."

In underdeveloped countries such as Ceylon, where the native bourgeoisie is weak or nonexistent, state-owned industries serve to strengthen the local ruling class. Thus, it seems, the Soviet Union is not only willing to arm the repressive forces of the bourgeois regime in Colombo. It is also eager to strengthen its class base.

In his attempt to praise the "progressive" character of the Ceylonese coalition government, Shurygin could point to few concrete achievements of the new regime, other than promises. "Of course there has not been much time since the elections [held eleven months ago] to come to any conclusions about the palpable results of the coalition government's activity," he explained.

Besides the growth of the state sector, the Soviet journalist could mention only such "progressive measures" as import restrictions (a common expedient in backward countries to save

foreign exchange and help assure profits to local business enterprises) and Colombo's diplomatic recognition of a series of "socialist countries."

As a further extenuating factor, Shurygin noted that Ceylon's yearly payment on its debt to Western capitalists absorbs 45 percent of its income from exports. This has been one of the main reasons, he indicated, for the regime's failure to make good on its campaign promises. The logical conclusion from this fact has been drawn, in fact, by the JVP—only a socialist regime, breaking from imperialism, can develop the country. Shurygin apparently drew another.

After making this observation, the Soviet journalist quoted Bandaranaike to the effect that the cost of suppressing the rebellion has increased the government's financial difficulties.

Shurygin wrote that "reactionary forces" had opposed the government's progressive measures. The line of his article departed here, however, from the pattern of typical Stalinist apologies for suppression of revolutionary struggles. He did not explicitly say that the rebels were in league with these reactionary interests, even though the headline over his piece was "Extremists and the Maneuvers of the Reactionaries."

Instead, Shurygin made this allegation indirectly, quoting a member of the most left-appearing component of the ruling popular front—the Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP). "In the *Ceylon Daily News*, Minister of Communications Leslie Goonewardene wrote that the most the rebels could achieve was to create chaos in the country. That is exactly what the rightist forces wanted. It was not by accident, Goonewardene continued, that on the heels of April 5 the reaction began a propaganda campaign that the government was incapable of controlling the situation and should therefore resign."

Goonewardene, like the other leaders of the majority of the old LSSP, expelled from the Fourth International in 1964, has a Trotskyist past. The LSSP leaders no longer make a pretense of being Trotskyists. But they have not explicitly denounced Trotskyism. It is rare, moreover, for anyone even remotely identified with Trotskyism to be quoted with approval in the Stalinist press of any country.

It is still more unusual in the organ of the Soviet CP.

With the Stalinist parties under sharpening attack from the new generation of rebels for their counterrevolutionary role around the world, Shurygin may have considered it useful this time to let a renegade from Trotskyism give the standard "left" opportunist apology for the repression of the Ceylonese rebel youth. In any case there was much for a Stalinist to admire in Goonewardene's article in the April 27 *Ceylon Daily News*.

For example, the minister of communications wrote: "The swift growth of the Janata Vimukti Peramuna after the popular electoral victory of May 1970 points to financial and other help which may have been forthcoming from frustrated reactionary forces."

Goonewardene praised the government for its "fortitude and firmness" in putting down the rebellion. He denounced as a "vicious and false rumor" the reports that have appeared in the international press about the repressive forces slaughtering rebel prisoners.

Goonewardene displayed more skill

and awareness than the typical Stalinist hack in carrying out his dirty propaganda assignment. It would be difficult, he claimed, to prevent a "senseless massacre or cruel vengeance following the defeat of the uprising . . . considering both the reaction of the people against the insurrectionists and the nature of the apparatus that the Government is still compelled to use."

The minister of communications remembered that the police and army now being beefed up by Soviet aid are reactionary bourgeois forces. What he seems to have forgotten, however, is that if the population really opposed the rebellion, the best way to meet the threat would be to arm the people to defend themselves. Surely, the armed masses could deal with misguided provocateurs better than rightist-oriented bourgeois repressive forces!

Since the minister of communications has not proposed this, one wonders if he is not afraid the masses would point their guns toward him and his fellow ministers—instead of at the Trotskyists of the LSSP (Revolutionary) and the young rebels of the JVP, from whom he has cut himself off by a line of blood. □

'Influence of the Western Drug Culture'

Israel Nears 'Normality' in Crime Rate

In the 1920s the Israeli poet Haim Bialik said that when he could see a Jewish thief and a Jewish prostitute on the streets of Tel Aviv, he would know that Israel was liberated—that the "normal" Jewish nation had been created.

A rise in the Israeli crime rate suggests that liberation is at hand.

Crime, which was extremely rare in 1949, is today a major concern of the Zionist government, according to a May 9 *London Times* report by Michael Deacon.

Cases of assault and bodily harm rose from 1,866 in 1950 to 5,858 in 1969. Arrests for possession of drugs increased from 102 to 1,045; and for housebreaking, from 4,110 to 24,215 during the same period. In 1950 the juvenile courts dealt with 749 cases; in 1969, with 5,466. (The population

of Israel rose from 1,000,000 to 2,500,000 during these nineteen years.)

"Since the six-day war [June 1967], Israel has become one of the main channels for the Lebanese hashish traffic . . . at the same time as the influence of the Western drug culture has been rising," Deacon reports. He suggests that the rise in violent crime can be attributed in part to the fact that the Israeli population "is not only accustomed to the use of firearms and the threat of violence but actually spends part of each year carrying arms and ammunition at all times."

The government is especially concerned about the threat of increasing use of drugs among the youth. In the opinion of Israeli sociologist Menahem Horovitz: "We simply cannot afford for any of our soldiers to use drugs, or go to jail." □

The Kidnapping of Stanley Sylvester

Stanley M. F. Sylvester, the fifty-eight-year-old manager of the Swift de la Plata meat-packing company in Rosario, Argentina, was released May 30 after being held by guerrillas since May 23.

In addition to his managerial activities, Sylvester served as honorary British consul in Rosario. But the British government apparently never went beyond expressing "deep concern" over the kidnapping, remaining largely indifferent to his fate.

Swift de la Plata is owned by a subsidiary of Deltec International, Ltd., which is chartered in Canada and has headquarters in the Bahamas.

According to press dispatches, Sylvester was seized by members of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Army of the People) as he backed his car out of his garage at 9:30 a.m. on the way to buy bread for his family.

The ERP later left a communiqué in the Rosario Tavern addressed "to the people," explaining that Sylvester had been "detained and placed at the disposal of popular justice" as part of a "week of homage to Luis Norberto Blanco."

Blanco was a fifteen-year-old student killed by the police on May 21, 1969, during the turbulent events in Rosario and other Argentine cities at that time.

On May 25, a woman claiming to be a member of the ERP telephoned Mrs. Sylvester to tell her that her husband was well and in good spirits.

Latin American correspondent James Nelson Goodsell reported in the May 25 issue of *The Christian Science Monitor*:

"The abduction of Mr. Sylvester set off a major hunt by Argentine police and army forces throughout Rosario. The Lanusse government, after contending that terrorism is on the wane in Argentina, wants to prevent the Sylvester case from dragging on the way the Jackson kidnapping in Uruguay is doing.

"At the same time, General Lanusse remembers the kidnapping-murder of Argentine Gen. Pedro Eugenio Aramburu last May which was a factor in bringing down the military gov-



STANLEY M. F. SYLVESTER

ernment of Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía in June, 1970.

"Ironically, General Lanusse was instrumental in the ouster of General Onganía partly on the grounds that the Onganía government had not been able to prevent the Aramburu kidnapping, and then had not been able to locate the hideout where the general was held before he was killed."

In response to a statement by Sylvester's wife that her husband "has no enemies," the ERP issued a communiqué which was quoted as follows in the May 26 issue of *The Washington Post*:

"It is the people who have enemies. Their enemies are the exploiters, the large North American companies and the military dictatorship who sink our country in misery, injustice and oppression, and Mr. Sylvester is one of those enemies of the people."

On May 28, the ERP demanded a ransom of \$62,500 in food and clothing for the poor in Rosario in exchange for the safe release of Sylves-

ter. The ERP also demanded that working conditions be improved in the meat-packing plant.

The plant management agreed to the ransom and began distributing food and clothing on May 30. The press failed to report whether the company had agreed to improve working conditions, as demanded.

The ERP is credited with having carried out one of the largest bank raids in Argentine history when it seized an armored truck last February and got away with \$302,500.

Some weeks later it seized a radio station in Córdoba and broadcast a ten-minute proclamation to "continue the revolutionary struggle."

The May 25 *Washington Post* described the ERP as follows:

"The group mixes violence with largesse in typical Robin Hood-style raids. In Rosario it hijacked a truck carrying 2,400 bottles of milk last year and distributed the milk to the inhabitants of a shanty town, urging them to return the empties."

The leaders of the ERP, in a statement published in the January-February issue of the Buenos Aires magazine *Cristianismo y Revolución* (Christianity and Revolution), reported that the ERP was set up by the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party—the Argentine section of the Fourth International). Their party advanced, they said, "incorporating the experience of the continental revolution in the decade of the seventies, incorporating and discussing the principles of 'Maoism,' and the propositions of 'Marighelism' and of the 'Tupamaros,' thus indicating its permanent radicalization."

The ERP traces its ideology to another figure as well. As part of its publicity in connection with the kidnapping, the group released a photograph of Sylvester standing against a banner. This consisted of a huge star in which the letters "ERP" were centered. Between two of the points of the star, and directly above the head of the manager of Swift de la Plata, a poster image of Comandante Ernesto Guevara was placed.

The symbolism was apt. After all, Argentina is Che's native land.

As for Sylvester, he reported that the guerrillas treated him courteously and well, and that he had no complaint to offer. □

Prolonged Enthusiastic Applause Broke Out

"Comrade L. I. Brezhnev brought greetings from the Central Committee of the KPSS [Kommunisticheskaia Partia Sovetskogo Soiuza—Communist party of the Soviet Union] to the Fourteenth Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist party," the May 27 issue of *Pravda* reported. "Once again prolonged enthusiastic applause broke out in the hall. The delegates chanted: 'Long Live the KPSS!' 'Friendship!' 'With the Soviet Union Forever!'"

In a congress notable for its interminable reports, Brezhnev's speech was relatively short and to the point. Its purpose was to salute the "normalization" of the Czech party and to accept the plaudits of the Czechoslovak Stalinists for invading and occupying the country in August 1968.

The Kremlin chief's rhetoric was in the ponderous style of his teacher Stalin, as befitted the occasion. But, according to the transcript published in *Pravda*, it evoked wild enthusiasm from the representatives of the Czechoslovak party apparatus propped up by Soviet bayonets.

"Now it is clear to all that your party has emerged triumphant from severe trials," Brezhnev told the delegates. "Its best forces, its hard core, has withstood the test of battle with honor. (*Stormy applause.*) They have blocked the flood of anti-Soviet hysteria and bourgeois nationalist intoxication. . . ."

"As Comrade Husak very rightly said here, this is the achievement of thousands and thousands of Czechoslovak Communists who in a difficult time displayed their principles, determination, and steadfastness in defending everything that generations of revolutionists in your country fought for. . . ."

"Hardened in class struggles, the Communist party of Czechoslovakia will assuredly lead the workers to new triumphs in building socialism. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic stands today before the entire world as a solid link in the great union of peoples building a new life, and no one will ever succeed in tearing



BREZHNEV: Receives well-earned plaudits . . . as Soviet troops stand by.

Czechoslovakia from the socialist camp or in destroying our brotherhood and friendship. (*Stormy applause. Everyone rises. The delegates chant: 'Long Live the KPSS!' 'Friendship!'*). . .

"Dear friends, let me express deep gratitude to Comrade Gustav Husak (*applause*) and the other comrades who have spoken here, to all of you for your high estimation of the work of our party and the internationalist character of its policy, of the resolutions of our Twenty-fourth Congress. The appreciation of friends is an inspiring thing and demands acknowledgment. Let me assure you that the Soviet Communists, true to Lenin's heritage, will always prove worthy of the trust of their friends in the common struggle for socialism and communism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. The delegates chant: 'Friendship!' 'Hurrah!'*). . .

"Let the friendship of the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples grow and strengthen from year to year! (*Stormy prolonged applause. Voices ring out: 'Friendship!' 'Friendship!' 'Friendship!'*)"

The report to the congress by Gustav Husak, chairman of the Czechoslovak CP, given the day before, had lasted more than five hours. Turning toward Brezhnev at one point in his speech, the May 27-28 issue of *Le Monde* reported, Husak thanked the Kremlin boss personally for having "understood the fears of the Czechoslovak Communists who called for aid."

Next Husak denounced "the rightist majority of the party leadership" in 1968 for having "crowned its open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by trying to camouflage the truth about this international assistance by its famous declaration of August 21, which cruelly damaged our country and the interests of international communism."

In intervening militarily, Husak said, the USSR had "responded to the appeal of many representatives of the party and state and of many Communists and workers' collectives."

Husak did not explain why government and party authorities failed to publish the names of the few ultra-Stalinist bureaucrats who signed this appeal until more than two years after the occupation. More importantly, perhaps, he did not explain why he himself, Dubcek's deputy premier, was not among this "principled hard core."

As Husak gave his blessing to the August intervention, *Le Monde* reported, "Brezhnev rose, followed by Honcker, Kadar, Gierek, and Zhivkov" [heads of the Warsaw Pact CPs] to receive the applause of the delegates.

Although Husak had pledged to continue the "post-January policy" when he assumed power, he now criticized the Novotny regime, ousted at the beginning of 1968, for being soft on "revisionism." That is, he attacked Novotny, the most unyielding Stalinist of the post-Stalin East European chiefs, from the right.

In the midst of his long, turgid report, Husak did seem to acknowledge that the Czechoslovak press had lost some of its liveliness as a result of the normalization. It was necessary now, he said, "to raise its professional level, so that it will become attractive, colorful, instructive, and amusing."

This promise was doubtless appreciated by the Czechoslovak people watching the party congress, which was televised for the first time. Having seen the evolution of Husak, one of the anti-Stalinist reformers in 1968, they must have felt a certain irony,

however, at Brezhnev's praise of the "principled hard core" of the Czechoslovak CP.

In fact this succession of vacuous, glaringly hypocritical speeches made the congress into a ceremony of national humiliation and burial of communist principles. "Hundreds of extra policemen and soldiers with sub-machine guns patrolled the streets," AP reported May 24.

"With all the time taken up by the reading of greetings from foreign delegations and political and economic reports, little remained for really discussing problems," the May 25 *Le Monde* remarked. □

Ask Condemnation of 1968 Invasion

Five exiled Czechoslovakian leaders appealed to the Communist parties invited to the Czech CP congress to "express clearly their disagreement with the military invasion of August 1968, and its consequences."

The five, all delegates to the fourteenth party congress which was held secretly in Prague the day after the Soviet invasion, were Eduard Goldstücker, former president of the Czechoslovak Writers' Union; Zdenek Hejzlar, who was director of the radio services; Jiri Pelikan, former head of the state television service and chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission; Josef Pokstefl, former professor of law at Charles University; and Ota Sik, the well-known economist who was Dubcek's deputy prime minister.

At a May 10 Paris press conference, Pelikan said that the five were also speaking in the name of "comrades who cannot express themselves freely."

He pointed to the recent political trials in Czechoslovakia and said that the lack of reaction among foreign Communist parties was encouraging the regime to conduct more trials.

All five charged that the congress would not be genuinely representative of the party, but only of the minority that supports the policies of the Russian-imposed leadership.

Pelikan said that he especially hoped that the foreign CPs that opposed the invasion in 1968 would reiterate that stand at the congress. □

Seale, Huggins Freed

Panther Murder Charges Dismissed



BOBBY SEALE

"With the massive publicity attendant upon the trial just completed," Judge Harold Mulvey declared May 25, "I find it impossible to believe that an unbiased jury could be selected without superhuman efforts which this court, the state and these defendants should not be called upon either to make or endure."

With that ruling, the judge dismissed all charges against Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in the New Haven, Connecticut, murder-conspiracy trial. The decision, which represented a major victory against the government's attempts to smash the Black Panther party, came one day after Mulvey had declared a mistrial following an apparent deadlock in jury deliberations.

Seale, the party's national chairman, had been held twenty-one months in connection with the trial. Huggins, a member of the New Haven Panthers, had been imprisoned for two years. The charges against them included aiding and abetting murder, and kidnapping resulting in death, both of which are capital crimes in Connecticut.

The charges stemmed from the May 1969 killing of Alex Rackley, a Panther member murdered, in the government's version, because he was sus-

pected of being a police informer. The prosecution accused Seale of having ordered the killing and Huggins of having helped to carry it out.

The state's chief witness was George Sams, a Panther member who pleaded guilty to second-degree murder in the case. Sams was the only witness to connect Seale with the killing, and his testimony was contradicted not only by defense witnesses but also by Warren Kimbro, who likewise pleaded guilty to second-degree murder and testified for the prosecution.

In announcing his decision, Mulvey pointed out that the prosecution had "put its best foot forward," but "failed to convince a jury of their guilt." In fact, the overwhelming majority of the jurors voted for acquittal. In an affidavit filed prior to the judge's ruling, Seale's attorney, Charles Garry, said:

"The final vote in the Seale case prior to the time a mistrial was declared. . . was 11 to 1 for acquittal on all charges except conspiracy to murder, on which the vote was 10 to 2 for acquittal. . . . The votes in the Huggins case were 11 to 1 for acquittal on all charges except kidnapping resulting in death, on which the vote was 10 for acquittal, 1 for conviction, and 1 for conviction of kidnapping."

It was later learned that only a misunderstanding by the jury had prevented Seale from being acquitted outright. On the first day of deliberations, the jurors voted a unanimous "not guilty" on all charges against the Black Panther chairman. The jury was not aware that this decision could be reported before agreement was reached on the charges against Huggins, and during the course of deliberations, one of the jurors later changed her mind on the accusations against Seale.

Huggins was freed immediately after dismissal of the charges. Seale remained in prison until May 27, when he was freed on \$25,000 bond. He is appealing a four-year sentence for contempt of court handed down in the Chicago "conspiracy" trial that followed the demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic party convention. □

The Case of Natalia Gorbanevskaja

"In the madhouse, wring your hands, Press your white brow against the wall like a face against a snow drift. But to those who guard the wall, a bold look."

* * *

Natalia Gorbanevskaja wrote these lines in 1966 when she heard that officials in the Potma forced labor camp used tranquilizing drugs in an attempt to break the spirit of her fellow poet, Yurii Galanskov.

On Christmas Eve 1969, Gorbanevskaja herself was arrested and charged with slandering the Soviet state and social system. On July 8, 1970, she was declared "mentally incompetent" after hearings that lasted only fourteen hours.

Gorbanevskaja was not present in the court. She was already in the psychiatric ward of the Butyrka prison hospital. On January 8, 1970, she was transferred from Butyrka to the mental hospital in Kazan, after she went on a hunger strike to protest her own imprisonment and that of other political oppositionists.

Locking up political dissidents in mental institutions is a practice that goes back to the most barbaric tsars in the prerevolutionary period. But, according to a report in the May 19 issue of the Copenhagen daily *Politiken*, the Stalinist bureaucrats have made some innovations in the method.

"Several sources in the Soviet Union, including the latest issue of the underground paper *Chronicle of Human Events*, indicate that the thirty-four-year-old Soviet writer Natalia Gorbanevskaja . . . has been subjected to experiments that make it unlikely that she will ever be able to live in freedom again as a normal human being," J. B. Holmgard wrote.

The Danish journalist quoted an appeal smuggled out of the Soviet Union as follows: "I have been asked to inform you that Natalia Gorbanevskaja's condition is very serious. She is being subjected to a 'cure' that is designed to make her apathetic and indifferent. I have not been told what methods are being used. I was told

only that Natalia Gorbanevskaja is not given a moment's peace. She can only pace back and forth in her cell. They told me: 'She looks like a tormented animal locked up in a cage.'"

Natalia Gorbanevskaja first came to the attention of international public opinion—and the political police, and Soviet psychiatrists—when she took part in a demonstration in Moscow August 25, 1968, against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. At that

What's in It for the Pentagon?

Washington Discusses Mao's Bid to Nixon



YOST: Maintains that "setting a date" will pay off in a big way.

Mao's friendly "ping-pong" overtures to the Nixon administration have greatly encouraged the hopes of U. S. ruling circles that Peking may put pressure on Hanoi to concede to the Pentagon's insistence on maintain-

time she was arrested and subjected to a mental examination, which showed her to be normal.

Starting December 5, 1970, Constitution Day, Natalia Gorbanevskaja went on a hunger strike and maintained it for a week. In her statement she declared her "solidarity with the political prisoners in the labor camps of Mordvinia, in the prisons of Lefortova and Butyrka, in the mental hospitals in Leningrad, Kazan, Chernyakhovsk, and other institutions," and her "protest against the unconstitutional, political jailings, including my own arrest, long detention, and the deliberate lie that I am mentally incompetent." □

ing "an American presence" in Southeast Asia, comparable to that now held in Korea.

Testifying at hearings being held in Washington by the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Professor John W. Lewis of Stanford University said May 26 that recent changes in China's foreign policy offered the United States an opportunity for a "genuine, face-saving resolution of the Indochina war."

An expert on Chinese affairs, Professor Lewis maintained that China's role in Indochina has changed and that its conciliatory gestures toward the U. S. government have created a new situation in which an overall Indochina settlement has become a "real possibility."

He urged that the Nixon administration solicit Peking's support in this and also its participation in an international conference to "negotiate" an end to the war.

Another important witness in the May 26 hearings was Charles W. Yost, former chief of the U. S. delegation to the United Nations.

Yost held that if the U. S. would set an early withdrawal date, Hanoi would respond by releasing American prisoners of war. He thought it a "90 percent probability" that if the administration would set a specific date, Hanoi would release the prisoners "by

that date, perhaps even before it."

Yost's idea of an "early" withdrawal date hardly coincides with the feelings of the great majority of Americans today, who are demanding *immediate* withdrawal. His suggestion was that Nixon set a date "six to nine months from the time agreement has been reached on the release of the prisoners."

Professor Lewis said that the U. S. escalation of the war into Cambodia and Laos had compelled the Mao regime to expand its support of the rev-

olutionists in Indochina, both politically and militarily.

At the same time, Peking initiated a policy of expanding contacts with the capitalist world to "explore diplomatically whether the U. S. was prepared to re-examine its overextended position and past assumptions" in Indochina.

"Put bluntly," Lewis said, "the Chinese are asking the U. S.: 'Do you want a settlement on a broader basis or do you want to lose more than you have already by continuing the war?'" □

Thai government, whose foreign minister, Thanat Khoman, declared May 14:

"Our differences have narrowed. The situation has improved. Peking leaders have begun to understand us. It may well lead to a real dialogue."

Thanat began the dialogue by cutting off the sound. He announced that Thai radio stations had been ordered to stop anti-China propaganda broadcasts.

At the same time, according to a May 14 Reuters dispatch, Thanat "... told reporters that contacts through a third country had been established with China and that progress had been made.

"There are indications that these contacts are bringing better results," he said."

The Thai foreign minister went on to say that the contacts with Peking had been approved by the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

The better results Thanat mentioned were explained by Henry Kamm, writing from Bangkok in the May 16 *New York Times*:

"... even before last month the Government radio was instructed to moderate its tone in commentaries on Communist countries. Recently, he [a foreign ministry official] said, there has been a corresponding softening of the tone on Chinese broadcasts purporting to originate with the Voice of Free Thailand, a Chinese propaganda station.

"More recently, the official said, Thailand had noted some lessening in the Chinese-sponsored insurgent activities in the north and northeast."

Reuters observed that Thanat was willing to make a verbal concession in exchange for this sign of Peking's good will:

"He also said Thailand had been forced to commit troops to South Vietnam and give aid to Cambodia and Laos in the Indochina war but that the Thai government had not really wanted to do so."

It may be that the memory of the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian communists is still too fresh for Mao to warm up to Suharto. But if the Thai government continues its present attitude, we may yet hear Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn proclaimed the leader of Thailand's "bloc of four classes." □

Ball Bounces Into Indonesia, Thailand

Nixon Puppets Try Out Ping-Pong Paddles

In the wake of the ping-pong diplomacy between Washington and Peking, U. S. satellite regimes in Southeast Asia have developed a sudden interest in sports.

Indonesian foreign minister Adam Malik was quoted by James P. Sterba in the May 18 *New York Times* as having "suggested the other day that it might be a good idea for Indonesia to send Rudy Hartono to China. He is a world champion badminton player."

Malik's offer has not yet been accepted by the Maoist government, but China is already the seventh largest source of Indonesian imports, and Suharto's regime clearly hopes for expanded trade in the future.

At present, exchanges between the two countries are conducted by third parties in Hong Kong and Singapore, an arrangement that cuts into the profits of both sides.

"If relations were normalized," Malik is reported to have said, "we can sell 100,000 tons of rubber annually to counter the release of American rubber from its stockpile."

According to Sterba, Suharto's only conditions on "normalization" of relations are that China "pledge not to interfere in Indonesia's internal affairs and that it stop beaming Indonesian-language propaganda broadcasts into the country."

Here, Suharto may have been thinking of the example provided by the



SUHARTO: Hopes badminton champion can play table tennis in Peking.

Jose Yglesias Examines Padilla Case

Novelist José Yglesias, writing in the June 3 *New York Review of Books*, has joined other prominent defenders of the Cuban revolution in condemning the imprisonment and "confession" of the poet Heberto Padilla.

"... there is more to be said about Padilla's confessions than that they are false," Yglesias wrote. "One must ask if the faults to which he confessed are the charge for which he was imprisoned. Are these crimes? Is not writing often an act of egoism which is accompanied by the desire to be published abroad? Even if his confessions were true — and they are patently false — Padilla had a right to his views and to impart them to whomever he wished. The revolution does not prosecute the counterrevolutionaries living in Cuba who are not shy about complaining to foreigners. . . . Does it need to be said to the Cuban leaders that a socialist society particularly needs to encourage criticism and open discussion?"

Yglesias chronicles the gradual shift in the attitude of the Cuban leadership from the encouragement of free expression in the early years of the revolution to the Padilla case, in which supporters of the revolution have been compelled to protest "the contempt for human dignity" exhibited in the treatment of the poet.*

In 1965, for example, Fidel Castro

told the U. S. journalist Lee Lockwood:

"I especially am a partisan of the widest possible discussion in the intellectual realm. . . . I believe that ideas must be able to defend themselves. I am opposed to the blacklist of books, prohibited films, and all such things."

In 1968, Padilla was awarded the national prize for poetry over the protests of the Union of Artists and Writers (UNEAC).

"I was in Cuba at the time," Yglesias wrote, "and the most pessimistic of the Cubans I talked to expected that Padilla's book would not be published and that he would be sent to a work farm for rehabilitation. Neither happened; the book was published, with an introduction condemning it as counterrevolutionary by the Executive Committee of UNEAC, and Padilla was not arrested. He was without a job for a long time, however, and it was not until about a year ago, when he appealed directly to Fidel, that he was given one at the University of Havana."

The UNEAC statement, he added, was ". . . impervious to literary irony, deaf to poetry, and quick to quote out of context lines that any reader could see were prorevolutionary."

Castro's present position contrasts remarkably with his earlier remarks to Lockwood. Yglesias commented on Castro's April 30 speech to the First

National Congress on Education and Culture, in which the prime minister attacked "brazen pseudoleftists" in an apparent reference to the signers of an April protest against Padilla's arrest:

"It would have been interesting if Fidel had said to those young educators he was addressing at the congress that he was referring to, among others, Sartre and de Beauvoir and to the four major Latin American novelists, Julio Cortázar, Gabriel Garcia Márquez, Carlos Fuentes, and Maria Vargas Llosa, whose works have made the face of that continent visible throughout the world. And, closer to home, that one signatory of the letter was Carlos Franqui, who as organizer of the clandestine press for the 26 of July Movement ran risks as great as the fighters in the Sierra Maestra faced, and who at the moment finds himself in Rome."

Yglesias considers the pressure exerted by the Soviet bureaucrats as one cause of the shift in the Cuban leadership's position:

"The Cuban people are both the means and measure of socialism's success. This is something the Cuban revolutionary leaders know, but after so many reverses — not all of their own making — the leaders may have their doubts. And so they cling now to the Soviet Union and its ways because that seems a less chancy road out of their troubles. Or because the pressure from the USSR that Anibal Escalante so much favored has been really applied at last. It was not always so. The Cuban people may still find a way of making their own leaders recant."

This attitude of the leadership, Ygle-

* See, for example, the open letter to Castro reprinted in the May 31 *Intercontinental Press*, page 497. Signers of that letter were:

Claribel Alegria
Simone de Beauvoir
Fernando Benitez
Jacques-Laurent Bost
Italo Calvino
Jose-Maria Castellet
Fernando Claudin
Tamara Deutsch
Roger Dosse
Marguerite Duras
Giulio Einaudi
Hans-Magnus Enzensberger
Francisco-Fernandez Santos
Darwin Flakoll
Jean-Michel Fossey
Carlos Franqui
Carlos Fuentes

Angel Gonzales
Adriano Gonzalez Leon
Andre Gortz
Jose-Agustin Goytisolo
Juan Goytisolo
Luis Goytisolo
Rodolfo Hinztrosa
Mervin Jones
Monti Johnstone
Monique Lange
Michel Leiris
Mario Vargas Llosa
Lucio Magri
Joyce Mansour
Dacia Maraini
Juan Marse
Dionys Mascolo
Plinio Mendoza
Istvan Meszaros
Ray Miliban
Carlos Monsivais
Marco-Antonio Montes de Oca

Alberto Moravia
Maurice Nadeau
Jose-Emilio Pacheco
Pier-Paolo Pasolini
Ricardo Porro
Jean Pronteau
Paul Rebeyrolles
Alain Resnais
Jose Revueltas
Rossana Rossanda
Vincente Rojo
Claude Roy
Juan Rulfo
Nathalie Sarraute
Jean-Paul Sartre
Jorge Semprun
Jean Shuster
Susan Sontag
Lorenzo Tornabuoni
Jose-Miguel Ullan
Jose Angel Valente

sias added, will not solve any of the problems of the revolution:

"The battle that the Soviet-oriented Cuban leaders—and they now seem to include Fidel—have recurrently fought with the Cuban intellectuals is a false one. It is a substitute for, a

distraction from, a more difficult battle—to solve the nation's economic problems. It is false too because the leaders try to believe that the recalcitrant artists are one thing and the people another. But if you silence one group it is very likely that you are not listening to the other." □

avoiding having to introduce water filtration equipment. This was the reason, a union leader claimed, why the police had not been called in, even though "the rights of management were violated in a glaring way."

The same official considered the Lievestuore workers "shortsighted" and indifferent to the problem of pollution, although they must live around the polluted lake.

To show that the company was capable of such a maneuver, the Finnish labor federation information officer, Kaj Bärlund, pointed out that the Lievestuore cellulose plant had been exploited in the worst robber-baron style by the several companies that have managed it.

Summarizing Bärlund's comments, Högnäs wrote: "The former management, Haarlakconcernen, mismanaged the enterprise and polluted the environment. They invested as little as possible and sucked the plant dry. The new management, a combine of small sawmills, needs the plant in order to make use of the waste from their operations. They are continuing with the same shortsighted policies."

Finnish union officials noted, according to Högnäs, that Keski Suomen Seluloosa OY had no plans for introducing water-cleaning equipment during the period the plant was to be closed. They noted also that the plant had been closed down several times in the past in slack periods and the workers forced to emigrate long distances to find jobs. Unemployment is a serious problem in Finland, and many Finns have to go to Sweden to find work.

In their supposed eagerness to defend the "higher interests of the community," the union officials seemed not to consider the possibility that the Lievestuore workers, by proving that they could run their plant better than the bosses, might present a greater danger to the pirates of the Finnish lumber industry than the decrees of the Water Board.

Likewise, the union bureaucrats seemed not to think of the possibility that police intervention, even against this small group of workers, might have explosive effects in a country where the government has been unstable for months and labor unrest is rising. Or did they? □

Solve Pollution Problem

Finnish Workers Take Over Cellulose Plant

A photo in the May 13 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* shows three men in a Finnish factory, apparently addressing a meeting. One is using a microphone; the other two are tending a loudspeaker and a record player. The caption reads: "The 'Internationale' was played on the phonograph, and Eino Laitinen, the leader of the workers' council, spoke into the microphone when the workers took power in the Lievestuore cellulose plant on Wednesday [May 12]."

The Swedish paper's correspondent in Helsinki, Tor Högnäs, wrote: "The workers at the cellulose plant near Jyväskylä have occupied their factory, taken charge of operations, and set up a workers' council of ten members. The occupation of the factory—the first in Finland's history—was carried out when the management decided to close the factory Wednesday night to avoid 200,000 marks [4.2 marks equal US\$1] in fines imposed as a penalty for the factory's pumping polluted water into the nearby lake."

At midnight May 12 the management gave the order for work to stop. "But before this," Högnäs continued, "the workers had decided at a general assembly to take over the factory and keep production going. A workers' council representing different branches of the plant was set up. The 'Internationale' was played on the phonograph and the main leader of the workers, Eino Laitinen, gave the order to start up the machines.

"A telegram was sent to the workers at the Renault factory in Le Mans, France: 'Hold your factory. We have just done the same thing you have. The Lievestuore cellulose factory has been occupied by 170 Finnish workers."

Dagens Nyheter headlined its story "A Job and Clean Water Too." Högnäs described how the workers dealt with the pollution problem: "The workers are sticking adamantly to their demands and production is proceeding normally. The polluted water is being collected in special pools, while the clean runoff water is piped into Lievestuore lake. This is the only change from the everyday routine of production."

Confronted with the workers' determination to run the plant themselves, management made harsh threats. "The administration let it be known in advance that if the workers took over the factory they would have to ask the authorities to help 'retake it.' But this has not happened."

The Keski Suomen Seluloosa OY combine that runs the Lievestuore plant warned, moreover, that any worker who refused to follow management directives would be fired immediately.

The day after the workers took over the plant and ran it, the company changed its tune. It offered the workers full pay for the three weeks the factory would be closed and promised that no one would be fired. The workers agreed to these terms but warned they would seize the factory again if for any reason production were not resumed as scheduled. The workers' council has not been dissolved.

"The workers think they have won a clear victory," Högnäs wrote, "but there is less enthusiasm in union circles in Helsinki."

The line taken by the union officials was that the workers had fallen into a trap laid by the bosses. The management allegedly was cynically using the workers to force the Water Board to withdraw its penalties, thereby

British Voters Strike Back at Tory Government

By Ross Dowson



HEATH: Caught with his mouth wide open but not a bumbling word to say.

London

Local government elections in England and Wales May 13 saw Labour sweep back into positions of power. London's *Evening Standard* of May 14 characterized the elections as a "landslide," which made "this the bleakest day for Mr Edward Heath since the Tories swept to power nearly a year ago."

Far from continuing to bleed, which some observers only a year ago thought was the fate confronting the British Labour party, it has recovered the positions it held back in 1964, and, according to London Labour party chairman Mellish, it is back to where it was in 1945. The election results, he said, "are the most impressive we have ever had in London."

That a profound swing to Labour in both England and Wales was well under way was apparent a week earlier, when local elections took place in Scotland.

Labour made 117 gains—to become the largest single party in Edinburgh council for the first time—winning control in Glasgow by taking wards it had never won before, taking a majority in Dundee, and increasing

its majority in Aberdeen. The Tories suffered wide losses, and the Scottish Nationalist party (SNP) was almost swept into oblivion. The SNP was cut back to one seat in Glasgow and saw its five seats in Edinburgh wiped out.

By the end of the week Labour gained 2,800 seats, which gave it control in England and Wales of 17 London boroughs, 14 county boroughs, 10 non-county boroughs, and 30 urban districts.

Only one-third of council seats were up for election. But in Manchester, where the Tories' redistricting to take account of population shifts away from the center was supposed to assure them of power for another fifteen years, their plans backfired. The new wards gave Labour a majority of 81 councillors to 18—with aldermanic elections still to come.

While Labour's position in the Greater London Council did not reflect its real strength because of the apathy developing amongst its supporters in recent years, it made a spectacular comeback, winning 21 out of 32 districts. Even the area that elected Prime Minister Heath to the House of Commons fell to Labour.

The Communist party lost the two seats in London's Tower Hamlets that it had held since 1945 and 1956—except for an interruption in 1959 and 1968—along with its three seats in Wales and the one in Birkenhead. The CP ran 452 candidates in England and Wales, including a full slate in Manchester, and received a total of 63,500 votes, somewhat less than it polled in 1968.

Some of Labour's successes were due to its doubling its poll. In Brent, Labour's vote went up by 98 percent overall. In Ealing, it doubled. Both boroughs had a 4 percent increase in their electorate because of new young voters. In Ealing, the poll was about 15 percent over 1968's voting.

The Labour party's right-wing reformist leadership knew better than to claim that the victory had much, if

Wins By-election, Too

The Labour party won an upset victory over the Conservatives in a May 28 by-election in Bromsgrove, a semirural district near Birmingham.

Last June the seat went to the Conservative candidate by a margin of 10,874 votes. In the current election the Labour party received a 1,868-vote majority. This reflected a 10 percent switch to Labour.

The main issues in the election were rising prices and the proposed entry of Britain into the Common Market, which the Labour candidate opposed.

anything, to do with their policies. While they had anticipated a certain recovery of strength, its scope startled them. Deputy leader Roy Jenkins characterized it as "a massive vote of no confidence on the government's performance over the past eleven months."

The thousands of workers who had become apathetic because of the Labour party leadership's rotten performance when in office, thanks to the Heath government soon learned again the progressive character of even Harold Wilson and his parliamentary cohorts in regard to protecting the concessions that over the years have been wrung out of the British capitalist class. Labour's defeat in the national elections eleven months earlier soon proved to be much more than a marginal one for the British working class. As Labour party General Secretary Sir Harry Nicholas noted: "The people have retaliated at the ballot box against the Tory attack on the standard of living, against the loss of free school milk, rising rents, rising health charges, rising food prices, and rising unemployment."

And it goes further than that. The past six months have seen a further

deepening in the radicalization of the British working people, not only in the youth and among women, but in the shops. The Tory government's threat to hamstringing the mighty forces of the British trade-union movement with the Industrial Relations Bill whipped up a series of massive struggles the like of which has not been

seen since the general strike of 1926.

This radicalization has not only been reflected in the Labour party, but has inevitably siphoned right into it and poses once again the challenge of Labour to power.

The local government elections reveal that this process is once again well under way, a process that is al-

most as frightening to the Wilson Labour party leadership, which hundreds of thousands of workers have developed a critical understanding of, as it is to the British capitalist class. "The Prime Minister knows that he would face decisive defeat in another General Election now," notes the *Evening Standard*. □

Colombia

Pastrana Orders Out the Army Against Students

[Important student struggles in Colombia, beginning in early February, led to sharp confrontations in late April, when the army moved in to occupy three universities in the cities of Medellín and Bucaramanga. The following article, written early in May, describes the development of this challenge to the regime of President Misael Pastrana Borrero.]

* * *

Bogotá

What sparked the present student struggle in Colombia was Rector Alfonso Ocampo's violations of the statutes of the Universidad del Valle. He was subsequently forced out of his post by the students' actions.

Ocampo made a mockery of the students' desire for self-government by insisting on choosing the dean of the economics department from a list of three candidates submitted to the academic high council and by naming a director who did not have the qualifications required by the university.

The students at the Universidad del Valle took up a struggle for democracy in their school, and this fight later grew into a big campaign of agitation by various popular sectors. The protests centered on Ocampo's role as an agent of imperialism, in view of his close ties with the North American foundations that finance the Universidad del Valle and determine its orientation.

At the beginning of February, this student agitation took the form of a university strike, street demonstrations, and mass meetings in which students, workers, and other popular sectors marched arm in arm. These

demonstrations, naturally, were repressed by the police.

But the protests gained in strength, and the Universidad del Valle student leaders went to all the universities in the country appealing for support. They stressed the necessity of linking their demands with concrete struggles in each school and with the struggle against the government's educational policy in general.

On February 29, the students occupied the branches of the Universidad del Valle. The army intervened immediately and one student was killed, the national volley-ball champion Edgar Mejía.

The people responded by waging a bloody battle with the police and the army, in which about twenty persons were killed. In the city of Cali, which was the scene of the fighting, a state of siege was declared and a curfew was imposed starting at 2:00 in the afternoon.

Later, the repressive forces murdered another student in Popayán, Carlos Augusto González, as well as two more in Medellín. Numerous arrests were made in all the country's big cities.

The demonstrations continued. The students met in an emergency assembly in Cali where they drew up a national policy. It calls for rejection of the present makeup of the academic high councils, in which the Catholic church is represented, as are bourgeois interest groups such as FENALCO [Federación Nacional de Comerciantes — National Federation of Businessmen], ANDI [Asociación Nacional de Industriales — National Association of Industrialists], ACOPI [Asociación Colombiana de Pequeños In-

dustriales — Colombian Association of Small Industrialists], to say nothing of the state. The students are demanding reform of these councils.

In the course of this struggle, a powerful worker and peasant mobilization has developed, with the peasants occupying land and the workers deciding to carry out a national protest strike. And this strike was planned by a labor federation traditionally bound to imperialism and the bourgeoisie, and serving them by adjusting labor-management conflicts, the UTC [Unión de Trabajadores de Colombia — Colombian Union of Workers]. The student movement decided to suspend its own struggles in order to put its thrust behind these popular mobilizations. However, although the popular actions produced confusion and malaise in the government of Misael Pastrana, they did not achieve the hoped-for results. And the situation seemed to have returned to its former calm for a few days.

The students met in Bogotá with the aim of unifying their activity in the various university centers. And they projected a Programa Mínimo [Minimum Program] as a platform of struggle. This program, which has been widely discussed in the different sectors of the student population, includes the following points:

1. Abolishing the high councils as the top academic bodies and expelling the bourgeois interest groups from the universities.

2. Fulfillment of the provision assigning 15 percent of the national budget for education, and assumption by the government of public university deficits. As a result of inadequate funds, the universities have experi-

enced frequent crises, which have led to cuts in the curriculum and forced them to borrow abroad, thereby surrendering their academic and even administrative independence in unfair contracts with the financial institutions.

The logical outcome of this is that Colombian education is increasingly mortgaged to clearly imperialist-oriented bodies like the IFC [International Finance Corporation]. Moreover, the government's failure to allot the specified 15 percent of the budget to education has given impetus to the policy of converting the schools into private institutions and accentuating the elitist character of the Colombian academic system, as some sociologists have noted.

In addition to these main points, the minimum program includes demands such as greater participation by students and professors in direct educational policy.

The government's reaction to these demands was to repress the students and close the universities wherever strikes were held to back up these demands. It began by closing the Universidad Nacional de Bogotá, which was occupied by the army. Later the same thing occurred at the universities in Medellín, as well as at the Universidad Industrial de Santander in Bucaramanga.

Needless to say, these military occupations were carried out in a brutal manner. More than 1,400 students were arrested, three were killed, two were seriously wounded, and five women were raped.

The agitation spread to the entire country. At the present time all the public universities, as well as a good percentage of the private universities, are closed or paralyzed.

The student movement has been gaining new strength since its last national assembly. The meeting was planned in Cali and held in secret after the army occupied the Universidad del Valle with the aim of preventing the assembly from taking place.

At their meeting, the students reaffirmed their determination to struggle and decided to link up the student struggles with those of other sectors against the repressive and dictatorial evolution of the present government.

Already high-school student demonstrations are beginning to make an impact, practically paralyzing many

small cities. The high-school students have also supplied their quota of martyrs. One was killed by an army jeep in Cali, another was shot to death in Neiva by the police.

Besides showing great deficiencies in the art of governing, President Misael Pastrana has been unable to solve this conflict. This faithful interpreter of the proimperialist bourgeoisie has limited himself to promising a reform of the university system in July, that is, he is promising to keep the universities closed until the second semester of this year.

But popular pressure is already making itself felt. A number of professors have presented the government with strong demands that it immediately open the Universidad Nacional and the other universities that have been closed down. The Pastrana government is caught between its need to continue using repressive measures and its inability to avoid a brutality that is costing it even the tiny amount of popular support it might otherwise maintain. It cannot escape from its predicament solely through demagoguery. But it is incapable of introducing any satisfactory reforms. And it is not only the present government that is incapable of this; the bourgeoisie as a whole is incapable of playing the reformist game effectively. In these circumstances, a coup d'état looms up as the only short-range way out for the bourgeoisie.

Under the pretext of a border conflict with Venezuela, the army has been acquiring French "Mirage" jets and German submarines, and military expenditures have been rising in recent months.

The student movement is continuing its struggle today more determinedly than ever, inspired by the encouragement it has received from workers, peasants, and professors. For example, the national union of primary school teachers (FECODE) staged a twenty-four-hour national strike in solidarity with the students. □

Prognosis Unclear

The trial of John Dowdy on charges of bribery and conspiracy has been indefinitely postponed on the basis of a medical report stating that he "is neither physically nor mentally capable of standing trial at this time."

Presumably as a rest cure to speed his recovery, Dowdy has resumed his post on the House of Representatives' judiciary committee.



REAGAN: Millionaire declared "highest-paid welfare recipient" in California.

Poor Millionaire

Ronald Reagan, millionaire governor of California, admitted under questioning by reporters May 4 that he had paid no state income tax in 1970. His salary as governor is \$44,100 a year.

Reagan, who is known as a vocal critic of welfare recipients, whom he considers parasites on society, claimed that "business reverses" had eliminated his state tax obligation. He declined to specify the businesses he is involved in. Even to ask such a question, the governor proclaimed indignantly, was an "invasion of privacy."

The California Welfare Rights Organization expressed its sympathy for Reagan's misfortunes by offering him the title of "highest paid welfare-recipient in the state."

Pollution Study: Hold Your Breath

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) admitted on May 12 that a report on lead pollution in Los Angeles air had been withheld for one year.

The editors of *Clear Creek*, a San Francisco antipollution magazine, revealed the results of the study: Lead concentration in the Los Angeles atmosphere has increased from 2.29 micrograms per cubic meter in 1961-62 to 3.5 micrograms in 1968-69. The State Health Department defines the safety standard as 1.5 micrograms of lead per cubic meter of air.

The EPA claimed that the results of the study were not made public because of a need to "study and analyze" the findings.

Three Books on Political Repression in Mexico

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

In the intellectual community, President Echeverría's anti-Communist campaign has won no support. Under the impact of the 1968 events, this sector has shifted strongly to the left and has accepted the lead of the student movement.

Since intellectuals make up a considerable part of the book-buying public, the large sales and influence of a number of books dealing with the 1968 movement and its repression indicate the prevailing opinion in these circles.

In particular, two books published in March have already found an extensive audience and had a strong effect on the attitudes of the intellectuals—*Los días y los años* [Days and Years] by Luis González de Alba; and *La noche de Tlatelolco* [The Night in Tlatelolco] by Elena Poniatowska.

These two works were the first—except for the speeches of three political prisoners published by the Mexican Trotskyist magazine *La Internacional*—to popularize the basic ideas of the 1968 movement on a mass scale and expose the government's brutal repression. After appearing in *La Internacional*, the court speeches of Raúl Alvarez, José Revueltas, and Eduardo Valle were collected in a pamphlet entitled *Tiempo de Hablar* [Time To Speak Out], 15,000 copies of which have been sold, an extraordinary figure by Mexican standards.

La noche de Tlatelolco is going into its fifth edition, with 20,000 copies published; and *Los días y los años* has gone into its second, with 8,000 copies published.

Another work should be mentioned here, although its purely legal format restricted its circulation. The book *Los procesos de México 68—Acusaciones y defensa* [The Trials of Mexico '68—Accusations and Defense] contains a voluminous documentation of the trials of those jailed for their involvement with the student movement. It clearly exposes the feebleness and absurdity of the government's claim that the 1968 movement was "organized"

through Prague (by the International Union of Students) and through Havana (by the OLAS).

González de Alba's *Los días y los años* is a fictionalized essay on the 1968 events written from the standpoint of a chief of the CNH [Consejo Nacional de Huelga—National Strike Council], the leading body of the student movement. This book is the most important of all, because it expresses the character of the independent vanguard who built and led the 1968 movement and lost their lives or their liberty for its sake.

The honesty and discernment of this magnificently written book make it outstanding in contemporary political literature.

The narrative is enlivened by descriptions of CNH assemblies, demonstrations, the meetings of CNH representatives with government envoys, and of the Tlatelolco massacre, which is the real climax of the book. But the unifying theme is the emerging picture of the formation and maturing of a new vanguard, a vanguard that clashed violently with the Communist party bureaucrats and subjected them to criticisms as harsh as the revolutionary Marxist critiques originated by Trotsky.

Although the book *La noche de Tlatelolco* by the journalist Poniatowska

is less important from the political standpoint, it has all the qualities needed to make an impact. It is certainly the best seller of the year, if not a number of years.

The book is a compelling montage, a "collective testimony" about the student movement, and especially about the atrocities of October 1-2. The statements of students, workers, fathers and mothers, professors, clerks, soldiers, politicians, and the press in those days make up a deeply moving and powerful composite.

La noche de Tlatelolco is a book that records the collective voice of the movement. It is a book of realization, of insight. Such a book is a prerequisite for a theoretical, political work to focus the indignation it expresses.

These two books by Poniatowska and González de Alba have been compared with similar documents in other countries. In the April 7 issue of *Siempre*, Castillo likened them to Sartre's prologue to Henri Alleg's book *La Question*, which testified to the practices of the French command in the Algerian war.

He added at once, however: "The Mexican books in great demand at the bookstores tell a much more sordid, much more horrifying story; they highlight brutal facts engraved in the memory of millions of Mexicans." □

Legal Land Theft in Australia

The Supreme Court of Australia's Northern Territory ruled April 27 that the Aboriginal people have no legal title to the lands upon which they have always lived.

The decision was of considerable importance to a Swiss-Australian consortium, Nabalco, which is developing a \$340,000,000 bauxite operation on Aboriginal land near Yirrkala.

The judge ruled that the fact that the Aboriginal people had always held the land was irrelevant in (white Australian) common law. When the British colonies were established, the judge said, the land

became the property of the British Crown.

Since the Aboriginal population has no deed issued by the monarch, he continued, it does not own the land.

It may seem a little unfair that the Aboriginal people are to be deprived of their land because of the failure of their ancestors to travel half way around the world to ask the British monarch for permission to live in Australia. Perhaps an equitable solution would be for them to displace the present inhabitants of England, whose ancestors, so far as we know, never asked the Aboriginal people for permission to settle in the British Isles.

Police Agents, Then and Now

By Les Evans

"There is a new man on campus. . . . He is the spy.

"He has not come to study Russian or Chinese or to prepare himself to infiltrate some foreign nation. Instead, his mission is to watch the students, the faculty and the off-campus crowds.

"Though such undercover activity was almost unheard of five years ago, it has now become almost a permanent institution on the American college scene. — *New York Times*, March 29, 1971.

* * *

As the youth radicalization has deepened internationally, the defenders of the status quo have begun more and more to resort to the stock remedies of repression: police surveillance, infiltration, and outright instigation of terroristic acts that can be used as a pretext for arrests.

The professional agent provocateur — the bearded, long-haired "hippie" who works for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—has become a standard figure in the increasingly frequent trials of Blacks and young radicals in the United States.

The best-known of these police spies on American campuses is probably M. L. Singkata Thomas Tongyai, who went by the name of "Tommy the Traveler." The role he played was indicated by such a conservative source as the Ontario County, New York, grand jury, which investigated his "work" at Hobart College last year and concluded that Tongyai had "advocated violent forms of protest" among student radicals.

Recent trials of Black Panther party members in New York and Connecticut have shown the party to be riddled with police agents, who generally are said to have been the main advocates and practitioners of the terroristic acts blamed on the defendants.

If the phenomenon of police provocation has become more widespread in the capitalist West in recent years, it has seen a revival in the bureaucratized workers states of Eastern Europe

as well. The most recent example was the role played by one Josef Cechal in infiltrating the group of youth in Prague organized in the Revolutionary Socialist party. At the trial of nineteen of these youth March 1-19, the defendants testified that Cechal had advocated that they murder members of their circle who were suspected of being informers. Not surprisingly, it was this would-be assassin who denounced his comrades to the police.

The question of what a radical organization can or should do to protect itself against police infiltration and provocation has long been a problem for the socialist movement. A useful survey of the historical experience on this subject, by Yugoslav historian Vladimir Dedijer, appeared in the March 25 issue of the *New York Review of Books*. Dedijer is probably best known for the service he rendered as president of sessions of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal on Vietnam, held in 1967. He was a participant in the Yugoslav partisan movement during World War II, and has written widely on Russian and East European history.

"During the last decade of his life," Dedijer writes in the *New York Review of Books*, "Bertrand Russell was much interested in the problem of the underground activities of the secret police engaged in combating revolutionary movements. He wanted to know about the infiltration methods of undercover agents and how they trumped up charges."

The philosopher and the historian ". . . talked about the problem of finding out whether or not rumors that a man is an undercover agent are true, how the danger of accusing an honest man for the worst of crimes can be avoided, how both treason against fellow revolutionaries and the work of real police agents can be exposed."

In Dedijer's opinion, "the worst penetration of revolutionaries by any Establishment was done by the English Secret Service," which succeeded in

placing one of its agents in the highest bodies of the Irish revolutionary movement in the United States a century ago. One of the three top figures of the Fenian Brotherhood in 1870 was General Henri Le Caron, adjutant-general of the Fenian army. This man was in reality an Englishman named Thomas Beach, an agent of British Intelligence.

In April of 1870, 500 armed Fenians crossed into Canada from Vermont, with the aim of seizing the country and using it as a base for raids against British shipping. The plan was betrayed by Beach, and the invasion force was ambushed.

Beach's mission was not merely to provide information to his superiors, however. From his first months in the Fenian organization, he employed the classic tactics of the provocateur. As Dedijer puts it, "He quickly gained the confidence of the Fenian leaders, fomented dissent between the Fenian factions, and pushed them to undertake 'instant terroristic actions,' which were poorly prepared."

The Russian revolutionary movement, organized under conditions of czarist illegality, has one of the most interesting and certainly the best documented history of the foul activities of police agents.

The two most famous czarist spies were Evno Azef, who became the head of the terrorist section of the Social Revolutionary party; and Roman Malinovsky, who was elected to parliament in a campaign organized by Lenin himself and who rose to become head of the Bolshevik fraction in the Duma and a member of the party's Central Committee.

In order to maintain his position of leadership among the Social Revolutionary terrorists, Azef masterminded the assassination of numerous officials of the very police organization for which he was secretly working. His greatest coup was the successful assassination of the Russian Minister of the Interior, V. K. Plehve, on July 18, 1904. Historians generally agree that in this action the provocateur exceeded his mandate from the czarist authorities, but this did not end his role as a spy.

"After February, 1905," Dedijer writes, "Azef did everything to win back the confidence of the police: in the summer of 1905 all seventeen members of the Battle Organization [the terrorist section of the SRs] were

arrested. He also handed to his superiors the detailed plan of the insurrection in Petrograd. In 1906 he revealed details of a conspiracy against the life of Minister of Interior Durnova, and much more. He performed his Judas's work until he was exposed in 1908 by the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party."

The key thing to note in Azef's career was the conscious decision of the ruling class to supplement external repression with an effort to influence the revolutionary organizations from within. This went as far, in Dedijer's words, as the creation of "separate organizations with revolutionary slogans which were in fact run by the police."

The czarist secret police — the Okhrana — sought to induce the revolutionary youth of their day to engage in terrorism. The head of the Okhrana in the first decade of this century, C. B. Zubatov, made no secret of this aim. He openly challenged the intellectuals: "We shall provoke you to acts of terror and then crush you."

Even Zubatov was not an initiator in this area. Dedijer writes: "The practice by which police themselves organize terroristic acts in order to impress public opinion was not Zubatov's invention. The French police commissioners used this weapon during the 1880s. And today, whenever I read in the papers about a bombing, I think of the hard labor ahead for future historians who will have to comb through the police archives to establish the historical truth: was the bombing really done by the revolutionaries or was it a frame-up by the police?"

Trotsky put it even more concisely in an article written in 1910, in the aftermath of the exposure of Azef: "In the blind alley of terrorism, the hand of provocation rules with assurance."

Many years later, in his testimony before the Dewey Commission on the charges made against him in the Moscow Trials, the great Russian revolutionist stated his conviction that "The basic property of terror as a system is to destroy that organization which by means of chemical compounds seeks to compensate for its own lack of political strength."

But what of the Bolsheviks, who opposed terrorism as a strategy? How did they meet the problem of police infiltration? Lenin's party was far bet-

ter prepared to cope with agents provocateurs than were the Social Revolutionaries. Nevertheless, in the period of reaction following the defeat of the 1905 revolution, the Okhrana contributed its share to the sharp decline in the Bolshevik organization.

In his biography of Stalin, Trotsky writes of the years 1909-10:

"The scantiness of revolutionary ranks led unavoidably to the lowering of the [Bolshevik Central] Committee's standards. Insufficiency of choice made it possible for secret agents to mount the steps of the underground hierarchy. With a snap of his finger the provocateur doomed to arrest any revolutionist who blocked his progress. Attempts to purge the organization of dubious elements immediately led to mass arrests. An atmosphere of suspicion and mutual distrust stymied all initiative. After a number of well-calculated arrests, the provocateur Kukushkin, at the beginning of 1910 became head of the Moscow district organization. . . . The situation in Petersburg was not much better."

Of course, where socialists are forced to work under governments that have outlawed any organization for social change, there are techniques that make police penetration more difficult. Dedijer cites in this regard the Russian populist Stepniak's dictum: ". . . to tell what is to be told only to those to whom it is essential to tell it, and not to those to whom it may merely be told without danger."

But Dedijer recognizes, as has the Marxist movement traditionally, that the best defense against the agent provocateur is political in nature.

Dedijer points out that technical solutions — such as the efforts of the Bolsheviks to place their own agents inside the secret police to discover who the informers were — have been largely unsuccessful.

"Could I advise young radicals of today of some better tools of defense?" Dedijer continues. "No doubt there are some techniques of self-protection that might be improved, but the main thing would be to stick to the principle of applied ethics in which one's actions conform as closely as possible to professed ideals. In the long run this could prove to be the best remedy against enemy undercover agents. The goal of revolution should not be to build a new state structure, not to imitate the tactics of the police, but

to liberate man from all oppressive social, ethical, and aesthetic conventions.

"It should never be forgotten that the task of revolution is to augment human freedoms by raising social conscience to a higher level. It is thus important to avoid all the discrepancies between principles and deeds by conducting organizational action with the same openness and frankness that should characterize the workings of revolutionary society itself. If the permanent struggle is waged in this way, agents of the enemy will be much more easily smoked out. History has proved that the class enemy penetrates fixed, hierarchical organizations without inner freedoms far more easily than it does movements which are broad and democratically organized."

For a revolutionary party, fear of police agents and the resulting mutual distrust and suspicion have almost always been more damaging than the actual police agents themselves. The party, unlike ad hoc groups of young radicals, decides its program and policy collectively and consciously, bringing to bear a rich experience and tradition. There is little likelihood that individual police agents could persuade such an organization to embark on "instant terroristic actions" that have been condemned politically after years of costly experience. In the process of trying, the provocateurs would only discredit themselves.

The question remains of how to protect the revolutionary organization from efforts by the ruling class to use police infiltrators to frame up members on false charges. The Bolshevik party in Lenin's time treated accusation of disloyalty against members or leaders with the utmost seriousness. It was alien to all of the party's precepts to accuse a member of being a police agent unless the accuser was prepared to submit proof before an impartial party commission. The handling of the Malinovsky case was a model in this regard.

Roman Malinovsky, a gifted trade-union organizer and agitator, and a paid agent of the Okhrana, joined the Bolsheviks in 1911. In January of 1912 he was elected to the Central Committee. In November of that year he was elected to the Duma as a Bolshevik deputy and soon became head of the Bolshevik fraction. Ironically, after the 1917 revolution, police files disclosed drafts of speeches delivered

by Malinovsky that had editorial insertions both by Lenin and by the director of the Russian police, S. P. Beletsky.

By 1914 there had been too many arrests of Bolshevik members and sympathizers under circumstances implicating Malinovsky as the informer. The police themselves, fearing a scandal, forced their agent to resign from the Duma and leave Russia.

The party immediately set up an investigating commission, including Lenin and Zinoviev, to weigh the allegations against Malinovsky. After extensive hearings, the commission declared that there was insufficient evidence to find Malinovsky guilty of the principal charge. He was expelled from the party for his dereliction of duty, but not branded as a spy.

In this case the Bolshevik leadership proved to be incorrect on the factual question they faced, but their procedure could not be faulted. After the February 1917 revolution, when the documents revealing Malinovsky's true role had been uncovered, Lenin was called to testify before a commission of the Kerensky government on the case. He explained why he had believed Malinovsky innocent in 1914. More important, he explained why his party had followed the procedure it did and what was essentially wrong with the strategy of the police in the first place. The following account of Lenin's comments is taken from a contemporary press report:

"I did not believe—testified Citizen Ulyanov before the Extraordinary Investigating Commission of the Provisional Government—in provocation here, and for the following reason: If Malinovsky were a provocateur, the Okhrana would not gain from that as much as our Party did from *Pravda* [for which Malinovsky raised funds] and the whole legal apparatus. It is clear that by bringing a provocateur into the Duma and eliminating for that purpose all the competitors of bolshevism, etc., the Okhrana was guided by a gross conception of bolshevism, I should say rather a crude, homemade caricature. They imagined that the Bolsheviks would arrange an armed insurrection. In order to keep all the threads of this coming insurrection in their hands, they thought it worth while to have recourse to all sorts of things to bring Malinovsky into the Duma and the Central Committee. But when

the Okhrana succeeded in both these matters, what happened? It happened that Malinovsky was transformed into one of the links of the long and solid chain connecting our illegal base with the two chief legal organs by which our Party influenced the masses: *Pravda* and the Duma Fraction. The *agent provocateur* had to serve both these organs in order to justify his vocation." (News Bulletin of the Provisional Government, June 16, 1917, page 3; cited in *Three Who Made a Revolution* by Bertram D. Wolfe.)

The attitude of Lenin on these questions is in sharp contrast to the paranoia about "enemy agents" infused into the workers' movement by Stalin. For the Stalinists the charge of being a spy was used indiscriminately against all political opposition as a means of silencing dissent. The ironic result was that the policelike mentality engendered in the Stalinist parties constituted an ideal milieu for penetration by actual provocateurs, who posed as the most loyal of bureaucrats.

Dedijer points to the danger to the revolutionary movement of uncritical-

ly accepting allegations of disloyalty against persons with political differences.

"Fears of infiltration are obviously justified," he writes. "Yet such fears were cannily used by Stalin to crush without mercy the old Bolsheviks. The main charge in all the purge trials in the 1930s was that the old revolutionaries had been serving the class enemy. As history has shown, there was not a grain of truth in these trumped-up charges. The Soviet secret police applied similar methods in the purges in Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and some other East European countries in the 1950s, when thousands of honest men and women were sent to death under the false accusations of being spies."

In fighting for the socialist future of humanity, participants in the revolutionary movement can still learn much, in governing their political relations, from the experience of Lenin's party. There is nothing to be gained from imitating the practices of the police agencies of the old society or their Stalinist caricature. □

Greece

Megarites Rally Against Raid by Onassis

[In Athens on April 22, the fourth anniversary of the military coup that established the dictatorship of the colonels, U. S. Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans had nothing but praise for the "business climate" created by the new regime. "We in the United States Government, particularly in American business, greatly appreciate Greece's attitude toward American investment, and we appreciate the welcome that is given here to American companies and the sense of security that the Government of Greece is imparting to them."

[The probusiness attitude of the military dictators even moved Stans to say how his boss, Nixon, felt "warm love" for the Greek government.

[The following letter from Megara, a small seaport town on the narrow peninsula linking the Greek mainland with the Peloponnesus, gives some indication of what this pirates' paradise means even for a section of the population that might be expected to

be better disposed to the junta than others.

[A large percentage of Greek peasants are smallholders and conservatively inclined. But in their rush to sell out the country to the big capitalists, the colonels seem prepared to ruin the peasants who might form a basis for authoritarian rule.

[We have translated the letter from the May-June issue of *Ta Alla Nea*, a bulletin published by Greek students in Rome. This publication is available for US\$0.30 per issue from Francesconi Claudio, Casella Postale 7034, Roma-Nomentano, Italy.]

* * *

Megara

The uproar is continuing in Megara over the junta's attempt to confiscate 10,000 acres of land to turn over to the Onassis combine. The Greek dailies arriving abroad must have published something about this case which

occurred recently here in Megara, especially after the episode at the Athens high-court building March 23 (when a crowd of enraged *Megarites* [citizens of Megara] demonstrated the determination of the peasants and farm owners affected by the government's plan, to put up a hard fight against it). It would be good, however, to present the details of this case and to make them available internationally so that we will not remain alone in the struggle we must wage against these gross beasts.

The fields taken over by OMEGA ["omega" is the name of the Greek letter "o"]—it seems that Onassis is competing with the "N" of Niarkhos's shipyards—total 9,500 acres. This area includes a military airport and an artillery squadron. So that you will understand the further implications of this confiscation, I should say that the army in turn is going to take 6,500 acres as a site for installations to be transferred here.

The lands that will be taken up by the filtration plants embrace an area extending from the Agia Triada (Vourkari)-Lakka-Vasiliko in the far south, including part of the new road to the Peloponnesus, to the eastern side of the Pakhe highway (Varea). It also includes the Agyios Georgyios heights, where the airport I mentioned is located. From all the discussions that have taken place, it is likely that in the near future even the harbor of Pakhe will be confiscated, which will mean that other small artisans and poor fishermen will be wiped out.

The lands that Onassis is taking are all fertile, covered with pistachio and olive orchards (it is estimated that there are about 70,000 olive trees). The best orchards are in Lakka and Vasiliko where they are valued at 200,000 drachmas [30 drachmas equal US\$1] an acre. Onassis is not even paying 10,000 drachmas an acre, the total price being 75,000,000 drachmas.

When this affair came to light, the owners of the fields reacted immediately and violently. Thus, a committee asked the local tax inspector to assess the value of the land and the agronomist Loukas to assess the value of the trees. The agronomist priced the pistachio-nut orchards at 5,000 each. It was to be expected, the government transferred him.

Next the *Megarites* sent a committee to Papadopoulos. He sent them away,

telling them that he had no authority in this field, and advising them to go to the proper body. It was like sending someone from Anna to Caiaphas. So, on March 21, a large rally was staged in the motion-picture theater Stella. The participants voiced their feelings, and denounced the threat of ruin hanging over the heads of 1,500 families.

In fact, the question does not involve the amount of compensation alone, although that is the most serious aspect. Afterwards come the results of the confiscation. There is no question of selling the remaining fields. The area taken by OMEGA is the only fertile one. Thus, in the immediate future some of the people will have to emigrate and the rest will become workers in the filtration plants. It is not just the lands that are being confiscated but the *Megarites* themselves, their labor power.

But the fight is not yet over. And in the meantime Onassis is wrangling with the junta in the courts over other questions. Thus, we have had a reprieve, but for how long? I saw many men weeping like small children when they left the Stella, where the meeting was held, crying "What will become of us?" "Where will we go?"

Before finishing, I would like to note something additional. Along with everything else the Palaio Teikhos [Old Wall] that extends along the sea will be destroyed. To us *Megarites* it represents something; it is a historic monument. It was on this wall that our ancestors resisted the Albanians [the main allies of the Turks in the Balkans], and I would like you to include this.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you of other problems of the city. As is well known, Megara is an agricultural and fowl-raising area. Today, with these confiscations another problem has developed. That is, the problem of where to put the chicken coops. This cannot be done in the northern area (Mytika-Vlykhada-Kokkinorema) because the army is going to confiscate the land here too for its new installations.

And another problem we face—and this is an old one—is water. The government appropriated the money for piping water two years ago, but we are still bringing it down from the mountains (from Gerania in the Elatea region). Sometimes, there is not enough water and it is still brought

in by boat in barrels. The hens die from pip [a chicken disease], and we die from rage.

What does the mayor, the fink Diamantopoulos, the former chairman of the brotherhood of SPAP workers [Siderodromoi Peiraios-Athenon-Peloponnesou—Piraeus-Athens-Peloponnesus Railways], have to say about this? What does the councillor, the provincial playboy Soterios, with his sports-car and his radio transmitter, have to say about this? Does one of them have the commission for the boat that brings the water? What has happened with the city plan that projected extending the municipality to the western side of the Pakhe road two years ago? What will become of the Megara that all these various carpetbaggers are on the verge of destroying? □

GIs Demonstrate in Seoul

Thirty-one U. S. soldiers were arrested in Seoul, South Korea, on May 17 during an antiwar demonstration, according to the Paris daily *Le Monde* of May 19. This was the first such demonstration by GIs in South Korea.

The demonstrators, who were from several bases around the Seoul area, marched in civilian clothes and wore black armbands. The thirty-one GIs were arrested by Korean police and turned over to U. S. military police.

Two days later, about 150 Black GIs held a rally at U. S. Eighth Army Headquarters in Seoul to commemorate the birthday of Malcolm X. The rally demanded an end to racial oppression in the army. According to the *New York Times* of May 20, the GIs were refused service in the mess hall on the grounds that they were "visitors." They responded by overturning several tables and breaking windows of the mess hall. The *Times* report made no mention of arrests. □

Urge Ban on Sea Pollution

At their annual meeting in Stockholm April 27, the foreign ministers of the five Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, and Iceland—announced that they were sending a statement to the other ten nations in the North-East Atlantic Fisheries Convention urging a ban on the discharge of poisonous materials in international waters, particularly the North Sea.

They also said they would explore the possibility of an international agreement to end pollution of the Baltic, which is in danger of becoming a dead sea within ten years.

Declaration of Cuban Educational Congress—II

[The following section of the Declaration of the First National Congress on Education and Culture, held in Havana April 23-30, is reprinted from the May 9 English-language "Weekly Review" published by *Granma*. The first half of the declaration was reprinted in our May 31 issue. Subheads appear in the original.]

* * *

Juvenile Delinquency

The Congress considers that, since juvenile delinquency in its distinctive manifestations forms part of the social pathology which must be observed, controlled and repressed on a national scale, not fundamentally because of the importance or magnitude it may have reached in national life, but because of the capital importance this social phenomenon has at the present stage in which we are living, it must be confronted directly, and, to this effect, and following a preliminary study of the causes and factors which produce it, the following points were examined:

- a) The importance of mental backwardness and school retardation in the development of this phenomenon.
- b) The high proportion of these adolescents who, at the time of their arrest, are not participating in school activities.
- c) The situation of those adolescents who, because they have not yet reached working age, cannot take part in productive activities.
- d) Bad living conditions in the homes from which these young people come.
- e) The low per capita family income.
- f) The high proportion of these minors that come from disrupted or incomplete families.
- g) The incidence of problems arising from some religions or sects, especially some of African origin (*fianigo* and *abacua*).
- h) The bearing that the breaking of the norms of social relations that are established by law and the lack of systematization in the repression of certain criminal activities have on this problem.
- i) The lack of means or the poor use made of them and incorrect priorities in social assistance.
- j) The absence of a national system of social welfare to coordinate efforts and use the existing means of various bodies and organizations in preventive activities.

All this together with the reality existing in the present re-educational centers which lack the educators, technical means, qualified personnel, and adequate installations to accomplish the social re-adaptation of the minors sent to these institutions, in addition to other shortcomings which have a bearing on their education and social treatment, bring us to the present situation with respect to this minority sector of our youth.

Basing ourselves on the foregoing observations, the following agreements were reached:

— That specialized teaching should seek to treat the mentally retarded minors who commit offenses or who have an antisocial conduct in existing school centers and in those being established.

— That the necessary mechanisms should be created to place in school-workshops, scholarship schools or appropriate institutions those maladjusted minors who are not mentally retarded and who do not need to be sent to re-educational institutions, as well as those released from the latter.

— To organize special training courses which would allow the technical functioning of the personnel who take part in the re-adaptation of these minors either in re-educational institutes or in other appropriate centers.

— That until such time as MINED [Ministry of Education] is in a position to handle the re-educational centers, this Ministry, in collaboration with MININT (Ministry of the Interior), should carry out a study of the need for teachers and auxiliary means of teaching aimed at solving the problem as far as possible. At the same time, the National Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation (INDER) and the Council of Culture must carry out a similar analysis with respect to their activities and for the same purpose.

— That the Office of Education discuss and analyze the papers submitted to the Commission of Studies of the Central Committee of the Party dealing with the following subjects:

- The centers of evaluation.
- The commissions of technical and scientific evaluation.
- The re-educational centers.
- The social protection system.

Concerning Sex

The social problem of sex and the ideas and concepts on this matter were analyzed by the Commission. The Commission made a general study of sexual relations, with special attention being given to the question of sex among adolescents and young people.

A review was made of the transformation that has taken place in the matter of sexual relations as they existed in the prerevolutionary society, when such relations were dependent on a system of exploitation, on the profound social inequality and on the violence brought about by the evil of prostitution and the various ways of commercialization of sex, with its sequel of aberrations.

At present, the structural transformation and development of our society have definitively eradicated these manifestations, typical of the exploiting system but— as happens in every revolutionary process—

the change has brought about new contradictions which demand a constant effort at creative renovation in behavior, social habits and ideas.

The general opinion is that coeducational teaching should be extended, with the exception of those courses which by their very nature make it impossible, and that opportune and adequate information on sexual relations and the process of procreation should be given, in which true and scientific answers to the children's and adolescents' questions would be given both in school and at home. To do away with ignorance and prejudice in this matter, the facts dealing with this subject must be taught in the course of general teaching, without it being necessary to establish special courses.

It was also noted that it is indispensable to understand correctly the true importance of different contradictions within the context of the various fronts of revolutionary activity, that priority should consequently be given to the material and ideological defense and socio-economic development, which are the fields of fundamental antagonism. That the changes in the field of sexual relations stem from society itself as it progresses in the social, cultural and economic fields and continues to acquire an ideology that is more consistently revolutionary.

Finally, emphasis was placed on the respect for the feelings and opinions of the young, on how to find out their points of view, on how to give them the possibility of holding discussions and on how to nurture a concept of what love means in the constitution of the human couple and the motives that should unite it, not merely from the biological viewpoint but from the idea of human fulfillment, which includes reciprocal admiration and deep esteem based not only on biological and aesthetic but also— and fundamentally— social, political and moral values.

A study of prostitution was made through its socio-economic origin within bourgeois society, as was its total liquidation in the course of these years of revolutionary work that has transformed our society. It was agreed that its residual manifestations fall rather within the field of delinquency than anything else.

The social pathological character of homosexual deviations was recognized. It was resolved that all manifestations of homosexual deviations are to be firmly rejected and prevented from spreading. It was pointed out, however, that a study, investigation and analysis of this complex problem should always determine the measures to be adopted.

It was decided that homosexuality should not be considered a central problem or a fundamental one in our society, but that its attention and solution are necessary.

A study was made of the origin and

evolution of this phenomenon and of its present-day scope and antisocial character. An in-depth analysis was made of the preventive and educational measures that are to be implemented as well as of the curative measures to be put into effect against existing focuses, including the control and relocation of isolated cases, always with an educational and preventive purpose. It was agreed to differentiate between the various cases, their stages of deterioration and the necessarily different approaches to the different cases and degrees of deterioration.

On the basis of these considerations, it was resolved that it would be convenient to adopt the following measures:

a) Extension of the coeducational system: recognition of its importance in the formation of children and the young.

b) Appropriate sexual education for parents, teachers and pupils. This work must not be treated as a special subject but as one falling into the general teaching syllabus, such as biology, physiology, etc.

A campaign of information on sex matters should be carried out among teachers and parents to help them answer, in a proper and scientific way, the questions asked by children and young people.

c) Stimulation of a proper approach to sex. A campaign of information should be put into effect among adolescents and young people which would contribute to the acquisition of a scientific knowledge of sex and the eradication of prejudices and doubts which in some cases result in the placing of too much importance on sex.

d) Promotion of discussions among the youth in those cases where it becomes necessary to delve into the human aspect of sex relations.

It was resolved that it is not to be tolerated for notorious homosexuals to have influence in the formation of our youth on the basis of their "artistic merits."

Consequently, a study is called for to determine how best to tackle the problems of the presence of homosexuals in the various institutions of our cultural sector.

It was proposed that a study should be made to find a way of applying measures with a view to transferring to other organizations those who, as homosexuals, should not have any direct influence on our youth through artistic and cultural activities.

It was resolved that those whose morals do not correspond to the prestige of our Revolution should be barred from any group of performers representing our country abroad.

Finally, it was agreed to demand that severe penalties be applied to those who corrupt the morals of minors, depraved repeat-offenders and irredeemable antisocial elements.

Extracurricular Activities in the Community

Among others of a different nature, these activities may be the following:

— Organizing guided tours of museums and art galleries. For this purpose, special art education halls should be estab-

lished in the various districts;

— Organizing contests in the schools, with a view to the establishment of literary workshops and the development of the creative capacity of young writers;

— Making musical activities, for example, concerts by the National Symphony Orchestra, more accessible to young people;

— Arranging hiking and camping;

— Promoting the practice of sports and gymnastics as a means of both muscular development and entertainment;

— Sponsoring a students' cultural festival as the crowning point to the year's activities;

— Working toward the real objectives behind the Pioneers' activities instead of considering such activities as simple goals to be met;

— Creating Pioneers' clubs, where the children will engage in such educational activities as painting and learning how to play a musical instrument; and

— Organizing programs that will give the children an opportunity to engage in scientific and cultural activities during vacation time.

In the field of more specific activities, the following is suggested:

— Interscholastic meetings of amateur performers;

— The organization of work brigades for the care and upkeep of lawns, buildings, parks and monuments;

— Tours of production centers as part of the research being done in connection with a subject under study at school;

— Cultural activities for children and adolescents should be officially guided by the Ministry of Education and such activities should be considered as part of the school's curriculum.

Mass Media

Radio, television, the cinema and the press—the mass media—are powerful instruments of ideological education, molders of the collective conscience [consciousness?], whose utilization and development should not be left to improvisation or spontaneity.

Pursuant to this principle, the Congress considers it imperative that there be a single politico-cultural leadership, acting in close coordination with the mass media and in accordance with the need for mass-scale education so indispensable to our development; that a close liaison be established between the Ministry of Education and the agencies in charge of the mass media, with a view to the creation of radio, television and cinema programs, newspaper and magazine articles and literary and artistic works which will contribute effectively to the education of children and young people.

Among the mass media, radio and television have the greatest influence on the country's broad masses.

Therefore, all cultural institutions must provide a closer, systematic and sustained collaboration that will make possible the utilization of radio and television as the vehicles for various manifestations and creations, within the technical possibilities

and political character of the programming.

The Congress insisted on the need to consider radio and television not only as a means of entertainment and amusement but also—and fundamentally—as most efficient instruments for the formation of the conscience [consciousness?] of the new man.

As a mass medium, the cinema constitutes the art par excellence in our century. Lenin said, "Of all the arts, cinema is the most important."

We live in a world in which a battle to the death is being waged between the imperialist interests, headed by Yankee imperialism, and the revolutionary interests of the peoples whose vanguard is found in the socialist countries and in the revolutionary movements for national liberation. In this situation, one which characterizes our era, the constant strengthening of our people's ideology is a fundamental task. We are the first socialist country in Latin America; we are the target of multiple and continued harassment, plotting and aggression on the part of Yankee imperialism, whom we have not only resisted but also defeated in every one of its attempts to destroy us—all this amidst a tenacious, heroic struggle for economic transformation aimed at eradicating the heritage of underdevelopment.

Cuba carries on a Revolution whose foundations for the sustenance and enrichment of its ideology and culture are found in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in the traditions of struggle which make up our own history. An in-depth study of those countries with the same culture as ours; of our personality as a nation; of the elements that determine our culture; of its lines of development through more than 100 years of struggle constitutes an unavoidable task, since it entails the possibilities for the constant development of the ideological and cultural level of the masses.

Such a task calls for a systematic, consistent effort in which the mass media and the artistic manifestations of culture, each according to its specific qualities, should promote among our people an interest in and knowledge of our own history. To the extent to which this joint effort reaches its objectives we will be in a position to face imperialist penetration with added power and effectiveness, and we will have the insight to select, from among the bulk of contemporary ideas and influences, those we are to accept and those we are to reject.

The tree of our culture will be the result of this joint effort, an effort based, principally, on our status both as a nation and as Latin Americans—the starting point for a selective assimilation of the world's culture.

This is why the Congress calls for the production of more Cuban films and documentaries of a historical nature as a means for bringing together the past and the present, and proclaims the need for various forms of cinematic information and education to develop among our people an ever-growing capability for analyzing the various forms of this important means of communication.

The rising technological advance of the

mass media and its infinite prospects oblige our revolutionary society to fight against the contamination of the air by imperialist ideology through the creation of ideological antibodies to neutralize its lethal effects. The only alternative reality permits is struggle, not asepsis. Hence the imperative need to engage systematically in a series of public debates, analyses, studies and appraisals that will prepare the masses to face critically every form of expression of bourgeois ideology.

Moreover, we should search for revolutionary methods with which to combat the possible infiltration of imperialist cinema and television through the system of satellites.

It isn't by averting our face, but rather by waging an open battle that we can win in this irreconcilable struggle against imperialist ideology.

Considering their implications and consequences, the problems posed in education by the social environment call for solutions aimed at eradicating the roots that sustain them.

In the field of ideological struggle there is no room for palliatives or half measures. The only alternative is a clear-cut, uncompromising stand.

There is room only for ideological co-existence with the spiritual creation of the revolutionary peoples, with socialist culture, with the forms of expression of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Paraphrasing Jose Marti, we say: "Let the world be grafted onto our Revolution, but the trunk must be our Revolution."

The development of the artistic and literary movement in our country must be based on the consolidation and growth of the amateur movement, aiming at the broad cultural development of the masses and opposing all elitist tendencies.

Socialism creates the objective and subjective conditions which make possible real freedom of creation. Thus, all trends are condemnable and inadmissible which are based on apparent ideas of freedom as a disguise for the counterrevolutionary poison of works that conspire against the revolutionary ideology on which the construction of socialism and communism is based, an effort to which our people are firmly committed and in whose spirit the new generations are educated.

The Congress feels that in selecting workers for the institutions of the superstructure such as universities, mass media and literary and artistic institutions, political and ideological conditions should be taken into account, since their work will have a direct influence on the application of the cultural policy of the Revolution.

The rules governing the national and international literary contests sponsored by our cultural institutions must be revised, along with the revolutionary conditions of the members of the juries and the basis for the awards.

At the same time, it is also necessary to establish a strict system for inviting foreign writers and intellectuals, to avoid the presence of persons whose works or ideology are opposed to the interests of the Revolution, especially in the formation of the new generations, and who

have participated in ideological diversionist activities encouraging their local flunkeys.

Cultural institutions cannot serve as a platform for false intellectuals who try to make snobbery, extravagant conduct, homosexuality and other social aberrations into expressions of revolutionary art, isolated from the masses and the spirit of the Revolution.

The Congress feels that both in music and in other forms of art and literature, efforts should be made:

1.— To work on the development of our own forms and revolutionary cultural values.

2.— To develop an understanding of the cultural values of the brother nations of Latin America.

3.— To assimilate the best of universal culture without having it imposed on us from abroad.

4.— To develop educational programs for teaching the nature and origin of Cuban music.

Culture affects the reality which creates it and takes part in the struggle of the peoples that have been the victims of oppression throughout the centuries of colonialism and capitalist exploitation.

Culture, like education, is not and cannot be apolitical or impartial, because it is a social and historical phenomenon conditioned by the needs of social classes and their struggles and interests throughout history. Apoliticalism is nothing more than a reactionary and shamefaced attitude in the cultural field.

For the bourgeoisie, the elimination of the cultural elements of its class and system represents the elimination of culture as such.

For the working class and people in general, the culture born of the revolutionary struggle is the conquest and development of the most valuable of humanity's cultural heritage which the exploiters kept them from for centuries.

The revolutionary intellectual must aim his work at the elimination of all hangovers of the old society that still remain during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

2*

The full formation of man requires the development of all the capabilities that society can promote in him. There are no obstacles to this development in a communist society.

Education is also carried out through the participation in all forms of art and literature.

The socialist school, together with the other organized forces of society, is the main factor in the multifaceted formation of man. Artistic activity is one of the basic elements and must be promoted from the first grade on.

Scientific-technical, political-ideological and physical, moral, aesthetic education,

* No numbered subhead "1" appears in the text printed by *Granma*. — IP

constitute our concept of the integral formation of man.

3

During the colonial era, African elements, in spite of the brutal repression, were forged with Spanish elements and laid the foundation for Cuban culture.

In the first decades of the last century the key aspects of our nationality were established and this was reflected in art and literature.

The independence struggles of our people provided our national culture with its own special features, at the same time that it is capable of assimilating the best of universal culture.

In his life and work Jose Marti is the greatest example of Cuban culture and of the identification of the intellectual with the cause of his country and people to the point of giving his own life for that cause. Writers, artists and professionals fought and died in our independence wars along with farmers, slaves freed by the Revolution, artisans and other city workers.

The revolutionary intellectuals who created a national culture were opposed by a sell-out trend that reflected the reactionary political ideas of that era: the annexationists, reformists and autonomists, followed by the supporters of the Platt Amendment in 1901, who fared so well during the period of the pseudo-Republic.

The patriotic, anti-imperialist and popular revolution carried out in 1895 under the leadership of Marti was cut off by the Yankee intervention of 1898. From that moment on, arrogant and brutal Yankee imperialism carried out its program of economic, cultural and political neocolonialization.

The neocolony installed in Cuba handed the wealth of the country over to the Yankee monopolies, supported the policy which was most beneficial to the interests of the new masters, repressed the people and put into practice a plan aimed at smashing national culture.

They degraded and tried to destroy our forms of cultural expression so that we would believe we had no traditions of our own.

They introduced their ideas into our school textbooks to distort our history. Through their control of the mass media, they mocked our people and gave publicity to the American way of life, launching a campaign of collective stupefaction by means of the colonialization of aesthetic taste.

The colonial hangovers were reinforced by imperialist domination; our development was blocked and we were left with a minimum education, a million illiterate adults and the commercialization of education, which was subject to every form of discrimination.

The workers, farmers, students and honest intellectuals, true to our patriotic traditions, fought against all this in a militant manner.

Breaking through the imperialist encirclement, the best Cuban intellectuals were

firm heirs to the legitimate cultural past in new historical conditions.

4

Revolutionary power made it possible for writers and artists to create as never before, without the pressure of capitalist society.

The Literacy Campaign, the nationalization of education and the mass media, scholarship plans and the establishment of cultural institutions were basic elements in this transformation. The people became avidly interested in books, plays, films and art in general.

From the very first moments, the Cuban Revolution enjoyed the solidarity of the peoples the world over, and the most outstanding international intellectuals. But together with those who honestly understood the justice of the revolutionary cause and defended it, there were certain petty-bourgeois intellectuals, pseudoleftists of the capitalist world, who used the Revolution to gain prestige with the people of the underdeveloped world. These opportunists tried to penetrate here with their debilitating ideas, and to impose their fashions and tastes, and even act as judges of the Revolution.

They are the bearers of a new colonialization, those who try to dictate political and cultural standards from the capitals of the Western world.

These people have found a small group of mentally colonialized people in our country who have echoed their ideas.

They who pick up the chains which our people have broken in their 100 years of struggle, deserve our deep contempt, expressed in the process of strengthening the mass organizations and particularly the labor movement, in the assemblies of educational workers and in all branches of social activity. The workers are the ones who have denounced these undermining ideas aimed at disparaging our people and deforming our youth.

The people are the ones who have always saved and defended our culture. Side by side with them have been the majority of our writers and artists, all our true values, whose activity has been blocked to a certain extent during these last few years by this obstructionist and colonialist trend.

5

We are a blockaded nation.

We are building socialism only a few steps away from the center of world imperialism, on a continent where until very recently it held absolute power.

The danger of military aggression by Yankee imperialism against Cuba is no speculation; it has been present throughout our revolutionary process.

Our people fight against imperialism and build socialism on all fronts.

Art is a weapon of the Revolution.

A product of the fighting spirit of our people.

A weapon against the penetration of enemy.

The socialist revolution as such is the greatest achievement of Cuban culture and, with this great truth in mind, we are determined to continue the battle for

its highest possible development.

Our art and literature will be a valuable tool for the formation of our young people in the spirit of revolutionary morals, excluding selfishness and other aberrations typical of bourgeois culture.

Culture in a collectivist society is a mass activity, not the monopoly of an elite or the decoration of a chosen few or the free franchise of those with no roots in society.

True genius is to be found among the masses and not among a few isolated individuals. The class nature of the enjoyment of culture has resulted in the brilliance of only a few isolated individuals for the time being. But this is only a sign of the prehistory of society, not of the nature of culture.

The masses are the protagonists in the real history of humanity, which starts with the revolutionary struggle and the seizure of power. That is when the human, political and ideological conditions of every man become vitally important.

Free man, liberated from alienation, master of his own destiny, will not be subject to the imprisonment of his being in any exclusive practice.

The intelligence of the masses will develop culture to the limit of its creative potential and will create the possibility for full individual development.

Teachers, technicians, scientists, students and all other workers can express their rich experiences and develop their literary and artistic ability in literature and all other forms of culture.

The ideological formation of young writers and artists is a very important task of the Revolution. It is our duty to educate them in Marxism-Leninism, arm them with the required technique and equip them with the ideas of the Revolution.

The Revolution frees art and literature from the rigid laws of supply and demand which operate in bourgeois society. Art and literature are no longer merchandise and the possibilities for all forms of expression and aesthetic experimentation based on high ideological and technical standards are created.

While the art of the Revolution will be drawn from the roots of our nationality, it will also be internationalist. We will encourage the legitimate and militant expressions of cultural activity by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America which imperialism tries to smash. Our cultural institutions will be tools for the real artists of those continents, the persecuted and ignored, those who are not domesticated by cultural colonialism and actively participate in the anti-imperialist struggles of their people.

We condemn the false Latin-American writers who, after the first successes obtained with works that still expressed the drama of those nations, broke their links with the countries where they were born and took refuge in the capitals of Western Europe and the United States to become agents of the metropolitan imperialist culture.

In Paris, London, Rome, West Berlin and New York, these hypocrites find the best terrain for their ambiguities, vacillation and misery generated by the cul-

tural colonialism which they accept and support. All they will receive from the revolutionary peoples is the contempt which the traitor and deserter merit.

We should recall the words of a delegate to the Havana Cultural Congress: "We westerners are already so contaminated that a responsible intellectual should, in the first place, say to all men from countries that are less caught in the net: don't trust me or my words. Don't trust anything I have. I am sick, and my sickness is contagious. The only healthy thing about me is knowing that I am sick. Those who don't consider themselves sick are really the sickest."

"Our illness is the colonialization of the mind. It was imposed on us during a long psychological war which capitalism waged against the peoples it ruled."

The peoples of the colonialized and exploited countries of the world will not hesitate when the time comes to decide which path to follow. Not only will they have to oppose the economic oppression of the monopolies, they will also have to oppose and reject neocolonialist ideas and models. Imperialism has engaged in cultural genocide against those peoples, it has tried to subvert their national values and language. This process of annihilation has been a constant factor on our three continents, and has been expressed with brutal magnitude in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The life or death battle must be waged on all fronts: economic, political and ideological.

From the mother countries the conscientious allies of imperialism try to exert their influence over the underdeveloped people and subject them to cultural neocolonialism. This is the reality which the exploited countries have faced.

We fight against all colonialism in the field of ideas and aesthetics. We will not pay tribute to false values reflecting the structures of societies that deprecate our peoples.

We reject the claims of the Mafia of pseudoleftist bourgeois intellectuals to become the critical conscience of society. The people themselves are the critical conscience of society; in the first place, the working class, prepared by its historic experience and revolutionary ideology to understand and judge more clearly than any other social sector the acts of the Revolution.

Being an intellectual does not give a person any kind of privilege. It is his responsibility to cooperate, with the people and within the people, in that critique. This entails sharing in the work, sacrifices and dangers along with the people. Those who, with the "lordlike arrogance" of past days to which Lenin alluded, arrogate to themselves the role of exclusive critics while abandoning the scene of the struggle and using our Latin-American peoples as themes for their literary creations thereby becoming favorites in bourgeois circles and imperialist publishing houses, cannot appoint themselves judges of revolutions. On the contrary, their peoples, whom they desert, will judge them. Their peoples already distinguish them from the truly revolutionary intellectuals who have remained with the people and within the people taking part in the hard daily task

of creating and fighting, sharing all the risks with those people and, as Marti and Che did, exchanging the "trench of ideas" for the "trench of rocks" when duty demanded that they do so.

Our cultural expressions will contribute to the people's struggle for national liberation and socialism.

We will never accept what the imperialists put out as their best artistic expressions, outstanding among which is pornography, the most unequivocal manifestation of imperialism's decadence.

A new society cannot pay homage to the filth of capitalism. Socialism cannot begin where Rome ended. Our artistic work will heighten man's sensitivity and culture, creating in him a collectivist conscience and leaving no room for enemy diversionism in any of its forms.

While imperialism uses all its media to promote softening, corruption and vice, we intensify our work in radio, television, the cinema, books and periodicals so as to constantly increase their effectiveness as tools to fight the imperialists' attempt at ideological penetration.

The fakery may be against Cuba, but the truly honest and revolutionary intellectuals understand the justness of our position. This is the people of Giron and the October Crisis, the people that has maintained, is maintaining and will continue to maintain its victorious Revolution only 90 miles from the shores of imperialism.

Many pseudorevolutionary writers who in West Europe masquerade as leftists but in reality uphold positions against socialism; those who play at Marxism, but are against the socialist countries; those who claim to be in solidarity with the liberation struggles but support the Israeli aggression and conquest of territories perpetrated against the Arab peoples with the aid of U. S. imperialism; and those who in the final analysis turned leftism into merchandise will be unmasked.

The game of playing with the destiny of the peoples must come to a final end

without further delay. We who are in this besieged fortress proclaim that our peoples must give a resounding call for independence from cultural colonialism.

Because of their timeliness and full validity, this Congress adopts Jose Marti's stirring words:

"Let the troubadours of the monarchies weep over the statues of kings that lie battered at the feet of the horses of revolutions; let the republican troubadours weep over the propped cradles of their

infected and decaying republics; let the bards of ancient nations weep over the shattered scepters, fallen monuments, lost virtue and frightful discouragement—the offense of having tolerated slavery punishable by continuing to be one for a very long time. We have heroes to immortalize, heroines to exalt, admirable exploits to praise; we have the aggrieved and glorious legion of our martyrs who plaintively demand that we sing their lamentations and hymns." □

Documents

Irish-American View on Socialism

[One of the most notable developments in the last ten years in Ireland and the Irish communities in Britain and North America has been the growing realization by many devoted and experienced nationalist fighters that Irish nationhood can be defended and restored only by overthrowing capitalism. This understanding is well reflected in the following editorial, which we have taken from the May 2 issue of the *Irish American Review*, a weekly publication reflecting the views of the militant wing of the Irish nationalist movement. Single copies cost 15 cents and the price of a year's subscription is \$5. The address of the publication is P.O. Box 336, Jerome Avenue Station, Bronx, New York 10468.]

* * *

Most Irish Republicans would agree that the men who are selling Ireland to the E. E. C. [European Economic Community] are traitors and should be branded as such.

But what is their treachery based on? It is based on the fact that many of them have well and truly lined their pockets and are now capitalists. They betray because they belong to the traitor class.

It is laughable to imagine that a class that is dedicated to nothing but profit will be affected by considerations of patriotism.

James Connolly showed this in his classical book, *Labour In Irish History*. He showed how Diarmuid MacMorrough¹ betrayed to impose feudalism on the free clans; the leaders of Gratton's Parliament²

betrayed so as to preserve landlordism under British guarantee. Griffith³ betrayed in 1922 so that England should guarantee Irish capitalists against the advance of socialism; and [now] Fianna Fail is betraying so that Germany⁴ will guarantee the preservation of the capitalist system in Ireland.

Connolly was the man who pointed out that nationalism and socialism were not contradictory but complementary. The destruction of national independence is the destruction of the machinery by which a people expresses its democracy. And rather than allow that democracy to decree socialism, the capitalist class will destroy it.

But, you ask, are they in danger to that degree? Is there such a demand for socialism? There is an almost universal demand for a new way of life, especially among the youth, who know that radio, television, press and all the talk of politicians of the capitalist parties is an elaborately designed fraud to dupe them.

They are confused and resentful. They will be much more resentful when they cease to be confused. So the traitors are selling up Ireland in good time before the young people are ready.

But do not worry. It will avail them nothing. If the existing democracy is destroyed, a new one will be established. Both a united Irish Republic, and a socialist one to boot, are guaranteed, because the mass of the people are more numerous than the traitors.

It may be a long, hard struggle, but it will be successful in the end.

3. Arthur Griffith, one of the main leaders of the right wing of the nationalist forces in the 1919-21 war of independence. He was also one of the main advocates of the Anglo-Irish compromise of 1922, which maintained the bases of British domination.—IP

4. German businessmen have been among the most active in taking advantage of the "good investment climate" created by the Dublin government. In particular, they have bought up a lot of land which Irish farmers have been forced to abandon or were unable to buy from absentee landlords.—IP

Infrared "sniper scopes" that enable soldiers to see in the dark are reported by an ophthalmologist to cause cancer, retinal burns, and cataracts.

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1. The king of the eastern Irish province of Leinster who invited Anglo-Norman adventurers to Ireland to help him in his war against the high king in the middle of the twelfth century. This incident, as well as a bull issued by the English pope Adrian IV, gave the English monarchy its pretext for claiming sovereignty over the country.—IP

2. Under Henry Gratton, the Dublin parliament, representing the landholding and commercial classes descended from the English conquerors, attempted to win greater autonomy from London. It established the principle of autonomy and introduced some reforms in the "constitution of 1782," but allowed its military force to be dispersed without a fight. The Dublin parliament was abolished in 1803, long after it had lost all spirit of independence.—IP