

Peking

Stabs

Ceylon

Rebels

in Back



CHOU EN-LAI: Sends congratulations, loan, and offer of "material assistance" to Bandaranaike in struggle against rebels. See page 541.

Fidel Castro's Defense of Handling of Padilla Case

Padilla's Answer

Sixty prominent intellectuals, well-known supporters of the Cuban revolution, issued an open letter May 20 in Paris on the case of the poet Heberto Padilla, who confessed to "counterrevolutionary" attitudes after spending some time in prison.

Among other things, the letter said: "The deplorable text of the confession signed by Heberto Padilla can only have been obtained by means that amount to the negation of revolutionary legality and justice. . . ."

"The contents of this confession, with its absurd accusations and delirious assertions . . . recall the most sordid moments of the era of Stalinism. . . ." [See *Intercontinental Press*, May 31, page 497.]

The Cuban press agency, Prensa Latina, carried an answer to this letter by Padilla himself, according to the May 30 issue of *Le Monde*. He is alleged to have said, among other things: "I see our eternal enemies disguised as poets, film producers, painters, or novelists, united with those who are finally throwing off the mask of Marxist philosophers or thinkers to reveal their true faces as creators of defeatist and reactionary philosophies, to act like their true selves—ferocious enemies of socialism. . . ."

"Our interests are in work, in study, in the plans that day after day are transforming our country. Yours are in aesthetics, Paris gossip, prizes, the theories which were my most odious faults and which you represent to the highest degree."

Padilla is supposed to have concluded with these phrases: "You say moreover that I did not write this letter [the confession], that it is not my style, you who were never interested in my style, you bourgeois liberals who always considered me an 'underdeveloped writer' and who are only interested in me today as a way of attacking the revolution. . . . All right, continue to serve the CIA, imperialism, and world reaction. Cuba does not need you." □

Some People More Than Others

A group of U. S. industrialists is "attacking" pollution with the advertising slogan, "People start pollution."

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Pakistani Dictator Looking for Bengali Allies

Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan has begun political maneuvers aimed at establishing some sort of puppet organization to exercise control over the devastated land of East Bengal. Writing from Karachi in the June 5 *New York Times*, Malcolm W. Browne reported:

"Jang, the nation's largest newspaper, reported today [June 4] that moves were under way to form a new party that would include these members [of the Awami League] but would be opposed to separatism.

"The Government appears to be focusing its efforts on the league's bloc of representatives elected last December to the National Assembly. . . ."

Jang reported that Akthar Sulaiman, daughter of the Awami League's founder, had received the support of more than 100 former league representatives in national and provincial assemblies for the effort to found such a party.

According to Denzil Peiris of Asian News Service, writing in the May 25 *Christian Science Monitor*, the politicians whom Yahya hopes to enlist in his cause are "second-rung" leaders of the Awami League.

"These men," Peiris wrote, "did not join the breakaway Bangla Desh government announced by the resistance movement last month.

"They surrendered to the Army after military action began following the breakdown of talks between President Yahya and Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League leader."

One of Yahya's means of persuading league leaders to cooperate in the subjugation of East Bengal is the threat that the recalcitrant will be jailed or killed. Speaking to foreign correspondents in Karachi May 24, the dictator remarked:

"Some people have spoken of a general amnesty for the Awami League. For those who were genuinely misled, all right, but for those who committed rebellion, murder, looting, raping, and arson, no. I shall deal with those criminals."

Despite the continued press censorship, some reports have filtered out of

East Bengal that indicate Yahya's difficulties in suppressing the independence movement militarily. Sydney H. Schanberg wrote in the May 25 issue of the *New York Times*:

". . . foreign informants report that the Pakistani Army has been able to widen its control of vital installations and major towns and cities. But they said that guerrilla and terrorist activity by Bengali insurgents—buttressed by Bengali noncooperation in general—have prevented the army from establishing an effective civil administration in most of East Pakistan."

On May 12, Schanberg said, Bengali forces had fought the army at Admin Bazar, only fifteen miles from Dacca. He added that the independence movement was continuing to destroy rail lines and bridges.

The number of refugees created by Yahya's genocidal war is now estimated at 4,000,000 to 5,000,000, and an additional 100,000 per day cross into India. Cholera has broken out, and an epidemic threatens.

"Even without the refugees," Anthony Lewis wrote in the June 7 *New York Times*, "Calcutta and that whole area of India has been politically troubled, riven by left-wing factions and violence. The refugees must add appalling strains to an impoverished and tense society. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who at best faced a profound task in giving India any hope of progress in the next few years, must now divert much of her energy and her Government's to the refugee problem. She must worry also about an extremist-led guerrilla movement developing across the border in East Pakistan if the military occupation continues."

It is the latter possibility rather than any concern for the refugees that disturbs American imperialism. On June 2, a *New York Times* editorial hinted that at least part of the U. S. ruling class would take an understanding view of Indian military intervention to suppress the danger:

"A prolonged guerrilla conflict in East Pakistan would have profound repercussions in the neighboring vio-

lence-prone Indian state of West Bengal, already shaken by the influx of more than three million refugees from the Pakistani Army's campaign of terror. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi is under mounting pressure to intervene to try to check this threat to India's own internal peace and integrity."

While such intervention would have as its goal the short-circuiting of the independence movement and its anti-capitalist dynamic, it would also sacrifice the interests of Pakistani capitalists to the Indian bourgeoisie. This is the reason for Yahya's hurried attempt to patch up some kind of agreement with elements of the Awami League.

Another reason for haste is the threatened collapse of the Pakistan economy, which has been shattered by military expenses and the disruption of the East Bengal colony.

While Richard Nixon is willing to help Yahya over these difficulties, he is restrained by the worldwide revulsion against the massacre of Bengalis. A public reconciliation between Yahya and a few Awami League leaders would provide the pretext for declaring the establishment of peace and "national unity," followed immediately by the arrival of U. S. funds.

The leader of the Pakistan People's party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, continues to back Yahya's strategy while maneuvering to obtain a share of the spoils. On May 23, Bhutto told reporters:

"On December 7 [the date of the National Assembly elections] the people made their choices and the result was three forces in the country—the Government, the Pakistan People's party and the Awami League. Now the Awami League is banned so there are only two forces. We must accept that political reality."

In an appropriate comparison, Bhutto staked his claim to office:

"To insist here that the elected representatives of the people are power hungry in wanting to assume office is like calling President Nixon power hungry for wanting to occupy the White House after he was elected." □

Extent of Uprising Caught Everyone by Surprise

Colombo

The uprising led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) began on the night of April 4 with an attack on a police station in the southeast of Ceylon, where there is considerable jungle. The next day there are said to have been simultaneous attacks on many police stations, in the southern, central, north-central, and northwestern provinces, which took the police and the government by surprise.

This was because a State of Emergency had been declared throughout the island from March 16, after Rohan Wijeweera and Mahinda Wijesekera, two leaders of the JVP, had already been arrested and remanded, and following nearly three weeks of an intensive drive by the police to arrest adherents of the JVP and to break up their organization, using to the full the special powers given to the police for arrest, interrogation, and search.

About 450 persons had already been reported to have been arrested, and considerable quantities of handbombs and explosives were said to have been found by the police when the uprising began.

The government claims to have obtained documents and confessions that show that the uprising was planned over a long period of time. There is no doubt now that the JVP had made preparations for an armed struggle sooner or later, on a scale that we hardly believed possible; but we think that the repressive actions of the police against the JVP from the time that it announced its intention to hold its first public meeting on August 10, 1970, followed by the all-out repression that was launched against it by the government from March 16, under the "Emergency," really left it with no alternative but to fight back with all it had.

In the circumstances, even though the armed struggle already appears to have been reduced to a form of rural guerrilla struggle, confined more and more to jungle areas, it has far exceeded all estimates of what the JVP was considered capable of doing in that respect.

The politically most disturbing fea-

ture of the uprising—for the government—is that it has been confined almost entirely to those parts of the country where the Sinhala-Buddhist rural masses predominate, and where the main party in the United Front government, the Sri Lanka Freedom party, won sweeping victories in the general election of May 27 last year.

It is thus in the nature of a revolt of the educated and unemployed youth who contributed decisively to the victory of the United Front, in the expectation of radical social change, which it promised, but which it soon proved to be unwilling to effect.

The scale on which the armed revolt has taken place, and its initial successes in many areas, resulting even in temporary control of certain areas by the insurgents, has had a deep and ineradicable effect on mass consciousness already, which will undoubtedly have revolutionary repercussions.

The conditions of a police state prevail here at present. There are signs that the hysteria that prevailed in government circles against the "terrorists" has abated with the receding of the military danger from the insurgents; but it is still too early to expect any relaxation of the State of Emergency as far as civil liberties and democratic rights are concerned.

Even though the plantation workers and the urban working class have not been involved in the uprising, almost the entirety of the organized working class has been deprived of its fundamental democratic rights of assembly, publication, and strike.

All public meetings and processions, distribution of any leaflet or pamphlet amongst the public, and pasting of any poster in any public place are prohibited, unless expressly permitted by the police. All publications are subject to censorship, and any printing press can be sealed or newspaper banned by the censor by a mere administrative order.

Several student newspapers, including the JVP newspapers, have already been banned, probably because the universities are regarded as the centers from which the leadership of the

uprising came. No printer will now risk publishing any newspaper of the left.

On April 25, the prime minister, in a broadcast to the nation, stated that there seemed to have been no basis for believing that arms, supplies, or moral support were given to the insurgents by any foreign government. She added:

"In the case of one foreign Embassy [presumably the North Korean embassy] I had occasion to point out to them some time ago that the effect of certain activities carried on by them was giving strength and support to these terrorists, who were then preparing themselves for their nefarious tasks, and they should desist from these activities.

"As they did not do so, in accordance with my request, I had to ask the Ambassador to close the Embassy and leave the country."

All we know is that the North Korean embassy published the biography of Kim Il Sung in English and Sinhala, and various propaganda pamphlets about North Korean achievements, and also showed films on the same subject.

The prime minister's statement only confirms our view that the uprising is an essentially Ceylonese manifestation of the worldwide radicalization of the youth in the context of the decay of the capitalist system and the development of the colonial revolution in Asia. □

American Way of Life

Columnist Jack Anderson reported May 5 that two members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Robert Steele of Connecticut and Morgan Murphy of Illinois, had discovered that CIA planes have been used to transport heroin for drug-addicted GIs in South Vietnam.

The drug operation in Laos, according to Anderson, is under the direction of Laotian army commander General Ouan Rathikoun, who enjoys the protection of Inspector General Prince Boun Oum.

At least some of the heroin is brought into South Vietnam by bribing customs agents to look the other way. Anderson said that Steele considers Saigon premier Tran Thien Khiem the man responsible for corrupting the customs agents.

Chou En-lai Praises Crushing of Uprising in Ceylon

The Mao regime is currently practicing the policy of "peaceful coexistence" in such a brazen way as to suggest an attempt to outbid the Kremlin in reaching an amicable understanding with U. S. imperialism.

Mao's friend Yahya Khan received full support in putting down the rebellion of Bangla Desh, in a mass slaughter that has few parallels.

Mao is carrying out the same policy in Ceylon, where the coalition government headed by Sirimavo Bandaranaike is stamping out an uprising involving tens of thousands of the flower of Ceylon's youth.

On May 27 the Mao regime granted the hard-pressed Bandaranaike government a most substantial loan. The June 3 *Ceylon News* reported the timely assist as follows:

"It is a gesture unprecedented as far as Ceylon is concerned and unprecedented in the annals of economic assistance—Dr. H. A. de S. Gunasekera, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Planning and Development, said on Friday [of] China's Rs. 150 million [about US\$30,000,000] interest-free loan to Ceylon.

"Dr. Gunasekera was speaking after Mr. Ma Tzu-Ching, Ambassador for the People's Republic of China in Ceylon, and he had signed the loan agreement yesterday.

"The gesture is all the more appreciated because China herself has enormous problems of economic development", Dr. Gunasekera said.

"The loan", said Dr. Gunasekera, 'would be used to support the Government's program of economic development.

"It will help in supporting our ability to pay for imports when the five-year plan of economic development now under preparation will come into effect from 1972. In this way it will help ease our liquidity crisis", said Dr. Gunasekera."

Even more important than the cash was the accompanying letter from Chou En-lai to Bandaranaike, offering the Chinese government's political support in crushing the rebellion led by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP).

The full text, as reported by the June 3 *Ceylon News*, is as follows:

"I am grateful to Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government for your trust in the Chinese Government and your friendly sentiments towards the Chinese people.

"The friendship between China and Ceylon is in the fundamental interests of the two peoples and can stand tests. The Chinese Government and people highly treasure the friendship between our 2 countries and no one with ulterior motives will ever succeed in trying to sow discord and sabotage our friendly relations.

"Following Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching, the Chinese people have all along opposed ultra 'left' and right opportunism in their protracted revolutionary struggles.

"We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control.

"We believe that as a result of Your Excellency's leadership and the co-operation and support of the Ceylonese people these acts of rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and abroad for the purpose of undermining the interests of the Ceylonese people are bound to fail.

"We fully agree to the correct position of defending state sovereignty and guarding against foreign interference as referred to by Your Excellency. The Chinese Government and people admire this and firmly support Ceylon in her just struggle towards this end.

"As Your Excellency is deeply aware the Chinese Government has consistently abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence, has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is also firmly opposed to any country interfering in other countries' internal affairs, and particularly to foreign reactionaries taking advantage of the opportunity to carry out armed intervention.

"I would like once again to reaffirm

this unshakable stand of the Chinese Government.

"In the interests of the friendship between China and Ceylon and in consideration of the needs of the Ceylon Government the Chinese Government in compliance with the request of the Ceylon Government, agrees to provide it with a long-term interest-free loan of 150 million rupees in convertible foreign exchange.

"We would like to hear any views which Your Excellency might have on this matter.

"We are prepared to deliver a portion of the loan in May and sign a document on it.

"As for other material assistance, please let us know if it is needed."

The *Ceylon News* reported—perhaps needlessly—that the "Prime Minister has replied [to] Premier Chou En-lai thanking him for the message."

'Aftonbladet' Impressed

"Some 35,000 Trotskyists marched through the working-class districts of Paris to commemorate the Paris Commune of 1871 and to support the striking Renault workers," correspondent Gudrun Ekeflo wrote in the May 18 issue of *Aftonbladet*, the Social Democratic-oriented Stockholm evening paper.

"The Trotskyist march on Sunday was an imposing rally against the Pompidou regime. . . .

"I counted fifty police vans on the way to the assembly point, although the demonstrators had permission to march. But the Trotskyists are one of the best organized groups in France and no clashes occurred."

Ekeflo seemed impressed by the extent of the revolutionary upsurge in France, which was exemplified by the Trotskyist demonstrations May 15-16. He noted in particular that it has thrown the Communist party sharply onto the defensive:

"Today the Renault factories have been occupied by their employees. The metalworkers are striking. The French Communist party is coming down hard against the extreme left, which it characterizes as fascist.

"But in the driving rain on Sunday, 35,000 people formed up to demonstrate in honor of the Paris Commune. And that was only the Trotskyists." □

'Le Monde' Assesses Sylvester Kidnapping

[The following article by Philippe Labreveux gives some details about the kidnapping of the British consul in Rosario, Argentina, which have not appeared elsewhere in the international press. We have translated it from the June 1 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. For other information, see "The Kidnapping of Stanley Sylvester," *Intercontinental Press*, June 7, page 517.]

* * *

Buenos Aires

After being kidnapped by the guerrillas of the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary People's Army], Stanley Sylvester, British consul in Rosario, was released May 30. He had been held captive for a week in a "people's prison." The plant he manages—the Swift packing-house, which is owned by the American holding company Deltec International—had met the demands of the revolutionists. The list included reinstatement of discharged workers, an improvement in working conditions, and payment of full wages despite a recent shutdown. The ERP also demanded that the company pay its workers, their families, and the inhabitants of the Rosario shantytowns an "indemnity" of 250,000 pesos (\$60,000) in the form of blankets, food, and school supplies.

Presenting themselves as modern Robin Hoods, the guerrillas carried off their operation with complete success. Of course, the authorities did not look favorably on a foreign company accepting such a deal. But what could they do? The ERP outfoxed the police forces that combed the city for an entire week.

Furthermore, the guerrillas refrained from threatening to kill Sylvester. Such a threat would have been an error because, according to the union leaders themselves, he has the respect of the workers. Finally, the ransom was by no means excessive.

The attention the press gave to the kidnapping enabled the ERP to gain the best advantage from methods that are generally condemned. The televi-

sion reports on the victim's relatives and the police raids in the slums of Rosario served to illustrate the communiqués of the revolutionists: "Is it right that Sylvester's family and those of the other exploiters live in luxurious homes," these communiqués said, "while the company's workers live in shantytowns and get a starvation wage?"

On the banks of the Rio de la Plata, there is no longer anything original about choosing kidnapping as a "political weapon." But the operation against a "representative of British imperialism and a Yankee monopoly" fitted very neatly into the context of a prolonged trade-union conflict, even though this conflict had been practically resolved. This enabled the revolutionists of the People's Army to point up clearly the causes and objectives of their struggle. In this way, they showed more maturity than the other clandestine organizations operating in Argentina.

Of course, the Trotskyists who formed the ERP last year did not harbor any illusions about the results of their gesture: "We know that these

blankets, groceries, and school supplies will not put an end to the poverty of the Argentinian workers. But this application of people's justice will at least have served to highlight the exploitation of the workers by their company, the betrayal of the so-called union leaders, the complicity between the dictator and the monopolies, the repressive forces and British imperialism, as well as the ineffectiveness of the police and the army. . . ."

The Argentinian guerrillas are much further from taking power than the Tupamaros. Unlike the actions of their Uruguayan comrades, their operations do not hold the constant attention of the government. But they have played an important role in the evolution of the military regime since the Córdoba uprising in 1969. They upset the climate of law and order maintained by General Onganía and helped to bring about his fall. If President Alejandro Lanusse has promised to hold free elections and has invited former President Perón to return, it is to avoid the spread of the guerrilla movement, which often invokes the name of the ex-chief of state. □

Argentina

The ERP Mourns Death of Three

In a leaflet circulated in Argentina, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People), which carried out the recent kidnapping of Stanley M. F. Sylvester, paid tribute to three of its members who were slain by the police in a different action last April 17.

Marcelo Lezcano was born in Yerba Buena, Tucumán, in 1942. He worked at the San José sugar mill, where he gained a reputation for his militancy in strike struggles. In 1965 he joined the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party, the Argentinian section of the Fourth International), and subsequently took specialized military training. Recently he was co-

opted into the Central Committee of the party.

José Alberto Polti was born October 7, 1949. He was a university student in the school of medicine. He took part in one of the first guerrilla units set up by the PRT before the ERP was formed in July 1968.

Juan del Valle Taborda was born November 11, 1946. He was currently studying agronomy at the National University of Córdoba, where he also worked on the maintenance staff. Last December he became a member of the San Martín union commission of the maintenance staff, serving as treasurer. In 1969 he adopted the line of armed struggle and entered

the ERP in August 1970.

On April 17, according to the leaflet, the three were engaged in an action. They were traveling in a station wagon which they had previously expropriated.

They were stopped and then chased by a number of units of the Comando Radioeléctrico.

"Our comrades," continues the account, "began retreating in the direction of the San Martín district. The auto was put out of commission by a bullet fired into the hood. They continued on foot, shooting until their ammunition was exhausted.

"It was then, when they were trying to get away, already disarmed and with two of them wounded, that they were overtaken by the mercenary police and *murdered in cold blood*, without being able to put up any defense because of their lack of ammunition."

The leaflet ends as follows:

"'In a revolution, when it is a genuine one, you triumph or you die,' our Commander in Chief Che Guevara said. He certified to the truth of his words through his luminous life and his heroic death. Lezcano, Polti, and Taborda did so, too. They took up arms aware that the call to battle of our Army, 'Win or die for Argentina,' is not a simple slogan to be attached to a communiqué. They accepted taking the risk of death because they loved life, because they loved their wives and their children, because they were thinking of them and of all the children of the people, who deserve a better future, a life of dignity, in a Socialist Country.

"Che also said that a revolutionist wants to live in order to realize his ideas, but he is willing to die for them. He knew that other hands would reach out to take up his gun. Lezcano, Polti, and Taborda knew that in their heroic Córdoba, in the whole country, hundreds of hands of the workers and the people are already reaching out to pick up the guns of those who have fallen. Because of this they resisted until the last bullet was gone.

"Thus fighters of the people know how to die—today and in the future. Let the police not rejoice. Let the dictatorship not rejoice. The Revolutionary Army of the People will know how to avenge its dead. The Argentine people will know how to take up the arms that they knew how to fire up to the last cartridge." □

Bolivia

Bosses Threaten Life of Union Leader

The mass upsurge that began in Bolivia when the rightist generals tried to seize power last October 4 continues. As a result of the shifting balance of forces in the country, the situation in the trade unions is also changing rapidly.

"In the heat of the advancing revolutionary process, the yellow trade-union leaders have been swept away, and first the local executive boards and then the district councils have fallen into the hands of proven revolutionary fighters loyal to the ranks," the Bolivian Trotskyist paper *Combate* wrote in its May 1-15 issue.

In particular, the growing militancy of the La Paz flour workers' union, which represents an important sector of the urban proletariat in this underdeveloped country, has led to violent conflicts.

"The bosses in the baking business have looked with disfavor on the rise of a team of revolutionary leaders in the Federación Departamental de Trabajadores en Harina [La Paz Department Council of the Flour Workers' Union]." This council is led by the revolutionary Marxist Eulogio Sánchez Tolava.

The bosses planned a murderous counterattack, *Combate* learned.

"The Asociación de Industriales Panificadores [Association of Bread Manufacturers] discussed its conflicts with the flour workers' union in its meeting last Saturday. The bosses accused Sánchez of being responsible for their difficulties, of being an extremist Red, and so forth. . . . Camargo, Ponce, and Beltrán were the most warlike. They proposed the physical liquidation of Eulogio Sánchez. This proposal was accepted on Camargo's urging."

Combate warned: "We do not know who has been given the dirty job of murdering Sánchez, but we do have a list of those present at the meeting and they will experience revolutionary justice. Their moneybags will not help them."

In the present situation of extreme tensions, *Combate* called on the bakery workers to remain "alert and vigilant." It added: "It is necessary to trail the bosses at every oven, in every plant or shop, and be ready to smash their schemes and their criminal projects." □

Pollution: People Don't Cause It

The persistent but erroneous opinion that most of the world's problems are caused by too many people received another rude blow with the publication of the April issue of *Environment* magazine.

Three scientists reported in that issue their conclusion that the amount of destruction of the environment is largely unrelated to population density. The three started from a formula proposed by biologist Paul Ehrlich that states pollution is proportional to three factors: population, per capita consumption, and "environmental impact per unit of production."

The three soon found that population was not really important in the equation. In the period 1946-68, for example, while the population of the U. S. was increasing 48 percent, measurable destruction of the environment—the number of bacteria in water, amount of smog in the air, etc.—increased from 200 to 1,000 percent.

During the same period, the per capita gross national product increased by only 59 percent, which means that the second factor in Ehrlich's formula is not very important either.

That leaves only the third element, "environmental impact per unit of production"—a polite phrase that means, roughly, "how much damage a businessman does every time he has a commodity produced."

The *Environment* article singled out certain types of production as being particularly harmful: plastics, synthetic organic chemicals, electrical power, detergents. This led them to the conclusion:

". . . in seeking public policies to alleviate environmental degradation, it must be recognized that a stable population with stable consumption patterns would still face increasing environmental problems if the environmental impact of production continues to increase. Hence, social choices with regard to productive technology are inescapable in resolving the environmental crisis."

Plastics, detergents, etc., are produced the way they are today because capitalists make the "social choice" that profits come first. But "productive technology" doesn't have to pollute the environment, provided it is used to meet human needs instead of the "choices" of profiteers. □

The Current Situation in Bolivia

[Hugo González Moscoso, leader of the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International), gave the following interview in late April to Jean-Pierre Beauvais of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. We have translated the interview from the May 17 issue of *Rouge*.]

* * *

Question: How would you characterize the present situation in Bolivia?

Answer: Since Torres came to power, the situation has been marked by great instability. Ovando's exit was a clear manifestation of the disintegration of the Bolivian regime and of the only organization still capable of defending the interests of the local bourgeoisie and imperialism—the army, or rather the army-party, inasmuch as this is the role it really plays.

Totally discredited by his daily clashes with workers and students, Ovando had to be replaced. However, despite the advice of the American embassy, the military chiefs could not agree on a substitute. The support Torres enjoyed from the workers and students enabled him to win out. The armed forces then apparently regrouped around Torres under the slogan "no victors and no vanquished."

This development, in fact, accelerated the crisis in the armed forces, which are now split into two, if not several, factions. The right wing is entirely manipulated by the State Department and the CIA and by their Brazilian military hirelings. On the other hand, a nationalist wing, which, as an added attraction, claims to be revolutionary, is trying to follow a policy of bourgeois reform that involves making secondary concessions to the mass movement, with the evident aim of co-opting it.

One thing must be clearly understood, however. *Despite the divisions that have weakened it, in the last analysis the army, the military party of the bourgeoisie, still holds power.* [Emphasis in the original. — IP] Thus, the attempted coup January 10 and the recent events in Santa Cruz province

must be viewed in the context of the split in the armed forces.

As regards the attempted coup January 10, of course, the facts are quite clear. The officers implicated in this affair are notorious CIA stooges.

The aborted coup in Santa Cruz is interesting, inasmuch as it revealed some very precise plans worked out by the imperialists. The province of Santa Cruz covers more than a third of the country's territory. Unlike the other regions, it is a zone of plains and forests extending uninterruptedly into Brazil.

The principal economic activity is carried on by the big tropical plantations, but the mineral and petroleum resources, unexploited in the main, are enormous. With the direct participation of officers and agents of the neighboring Brazilian regime, the imperialists tried to lay the groundwork for a separatist movement in this province, a movement that would base itself on the big landowners.

The imperialists were not aiming for an immediate success. They will carry out their plans if the revolutionary forces take power in La Paz. The March operation, in which some military leaders laid siege to the provincial capital, organizing demonstrations of planters and agricultural workers—who in this type of large landholding system are bound to their employers like slaves to masters—was intended to put Torres on notice and blackmail him with a threat of secession by the province. . . . Everything was directly stage-managed by Washington and Brasilia.

Q. What is Torres's position toward the sectors of the army hostile to him?

A. Torres is not a "comrade," that is, an ally of the popular forces, as some reformists and, above all, the Bolivian Communist party would have us believe. Basically he represents and defends his caste—the army—as part of his job of defending the class to which he belongs, the bourgeoisie. In this sense, he has had one clear objective since he came to power—to reunite the armed forces and, of course, reunite them around himself. All his

efforts, all his steps pursue this aim. Of course, in the face of a mass mobilization of the workers, students, and certain sectors of the peasantry, he is forced to compromise. . . . but that is only a technical step necessitated by the weakness of this regime. And he hopes, once the unity of the armed forces is restored, to bring the mass movement to heel.

For our part, we do not think that Torres will achieve his objective. The fissures in the army are too wide. The right-wing officers and the American services are too mistrustful of Torres, who, they think, is a captive of the worker and student mobilization. The most probable outlook is for a right-wing coup d'etat sweeping him away rather rapidly and for a severe repression to follow.

Q. What is the attitude of the working class toward Torres and perspectives like that?

A. One thing is clear. While they support Torres against threats of an extreme right coup d'etat, the most combative and advanced sectors of the working class do this only half-heartedly. In reality, they are struggling to impose their own solution to the Bolivian crisis, that is, a workers' and peasants' government that would be definitely and concretely anti-imperialist and socialist.

The history of these last months in Bolivia indicates this fact clearly. Thus, at the time of the January 10 coup, about 4,000 miners came to La Paz from the mining regions. They came in trucks with large stocks of dynamite expropriated in the mines. Officially, they came to defend the Torres government. When they arrived in La Paz, they went, still armed, to the presidential palace and demonstrated there. They offered a very strange type of support.

For several hours the miners demonstrated, shouting "Down With Imperialism," "Long Live Che," "Socialism Yes, Betrayal No," "Long Live the Guerrillas" . . . Torres did not dare come out, as they called on him to do. Finally he made a speech heavily larded with demagoguery. Unsatisfied, the miners continued to demonstrate. At last, after twenty-four hours, they agreed, under the pressure of some of their union leaders and thanks to some "economic" concessions by Torres, to return to the mines. This

is one example among many indicating the mood of the Bolivian working class today.

But we must also take account of the attitude of the reformist union leaders and the Communist party. They are supporting Torres. And all their activity is taken up in maneuvering to channelize the energy of the masses and the mass movement into supporting the regime.

This attitude is reflected very concretely in the matter of arming the workers. This problem is on the agenda, and the consciousness of the workers themselves has reached the point where they raise it every day. The forms taken by the demonstration I have just described are a clear indication of this.

The reformist or CP leaders continually evade this question and try to divert this tendency, this demand, which would be a powerful asset for the workers when the time comes for them to impose their own solution and stop playing the role of arbiter between two factions of the army, an extremely dangerous role and one which they will not long be allowed to play, as we have seen. In attempting to carry out their policy, the reformist leaders have the advantage of not inconsiderable influence and even a certain prestige. Let us not forget that they were the victims of severe repression in the previous period.

Q. Much has been said about the People's Assembly, which, notably, was formed after the January 10 coup d'etat. What is the POR's position with regard to it?

A. This assembly was formed in the confusion at the time of the unsuccessful right-wing coup d'etat of January 10. It tended to try to become a workers' parliament, taking charge of organizing the response to the actions of the extreme right. As early as last October, we advanced the idea of forming such an organization in our propaganda work. This idea was, in fact, taken up by many other sectors of the Bolivian left.

Confronted with the development of the People's Assembly, and once the danger of the rightist coup was passed, Torres took an extremely defensive attitude. Eventually, he chose to try to co-opt it. He took up a series of demands raised by the People's Assembly and granted it official recognition.

In the People's Assembly, which includes all the leftist parties and unions, the COB [Central Obrera Boliviana — Bolivian Labor Federation] plays the decisive role.

Thus, several positions have been expressed within the People's Assembly as to this body's future and what perspectives should be set for it.

The right, that is the reformists, uphold the idea that the People's Assembly should put itself at Torres's service, support his policy, and abdicate all powers of its own.

One centrist-type position calls for having the People's Assembly play the role of a bourgeois parliament, that is, keep a check on the executive branch.

The left wing, to which the POR belongs, has developed the idea that the People's Assembly should be a body that would discuss national problems and solutions for them but would leave the power in the hands of the mass organizations (unions and popular militia or people's army).

The situation is quite different today, in fact. The People's Assembly is hardly more than a kind of national parliament where the most important sectors of society are represented. The working class has a certain percentage of the seats, along with the peasants and the middle classes. Furthermore, every organization that participated in the "People's Command" set up at the time of the [October 1970] coup d'etat has two representatives. It must also be noted that the People's Assembly does not meet regularly enough to be able to organize the popular forces.

In the present situation, thus, its perspectives are extremely limited. An acute political crisis might revive it, but that is not certain. The POR comrades in the People's Assembly, whether they represent the party directly or some union, hold no illusions. They are using the People's Assembly as a forum, as a platform. That is all.

Q. In the present situation what activities is the POR carrying on and what perspectives is it following?

A. In the present context, the party's work follows two main lines. On the one hand, we are striving to link ourselves with the masses and, over and above this, increase our forces. On the other, we are preparing internally for future confrontations, as a revolu-

tionary party must do in a situation such as we have analyzed and in line with the developments that we expect to occur.

To pursue these two tasks at the same time, to combine them, is an extremely difficult thing. Under the Ovando government the party operated in completely clandestine conditions and was totally absorbed in armed work. Since last November, after Torres came to power, we have been able to redevelop our legal work aimed at the unions but also the peasants and the universities, where we had done very little before.

On the basis of our political analyses and program, we have registered a number of gains and increased our strength markedly. But this was also a result of the prestige we gained in our previous armed work shoulder to shoulder with the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional — National Liberation Army, the guerrilla force led in 1967 by Che Guevara].

Through our program we won the leadership of several small unions of urban workers. Last December our line was adopted in full by the La Paz Department [Province] congress of trade unions. In the universities we have won a large following, which is completely new for us, recruiting from the best student cadres in all the schools. Soon we are going to begin work aimed specifically at high-school students.

This growth in our mass influence is reflected in the progress of our publications. Our paper *Combate* comes out regularly each month. We are also publishing a monthly student paper and in the coming months we will put out a theoretical magazine.

But obviously this work cannot be capitalized on, or have any meaning in the long run, except in the context of preparing our organization for armed struggle. In the present unstable situation we look on everything as temporary. The repression that is to come will signal the start of a new stage of armed struggle on a scale previously unknown here.

This armed struggle will be a highly diversified one and will encompass the various sectors of the Bolivian population, from the miners to the peasants and including the students . . . Fundamentally it is this stage we are preparing for by trying to take full advantage of the opportunities offered us by the present situation. □

Sweeping Repression Hits Turkish Left

By Gerry Foley

"The hunt for those who kidnapped and killed the Israeli consul in Istanbul has widened the wave of repression against all elements of the Turkish left," the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported June 2. "However, even before this case arose, the state of siege proclaimed in eleven Turkish provinces (Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Eskişehir, Adana, Izmit, Hatay, Zonguldak, Adapazari, Diyarbakir, and Siirt) served as a cover for banning liberal, radical, and progressive organizations. It gave a pretext for locking up thousands of intellectuals in army stockades, as well as activists in the labor, student, and peasant movements, and left-wing officers."

The Turkish government banned not only Dev Genç [Revolutionary Youth], the main militant youth organization and allegedly one of the four organizations that founded the Turkish People's Liberation Army. It also banned the teachers' union and the Federation of Social Democratic Associations.

During the night of May 26-27, the police arrested Behice Boran, chairman of the Workers party of Turkey, the only left-wing party represented in parliament. Eighteen members of the Executive Committee had been arrested previously. More than half the party leadership is now in jail.

In March, the month the army imposed the present "strong regime" of Prime Minister Nihat Erim, the Ankara prosecutor charged the Workers party leadership with engaging in "Communist propaganda and separatist activity," that is, defense of the oppressed Kurdish community (officially known as the "Mountain Turks"). The charges were based on statements made at the party convention in November 1970.

The government is now reportedly preparing to ban the party outright. *Le Monde's* Turkish correspondent Ali Kazancigil commented: "Outlawing the Workers party . . . would represent a severe setback in the social and political progress that has been made in Turkey since 1960. Although the

party has no significant influence at the parliamentary level (it has only one deputy and one senator), it is the only socialist political formation in the country. It plays a role in the working class and on the trade-union front through the intermediary of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey."

The government's excuse for suspending civil liberties in large sections of the country was the need to stamp out terrorist activity by "1,000 armed and trained men," according to the minister of justice. The Workers party, however, has opposed guerrilla warfare and even gone so far as to condemn the guerrillas.

In fact, the repression seems to have fallen hardest on the left-wing press and intellectual community. The socialist periodicals *Ant*, *P.D. Aydinlik*, *Isçi Köylü*, *Aydinlik Sosyalist Dergi*, *Emek*, and *Radikal Devrin Dergisi* have been banned, apparently indefinitely.

The censorship is so severe that few reports of the repression have come out of the country. The June 2 issue of *Le Monde* summarized the stories of informants who, it pointed out, "must obviously remain anonymous."

Some 126 separate charges have reportedly been filed against the twenty-five writers and administrative personnel of the magazine *Ant* alone. They are liable to sentences totaling 800 years in jail. The editor in chief, Dogan Ozgüden, is threatened with a prison sentence of 180 years, or even execution. The military authorities have accused him of "founding a revolutionary organization." Ozgüden's wife, Inçi, has been charged with forty counts of subversion and is liable to a cumulative sentence of 112 years. Both have disappeared, according to the June 2 *Le Monde*.

Another collaborator of the magazine, threatened with a sentence of 141 years, has reportedly also disappeared.

Some of the country's leading academics were caught in the witch-hunt,

such as Dr. Cetin Ozek, holder of the chair of criminal law at the University of Istanbul and an internationally known legal expert. The charges against him, according to *Le Monde*, were that he has written books and articles on fascism and was a founding member of a revolutionary organization. The state prosecutor reportedly is asking a sentence of twenty-two years in prison.

Dr. Ozek's library was ransacked by the police late at night and his books and personal files seized. Although the venerable jurist suffers from cardiac rheumatism, he has been jailed in the Istanbul military prison.

Also arrested were Siar Yalcin, former state prosecutor and foreign policy editor of the Turkish radio network; and Erdöl Boratap, a radio producer. The internationally famous novelist Yaçar Kemal, known for his novels about the oppression of the peasants, was arrested; as well as the poet Daglarca and the film producer Yilmaz Guney, producer of the movie "Hope," which attracted a great deal of attention at the last Cannes Film Festival.

The military authorities not only banned all socialist publications. They moved against left and liberal collaborators of mass circulation papers, such as Cetin Altan and Ilban Selçuk, columnists for the daily *Akcam*. Altan was originally to be tried along with his colleague, but his case was later separated. "The delay in the opening of Altan's trial was the result of the tortures inflicted on him when he was arrested and which required his hospitalization," the June 2 *Le Monde* reported.

The list of persons being sought for "subversive" activities is said to include more than 5,000 names. All relatives of political suspects, even distant ones, must register with the police. Thousands of political prisoners will soon be transferred to an island in the Sea of Marmara, *Le Monde* reported.

The military authorities have launched a radio and television campaign calling on the population to report all political suspects. Any person who has knowledge of such "suspects" and fails to inform the police is liable to arrest.

The "forces of order" have occupied all the universities. An order is out for the arrest of all known student leaders. All strikes, trade-union meet-

ings, and even scientific seminars have been forbidden.

"All antifascist, anti-imperialist, and socialist publications are banned," *Le Monde* wrote June 2. "All writings that fit this description are being collected in all the libraries and bookstores in the country to be turned over to the police or burned on the spot. Publishing, selling, printing, distributing, or even reading such works is now a criminal offense punishable by immediate arrest."

An amendment to the constitution is being prepared that will empower the government to issue decrees without requiring the sanction of parliament.

To protest the intervention of the military into political matters, Ecevit, the general secretary of the People's Republican party, the main opposition formation, has resigned. He has been indicted for "defaming the army."

"The only thing that worries the authorities is foreign tourists," *Le Monde* reported. "In order to maintain the advertising image of a peaceful and sunbathed country, a number of strict measures have been adopted. It is forbidden to discuss Turkish affairs with foreigners; it is forbidden to mention cholera under pain of immediate arrest."

Although anticapitalist forces were still relatively small before the government's draconian repression, they were growing rapidly.

"Ten years ago, we were only a little group," a Turkish socialist student told Harald Hamrin, the Istanbul correspondent of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*. "Twelve students who met together to discuss. Just think of it! Only twelve Marxist students in the entire Istanbul university. Today Dev Genç has thousands of sympathizers here alone. I don't know how many there are in the whole country."

"It began with meetings and with studying the writings of Marx and Lenin. Gradually Dev Genç, the Federation of Revolutionary Youth, was formed. All sorts of currents and groups were represented—Marxists, anarchists, Maoists, and Leninists. Dev Genç grew into a big radical student organization."

At the start, Dev Genç was a student organization in the strict sense, Hamrin noted in his dispatch in the May 30 issue of *Dagens Nyheter*. It limited itself to questions of educational reform and to student problems. Gradually it broadened its perspectives.

"Thus, Dev Genç's character slowly changed, beginning around 1968," Hamrin's anonymous student informant continued. "The students went into the factories; they went out into the countryside. They talked with the workers, set up study circles, helped to organize strikes."

The growth of the radical movement was facilitated by a period of civil liberties. "The constitution the military established in 1961 was a democratic one in many respects. It gave us the opportunity for operating openly." But with the explosive growth of anti-imperialist actions and social struggles, the Turkish ruling class and reactionaries became frightened. Brutal attacks on the student movement were launched by right-wing terrorists, with official encouragement.

When the Swedish bourgeois journalist asked his informant if he "accepted murder and violence as part of political struggle," he got this answer: "Over the past two years eighteen students have been murdered. Fourteen of them radical student leaders. How can you deal with this terror when the police sit on their hands?"

Hamrin summarized the rest of the Turkish revolutionist's answer: "It is clear, he [the informant] continued, that violence alone can never produce anything worthwhile. The radical student opposition represents much more than just force."

The heroic actions of the Tupamaros in Uruguay and the Palestinian guerrillas made a strong impression on the hard-pressed Turkish student movement.

"In the beginning our contacts were with Fateh. Later contacts developed with George Habash's Popular Front." Some of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey reportedly underwent training in Palestinian camps.

The kidnapping May 15 of Israeli consul [and former police officer] Efraim Elrom grew out of the Turkish revolutionary students' involvement with the Palestinian resistance, according to the May 31 issue of the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*:

"Last week a Turkish diplomat revealed to this magazine that Elrom was murdered because he provided the Turkish government with a list of the names of young Turks who conspired with the Palestinians. About 300 arrests were supposed to have been made on the basis of Elrom's list."

The militants of the People's Liberation Army who kidnapped the Israeli consul seemed to have no intention of harming him, however. In exchange for his release, they demanded that the government free imprisoned young revolutionists. The authorities' response was to announce that anyone with the remotest connection to the kidnapers would be executed if Elrom were killed.

On May 18 mass arrests started. Sadi Koças, deputy chairman of the council of ministers and the strong man of the regime, declared that the government would "make no concession and prove to the entire world that in Turkey there is a real state." On May 21 a list of 200 Dev Genç activists arrested in Izmir and Ankara was read over the radio.

On May 22, the military authorities in Istanbul launched the biggest manhunt in Turkish history. The city was sealed off by 30,000 troops. All road and rail traffic was halted for fifteen hours. Building owners and superintendents were ordered to give the police lists of all tenants, along with their age, occupation, and a description of their style of living."

On May 23 Elrom's body was discovered in an apartment not far from the Israeli consulate. The coroner confirmed that he had been killed the same day.

Liberal and moderate commentators in Israel itself blamed the Zionist regime for the death of its agent. In *Davar*, the organ of the official trade-union movement, Israel Neuman questioned whether "the Ankara leaders used the methods best calculated to save Elrom's life," *Le Monde* correspondent André Scemama reported in the May 25 issue of the Paris daily.

"Neuman's article cited the dispatch from *Le Monde's* Ankara correspondent claiming that the Turkish authorities had been encouraged by the Israelis to hold firm. He noted that if this was correct, some conceptions about the effectiveness of such methods should be revised. *Davar* added that while the massive arrests in Turkey had proved so cruelly ineffective from the Israeli point of view, they may have achieved their objective from the point of view of the Turkish authorities."

Neuman was anxious to dissociate the Zionist state from these "objectives." He wrote: "Such aims have nev-

er been and can never be ours."

After forcing the People's Liberation Army commandos to kill Elrom, the Turkish authorities badly needed to show that they could capture and punish the assassins. They continued to mobilize huge forces in repressive operations and to use all the censored media to whip up a witch-hunt atmosphere. Vast numbers of wanted posters were printed, and pictures of the nine persons suspected of organizing the kidnapping were broadcast over television.

On May 27, police arrested Mecmi Demir, his wife Ilkay, and Necati Sagiogulu. Demir's wife was accused of renting the apartment in which Elrom was killed. The next day, three more alleged members of the People's Liberation Army were captured in Istanbul—Ulas Bardci, Ruchan Mans, and Ziya Yilmaz. The last named was supposed to be the treasurer of Dev Genç and to have been captured in possession of the organization's accounts.

"In the last twenty-four hours three persons considered to be terrorists were killed and another two arrested," *Le Monde* reported June 2. A helicopter led army units to an alleged guerrilla training camp in the mountains of Adiyaman province near the Syrian border. In the ensuing fighting three guerrillas were killed and two arrested.

Another two alleged members of the People's Liberation Army—Cihan Alptekin and Taygun Cinemre—were captured at a roadblock on the way into the town of Tekirdag in Turkish Thrace. They were wanted on charges of participating in a holdup of the Bank of Istanbul.

In one of the strangest developments in the case, two high police functionaries were accused of complicity in the kidnapping of Elrom—Muzaffer Yilmaz and Rifat Kaplangi, heads respectively of the political and revenue sections of the Istanbul police, according to Ali Kazancigil in the May 27-28 *Le Monde*.

On May 31, two youths alleged to be members of the People's Liberation Army occupied the home of a Turkish army major and held his daughter hostage, demanding safe conduct out of the country. Before presenting their ultimatum, they released the major's wife and ten-year-old son.

"More than 1,000 soldiers and several hundred police encircled the

house, which was bathed in the glare of floodlights," Reuters reported May 31. The following day "policemen in bulletproof vests . . . stormed" the apartment, according to Associated Press. "The police had prepared the attack carefully. Commandos waited at the top of five fire ladders for hours as sharpshooters angled for a clear shot into the apartment."

A marksman shot one of the youths, Huseyin Cevahir, in the face. A moment later a policeman entering through the window shot him again in the chest. The other youth, Mahil Cayan, wounded in the head, tried to flee the building. "A mob, which included many women, broke through a cordon and rushed at him," the June 1 AP dispatch continued. "He turned back into the arms of soldiers and policemen."

This report indicates that the Turk-

ish government's witch-hunt propaganda has had some effect in a country with a conservative tradition and where reactionary religious and chauvinist prejudices are still strong.

Cevahir died on the way to the hospital. Cayan is seriously injured but reportedly recovering. He faces the death penalty if he is found to be implicated in the Elrom kidnapping, as the police claim.

The battle lasted three minutes, according to AP. Almost the last act of these two "desperados" before they were gunned down must have been to make sure of the safety of their hostage. "The girl, daughter of Maj. Dincer Erkan, told newsmen after her rescue that she had been treated well, and had not been tied up. The guerrillas referred to her as 'little lady,' she said. When the attack began, she said, the young men locked her in a room." □

As Antiwar Group Plans Convention

A Very Bad Week for Nixon's War

Only slightly delayed by an opposition member threatening to blow himself up, supporters of Nguyen Van Thieu in Saigon's National Assembly on June 3 passed a bill likely to ensure that Thieu is the only candidate in the presidential elections scheduled for October.

The new regulation, said to have been thought up by Thieu himself, requires candidates to secure the endorsement of forty legislators or 100 members of provincial or city councils. Since most of these politicians are nearly as dependent on Thieu as the latter is on Nixon, the potential competition has been narrowed considerably.

In fact, the only other person considered to have even a chance to secure the necessary endorsements is General Duong Van Minh, who has not said he will be a candidate.

Passage of the bill came as no surprise. The only unexpected element was provided by a legislator named Nguyen Dac Dan, who delayed discussion for three hours by brandishing a grenade and threatening to set it off. He was objecting, among other things, to the role that money had played in passing the measure. Peter

A. Jay reported from Saigon in the June 3 *Washington Post*:

"Dan and other antigovernment legislators made no bones about their belief that Thieu has stolen the election from them by allegedly bribing a majority of the Assembly to support the bill.

"We weren't defeated by argument, but by Tran Hung Dao,' Dan declared at one point. Tran Hung Dao, a 12th Century Vietnamese naval hero, is the man whose picture appears on 500-piaster notes."

The possibility of a one-man election proved to be an embarrassment to the Nixon administration, which has been busy propagating the idea that a choice between several American-backed generals constitutes self-determination for the people of South Vietnam.

"The uproar in the United States that would follow a one-candidate presidential 'contest,'" Alvin Shuster wrote in the June 7 *New York Times*, "would cast doubt on the whole future of American support for this country. The economic aid this country vitally needs in the coming years to make up for the withdrawal of American forces would be harder to come by

in Congress. And demands for a firm withdrawal date would intensify."

The election farce was only one of several blemishes recently added to the public image of Nixon's war.

On May 31, the Saigon army, which Nixon continually insists can "hack it" without the support of U. S. troops, was driven from the Cambodian town of Snoul. An Associated Press dispatch described the rout:

"Reports from the field said that the Saigon task force of up to 2,000 men fled Snoul with scores of wounded. As they fought their way across Route 13 toward the South Vietnamese border 10 miles to the south, they were reported to be disabling artillery guns and destroying some of their trucks and armored personnel carriers."

True to the traditions established in the Laos invasion, a Saigon army spokesman quickly proclaimed that there had been no defeat, only a planned "realignment" of forces. The *New York Times* commented in a June 4 editorial:

"As in Laos, heavy enemy antiaircraft fire appears to have crippled air support for the Snoul defenders. As in Laos, the South Vietnamese appear to have withdrawn hastily, suffering heavy casualties and leaving large quantities of equipment behind. As in the case of Laos, South Vietnamese military authorities have attempted to disguise their defeat with claims that lack credibility. . . .

"This humiliation for the South Vietnamese Army is one more warning of the futility of Vietnamization. . . ."

Despite Nixon's attempts to keep it secret, the Vietnamization of Laos was attracting even more attention than the de-Vietnamization of Snoul. On June 7, the State Department admitted that the U. S. government was paying for Thai "volunteers" fighting in Laos.

The admission was made shortly before the Senate went into secret session to discuss the Laotian aspect of the Indochina war. John W. Finney reported in the June 8 *New York Times*:

"One principal point that emerged from the secret session, according to Senators, was an estimate by Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, that the United States was spending at least \$350-million annually in support of the Laotian Government in the war in northern Laos

against the pro-Communist Pathet Lao and the North Vietnamese forces. This would be seven times more than has been publicly acknowledged by the Administration."

The secret session was prompted by charges made May 21 by Senator William Fulbright that support for the Thai mercenaries violated an amendment included in an appropriations bill last December. That amendment stated that funds could not be used "to support Vietnamese or other free-world [sic] forces in actions designed to provide military support and assistance to the Government of Cambodia or Laos."

The manner in which this provision was evaded provided an illustration of how little seriousness is attached to the various schemes promising to legislate an end to the war. Included in the amendment was a clause saying that it would not "prohibit support of actions required to insure the safe and orderly withdrawal or disengagement of United States forces from Southeast Asia or to aid in the release of Americans held as prisoners of war." This permitted the administration to defend involvement in Laos with the argument that it was necessary in order to protect U. S. troops in South Vietnam.

But while such legalistic hair-splitting may content Congress, the disclosures of U. S. aggression in Laos can only increase the opposition to Nixon among the American people, who want the war ended, not expanded.

The same effect can be expected from new reports of war crimes in Vietnam. On June 2, the army charged two high-ranking officers with murder, in unrelated incidents.

The two are Brigadier General John W. Donaldson and Lieutenant Colonel William J. McCloskey. The army gave no details, but in the June 3 *Washington Post*, Michael Getler indicated the nature of the charges:

"Military sources say, however, that the investigation was started in November after allegations by a helicopter pilot that an officer had fired at civilians from helicopters on several occasions. Army sources said privately that the charges also involve ground actions."

Donaldson is the first U. S. general to be formally charged with war crimes since 1901.

The fact that Nixon felt forced to

move against these high-ranking officers can be seen as the result of the public reaction to the conviction of Lieutenant William Calley for murder at Mylai. The overwhelming response at that time was that higher-ups were equally guilty.

It is unlikely, however, that the accusations against Donaldson and McCloskey will relieve the pressure on Nixon.

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), which sponsored the giant April 24 demonstrations, has scheduled a national convention in New York City July 2-4. The aim of the conference, according to NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon who is now touring the country to build the meeting, will be to involve "in greater numbers than ever before, veterans, trade unionists, GIs, Blacks, women, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, students, professionals, middle America, gay people and others to plan mass demonstrations for the fall of 1971."

That task should now be easier than ever before. □

G.I.s in Britain Protest War

One thousand U. S. servicemen stationed in Britain publicly protested against the continuation of the war in Indochina May 31.

The protesters, most of whom were air force personnel, included both officers and enlisted men. The June 1 *New York Times* reported that about 300 men had marched from Hyde Park to the American embassy, where they presented a petition against the war:

"The protesters, who wore white armbands emblazoned with a helmet and clenched fist, marched silently in separate groups of five and six to the embassy, a mile away, and submitted the petitions to duty officers. . . .

"The men emphasized that the protest was not a demonstration, which is illegal for American servicemen in foreign countries. They said that the petitions, addressed to the President and Congress, were legal under regulations that state that military personnel may petition or present grievances to members of Congress without fear of reprisal."

The wording of the petition showed that these GIs understood that "Vietnamization" does not mean an end to the involvement of Americans in the war:

"We the undersigned members of the U. S. Air Force and Navy, stationed in England, are opposed to the American war in Indochina. Because Vietnamization is increasing the Air Force and Navy role in the war, it is more important than ever before that we voice our opposition."

Nixon's Answer—Strike at Their Civil Liberties



"BRIGHT KID" MARDIAN

Richard Nixon has responded to the growing strength of the antiwar movement—which was demonstrated so dramatically in Washington and San Francisco on April 24—with a far-reaching assault on the civil liberties of his political opponents.

In past years, when Nixon himself was getting his start in politics by persecuting Alger Hiss, presidents could rely on FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover to come up with whatever "conspiracy" was demanded by the political needs of the moment. But in recent months, Hoover's public credibility has been severely weakened by revelations of the FBI's involvement in such activities as spying on members of Congress and recruiting Boy Scouts as junior snoopers.

Nixon, consequently, has reactivated a "red squad" in the Department of Justice—the same department that oversees the FBI. The personnel involved have been changed, but the task remains the same: to discredit the left, and particularly the antiwar

movement, by associating it with absurd "plots."

"At the heart of the new drive," reported the May 31 issue of *Newsweek*, "is Justice's Internal Security Division. Undercut by a series of Supreme Court decisions and dormant during the Kennedy-Johnson years, the division was rejuvenated six months ago and given top priority under tough-minded Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian, a conservative Californian who adapted tactics from the department's war on organized crime."

If the last phrase were true, the reactionaries who see subversion everywhere would have cause for alarm, since the "war on organized crime" has been marked, not even by defeats, but by a complete avoidance of battle. But in the war against the civil liberties of American citizens, Nixon is a good deal more determined.

The Internal Security Division, *Newsweek* reported, is currently at work on nearly fifty cases, including the prosecution of the Rev. Philip Berigan and other pacifists accused of conspiring to kidnap presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, and "the investigation of key figures in the Mayday demonstrations in Washington."

The attempt to find conspiracies behind all political dissent is headed by the Internal Security Division's Special Litigation Section, which consists of eleven lawyers who "are dispatched around the country to supervise cases against radicals being presented to local Federal grand juries."

The section, *Newsweek* wrote, "is run by a fastidious Kansan named Guy Goodwin, 42, who handles the majority of its most publicized cases." Goodwin's chief claim to fame is that he secured the original indictment in the Kissinger case. This was so full of holes that the government later had to ask for a new indictment.

Nixon's red squad, the magazine noted, is conscientious about its research:

"A team of sixteen analysts plows through the raw intelligence produced by various agencies, including the FBI and the Secret Service, and pub-



"FASTIDIOUS KANSAN" GOODWIN

lic sources as well ('We subscribe heavily to the left-wing press,' says Mardian)."

If the left-wing press contains fewer detailed blueprints of kidnapping conspiracies than Mardian would like, he is nevertheless certain that his staff will be able to put together some kind of case whenever Nixon needs one. As the "tough-minded" Mardian put it:

"We don't have a computer, but we've got some bright kids with good memories. And there's no doubt that these kids sit there and look for information that will make a case on a Rennie Davis or an Abbie Hoffman or someone like that."

Neither Mardian nor the "fastidious Kansan" is overly fastidious about what to prosecute as a "conspiracy." Mardian, *Newsweek* reported, "says he does not believe that there is a nationwide conspiracy by leftists. 'I don't think they're capable of putting one together,' he says. 'But they do talk together. There's a great deal of intercourse between the leadership of some of these groups . . . which are opposed to our constitutional form of government.'"

The weekly magazine noted that conspiracy cases based on such acts

as "talking together" have a "tendency to unravel in the courtroom." It was, nevertheless, able to discern why they might be considered advantageous by Richard Nixon:

". . . in the short run, the expensive bail bonds and lengthy proceedings are undeniably effective in tying up radical leadership while drying up its sources of support." □

Agitation Spreads Among Iranian Students

Report Four Killed in Battles With Police

A communiqué issued by the shah's police on May 25 claimed the capture of two opponents of the regime and the killing of four others in two separate gun battles in Teheran. The two battles, according to the communiqué, occurred six weeks apart.

All those killed and captured were said to be part of a group of nine persons that has been sought for two months on charges of assassinating the notorious military prosecutor, General Ziaddin Farsiou.

The nine were also linked with the Siah Kal group, an underground organization thirteen of whose members were executed on March 17 after an armed clash in Siah Kal, a village near the Caspian Sea.

The police said that Eskandar Sadegi-Nejad, Rahmatollah Peyronaziri, and Ameer Parviz Pouyan had been killed on May 24, and Javad Salahi six weeks earlier. They claimed that in each clash one person had been wounded and arrested, but did not give their names. Five policemen were reported wounded in the May 24 fight.

In contrast with its reporting of the two gun battles, SAVAK (the political police) has not said anything about the recent worker and student demonstrations. The Iranian press has been equally silent.

Travelers from Iran report that the number of workers killed near Karaj during their march on Teheran in early May is believed to be more than ten. [See *Intercontinental Press*, May 24, page 474.]

They also report details of the strike at the University of Teheran that spread to other universities and resulted in police occupation of the campuses.

The immediate cause of the strike was student opposition to the shah's elaborate plans for the celebration in October of 2,500 years of the Persian monarchy. The regime is spending

huge amounts of money for the occasion.

International committees have been formed to publicize the "historic event." In the United States, the committee includes Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, and Lyndon Johnson.

The students argued that a nation as poor as Iran could find better uses for the money that is being spent. Their position has not been reported in the press, but the repeated speeches by the shah and his ministers in defense of their plans indicate a widespread opposition.

The shah's reaction to the strike, sending in police who beat up students and professors alike, indicates his determination not to let his celebration be spoiled.

He may have miscalculated. The police invasion caused the faculty at Aryamehr University—named after one of the shah's titles, "light of the Aryans"—to go on strike, demanding withdrawal of the police and an apology from the government.

The extent to which these demands were met is not known, but such an action by professors has been unheard of since the early 1950s, particularly at the shah's favored university.

Opposition leaflets are reportedly being distributed in the schools, sometimes by putting them inside volleyballs and throwing the balls into the schoolyards. SAVAK responded by ordering students not to touch such balls!

According to the May 26 airmail edition of the Teheran daily *Keyhan*, Javad Salahi and his friend were pasting leaflets on walls at 1:00 a.m. when the police noticed them. The paper claimed that the two then fired at the police. The SAVAK communiqué said nothing about Salahi putting up leaflets.

There were also contradictions between the police report of the May 24

killings and the eyewitness accounts printed in *Keyhan* May 25. According to these accounts, three people, two men and one woman, were moving furniture into an apartment they had just rented when the clash with the police began. No one mentioned more than these three persons being involved. Yet the three names of the slain in the police communiqué are all those of men.

There were other inconsistencies. On May 27 *Keyhan* reported for the first time that two children were killed in the clash. Naturally the fatal bullets had been fired by the "outlaws."

The same issue of the paper carried contradictory reports on the death of the children. One account said they had immediately been rushed to the hospital in a police ambulance. Their parents said that they had taken the wounded children home and had not been able to get them to a hospital until one and a half hours later, when the shooting stopped.

The lateness of the report and the contradictions it contains indicate that SAVAK may have distorted the facts in order to discredit the "outlaws."

Other inconsistencies that slipped past SAVAK's censors included the time when the clash occurred and its duration, which was variously reported as a few minutes and one and a half hours.

These contradictions may indicate that SAVAK invented a "battle" in order to justify killing the three. □

No (Applause)

According to a May 3 Reuters dispatch from Moscow, the chief editor and several members of the Soviet medical gazette were dismissed after reporting applause at the wrong time during Podgorny's report at the recent Communist party congress.

They used the word "applause" in brackets 117 times—inappropriately in ten cases.

Among these was a report of applause when Podgorny recalled the deaths of Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh.

Late (18th Century) Report

We apologize to all those who have been waiting for us to report the decisions of the April Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). The group voted—unanimously, no doubt—that it was opposed to day-care centers provided by the government because destruction of the family is "one of the prerequisites for establishing international socialism."

'Hijacking' Trials a Warning to Minorities

By Allen Myers

The sentencing of four Jews in Riga, the capital of Latvia, on May 27 brought to twenty-five the number of Soviet citizens convicted in trials growing out of an alleged plot to hijack an airplane in June of last year.

Twenty-three of the twenty-five sentenced so far are Jews. Another group of nine defendants, also Jews, is expected to be tried shortly in Kishinev, the capital of Moldavia.

The first arrests took place at the Leningrad airport on June 15, 1970, when twelve defendants were seized before they were able to board the aircraft they allegedly intended to hijack. In the next two days, an additional forty-seven persons, nearly all of them Jews, were arrested in different parts of the country. The fate of those not yet tried or scheduled for trial has not been reported.

The three carefully managed trials that have been carried out so far reveal a good deal about what the Soviet bureaucracy hopes to gain from the affair.

The first trial, which occurred in Leningrad in December, involved eleven of the "conspirators" arrested at the airport. (The twelfth, a military officer, was tried separately by court-martial.) The sentences handed down included two death penalties, which were later commuted to fifteen years' imprisonment after worldwide protests that even included criticism from Western Communist parties.

While the defendants were described as "Zionists" by the Soviet press, the charge on which they were convicted was treason—that is, attempting to emigrate without permission of the bureaucracy.

The second trial, also in Leningrad, opened in January but was immediately adjourned, presumably to await a cooling of the worldwide interest in the case. It did not resume until May 11.

The charges in the second trial were more obscure than they had been in the first. The nine defendants, unlike the twelve tried in December, appeared to have no direct connection with the

attempted hijacking. Unofficial sources reported that the charges in the closed trial involved Articles 70 and 72 of the criminal code, which cover "anti-Soviet" propaganda. The Soviet news agency TASS asserted that the nine were accomplices in the planned hijacking.

At the conclusion of the trial, the agency reported that "in one way or another" the defendants had participated "in preparations to hijack a passenger plane," but it seemed more concerned with claiming that the nine had "maintained illegal ties with the Government and Zionist circles of Israel" and had sent abroad "information containing vicious slander about the position of the Jews in the Soviet Union." According to some reports in the Western press, the "hijacking" involved in the second trial was not the same incident for which the original defendants had been sentenced.

In the Riga trial, which began May 24, several defendants in the Leningrad trials were reported to have testified for the prosecution, but TASS did not report any charges except "anti-Soviet slander."

The only connection with hijacking mentioned by TASS was in an assertion that the four accused had distributed material that "favored the commission of the dangerous crime against the state."

The agency added some fanciful-sounding testimony by Silva Zalmanson, a defendant in the December trial. Zalmanson reportedly said of Arkady Shpilberg, who was billed as the chief villain in the Riga case:

"I delivered to Shpilberg at his home dozens of anti-Soviet books for distribution. We both dug up in the dunes of Riga beach a suitcase with reprinted copies of pamphlets from Israel."

When it got down to specifics, however, the Soviet press described activities far more prosaic than public advocacy of hijacking or the recovery of literature presumably hidden by an Israeli submarine. In the June 2 *New York Times*, Theodore Shabad described the account of the trial given

by the Riga daily *Sovetskaya Latvija*:

"According to the latest account, the four defendants were accused of having produced and circulated an underground publication called Iton—Hebrew for newspaper—which was said to have been Zionist and anti-Soviet in content.

"In an article circulated before the Soviet census of January, 1970, the four were said to have urged Jews to declare Yiddish as their native language 'regardless of whether they spoke it,' as the account put it. This was presumably meant to be a demonstration of national identity among Soviet Jews."

The trials in the hijacking case have been aimed precisely at suppressing such a sense of national identity. The fact that most or all of the defendants have been Zionists—itsself a result of officially permitted anti-Semitism and the oppression of national minorities—is being used by the bureaucracy to equate Jewish nationalism with the reactionary ideology of Zionism and support for the state of Israel.

The cynicism and hypocrisy involved in the bureaucracy's "anti-Zionism" is demonstrated by its willingness to permit the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel when this can be done without harming Moscow's diplomatic relations with Arab governments.

In the first four months of this year, at least 6,000 Soviet Jews left for Israel. The Zionist government has done its best to save the Kremlin any embarrassment by withholding immigration statistics and censoring news of the arrival of Soviet Jews.

Despite the prominence given to the Zionism of the defendants, the hijacking trials are not directed against Zionism as such. The bureaucracy, in fact, has reason to be grateful to that ideology to the extent that it diverts the struggle of Soviet Jews and "exports" Jewish nationalism.

The willingness of the defendants to be identified with Israel made it easier for the ruling caste to warn

that any attempt by minorities to oppose their oppression will be treated as an alliance with imperialism. It was not, however, indispensable. As Soviet Jews struggle for their rights,

the bureaucracy can be expected to charge with "Zionism" fighters who recognize that those rights can be won, not in Palestine, but only in the Soviet Union. □

of a triumphant renaissance of uncontrolled confrontation?"

Another ominous sign, Suffert noted, is new militant actions by the workers. "The CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-controlled union] must not let itself get outflanked to the left. Everybody says that it has been outflanked already. And there is no lack of evidence that seems to confirm this. The CGT did not want a strike at Renault, in Le Mans. It could not prevent one. In the metal industry, in the RATP [Régie Autonome des Transports Parisiens—Autonomous Paris Transportation Corporation], strikes have been springing up under its feet."

Despite these tensions, the liberal journalist concluded, not surprisingly, that the status quo was secure: "France has probably never been so difficult to govern, but it does not seem in a mood to explode."

Suffert couldn't help poking a little fun at the frenzied reactions of the threatened conservative forces. The right-wing Gaullists were trying to blame everything on a CP conspiracy, as usual. But the purveyor of the most extreme "devil theory" was the opportunistic CP, which, if a witch-hunt began, would itself risk being victimized.

In the Stalinist organ *l'Humanité*, editorialist Laurent Salini not only accused the "leftists" of causing all the trouble. He suggested that the big bourgeois papers were backing the Trotskyists, just because the former reported the facts about their demonstration to commemorate the Commune. "The paper of Prouvost—a veteran of workers' struggles as we all know—gave an obliging account of the Trotskyist demonstration at the Mur des Fédérés under a five-column head. *Le Monde* did the same. The festival of the Communist youth [a brilliant affair, no doubt] was given only ten lines at the bottom of the page. . . . The heart of the matter is that there is a united front of Prouvost-Fauvet-Krivine on a class basis. . . ." Suffert commented: "By Jove!"

In fact, no rational person, regardless of his class, could believe such crude slander. Salini's "proletarian anger" could only be intended to counter the impact that the Trotskyist demonstrations have had on the ranks of the Communist party. □

United Front With Whom?

French Stalinists Explain It All in Their Own Way

"A few days later Louis Gabriel-Robinet, editor of *Le Figaro*, voiced the malaise of this stratum [French management and government officials]. 'What do we see today? Strikes, violence, disrespect for contracts, erotic frenzy, smashed-up universities . . . impotence on the part of the authorities, rising prices. . . .'"

Georges Suffert noted this feeling of desperation among upper circles in France in the May 24-30 issue of the liberal Paris weekly *L'Express*.

Suffert was trying to decide whether France is heading for a new revolutionary crisis. "In the Rue des Pyrénées, behind three immense portraits of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky, a mass of young people advances, almost entirely covered by red flags . . . 20,000 Trotskyists [the rest of the press estimated the numbers at more than 30,000] . . . behind Alain Krivine to celebrate the memory of the Communards. One of the largest leftist marches in three years. Is this a sign



"The Prouvost-Fauvet-Krivine united front is a class front . . ." The above cartoon appeared in the May 24-30 issue of *L'Express*. The cartoonist, Tim, rises to the need of the hour—a graphic illustration of some apt words by *l'Humanité*'s editorial writer Laurent Salini. The Stalinist bureaucrats were displeased by reports published in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* (edited by J. Fauvet and Louis Gabriel-Robinet, respectively) of the impressive demonstration organized by the Trotskyists in observance of the centennial of the Paris Commune. Prouvost puts out *France-Soir*, among other publishing ventures.

Antiwar Demonstrations in Many Cities

Rome

In conjunction with the mass rallies against the Vietnam war held in Washington and San Francisco April 24, demonstrations were held in many Italian cities.

In Rome three to four thousand youths demonstrated. The organizers of the action were the GCR [Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari—Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International], the Nucleo Comunista Rivoluzionario "Soviet" ["Soviet" Revolutionary Communist Nucleus], Avanguardia Operaia [Workers Vanguard], and Unita Operaia [Workers Unity].

The *Manifesto* group also joined in at the time of the demonstration. It had been reluctant to sign the call at first, after Potere Operaio [Workers Power] and Lotta Continua [The Struggle Continues] refused. These groups felt that a mobilization on the Vietnam issue would "distract the proletarians" from the housing problem.

The procession, which was very spirited, started off from the Piazza Esedra and ended up at the Piazza Santi Apostoli. A rally was held at the conclusion of the march. A representative of the large group of participating American students spoke. One of the organizers also spoke, in the name of the four sponsoring groups. *Il Manifesto* tried to hold a little meeting of its own a few hundred meters away, but without too much success.

The Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari built the demonstration by publishing a series of "Informazione Rossa" [Red News] bulletins three times a week for nearly a month, providing information about the progress of the mobilization in the United States and in other parts of the world. These were distributed to students at first, and in the final week, to workers.

A militant procession marched through the center of Leghorn April 24, chanting the slogans of the Indochinese revolution and the American comrades sponsoring the worldwide mobilization against imperialist aggression. Despite heavy rain and a simultaneous pilgrimage by the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party], and the DC [Democrazia Cristiana—Christian Democracy], etc. [to celebrate the anniversary of the liberation], this anti-imperialist demonstration made a strong impact in the city.

The march was organized by the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari through intensive leafletting and picketing of the schools. An anarchist group, as well as dissident Catholic elements, joined the demonstration. At the same time, Lotta Continua turned its back. *Il Manifesto* declared that it could not help "because we are busy advertising in the neighborhoods for our daily edition which is soon to appear."

The march ended up at the Casa della

Cultura, where a rally was held. Comrade Pellegrini, from the national leadership of the GCR, spoke.

In Ancona hundreds of youths took part in the demonstration called by the GCR. The *Manifesto* collective in Recanati joined in, but not the one in Ancona. This was the first public activity by the GCR in Ancona, and it devoted great care to organizing the demonstration.

The comrades informed the population about the actions being carried out the same day throughout the world by the anti-imperialist vanguard, and above all about the great mobilization prompted by our comrades in the United States. The march was very well received and marked a revival of mobilizing around the themes of the international struggle against capitalism.

Thousands of young people gathered in a rally in Cesena April 24, after intensive work by the GCR from classroom to classroom in the schools, factory by factory, and house by house. In the course of the debate at this teach-in, our comrades exposed the abstract and vague pacifism of a Catholic student organization that disputed the need for militant demonstrations against imperialism.

After this teach-in, the GCR held a street demonstration that filled this Romagnaolo center with anti-imperialist and anticapitalist slogans.

The organizing ability and capacity for work demonstrated throughout the preparatory period by the Cesena comrades (who produced a very large number of leaflets and political education material) was the key to the success of the demonstration, the most imposing since the general rise of the student movement in the area.

A very large crowd gathered in the Sala dei Notari April 24 in Perugia in response to the call of the Gruppo Comunista Rivoluzionario Lenin [Lenin Revolutionary Communist Group, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International], Avanguardia Operaia, *il Manifesto*, and the Unione degli Studenti Palestinesi [Union of Palestinian Students]. Comrade Mauro Volpi spoke for the Fourth International.

This demonstration took on particular importance in Perugia because the disintegration of the Circolo Carlo Marx [Karl Marx Circle] had for several months prevented any united action by the left vanguard.

About a thousand persons took part in the demonstration in Turin April 24, mostly students and young workers. The procession marched in the center of the city for about two hours, despite driving rain. There was an attempt at a diversion aimed at breaking up the march, but it was quickly stopped by the monitors.

The Turin Fourth International group had appealed to the other far-left orga-

nizations to join in a common effort to build the demonstration. The prevailing sectarianism proved to be too great a barrier, however, and all the other groups refused, offering various reasons or pretexts. The Turin comrades then decided to take the initiative themselves because of the importance of showing solidarity April 24 in Turin also with the heroic Vietnamese fighters and the American antiwar movement.

On the very eve of the demonstration, the Lotta Comunista [Communist Struggle] group decided to join in the action. Activists from other groups also participated, without their organizations as such supporting it.

The Turin comrades built the demonstration through intensive leafletting and distributing materials in front of the factories, the university centers, and the high schools.

At the end of the march, a large part of the participants attended a rally in the university. A representative of Lotta Comunista spoke and comrades Giulio Savelli and Livio Maitan took the floor in the name of the Fourth International. The discussion at the university was centered not only on the war in Vietnam but on the Asian situation more generally. Our comrades expressed our revolutionary solidarity with the masses in East Bengal and the insurgents in Ceylon, and condemned the position of the Maoists on Pakistan.

Smaller campaigns were carried out in a number of other cities with varying success. In Naples the comrades of the GCR held a teach-in in one of the high schools in the center of the city. In Taranto a campaign was carried out to popularize the slogans of the Vietnamese and the American comrades. It was aimed primarily at the Italsider workers.

In Genoa a demonstration was planned. The Lotta Comunista group agreed to take charge of picketing some large schools while the GCR comrades prepared signs, banners, etc., for the march. But the Lotta Comunista backed out and the FGC [Federazione Giovanile Comunista—Young Communist Federation] distributed leaflets claiming that the demonstration had been called off. The GCR decided to issue a new call for a mobilization at another date.

In Bari the PCDI and the Circolo Lenin announced their support for the demonstration. But then they called for four separate meetings the same day in order to divide and confuse the supporters of the demonstration. Our comrades who went to ask for an explanation were attacked and had to engage in a sharp clash. The day after April 24, the PCDI and the Circolo Lenin took part in the demonstration organized by a bourgeois-reformist coalition on vague antifascist themes.

The GCR held a very well attended teach-in in the days before April 24 at which Silvio Paolicchi from the national leadership spoke. The comrades have decided to initiate another action on Indochina in the near future. Obviously they will not turn again to those groups which showed such a self-centered attitude. □

French CP's Stand on Abortion

By Ruth Schein

Early in April, 343 Frenchwomen, among whom were prominent writers, actresses and TV personalities, as well as members of the Women's Liberation Movement of France and the Movement for Freedom of Abortion, signed a statement "confessing" to having had an abortion (an offense punishable under French law by up to two years in prison) and demanding free access to contraceptive methods and freedom of abortion.

A month and a half later, as if in answer, the political bureau of the French Communist party issued a statement on the subject and called for new legislation based on the following five points:

"1. Abrogation of the repressive legislation concerning abortion.

"2. Termination of pregnancy may be practiced in cases where the woman's life is in danger; when there is a marked risk of fetal malformation or congenital anomaly; in cases of pregnancy resulting from criminal or violent acts; when carrying the pregnancy to term would endanger the woman's mental or physical health; when the pregnancy would cause a serious social problem, without immediate solution, for the mother or the family.

"3. Competent agencies should be established to interview women and couples contemplating recourse to abortion for reasons attendant on such social problems. These agencies should then explore all avenues leading to an immediate solution of these problems.

"4. Abortions must be performed under hospital conditions, and costs should be borne by Social Security.

"5. Passage of the law should be accompanied by construction of the necessary hospital facilities and the necessary means to implement the law."

According to the Paris daily *Le Monde* of May 22 from which the above five points are translated, they were preceded by a statement rejecting "theories which make of the right to abortion one of the essential means of women's liberation. . . ."

In addition to deliberately and care-

fully, and on a theoretical level, divorcing the liberation of women from its *sine qua non*, control over their own bodies, nowhere does the French CP's statement call for free abortion on demand or free dissemination of contraceptive information and devices.

This despite the results of a recent public opinion poll, indicating that about 55 percent of French people believe a pregnant woman has the right to a legal abortion if she does not want her future child, and 87 percent consider that the couple responsible should decide together whether they want the pregnancy to be terminated.

U.S.A.

Children in Prison

Hearings before a U. S. Senate subcommittee at the beginning of May disclosed a nationwide pattern of mistreatment of children classed as "criminals" by the state. Conditions under which these children are held appeared in some cases to be even worse than those for adult prisoners.

Steven Bercu, a public-assistance lawyer in El Paso, Texas, told the subcommittee that "the greatest single cause of juvenile crime" in his county is Juvenile Judge Edwin F. Berliner, who for the past five years has annually sent an average of seventy-five children to detention homes. The children, the lawyer charged, not only were denied legal counsel, but had not even received a hearing before the judge.

Bill Payne, a reporter for *The El Paso Times*, described alcoholic caseworkers, underfeeding of the children, and suicide attempts. He said that the former chief guard of a detention home in El Paso had been hired "while the man's own children were in protective custody in the home during a Child Welfare investigation of the children's allegations that their father 'handcuffs us to the bed and beats us.'"

Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, the subcommittee chairman, acknowledged that such conditions are common throughout the country. He said that many imprisoned children are "beaten, brutalized and subject to vicious sexual attacks."

Often children end up in reformatories

It may well be asked why the CP is so singularly unresponsive to the needs of so large a section of the population. The answer may very well lie in Moscow, where the regime is considering declaring abortion illegal. (See "The Position of Soviet Women," *Intercontinental Press*, May 3, page 406.)

It would never do for the French CP, one of the Kremlin's most slavish voices in the West, to place the needs of ordinary people, no matter how urgent, over those of the Soviet bureaucracy.

But the French politburo's effort to straddle the issue, the mild abortion reform it proposes (which amounts to no more than the "therapeutic abortion" already an accepted fact in many European countries and in most of the United States), will hardly satisfy supporters of the burgeoning French Women's Liberation Movement, who are unequivocally demanding the right to control their own bodies. □

simply because their parents consider them a burden. Dorothy A. Vanbrunt, superintendent of the Indiana Girls' School, and Alfred R. Bennett, superintendent of the Indiana Boys' School, testified that mentally retarded children often ended up in their institutions simply because the state was unwilling to provide proper care for them.

Most of the jailed children had not committed any act that could really be called a crime, the subcommittee found. Of the 208 prisoners at the Indiana Girls' School, for example, 125 had been sentenced for running away from home and nineteen for being truant from school.

Other witnesses testified about children being jailed for things like stealing 75 cents or carrying a can of beer in public. □

Maybe Heath Should Take a Cut

The unemployment figure for April in Great Britain reached 814,000, the highest level in thirty-one years. In England, Scotland, and Wales, the unemployment rate was 3.4 percent. In Northern Ireland, it was 7.7 percent.

"Government sources," quoted by Reuters, explained that the joblessness was due to high wages.

Dutch Response to Padilla Affair

"The Cuban revolution has not devoured its own children, but it seems to have begun to nibble on its Western friends," Igor Cornelissen wrote in the May 22 issue of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*.

The arrest of the poet Heberto Padilla and his confession denouncing two independent pro-Cuba intellectuals, K. S. Karol and René Dumont, as CIA agents shocked friends of Cuba around the world, Cornelissen noted. Sympathizers of the Cuban revolution were disquieted by Fidel Castro's April 30 speech to the Cuban Cultural Congress, in which he attacked independent-minded supporters in the West as "bourgeois liberal gentlemen."

In the Netherlands specifically, different types of responses were seen among pro-Cuba intellectuals. "The reactions of some Cuba supporters were not very straightforward nor very reassuring," Cornelissen wrote. "Peter Schat and Mulisch for example. Schat made a kind of self-criticism himself in which he admitted that he and his friends had not done very much to support the Cuban revolution. (Insiders had known this for a long time.) Mulisch, of course, had already said on one occasion that he had little or no interest in criticism of Cuba. Anything Fidel does is good."

Some of the oldest and most faithful friends of the Cuban revolution, however, were not so quick to accept the official line on the Padilla case.

Cornelissen discussed the question with Maria C.J. Snethlage, a veteran supporter of the Fidelista regime, and her coworker Fritjof Tichelman. "Ten years ago she [Snethlage] started publishing the *Informatie Bulletin Cuba* [Cuba Information Bulletin]. She is now seventy-five years old and still does the lion's share of the work. . . .

"The Cuba bulletin is a unique publication in more ways than one. It started coming out in a period when the Cold War was still ice cold. This was also a time when the Dutch left was trying to make up for its numerical weakness by starting up the greatest possible number of projects, almost all of which quickly went under.

This publication, however, has appeared regularly and with a steadily increasing circulation. The growth began, moreover, before it became the rage to (verbally) support Che and the guerrillas."

Published in a little-known language and in a small conservative country, the pressrun of the *Bulletin* has grown from 50 to 2,000 and its influence is more extensive than its circulation figures alone indicate. "It has long since gone beyond the limits of the small faithful club of traditional supporters," Cornelissen noted. "It has readers in Surinam and in the Antilles. Belgium takes 100 copies and the *Bulletin* is available in many public reading rooms. . . ."

Despite her age and work load, Snethlage still travels around the low countries, giving lectures on the Cuban revolution.

"There has never been any criticism from the Cubans of the [objective] way the *Bulletin* is prepared," Cornelissen continued. "The sympathy for this publication and for Cuba is shown by the special gifts that regularly come in. They would make any other left publication envious. When a hurricane devastated parts of the island, a campaign was started which proved enormously successful. As a result 10,000 pairs of shoes could be sent [to Cuba]."

Snethlage explained why she had started the *Bulletin*: "All sources of information, including the press, suppressed news about the revolution. They talked about the 'hysterical' Castro and predicted that he would be finished in a couple of months."

Cornelissen remarked: "Isn't that what they said about Lenin and the Bolsheviks?"

"Precisely," Snethlage continued. "At the time, I read so much in the foreign press [favorable to Cuba], which I regretted was not available to the Dutch public. I read and still do, *Monthly Review*, *Temps Modernes*, *New Left Review*, *New Statesman*, *New Politics*, and naturally *Le Monde*. We were all sympathetic to the Cuban revolution from the start, and we wanted to support it but we did not

want to do this uncritically."

On the Padilla affair, Snethlage said: "We have no faith at all in a confession made under the pressure of imprisonment. But there is no question of our being any less sympathetic to Cuba. In our next issue we want to show what has really happened around the Padilla question."

She noted that "the whole tone of Dumont's book is somewhat sour and cranky" and that he had been misinformed about some things by a CIA agent planted in the Cuban apparatus. But, she said, "We are personally convinced that Dumont did not know that Olive was in contact with the CIA. . . . Karol and Dumont were very critical of the lack of popular participation and control in administration but they also had a lot of praise for Cuba."

Tichelman said: "Take this point on the Western intellectuals. The undertone in Fidel's speech was: Here we are in a bitterly poor country in a gigantic struggle and those intellectuals sitting in their easy chairs in their luxury make criticisms; this must end.

"I personally think it would be more correct for the leadership of a workers state to take all serious criticism to heart in order to improve results. But I can see that there is a tragic aspect in this struggle with the capitalist countries—an aspect that favors a short circuit. We must realize this. Not to do penance. Left intellectuals have taken this attitude all too often, slavishly following the leadership of such countries.

"But we must try to be realists. What is the most genuine form of solidarity now? Is it to go away to the mountains and contemplate, or to sell sugar? The far left here in the West must realize that the most effective form of solidarity is to pave the way for a socialist revolution in the developed capitalist countries themselves. That is the duty of those who support Cuba."

Snethlage agreed. "We have always said that the United States was responsible for Cuba's dependence on the Soviet Union. Castro did not want to join a bloc. The one guilty for this is the U. S., with its total economic boycott."

"And its direct threat to Cuba's life," Tichelman broke in.

"Yes," she continued. "The Cubans themselves are not convinced that the Soviet Union will support them fully if the U. S. tries to conquer Cuba." □

Fidel Castro's Speech on Education, Culture, Art

[The following is the major portion of the text of a speech delivered by Fidel Castro April 30 at the closing of the First National Congress on Education and Culture.]

[Of particular interest is Castro's defense of his government's rejection of the protests emanating from pro-Cuban intellectuals in Latin America and Europe over the imprisonment of the poet Heberto Padilla. (See recent issues of *Intercontinental Press*, beginning May 17, for a report on the case, and other materials.)]

[We have taken the text of Castro's speech from the English translation that appeared in the May 9 issue of the "Weekly Review" published by *Granma*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba. Subheads are shortened from the original.]

[In our next issue, we plan to publish more about this subject.]

* * *

As far as we are concerned, the leadership of our Party and the Revolutionary Government have always been concerned with the problems of education, and have no doubt devoted great resources of all kinds to this activity, to the extent that there are now—as was reported by comrade Olga here today—175 000 workers in the field of education, culture and science, including almost 100 000 teachers and professors and not counting the thousands of young people who are being prepared for this activity.

The Party and the Revolutionary Government are very interested in all this, because this Congress has also helped to supply us with more detailed information on the problems, and we also have available this magnificent material which has been prepared for work in the educational field.

But although great resources have been placed at the service of education, we didn't realize, we still didn't see that there are still potential resources which could be used to support educational activity; resources in the hands of the Revolution and that, although there has been work along those lines, still more can be contributed to education.

Of course, the mass organizations absolutely support the work of the educators. But we also have other technical resources, we have the mass media and all the other resources which have been pointed out here.

We have the Book Institute, for example. A great publishing effort has been made. The number of books published has increased three or four times. Even if all printing installations were used they couldn't be able to handle all the needs, even with the new printing press sent by our friends of the German Democratic

Republic which will soon start operations.

But we must be clear about the priorities of our Book Institute. They are as follows: books for education should have first priority (APPLAUSE), second priority (APPLAUSE), and third priority! (APPLAUSE) This is quite clear.

Sometimes certain books have been printed. The number is not important. As a matter of principle there are certain books of which not a single copy, chapter or page should be published, not even a letter! (APPLAUSE)

Of course we must consider our learning process. In these years we have become better and better acquainted with the world and the people who live in it. Some of those people were described here in clear

and precise terms. Like those who even tried to present themselves as supporters of the Cuban Revolution, among whom there were some real tricksters and sharpies. (LAUGHTER) But we already know them, and our experience will help others, it will help the nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

We have discovered this other subtle form of colonialism which often remains or tries to remain after economic imperialism and colonialism; and that is cultural imperialism, political colonialism, a problem we have discovered in detail. There were some manifestations of this here, but it isn't worth while stopping to talk about them. We feel that the Congress and its resolutions are more than enough to completely smash these currents.

The Problems of Underdevelopment

Because in Europe, if you read a European bourgeois liberal newspaper you see that for those in Europe, the problems of this country are not the problems of a country 90 miles from the United States, threatened by its airplanes, fleets, millions of imperialist soldiers, chemical, bacteriological, conventional and all other kinds of weapons. It is not the country involved in an epic battle against that empire which seeks to sink and block us everywhere, no! It is not those problems which result from our being an underdeveloped country that must support itself under difficult conditions. It is not the problem of the more than 2 000 000 children and young people or students whom we must care for, supply with books, pencils, clothes, shoes, furniture, desks, blackboards, chalk, audiovisual aids, classrooms, installations and on many occasions food, since we have about 500 000 who eat at school. No! For those gentlemen who live in that unreal world these are not the problems, this doesn't exist.

You must be raving mad, in a deep coma, completely out of touch with world reality, to think that these are not our problems, to ignore these real problems that we have and which run the gamut of textbooks, audiovisual aids, programs, coordination of programs, methods of teaching, levels, training, etc., etc. And they think the problems of this country can be the problems of two or three sheep that have gone astray, that may have some problems with the Revolution because they are not "given the right" to continue with their poison, their plots and intrigue against the Revolution.

And so, during these days when we were working in the Congress, some said

that I would surely mention this tonight. But, why? Why do I have to mention this trash? Why must we elevate to the level of national problems matters which are not problems for this country? (APPLAUSE) Why, bourgeois liberal gentlemen? Don't you feel and see the opinion expressed by millions of workers, farmers and students, millions of families, teachers and professors who are quite clear about what their real and important problems are? (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

Some matters having to do with certain intellectual gossip haven't appeared in our newspapers. Then: "what a problem, what a crisis, what a mystery, that it doesn't appear in the newspapers!" Bourgeois liberal gentlemen, these matters are too unimportant, too much rubbish to appear in our newspapers or concern our workers. (APPLAUSE)

We have other problems. And the stories will appear, and the miniproblems will appear in some literary publication: more than enough. And in a moment of idleness, of boredom—if that exists—the people can read it to entertain themselves or as a useful illustration of these matters which they want to make into important problems at all cost.

Because over there, all those reactionary, bourgeois newspapers, paid for by imperialism, corrupt to the core, thousands of miles away from the problems of this Revolution and of countries like ours, think that those are our problems. No! bourgeois gentlemen: our problems are the problems of underdevelopment and how we can overcome the backwardness in which we were left by you, the exploiters, imperialists and colonialists; how we can defend ourselves against the unequal terms of trade and the criminal

plunder of centuries. Those are our problems.

And what about the other problems? If any of those two-bit agents of cultural colonialism were to make even an appearance at this Congress I'm afraid we'd have to call the police despite the fact that our workers and delegates to this Congress are an example of discipline and civil responsibility. They couldn't even get in, as everybody knows. That's a fact, and it's due to the deep scorn that has been expressed here on such questions constantly.

I have referred to this so the bourgeois liberals would know why.

They are at war against us. How nice! Excellent! They are going to let their mask slip and show themselves in their true colors. They are at war precisely against a country that maintains her position, as Cuba is doing, at a distance of only 90 miles from the United States, without making a single concession and without the slightest wavering, a country that forms part of a whole world of hundreds of millions that will furnish no pretexts for brazen pseudoleftists who hope to win their laurels living in Paris, London or Rome. Some of them are shameless Latin Americans who, instead of taking their posts there in the trench of the struggle, (APPLAUSE) live in bourgeois luxury millions of miles from problems, cashing

in on the measure of fame they won when, during their first stage, they were capable of writing something concerning the problems of Latin America.

But as far as Cuba is concerned, they will never again—never!—be able to use her, not even pretending to defend her. If they try to say something in our defense, we'll just tell them, "Buddy, please don't say anything in our defense. (APPLAUSE) Your defense does us no good!"

And, of course, as it was agreed in this Congress, our contests will never again give them the chance to come here as jury members. No more of that! In order for anybody to act as member of a jury he must be a true revolutionary, a true intellectual and a true fighter! (APPLAUSE) And in order for anybody to again win an award, whether national or international, he must be a true revolutionary, a true poet or writer, a true revolutionary. (APPLAUSE) This has been made clear, crystal-clear. Our magazines and our contests will not be open to fakers. Our magazines and contests will be open to revolutionary writers, the ones whom those living in Paris consider worthless and look down upon as apprentices who haven't won any international fame. Those gentlemen who live abroad want fame even if it is of the worst kind, though they naturally prefer that their fame be of the best kind, if possible.

henchmen, imperialists and oppressors on their shoulders. It isn't for nothing that a Revolution takes place and develops. This is why there are revolutionaries and this is what they are for. These are and must be the standards; there cannot be any others.

And of course it is logical that we should lack children's literature when there are privileged minorities writing things of no use, expressions of decadence. But this is partly because we have adopted certain criteria here. Who is considered an intellectual now? There is a small group which has monopolized the title of intellectuals and intellectual workers. According to this idea, scientists, professors, teachers, engineers, technicians and researchers are certainly not intellectuals. You do not work with the mind. According to this idea educators are not intellectuals.

But there have also been certain inhibitions by the real intellectuals who have left the problems of culture in the hands of a small group of sorcerers. They are like the medicine men of the primitive tribes who dealt with God and the Devil, cured, were acquainted with herbs that cured, the prayers and passes that cured.

And this problem repeats itself amidst our present primitiveness. A group of sorcerers acquainted with the rituals of culture who seek to play that role.

This is why it was proposed that in the cultural field we must promote a broad participation of the masses, letting cultural works be created by the masses for their enjoyment. The greatest cultural values created by humanity in every century, beginning with ancient literature, sculpture, painting, the principles of science, math, geometry, astronomy and many others can be understood by and be accessible to the masses. And the masses must be the creators.

Don't we have 100 000 teachers and professors? Haven't we seen brilliant and very sharp minds at work, great imagination and many other virtues displayed at this Congress? Is it not possible to

Bourgeois Intellectuals, Libelants, CIA Agents

Only revolutionaries—without doubt, hesitation or half-way measures—will find our doors open to them.

Now you know it, bourgeois intellectuals and bourgeois libelants, agents of the CIA and intelligence services of imperialism, that is, of the intelligence and espionage services of imperialism: you will not be allowed to come to Cuba! just as UPI [United Press International] and AP [Associated Press] are not allowed to come. (APPLAUSE) Our doors will remain closed indefinitely, (APPLAUSE) ad infinitum!

This is all we have to say on this subject.

Now, then, I'm not saying that we're going to devote every book and sheet of paper that is printed, or whatever available space there is in our mass media to education. Unfortunately, we cannot do this. And it isn't because all these things I just mentioned are not available, but rather, because we lack both the equipment and the skilled personnel that would make it possible to devote all of television, for example, to education. If education is attractive, culture is part of education; the most outstanding works of culture, the greatest artistic creations of man and humanity are part of education. But everything that can be used will be used and to an ever-growing extent.

The need for children's films, literature and television programs has been mentioned here. Not only Cuba but almost the whole world lacks these things. But

how are we going to have children's literature if we have certain writers who, influenced by these trends, seek to make a name for themselves not by writing something useful for the country but something which serves the imperialists' ideological currents? How have these gentlemen, trashy writers in many cases, received awards? Regardless of the technical level in writing and more or less imagination, as revolutionaries we judge works of culture by what values they represent for the people.

For us, a revolutionary people in a revolutionary process, the value of cultural and artistic creations is determined by their usefulness for the people, by what they contribute to man, by what they contribute to the liberation and happiness of man.

Our standards are political. There cannot be aesthetic value without human content or in opposition to man, justice, welfare, liberation and the happiness of man.

For a bourgeois anything can have aesthetic value, anything which entertains, amuses or helps him to overcome his boredom as a lazy, unproductive parasite. (APPLAUSE) But these cannot be the standards of a worker, of a revolutionary and a Communist. There is no need to fear expressing these ideas in a clear fashion. If the revolutionaries had been afraid of ideas, where in the devil would they be? They would have ten chains around their necks and 100 000 paws—I am not saying feet—paws of

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promote a great cultural movement among the almost 100 000 teachers, to name just one sector? Is it not possible to create a great artistic and literary movement? Why don't we look? Why don't we search for new values and promote them so that they can handle these needs, so that we can have a children's literature, so that we can have more educational radio and television programs for children? This is what we must do, this

Making Creators of an Entire People

If we can do this in all our schools, and we can do it—remember the performance by a group of children—we can and must do so from the day care centers to elementary schools and so on to junior high and the factories. Why do we have to worry about the sorcerers? Why do we have to worry, if we know that we have the possibility of making creators of an entire people, making writers, artists and intellectuals out of them? An entire people! That is the Revolution and that is socialism and communism, seeking the benefits of science, culture and art for the masses, for all society which has been freed of exploitation. That and everything else that is part of the welfare of man. . . . [ellipsis in original] Why do we fight? What do we fight for?

And what was it that aroused your great interest and passion here at the Congress, if it wasn't the idea of taking culture, progress and happiness to the children, young people and workers you teach?

That is what we want for the people and for the future generations. And it is in our hands. What keeps us from it? Nothing! No obstacle or barrier keeps us from it, the only thing is our material limitations, our low level and lack of cadres. That is the only thing!

All available resources, wealth, minds, hands and hearts are at the service of this.

That will be our future society, represented here by these young people. But we must obtain the participation of millions of children and young people, struggle and work for the economic development of the nation, for the material foundation, that together with the development of science, education and the movement of cadres and trained personnel will make all this possible.

Nothing can keep us from it! This is the great advantage our country has today. We are not living under capitalism, with the bourgeois robbing the workers, no! Our resources are now in the hands of the people.

While capitalist Europe declines more and more, and nobody knows where it will go in its fall, like a sinking ship. . . . [ellipsis in original] And with the ship in this tempestuous sea of history the intellectual rats will also sink.

When I speak on intellectual rats, of

is the mass movement we must promote.

The best example of this is provided by the programs we have seen here today, with junior and senior high school students. Some of these students represent certain schools where they all participate in science clubs and cultural activities, write poems and works of literature as well as staging plays. They all take part in cultural activities, and we have seen them here tonight.

course, I don't mean all of them. No: they are a minority there, too! But I mean the rats that try to make their miserable role as passengers on ships sinking in the tempestuous sea of history into something of great importance.

In a matter of years, and perhaps not very many, it will be like that. It is a matter of time. Those decadent societies which are rotten to the core with their own contradictions will not last long. But while they go to the bottom, we—with work, with difficulties and effort, yes—are going up.

The Congress demonstrates this. What is this if not the confirmation of this idea, the fruit of the Revolution, the fruit of this far-reaching transformation of our economic and social structures? Part of this is reflected in this unanimity, this monolithic strength, deep ideological training and politically educated mass of educators, who know where the problems are, how to deal with them and what the

Electrical Power Double What It Was Before Revolution

We must point out that in these years we have had the cooperation of the socialist countries and their support. And as we have pointed out on other occasions, especially of the Soviet Union. (APPLAUSE) That is why we are happy to have a Soviet delegation here with us today, headed by Comrade Baibakov, President of the GOSPLAN and Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. (APPLAUSE) During these days he has been discussing plans of economic cooperation with Cuba, especially the ways for more development of key sectors of our economy such as, for example, electric power, which we propose to increase by 300 000 kilowatts in the next . . . [in original] by a bit more than 300 000. We are installing power generators at Tallapiedra and work on the Regla plant is soon to start. The O'Bourke station is almost finished, and other installations, for which we already have the equipment, will be built in Santiago de Cuba and Matanzas; and, in addition, the Soviet Union is to supply us with equipment with a generating capac-

most important elements in this struggle are. Nothing can keep us from this. I repeat that the only thing keeping us from this now is our limitations, but we will have more resources every day, more schools like the one we inaugurated a few days ago; our material foundation will grow every day, and we'll have more installations, more audiovisual aids and other resources.

The production of building rods will also increase as well as that of cement and the construction industry as a whole: we will have more and more resources to build schools, first one at a time, then two, then by the dozen and by the hundreds. We know that that is our future. And no longer is it the remote future: it is already in sight, within reach.

We are well aware of the number of poor schools that still remain: 630 000 students in multigrade classrooms in the nation, and many schools in poor condition. But we are advancing! This is in store for us in a not too distant future.

These advances will take place in the coming years—this is certain!—as a result of the spirit of our people today, our masses of workers, who have the same spirit as our educators.

On mentioning these problems we should point out how our country, amidst the imperialist blockade and aggressions, has been able to fight back, strengthen and defend itself; how despite our lack of resources, we have survived during these years; and how we'll also advance and improve to the extent that other sister nations awaken and join the battle, to the extent that the process of isolation is reversed—little by little and then by leaps and bounds—against imperialism, which isolated and blockaded us.

ity of 300 000 kilowatts, which will make it possible for us to increase, by more than 50 percent, our present electric power capacity, which is already double what it was before the triumph of the Revolution. (APPLAUSE)

We are aware of our need for those resources, which are basic to both economic and educational development, although we have pointed out that we must use those expensive resources in an optimal manner.

Also being discussed with the Soviet delegation are plans for the development of our textile industry—with a view to doubling our capacity in the next five years—the pulp and paper industry, mining, mechanization of the sugarcane harvest, automotive shops and other programs under study.

With a determined effort in all fields such as what is being made in education, we don't have any doubts that we will overcome all difficulties regardless of how great, and continue advancing. □

War and the Deepening U.S. Radicalization

[The following interview is reprinted from the March 31 issue of *Tribune*, the weekly newspaper of the Australian Communist party.]

[Patti Iiyama, who was the Socialist Workers party candidate for secretary of state in California in the 1970 elections, visited Australia in February and March on a tour sponsored by that country's Socialist Youth Alliance. Among other speaking engagements, she addressed the national antiwar conference referred to in the interview.]

* * *

Question. How did you come to visit Australia?

Answer. I was originally invited by the Vietnam Moratorium organisation to attend the Anti-War Conference but not enough money could be found to pay the fare, so the Socialist Youth Alliance arranged my visit so they could learn something of what was happening in the United States.

Q. How did you become involved in the anti-war and revolutionary movement in the US?

A. I became concerned and active in the US civil rights movement in 1961 and from Berkeley attended a National Students' Association Conference in 1963. There, with such people as Stokely Carmichael, we formed a "liberal caucus" in the National Students' Association, which was found later to be backed by CIA funds to counter the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

I introduced a resolution at this conference calling on the US to stop supporting the Diem regime in Vietnam. This resolution was defeated.

Later, at Berkeley, I was active in the free speech movement. I was arrested for this activity in December 1964 and received a sentence of 30 days in jail.

I was one of the founding members of the Vietnam Day Committee and we arranged teach-ins during 1965 and demonstrations against troop trains taking GIs to Vietnam. In October 1965 we organised days of protest on Vietnam.

Q. What is your particular brand of radicalism?

A. I became interested and later active in Berkeley campus politics and later joined the Socialist Workers Party. I originally joined the Peace and Freedom Party and was at its founding convention. At that time I saw it as a new socialist party. It had a platform of socialism and I was working with such people as Eldridge Cleaver.

But a lot of manoeuvring went on to

decide who should run for Congress, so I decided to join a revolutionary party which, while not a mass party, has quite a degree of influence.

I have left Berkeley now and shifted to New York, where I am active in the Women's Liberation movement. I am a member of the Third World Women's Caucus, representing black, Puerto Rican and Asian women inside the Women's Strike Coalition.

At present, we are arranging a demonstration over the position of black women at the Harlem Hospital, which has the highest mortality rate in the US; this is a part of the overall struggle against the US health system where the poor cannot afford to become ill.

Q. What do you think of the revolutionary prospects in the US?

A. I think that the deepest, broadest radicalisation of the 20th century is taking place. The possibilities are good for the development of a revolutionary situation.

Now it is not just a few big cities affected, but all over the US.

Small towns in the Mid-West now have demonstrations. In the deep South, unions are being organised for the first time. The army GIs are challenging the military authority. Demonstrations are now taken for granted as a means to change policies—a big difference from the 1950s.

There is a movement around the problems of pollution. Many young workers are involved but not as young workers.

There is a growing radicalisation of the workers who are directly affected by inflation and unemployment.

I am confident we will have a revolution in the US in my lifetime. It will need patient work but the objective conditions are there and the subjective consciousness will rise.

The US Government is now unable to buy off the workers as it did formerly. The people are becoming impatient that the majority anti-war sentiment is disregarded. There will be greater disillusionment with the Administration when they realise that rather than ending the war there is further escalation.

Q. What were your impressions of the Australian Anti-War Conference?

A. The Conference showed that there was great potential. I was impressed with this and the participants' realisation of the need to organise the workers in the trade unions and work-shops. I think the slogan 'Stop Work to Stop the War' has great significance.

The activists have still a long way to go to reach the rest of the population. They have a need to reach out to more people. This is clear to me in speaking at the universities.

On the campuses in the US, it can be taken for granted everyone is against the war: the question is how to end it. But here I have had to answer questions about democracy and Vietnam and about communists which we have not heard in the US since 1966. A great deal of education is needed.

In Australia there is a greater press censorship. It is difficult to know what is going on in Laos. A major task of the peace movement is to spread information.

In the US, because of the greater involvement, everyone is concerned about the war. Young men are being drafted, sent to Vietnam and in some cases being shot, and everyone knows someone who has been sent there. With the inflation and unemployment, everyone is constantly considering and talking about the war. In Australia the people are more remote.

Q. What are your plans after you return to USA?

A. I will be active in the Women's Liberation movement and will be working for the April 24 demonstration on Vietnam at Washington, DC.

I will be giving particular attention to the involvement of women in the anti-war movement.

We are planning a massive demonstration and believe that the present escalation in Indochina will result in a big people's upsurge. □

U.S.-Rumania Oil Deal?

The Rumanian government is negotiating with U.S. oil companies to refine crude petroleum from the Middle East, Tad Szulc reported in the May 2 *New York Times*. The proposed deal would involve U.S. financing for the construction of refineries in Rumania.

American companies, Szulc wrote, are also negotiating for offshore drilling rights in the Black Sea.

A law passed by the Rumanian parliament last year permits the establishment of joint corporations between the government and foreign companies, provided that the government controls 51 percent of the stock. Under the law, the foreign partner is allowed to remit its profits to its own country.

Szulc suggested, however, that the oil prospecting might be carried out independently by U.S. corporations on a cost-plus-fee basis.

If the agreements go through, it would be the first time that a workers state has entered into such an arrangement with the capitalist petroleum industry.

Labour Negotiations Begin

In a message to Parliament May 19, Queen Elizabeth II requested an increase in the present royal budget of \$1,140,000 a year. A shrewd negotiator, the queen offered to give up her personal salary of \$144,000 if other members of her family received a raise.