

# TRICONTINENTAL

north american edition

no. 3

75¢



# FREE THE SAN QUENTIN 6

Johnny Larry Spain, Willie Tate, Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, Fleeta Drumgo, and Luis Talamantes—accused of the murder of 3 guards and 2 inmates on August 21, 1971, as a cover-up of the real incident in which prison guards murdered George Jackson and fired indiscriminately into the cell block.

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## to the reader

In 1966, over a hundred delegates representing 83 revolutionary organizations from Third World countries gathered in Havana for the first Solidarity Conference of the People of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This was a meeting of revolutionaries from three continents, from the most oppressed countries of the world, struggling to unite against their common enemy—namely a worldwide system of exploitation, domination and control—imperialism, directed and supported by the United States. The Tricontinental Congress sought to unite revolutionary organizations and countries in a worldwide movement against imperialism.

As a result of the meeting, an international organization—OSPAAAL, the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, was established to continue the work of developing solidarity and unity within the Third World. The Congress designated an executive secretariat to direct the affairs of OSPAAAL. The secretariat consists of 12 delegates from 12 countries, four each from Asia, Africa, and Latin America; it is located in Havana, Cuba.

One of the important functions of OSPAAAL has been its publications: Tricontinental Magazine, Tricontinental Bulletin, and numerous posters and books. Tricontinental Magazine began in the summer of 1967. Its purpose was clearly stated in an opening editorial:

The importance of the appearance of Tricontinental lies in the fact that it will serve as a medium of agitation, diffusion and exchange of revolutionary experiences as well as of the most noble ideas of men that struggle for the full liberty of humanity.

For four years now OSPAAAL has published Tricontinental Magazine every other month, and Tricontinental Bulletin once a month. These two publications are not well known to northamericans for two main reasons. First, in the past few years, the north-american movement—especially the white section of the movement—has not concentrated on studying the conditions inside the U.S. and in the world. Second, the U.S. has maintained a tight blockade against Cuba since 1961. Until recently, the U.S. government was successful in its attempts to coerce almost every non-socialist country in the world not to trade with Cuba. The U.S. customs and postal authorities have kept Cuban printed matter, especially OSPAAAL, from reaching the northamerican reading public.

Tricontinental, however, does circulate throughout the rest of the world to revolutionaries and supporters of national liberation movements. It is one of the most valuable sources of detailed analyses about struggles in the Third World. In many instances, articles are written by the leaders of these liberation movements.

About eight months ago, Peoples Press decided to republish Tricontinental. We felt we needed to educate ourselves about the movements taking the primary responsibility for fighting U.S. imperialism. And we thought Tricontinental would help the flow of this information from the Third World to the U.S.

This, the third issue of the northamerican edition, published with a northamerican audience in mind, contains some of the articles from the magazine and the bulletin. We are trying to include material from each issue of the magazine and bulletin as they come out. This third issue contains articles from numbers 25 and 26 of the magazine and number 69 of the bulletin. We are reprinting all articles in full and supplying maps, background information and additional graphics.

Peoples Press needs your support for this project. Tricontinental does not yet have a large circulation. We need subscribers and distributors. Please tell friends, organizations, libraries, and schools, about Tricontinental. The back page lists the subscription price and bulk rates for distributors.

# contents

## UNITY WITHOUT BOUNDARIES

Fidel Castro

Fidel's speech on the 10th anniversary of the first defeat of US imperialism in the Americas—Playa Giron (the Bay of Pigs). "It can be said that we are revolutionary soldiers of America . . . Tell the Chilean people . . . any time it becomes necessary they can count on our sugar and any time it becomes necessary they can count on our blood and any time it becomes necessary they can count on our lives."

4

## VIET NAM, 1971

Nguyen Minh Phuong

Ho Chi Minh said, "Nothing is more precious than independence and liberty." "Make any sacrifice rather than lose the country and live as slaves." This article gives a summary of the present civilian and military aspects of life in South Viet Nam, including descriptions of life in the liberated zones.

30

## UNIQUE IRELAND

Michael Meyerson

"We must not do as they do in Southern Ireland—that is, to replace British exploitation of the poor with Irish exploitation of the poor. . . . What we need is a society guaranteeing civil and religious liberty . . . in three good words, Irish Socialist Republic" (Bernadette Devlin, MP). This article is an historical analysis of the movement in Northern Ireland.

40

## PARENTHESIS

Eskor Toyo

In November, 1970, mercenaries invaded Guinea with the mission of overthrowing the government of Sekou Toure. The invasion was smashed. A United Nations investigating team has determined that Portugal and other western powers instigated the plot. Toyo presents here a historical and economic analysis of Toure's nation, useful for understanding why imperialism conspires against the Guinean road to socialism.

60

## BRAZIL: THE 30 HOUR PLAN

77

"When opposition to the United States becomes unmistakably evident among our Latin-American neighbors it is up to Brazil, partly because of her long-standing friendship with the United States but most of all because of the decisive resources at her disposal, to make a 'loyal exchange' . . ." One example of such a "loyal exchange" was Brazil's 30 Hour Plan—the way the government of Brazil planned to respond militarily if a socialist government was installed in Uruguay in the elections of late 1971.

## COLOMBIAN GUERRILLA

Within the last year there has been an upsurge in rural guerrilla activity in Colombia, making that movement one of the most advanced rural guerrilla struggles in Latin America. "The guerrilla, armed with revolutionary ideology and supported by a politicized peasant rear guard, is unbeatable."

90

## NEWS BEHIND THE NEWS—OKINAWA

At dawn on November 19, 1968, near Naha, Okinawa, a B-52 bomber, taking off for the Viet Nam war zone, crashed and its deadly cargo exploded. But the people of Okinawa could do little since they have no power to remove the US war machine from their island. Their entire existence is controlled by the United States in the person of a High Commissioner who has the power to nullify any law and remove any public official from his post. This article does not cover the recent conclusion of a treaty between Japan and the U.S. on the status of Okinawa.

95

## BOOMERANG FOR ISRAEL

Oswaldo Ortega

This article describes the arrest, imprisonment and trial, in Israel, of Taisir Kubaa, president of the Palestinian Students' Union. He was tortured and charged with participating in the sabotage of an Israeli airliner. During his trial he stated, "The day will come when you will be judged for your actions, and not only by the Palestinian people. I can assure you the judges won't be Christian or Moslem. They will be Jews like yourselves, but honest, progressive Jews, enemies of Zionism."

101

## NOTES ON THE CULTURAL LIFE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

Peter Weiss

"When, after the air attacks, I saw the peasants of Viet Nam reconstructing their highways and dams with rocks and mud . . . with their clothes muddy and great hunks of mud in their hands, I had no doubt as to whether the man deep in the mud was more developed, more dignified, and superior, or whether it was that other one up there in his million-dollar machine."

108

## Unity Without Boundaries

Fidel Castro

This is the speech with which the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, Comandante Fidel Castro, closed the meeting held on the tenth anniversary of the Victory of Giron. *Tricontinental* magazine publishes it in its entirety for its clear definition of Cuba's political position and its historic content.

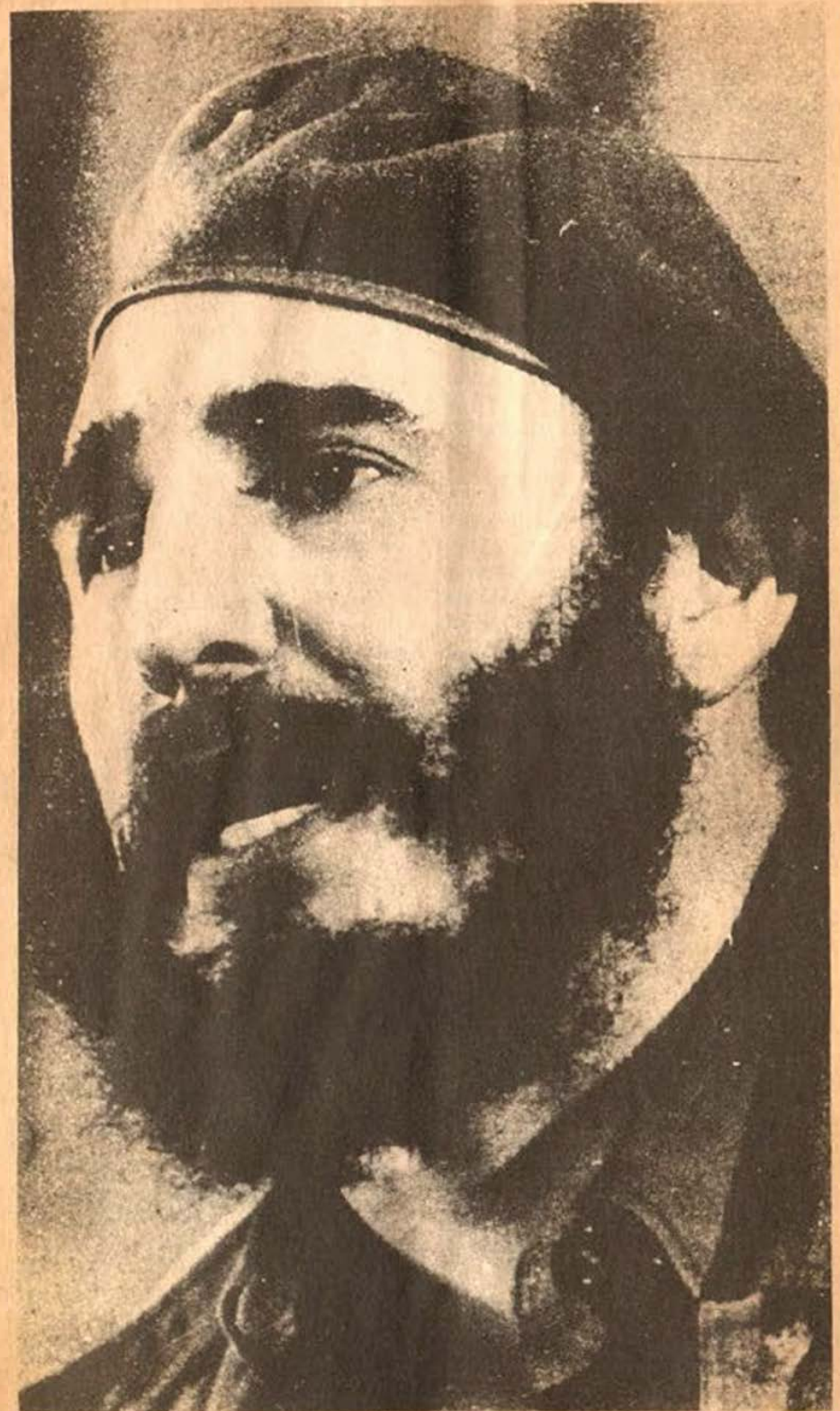
### DISTINGUISHED GUESTS;

Relatives of those who fell at Giron;  
Comrades:

Comrade Volodia Teitelboim, a veteran revolutionary fighter from Chile who has participated in many acts of solidarity with our country, spoke of his wish to participate in a modest way in this event. No such thing could be possible. To us, the presence after ten years of a representative of a revolutionary people that has embarked on the road of

revolution and whose present leaders are inspired by the same principles and the same doctrine that inspire us — in each case, naturally, applied in keeping with the concrete condition existing in each country — is highly symbolic and carries with it a message of profound significance.

His presence here has great meaning for us. And his words have not only struck an emotive chord deep in our hearts but have also filled us with satisfaction and made this 10th anniversary even more dramatic.



With this simple, yet militant ceremony we commemorate those events. The battles of Playa Giron were an episode whose historic significance even we failed to understand fully at that time.

Our fighters simply marched on, full of ardor, to meet the enemy, and they did what they had to do. They did not go there to write a page in history, and yet, although it had never entered their minds to do so, they did write such a page.

The event has been spoken of everywhere in the world and even today the date is remembered in practically all the newspapers the world over.

The defeat of the mercenary invasion at Playa Giron had a traumatic effect on the United States itself. We were reading a dispatch from a US news agency with reference to that date, which speaks of the impact made on imperialism by that defeat.

In this analysis made by the news agency, datelined Washington, April 17 — it's from the Associated Press — it says:

One of the darkest hours in the history of United States foreign policy occurred shortly before dawn on a day like today, 10 years ago, on the swampy beaches in the southern part of Las Villas Province, Cuba.

The southern coast of Cuba was the scene of the landing of some 1500 Cuban exiles, trained and equipped by the Central Intelligence Agency, whose purpose was to put an end to Fidel Castro's leftist regime.

That was the frustrated invasion of the Bay of Pigs, whose 10th anniversary went practically unnoticed by the majority of the American public.

In retrospect, the Bay of Pigs invasion was one of the most self-defeating actions in all the 195

years of the history of the United States.

The Bay of Pigs invasion had profound repercussions, the most immediate one being the worsening of relations between the United States and the rest of Latin America. In the days that followed, anti-US demonstrations were held in Buenos Aires, Bogota, Mexico, Caracas, Montevideo and Santiago.

One month after the invasion, and evidently concerned over the United States' loss of prestige, Kennedy urged Congress to appropriate 25 000 million dollars over a period of ten years to take more US astronauts to the moon. Congress gave the program its approval with alacrity, with very few votes against.

Another theory which prevails in Washington is that the Bay of Pigs fiasco moved the President to send more US troops into Indochina.

According to this theory, after the Cuban disaster Kennedy thought that it was essential for the United States to make a show of force somewhere else in the world to uphold its prestige as a great power and avoid being accused of following an "appeasement policy toward Communists," as charged by the Republican Party.

When the Government of South Viet Nam was threatened by an internal insurrection supported by the Communists in the North, Kennedy began to send a number of military advisers to help avoid communist expansion.

However, more than a year and a half after the Bay of Pigs affair, at the time of Kennedy's death, the military personnel in South Viet Nam had reached a total of

16 000 soldiers — the beginning of a participation that would bring the total figure to 525 000 at the end of four years.

The question of whether there is a direct connection between the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the United States' participation in the Viet Nam conflict will be a subject of discussion for historians.

We really don't think that the imperialist aggression in Viet Nam has anything to do with the Bay of Pigs defeat. The United States' participation and aggression in Indochina is part of its well-known role as international gendarme and repressor of the revolutionary movement all over the world. But still, that shows the effect, the deep impact made on the United States itself — that is, on the imperialist government of the United States — by the Giron defeat.

Needless to say, the struggles of the people of Viet Nam, both in merit and heroism, far surpass anything known to date. The theory mentioned in the dispatch is a false theory. It would be ridiculous to imagine that they went into Viet Nam to get even for what happened to them at Giron, considering that the beating they are getting there is even worse than the one they got at Giron.

The latest trouncing, the one on Route 9, in Laos, was worth one Giron and a half — it was another Dien Bien Phu. Without a shadow of a doubt, the puppets and their Yankee advisers were handed a crushing, overwhelming defeat there.

There's an issue of the Mexican magazine *Siempre!* that has a cover dealing with the fighting in Laos. It shows a photograph of a Yankee helicopter flying about 300 feet above the ground, with a whole

chain of puppet soldiers hanging from its sides while hundreds of hands are extended toward the helicopter. That was really a desperate, shameful rout.

Imperialism, in its role of gendarme, has lately been handed defeat after defeat and these defeats are slowly weakening it and dulling the sharpness of its claws.

The significance of the defeat at Playa Giron is that it took place in Latin America, that it resulted in what is currently described as the first victory against imperialism or the first defeat of imperialism in America.

This has to do with the innumerable occasions on which the imperialists intervened in Latin America, robbed Latin-American nations of vast extensions of land, interfered in their internal affairs — as they did many times in our country and in Santo Domingo, Mexico, Nicaragua and several other countries — and, always, strutted like conquerors over all our countries and succeeded in imposing their policy and getting away with it.

It wasn't too long before the invasion of Playa Giron that the CIA had participated in a similar procedure in Guatemala, through which it defeated that country's popular, progressive government.

Of course, the significance grew to the extent that the Cuban Revolution took on a much more radical, more defined character.

Today we recalled how the socialist character of the Revolution was proclaimed on that April 16. That character, of course, was not given by proclamation. It was given by the revolutionary measures, by the revolutionary laws adopted in every field, beginning, naturally, with the Agrarian Reform Law and all the other measures that brought about a radical change in our country's

economic and social structure.

There were some — not in Cuba, though — who wondered why the socialist character of our revolution was announced at that moment. And there were others who admired the deed.

This can be explained very easily. We were in the midst of a battle; we had been treacherously attacked in the simultaneous bombing of our airfields, by which the enemy sought the destruction of the few, old planes we had. The aggression had begun and the fight was on. And when aggression comes, when the time to fight comes, it is then that the banners must be raised higher than ever. It was imperative that the banner of the revolution be raised higher than ever in the face of the treacherous, cowardly enemy who attacked us, in the face of the powerful imperialist government that prepared the invasion.

That is why our fighters went to Giron, to defend not only the sacred soil of the homeland, to defend not only their interests, the interests of our workers and farmers, but also to defend their ideas and their revolutionary process, clearly defined as a socialist process.

It was the imperialists who had been saying that the Cuban Revolution had been betrayed. That view, naturally, was based on the imperialists' idea of what a revolution should be; in other words, a revolution of the bourgeoisie, a revolution of exploiters, a revolution of the defenders of the imperialists' interests — which therefore, was nothing but a pseudorevolution.

The Cuban Revolution had begun more than a hundred years ago. And at every epoch, at every moment, it followed a line and pursued a goal, an objective, which in that initial phase was independence. But even then, our revolution was an

anti-imperialist revolution.

And our revolution was becoming more and more radicalized. A vast change had taken place from the first ideas of the rebels themselves in 1868 to the ideas of Marti. In fact, in the initial stages of that struggle, the revolutionaries still viewed the United States in the role which, without a doubt, that country had played for a long period of world history; that of the land of the Pilgrims, the scene of one of the first contemporary liberal revolutions. It was a country which, doubtless, served as an example for other countries for quite some time.

Therefore, at that time, back in 1868, there were still a few Cuban rebels who spoke of annexation.

However, that revolution became more and more radicalized and those ideas were gradually swept away and finally discarded completely. And by 1895 the process, radicalized by the participation of the people, by the participation of the humblest elements of our people, of the freed slaves, and with a leadership born precisely of the humblest strata of our people, continued its process of radicalization. Nobody will ever forget Maceo's words, "Whoever dares grab Cuba will only gather the dust of its bloodstained soil — if he doesn't die in the attempt."

And Marti, when he spoke more freely than ever before, when he candidly wrote everything he felt deep down in his heart in a letter to his friend Manuel Mercado, expressed with unquestionable clarity the joy he felt in his readiness to devote every day of his life to his homeland and to fulfill the elementary duty of keeping the United States — through the independence of Cuba — from expanding into the Antilles and pouncing, with added

force, on the peoples of America.

And Marti added that everything he had done until then and would continue to do was aimed at the same objective.

Marti also said he wanted to cast his lot with the poor of the earth. And it was that same Marti who admired Karl Marx because he had taken the side of the poor.

That was already a revolutionary thought in full evolution and development.

The Cubans couldn't even reach their goal of full independence. Everyone is more than familiar with the sad story of how the mambises<sup>1</sup> fighters were even prevented from entering Santiago de Cuba, of how they were even deprived of having the government of their homeland in their own hands. And there's the Platt Amendment, the Guantanamo Base, the governments imposed on the people, the humiliating concessions that served to ravage our economy, the corrupt regimes, the endless direct and indirect interventions in our country and the falsification of our own history. And the indoctrination that began in childhood, which pictured the Yankess as the liberators of our homeland, as the generous liberators of our homeland, attempted to belittle our historic values; it was an indoctrination similar to that put into effect in Puerto Rico to crush the independence current, to crush the national values of that country, which together with ours formed what someone described as "the wings of a bird."

And let no one forget that Marti began his fight for Puerto Rico's independence and that the proclamation written by Marti, Maceo and the other liberators was a proclamation for the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

The United States tried to do practically the same things in our country. However, by the time the Cuban Revolution had reached that stage, our people's aspirations and goals had to be, by all means, incomparably higher than those they might still have had in 1868, and even in 1895, and higher than the aspirations of 1933. Such aspirations, logically, were in keeping with the needs of a country in the conditions in which we were living.

But still, the imperialists continued to promote their false theories, the result of their frustration.

Now, then, what could they say when, following the bombing and when the invading hordes under their protection were already close to our shores, the socialist character of our Revolution was proclaimed loud and clear for all to hear?

And who were the men who defeated them? What were the banners which these men held aloft? And, among those banners, which banner but that of socialism?

When battles were being waged in the Sierra Maestra, the Revolution waged them for specific objectives appropriate to the moment. And there were many who fought with great ardor. However, when our fighters went to Giron they went there to fight, and to die, to pay whatever price was necessary, for the cause of socialism!

That is why, as Raúl said two days ago at San Antonio Base, the battles of Giron consolidated the presence of socialism in Latin America.

And, from then on, the imperialists didn't have a single argument left.

<sup>1</sup> Mambi was the name used (disparagingly) by the Spaniards in referring to the rebels who fought for Cuba's freedom, and in time, it became a term of honor for those so-named. (Ed. Note.)

Volodia wondered how or expressed his desire to know how that heroic deed of Giron was possible. And, to tell the truth, it is very easy to understand.

When the people live through a process of revolution throughout their history they make heroic deeds the most natural thing in the world, a daily affair. Heroic deeds become an everyday affair.

In revolutions, even in liberal revolutions, when the bourgeoisie identifies itself with the interests of the entire people — as, for example, in the case of the French Revolution — the revolutionaries faced their foreign enemies victoriously. At the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, the country was invaded by a bloc of foreign powers — 14 countries — which launched attacks from every direction, but the Soviet people put up a heroic resistance amidst the most difficult conditions and performed countless feats of heroism. The Vietnamese record heroic deeds day after day. And we are sure that the people of our sister nations in Latin America, in a similar situation, would also perform similar and even greater deeds than those we have inscribed.

We are absolutely sure that the Chileans, acting in defense of their revolution and their homeland, can repeat the deeds of Giron — and many more Giron — fighting against the aggressors, against the reactionaries, against the imperialists.

Our people went to Giron simply to do their duty.

How did our people react in the face of the enemy? They reacted with ardor, determination and courage. What characterized our fighters, our militiamen, our pilots, our tank crews, our sailors; in a word every one of our fighters. the entire peo-

ple? The same spirit that Cubans have had all through their history; the same spirit of the fighters of 1868 who, waging their struggle under very difficult conditions, faced a powerful, well-armed foe; the daring and the aggressiveness of our fighters for independence, which gradually created a revolutionary, patriotic tradition — one could say a culture — and certain habits among our people, habits of courage, dignity and fighting spirit.

Our fighters were characterized by the same spirit as the rebel fighters who, with very limited means, also had to face a large, powerful, well-armed army. And our rebel fighters, in a display of courage and fighting spirit, liquidated an enemy force of more than 50 000 well-armed men in 25 months. Our Rebel Army was created and developed and crushed the enemy within a period of 25 months.

Let's not forget that, on that December 31, 1958, the island was divided in two. Our troops, under Che's leadership, were attacking Santa Clara, supported by the troops of another invasion leader, Comrade Camilo Cienfuegos.

The island cut in half by the formidable action of these two leaders; Camagüey surrounded; and no less than 17 000 enemy soldiers trapped in Oriente. One day, the comrades who engage in historic research will be able to give the exact figures with respect to the number of soldiers we had already surrounded in Guantanamo, Santiago de Cuba, Holguin, Mayari, and Manzanillo. To say nothing of the fact that, out of the three frigates of the Navy, we had two cornered in Santiago de Cuba Bay, which simply couldn't get out.

All this happened in a 25-month-long process, beginning with the

insignificant figure of seven armed men who had become reunited at the end of December 1957, following the setbacks suffered at the beginning of the month.

All that was but the continuation of the traditions of struggle of our people, traditions of struggle which were evident throughout the fight against Batista's tyranny, traditions which were gallantly lived up to by the revolutionary fighters in the mountains and in the cities. Such a display of courage and heroism can never be forgotten.

The same gallantry was displayed by our fighters in their battles against the bandits in the Escambray Mountains. They pursued them tenaciously, surrounded them and did not stop attacking until they had wiped them all out.

In the same way, when the hour of battle arrived, our fighters showed a tremendous fighting spirit. And, everywhere, they acted the same way.

Wherever the enemy planes made their appearance on April 15, despite the factor of surprise, despite the unexpectedness of the attack, the crews of our anti-aircraft batteries reacted immediately. They reacted immediately!

We recall that we were at Point One, the command post. We had established contact with Oriente Province, from where Raúl informed us about some operation the enemy was engaged in around Baracoa, something that looked like a landing. We were waiting to see what happened, when daylight came. We saw a number of B-26s fly overhead, and no sooner did they show up when... there was something strange about them. We had no planes in the air at the time. We realized that they could very well

be enemy planes, despite the fact that they had Cuban markings, and, immediately, they began to attack the Ciudad Libertad base. And, in a matter of seconds, our anti-aircraft guns opened up and we could see the tracers that came from the four-barreled guns.

It was the same everywhere else. Nobody was afraid. Nobody panicked. The answer — energetic, courageous and forceful even amidst an atmosphere of surprise — came immediately. And it should be taken into account that many of those artillerymen were 15-, 16- and 17-year-old youngsters who had never been under an air attack, who were not veterans, who were completely new at this sort of thing. This was the first time they had fired their weapons, and yet, they were vying for a crack at the planes. It was a veritable emulation contest to see who got hold of the guns, who fired faster and more accurately. There was a tremendous ardor. And virtually every one of them was facing an enemy plane for the first time. And it took them only seconds to answer the enemy fire.

And when the mercenaries finally landed, from the very moment they set foot on land, they found the same reaction everywhere. The militiamen of Battalion 339 of Playa Larga and the Giron militiamen who were taken by surprise there — that is, who suddenly found themselves face to face with the bulk of the enemy forces as they landed — did not surrender when urged to do so. Instead, they shouted "Patria o Muerte!" and opened fire with their weapons. They never stopped to think about the size of the enemy force or the kind of weapons it had. They were only four or five, and yet they never thought of covering for a retreat. No! What they did was to open fire immediately!

# ¡ Victoria o Muerte !



la Victoire ou la Mort!  
Victory or Death!  
وانتا المنتصرون

The same thing happened everywhere where there was a man with a weapon in his hands. And the most amazing thing about it is that there were many who had no weapons and still wanted to get into the fight. There were a number of literacy campaign teachers who helped load machine guns, who participated in the battle. That was the prevailing attitude. We even had the problem of a large number of people near Giron asking for weapons. It was impossible to provide everyone with weapons, but that was the kind of spirit that prevailed everywhere.

Our fighters never hesitated for a single moment to carry out their mission. Not a single one of them, anywhere! Neither the soldiers nor the militiamen. Well, after all, it was one and the same thing, of course. There is no room for distinction; unless we are to make distinctions according to the different weapons every sailor, every flier, every tank driver, every one of them used!

What did our fliers do?

There are the reports of the mercenaries themselves, saying that our planes lacked repair parts, that our fliers had no means of communication or radar and that, in fact, they lacked practically the most elementary equipment for aerial combat.

The enemy tried to destroy the few old planes we had and, in fact, they succeeded in destroying some. On the morning of April 17 we had nine planes — if I remember correctly — which might possibly fly, and some seven pilots, most of them rookies. Nobody would have dreamed that those planes would really play a decisive role in the battles.

Since we suspected that the enemy might try to bomb us at dawn, and having all the reports and with our troops moving toward Gi-

ron, our planes were in the air and headed for Giron at dawn on the 17th.

What did those fliers do? Those seven rookie fliers piloting seven old planes with no spare parts, or patched up with adapted parts, who still had not had the opportunity to receive adequate training: what did they do?

Well, what they did was simply this: they sank or dispersed all the enemy ships, which was a small fleet including a number of armed vessels. The result: every enemy ship sunk or sent scurrying for safety! And our fliers cooperated with the artillery. The result: every enemy plane or practically all of them shot down by the time the invasion was over. I believe there only was one left and we still wonder how that one didn't crash, too, because there was no ship or plane left, nothing in the air or on the water. Moreover, our fliers took part in many actions in support of the infantry. These ranged from protecting the transfer of the Militia Officers Battalion, of Matanzas, to the bombing of enemy positions and groups up to the last day at 5:00 pm, as they were trying to get back aboard their vessels.

In addition, on April 19 our planes encountered the Yankee planes from the aircraft carrier stationed off our coast. Our fliers did not show the slightest sign of fear, never felt the slightest fright. They went joyriding among the Yankee planes, defiant and ready to pit their old crates, if necessary, against the Yankee planes.

The same can be said for the attitude of our artillerymen and of the infantry battalions who were seeing action for the first time, about their determination and spirit



as they moved steadily forward. The same can be said about the tank drivers who roared along the highway to Playa Larga — a 6-mile stretch of road that was more like a narrow canyon flanked by woods — into the face of enemy tanks and antitank guns and advanced to the very entrance to Playa Larga.

And when the comrade in charge of the lead tank had his vehicle put out of commission, partly destroyed and completely immobilized, he jumped out of that tank, got hold of another, and rescued the rest of his crew.

On April 19, when our comrades advancing toward Giron along another highway heard from our fliers that the mercenaries might try to board their ships for a getaway, it was decided to launch a lightning attack... We remembered that some prisoners had told us that a number of antitank guns had been set up at the entrance to Giron. But Giron had to be taken by all means. The order went out to the lead tank: "Full speed ahead and run over the guns!" And another tank was sent out after the first, and then another and still another. And that tank took off at full speed in the middle of the night, ran over the antitank guns and got to Giron. One tank alone! Well, after all, they had been given orders to reach Giron and they went on, beyond Giron! At that moment, they had no infantry support or any other support. Then came another tank, and that was followed by another and the rest. They had to get through, and they did get through and made contact with the other forces.

The column proceeding from Playa Larga was bombed heavily. They were engaged in a series of fierce battles, under difficult conditions, because they had to make their way

along a highway and maneuverability was impossible in such surroundings.

And when the tanks got to Giron they took up positions right by the water's edge, facing the Yankee warships stationed a couple of miles off our coast.

Our fliers and our tank drivers fulfilled their duty calmly. They never got discouraged, they never lost their fighting spirit and were never in the least impressed by the enemy. And if the Yankees had gotten into the fight, well, they'd have fought the Yankees, too.

That was the way our fighters behaved everywhere. Their attitude was the same everywhere.

Now, there is another very critical moment in the revolutionary process and that is October 27, 1962, when our antiaircraft units all over the country opened fire on the Yankee warplanes that were approaching our country flying at a very low level. Not one artilleryman hesitated. Everyone can remember those memorable days, how the fighters opened fire with their weapons and chased away the Yankee planes and at that moment the Yankee nuclear missiles were aimed at our country.

No longer was it a battle against mercenaries, with warplanes and warships more or less close by, with more or less likelihood of their intervening. When it was a case of Yankee planes on October 27, when all our units all over the country received the order to open fire, they opened fire! At a time when Yankee nuclear missiles were aimed at our country, when a large part of the Yankees' atomic artillery was aimed at us. And those men did not hesitate in firing!

We understand that our people demonstrated, that they gave a supreme demonstration of courage

and cool nerves. Those are the traditions that have been forming our nation in more than 100 years of struggle. Those are the traditions in which our fighters have been educated, and those are the traditions in which they will continue to be educated; and those are the traditions in which the new generations of our people will undoubtedly be educated, because they will be passed from generation to generation.

There are moral values which have been developing throughout our history, and which are constantly reaching a higher level: cool nerves in the face of the enemy, a complete lack of fear or panic, courage, determination, firm response and constant struggle.

Immediate and firm reply, tenacious and untiring struggle and constant striving are the characteristics of our fighters, the best and most heroic traditions of our people. This is what we can count on. Of course, today we can also count on more and more modern weapons, much better combat training, many more command cadres who have received better overall training and more modern weaponry.

In the Sierra Maestra we fought with rifles we had taken from the Batista soldiers. But in Giron everything in the hands of the fighters was used; there were more modern weapons that had been furnished by the socialist countries; there you saw the T-24 tanks, 122 mm guns and the SAU-100, an array of weapons ranging from FAL rifles to 120 mm mortars and other arms since weaponry from the socialist countries was used for the first time, especially arms from the Soviet Union which had arrived at a very timely moment a few weeks before.

Our artillerymen would learn something in the morning and teach others at night, and what they

learned at night, they would teach in the morning, because we had very few instructors, and we didn't have much time. We viewed the preparations of the enemy and had to speed things up, and we had hundreds of batteries, field guns and antiaircraft artillery by the time of the invasion.

There were more modern weapons, and we can say with pride that our fighters made magnificent use of them. And under any circumstances they will always make magnificent use of them.

It is also a historic tradition, dating from the time of our independence fighters and the guerrilla Rebel Army of the mountains, that nobody could take our weapons from us. Nobody could take our weapons! Our fighters did not let their weapons be taken from them; they had to be killed before their weapons could be taken from them! And our fighters have always had more weapons after every battle than they had before. And we have a large amount of weapons in our country now. I don't think it is a secret that there are more than 500 000 weapons in our country now!

And a people with that tradition of struggle and battle, which fights down to the last man as long as he has a rifle — with that tradition — without panic or fear of the enemy, is undoubtedly a people with enough morale and better trained and technically prepared for battle than ever before.

This has been the most important guarantee, basic for the survival of our revolutionary process, because the imperialists realized that we were no pushover, that the invasion was going to be no easy matter and that they would have to pay a high price.

That explains the crushing defeat handed the invaders. They were

defeated quickly. We had to crush them quickly to keep the Yankees from carrying out their plans to install a provisional government and legalize their intervention. But even if it hadn't been necessary to crush them immediately for that reason, they wouldn't have lasted a minute longer, anyway. Because just knowing the mercenaries were there was all the combat motivation our people needed. They didn't need motivation of any other kind. All the people wanted to participate and do their duty, and so they did, everywhere!

This was how our people recorded this feat, this memorable page of history of ever-increasing significance, which is better understood with the passing of time.

Engaged as we are in day-to-day revolutionary work, we still haven't built a monument to those who died at Giron. There was a contest and an award was given. But then, many were not happy with the design. We believe that the best idea would be another national contest with the participation of the people, architects and everybody — we have to give this a Cuban touch — so that we can build a monument honoring those who fought at Giron. It doesn't matter that time has passed. Perhaps fraternal hands will help build the monument. Perhaps revolutionaries from the other nations of Latin America will come, so that blood which was shed for our continent will receive the tribute of the sweat of revolutionaries from Latin America. We are sure that when we have a design ready, young people from the rest of Latin America will come to work on the monument.

And it is really an act of justice to build the monument that those fighters deserve, the tribute of all

our people to those who gave their lives and to those who were wounded in battle, to those who shed their blood and, in short, as a tribute to all those who, in the vanguard or in the rear guard — everyone in the post to which he had been assigned — participated in those memorable events.

We feel that our people simply did their duty, as is done and will always be done by all revolutionary nations.

This continent has changed a great deal in these ten years. We believe that the days of imperialist domination in Latin America are numbered, that in these years there is increasing awareness all over the continent and that the contradictions with imperialism have increased greatly. Imperialist rule in Latin America is in trouble.

Today we have had the great pleasure of hearing the voice of another sister nation, marching down the road of revolution, arm in arm with our country, a people that is starting this long, hard struggle. And we know how long and hard it is.

We know that the Chileans will, logically enough, have problems. For the time being the imperialists, the CIA, utilizing the oligarchs and reactionaries — as Volodia explained — do everything possible to block and create difficulties for the Government of People's Unity and, among other things, to sabotage agricultural and industrial production.

The perfidious and shameful manner in which they murdered the chief of the Chilean Army is well known.

The ceaseless plotting of the CIA against the Government of People's Unity is well known; the ceaseless campaigns against the Chilean revolutionary process and the cam-

paigns abroad are all well known. The imperialists have already started to withdraw their technicians from Chile to block the production of copper.

The fact that an agrarian reform is being implemented in Chile is also well known. As a result of the agrarian reform processes, the exploited rural masses become consumers, in the first place; they start consuming many of the products which they were previously forced to sell in the market in order to pay their rent or which they could not purchase because of their low wages.

We are familiar with these problems of increased rural consumption, the sabotage by the landowners. We are very familiar with the sabotage of the landowners: how they immediately start slaughtering cattle, stop planting and do everything possible to affect the crops adversely.

During a certain period, the oligarchs are strong enough to do a great deal of damage.

We are familiar with all those problems, and the Government of People's Unity has denounced all these problems.

Logically enough, we — it is almost unnecessary to say this — fully support the people of Chile, and we will do whatever is necessary to help them; we are willing to demonstrate our solidarity in any field.

For one thing, we have now established trade relations with Chile: we send them sugar, which is an important product of Chilean popular consumption, and they send us beans, onions, garlic . . .

We are sending our products to Chile and bringing back other foodstuffs, lumber — the first few million feet of lumber have already arrived, for furniture for schools and homes — and barley, for the production of beer. In short there's

a broad trade relationship.

While the Chileans are able to pay for our sugar by sending us foodstuffs and lumber, they can pay us with those commodities. But if, as a result of the imperialist campaigns and the counterrevolutionary maneuvers of imperialism and the local counterrevolution, the production of food in Chile is sabotaged and they are unable to send us garlic, or onions or beans, it doesn't matter! We will still send our sugar to the people of Chile!

We say to our Chilean brothers, to the Government of People's Unity and to President Allende: if the counterrevolution sabotages agricultural production, it doesn't matter! The people of Chile will not lack sugar! We will do whatever is necessary, increasing production or supplying it out of our own stock.

At the time of the Peruvian earthquake, our people made 100 000 blood donations in ten days to save Peruvian lives. In just ten days! We feel this expresses the profound internationalist spirit of our people. This revolutionary gesture, this fraternal gesture, this disinterested gesture reflects the extent of conscientiousness of our people.

And there is the same willingness to help . . . not help, rather, fulfill the elementary duty of brotherly solidarity, the elementary duty of cooperation with the revolutionary peoples of Latin America. Blood, sugar, whatever may be necessary! But this isn't much, Comrade Volodia! Sugar, blood donations and everything else are all inadequate. In the heart of all Cubans there is an even deeper, more determined and more fraternal feeling: if at the time of Giron, if at the time of the mercenary invasion thousands of Chileans wanted to come to Cuba to fight, the Chileans can be sure

that in the case of a foreign attack sponsored by imperialism, millions of Cubans would be ready to fight in Chile.

In case of a foreign attack, all Cuban revolutionaries can be considered as having already volunteered to fight.

It can be said that we are revolutionary soldiers of America. This is also a part of our tradition. Chileans, Venezuelans, Peruvians, Colombians and Central Americans; all fought in our war of independence along with that great soldier, Máximo Gómez, a legendary hero of our history. And in our more recent guerrilla struggle another legendary hero took part, the unforgettable Comrade Ernesto Guevara.

Cuban revolutionary fighters have also shed their blood helping peoples of other continents, aiding peoples of Africa and of Latin America. That also is a part of the best of the tradition of our country and of our revolution. That's the reason we can be counted on.

The people of Algeria are at a greater distance from us, but at a difficult moment for them, our men crossed the ocean and arrived in time to assist the Algerians. That is a part of our history and our tradition.

This means that the revolutionary peoples of Latin America can count on us; the revolutionary governments of Latin America can count on us. We say this publicly for all to hear. They can count on the fighters of Giron and they can count, furthermore, on the spirit of Giron.

We consider ourselves to be a part of the Latin-American family, a part of this continent, citizens of this continent, revolutionaries of this continent. These aren't empty

words; this springs from history itself and from the very reality of history.

Those who first fought for the independence of our peoples did not conceive what we have today. Nothing could be farther from their aspirations and objectives. Bolivar, San Martín and Sucre fought for another kind of America — for a united and strong America, not for a balkanized, impotent and weak America.

No one propounded these Latin-American sentiments with more conviction than did Martí. But if at that time those aspirations could have been the product of an ideal and a process of thought, today they are a vital question for the survival of each and every one of our countries.

What are we? What are we going to be? What are we in the face of powerful imperialism? What are we in the face of that impressive technological development? What is our destiny today? What kind of destiny would be in store for us in a future that isn't even distant? What would be the destiny of our small, weak and divided nations? In this continent, the Yankees not only took away or limited our sovereignty, imposed trade and economic conditions on us, took over our mineral and other natural resources, exploited many millions of our workers, extracting millions of dollars from the sweat of our peoples, not only promoted underdevelopment and steadily robbed us of our trained technological backwardness, and technicians; it can be said that the Yankees even stole the name "America," calling themselves "Americans."

That group of states located in the northern part of America has taken over even America's name. It seems that we aren't Americans. Strictly speaking, we don't even

have a name yet. We are yet to be christened, and various names: Latin American, Ibero-American, Indo-American, are bandied about. As far as the imperialists are concerned, we are nothing but despised and despicable peoples. At least, we were. Since Playa Giron, they have revised their opinion.

This is national, racial contempt. To be a criollo, an Indian, a mestizo, a Negro — simply to be a Latin American — is cause for contempt. With their extreme big-power chauvinism, their habits of colonialism and domination — their imperial habits — the Yankees — we are referring to Yankee imperialists — feel only contempt for our peoples.

Historically, their strategy has been to divide us. For almost 200 years, European imperialists and Yankees have done what was necessary to keep the peoples of Latin America divided and impotent, going so far as to promote fierce wars.

We all remember such wars as that of El Chaco, between Bolivia and Paraguay; the lamentable war between Peru and Chile, which left such a legacy of resentment; and, only recently, the war between two Central American nations, El Salvador and Honduras. We can all see how the imperialists and their agencies are inciting the peoples of Colombia and Venezuela and bringing their nationalism — a false nationalism — and their passion to fever pitch. Monopolies have always promoted wars and strife in defense of their own interests.

It is only logical that out-and-out lackey governments, completely reactionary and puppet governments, are needed for that policy to prosper. Among revolutionary peoples, among revolutionary governments, the only sentiments that can be aroused are such as are being aroused between Chile and Cuba, sentiments of true brotherhood, be-

cause there is nothing that could divide us, there are no interests in contradiction with the interests of our own peoples.

We have to learn to think along these lines. We have to learn to educate ourselves and our new generation along these lines. And this education isn't only political; we must educate ourselves culturally along these lines to prevent cultural colonialization from surviving economic colonialization. We mustn't forget that the imperialists didn't base their domination on economic and political weapons alone but very much also on spiritual weapons, the weapons of thought and of culture.

We have mentioned their indoctrination of distorted history and all those lies. Imperialist domination is tending to disappear in the countries of the Third World, but there still are some who aspire to intellectual tutelage and cultural colonialism. These are gentlemen who want to teach our peoples from such places as New York, Paris, Rome, London and West Berlin.

That is why our people must give a resounding cry against that attempt at spiritual and cultural colonialism, against that inadmissible attempt to introduce and maintain, at all cost, all the manifestations of a decadent culture, the fruits of a society or societies that are rent by contradictions and rotten to the core.

That is why our culture — the culture of the Latin-American peoples which, as a whole, is an inexhaustible and rich source of spiritual creations in every aspect — is a superior one.

That is why we ask our Latin-American friends to help us and cooperate in cultivating the broadest knowledge and development within

our people of the cultural and artistic values of Latin America, of our America, of which we feel ourselves to be a part.

Hence our attitude and the degree of our solidarity, which is full, absolute, total.

Other Latin-American countries are in turmoil. We know of and look with great sympathy upon the development of Peru's revolutionary process. We in this country have observed that process with interest ever since the first statements were made by the government that overthrew the oligarchic, sell-out Belaúnde. Our country immediately saw that completely different events were taking place in the Peruvian process. When we saw that the concessions to oil companies were being cancelled and that the resources that were controlled by the oil monopolies were taken over and recovered; when we saw the ferocious campaign against Peru launched in the United States; the Agrarian Reform Law; the exchange control; in sum, when we saw a series of measures that were taken, we understood that a true structural change was taking place and a revolutionary process was under way in that country.

We had no doubts, when it was still early in the process, that the process was revolutionary. This is because what determines whether or not a process is revolutionary is not the schemata, is not fiction, is not abstraction, but the facts. And the facts were confirming objectively that there was a revolutionary process in Peru.

Of course, every process has its own characteristics.

In the Peruvian process the motives of struggle against underdevelopment, against foreign economic

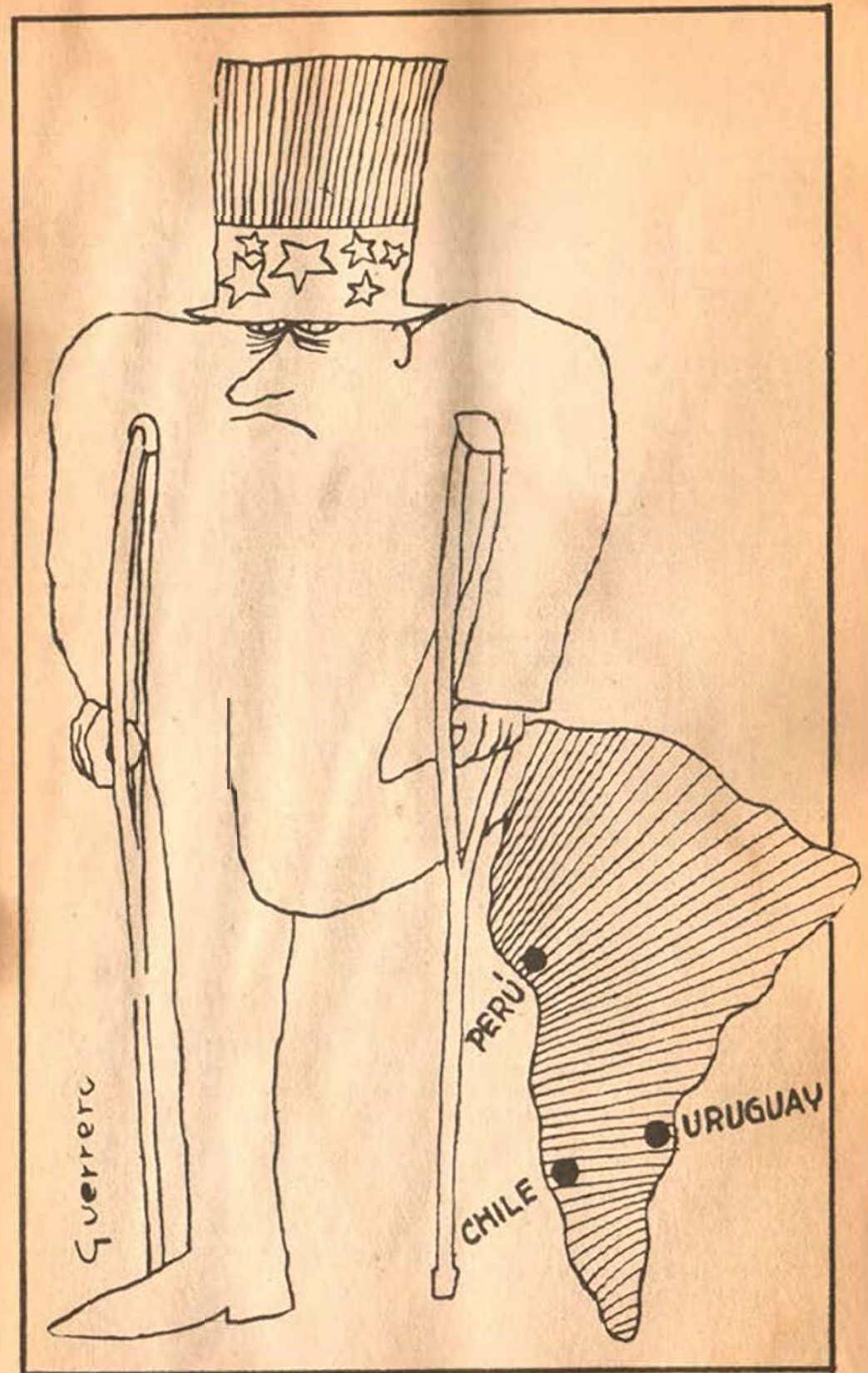
domination, strongly patriotic and nationalist sentiments prevail. One cannot speak of a Marxist-Leninist revolution in Peru. However, from the point of view of revolutionary theory, one may objectively consider that a revolutionary process is taking place in Peru.

The very reaction and hostility that it evoked in the United States... though, naturally, after their experience with Cuba, the imperialists have become much more cautious, careful and shrewd, using various and much more subtle weapons.

The imperialists are waging wide-ranging reactionary campaigns in Peru with the support of the oligarchy and the press at the service of imperialist thought — that is, the press of the right.

An example of this can be found in the fact that in the last few days, in one week, those newspapers of the right published 32 articles attacking Cuba, 32 articles against Cuba! It is logical that those articles against Cuba aren't really aimed against Cuba; they are aimed against the Peruvian Government. Their objective is to confuse, deceive and frighten the masses, telling them that structural changes, that revolutionary changes can lead to problems and difficulties; their purpose is to discourage the masses' revolutionary spirit and fight the structural changes ideologically. They know from their long historical experience that, logically, the structural changes do not come alone but are accompanied by the fierce resistance of the exploiting classes, which causes the revolutionary processes all kinds of problems. No true revolutionary process has ever succeeded in avoiding them.

Only the Yankee Embassy could organize the publication of those 23 articles. We are familiar with that kind of campaign. Now, why that



amazing thing at this moment, the publication of 32 articles against Cuba within a week? It is due to the imperialists' fear, their fear of the revolutionary wave that is shaking the continent, the wave of radicalization that is under way in Latin America. They are desperately looking for a way to avoid the unavoidable, to arrest this process in the face of which they are clearly and increasingly more impotent.

Farther on is Bolivia, the place where Che and his guerrilla comrades wrote their saga.

Che died, but his sentiments, ideas and example remain in the heart of the people of Bolivia. The deep radicalization which is seen in the workers, farmers and students of Bolivia is the result of Che's struggle and heroic sacrifice.

In Bolivia we have a revolutionary and radicalized people in turmoil, who refuse to allow any farce and demand a radical and far-reaching revolution, a real revolution. And it is the people who are taking to the streets to fight a possible fascist coup. The people are also demanding the elimination of all fascist elements from the Army. The people are demanding punishment for all henchmen implicated in the murders of miners, workers, farmers and students. The people are demanding punishment for those who served the CIA in the repression, in the murder of the guerrillas and of Che.

This is why we feel that there is also a revolutionary process under way in Bolivia, because of the radicalization and great awareness of the masses.

We have not expressed our opinion on the leadership of that process. We have seen that the imperialists are worried, and when they worry about or are against someone, even though it may be because of contradictions that aren't of a

completely revolutionary nature, we won't do them any favors.

Here we can express our confidence in the Peruvian revolutionary process, in the Peruvian Government and the people of that country; in the Chilean revolutionary process, in the People's Unity movement, the people and Government of Chile, and in the workers, students and farmers — the people of Bolivia!

There is also great unrest in Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil. Every day the news agencies report on revolutionary fighters, fighters who risk their lives in the underground struggle and shed their blood in the battle against oppression, evoking in our memories the heroic days of our people from 1953 to 1959. Virtually every day news of armed attacks or mass actions reach us, every day we read of young people killed in battle against the repressive forces. And those governments are clearly in crisis as a result of the increasing revolutionary struggles of their peoples.

The Government of Uruguay is in crisis, the Government of Argentina is faced by a very serious crisis, and we have seen the gorilla Lanusse, who after having been the power behind the throne installing and removing governments, from crisis to crisis, had to decide to take direct control of the government, to try to save the Army from the great problem it faces, the critical situation in which it finds itself, and try to organize an electoral farce to keep the people from adopting a revolutionary solution to their problems.

Our opinion is that his efforts are useless, and that Argentina and Brazil, where the ruling oligarchs and exploiters have used the most barbarous methods to maintain their system, have reached the point

which Marx considered the "pre-revolutionary stage"; the point at which they have exhausted the last measures, the last procedures, the last arms with which to maintain the system.

We clearly note the development of the crisis in Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil.

Every day we read of barbarous tortures of the Batista and Ventura<sup>2</sup> type taking place in Brazil. And we all know that when the systems of exploiters reach that situation there is no way out.

A wave of radicalization and of revolution is shaking the continent and seriously threatening imperialist domination.

What has been and what is the position of Cuba in this connection? Cuba maintains its line, the same as always: the line of the Sierra Maestra, Giron and of the First and Second Declarations of Havana! Cuba maintains its line of support for all the revolutionary governments and movements of Latin America.

The imperialists, of course, want Cuba to calm down and behave herself, they want to neutralize us. They shouldn't even dream about this! If at any time they have dreamed about it, they shouldn't have; they should never dream about such a thing, because firm principles and revolutionary intransigence are also a part of the traditions of our people.

What if we are still struggling ten years after Giron? The Cubans of another era had to fight ten years, from 1868 to 1878. The unfortunate experience of the Zanjón Agreement is well known: defeatism and pessimism resulted in the laying down of weapons. Our people have learned from these experiences, these long

experiences. That is why the Americans — it is wrong to say the "Americans," as we have already explained that the name doesn't belong to them alone — the Yankees (when we speak of the Yankees we mean the imperialists) have no right or reason to dream of any normalization or conciliation in their relations with Cuba.

We explain this because in the last few days the demagogy of Mister Nixon has surpassed all limits. In a desperate situation as a result of his great defeats in Indochina, where he started his administration with one war on his hands and now he has three — all three lost, increasingly more so — he is desperately maneuvering on the international scene and grabbing at straws. We know him well — too well. Among other things, we remember that he was one of the sponsors of the Giron invasion, and one of those responsible for the deaths of the 149 comrades who died at Giron. We haven't forgotten that.

In a recent interview during which he talked about international policy as part of his latest diplomatic maneuvers, he said the following about Cuba:

If Cuban policy toward us should change, then we would consider changing ours toward Castro. That is, we would take a step forward. As long as the Havana Government doesn't change its policy towards us we won't in any way change our policy towards it. Havana hasn't taken any steps, so relations with Cuba remain frozen.

Of course, this is no longer the insolent, arrogant language of those

<sup>2</sup> Esteban Ventura was a soldier in Batista's police who operated in Havana, representing the antityrannical struggle, and known for his cruelty toward the revolutionaries who fell into his hands. (Ed. Note.)

who one day sought to bring us to our knees; today they are almost longing for a gesture from Cuba. But, Mister Nixon — and we say this with the frankness typical of this Revolution — there will be no such gesture!

The imperialists have a long string of responsibilities and debts to our country and people. Even if we don't count what they did to us from the time of the War of Independence, with their opportunistic intervention, their Platt Amendment, their seizure of part of our territory and wealth, the pillage to which they subjected us for almost 60 years, what they have done to us in recent years, after they deformed the economy of our country, after they made us completely dependent on one crop with one market, then deprived us of that sugar market and, with that sugar quota as bait, they went from country to country bribing reactionary and oligarchic governments to vote against Cuba.

Behind all the OAS plots, behind all the agreements, besides the criminality of Yankee policy, there is the shameful corruption and incredible bribery of the oligarchic governments to which they gave the Cuban sugar quota.

The Yankee imperialists deprived us of the raw materials we needed for our industry, in many cases where the technological process was adapted exclusively to specific raw materials; they deprived us of the chance to obtain replacement parts for our factories and transportation equipment, most of which came from the United States.

The imperialists forced us to purchase products at a distance of 10 000 or 15 000 kilometers so that even with 52 cargo ships we can only carry eight percent of the goods which enter or leave our country.

The imperialists have persecuted us everywhere, blocking our trade

operations and keeping us from selling our products, exerting their influence in all countries where they have interests — interests as buyers, owners of factories, or political influence — blocking the sale of Cuban products, nickel among them.

With their measures, the imperialists have boycotted ships and made it more expensive and difficult for us to bring goods to our country. The imperialists have forced us to pay higher prices, because a country in Cuba's position had to go and buy, often paying 20 to 30 percent more for a given product.

During all these years the imperialists and their agents have made great efforts to bribe, seduce and buy over the diplomatic and commercial agents of Cuba.

During these years the imperialists have engaged in a great deal of espionage activity against us.

This without mentioning those activities which they carried out directly against us, the scores of airdrops of weapons in the Escambray Mountains, fomenting the bandit struggle, which cost us hundreds of lives and hundreds of millions; the infiltrations; acts of sabotage; incendiary fires such as that of El Encanto Department Store, dynamitings such as that of La Coubre; dozens of piratical attacks; and all kinds of crimes committed against our country. And today we are commemorating the 10th anniversary of the piratical and criminal attack at Playa Giron.

Later the imperialists made us live through the difficult days of October. They moved their puppets and their resources and promoted all kinds of agreements against our country.

We won't forget that. Neither will we forget the crimes perpetrated

against other sister nations; the historical crimes perpetrated against Cuba and the historical crimes perpetrated against other Latin-American countries; the historical crimes perpetrated against Mexico, Central America and the Dominican Republic!

We have not forgotten the murder of Sandino — a historic crime — nor the many murders, political murders perpetrated on revolutionary leaders.

Nor have we forgotten the contemporary crimes perpetrated by the imperialists: the murder of Lumumba; the massacres of Communists in Indonesia — the result of CIA intrigue and conspiracy — the murder of revolutionaries in African countries.

We haven't forgotten the recent criminal intervention in the Dominican Republic, where the imperialists landed their troops, armed to the teeth, to thwart the free determination of the Dominican people.

We haven't forgotten their crimes against Korea. We haven't forgotten their crimes against the Arab countries. We haven't forgotten their horrible crimes against the heroic people of Viet Nam and the other peoples of Indochina.

We haven't forgotten the reactionary coups in Argentina, Brazil and other countries, with their aftermath of bloody repression of workers, farmers and students, all promoted by imperialism.

And that is the imperialism that Mr. Nixon represents.

What kind of arrangement, what kind of normal relations could there be between a revolutionary country such as Cuba, under the conditions in which Cuba is developing, and that Yankee imperialism and that government of genocidal murderers, that gendarme government, that

aggressive government?

To Mr. Nixon conciliation with imperialism, or normal relations, would mean that Cuba should renounce its solidarity with the revolutionary movements, the revolutionary peoples and the revolutionary governments. But Cuba will never renounce — and we say this once more — will never renounce solidarity with the revolutionary governments, revolutionary peoples and revolutionary movements!

We have survived for ten years, and we will survive as long as necessary! We have resisted for ten years — ever since Giron — and we will resist as long as necessary!

We can afford the luxury of scorning — and I mean that exactly, scorning, because, fortunately for us, the imperialists themselves prepared us for that — any type of relation with the imperialist government of the United States; to scorn relations with a government of aggressors, with a government of genocidal murderers, with the imperialist government of an empire on the decline and defeated on every international front.

This Revolution could only have good relations with the imperialists at the expense of surrender. And this Revolution will never surrender!

There was a time when we were in the Sierra Maestra, isolated and fighting under difficult circumstances, and we kept up the struggle, we held on and we emerged victorious.

Once our people attained power and a new stage of the Revolution was begun, the imperialists isolated us, placed us in the same position Batista had placed us in the Sierra Maestra. We resisted in the past and we will go on resisting. But we are not alone now! Other peoples are now embarked on the road of revolution.

... and now also Chile. The banner reads, "Cuba - Free Territory of America"

... Y AHORA TAMBIEN CHILE



from the New Chile, by the North American Congress on Latin America, P O Box 226, Berkeley, Calif., 94701 (\$2.00)

Normal relations with the imperialists would mean renouncing our elementary duties of solidarity with the revolutionary peoples and movements of Latin America.

Normal relations with the imperialists, who threaten our sister nations, who threaten other revolutions?

How could anybody think of conciliation or normal relations with imperialism when we are ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with our sister nations against those imperialists and the mercenaries of that imperialism? That is inconceivable!

We would like to state our position once more.

Some Latin-American governments have expressed in the OAS their condemnation of the aggressions perpetrated and the measures adopted against Cuba. Chile's position is clearly defined. Others have called for an end to sanctions. Sanctions against whom? Who's really the guilty party? Who should be punished but the Yankee imperialists and the puppet governments who were their accomplices in the aggressions against Cuba? We may have been punished by that horde of bandits but, morally, we have never felt as if we have been punished! Morally and historically, they are the only guilty parties! And, needless to say, we are not considering lifting — nor can anyone else lift — the moral and historical sanctions imposed on imperialism and its henchmen. That is our position.

The imperialists and their puppets have been sentenced by history.

We believe that when the Government of Chile adopts the line of waging a battle there it is acting correctly. Within Chile's situation, Chile is waging its battle in the OAS. The Government of Chile has not been ousted from the OAS, as

we were. We are cut of the OAS, and we feel fine, really fine cut of the OAS. We don't have to account to either imperialism or the OAS. We feel better outside the OAS than inside the OAS. We feel more honored, less hampered, happier and freer outside the OAS than inside the OAS!

Besides, how can we be admitted to the OAS when we say that we are on the side of the revolutionary governments; when we say that the OAS is nothing but a disgusting, discredited cesspool, when, in addition to saying that the name OAS makes our people vomit, we say that we have supported, now support and will continue to support the revolutionary movements in Latin America? We do not belong, nor will we ever belong to the OAS!

One day we said, "All right, if they want us in the OAS let them kick out the imperialists and their puppets first." But the fact is that, historically, the OAS must disappear, because the OAS in itself is a historical expression of the degree of balkanization and division that the imperialists have introduced in Latin America; the fact is that no such thing as an Organization of American — or Latin-American — States should exist, but rather a Union of American States. Union, not Organization! And for unity to exist there must first be a revolution in every country in Latin America.

Unity will not come about by agreement, at a predetermined date or hour. It will be a historical process to the extent that awareness of this phenomenon is acquired, to the extent that the peoples liberate themselves and to the extent to which they realize that only one truth exists for our peoples: that

the only future there is lies in unity, and that salvation can only be found through unity.

It will be a long historical process, one of partial economic integrations, until one day — and this is a law of history — we will belong to the Union of the Peoples of Latin America, an economic and political union of the Latin-American peoples.

Today, distances no longer exist. It takes considerably less time to go from Havana to Buenos Aires — three, four times less time — than it took to go from Santiago de Cuba to Havana at the beginning of the century. Distance is a thing of the past. The present means of communication are simply fabulous. Moreover, tradition and a community of culture, language and interests inexorably promote unity among our peoples.

The Bolshevik Revolution was an extraordinary historic event, the most extraordinary event of this century and perhaps of this millennium. Now, then, the Revolution took place in an immense country of 170 million inhabitants and of vast, incalculable resources.

Had the Bolshevik Revolution taken place in Byelorussia, in one of the many nationalities, of the many small nationalities that today make up the Soviet Union, that revolutionary process, that historic event would not have had the enormous transcendence it had, and still has today, which makes possible the development of vast economic resources, which makes possible the development of vast military resources to face the imperialist menace, which makes possible a gigantic technological development that, in turn, has made it possible to conquer space, struggle against imperialism and defeat it in the

struggle for the conquest of space.

Yankee imperialism is, of all things, our next-door neighbor, practically side by side with us. It has exerted its influence on our future for 200 years and continues to exert a decisive, crushing influence in the future of our peoples to the extent that we are incapable of uniting.

Therefore, by a law of history, our peoples are bound to become united, and that will be the task of the Latin-American revolutionaries, the task of the future generations. It would be nothing out of the ordinary if even our children were to get to know that event, to experience that reality, a reality inexorably indicated by history.

That is why we must inculcate future generations with that awareness; we must develop, as broadly as possible, that kind of internationalist as well as Latin-Americanist feeling, a feeling that was expressed by the blood donations to the people of Peru; a feeling that is expressed by our willingness to struggle side by side with the people of Chile, simply because such feelings are imbedded in our minds, our hearts and our blood.

Our country has had the privilege of being the first, the privilege of being able to delve deep into its political conscience, into its revolutionary conscience. Our country is invested with a great responsibility; it is the responsibility of our future generations to follow the trail blazed in our struggles for independence, the trail blazed by Marti in Dos Rios, to follow the trail blazed by the fighters and heroes of Giron, to follow the road laid down by the realities in which we live, to follow the road laid down by the laws of history.

That is why we believe that this 10th anniversary of Giron already marks a qualitative change in the

Latin-American situation. And it should also mark a qualitative change in the development of our internationalist awareness, in the development of our Latin-American awareness. We should point our education in that direction, we should also orient our cultural movement in that direction and we must begin by orienting all our training and the training of future generations as well as that of our present generation of children in that direction.

Therefore, we commemorate this 10th anniversary of Giron within the context of growth in the revolutionary movement and of a wave of revolutionary radicalization in Latin America; this commemoration takes place at a time when Cuba is no longer alone; at a time when other peoples are following the same road; at a time when the struggle for the liberation of the peoples is on the rise and when the tasks that await our people are clearly perceived. We commemorate the victory of Giron with the enormous satisfaction of having with us the representative of a sister nation, a symbol to which is added the representative of other revolutionary peoples, such as that of our sister nation the German Democratic Republic, in the person of its Minister of Defense, and the representative of the heroic Vietnamese fighters.

Our Armed Forces and all our fighters, all our people, must continue to make their greatest effort, as they have always done, constantly improving themselves in both the technological and the political fields. Let us keep in mind that it is now our duty to prepare ourselves not only for our own sake, not only to defend our homeland — let's say our first homeland, Cuba — but, also to express our solidarity, wherever it becomes necessary, with respect to the peoples

of Latin America.

Our Armed Forces have acquired a broad mastery in the use of their weapons and have developed excellent educational institutions. We have had the opportunity to make progress in that field. And, doubtless, in that field, we will have to give technical assistance to other revolutionaries in Latin America, to give them our support, and to provide them with our technological support, also.

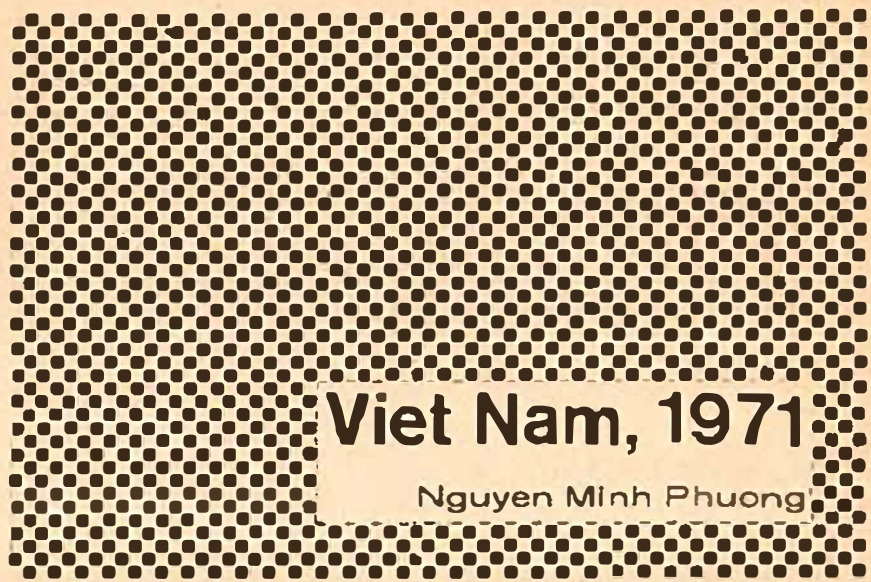
It is quite possible that, in the future, there will be students from other revolutionary countries in Latin America studying in these institutions. We're sure of that! That is why when we see how the Military Technological Institute and other schools go on developing we think that they should develop not only for the Cubans but also for the Latin Americans.

And as far as Latin America is concerned, any time that other revolutionary sister nations ask for aid, they will have it: whether it's technical aid, as technicians or as soldiers, even as soldiers! And we will do this as the most sacred of all duties, as fighters.

Therefore, Comrade Volodia Teitelboim, please tell the Chilean people, People's Unity and the Government headed by Salvador Allende that — selflessly, fraternally, with the spirit of Giron — any time it becomes necessary they can count on our sugar and any time it becomes necessary they can count on our blood and any time it becomes necessary they can count on our lives.

Viva the heroes of Giron!  
Viva proletarian internationalism!  
Viva the solidarity with the peoples of Latin America!  
Patria o Muerte!  
Venceremos!





# Viet Nam, 1971

Nguyen Minh Phuong

"Nothing is more precious than independence and liberty." "Make any sacrifice rather than lose the country and live as slaves." These words are a good summary of President Ho Chi Minh's legacy to the Vietnamese people. Written on their battle flags, they are the irrenouncible motto of their heroic struggle. No people have had to face so many aggressions, have fought so much nor paid so dearly for the right to live in dignity. From 1965 to the present alone, Yankee genocide has cost more than 1 100 000 victims — 325 000 dead — out of the South Vietnamese civilian population. But far from breaking their resistance it has only succeeded in further rekindling their fighting will and their decision to expel the last aggressor from Vietnamese territory.

On the occasion of the publication, in the United States, of the so-called secret Pentagon documents, and the Seven-Point Peace Proposal of the delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam, we presented a questionnaire to the Ambassador of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam in Cuba, Comrade Nguyen Minh Phuong, whose answers give us a summary picture of the present situation of the conflict, in both its civilian and military aspects, as well as the political plane on the international scale.

It is worthwhile reiterating the firm and fighting adherence of OSPAAAL and all the peoples and organizations belonging to it, to the patriotic and dignified struggle which the Vietnamese people have carried out from the first barricade against North American imperialism and its reactionary accomplices. Viet Nam will be free, will have its independence, won through the courage and sacrifice of its sons. The legacy of Ho Chi Minh will be fulfilled, Viet Nam is winning. And will win!

## Liberated Zones

AT PRESENT OUR liberated zones stretch from the mountains to the plains, from the countryside to the cities, including four fifths of the territory and more than three fourths of the population of South Viet Nam. The US news agency UPI, in a dispatch dated

April 4, 1965, complained that a "red strip [i.e. the liberated zones] appears as a bloody wound on the South Vietnamese military map." That bloody wound spread so quickly that nine months later, in January 1966, General Wheeler, head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States Armed Forces, was forced to admit that "three fourths of South Viet Nam is already under Vietcong control."

Revolutionary power has been set up in six large cities; Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Can Tho, My Tho, Dalat, and in 44 provinces, 182 regions and over 1500 villages of South Viet Nam. In addition to the central government, there are four committees representing the Provisional Revolutionary Government in four zones of South Viet Nam: central, southern and western Trung Bo, and central Nam Bo. The prestige of revolutionary power increases from day to day, in both the cities and the rural areas. The people have growing confidence in the correct line and policies of the PRG; in defending revolutionary power, they are determined to fight to defeat the puppet regime at the service of US aggression.

Education has been developed even in regions where the fighting is bloodiest. For example, in Cu Chi, Trang Bang, Long An, treated by the enemy as "target areas," more than 6000 children attend school. Despite the constant enemy destruction, in total we have more than 6000 primary schools with over half a million pupils. The number of secondary and preuniversity schools grows by the day. The new education and culture has given 17 ethnic minorities written alphabets. In public health, there are a number of highly efficient services from the central level to the villages and hamlets. Most regions have a pharmaceutical laboratory, infirmaries and a clinic of 20 to 30 beds. There are six medical assistants' schools and a higher level medical school in the liberated zones. In addition to a growing number of physicians and medical assistants trained in these schools, each village has 10 to 30 public health activists. Some provinces have three polyclinic-type hospitals. The production of medical supplies has been stepped up from the central level to the base to supply the population and the combatants with many necessary kinds of traditional and Western medicines.

The new life, healthy and replete with revolutionary energy, is a reality in all parts of the liberated countryside of South Viet Nam.

The struggle for survival in the face of bloody warfare is not sufficient; a solid rear guard must be built up, with sufficient firmness in all aspects to be able to carry on the prolonged war of resistance until final victory. Hence, one of the basic policies of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the distribution of land to the peasants. Seven years ago the British weekly Tribune wrote (March 6, 1964): "The Vietcong are winning be-

cause they have offered the peasants what they most wanted: the land." Thus far about two million out of the 3 500 000 hectares of arable land in South Viet Nam have been distributed to the peasants. Vital manufacturing, such as textiles, sugar, salt and domestic utensils, is being carried out all over. Happy at having land and sure of the correct revolutionary line of the NLF and the PRG, the peasants are joining the Association of Peasants for the Liberation of South Viet Nam, and together with other sectors of the population, are building up the liberated zone, striving to supply in a more efficient way the human and material resources needed so the combatants can defeat the Yankee aggressors.

To conduct people's war, there must be a solid, strong and organized rear guard. The rear guard is an important factor in obtaining victory, since it is the supply source of people and material for the war, and of political encouragement for the front. Without a solid and strong rear guard, the front cannot win.

This is a law for all wars. Therefore, our people of South Viet Nam, who began the struggle emptyhanded, without even a piece of liberated land, under the conditions of a small, underpopulated and economically backward country, have now established the bases for a solid rear guard so as to defeat the enemy.

Since the years prior to the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings in the spring of 1968, in addition to the vast liberated areas where not even a shadow of the enemy was to be found, there have been others that still contained enemy pockets. Of course, these pockets did not control the population but on the contrary were isolated by the PLAF's "Yankee annihilation strips." Since the spring 1968 actions, the liberated zones have spread to the interior of the cities and drawn close to the military bases and other places the enemy considered most secure.

The watchwords: "cadres rooted in the people, the people rooted to the land," and "combatants in pursuit of the enemy to strike down and annihilate him"; the movements: "Women of Five Achievements," "Pioneers with Four Interests," and "Youth of Five Pledges"; all are with the front lines and for victory over the Yankee aggressors. Numerous heroic men and women have arisen in the course of combat: they are self-sacrificing in work and lead exemplary lives, with all the virtues of the Vietnamese, and filled with complete confidence in the final victory of the revolution. That is the solid, indestructible political base of the population in the South Vietnamese liberated zones.

#### **Yankee Crimes**

The liberated zones are the support base of the South Vietnamese revolution, but they are also the target of bombings, shellings and the spread of toxic chemical substances by the Yankees and their puppets, with the express purpose of exterminating our population.



The Yankees and their puppets do not dare send their infantry forces into the liberated zones; rather they use all kinds of aircraft, including the B-52s, to carry out saturation bombing, and at times they send 1500 to 2000 missions a day over densely populated areas. In the Cu Chi district, for example, every hectare of land has been struck by an average of 24 224 enemy bombs and mortar shells. Every square kilometer of territory has received 15 tons of Yankee bombs. In many regions life has been completely wiped out. The slaughters and levelings of entire villages are countless: examples are Son My with 500 victims, Chau Doc with 800, Ba Lang with 1500, Ben Tre with 3000 and Reach Gia with 367, all of them at the hands of Yankee and puppet troops. According to statistics of the United States Senate refugee committee published March 16, 1971, between 1965 and the present, US troops have taken a toll of more than 1 100 000 victims among the South Vietnamese civilian population, including 325 000 dead. The Yankee planes, including the B-52s, have bombed the cities themselves, even as close as 15 or 20 kilometers from Saigon, shaking the headquarters of the Yankee governor general in South Viet Nam. According to figures from the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, which are incomplete, US planes have dropped over Indochina a total of over five and a half million tons of bombs — that is, twice that of the Second World War. In the first half of 1971, the US Government allotted \$400 000 for the construction of 250 "tiger cages" in the Paulo Condor prison. At present more than 400 000 people are interned in the jails and prisons built by the Yankees in South Viet Nam.

However, neither the huge amounts of bombs, the terror and repression, the prisons of the Yankees and their puppets have been able to shake the iron will of the South Vietnamese people or intimidate the population of the liberated zones. Combat villages appear all over like needles in the enemy's eyes. In the villages close to the enemy military posts and bases, the local population organizes sniper networks to keep the enemy soldiers from making sorties, and to defend its production. Thus, it is prepared to repel enemy cleanup operations.

#### **Military Situation**

In the first months of the year, with the aim of applying the strategy of "Vietnamization" of the war, the US imperialists and their lackeys conducted several local offensives aimed at attaining a position of strength on the battlefield. With a maximum of effort, they have put into practice various large-scale military plans during this decisive period for their "Vietnamization" strategy. Two big operations were carried out simultaneously with the aim of obtaining a decisive victory and thus showing the capacity of the Saigon puppet army as the backbone of the "Vietnamized" war.

On Route 9 and the south of Laos — the main direction — the US used puppet strategic mobile forces, with heavy equipment,

and maximum cooperation with US air and land forces; in north-western Cambodia all the puppet forces belonging to the Third Army Corps and other main puppet units, with active US air and artillery support. However, contrary to the ambitious objectives set forth by the US, both operations culminated in disastrous failures.

They were great battles of annihilation; not only did the adventurous US plans fall apart but they were also defeated in many kinds of weapons and tactics that were the object of frequent boasts on the part of the Yankees. The units of the puppet army that were considered the best prepared were surrounded, split and wiped out. The few who managed to escape became effective propagandists of the frightful beating they received at the hands of the liberation armed forces, a defeat which shook all of South Viet Nam.

Thus, these big operations were aborted and their strategic aims defeated; maximum US military efforts met with serious defeat.

Meanwhile, in all of South Viet Nam, from the northern province of Quang Tri, Thua Thien, Hue to the Mekong Delta and the western highlands, the people's war took on greater strength, dealing the enemy "rural pacification" program new failures.

The great victories obtained by the army and people of South Viet Nam so far this year have an important strategic meaning, both from the military and political standpoints. These victories create the new conditions allowing the anti-Yankee resistance war for national salvation to reach a new level in order to totally defeat the US strategy of "Vietnamization" of the war.

After the Route 9 debacle, the Saigon puppet army went into a tailspin. None of the efforts of the Yankee aggressors to pull it up again will succeed. That army is evidently exhausted, plunged into passivity; although it must fight on many fronts at the same time, it is unable to conduct large-scale operations. The annihilation of entire battalions and even regiments and tactical groupings of the puppet army, the chaotic flight, leaving behind tanks, armored cars and artillery, are to be seen in the three battlefields of South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. That decadence of the puppet army is most clearly manifested in the following:

- 1) the mobile troops of the puppet army are filled with defeatism;
- 2) desertion, self-inflicted injuries, at times with the aid of fellow soldiers, violent internal fights, are frequent among the puppet troops;
- 3) many units and garrisons of the puppet army refuse to carry out orders to go into operations;
- 4) the antiwar wave grows constantly, and riots are increasingly frequent.

The growing moral decay of the Saigon puppet army, especially



after its strategic reverse, has seriously limited its combat capacity. It is still numerous but its disintegration has already begun to be felt in the elite sector, and most important, in the general strategic reserve forces.

And the US troops?

Up to the start of 1971, according to the famous Nixon plan for troop withdrawal — more advertised than applied — the US expeditionary army in South Viet Nam consisted of over 330 000 troops and a vast amount of materials. According to reports from Western sources, early in 1971 the US still had in South Viet Nam 57 artillery battalions, 12 armored battalions and close to 3500 planes of different kinds, without including those stationed in the Seventh Fleet and the B-52s that take an active part in the war. However, their combat efficacy had visibly fallen off. The US forces showed they were impotent in their role of support for the puppet army.

Many of the important US military bases have been hit hard, with "very serious losses" and with a "greater number of casualties" (to quote the US military command in Saigon). For example, the bases of Sa Doc, Con Thien, Da Nang, Qui Nhon, Ca Ranh, declared "inviolable" by the Yankees, have been attacked with frequency. The Dong Tri base, "top secret" and equipped with electronic devices able to detect the slightest enemy movement also fell into the hands of the PLAF.

Moreover, exhaustion, hatred for the war, defeatism and the desire to go home are enveloping the Yankee expeditionary army like a dense fog. But that is not all. The marijuana epidemic is spreading at an alarming rate in the US army. Seventy percent of the US soldiers use drugs, and 100 000 of them are heading for a slow death due to that vice (The New York Times, May 16, 1971).

The morale of the US army is worse than that of its puppets and its discipline is even looser. It is unable to defend itself. Thus it cannot carry out its role of moral and practical support for the puppet army, as its superiors pretend. The operations on Route 9, in the western highlands and in Snoul, Cambodia, have shown that both the puppet and US troops are hard hit and always ready to flee chaotically without lending support to each other.

For their part, during the first half of 1971, the army and people of South Viet Nam, developing even further their victorious position, have maintained a constant offensive against the enemy and obtained many victories, the majority after the spring 1968 general offensive and simultaneous risings. By inflicting a hard blow against the US "Vietnamization" policy, these victories assume great military and political meaning. They have given the South Vietnamese people's anti-Yankee resistance war for national salvation a new impetus toward achieving the total defeat of Yankee imperialism's Vietnamization strategy.

### International Support and Solidarity with Viet Nam

While the Yankee imperialists and their lackeys find themselves increasingly isolated, the prestige of the people, the NLF and the PRG of South Viet Nam is greater than ever in the international arena. A broad international front has been created on all continents, even in the US itself, to offer moral, political and material support to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and oppose the aggressive policy of Yankee imperialism. So far the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam has been officially recognized by 27 countries, and it maintains diverse degrees of relations with 50 others. More than 200 delegations of our government have gone abroad to make friendship visits or take part in international, regional and national events, in both socialist and capitalist countries, including the UK, Italy, West Germany and Canada. The correct position maintained by the NLF and the PRG for the peaceful solution of the Viet Nam problem expressed in their Five-Point Declaration, their Ten-Point Global Solution, their proposals of eight, three and recently seven points, have met with warm approval on the part of the peoples and governments of many countries, including a large part of the people and some political circles of the US, which consider them important peace initiatives opening the way for the solution of the Viet Nam war.

The Seven-Point Proposal formulated July 1, 1971, by the PRG shows once again the South Vietnamese people's desire for peace, their readiness to open the way for the US to free itself in a decorous manner from this war, so costly in human lives and materials, and to respond to the desire of the US people for the rapid return of their sons, the end of the burden of the war and the use of the war budget to improve their own lives.

The negative attitude to the Seven-Point Peace Initiative, the White House and Pentagon statements and actions, reflect the stubborn position and the warlike, aggressive nature of the US Government in the Viet Nam problem. The Yankee imperialists have suffered their worst blows in Viet Nam over the past decade and more. The different strategies applied by Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson were buried in Viet Nam. Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war is being defeated. The US position of strength is weakening, the so-called "prestige" of the US has fallen apart. For the first time in its 200-year history, that empire has been placed in a tough spot in all ways by a small country.

The "secret" Pentagon documents recently published by the US press have revealed the policy and activities carried out by the US in its aggression against Viet Nam, starting with World War II and during the terms of five presidents: Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and now Nixon. The disclosure of the unsavory acts of the US Government in South Viet Nam refutes all the false arguments that this imperialist government has used, such

as that the "US is defending peace and freedom," that it is in South Viet Nam to "aid the people to fight aggression," that "North Viet Nam is warlike and rigid," while the US Government is "sensible and peace-loving." The official US Government documents reveal it as it is: an imperialist, colonialist government, the most criminal and dangerous in history. Although the "secret documents" contain two and a half million words, they reflect only a part of the savage crimes of the Yankee imperialists in the aggression against Viet Nam, the longest and most repulsive in US history. The Yankee aggressors, with their businessman's mentality, have estimated: "Of the total effort in Viet Nam, 70% is due to the needs of US global strategy and 30% to the desire to keep South Viet Nam out of communist hands." This shows the important place of the Viet Nam war in the US plan of aggression in Asia and to take over the world. It also explains why the Yankee imperialists, despite their serious failures, stubbornly cling to South Viet Nam and oppose the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam.

If the Nixon war clique does not reach the necessary conclusions from the strength and determination of the South Vietnamese people, and continues its policy of aggression, the people of South Viet Nam will continue struggling to carry out to the fullest the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh: "So long as a single aggressor remains in our country, we must continue the fight until he is thrown out." "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." "Sacrifice all before losing our country and living as slaves."

The people of South Viet Nam have been fighting for more than a quarter of a century for their fundamental national rights and their right to self-determination. They, more than anyone, need peace, but it must be a peace with genuine independence and liberty. In order to obtain a lasting peace in Viet Nam, the US must put an end to its aggression and intervention — that is, it must solve two important questions:

- 1) set a time limit for the full withdrawal from South Viet Nam of all its troops and those of its allies, with no strings attached;
- 2) renounce all support for the present warlike power group in Saigon headed by Nguyen Van Thieu, and all the deceitful maneuvers, including the present electoral ones, aimed at keeping that group in power, so that the South Vietnamese people can solve their domestic affairs themselves without foreign interference, such as is stated in the Seven-Point Initiative of the PRG of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

The people of South Viet Nam, determined to fight and win, will tenaciously struggle to attain final victory, until the Yankee aggressors admit defeat and accept a solution based on respect for their basic national rights and their right to self-determination.

## Unique Ireland

Michael Meyerson

ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1913, Lenin wrote:

In Dublin, the capital of Ireland — a city of not a highly industrial type, with a population of half a million — the class struggle, which permeates the whole life of capitalist society everywhere, was becoming accentuated to the point of class war. The police have positively gone wild; drunken policemen assault peaceful workers, break into houses, torment the aged, women and children. Hundreds of workers (over 400) have been injured and two killed — such are the casualties of this war. All prominent leaders of the workers have been arrested. People are thrown into prison for making the most peaceful speeches. The city is like an armed camp.

This remarkable description applies today almost verbatim — with only a couple of exceptions — to Belfast, Ireland's second city and the scene of sporadic urban warfare for the past two years.

In recent years, among Western capitalist countries, only the black liberation movement in the United States and the May-June 1968 events

in France have received the worldwide attention accorded the revolutionary movement in Ireland. But the Irish struggle bears few resemblances to those of black America or the French workers and students; the former is a culmination of eight centuries of anticolonial struggle, including armed struggle. As Britain's first colony, Ireland was the first country to develop a national liberation movement. Ireland was studied in detail by Marx and Engels, and the latter began a never-to-be-completed history of that country. Lenin watched Ireland closely and gathered from its struggle many lessons for his teachings on the national question and the right of nations to self-determination. Ireland's strategic position moved Lenin to write of the 1916 Irish rebellion:

The struggle of the oppressed nations in Europe, a struggle capable of going to the length of insurrection and street fighting, of breaking down the iron discipline in the army and martial law, will sharpen the revolutionary crisis in Europe infinitely more than a much more developed rebellion in a remote colony. A blow delivered against British imperialist bourgeois rule by a rebellion in Ireland is of a hun-

dred times greater political significance than a blow of equal weight in Asia or in Africa.

Whether Lenin's estimate still holds to the same extent is, of course, subject to debate, but what cannot be disputed is that Ireland, unique today in Europe, remains in struggle for its national liberation.

An historical overview is necessary to place that struggle in perspective.

Dating from 1155, when Pope Adrian IV, an Englishman, granted Ireland "as an inheritance" to England's King Henry II, the spirit of revolution has gripped the Irish nation. It was an Irishman, James Joyce, who said that history was a nightmare he was trying to wake from, and the past 800 years have seen much of Ireland, fully awake, try to drive that nightmare from its shores.

Eight centuries ago, in 1169, the English first began their empire by invading Ireland. It may prove one of history's ironies should Ireland bring the final sunset to Pax Britannia. By the time James I took the throne in 1603, a dozen Irish uprisings had already been suppressed, especially in Ulster, the northeast quarter of Ireland. Ulstermen were fierce in fighting the English, but after defeat they were forced to move south and their land was given away for as little as a few cents an acre to Scotsmen crossing over the St. George's Channel. These Scotsmen pacifying the North, were kin to those colonizing North America, particularly in the South, with guns and bibles. They sided, of course, with Protestant William of Orange in his war for the British crown with Catholic James II. Cath-

olics forced from their land rose up to slaughter the settlers, as their North American Indian counterparts were doing, and with much the same results. In 1689, the apprentice boys of Derry (still referred to today by the British as Londonderry) closed the gates of the city to the Catholics, to insure Billy's defeat of James at the Boyne River. By then, less than 5% of Ireland's 20 million acres were still in Catholic hands. The Irish were tenants of English and Protestant landlords. When William won, economic exploitation of the South of Ireland began in earnest.

Economic motives replaced religion, as England, by exporting its industrial revolution to Ulster only, made the rest of Ireland poorer and accentuated the differences with the North. Peculiarly, it was in the North that the first conscious Irish republican movement began. Outside Belfast, Wolfe Tone, a Protestant, formed the United Irishmen, which was closely associated with the Freemasons — in fact, many Masonic lodges served as revolutionary committees. Under the influence of the North American and French Revolutions, the United Irishmen rose against the crown in 1798, as Wolfe Tone announced: "We must replace the names of Catholic, Protestant and dissenter with the common name of Irishman." Not since then, until recently, has the possibility arisen for Catholics and Protestants to fight in common against British domination.

English imperialist control of Ireland had its predictable results. With an absentee landlord class in

ownership, the country was reduced to a one-crop economy. Disaster hit in 1845-50 with the great potato famine. Not until six million Jews and 20 million Soviet citizens perished under Nazi onslaughts did a European nation suffer as did Ireland in that period. Ireland had a population of eight million when the famine began; when it was over only half that number remained. One million had perished and three million had emigrated.

Repression in the homeland forced the Fenian (Irish republican) movement to organize in secret. In the campaign against the brutal treatment of Fenian political prisoners, the International Workingmen's Association played a leading part. Marx's daughter, Eleanor Aveling, publicized to the world the conditions under which the prisoners were forced to live. At the end of the 19th century, the Irish Republican Brotherhood was formed. Its object: independence through "physical force" — the term used in Ireland for armed struggle. Simultaneously, cultural organizations like the Gaelic League, built to maintain Irish traditions against British "cultural imperialism," gave rise to Sinn Fein, originally a parliamentary organization for Home Rule.

When, in 1912, Britain's Liberals got Home Rule passed by the House of Commons, the House of Lords, under Conservative influence, correctly understood that to lose Ireland meant the beginning of dissolution of the empire. Moreover, Irish Home Rule spelled defeat for conservative Ulster Protestants, whose industries were financed

from London. The Orange Order, named for William of Orange, had long been (and remains today) the dominant political organization among reactionary Protestant Ulstermen. With the threat of Home Rule, Randolph Churchill, father of Sir Winston, announced that "the Orange card is the one to play." Heeding the call, some 200,000 Ulstermen pledged to use "all means" to defeat Home Rule, which to them meant "Rome Rule." Lord Randolph, minor poet as well as politician of similar dimensions, cried: "Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right." Armed gangs of Unionists (the political party run by the Orange Order) formed the Ulster Volunteers to resist Home Rule by force. Using smuggled German arms, the Volunteers attempted to set up a provisional government in the nine counties of Ulster. British Tories offered their full support.

In 1910, James Connolly returned to Ireland from New York, where he had organized the Irish Socialist Federation. He soon became the general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which he had helped to organize. Connolly's trade union movement formed the Irish Citizens Army to defend striking workers from police attacks, like that described above by Lenin and to fight for an independent socialist Irish Workers' Republic. This was the first Workers' Army in Western Europe in the 20th century. Meanwhile, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, in response to the Ulster Volunteers, was organizing its own Irish Volunteers, with help from the Irish in the United States. When the First World War broke out, Unionists in the North



rushed to support the British Crown. Some Sinn Feiners argued that the Irish Volunteers should join British forces. Rebuffed, they attempted to form the National Volunteers, which lasted only a bit longer than the CIA "volunteers" at Playa Giron a half-century later. The whole of Connolly's Citizens' Army and the 12 000 Irish Volunteers refused to join Britain, on the premise that, "We serve neither King nor Kaiser, but Ireland." British conscription of the Irish was never attempted, Connolly's attitude toward the imperialist war, like Lenin's, was unambiguous. Just a few days after Britain's entrance he wrote:

Should the working class of Europe, rather than slaughter each other for the benefit of kings and financiers, proceed tomorrow to erect barricades all over Europe, to break up bridges and destroy the transport service that war might be abolished, we should be perfectly justified in following such a glorious example and contributing our aid to the final dethronement of the vulture classes that rob and rule the world.

In 1916, the Irish Republican Brotherhood and her military organizations, the Irish Volunteers and the Citizens Army, proclaimed the founding of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic. As bells tolled, bringing the faithful to mass that Easter, thunderous explosions shook the streets of Dublin. The Union Jack was lowered at the post office, the tricolor Republican flag raised in its place. The Easter Rising was on, under the military leadership of James Connolly. A week later, the flower of Republican

youth lay dead in the streets, its leadership executed by the colonial troops. After holding superior British forces at bay for a week Connolly was wounded. Propped up in bed for court-martial, he was shot sitting in a chair on May 12, 1916. He remains today Ireland's most important revolutionary martyr.

The Easter Rising was the first armed struggle in Europe since the Moscow Uprising 11 years earlier. It is not without significance that Connolly's first military writing was an examination of the Moscow battle. Nor is it unimportant that both uprisings were condemned by European socialists as "putsches" and defended against that charge by Lenin. Unfortunately Connolly did not have access to Lenin's article on "The Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," in which he writes:

Military tactics depend on the level of military technique. This plain truth was dinned into the ears of Marxists by Engels. Military technique now is not the same as it was in the middle of the 19th century. It would be folly for crowds to contend against artillery and defend barricades with revolvers.

New tactics were evolved from the Moscow Uprising: "These tactics were the tactics of guerrilla warfare. The organization which such tactics demanded is that of mobile and exceedingly small detachments: ten-, three-, or even two-man detachments." Lenin warned against "ignoring the new question of tactics and organization called forth by street fighting under the conditions imposed by modern military tech-

nique." In any case, Connolly, Ireland's greatest Marxist who always saw the need to contend for power, subscribed in his writings and his life's work to Engels' dictum that "fighting is to war what cash payment is to trade."

Lenin devoted much attention to the Irish rising of 1916 and the lessons he drew apply equally today, a half-century later. He argued against Trotsky's contention that "the basis for a national revolution has disappeared even in backward Ireland." Especially instructive for today's struggles are Lenin's observations on the link between the struggle in the colony and that of the working class in the metropolitan country. He writes:

Britain largely based her "brilliant" economic development, the "prosperity" of her industry and commerce on [the destitution] among the Irish peasantry. [...] While Britain "flourished," Ireland moved towards extinction and remained an undeveloped, half-wild, purely agrarian country, a land of poverty-stricken tenant farmers.

Lenin quotes Marx's letter to Engels of November 2, 1867, in which Marx writes, "I have done my best to bring about this demonstration of the English workers in favor of Fenianism[...]. I used to think the separation of Ireland from England impossible. I now think it inevitable..." Lenin was particularly concerned with the question of opportunism among the metropolitan working class movements. He contrasts the "unskilled workers" who are "so often cut off from the

advanced workers by that cursed petty-bourgeois, liberal, aristocratic spirit of the British skilled workers." Lenin writes:

Marx questions a Socialist belonging to an oppressing nation about his attitude to an oppressed nation and at once reveals a defect common to the Socialists of the dominant nations (British and Russian): failure to understand their socialist duties towards the downtrodden nations, their echoing of the prejudices acquired from the "dominant-nation" bourgeoisie.

And Lenin subscribes to Marx's thoughts when the latter writes:

For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working-class ascendancy[...]. Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything until it has got rid of Ireland[...]. English reaction in England had its roots[...] in the subjugation of Ireland.

One of Lenin's polemics on the question concludes, "Should the Irish and British proletariat not accept Marx's policy and make the secession of Ireland their slogan, that would be the worst sort of opportunism, neglect of their duties as democrats and socialists, and yielding to British reaction and the British bourgeoisie."

The crushing of the Easter Rising of 1916 far from ended the Irish Republic. As the Moncada assault on July 26, 1953, on first appearance a defeat, in fact launched the victorious Cuban Revolution, so the Easter Rising gave birth to the political independence of most of Ire-



land. By 1918, the Sinn Fein elected 70 of Ireland's 105 members of the British Parliament on a platform of immediate independence. Refusing to take their seats at Westminster, the Sinn Feiners remained in Dublin as the national assembly of an independent Irish Republic. They set up the Dail Eireann (Irish Parliament) with its own courts and its own army, the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

For the next three years the IRA waged full-scale guerrilla war against the British. Because of the large Irish immigration to the United States, the Republic fostered hopes, quickly dashed, of recognition from Washington. The new revolutionary Soviet Government, itself only recently in power, became the first government to recognize the Irish Republic. In turn, the Republican Parliament in Dublin was the first to recognize the Soviet. For years the Romanoff's imperial crown jewels lay in government vaults in Dublin, security for a loan given the Soviet Republic by the Irish.

British Prime Minister David Lloyd-George finally imposed a settlement in 1920 which recognized the "Irish Free State," but separated from the rest of Ireland six of the nine counties of Ulster, granting them a pseudoparliament of their own in Stormont, and representation at Westminster. Ulster Protestants did not like the scheme, because it was Home Rule, but it was better, they figured, than being ruled from Dublin. Had all nine Ulster counties been included, Catholics would have been in the majority. The Republic did not accept the arrangement (as Republicans today do not), and the IRA and

Ulster Volunteers remained at war for years. In 1921, the Anglo-Irish Treaty partitioned the nation into two states, a colonial Northern Ireland, and a neocolonial Ireland.

It has been said that the Irish are to England what the Indians are to the United States. Their land plundered and their economy destroyed by the invader, they were forced into servility of exile. In Ulster however, the Protestant workers more closely resembled southern US whites. Their wages, lower than anywhere else in the United Kingdom, still remain a peg above those of Catholic workers. Unionist and British policy has long used religious prejudice to keep the poor divided.

Suffering economic depression and political repression, a half-million Catholics have fled in the last 20 years. Had they stayed, they would have become the majority. Economic discrimination in Ulster is essential to preserve a Protestant majority. By forcing Catholic emigration, it offsets the higher Catholic birthrate. Only a third of the total population, Catholics are 52% of those under 21. (The South fares no better. The historic economic stagnation cost the Republic of Ireland 150 000 emigrants two years ago. In the 20th century, it is the only country in the world to suffer an absolute loss of population.)

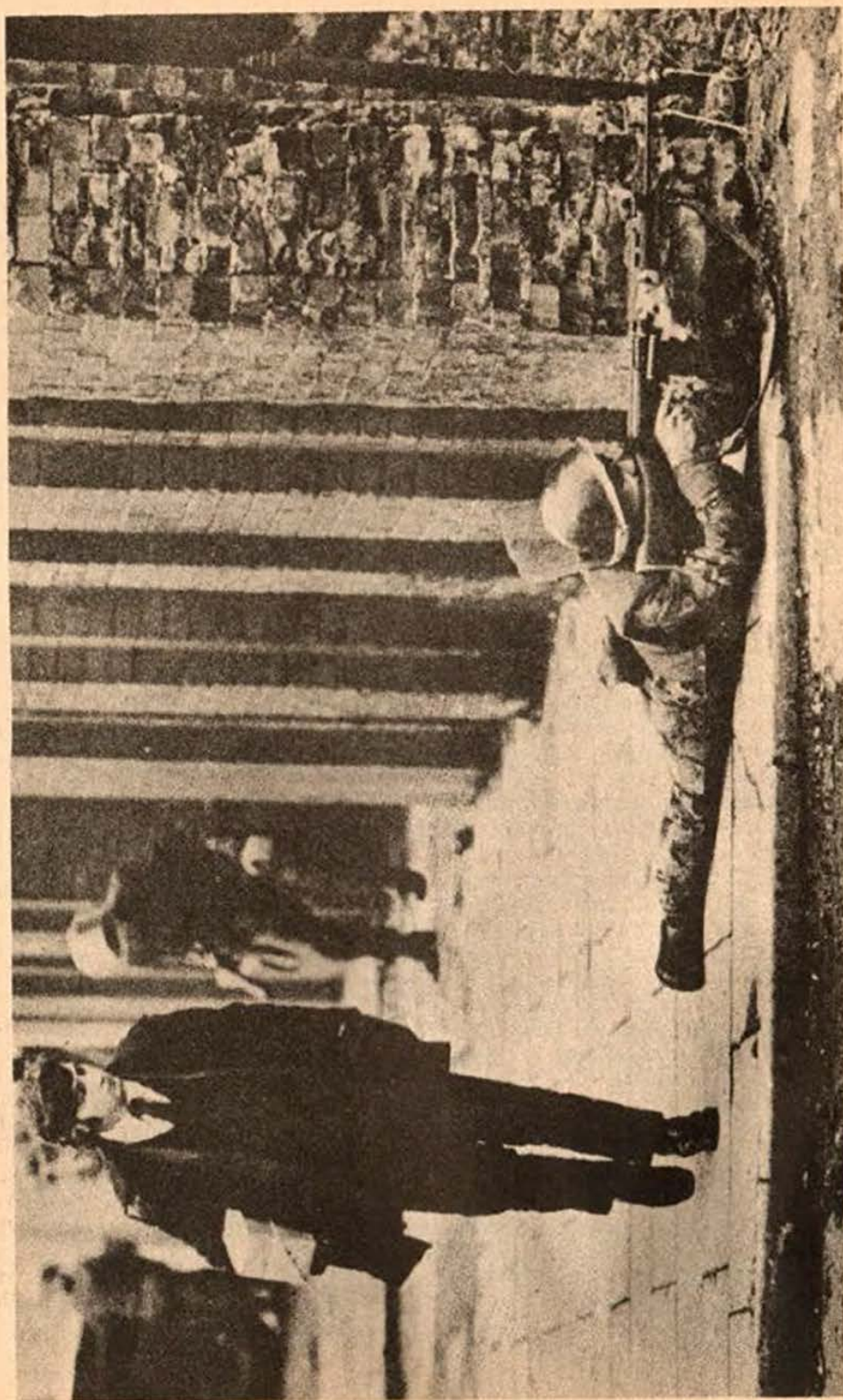
The Ulster Catholic population has been decimated for the simple reason that there are no jobs: Catholic male unemployment in Derry is 28%; in Dungannon 23%; in Belfast 17%. (These are the most conservative estimates; most people in

the street estimate as much as three times these figures.) The dole and other welfare measures of the British Government are the major incentives to Ulstermen to remain loyal to Westminster. For those employed, weekly wages in the North average \$45 for men, \$28 for women. (Again, these are the most charitable estimates.) In the South things are a bit worse, wages are in the neighborhood of \$38 for men, \$21 for women, a very poor neighborhood indeed. Ulster's two main industries, shipbuilding and linen, are decaying, no longer able to compete in the world market even relying on cheap labor. Only 8000 ship workers remain of the 40 000 employed 25 years ago, and there are constant rumors the shipyards will close down altogether. Figures in the linen industry are similar: from 60 000 workers in 1951 to the present 30 000.

As embarrassed as London might be by the reactionary Unionist regime in Stormont, she continues to subsidize Ulster's ersatz parliament by \$240 million a year. England knows that releasing the six counties to reunite with the 26 counties of the South would mean paying Ireland for all imports that now come duty-free from Northern Ireland. Ulster's relationship to England then is much like Puerto Rico's to the States. The North produces a third of Britain's bacon, a fifth of Britain's shirts, a tenth of her eggs. It maintains Britain's largest synthetic fiber center, the largest polyester yarn factory in Europe, the largest rope industry in the world. If Ulster's relationship

to England is colonial, the South's is neocolonial. About 75% of all of Ireland's exports go to Britain, 62% if Ulster is excluded. No other country in Europe is so heavily dependent on one market. Irish Republicans argue that, on simple economics alone, reuniting the six northern counties and the 26 of the South is imperative. The two could live as cheaply as one; administrative costs of one government are obviously less than those of two. One market of 4.4 million people is better than two of 1.5 in the North and 2.9 in the South. And reunification would mean income from taxes of British industry in Ulster.

The six counties of the North remain one of the few places in the world that retains a property requirement for voting. A quarter-million people, 25% of the adult population, are thereby disfranchised. In Belfast, 23% of the citizenry has been on the waiting-list for homes for 20 years. In Derry, only 500 new homes have been built in the last half-century, almost all reserved for Unionist voters. Catholic families, generally larger than Protestant, have another cross to bear: no matter the size of family, only the one in whose name the property is registered is allowed to vote. In Derry, Unionists, representing only a third of the population, occupy 60% of the council seats. In Lurgan, no Catholic has ever been elected to the city council, although they constitute 40% of the population. Job discrimination is equally glaring: Fermanagh's County Council employs but 32 Catholics out of a total of 338 although Catholics are 52% of the county population. (These figures are from 1969: as



concessions to pressures brought by the Civil Rights Movement — more about this later — a one-man, one-vote policy, disarmament of the vigilante B-Specials and other reforms have been announced. Most of the reforms have not yet been enforced and new repressive laws have replaced the old discarded ones, leaving the figures here virtually intact.)

Such a regime must be maintained by force, and for this purpose the government uses its Special Powers Act. A remarkable piece of legislation, whose virtues have led South African Prime Minister Vorster to remark that he'd prefer it to all of his own repressive laws, it was originally enacted in 1922 against the IRA. Under the act, authorities are empowered to: arrest without warrant; imprison without trial; deny the right of habeas corpus; enter homes at any hour without warrant; prohibit meetings and processions; permit flogging; deny trial by jury; jail people for refusing to answer incriminating questions; hold prisoners incognito; prohibit an inquest after a prisoner's death; prohibit circulation of any newspaper and possession of any film or recording (the sale of *United Irishman*, the *Sinn Fein* newspaper, brings six months imprisonment; sale of an Easter Lily flower, the symbol of the 1916 Easter Rising, is punishable by two years' arrest); arrest anyone who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order."

If the Catholic working class of Ulster didn't have enough problems, it now faces a virtual army of hostile law officers. The 3500-man Roy-

al Ulster Constabulary (RUC) is the largest armed police force in the United Kingdom, and it is de facto directed by the Orange Order. A supplementary government-sponsored militia, the Orange-controlled B-Specials, numbering 10 000, was "disbanded" in a "reform" measure. Open to membership to any adult Protestant without a criminal record, the B-Specials were fitted for uniform, rifle or Sten gun, and sent home, to be called upon when the need arose. The "need" arose whenever the Orange Order or its Unionist Party wished to terrorize the Catholic poor with pogroms and other "law-enforcing" maneuvers. Now most former B-Specials are incorporated into the British-controlled Ulster Defense Regiment which, while it limits their prerogatives for vigilante activities, provides them with more advanced weaponry when they do decide to move. Still remaining intact is the 10 000-strong vigilante group, the Ulster Protestant Volunteers, a paramilitary unit under the neo-fascist leadership of the "Reverend" Ian Paisley.

When the Northern Ireland civil rights movement began, composed of radical Belfast students, liberals, Communists and Republicans, its demands were modest: an end to discrimination, and one man-one vote in elections. The movement's first demonstration, in August 1968, was peaceful. But two months later, marching to Derry, the Royal Ulster Constabulary broke every head within reach, in full view of television and the press. The movement has rarely been out of the

headlines since then. Later demands included an end to gerrymandering, repeal of the Special Powers Act, disarming the RUC and disbanding the B-Specials. The ascendancy to leadership of the movement by Republicans and their Communist allies with a growing consciousness of the need for socialism and an expulsion of imperialism in its many forms from Ireland, has alarmed the British more than a little. Through Major Chichester-Clark, the lightweight "Prime Minister" of Northern Ireland, they have named a new inspector general to take charge of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. They hope that Sir Arthur Edwin Young will prove to be stronger than the growing revolutionary movement. Sir Arthur, since 1950 police commissioner in the city of London, took leave of his post twice before. In 1952, he directed police operations against revolutionary guerrillas in Malaya, and in 1954, repeated the operation against the Mau Mau in Kenya. That he is now in Belfast speaks chapters, if not volumes, about the importance Britain places on the six counties of Northern Ireland. Troop reinforcements from a Royal Marines commando unit bring the total British troop commitment in the six counties to 12500. Many recent additions in Belfast to keep the peace are men of the First Battalion of the Parachute Regiment, veterans of the British campaigns in Cyprus and Aden.

England uses military force now because it cannot solve the social-economic crisis of Northern Ireland. The crisis of the North is in fact

an exacerbated outgrowth of the crisis of British capitalism, itself heavily in hock to the United States. The Stormont Ministry of Commerce, in an official pamphlet called *Northern Ireland: The Most Profitable Area for Industrial Expansion*, claims:

Northern Ireland is especially attractive to companies seeking fast profitable investment, for it has a large surplus of labor with a high reputation for reliability. The country is still faced with a higher degree of unemployment than elsewhere in the United Kingdom. But this is a situation which you can turn to your advantage. [The Ministry's italics.] With a birth rate nearly a third higher than elsewhere in the United Kingdom, Ulster offers an assured supply of young workers for the future.

Forty-five US companies have taken the bait to the combined extent of a \$200 million investment in the six counties since the Second World War. These include American Tobacco, Ford, Goodyear, and IT&T; Aristotle Onassis (and, presumably, his wife) owns a quarter of Harlan and Wolfe shipbuilders, the largest single employer in Ulster. Standing watch are three friendly US military bases (the largest one, in Derry, was reportedly offered to the British for use as an internment camp for Irish revolutionaries in June 1970) while junior officers from the 26 counties receive counterinsurgency training in the United States.

When Britain carved up Ireland originally, it brought to power in the six counties the Unionist Party, a coalition of big businessmen and

landlords in control ever since. Prior to the civil rights movement, the main public opposition to the Unionists were the Nationalists, whose goal was solely the elimination of partition and union with Catholic Ireland. The sectarian nature of the Nationalists allowed the rise to prominence of Ian Paisley, a "Reverend" with an honorary degree from Bob Jones University in South Carolina, USA, who leads the Ulster Volunteers. Representing sections of Protestant workers, small business and the traditional Protestant petite bourgeoisie, Paisley's particular brand of right-wing fanaticism has both clashed with the Unionist leadership and served to bolster the position of British military occupation, performing much the same role as the Ku Klux Klan in the US South.

In response to the civil rights movement and flanked by the Paisleyite pressure from the right, the RUC and other police agencies frequently attack the Catholic working class without restraint. There have been two-day periods of sustained firing by the RUC of CS gas into the Catholic ghettos. On one evening in 1969 a combined force of the RUC, B-Specials and Paisley's Ulster Volunteers attacked the Belfast barricades with armored cars, machine guns and automatic rifles. Where they broke through the ghetto barricades, they systematically burned down 400 Catholic homes and promiscuously machine-gunned those remaining. The reign of terror continues, and bombings and counterbombings are virtually a daily occurrence. Only a right-wing split-off from the IRA, which refused to accept the socialist goals

of the IRA, seems anxious for armed clashes with the superior-armed opposition at this point. (This grouping, known as the "Provisionals," is supplied with money and arms from the neocolonialist Fianna Fail party in Dublin; last year, the regular IRA was offered a deal by Fianna Fail to drop its socialist programs and certain of its leaders in exchange for money and arms; the split-off of the Provisionals from IRA occurred shortly after IRA turned down the deal.) The danger at this point, say IRA spokesmen who continue their policy of armed self-defense and building up arms caches, is that Paisley or the Provisionals will provoke a clash which will strengthen sectarian division and encourage massive British presence, before the Republican movement is sufficiently prepared to do battle.

British control is now shaky. To surrender to Paisley means to opt for outright fascism, which would bring certain civil war. Westminster has chosen rather to exert direct control of the RUC and B-Specials. This decision has not fostered an endearing relationship in those quarters. The closest parallel in modern colonial history might be the struggle between de Gaulle and the OAS generals over Algerian policy. People's Democracy<sup>1</sup> leader Michael Farrell says: "Northern

<sup>1</sup> People's Democracy (PD) began as a socialist student group in Belfast and was a catalyst in starting the civil rights movement in 1968. No longer affiliated to the Civil Rights Association, PD today has about 100 members throughout the six counties. Bernadette Devlin rose to prominence as a PD member, although she no longer belongs.

Ireland cannot see the triumph of modernizing capitalism. The Paisleyite backlash of Protestant workers and farmers is so powerful it looks as though the reformers cannot win without destroying the Unionist Party, and if they destroy the Unionist Party, they cannot win at all." Unionist leaders display an astonishing provincialism, perhaps because the Stormont government has no part to play in the world; foreign affairs, defense and the like are handled for the colonial regime by England. Irish Republican writer Brendan Behan once described Stormont as "a kind of superior municipal corporation. The result is that political discussion there is like parish pump politics and, having no power even in social welfare legislation, where they have to tag along after England, they can't look forward but only backwards." Now the British have eliminated proxies and surrogates and are exerting direct military control — the first time British troops have been used against the Irish since relief riots in Belfast in 1932.

Reverend Patrick Murphy, whose St. Peter's parish includes most of the beleaguered section of Belfast, complains: "Not a night goes by that Catholic families are not threatened with being burned out or terrorized... since the British army moved in." During the five days of sustained fighting in Belfast in July 1970, 1500 in the Falls Road ghetto were rounded up and interned, and some of their houses destroyed in a house-to-house "search for arms." A curfew was imposed which prevented residents from leaving the ghetto,

and even from leaving their homes except from the hours of five to seven p.m. One day, defying curfew regulations which called for the British soldiers to shoot to kill, 3000 women took to the streets in a protest march.

Prime Minister Chichester-Clark appears little more than a public relations man at this stage. The reins of government seem to be directly in the hands of the British Home Secretary. The direct involvement of the British could work to increase and consolidate the already growing Republican sentiment in both the North and the 26 counties of the South. Westminster's strategy seems to be to bring about a crisis which "forces" it to dissolve Stormont altogether. Thus England could itself abolish the partition and bring the six colonial counties into the "Free State" of the South, creating thus a more manageable 32-county neocolonial Ireland, which could in turn be brought into the European Common Market with England. This could perhaps set back by a generation the revolutionary movement in Ireland. The Paisleyites and the right-wing Provisional split-off from the IRA are both useful to England, therefore, since both could provide the crisis England needs to fulfill that strategy.

In any case, England is not saying when its troops will withdraw from the six counties. In 1969, British Defense Secretary Denis Healey, echoing his Pentagon counterpart, said troops may be required "for years" to prevent trouble. The commander of the British troops in the six counties keeps his men on continuing orders to "shoot to kill." and

warns the Irish of England's "superior firepower." Answers Gerald Fitt, a Belfast member of the Westminster Parliament: "Has he never heard of Viet Nam where the Americans have superior firepower and they have used it with very little success?"

Republicans and Communists agree that the Civil Rights Association (CRA) should continue to limit its demands to those for civil rights which will mobilize masses (People's Democracy left the CRA in disagreement when it did not become outspokenly revolutionary). But the civil rights movement has reawakened in Ireland the spirit of the 1916 Uprising for an Irish Workers' and Small Farmers' Republic. The civil rights movement plays a potentially revolutionary role in a prerevolutionary situation — where the masses are no longer able to accept the old way of living and the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rule in the old way — because of its integration with the working class. This has been provided ready-made by the Republican organization, making unnecessary the usual building of such alliances. The difficulty has been to sustain Catholic working-class support while simultaneously winning or at least neutralizing the Protestant workers. To this end, the movement has achieved only limited results. One leader explains:

When you say to the people in the Bogside area [Derry's Catholic ghetto] that they are being exploited because they are workers, not because they are Catholics, they are not very inclined to believe you. All their lives they have been told by the Union-

ist Party that this is a Protestant state for Protestant people, and that "pope-heads" will be beaten into the ground if they dare to open their mouths.

Nevertheless, the Irish Left has again raised the need for a united socialist Ireland. Just as Cuba defied those who held she could not achieve revolution until one occurred in the United States, Irish revolutionaries — 50 years after Lenin did the same — reject the idea of holding off revolutionary demands and actions until Mother England's working class is sufficiently ready. One young leader argues:

The unification of Ireland into a socialist republic is not only necessary for the creation of a viable economy, it must also be an immediate demand, because only the concept of a socialist republic can ever reconcile Protestant workers, who rightly have a very deep-seated fear of a Roman Catholic Republic, to the ending of the border.

Irish Marxists are buoyed by a history of armed insurrection and the revolutionary tradition of Republicanism. The idea of revolution is ingrained in the Irish mind, surrounded by the glory and the martyrs of 1916. Says one young civil rights activist: "What we have to do is to complete the national revolution by making the theoretical and practical link between what we are doing now and what was fought for in 1916."

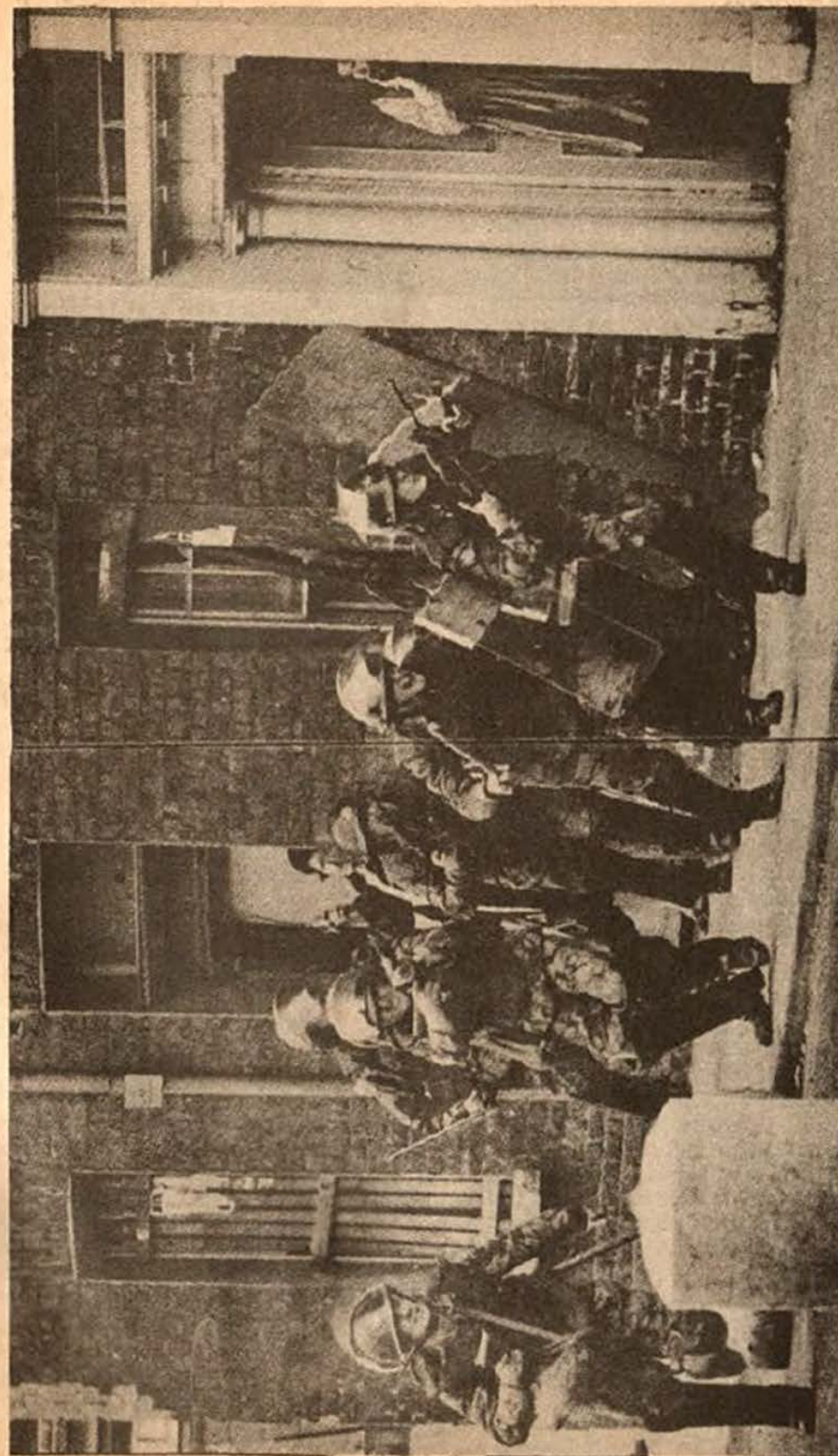
Chichester-Clark holds that the

recent violence was encouraged by the IRA (which has of course been outlawed since the guerrilla war that ended in 1922), seeking to discredit and destroy his regime. "International political itinerants" who "poison the minds of young people with hate and venom," "political and intellectual bankrupts," "antisocial drop-outs," he calls the Republican Army in language reminiscent of Spiro Agnew or George Wallace. In fact, the IRA has been a leading participant in the civil rights movement, lending to it its organizational skills and knowledge of urban warfare. In Belfast during the violence of the summer 1969, an IRA unit seized a cinema and turned it into a center for Catholics burned out of their homes. After the pogroms, Republican clubs raised funds to provide for new housing for the homeless. The communities behind the barricades in Bogside and Falls Road renamed their areas Free Derry and Free Belfast. Each street elected a representative to a district governing committee. They clean their own streets, set up their own medical facilities, produce their own newspapers, have their own radio stations, and set up their own defense system. The defense systems, called Citizens Defense Committees, are led and trained by IRA militants.

The closest allies of the Republican movement, and the only left force with ties to the Protestant working class, is the Communist Party. Like the Republicans, the communists are based in the working class, many holding leadership positions from shop to national level

in the trade union movement. While a single party of the left is premature, a single program is today possible and that program is civil rights. The Communists hold that the only way to win or at least neutralize the Protestant working class or a section of it is in the day-to-day issues which bring that class into conflict with British imperialism. During the times of violence the CP militants at the shop level work to prevent the sectarian pogroms from spreading over to the point of production. But trade union leadership is not in this case political leadership, so that Protestant workers who will work alongside Catholic workers will at night go hunting with guns for those same workers. Where Protestant CP militants live in areas bordering or surrounding Catholic areas, many have served as protection units — even with arms — for the Catholic ghettos. Where the Party members live in overwhelmingly Protestant areas, they seek to politically neutralize their neighbors. The Party sees armed self-defense as a necessity and armed struggle as an eventuality, but presently relies on its Republican allies to supply the means and manpower for such struggle.

The civil rights movement may well be transformed into a national rising of the working class, certainly of its Catholic component. Time and again, its spokesmen rebuke suggestions that it is a religious struggle: "This is a class struggle; many Protestants are as badly off as we are. This is a fight against the Orange junta in power." Resistance seems to be holding firm. Industrial cooperatives have been sporadically established in Bogside



to provide subsistence in case of extended siege. Small IRA defense units stand by prepared to protect the communities from government and vigilante attack. At the height of the Belfast battle in 1969, IRA men returned the fire of the vigilante Paisleyite mob, forcing the government to call for British help, thereby preventing a blood-bath.

But the Republican movement is far more than its armed wing, the IRA, as its leadership of the Civil Rights Association well testifies. It sees the British equivocation as lending strength to Paisley, which in turn provokes a more explosive situation demanding firmer British control. In partial response to this possibility the Civil Rights Association has begun a massive campaign for a Northern Ireland Bill of Rights, which includes the right of self-determination. Without such a campaign, the fear is that British plans could succeed, because moderate Catholic and Protestant public opinion would welcome any alternative to prevent civil war.

Meanwhile Republicans, many operating openly despite a five-to-fourteen-year prison term for membership in the movement, are conducting a campaign for decent housing. They are determining people's desires and agitating for their demands, while simultaneously showing the people that the present system cannot meet their needs; that short of "physical force," decisive change is not going to come. The Republican movement is pictured by the British and Stormont as "trenchcoat and bullets-and-bomb men," but most emphasis at this time is being placed on social agita-

tion. Unemployed marches in Derry, a town of 60 000 for example, have rallied as many as 10 000. The big effort now is to avoid a confrontation between Protestant and Catholic workers which would harden into sectarian lines, and also to avoid a premature armed clash with the British. Through the violence and the mass movements of the last three years, the British have been forced to yield certain reforms: abolition of the Special Powers Act, disarmament of the B-Specials, allocation of equal housing, and one-man-one vote. Republicans believe that Britain has to begin to institute the reforms to gain the peace it needs if it wishes to move Ireland into the Common Market. While Britain is forced to implement the reforms over the heads of the Protestant working class, division will grow between the Protestant workers and the British, allowing for the possibility of working-class unity against the British. This, at any rate, is the Republican hope. There is of course a great chance that the Protestant workers will instead continue to follow Paisley in hopes of a "Rhodesian solution." The IRA leader in Belfast says, "We have to win at least a section of the Protestant workers, and drag the rest by the scruff of their necks into a socialist republic and show them that Republicanism is not 'Green Toryism.'"

The Republican clubs are organized in each parish, the lines along which the towns of six counties are divided. Significantly, in Belfast in 1969, an IRA unit of shop stewards has been recruited out of the trade

union. There are now some 1500 persons who have undergone armed training this last year in Belfast alone. For the first time in its history, the IRA has begun to recruit women militants, who now number about 10% of the Army. The greatest single need at present is arms in sufficient numbers to arm those prepared to use them. Every few months each IRA unit goes on two-week-long maneuvers and there are once-a-week training sessions to keep in shape. The sessions include lessons in everything from battle-craft and field maneuvers to auto-theft and political education. The supply of automatic rifles, automatic pistols, revolvers, hand-grenades, sawn-off shotguns, Thompson submachine guns, and explosive devices is woefully short. This remains the IRA's chief worry: being forced into combat without adequate weaponry.

The 26 counties of the South, while living under different conditions, are absolutely integral to the strategies of both the bourgeois and the revolutionary movement. The Government of Ireland, itself, subservient to the British, shows no inclination to help the Irish under attack in the six counties of the North, although Foreign Minister Patrick Hillery says, "We regard Ulster as our territory. We regard them as our people." Indeed the Northern Irish are Irish, not British, and Republicanism is the one political force that can possibly unite Catholic and Protestant. Thomas MacGiolla, president of Sinn Féin, argues:

Belfast and Dublin belong to all the people of Ireland and not just

to those living in them. No minority group has a right to opt out of the nation even though it may have a claim to some special privileges or concessions within the nation. The unit for self-determination is the nation as a whole, not the area which the minority group can control. If it were to be accepted that people of the six counties, by a majority vote, had the right to opt out of the Irish nation and unite with Britain, then it must be accepted that the people of Tyrone, Fermanagh, Derry city and many other areas had a right to opt out of British rule and unite with the remainder of the country. The minority in the six counties, which is being coerced into union with Britain, is one third on a population basis and about one half on a geographic basis. This is a far greater minority group than the Unionists constitute in the nation as a whole.

To assuage Ulster Protestant working-class fears of merger with the present 26 counties of the South, MacGiolla says:

We would not wish that fate on anyone. We ask the people of the six counties to join with the people of the 26 counties in abolishing both states which serve only British imperialism, and in establishing a democratic socialist republic for the whole island in which the workers who create the wealth will decide how and where it is used.

Such language — and actions to back it up — has moved the Dublin government to push for a Criminal Justice Bill, the Free State equivalent of the Special Powers Act in

the North, equally arbitrary, reactionary and brutal.

For since 1964, the Republican program has been outspokenly socialist and anti-imperialist. Itself containing aspects of a national liberation movement, the IRA feels deep solidarity with the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions. Recent issues of the *United Irishman*, its public organ, include articles on ZAPU and on Al Fatah. Composed in the main of young workers, the IRA is prepared to carry through what was started in Easter week 1916 and full-scale guerrilla war cannot be excluded as a future possibility. Certainly it would not be the first time. After the six-year war that ended in 1922, the IRA was declared illegal; but it has continued to operate both as an adjunct to the Sinn Fein and, sporadically, as a regular army. In the internationalist spirit of Connolly, the best IRA militants of the left went to Spain in 1937 in the fight to save the Spanish Republic from fascism. (Included in these numbers was Michael Riordan, then an IRA combatant, today the general secretary of the Communist Party in Ireland.) Unfortunately, in the absence of the left cadres, IRA leadership fell into the hands of a right wing, which abandoned Connolly's socialist perspective and limited its goal to the elimination of the border with the North. A guerrilla campaign from 1956 to 1962 to this end, failed badly. With the release from prison in 1964 of Cathal Goulding, IRA policies began to resume their revolutionary character. Goulding, who has spent 17 of his 48 years in various prisons for IRA activities, soon became Chief of Staff and he remains today

the commanding figure of the Irish Republican movement. It is in large part due to Goulding's leadership and example that the movement has once again become the leading revolutionary force in Ireland.

Goulding, in opposition to his right-wing opponents, holds that politics is primary; but that, without a military wing, the struggle for power is futile; that armed struggle will be necessary to take power, and that armed actions in the present phase help the movement to go forward. In fact, because of the tinder-box atmosphere in the northern six counties, there is today much more social action in the South, although news of this rarely reaches outside Ireland. Hardly a week goes by without a half-dozen important actions. A cement strike in the 26 counties forces the British to try to bring cement in from the North by lorry; several lorries are destroyed by explosions, in Drogheda in the East. In Oughterard, County Galway in the West, a US corporation buys up some of Ireland's best farmland to build a golf course for tourists, at a time when the farmers in the West are starving; the IRA issues a warning to the corporation to halt its plans or take the consequences; the golf course plan is now in abeyance. The British rail office in Cork, in the South, is taken over, as is a BEA plane at Shannon airport, to demand the release of Irish political prisoners in England. A mass movement led by Republicans, the National Waterways Restoration League, organizes thousands of fishermen to "fish-in," to poach on the landed estates of US and

British imperialists, demanding the return of the inland fisheries to the Irish people. The public prosecutor from England speaks at Trinity College, Dublin, until IRA militants break up the meeting and inform the gentleman that he best take the next plane out of Ireland. Homeless squatters are settled in unoccupied apartment buildings until the government will care for them. With massive unemployment in this, the poorest country in Europe except for Portugal (over 20% of the population is forced to work in England to feed their families at home), unemployment councils are being organized. In one western town of 30 000 population, one third marched in a demonstration of the Land League.

On and on the list continues. Now the IRA has announced its goal to form a national liberation front in the 26 counties, together with the Communist Party, the National Waterways Restoration League, the Land League, Unemployment and Housing Councils, etc. With an effective national liberation front in the South complementing the civil rights movements in the North, the IRA believes that the 32 counties could rise together eventually to win the stated goal of an Irish workers' and small farmers' republic. Only a simultaneous rising, they argue, can bring a Republican victory. The national liberation front is still in the planning stage but when it comes it will of course include an armed wing, a new Irish Citizens Army. Thus, with the IRA today and national liberation front in the future, Ireland has the only revo-

lutionary movement in Europe with a military component and a strategy of armed struggle.

The various components of the Irish movement seem to be coming together on strategic considerations. The Communist Party in the North says, "It is British imperialism... which oppresses and divides the Irish people. Religion and bigotry are used to cloak the class nature of their exploitation. In this situation there is the need for the maximum class unity and solidarity of all working people." The *Free Belfast Barricades Bulletin* editorialized:

A campaign to wipe out unemployment, slums and poverty linked with a similar movement in the South, would be bitterly opposed by the Unionist right wing who would finally expose themselves as antiworking class fascist thugs. This would open the way to the alliance of Protestant and Catholic workers which can alone achieve Connolly's Socialist Republic.

Bernadette Devlin, the civil rights spokesman best known outside Ireland, argues along similar lines:

We must not do as they do in Southern Ireland — that is, to replace British exploitation of the poor with Irish exploitation of the poor. The only long-term solution is the creation of a culturally, socially and economically sound society, because religious discrimination in Northern Ireland doesn't come from a desire, but from the fact that there aren't enough jobs or houses. What we need is a society guaranteeing civil and religious liberty... in three good words, Irish Socialist Republic.

# Parenthesis

Eskor Toyo

President Sékou Touré recently denounced new plans of aggression against the People's Republic of Guinea. Portuguese colonialism, supported by NATO, tries to detour the African nation from the road chosen by its people.

Nigerian economist Eskor Toyo, author of documented essays on the reality of his country, one of which—"Nigeria, Causes of a Crisis"—was published in number 12 of this magazine, provides this enlightening analysis that presents interesting economic and historic data useful for an understanding of Guinea, and points out the threads in this sinister imperialist plot supported by the Guinean bureaucrats and businessmen who are anxious to switch back to capitalism.

AT 2 AM ON NOVEMBER 22, 1970, mercenary troops landed in Guinea by sea with the mission of overthrowing the government of Sékou Touré. On November 27th fresh invaders arrived. The armed people of Guinea hurled themselves against the invaders with the determination worthy of a people intent on freedom.

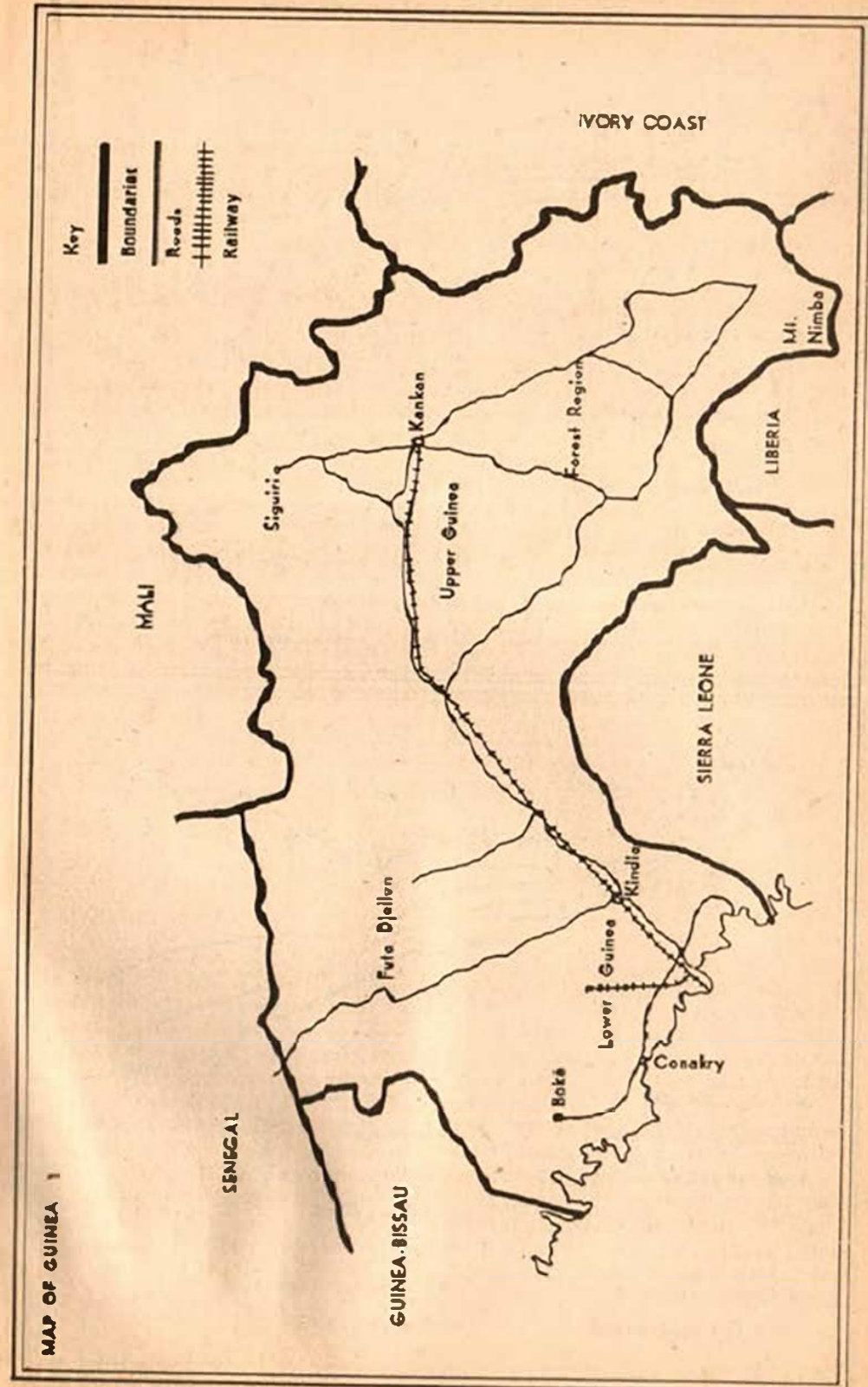
It has now been confirmed by the United Nations investigating team that the invasion was, in actual fact, an act of aggression by Portugal. Associated with Portugal, of course, are the Ojukwus of Guinea. Nevertheless the invasion is clearly an imperialist act by the powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), of which Portugal is a member.

Only an imbecile can entertain the notion that the invasion of Guinea is an act by Portugal alone, as a consequence of the support which Guineans have given to their kinsmen of Guinea-Bissau (see map 1) who are fighting for their own liberation from Portuguese colonialism. Yet this is the impression with which the NATO press and politicians want to stamp the event. Even if this were the whole story,

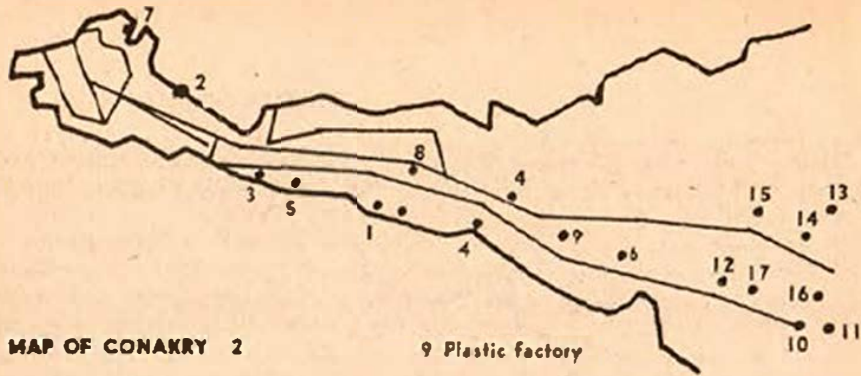
however, Guinea's crime under Sékou Touré would be no worse than that of Nigeria, whose only crime in the eyes of Portuguese colonialism was her liberal contribution to the liberation fund of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was intended to aid freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and eventually South Africa.

But the truth is that Portugal is not acting alone nor only in the company of disgruntled Guineans. Here, as elsewhere, Portugal is only playing her assigned role in Africa as the hangman of NATO imperialism. As the Secretary of the OAU, M. Diallo Telli, pointed out, the invasion of Guinea is the handiwork of NATO. Sékou Touré himself has asserted this. He affirmed that "the participation of the United States in this affair is substantial" (*Le Monde*, Paris, December 10, 1970), adding that France, Great Britain, West Germany, Israel and South Africa provided "important military aid to Portugal to enable her to pursue her colonial war." (*Ibid.*)

There can be no doubt that the

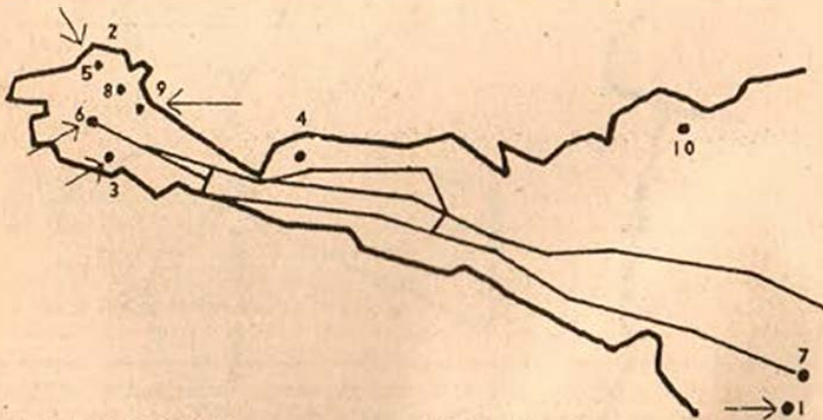






MAP OF CONAKRY 2

- |                                  |                                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 Slaughterhouse                 | 9 Plastic factory                  |
| 2 Motor vehicle assembly         | 10 Army garment factory            |
| 3 Fruit canning                  | 11 Army shoe factory               |
| 4 Roofing sheets and utensils    | 12 Prefabricated buildings factory |
| 5 Tire retreading                | 13 Brick-making factory            |
| 6 Modern bakery                  | 14 Furniture factory               |
| 7 Port cold storage              | 15 Oxygen and acetylene factory    |
| 8 Patrice Lumumba Printing Works | 16 Army tannery                    |
|                                  | 17 Granite grinding and cutting    |



MAP OF CONAKRY 3

(Showing points attacked)

Road and rail ———

Attacks →

- |                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Airport               | 4 National Guard         |
| 2 Harbor                | 5 Presidency             |
| 3 Military headquarters | 6 Radio                  |
|                         | 7 Military Camp          |
|                         | 8 Railway                |
|                         | 9 Transformer (electric) |
|                         | 10 President's Villa     |

Government of that audacious African revolutionary statesman, Ahmed Sékou Touré, has been a source of chagrin to imperialism for a long time. They have long been bent on disposing of him, just as they got rid of Patrice Lumumba. The record of semicolonial imperialism since the 19th century and its more recent neocolonial manifestation in the Congo, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Indonesia and elsewhere demonstrates that imperialism cannot be expected to rest as long as a government rules in Guinea that is not prepared to bow to the dictates of NATO investors and policymakers.

We are on the threshold of critical events in Guinea Africa and the world are entitled to know the facts about the tussle between imperialism and the Guinean people.

What then are the crimes of Sékou Touré and Guinea? The crime of Sékou Touré is that he is

a patriot. The crime of Guinea is that, like Katanga, she is rich in vital minerals: she is as rich in iron ore and bauxite as eastern Nigeria is in mineral oil.

Guinea gained independence in 1958. In a referendum organized by the de Gaulle regime in September of that year, Guinea was the only former French colony to vote for total independence and exclusion from the then-proposed French Community — counterpart of the British Commonwealth but with closer association with France. It was a vote that echoed throughout the world and profoundly affected the subsequent development of French-speaking Africa. On October 2, 1958, Guinea was formally declared independent.

Guinea is a small country whose size and level of development can be seen in the following comparative indicators of positions in 1965 — that is, before the Nigerian coup.

Country	Population (millions)	Area (thousand sq. km)	Annual Income Per Capita (\$)	Annual Energy Consumption Per Capita (kw)
United States	174.1	7704	3550	8722
France	45.0	551	1920	2933
Nigeria	56.7	924	80	38
Guinea	3.9	246	80	—

Guinea's principal products are rice, palm oil, palm kernels, bananas, coffee, pineapples, groundnuts, millet, iron ore and bauxite. She exports all these products except rice and millet. In 1955, just before independence, she exported 50,000 metric tons of iron ore per month and 39,000 metric tons of bauxite.

By 1968, however, she was exporting 176,000 metric tons per month of bauxite.

Iron ore, copper and bauxite are the most important industrial metals. The industrial uses of iron are manifold. Copper is chiefly used in the electrical industry. Even in this use, however, it is being challenged by aluminum, which is found in bauxite. The advantage of aluminum is

that it has many other industrial uses, such as in aircraft manufacturing, in the manufacture of building materials and prefabricated buildings, in the making of light metal alloys or in the manufacture of a wide range of consumer durables. Consequently, there is an aluminum craze.

Guinea is potentially the richest of the French-speaking countries in West Africa. Formerly her iron ore exports were from a deposit near Conakry, the capital (see map), worked by British and French interests. Now it has been found that Mount Nimba (see map) contains one of the largest and richest iron ore deposits in the world. It contains known deposits of 25 million tons.

Now, what are the interests of the United States and the NATO powers in Guinea?

First although the United States has a very large reserve of iron ore, this is becoming more and more costly to work as easier deposits are being exhausted. Second, the price of crude iron has been so artificially inflated by the monopolies in the United States that that country is now a net importer. For many years

US iron ore interests have dug into the Labrador deposits in Canada and the Brazilian and Venezuela deposits in Latin America. They are now bent on snatching the Nimba deposits at all costs.

Engaged in keen competition for these deposits are an American group, the US Steel Corporation, a Japanese group, the Kinoshita Shoten, a Euro-American group embracing the Geological Research Bureau of France, CECA, British Iron and Steel and Bethlehem Steel, and a European group, the Centrafrique Bank Consortium, created in July 1956, which comprises the Bank of Indochina, the German Bank, the Bank of Brussels, the Hambro Bank of London and Netherlands Handelsmatshppij Bank. About ten years ago the Centrafrique Consortium won a concession for the exploitation for 75 years of the Mount Nimba deposits but the other monopoly groups are still claiming their share of the Guinean booty.

As for bauxite, the following table shows Guinea's position among world bauxite producers in recent years (in thousands of metric tons per month).

	1966	1967	1968
Australia	152	354	413
Guayana	279	290	296
France	234	234	226
Guinea	134	137	176
Hungary	119	137	163
Greece	115	140	147
Dominican Rep	68	71	84
Brazil	21	25	26
Ghana	29	29	24
Haiti	34	31	—

The following table shows world production of aluminum (or world consumption of bauxite) in 1955 in percentages.

USA	47	Norway	2
Canada	19	Italy	2
USSR	12	Japan	2
West Germany	5	Austria	2
France	4	Others	5

It will be observed that although the United States and her NATO allies are by far the largest importers of bauxite (apart from the Soviet Union with only 12) they are not themselves producers of bauxite, with the exception of France which produces an insignificant quantity of aluminum.

There are two bauxite deposits in Guinea: one at Kinda and a larger one at Boké (see map). A Western source reports:

The Americans, despite discouragement, have hung on in Guinea, partly for the sake of the aluminum project at Boké, in which they are extremely interested, and have provided a \$22 million loan [...] to complement the \$64 million World Bank loan. The Peace Corps are back at half their previous strength.

One source of annoyance to the NATO powers is Sékou Touré's open door policy toward socialist countries. On November 24, 1969, Guinea signed an agreement with the Soviet Union which will permit Guinea, with Soviet help, to develop the Kinda bauxite deposits on her own, thus enabling her to repay her external debts and gain relative independence from foreign coercion. In that way not only is the Kinda deposit lost to the aluminum sharks of world imperialism, but also, in a few years Guinea will be in a position to challenge other interests of world finance capital in the country.

Nor is that all. The Soviet Union

is helping Guinea build a dam over the Konkouré river. Such projects as dams and railways, as all developing countries know, are major projects involving millions of pounds of revenue for capitalist construction firms. The "loss" of such projects to the Soviet Union or China is something the construction monopolies of the capitalist world cannot tolerate. In their own minds they have a natural right to such projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America, as innumerable reports in their industrial and technical journals clearly indicate. The Russians are also renovating the railway at Kinda, and the Chinese are doing so from Kinda to Kankan (see map).

What is more, since her independence, Guinea has been at swords' point with France. One of the lies in the ointment is that France is in debt to Guinea. The bulk of the debt, 9 billion francs, is for war veterans' pensions.

The imperialist conspiracy against Guinea has not been much of a secret. In 1965 the present writer read a Canadian report in French revealing that the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had completed plans to overthrow Kwame Nkrumah in 1965, and that after him would come Sékou Touré, for which French imperialism was also working overtime. Nkrumah fell in February 1966. Whatever the errors of the Nkrumah regime, its fall was certainly not unconnected with the vast bauxite deposits near the Volta in which certain American millionaires were vitally interested. The

bauxite scheme, which was the diamond in the crown of the then current Ghanaian development plan and a focus of attention of world finance capitalism, was financed in part by private US companies. In a similar way the enormous iron ore and bauxite wealth of Guinea is now both the great hope of the Guineans themselves and the focal point of industrial and financial interests in NATO countries.

The sum total of the Guinean situation is that the NATO powers find their interests greatly threatened by the progressive and patriotic policies of the Sékou Touré regime and they will go to all lengths to replace him with some other Guinean leader more subservient to their schemes.

#### Policy of Independence

Armed intervention in Guinea has elicited comments from several African leaders. Among these one of the most important is that of Siaka Stevens, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone. He said:

We have a different way of doing things in Sierra Leone; but we never have the same trouble with you British as Sékou Touré had with the French. We don't think Sékou Touré is very sensible with his economic policies — he is taking things too far, nationalizing everything. [...] On the other hand he has done things that none of us have really done — given his people a real identification and pride in their country, a national awareness and commitment which is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful. [Guardian, Britain, December 7, 1970.] This statement is studded with interesting points relevant to the situation in Guinea.

First, Guinea pursues a policy of

independence.

Second, this policy meets with the determined and often open antagonism of French imperialism.

Third, the policy of independence has implied the courageous nationalization of French monopoly enterprises.

Fourth, this policy of independence is at variance with that of many other African leaders and regimes which actually practice nothing more than neocolonialism.

Last, no regime in West Africa has had the same trouble with the British as Guinea has had with the French. But this is not because British imperialism is better behaved, as Siaka Stevens may suppose. It is simply because no West African leader, not even Nkrumah, has so far stood up to British monopoly enterprise as Sékou Touré has to French monopoly investments.

As to the last point, it must be said that we cannot eat our cake and have it in these matters. If we want independence and "real identification and pride" in our country, on the part of our people, this inescapably involves the nationalization of capitalist monopoly investments, because they compromise our independence and identity. If we are not prepared to do this then we must stop dreaming of independence and of wanting our people to feel identification and pride in a regime that sacrifices their dignity for mere convenience or even self-interest. Whether Sékou Touré has taken things "too far" in this respect the reader himself can judge.

As we have seen, Guinea was the only country to vote for complete independence from France in the de Gaulle referendum of 1958. This vote and the Algerian and Viet Nam

wars of independence eventually defeated French imperialism's efforts to preserve the French empire behind a new facade. Other African countries opted for independence in one form or other, and the proposed "French Community" withered away.

The French colonialists were so angered by the Guinean vote that they withdrew their personnel and whatever else they could take with them from the country. Even pensions owed to Guinean veterans of the Second World War who fought for de Gaulle were not paid. It will be recalled that French colonialists and settlers treated Algeria similarly. The French fancied that the

new regimes in Guinea and Algeria would collapse and the patriots would come on their knees, begging them to return. But nothing of the sort happened. Rather in both Guinea and Algeria the abandoned enterprises were nationalized, and both countries started on the arduous but sure and honorable road of self-reliance.

It is not that the Guineans are rich and can afford self-reliance better than other African countries. Far from it. The following table showing average annual per capita national income in dollars in various regions of the world and in West Africa in 1953-65 indicates Guinea's position.

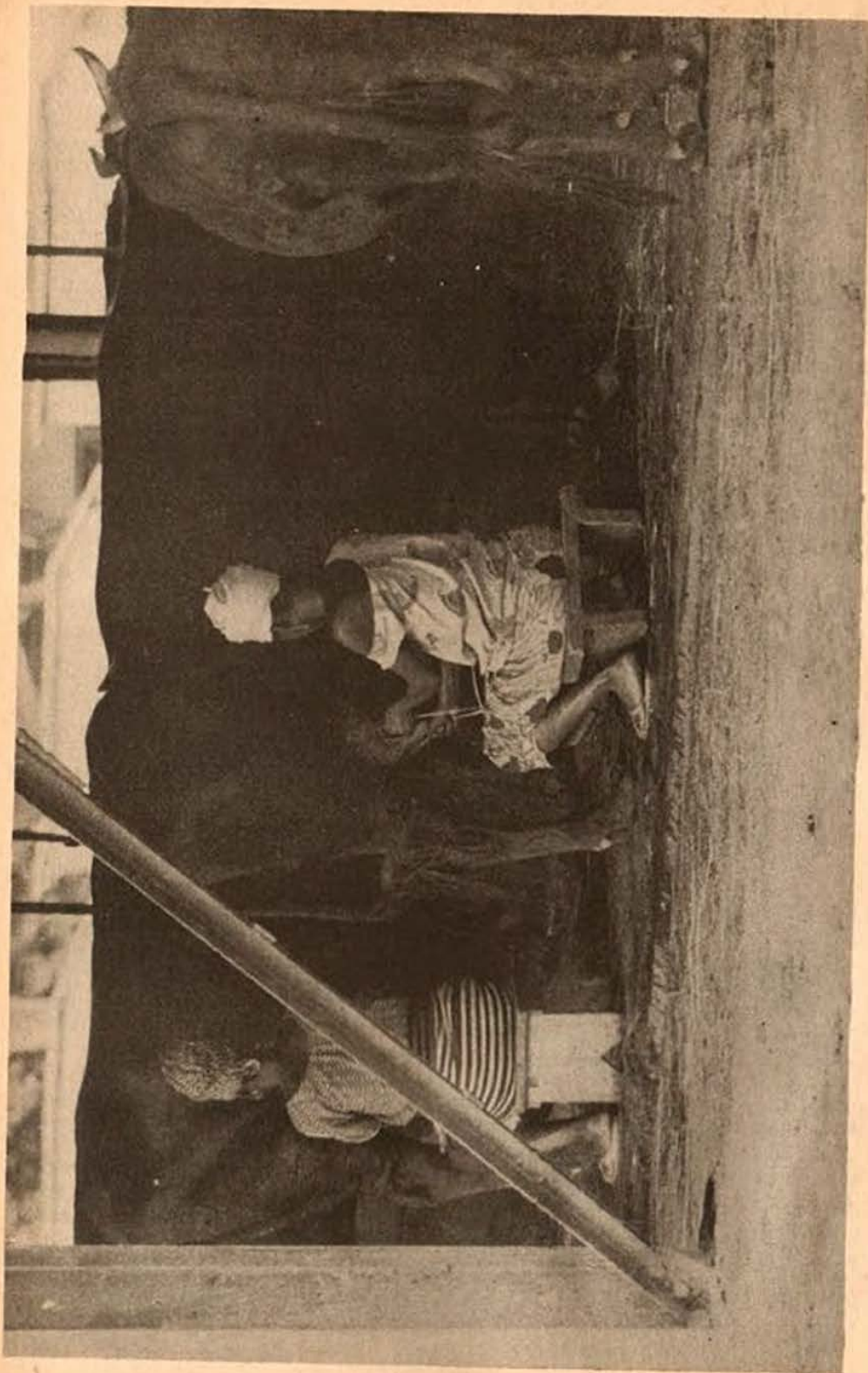
World Areas		West Africa			
Western Europe	1605	Ghana	230	Gambia	90
Socialist Europe	1075	Ivory Coast	220	Dahomey	80
Latin America	345	Liberia	210	Guinea	80
Africa	165	Senegal	210	Niger	80
Asia	140	Sa. Leone	150	Nigeria	80
		Mauritania	130	Mali	60
		Togo	100	Upper Volta	50

It can be seen clearly that even among West African countries, one of the least developed regions of the world, Guinea is one of the poorest. Unpatriotic leaders and regimes are inclined to blame their servility and cowardice on the poverty and smallness of their countries. Cuba and Viet Nam have exploded the lie; so has Guinea.

To be sure, the known mineral deposits of Guinea include limestone, bauxite, gold, diamonds, iron, manganese, titanium, cobalt, nickel, chrome, zinc, copper, graphite, asbestos, radioactive minerals and high-quality granite. Even in fabulous Africa one has to go to Katanga

to find another area as rich in minerals as the Futa Djallon system which forms the backbone of Guinea. Besides, the country is rich in sources of hydroelectric power. Small as she is, therefore, Guinea has the potentiality for industrialization. Yet 80% of the people live on the land. The policy of the Guinean regime has aimed at changing this situation fundamentally.

Owing partly to her patriotic dissociation from France, Guinea had to learn early the lesson of self-reliance. She led West Africa in the proportion of her national income devoted to productive investment as distinct from conspicuous consumption, luxury products, disproportionate administrative expendi-



ture and the like. She led this region also in the creation of an independent national currency.

Soon after independence, Guinea put in operation the Three-Year Plan (1960-63). The object was a decisive and rapid switchover from an economy based on colonial dependence to an independent and planned national development. The strategy at this stage was to bring aid to the peasantry. The plan, therefore, concentrated on building dispensaries, schools and an administrative infrastructure. Some light industries were also established at this stage.

The next stage, the present one, was launched with the Seven-Year Plan (June 1964-June 1971). The aim is to enable the economy to "take off." This is the most crucial stage in all economic development; it is also the most difficult, as all economic planners know. If the economy is not to stagger along at the *laissez-faire* pace characteristic of client capitalism in, say, Latin America, then there will have to be heavy investments in raw materials and infrastructural bases such as mines, dams, factory buildings, ports, and railways, which take a long time to yield their benefits. At the same time, even if factories are established — and many have been in Guinea — they may save foreign exchange but cannot as yet make much in the way of profits. Guinea is at this stage and all sorts of people are exploiting the difficulties of the country.

And if "take off" is not going to be take off into capitalism, corruption and dependence on the imperialist powers, then it must take off into socialism and real independence, as is being attempted in Cuba, Congo-Brazzaville, Egypt, Al-

geria and, more recently, Chile.

The policy of independence and "noncapitalist development" has been put into effect in Guinea partly by the nationalization of large commercial enterprises, state monopoly of foreign trade, creation of a state bank, creation of a national currency, creation of a national insurance company, nationalization of large transport establishments, and creation of other financial, administrative and commercial institutions.

If one is looking for a reliable indicator of independence and socialist development, however, one should ask who owns the new mines and the growing manufacturing industries.

The accompanying map of Conakry shows 17 new factories. Of these, the vehicle assembly plant and the furniture factory are owned jointly by the state and certain foreign interests (Yugoslavia in the case of the furniture works). The rest are state-owned. Apart from these a granite quarry, a textile complex, a tobacco and match factory, a bicycle factory and plants for fruit juice, aluminum and quinine — to name only a few — have been established outside Conakry. The aluminum and fruit juice enterprises are jointly owned with foreign interests, while the others are state-owned.

Industry such as the above has also been established in other African countries since 1958, of course, but in the case of Nigeria, for instance, it belongs almost exclusively to foreign monopoly capitalist interests.

The policy of real independence being pursued by Guinea is perhaps best grasped — as Siaka Stevens rightly understands — by comparing

it with the policy of collaboration and subservience pursued so far by many African countries. It is sufficient to examine French-speaking Africa.

By January 1970 the FED (Fonds Européen de Développement created by the six European Common Market countries had invested in 347 projects and programs in the 18

African and Malagasy states associated with the Market and the 13 other associated countries — 12 former French colonies and one former Italian. Two funds were created, the first for the period 1958-63 and the second for 1964-69. The distribution of the funds among development projects was as follows:

	1st Fund		2nd Fund	
	\$'000	%	\$'000	%
Rural development	143 797	24.8	316 688	45.2
Infrastructure	255 986	44.0	247 791	35.4
Education	155 253	19.9	62 263	9.7
Health	51 241	8.8	28 540	4.0
Energy	4 140	0.7	24 457	3.5
Various	10 833	1.8	15 282	2.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>621 250</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>695 021</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Manufacturing is included under the heading "Various." The little attention paid to it and to energy development as against agricultural raw material exports — so-called "rural development" — is self-evident. It is a typically neocolonial policy.

Of the investments, the associated territories in Africa received by far

the lion's share, reflecting the fact that, with the United States dominating the Latin-American countries and with Asia consumed in revolutionary flames, Africa remains the last stand of West European imperialism. The share of Africa in the First Fund was \$474 550 000 and in the Second Fund \$634 714 000.

It is interesting to note the largest recipients:

	1st Fund	2nd Fund
Cameroon	52 798	53 166
Congo-Kinshasa	19 593	74 389
Ivory Coast	36 644	57 173
Madagascar	56 265	70 226
Senegal	43 831	60 400

It will be seen that Congo-Kinshasa received substantial invest-

ments only after Patrice Lumumba and his supporters had been removed from the scene. Furthermore, till recently, as the press widely reported, Ivory Coast and Senegal

were the haven of those intent on removing Sékou Touré. Further still, the investments of FED in each of 16 recipient territories increased

substantially in the second period. Only for Congo-Brazzaville and Mali did the investments decline, and substantially too, as follows:

	1st Fund	2nd Fund
Congo-Brazzaville	25 036	20 626
Mali	42 023	33 089

Guinea, of course, is conspicuously absent. Apart from Guinea, as everyone knows, the only former colonies of European Common Market countries in Africa pursuing a policy of economic independence and inclination towards socialism are Congo-Brazzaville and pre-coup Mali. It may be added that, of the five countries that received heavy investments, Madagascar is a rich source of uranium for NATO bombs, and the funds actually went to develop the uranium deposits; and Félix Houphouët had to be murdered to pave the way for "safe" investments in Cameroon.

Of late the imperialists have been making a lot of noise about the Guinean economy "showing signs of stagnation." They wrote similarly during the last year of Nkrumah's regime when the heavy investments in slow-yielding nationally-owned projects, necessary to independence, created an inevitable hardship. The imperialist press now reports that Ghana is leading West Africa in the export of manufactured goods. What they will not do is credit this achievement to the policy of revolutionary courage and sacrifice which made it possible.

#### Politics and Invasion

Since independence the Parti Démocratique Guinéen (PDG) the party which Sékou Touré leads, has

been pursuing politics based visibly on a five-pronged program:

- establishing and consolidating a popular one-party state;
- the firm repudiation of any interference in the internal affairs of the country by any state;
- an open and practical renunciation of the capitalist road for Guinea and a cautious leading of the country toward the path of socialist development;
- unwavering and forthright backing of the cause of African liberation, armed or unarmed;
- broad, enthusiastic support for world revolution against imperialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Naturally, in many circles, such a policy cannot be pleasing.

Her one-party policy, however popular it may be with the people, is anathema to reactionaries and decadent liberal intellectuals who pretend that the two-party or multiparty form of rule is necessarily the very hallmark of democracy, no matter what depravities and frivolities it makes possible.

The Western powers are openly antagonistic to the patriotic independent policy of the country, while some of the leaders of her French-speaking neighbors have, in the past, shown signs of uneasiness about the contagious effect of

such a policy in their own masses.

Compared with Nigeria, Guinea hardly has a class that can be called capitalist, but the fact that capitalists are initially absent from a country does not mean that there is also an absence of traders and state bureaucrats who would like to become capitalists at all costs and by any means. Theories of African classlessness often make a profound mistake on this score. The desire to become capitalists on the part of those who stand a chance of so becoming is often no less powerful a political force than the desire of those who are already capitalists to remain so. Guinea is in a position where this ambition for evolution into capitalists is very strong among a host of Guinean businessmen and bureaucrats. The more firmly PDG policy has slammed the door of capitalist development in their face the more bitter has been their antagonism to the regime.

What is more, some traditional chiefs of Guinea, former instruments of French colonial rule, enjoyed traditional and colonial privileges over the local peasantry which now they are most reluctant to see pass away. That these privileges be swept away to free the wheels of progress is the determination of the PDG, which has been translating its policy into action. Again it does not matter that these privileges of a dead past are not of the same order of magnitude as those of the Pashas and Beys of the Arab world or the Maharajas of India.

Traditional privileges, however small by international comparisons, are not considered unworthy of defense by the local orders that enjoy them.

Consequently, Guinea's road of

socialist development has many enemies: mainly the tribalists, pretenders to a capitalist road, and the Uncle Toms of Guinean origin on the one hand, and world monopoly capitalism on the other.

Similarly Guinea's policy of support for rebellion against colonialism in Africa must mark the regime for certain destruction by those who want to remove all centers of even mildly radical resistance to imperialism on the continent. Whether the Guinean leaders are aware of it themselves or not, support for continental or world revolution always means that one must be ready oneself for the inevitable armed assault of imperialism and its associates against the partisans or supporters of such a policy.

Any country that wants to establish socialism must create a military force ready to defend the people and the country's policy against the conspiracies of capitalists at home and abroad. To do this and at the same time avoid the heavy cost of expanding the regular army, patriotic regimes have adopted the formula of creating a militia educated for patriotism and against imperialism. Without such a militia it would have been impossible for the patriotic regime in Cuba to resist US pressures and defeat armed interventions. Guinea, therefore, created such a militia.

This step has also enabled some sections of the regular army to be released from armed service and, to quote a Western source, "deployed in worthy nation-building tasks like running a shoe factory, farming and building schools." In October 1969, all soldiers became civil servants and could move or be transferred to any section of the public service.

There can be no doubt that such a policy enables a small country like

Guinea — beset by powerful enemies and much poorer in trained personnel than, for instance, Nigeria — to cut down the cost of maintaining a large army mobilized. At the same time the country has a working reserve which can be mobilized in an emergency. In the meantime the sounder and more disciplined training of some of the military personnel can be turned to good account in the immense construction work facing the country. This can be especially helpful in countries where the public service is not free from corruption or red tape, a situation characteristic of all underdeveloped countries.

Reflect for a moment on the work Col. Adekunle did recently on the Nigerian docks: cutting his way in military fashion through red tape, relieving the Lagos docks in a matter of weeks of scandalous and disastrous overcrowding, and saving millions of pounds, to the surprise of Nigeria and the world.

But this patriotic policy in Guinea is grist to the malicious mill of imperialist propaganda. In their eyes, this practice leads to "emasculatation of the army." They have sought by such characterization to stir up disaffection in the Guinean army.

In March 1969 there was a plot organized by a group of officers and involving a Colonel Kaman Diaby. Prior to this, there had been other plots.

The imperialist press has sought to attribute the invasion of Guinea to so-called Guinean "exiles." A Western source, however, reports: "The vast majority of expatriate Guineans (possibly over a million are spread through Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Senegal) are economic refugees who still say they admire Sékou Touré." This was confirmed by Prime Minister Siaka

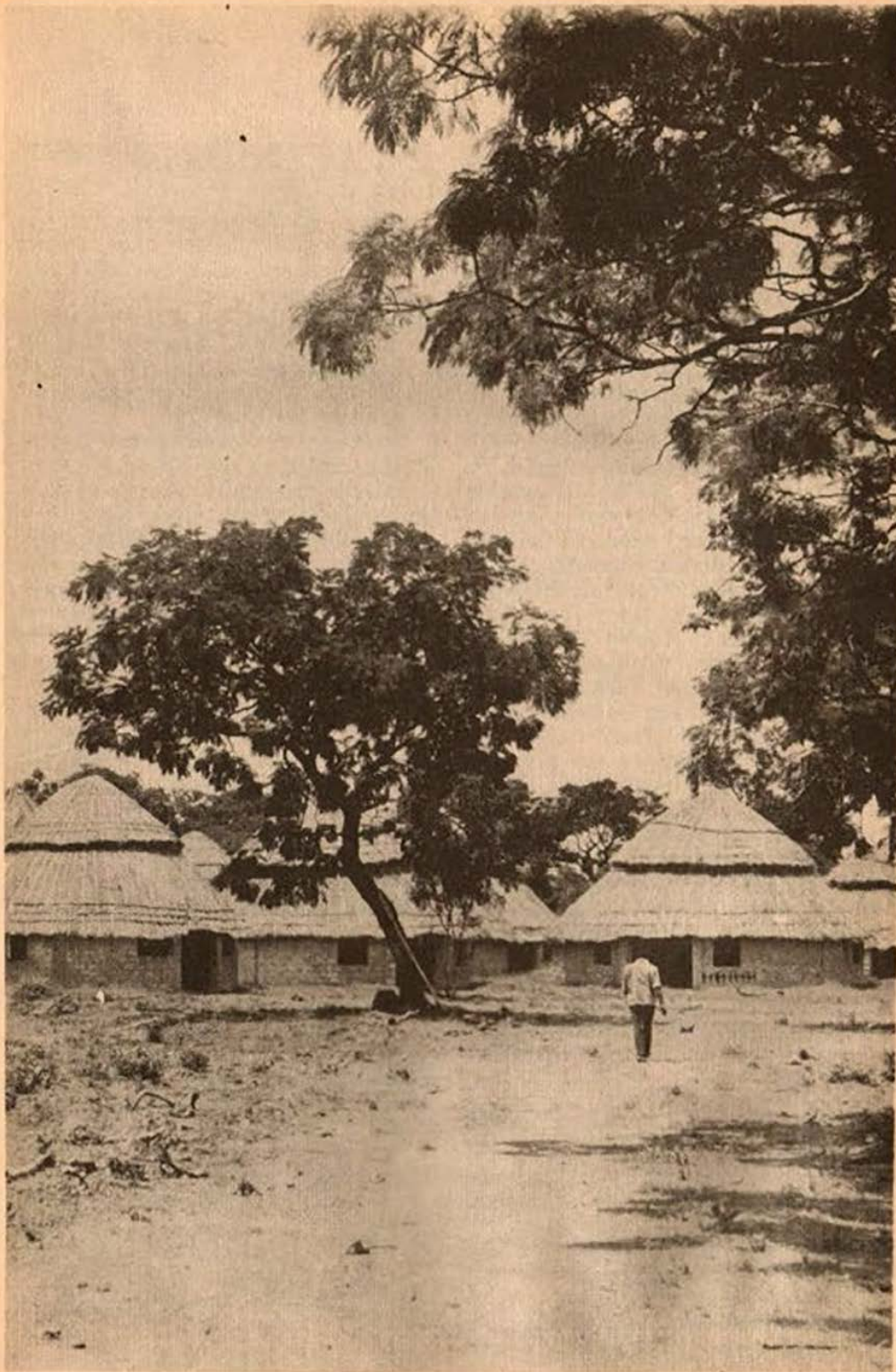
Stevens himself in a conversation with a British journalist:

Oh, yes, Sékou Touré has opposition — particularly from the Fula and the Sousa. They have always been traders and they didn't like Sékou Touré's nationalization of all the trading — that's why many of them have come to live in Sierra Leone. But they still like him. Did you hear about the demonstration here in Freetown? — 6000 Guineans demonstrated in support of Sékou Touré.

In all probability the vast majority of Guineans living abroad are no more refugees than the Nigerian "economic refugees" who were living in Ghana and who recently made the headlines. It is certain that they admire and are loyal to the regime of Sékou Touré and the PDG.

That cannot be said of all expatriate Guineans, however. There exists a microscopic minority of disgruntled élite elements — the Ojukwas and Tshombés of Guinea. A few elements of this fraternity have been mentioned by name by the Western press. Among Guinean politicians who have gone into exile, for instance, the most notable is the former Guinean ambassador to France, Nabi Youla. It is reported that "he was last heard of in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast Republic, and a broadcast on Radio Conakry names him as one of the three dissidents involved in organizing the invasion."

The so-called National Liberation Front is the opposition movement to President Sékou Touré. Before the invasion, Conakry Radio announced that one Thierno-Habib Diallo, commander of the army of the National Liberation Front, was recruiting



Guineans living abroad to establish an army for the Front. Servicemen were being recruited for 10 000 francs. One group of 20 had been installed on Guinea's border with Guinea-Bissau and Senegal and another of the same number on Guinea's frontier with Liberia and the Ivory Coast.

The imperialist press pretended not to believe the Conakry Radio report. Even after the invasion had been launched, only eye witness accounts, the death of two German diplomats in the fighting and the verdict of the United Nations team compelled them to admit grudgingly that there had been an attack. However, they now say that the invasion was merely a "raid," and their view of the aims of this "raid" is stated in the London Economist (November 28, 1970):

The pattern of the raid indicates that it had a limited objective and was probably not an attempt to overthrow President Sékou Touré's government. The raiders [...] concentrated on the prison in Conakry and it seems they succeeded in freeing a number of Guinean political prisoners and several Portuguese soldiers captured in raids on Portuguese Guinea. The second objective was the headquarters of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). [...] There are enough disgruntled and exiled Guineans in Portuguese Guinea and in other neighboring states to launch such an attack.

But even The Economist had to add: "But it is doubtful whether they could have raised the money without outside backing."

As for the aims of the attack,

map 3 of Conakry shows points on which attacks were actually launched. This leaves no doubt as to what the purpose was it was clearly to capture the capital in a surprise blow and overthrow the government of Sékou Touré. The imperialists are no fools and have learned their lessons from the Congo and Nigerian wars. Their conclusion would be something like this: to launch an attack from a remote province on a government you wish to overthrow gives that government the advantage of time to mobilize, a main port, internal communications, economic and political cohesion and other military and political advantages, chief of which is morale; a quick and successful blow on the capital would deny the government all these advantages, eliminate any center of organized resistance and effect the immediate collapse of the regime, without a costly and protracted patriotic war.

The present writer visited Conakry in 1970. Unlike Lagos, for instance, Conakry is highly vulnerable to attack from the sea. These facts explain why the invasion was launched first and foremost on Conakry. The attack on Conakry could also have been diversionary — to permit easier penetration elsewhere, and this was actually attempted.

It is noteworthy that the imperialists have dropped several remarks which seek to shift responsibility for the attack from themselves not only to "Guinean exiles" but to the African states neighboring Guinea. The Economist, for instance, writes: "But last year the Guinean president saw the hands of France, Mali, Senegal and Ivory Coast in plots against his regime. The field for speculation is wide open." It turns out well for the African states adjacent to Guinea and for the African

people that those on whose heads imperialism sought to wipe its bloody hands, quickly and unequivocally destroyed any grounds for speculation by themselves condemning the invasion and naming its actual perpetrators.

Take, for instance, Liberia. The correspondent, Jonathan Power, writes:

President Tubman deeply shocked the large American diplomatic community in his country when, in a speech marking his seventy-fifth birthday, a week after the Guinea invasion, he said of the Americans: "Whatever they do or write they cannot change the desires or opinions of the Liberian people. They can do so only by using the bullet." He then went on to explain that that was just what the Americans were doing in Indochina.

As soon as Guinea was attacked, General Gowon of Nigeria and the Egyptian Government offered immediate military help, and African states rallied in an unprecedented way. The comments of the Western press show that they do not like General Gowon's offer and wonder when he will dissolve his mobilized army of 200 000 battle-ready soldiers. The reason why well-known circles sought the disintegration of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is now obvious.

As for the African support, this has taken imperialism by surprise and in order to mislead the world, as usual, they attribute it to the respect Sékou Touré has earned personally for what they call his "individuality," his ability to "mend his fences," etc. No doubt the non-chauvinistic African policy of Sékou Touré has earned much respect and positively helps to expose imperialism and effect the unity of the

African people against it. But the real cause of the African response lies in Viet Nam, Rhodesia, Southern Africa, the Congo, Nigeria, and latest of all Sierra Leone, October 1970, where the American neo-colonialists were caught red-handed with documents in a nefarious plot to overthrow the government of Siaka Stevens.

Our experience so far has a lesson to teach. Among the enemies of Africa, not the least are politicians and intellectuals to whom any talk of imperialism or neocolonialism is nothing but communist shibboleth. Such persons see all developments as tribalistic or false individualistic spectacles, which makes them conscious or unconscious collaborators with imperialism when they happen to be in charge of public affairs in their respective countries. In order to free themselves, the African people must understand the working of imperialism, and in order to understand imperialism, African leaders and intellectuals must undertake a scientific study of it. Mere patriotic emotions are not enough, and the type of education one gets from universities in Western Europe or the United States tends to offer one blinkers rather than a telescope.

The invasion of Guinea to overthrow the regime of Sékou Touré, like armed secession in eastern Nigeria, is but a variation of the politics of colonialism, no matter what mask it may choose to wear. The African people must so prepare themselves intellectually and physically that no matter when, where or in what guise imperialism may choose to operate, they see it for what it is, mobilize themselves, and smash it.

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## BRAZIL the 30-hour plan

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THE fascist golpe in Bolivia is related not only to interests of an international order but still more to Brazil's intervention. Latin-American relations with the United States are moving rapidly toward a showdown and regional alliances are being readjusted to the new situation.

The formation of a Pacific bloc which arose from nationalist and socialist trends as well as from the recent changes among the Argentine military who are seeking a nonalignment policy, pointed to such a complete isolation of the Brazilian dictatorship that even its Paraguayan stooges failed to give it their customary support.

It soon became evident that Brazil was determined to disrupt what to her was an unfavorable balance of power. And recent events in Bolivia — as the international press has revealed — point to Brazil's presence behind the reactionary offensive. This was the first time Brazilian subimperialism had really intervened in its most aggressive form — military pressure. After what went on in Bolivia nothing Brazil does in the future should surprise anyone.

In 1967 the document "General Orientation of National Security Planning" of Brazil's Higher School of War (ESG) had already been published. It was clear that the purpose of this school was to indoctrinate the Brazilian garrillas in geopolitical theory, following a thesis elaborated by General Galbery Couto Silva, based on what he called "a loyal exchange" between Brazil and the United States. According to this exchange Brazil was to associate with Washington in a scheme to guarantee the defense of the South Atlantic, in exchange the United States would reward Brazil with "an almost total monopoly of power in that area." Out of this association sprang the theory of "ecological frontiers": Brazil as a privileged satellite had to assume "responsibilities" in continental politics.





Population: 85 million (+3% per year); 10 inhabitants per sq. km.  
 Capital: Brasília, 250,000.  
 Annual growth rate 1968-1965: 4.6%  
 Per capita consumption in 1964: Energy: 364 kg.; steel: 43 kg.  
 Major products: Coffee; 1.6 million tons (first in the world); rice; 6 million tons; cotton; 600,000 tons; groundnuts: 600,000 tons; cocoa: 150,000 tons; maize: 10 million tons; sugar: 3.4 million tons; cattle: 80 million head; pigs: 55 million head; sheep: 21 million head; iron ore: 10 million tons; manganese ore: 600,000 tons; steel: 3 million tons; textile industries (cotton) and others.

Foreign trade 1965			
IMPORTS CIF	M \$U.S.	EXPORTS FOB	M \$U.S.
Food, animals	203	Coffee	707
Crude materials	43	Iron ore and concentrates	103
Coal, coke, petroleum and products	225	Raw cotton	96
Chemicals	174	Wood	63
Manufactured goods	156	Raw sugar	57
Machinery, transportation equipment	244	Iron and steel	44
Miscellaneous manufactured goods	33	Cocoa	41
		Vegetable oils	35
		Non-ferrous minerals	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,096</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,585</b>
PRINCIPAL SUPPLIERS		PRINCIPAL BUYERS	
U.S.A.	325	U.S.A.	520
Argentina	132	West Germany	141
West Germany	96	Argentina	141
Venezuela	82	Italy	85
Japan	37	Netherlands	81
U.S.S.R.	35	United Kingdom	62
France	33	France	56

## THE SECURITY OF THE DICTATORSHIP

The revelation made in 1967 by *Marchis of Montevideo* concerning the "national security planning" of Rio de Janeiro's ESG, caused a tremendous impact in public opinion. This top-secret document revealed among other things the prime objective of the Brazilian military, which was the "suppression or reduction of foreign and domestic pressures which threatened or might threaten the national security." What would these pressures be? According to the ESG:

- 1) communist pressure, from both within and outside the country, directed at getting Brazil to leave the democratic and Western bloc;
- 2) socioeconomic pressure exerted by groups both within and outside the country which are a threat to the country's social peace, prosperity, welfare and democracy;
- 3) economic pressure exerted by groups both within and outside the country, belonging to trade unions that seek to modify the economic policy of the government for their own purposes and thus jeopardize social peace;
- 4) political pressure exerted by national political groups residing in the country or abroad whose interests were crossed by the "revolution" [sic] of 1964;
- 5) historical-political pressure exerted by countries of the South Atlantic which are seeking continental hegemony and border changes.

At first glance one can see that the so-called "security" of the dictatorship is disadvantageous all round — to the economy, the social structure, the domestic policy, the interests of other South American countries and even to the "political exiles" themselves. To use "historical pressure" as an argument is nonsense, when it is clear that the US-Brazil association is simply attempting to disguise its fear of anti-imperialist action in Latin America.

RIO DE JANEIRO, September 19 — THE EX-CAPTAIN OF THE BRAZILIAN ARMY, CARLOS LAMARCA, CONSIDERED THE MOST OUTSTANDING REVOLUTIONARY FIGURE IN BRAZIL AFTER THE DEATH OF CARLOS MARIGHELLA IN 1969 AND JOAQUIM CAMARA FERREIRA IN 1970, WAS ASSASSINATED BY THE POLICE LAST FRIDAY AFTER HAVING BEEN WOUNDED IN A GUNFIRE BATTLE. TRAINING INSTRUCTOR AND CHAMPION MARKSMAN OF THE ARMED FORCES, LAMARCA REJECTED PROSPECTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL MILITARY CAREER IN ORDER TO ENTER THE CLANDESTINE MOVEMENT IN 1969. HE ORIGINATED AND CARRIED OUT AN AUDACIOUS ACTION AGAINST THE ARMS DEPOSITORY OF THE IV REGIMENT WHERE HE WAS STATIONED. LATER HE WAS IN CHARGE OF GUERRILLA OPERATIONS IN THE RIBEIRA VALLEY. IN THE SPRING OF 1970 HE SUCCEEDED IN EVADING AN ARMY ENCIRCLEMENT OF MORE THAN 20 000 MEN. POLICE AGENTS FROM THE FINGERPRINT DEPARTMENT CONFIRMED THAT LAMARCA AND THE WORKERS' LEADER OSASCO

General Golbery himself gives the show away in his booklet "Geopolitical Aspects of Brazil" when he writes: "When opposition to the United States becomes unmistakably evident among our Latin-American neighbors it is up to Brazil, partly because of her long-standing friendship with the United States but most of all because of the decisive resources at her disposal, to make a 'loyal exchange'...".

Finally, the military government elaborated a detailed war plan which foresees every kind of threat against the security, of so-called "western democratic and Christian civilization in this hemisphere." The plan states: "If any government should adopt communistic positions especially in Chile or Uruguay, this is to be regarded as a threat against the United States and Brazil."

Commenting on the latter point, the ESG's document says:

Should communism win power in some Latin-American countries, or should the situation become serious in others through an intensification of the "revolutionary war," these countries will constitute strategic areas which could become liable to Brazilian military intervention. Such danger-spots are: the frontier with Uruguay, and this includes the Rio Grande do Sul region; the frontier with Bolivia, in particular the Corumba-Caceres zone; the frontier with Venezuela and Guyana; and the territories of Uruguay and Guayana.

Consequently, it is to be noted that a Popular Unity government in Chile is considered a frontier menace to the national security of the Brazilian dictatorship. This explains the great importance given to the Bolivian frontier. It is no mere coincidence that the region around Santo Cruz of the Sierra was the mainspring of the fascist coup last August. Note should be taken too of the special mention made of Uruguay. Not only is her frontier with Brazil considered to be a "strategic zone" of "Brazilian defense" but her territory is as well.

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(SAO PAULO) JOSE SANTOS BARRETO WERE THE TWO REVOLUTIONARIES WHO DIED IN AN EXCHANGE OF GUNFIRE WITH GOVERNMENT FORCES IN IPUJIARA, BAHIA. THE OFFICIAL VERSION OF THE REGIME INDICATES THAT LAMARCA WAS SURROUNDED BY A GREAT NUMBER OF AGENTS WHO, TOGETHER WITH ARMY TROOPS, PERSECUTED HIM FOR 40 DAYS AS A RESULT OF A BETRAYAL. IT ADDS THAT, WHEN LAMARCA AND BARRETO RESISTED THE ARREST ORDER, THEY WERE MORTALLY WOUNDED AND THAT, BEFORE HE DIED, LAMARCA WAS INTERROGATED BY THE POLICE. HOWEVER, THE FACT THAT THE AUTOPSIES REVEALED THAT LAMARCA HAD THREE SHOTS IN HIS HEART AND THREE MORE IN OTHER PARTS OF HIS BODY, AND BARRETO HAD EIGHT WOUNDS, REPRESENTS CERTAIN EVIDENCE THAT THE TWO REVOLUTIONARIES WERE ASSASSINATED AND THE PROBABILITY THAT THIS TOOK PLACE AFTER THEY HAD BEEN WOUNDED AND WERE OUT OF AMMUNITION.

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The revelation of the sinister "30-hour plan" by the international press (especially the Uruguayan and Argentine) proves without doubt that the doctrine of the ESG is to be applied in plans which are practicable and imminent.

The Argentine military are clearly aware of the danger. This can be seen by their diplomatic shifting of grounds toward the Andean bloc, which "...aims at reversing the regional alliances and has its immediate goal to end the understanding with Brazil."

## THE URUGUAYAN-CRISIS

The Montevideo weekly *Marcha* has published information which shows that the doctrine of Brazilian security includes a contingency plan to cover the Uruguayan crisis. In its edition of August 23rd it comments on the report presented by the ex-Argentine Foreign Minister. Referring to this, the weekly says:

The plan is full of such minute details as to make one suspect that during the last years, [Brazil's Foreign Ministry] must have commissioned an ordinance map to be made of the entire Uruguayan territory. In addition to these data is the evaluation of the political, military and social conditions enumerated in the plan, as follows:

- a) the Uruguayan Armed forces lack arms and men to neutralize or to delay a Brazilian military offensive; and although its population is extremely politicized it is emotional and technically unprepared for a massive resistance;
- b) guerrilla action can provoke some isolated disturbances, but it is not in a position to attempt any counteroffensive against an army like Brazil's;
- c) Uruguay's future political scene presents two possibilities: if the elections take place, either the triumph of the Broad Front or the triumph of the

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SAO PAULO, September 21 — A TREMENDOUS FIRE OCCURRED TODAY IN THE PAVILLION OF THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE (USIS) LOCATED IN IBIRAQUERA PARK IN THIS CITY.

SAO PAULO HAS BEEN THE OBJECTIVE IN RECENT HOURS OF NUMEROUS ACTION ON THE PART OF ARMED ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE FIGHTING AGAINST THE MILITARY REGIME, IN APPARENT RESPONSE TO LAST FRIDAY'S ASSASSINATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADER CARLOS LAMARCA. ON THE OTHER HAND THE POLICE TODAY INVESTIGATED ANONYMOUS TELEPHONE CALLS WARNING VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS THAT EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS WOULD BE PLACED IN THEIR PLANTS IF THEY CONTINUED THEIR CAMPAIGN OF DISCREDITING LAMARCA.

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traditional party. But as the latter alternative would cause an upsurge of guerrilla war either alternative would be regarded as a danger and, in the opinion of the Brazilian authorities, would suffice to justify the invasion: d) because of Brazil's urgent need for expansion, and bearing in mind the fact that the occupation of Uruguay would satisfy not only these needs but also constitute an economic boon to the eastern country, it would be possible to consolidate the domestic social peace of Brazil by increasing the number of businesses under Rio de Janeiro control; e) moreover, the plan goes on to point out an aspect that could be to Brazil's advantage, which is the generalized anti-Argentine and anti-Buenos Aires feelings among Uruguayans. This could psychologically benefit both the short and long-term strategy of the Itamaraty.

The 30-hour operation, says *Marcho*, does not end here. A fair part of the text analyzes the repercussion of the invasion at continental and international levels. The operation must be accomplished in two days or rather within the period of 30 hours, in order to prevent an international diplomatic offensive from paralyzing the plan by obliging conciliatory measures and permitting the intervention of third parties.

Eight UH-1D helicopters, the same kind as already used by the United States in Viet Nam, have been recently taken to the Santa Maria Base, together with T-16 combat planes and L-42 observation craft. The transfer of these has been made so as to give support to the joint maneuvers of the Army, Air and Navy Forces which are being carried out from August of this year to next December in the southern province, to coincide with the elections in Uruguay.

#### THE GUARDIAN OF THE CONTINENT

With the taking of power in 1964, the gorillas of the Atlantic started to develop their military potential. This is what they now refer to as the new "responsibilities and interests" of the guardian of the continent.

In the fifties military expenditure was between 14 and 17% a little after the golpe, military expenditure had already risen to 40% of the national revenue. In 1965 Brazil took the step of purchasing arms from the United States at a value of 2.5 million dollars. In 1966 Brazil's purchases went up to 12 million, which included a squad of 100 A-41 tanks. In August 1966 the military government bought

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THUS THE CAMPAIGN HAS REACHED A PEAK SINCE HIS ASSASSINATION AND IT IS ADMITTED THAT ALTHOUGH THE DEATH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY IS A HARD BLOW, THE ARMED OPPOSITION TO THE REGIME REMAINS ACTIVE.

SAO PAULO, September 23 — THREE YOUNG REVOLUTIONARIES AND TWO SOLDIERS WERE KILLED WHEN A DIRECT ACTION COMMANDO ATTACKED A MILITARY TRUCK IN THIS CITY.

THE ATTACK, DESCRIBED BY WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES AS ONE OF THE MOST VIOLENT IN RECENT TIMES, TOOK PLACE IN A POPULATED SECTOR OF THIS CITY WHEN A REVOLUTIONARY COMMANDO AMBUSHED THE MILITARY VEHICLE.

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the Begon patent to manufacture automatic FAL guns in Brazil. The chemical industries exploitable for purposes of war were also stepped-up. Among these were Davo Chemical, directed by Neiro Matos, ex-general of the Inter-American Peace Force (FIA) in Santo Domingo, which exports napalm to the US forces in Viet Nam, and also manufactures gas and explosives. At the same time the industry of portable automatic weapons was developed by several firms, one of which, *Industria IMA*, now specializes in the manufacture of modern rifles and machine guns.

In 1967 a mixed company was created — the Empresa Brasileira de Aeronautica (EMBRAER) — whose objective was to plan and create the Brazilian Air Force. The EMBRAER signed agreements with the Government totalling 100 million dollars, as well as with international companies such as the Italian Macchi, which guaranteed to make in Brazil an exact copy of its own jet Aetucchi. The Brazilians will name it *Xavante*. Toward 1972, there will be some 112 of these modern planes along the Argentine-Uruguayan borders. With this in view the air base of Santa Maria was created, which is the largest in South America and possesses the most important of Brazil's arsenals.

In addition, about 40 Regent planes — E.O — which form a special series made by Neva Aeronautica, have been added to the 80 planes already in use by the Brazilian Air Force.




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"... hatred for the exploiting class exists through love of the exploited."

Brazil, May 1971

Dear children

I have to criticize myself for not having given greater importance to the correspondence with you. Until now, two years and four months of separation, I have received only one letter and I know that all these I sent did not arrive. This is very hard, but children, you can be sure that you are a strength for me.

In the letter I wrote last year, I mentioned the note that César sent me and Claudia's looks; they were in my wallet with me, but in the lost battle in Ribeira the wallet fell out of my pocket and the enemy got it. At the same time I lost your photographs, and those I was waiting for never reached me.

It makes me very happy to imagine that César is ten years old, and that you too, Claudia, are going to be nine — you must be very big and I want to see you. I want very much to talk to you, to hear many things and ask you lots of questions. I think I could help you more now and it makes me sad to know

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These planes are stationed either in the urban areas or along the strategic frontiers, and are for antiguerrilla training and use. The newspaper Estado de São Paulo goes so far as to compare the efficiency of the Air Force with that of the US Green Berets.

The Minister of Aeronautics, Brigadier Marcio de Souza Melo, gave his approval to the "National Airways Plan" for 1971-80 with an investment of 600 million dollars. Eighteen Aérospatiale E-1 were purchased and are already being assembled near Brasília. In addition to this two new national models, the T-25 Universal, an anti-guerrilla monoplane, and the T-25, for reinforcement, as well as the E-M 500 Amazonas with four turbines for the transport of troops are now being constructed.

The Italian factory, Costruzioni Aeronautiche Giovanni Agusta, will install the first Brazilian factory of helicopters for military use in the valley of the Paraíba river. It is probable that helicopters for civilian use will also be manufactured for export to the Latin-American market. Negotiations have also begun for the purchase of an unknown number of French Breguet planes, especially equipped for anti-submarine warfare and capable of flying a stretch of 18 hours.

At the Expo "Ejército-71" (Army-71) in São Paulo some of the latest models of armored cars, assault cars and transport equipment were presented along with cannons of 40,90 and 115 mm, radar, mortars, anti-aircraft guns and all the other types of modern military accoutrement. The Brazilian press proudly boasts that "they are all national and have been made this year by the most prestigious Brazilian industries." Behind this boast lies an industrial military plan conceived after the military uprising of 1964. By the following year, through the authorization of the President of the Republic and of the Minister of Planning, the so-called Permanent Group of Industrial Mobilization (GPMI) was created. This group includes the most industrialized companies of the region — São Paulo, Guanabara and Minas Gerais — and has the direct cooperation of members of the Armed Forces."

On returning from a trip to the United States in 1966 the president of the GPMI, Vitório Ferroz, declared in a press conference that Brazilian industry would

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*that you need me very much. But you must understand that the human being cannot be reduced to a simple reproducer, life does not consist only in raising children so that they can also raise children. As long as exploitation of man exists within humanity, revolutionaries must use up and move the socialist revolution forward.*

*Your function, as Brazilians outside your country, is to prepare yourselves for the struggle here in Brazil. The Cubans are preparing themselves to construct socialism in Cuba. I don't want to divide people by nationality; everyone is a citizen of the world and has the same right to fight anywhere and must make his contribution to the revolution wherever he can best make it. Moreover, the revolution in Brazil is decisive for the eradication of imperialism in all Latin America and requires a great effort from all Brazilians. You have the right to struggle anywhere, but the first place a revolutionary has to consider is the place where he was born.*

*Your task now is to study a lot, understand Marxism profoundly, understand the entire class struggle throughout history and the present revolutionary movements throughout the world.*

*I don't know how you are, what your problems and preoccupations are and so it is difficult for me to write so that I participate in your lives. I think*

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make arms of various types besides munitions and war vehicles to collaborate with the United States in the war in Viet Nam. When he explained that for this purpose Brazil could count on having many plants for telecommunications and munitions in the country, Ferroz stated: "By collaborating in the extermination of the Vietcong [Brazil] will be able to solve the problems of having factories that are working below par and create 180 000 new jobs. Thus we will be simultaneously combating communism and our own unemployment problems."

Brazilian war-cries have also been heard on the atomic terrain. The director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said when speaking before the National Commission on Nuclear Energy that he considered it a good and feasible plan to form

multinational companies in Brazil for the installation of a generating plant of enriched uranium, which would open up a new line in the production of this processed mineral, today limited to the United States and the Soviet Union.

The IAEA Director's chief worry was how to convert the installation used for pacific purposes into producers of atomic arms which would have as its main purpose that of transferring arms and atomic technology to countries which do not possess them. The Director of IAEA supported Brazil's refusal to sign the Treaty of Geneva on Denuclearization.

#### THE ANTECEDENTS

Brazil's decision to participate in the Inter-American Peace force when Santo Domingo was invaded, was the first time Brazil broke with her old theory of self-determination which was very much insisted upon in her foreign policy of previous years.

Although the US General, Bruce Palmer, was the man really in control of the situation, the nominal command of the troops was given to General Meira Matos. The press commenting on this measure, said that the command had been handed to Brazil in order to relieve somewhat the feelings of the excited Brazilians who

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of you a great deal as you were, and how beautiful it must be now to live with you — I imagine this but it is difficult to imagine what it's really like.

The revolution is hard to make, and Che said that we tend to be tough but that we can't lose our tenderness. The struggle thus goes on within each one of us, according to revolutionary practice. Many fall dead, many are arrested, some became cowards in the midst of violence, the capitalist garbage that exists in each one of us is continuously expelled and we go on changing, toughening, able to bear many sufferings. And we do not lose tenderness because hatred for the exploiting class exists through love of the exploited. This love is born of the consciousness of exploitation and injustice — we have nothing to fear since whoever loses tenderness, whoever does not love, lacks the conditions for being a revolutionary.

Mama's life must be hard because, actually, you don't live with her much of the time. I beg you to deepen your understanding as time goes on. But I have no doubt that just to be a part of your development is a great joy.

From this letter you realize how difficult it is to write after so much time so far away — but I am always thinking of you. And when things are difficult I dream about you, it is a defense mechanism of our minds that functions to sustain great tensions. But the dream is always something delicious, some-

were championing at the bit to invade Bolivia and Uruguay. The then President Castelo Branco made statements to the effect that he was ready to send troops to Bolivia in order to prevent an "extremist government" there in response to popular demonstrations in the mining districts which later ended in the massacre on the night of Saint John by the government of Borcenas.

At the same time it was announced that army maneuvers would be carried out along the Uruguayan frontiers by the Second Army. This was followed by a denunciation in the Uruguayan press pointing to the presence of one thousand agents of the National Service of Information (SNI), a repressive organ which controls political life in Brazil, engaged in espionage activities in Montevideo. With the pretext that there were Brazilians in guerrilla training on Uruguayan territory, the Brazilian forces made severalursions into the eastern town of Rivera to "catch" the revolutionaries who took refuge there.

The continued threats made by Brazil against Bolivia and Uruguay with the pretext of having to "pacify" such regions were part of a plan to convert the IPF into a permanent and active force. During the meeting of the foreign ministers of the OAS assembly in 1966, Brazil was unanimously outvoted on this motion.

#### AND WHAT ABOUT OLD FRIENDS?

The Argentine revolution of 1966 joined the Brazilian revolution of 1964 in reinforcing the anticommunist campaign in South America." This is what the ESG stated in its "General Orientation of National Security Planning" addressed to its sister country. But the Argentine military of the so-called nationalist group has started calling Brazil its "historic enemy." A functionary of the National Council of Security (CONASE), Lieutenant Colonel Luis Perlinger, speaking of this "historic enemy" said:

Today there are 90 million inhabitants in Brazil and 24 million in Argentina

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thing about those moments we lived together. Then I wake up still dreaming of all the enchantment our life had, and I also think about you a great deal, and it is a mixture of joy and nostalgia, joy because you exist and such nostalgia for the slightest gestures, the words you spoke that remain recorded within me: the good day tobita, the conversations with Claudio and our special dialect, da colanga das bruzos-danga do pozanga delo, ninho de quico, and of so many things. I used your names as fighting names — César and Claudio; when I tell the comrades that you called me João, when we worked in the organization, they are very pleased. Whenever I can, I listen to Radio Havana or tcking, and whenever somebody comes I am full of questions, especially about Cuba. I don't any longer know what you want to study: Claudio wanted to be a doctor and César a soldier. How do you feel about it now?

Give mommy a great big hug and many kisses. I still hope to see you some day and forget all this nostalgia. Many kisses to all three of you and, with much love,

Papa  
[Carlos Lomarca]

Ousor lutar. Ousor vencer.

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This means that within 10 years it is quite conceivable that the difference will be 108 million to 28 million, which implies a percentage of 4,5 Brazilians to every Argentine. Another cause for worry comes from the industrial production figures of each country. While Brazilian economic development hurtles ahead, our economic process has slowed down to such an extent that some sectors are manifestly unproductive.

The Argentine publication *Panorama*, which is worried about the trend of Brazil's foreign policy, went so far as to call it "armored diplomacy." In its August 1971 number it published an all-around analysis of Argentine-Brazilian relations: "Today Argentina is practicing the foreign policy which suits its national interests and the regime it has. But seen from the Brazilian viewpoint it appears as a reaction to Brazil's economic growth."

*Panorama* summarizes an editorial in the official Brazilian newspaper *o Estado de São Paulo* and says:

- a) Brazil's economic growth has modified to its advantage the relation of forces on the continent;
- b) its neighbors' reaction is interpreted as a diabolical left-wing plot aimed at blockading Brazil which is a "western and Christian country" in outlook;
- c) thus isolated and blockaded, Brazil's only course of action would be to resort to arms;
- d) hence the first step to take is to reverse the situation in Uruguay, which is a buffer-state between the two big ones.

When the sharks quarrel it is always the little sardines that are the victims of the water's commotion. We have seen such cold-war happenings in the recent tussle for hegemony over the River Plata basin, Brazil has 50 projects for that region, of which 18 have been completed. Five are in construction, six are subject to litigation and 21 are under review. CONASE criticizes Argentina's hesitation and accuses it of using means that are scarcely diplomatic, instead of trying to prevent "the Brazilians from moving westward in search of an empire that does not speak Portuguese."

The Plata question went beyond the borders of the neighboring countries. Chile got involved in the problem when José María Pablo Pardo, the Argentine Foreign Minister, visited that country. He managed to get Allende to make a statement concerning the use of the frontier rivers, which helped to bring the two countries into a more amenable relationship.

General Mario Orsolini of CONASE can see that behind all this the United States has a hand in Brazilian policy and calls for "a closer alliance with Chile, Bolivia and Peru as the first step in the defensive front," and goes on to say that if this does not take place Brazil will be given the heavy industry while we [the Argentines] will again be relegated to the sidelines.

Another important factor in the relations between Brazil and Argentina is the prospect of the latter's dependency on the former. It is in this context that the trade of Argentine corn for Brazilian manufactured steel goods should be viewed. In the past five years the production of Brazilian corn increased from 225 000 tons in 1965 to 2.2 million tons projected for this year. This will diminish Argentina's exports by 54%. The fact that the Eximbank has obtained a loan of \$500 000 000 for Brazil's steel industry crystallizes the social division of the work in which Argentina will not be permitted to supply its own steel.

## FUNDAMENTALS

The aggressiveness of Brazilian policy is the result of the clash between the upsurge and the depression of the domestic market. The exportation of manufactured goods in particular is today one of the chief objectives of the technocrats. Latin

America is just perfect for this kind of policy, in the same way as are other areas, such as South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, with which Brazil maintains "ideological frontiers" under the motto of "aggressive trade." The Treasury Minister very coolly stated that "Brazil is waging a war in foreign trade, that is to say it is endeavoring to replace other countries, by reducing their prospects."

For these plans to materialize it is necessary to have a "quiet and democratic (that is, capitalist) Latin America. In the words of Hugo Betlehem, ex-ambassador in Bolivia, who was expelled for conspiracy in that country:

I am frankly in favor of a form of intervention which the Brazilian imagination — so inventive of new formulas of political, social and economic coexistence among men — will be able to find for establishing relations between the nations, especially in the case of a family of nations like the Latin-American continent.

## WHO CAN OFFER MOST?

The fall of Juan José Torres has caused a fissure in the nationalist bloc of the Andean countries and has opened possibilities for the Brazilian offensive. Argentina, which under the guidance of Lonse has adhered to that bloc, now sees the means of restraining subimperialist expansion diminishing. Moreover, there is now a danger of jeopardizing the agreements on iron, gas, oil, pipelines and tin as well as of the support which had previously come from Bolivia against Brazil's claims in the Cuenca Barzer now asks the question: "Who can offer most?" and answers: "the one who needs most and can offer most. It will be no surprise if Bolivia changes partners and Brazil once again becomes its manager."

In their first press conference the Bolivian dictator and his Foreign Affairs Minister put forward the long-standing problem of an exit to the Pacific via Chile, which they referred to as a "sentimental and practical one. In the plans of the new regime the clash with Chile is not only an immediate desire but also an anticipated provocation. Since Chile has a socialist government, without physical or ideological frontiers with Brazil, a stepping-up of latent conflicts is discernible. The result of this might be that Brazil would back diplomatically and perhaps militarily Bolivia's maritime claims. Are not the words spoken in June by the Brazilian Minister of Education, Colonel Jerôas Passarinho, somewhat significant: "The Andes are not impassable."?

# COLOMBIAN GUERRILLA

by Ricardo Andino

**W**IDE is the map of the Colombian guerrillo and long is the road of its struggles, struggles of years.

At each bend of this road, at varied and distant points on this map of guerrillo geography, the indelible and still recent marks of heroic sacrifices, brilliant triumphs but also some sad defeats remain.

The history of the Colombian guerrillo registers lives of inestimable valor lost.

Illustrious men have fallen in combat, men of great intellectual renown such as Comilo Torres Restrepo, first guerrilla priest of South America.

Unknown, humble, valiant heroes have also fallen, men and women of the people, consecrated to the revolutionary struggle, who offered their lives for the cause of national liberation in order to throw off the yoke of imperialism and of the sepy oligarchy.

## The Guerrillas Resurge!

For some time, almost two years after 1969, guerrillo guns were silent in certain Colombian regions. From afar it was not easy to verify the causes of this silence.

The Colombian Government and the high military command sang of victory. They thought the silence in the former zones of struggle was the result of their apparatus and their costly campaign of supposed pacification.

The Colombian army, with weapons supplied by the Government of the United States and with the advice of the US military mission and some Israeli experts, applied the so-called civic-military action to the peasant regions considered to be the rear guard of the guerrilla movements. Millions of dollars were spent on infrastructure works, on various services and in copious propoganda.

Surprisingly, at the end of last September, the absent guerrillos reopened fire between the valley of Upper Magdalena and the tiers of the central range of the Andes in the hilly zone of the departments of Huila and Tolima in the south-central part of Colombia.

On other guerrillo fronts very far apart, in the northeast and northwest, guerrilla actions had never ceased although a certain limitation in their activities was to be observed. The belief on the part of the Colombian high military command that it controlled the guerrillo focuses and had them enclosed and subjected to the inevitable process of extinction was false. A mirage.

The graduates of the Panama Canal zone or of Fort Tolemaida in the north-east of Tolima (International Antiguerilla School), the veteran experts in counter-insurgency, had forgotten that the guerrilla, armed with revolutionary ideology



## COLOMBIA

Population: 18.8 million (+3.2% per year); 16.3 inhabitants per sq. km

Capital: Bogotá, 1,750,000

National currency: Peso = \$,111 (official rate)

Gross domestic product in 1965: approximately \$280 per inhabitant

Annual growth rate 1958-1965: 4.5%

Per capita consumption in 1964: Energy: 494 kg.; steel: 31 kg.

Major products: Coffee: 480,000 tons (second in the world);

maize: 1.1 million tons; tobacco: 43,000 tons; bananas, cotton;

crude oil: 8.5 million tons; gold: 11,000 kg.; steel: 200,000 tons;

tons.

Foreign trade 1965			
IMPORTS CIF	M SUS.	EXPORTS FOB	M S.U.S.
Food, beverages, tobacco	26	Coffee	344
Crude materials	38	Crude oil	88
Chemicals	72	Bananas	19
Manufactured goods	70	Refined petroleum products	8
Machinery, transportation equipment	206	Raw cotton	8
Miscellaneous manufactured goods	12		
Total .....	454	Total .....	539
PRINCIPAL SUPPLIERS		PRINCIPAL BUYERS	
U.S.A.	212	U.S.A.	252
West Germany	52	West Germany	63
United Kingdom	23	Netherlands	29
Canada	19	Trinidad and Tobago	28
Japan	16	Spain	25
Sveden	13	United Kingdom	21

and supported by a politicized peasant rear guard, is unbeatable.

Moreover, it appears that the General Command of the Armed Forces of Colombia was very unprepared or at least very confident of its apparent domination of the situation, when it again heard the voice of rifles and the staccato of machine guns in the woods and mountains of Colombia.

### Marching Toward Unity

Successive cables from Bogota transmitted by *Prensa Latina* provided news of the resurgent guerrilla over several weeks.

October 9. — The fourth anniversary of the assassination of Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara in Bolivia coincided in Colombia with the expansion of the guerrilla struggle in seven of the 22 departments (provinces) of the country, and in the district of Coqueta on the slope of the Amazon valley.

A communiqué distributed clandestinely in Bogota on the same day, October 8, announced the formation of the movement

known as the United Front of Guerrilla Action (FUAG), whose objective it is to coordinate the solidarity of the urban centers with the different guerrilla movements operating in the country: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), National Liberation Army (ELN), Popular Army of Liberation (EPL); and the uprising of the Guahibo Indians.

Some days earlier the bulletin *Resistencia*, organ of FARC whose leader is Comandante Manuel Marulanda Vélez, was also circulated clandestinely. In this edition there was a late report on a general guerrilla conference held in April of this year and in which a call for unity was issued. *Resistencia* said:

The fourth guerrilla conference decided to trace the first lines of strategic order on the basis of a military plan that calls for attacks on the fundamental supports of the regime, such as the economy, transportation, communications and the Armed Forces.

We are part of the people who struggle for change, and therefore we have decided to increase armed guerrilla action, in which we are





invincible because we have the support of the masses exploited by the pro-Yankee government.

We do not wish to fight with the democratic and progressive sectors of the Armed Forces, and on the contrary, call on them to join the rebel clergy, the struggling students, the fighting workers, the progressive intellectuals, the peasants, and all of us who suffer, who want a rich, proud, generous homeland and a just peace. Thus united, we will fight one and another battle until we win power!

### Colombia in a State of War

Another cable from Prensa Latina, on October 10, stated: "Colombia today is under a virtual state of war, with the application of stringent measures of military control dictated by the government of Misael Pastrano Borrero in order to confront the new peak of guerrilla actions and student and popular protests."

At the end of October, the FARC guerrillas, spread over the south in four detachments, those of ELN in Santander and César, and another FARC force above the Magdalena Valley in the center, carried out three ambushes, five assaults, the occupation of four towns, the destruction of a helicopter, seizure of an oil camp, and engaged in several battles.

The army and the police suffered numerous losses (14 deaths among junior officers and soldiers, 18 wounded, 12 prisoners and 10 missing), while the official communiqués only mentioned the losses on the part of the guerrillas, without any confirmation.

The present military mobilization is the best equipped and the most extensive in the past 20 years. Of the 10 brigades of the army, seven have troops on maneuver or are maintaining special vigilance over

most mountainous and wooded zones of enormous cost and with very few results, in a territory whose area is approximately 40 000 km<sup>2</sup>.

### The Guerrilla Map

Separated by enormous distances, in very different regions, in distinct ranges of the Andean orography, three different peasant guerrilla movements remain in arms, and in the Orinoco woods there is one Indian tribe.

The ELN, in whose ranks the priest Comilo Torres Restrepo fought, now has the Spanish priest Domingo Loín. Its commander is Fabio Vázquez Costoño, who works in the vast southern zone of Santander between the eastern range and the valley of the Magdalena, as well as the oil zone of Barrancabermeja.

The EPL includes various guerrillas displaced from the Upper Sinu, the Upper Son Jerge, the Ayapel slopes and zones of the Lower Cauca, to the south of Córdoba and the north of Antioquia.

FARC is the oldest peasant movement. Its commander is Manuel Marulanda Vélez, who at different stages has fought for almost 20 years continuously against the army. He now has four fronts: the northeast of Coqueta, the southwest of Huila, southeast of Tolimo and the northwest of Cundinamarca.

To appreciate the distances, it is enough to note that from Bogotá, the FARC is some 500 kilometers to the south and 300 kilometers to the northwest. The ELN is some 500 kilometers from Bogotá. The EPL is more than 700 kilometers from the capitol. The distance between FARC and EPL alone is more than 1000 kilometers, and between ELN and FARC, more than 800 kilometers. Between ELN and EPL the distance is 300 kilometers.

At dawn on November 19, 1968, a horrible explosion at the US Air Force Base, Kadena, shook the entire area around Naha, Okinawa. A strategic B-52 bomber taking off for the Viet Nam war zone crashed and its deadly cargo immediately exploded.

Overcoming their natural fear, the curious who approached the base viewed a scene which was at first incomprehensible to them: the emergency teams were moving precipitously, not toward

the flaming remains of the gigantic bomber but rather toward an area in the exact opposite direction, although close to the site of the disaster.

Incomprehension quickly gave way to the truth: the strategic bomber had crashed a short distance from one of the most carefully guarded spots in Okinawa, the Chibana munitions depot, where, as is publicly known, the North American occupation forces store their nuclear arms.

Had the course of the B-52 va-

# OKINAWA



ried slightly, possibly the entire population — close to a million inhabitants — of the largest island in the Ryukyu group would have been wiped out.

It is difficult to speak of the postwar period in Okinawa without recalling conditions in the islands when Japan surrendered to the United States.

On September 2, 1945, aboard the US warship *Missouri*, anchored in the bay of Tokyo, when the representatives of the Japanese Government signed the terms of unconditional Japanese surrender, under the Potsdam agreement, the drama of Okinawa had reached its zenith.

In March of 1944, a little more than a year before with some 100 000 soldiers stationed in the islands, the military commander, faced with the imminence or inevitability of US invasion, exhorted his troops "to die in an honorable defeat." In July of that

same year, the evacuation of the elderly, the women and the children was ordered and on August 22, when the *Tsushima Maru* sailed toward the main islands with its cargo of evacuees, a US submarine torpedoed it and 1700 children were drowned.

On March 26, 1945, the US armed forces disembarked on Kerama, one of the islands near Okinawa, and on April 1, they landed on the principal island. A new weapon of the epoch — the flame thrower — went into action.

On June 23, the Battle of Okinawa ended with the suicide of General Ujishima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, and the rest is a sinister revelation. In the battle, 12 500 US soldiers, 110 000 Japanese soldiers — a great number of them Okinawan forced conscripts — and 160 000 civilians living on the islands died.

If this was Okinawa's wartime quota, how much worse to have to provide a supporting sacrifice in the postwar period. While on the main Japanese islands the US occupation assumed other characteristics, in Okinawa the will of the conqueror and his aims, the imperialist domination of Asia, were unequivocally manifested.

Okinawa constituted and constitutes the ideal base from which US bombers can reach objectives in China, USSR, North Korea and all of Indochina. And if this characteristic is also applicable to other US bases in the area, there is an element that is special to Okinawa, and that is that the group of islands has the only US military installations in the Far East situated where Washington holds absolute control — that is to say, where it does not depend, as in Viet Nam or Korea, on the stability or instability of the puppet regime in office.

Because, since the end of the war, Okinawa has been ruled by a completely military government — the Military Administration of the Ryukyu Islands up to 1950 — and from then on, the Civil Administration whose supreme chief has always been the US High Commissioner designated by the US Secretary of Defense. And the General in command of the US armed forces stationed on the island has always remained under his jurisdiction.

A "Government of the Ryukyu Islands" has been set up, with a chief executive and a Diet; but the real power resides in the North American chief under Executive Order Number 10713, issued by the United States Government, which in section 11 (a) states:

The High Commissioner may, if such actions are considered necessary to the fulfillment of his mission, promulgate laws,



orders and regulations. The High Commissioner may, if such action is considered important in its direct or indirect effects on the security of the Ryukyu Islands, or on relations with foreign countries and international organizations concerning the Ryukyu Islands, or US foreign relations or on the security, the property or interests of the United States or its nationals, in relation to the laws, decrees and functions, depending on the case:

- 1) veto whatever decree or whatever part or portion thereof;
- 2) annul whatever law or whatever part or portion of it within 45 days following its promulgation; and
- 3) remove any public official from his post.

The High Commissioner could assume totally or partially, the exercise of complete authority

over the islands if such assumption of authority is considered essential for reasons of security.

It was with these powers that, on October 1, 1949, the day on which the People's Republic of China was born, Major General Sheets became High Commissioner of the Ryukyus and started the construction of permanent military installations on the islands, for the financing of which the Government of the United States would have to approve an initial budget of \$50 000 000.

#### The San Francisco Peace Treaty

April 28 is "Okinawa Day." On this day, in 1952, the San Francisco Peace Treaty went into effect, signed by 49 countries on September first of the preceding year in that US city.

For the Okinawans, April 28 is really the day of humiliation. Japan recovered its independence

in exchange for the martyred islands, first in war, then in peace. John Foster Dulles, the ineffable creator of the "policy of containment" of the People's Republic of China, put his seal on clause 3 of the Treaty. Under this clause the United States reserved the right to request control over the islands through a United Nations trusteeship. In any case, Washington would exercise complete and unlimited rule over the Ryukyus.

In addition to this grotesque figure of international "law," Dulles added that Japan would retain a "residual sovereignty" over the dismembered territory. Never has anyone been able to explain the significance of the term "residual sovereignty" to which Dulles gave birth.

Moreover, the true monstrosity was the contradictory position in which the Okinawa inhabitants remained. From the point of

view of the US Government of the Ryukyus, the Japanese — except for those on Okinawa itself — are foreigners and require permission of the authorities to visit the islands. From the point of view of Japan, the Okinawans are Japanese who need fulfill no requisites at all to visit the other Japanese islands. Nevertheless, the US military authorities can — and have done so against opponents of the occupation — deny Okinawans permission to leave Okinawa.

A well-known case is that of Kamejiro Senaga, President of the People's Party and recently elected representative to the Japanese Diet who on 16 occasions was refused permission to leave Okinawa.

North American civilians, for their part, can enter and leave the Ryukyu Islands freely although they need permission to prolong their stay more than



30 days. Moreover, they can be arrested only by the military police, while the Okinawans can be arrested by the US military police and by the Ryukyu island police as well.

This is the situation for the Japanese citizens who live in Okinawa, under the stipulations of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. This is why April 28 is the day of humiliation for Okinawans.

#### Bases on Stolen Land

According to data available, up to 1969 there were 117 North American military bases on Okinawa occupying 311 km<sup>2</sup>, or 44% of the arable land of the island territory.

On these lands, the US militarists have constructed not only airfields, military depots and installations of various kinds, but also football fields, golf courses, swimming pools and other areas of recreation, and housing zones. Forty thousand small, middle and large landowners have been dispossessed in order to lodge this gigantic North American suburb.

Here is an anecdote that illustrates how these lands passed into North American hands.

On December 5, 1963, in the morning, the peasants of the village of Gushikawa had a disagreeable surprise when they reached their plots of land for their habitual daily work. Their sweet potatoes and cabbage, ready to be harvested, were uprooted and mixed with the tossed earth on both sides of a new road opened through the fields. Some

300 meters away the motors of a bulldozer roared, while the operator, engrossed in his labor, scarcely noted the presence of the astonished witnesses. When the operator of the machine ignored the peasants' pleas urging him to stop the destruction, they went back to the village and rang the bells of the Government House and called together all the inhabitants of the village to tell them what had happened. A little later, several hundred men, women and children, interrupted the work in the fields and the bulldozer operator, intimidated by the presence of so many people, stopped the machine around which the protesters had gathered to prevent it from working, and to demand the presence of the zonal military commander, one Ogden.

But Ogden didn't come. Instead, 300 soldiers armed with rifles appeared in several trucks, one of which carried a machine gun which was promptly set in place on a nearby hill. The soldiers immediately fired on the peasant group, the women and children, and beat them with the butts of their rifles until they drove them off the land after a fierce but useless resistance.

There was no compensation for the loss of their crops, since the land requisitioned was destined for the construction of an installation vital to the "free world." It was there that the airport of Naha was built, the same one over which a B-52 blew up at dawn on November 19, 1963, the day on which a million inhabitants of Okinawa were on the brink of extinction.

## Boomerang for Israel

Oswaldo Ortega

Tasir Kubaa, 36 years old and president of the Palestinian Students' Union, was arrested on December 20, 1967, five days after participating in the sabotage of an Israeli civilian airliner from Lidea, between Ramallah and Tel Aviv, along with an infiltrated commando group.

Frequently seized by stomach cramps contracted during his confinement, Kubaa sometimes paces back and forth while reliving for us some of the things that happened to him during the three years and 18 days that he was held in different Israeli prisons.

BEFORE THE June 5 war I was asked by the Front to work in international student circles. I participated in many international student meetings to defend the rights of the Palestinian people. Shortly after the conflict it was decided that it would be a good idea if I started working in occupied territory to awaken the political consciousness of our peasants and refugees, and to organize the students in resistance against the occupation. In other words, it was necessary to organize strikes, meetings, protests, demonstrations. Though petit bourgeois we had a revolutionary ideology but it was necessary to test ourselves and the ideology by putting them into action.

After receiving brief military training a group of us crossed over to the West Bank of the Jordan River at Kerameh, on August 3, 1967.

Our mission: to establish direct contact with our people in the occupied territory. We were initiating our clandestine work; during our penetration we had numerous encounters with the Israeli watch-dog patrols.

How were you taken prisoner? Did someone give you away?

I don't believe so. One of the lessons that I've learned through my arrest is that nobody should know the identity of someone who's carrying out an infiltration, not even those who want to help. I attribute my capture to some indiscretion, some excess of confidence on the part of someone who felt secure because we were right next to them in Jerusalem, the very heart of the occupation, yet in spite of this we could still operate against the enemy.

When they knocked at the door I

was lying down. They spoke in Arabic. I thought perhaps some of my comrades were returning but they didn't give me a chance to get up. They broke into the room violently. They were Israeli soldiers and without saying anything they started beating me up while they searched the room.

"Where are the weapons and the men under your command?"

"You are mistaken. I don't know what you're talking about. I'm just a peasant. I'm just in Jerusalem for a few days of fun."

"It's useless, don't lie. You're an officer and we know it."

"Here's my identity card," I said handing them a false Israeli identity card.

After they hit and handcuffed me they pulled me out of the room and took me in a jeep to Maskobeia prison, formerly a Russian Orthodox church whose cells of prayer have been turned into torture chambers, since the time of the June War.

They stripped me of my clothes and handcuffed and naked, I was whipped by eight Israeli agents in a circle around me. When I lost my balance and fell on one of them they would push me on another. They tried constantly to get me to confess. They beat me for more than six hours, until I fainted. Then they placed me on my back, with my raised legs thrust through the back of a chair and started hitting the soles of my feet with a stick. When this brought no results, they changed methods: an officer showed up but he was apparently opposed to applying electric shocks on different parts of my body to force me to confess. He argued with them and finally ordered them to leave the room and leave me alone with

him. He then approached me in a friendly way and offered me cigarettes; he said he was sure that I was a good boy; that he swore by the honor of the Israeli Army that if I helped him he would keep the secret, that he was only interested in knowing where the weapons were hidden and where the men under my command could be found. I repeated what I had said when I was captured; that I had never seen a pistol in my life except in the movies. He took down my statement and asked me to sign it. I told him I didn't know how to write. Then he said that I should place my thumbprint at the end of the statement.

"Do you want to work with me?" he insisted until the end.

"I'm afraid they will kill me," I answered playing along.

"The work you must do is not dangerous. We will release you and you will be in charge of denouncing the guerrillas. Look, here's a pack of cigarettes for you [the best brand] to help you in thinking it over."

I thought to myself that they place a cheap price on treason.

When he left he ordered that I be put in a cell until the following morning.

During the time I was in that cell a multitude of feverish thoughts assaulted my imagination. I imagined how, if I pretended to agree to his demands, he would free me; then I would manage to escape his guards and join my comrades; we would laugh and make fun of the captors. At the most intense moment of delirium I heard footsteps: it was the military police. They stopped in front of the cell bars, aiming their UZZI submachine guns at me. Some of them came in; they handcuffed me once again, blindfolded



(The Palestine Commandos (left) the Jordan line, to occupy Palestine to attack on Israel) The story of the 1000 the birds by Mustafa Hama, II

"هذا ليس فلسطينيان. هم من نور الأردن (بالأرض الصنم) لقدونا بصلية نصف ساعة إسرائيليا. في السك طائرات، عصافير تفرط. على الشجرة رسم مصطفى حامي السنة

me and pushed me out of the cell and through the prison corridors with sharp curt words of "left," "right," "forward." They put me in a jeep and moved me to another building within Jerusalem. When they took the bandage from my eyes I was in a luxurious room. I was alone for a while and then some 20 Israeli officers appeared, among them a colonel whose accent was obviously German and who led the interrogation.

"How are you, Taisir Kubaa?"

His calling me by my name disconcerted me. They had discovered my identity.

"You've been to Munich, haven't you?"

I remained silent.

"I'm from Munich," he said.

My steady silence irritated one of the officers, who struck me in the face and ordered me to answer.

"How can I answer when I don't

speak Hebrew?" I said.

They exchanged glances. Actually the colonel had spoken to me in English from the beginning, but I insisted on playing the game though I knew I was lost.

The Colonel repeated very slowly three times the same greeting: "How are you, Taisir Kubaa. President of the Palestinian Student Union?" Through a subtle psychological game he was trying to convince me that it was useless for me to continue to lie and that I should put all my cards on the table. While he awaited my reaction he opened up the file he was carrying and started to read it next to me so that I would see the newspaper clippings with my pictures and statements during the period of international meetings and congresses

"OK I'm Taisir Kubaa. What do

you want from me?"

"We don't want anything," replied the Colonel, "at any rate, what do you want from us?"

"Me? I want to resist the invader."

"You are really a man, my friend. But what use is it for you to continue to deny the weapons and the men under your command? Confess, once and for all; where are they?"

"I don't know what you are talking about. I've just arrived in Jerusalem. I haven't even been able to establish contact with the students."

"Taisir, how is it possible that being an educated young man, you've resigned your post abroad and have come here to risk your life?"

"I don't belong to the traditional Palestinian leadership. I have an ideology that forces me to return here and fight against the invader."

"I'm not here to discuss politics," he grumbled, the muscles of his face stiffening, and then demanded once again, to no avail, that I reveal the information.

"If you don't confess I'll send you to a place you won't return from alive."

The situation was very tense. The officers remained silent and attentive during the interrogation.

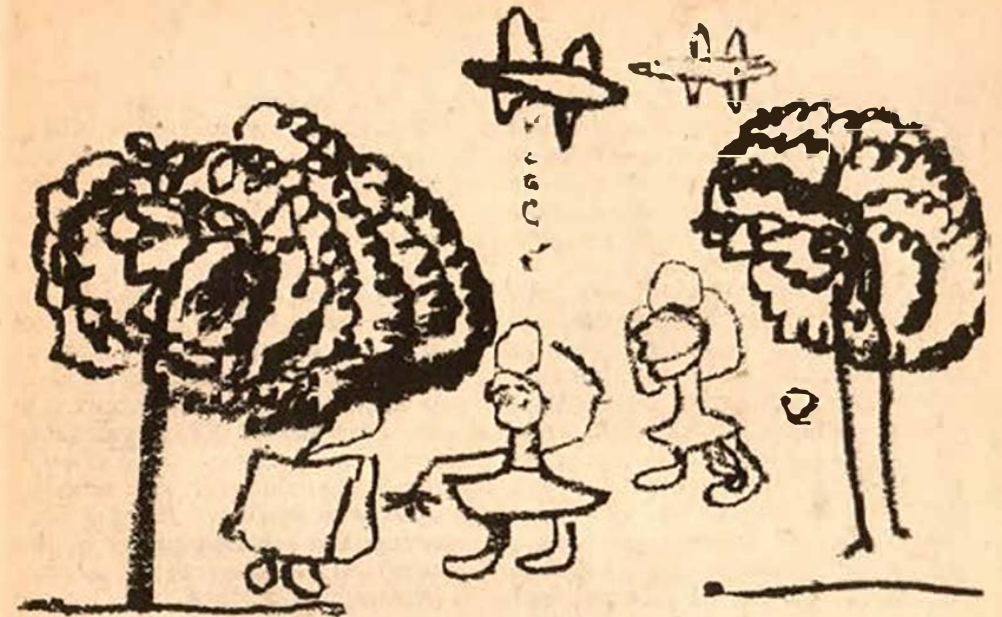
"Before crossing the Jordan I knew I was risking my life and I crossed it."

"You are obsessed."

"That's right — with defending my rights."

They transferred me to the Sarafand concentration camp, in Ramallah. They locked me up in a cell of 1.80 square meters, where I couldn't

even stretch my legs. I had to remain with my legs bent whenever I lay down to rest. The floor was my bed, and I had a dirty blanket for cover. There was a ghastly stink from the sewer coming from the other cells. My cell also served as my bathroom. Since no light entered, I lost track of time. They tortured me sporadically. They would stand me on a stool and hang me, handcuffed, from a ceiling hook; they would then pull the stool away and I would hang like a piece of meat in a butchershop. Then they would whip me to force me to confess. Many Palestinian prisoners have remained partially or totally paralyzed as a result of these savage tortures that lacerate the joints and muscles. They applied electric shock to various parts of my body, including my genitals. They used my hands as ashtrays for their cigarettes. They even resorted to police dogs. The guards would egg them on, and their eyes blazed with fury. They would whip them and their drooling mouths and enormous teeth almost touched me. Since they were not allowed to bite in my case, they would paw the air tearing my clothes and scratching my skin. With what remained of my notion of time, I think it was night when they used to shoot their dying victims or those "obsessed" prisoners whose unwillingness to collaborate made them lose their patience. Screams of pain and desperation, sobs of impotence would make those hours seem interminable. One of those nights I listened, horrified, to them torturing a child. His voice was unmistakable; he begged for mercy in the name of Mohammed, of Allah and even of Issa (Christ); that night I couldn't contain myself any longer and cried as I had never cried during those endless hours of torture. After 17



رسم هالة توفيق  
By Hala Toufik. 7

long days of this useless effort to break me physically and morally, they changed methods once again.

"We've been ordered to leave you alone but you must sign this document acknowledging that you have not been tortured."

"Have I been tortured or not?"

"Yes, somewhat."

I would have expected the torturing of prisoners from anybody, but never from Jews who once suffered the same identical tribulations from the fascists. How is it possible for victims to turn into torturers, not of those who were responsible for the suffering but of others who are completely innocent of the cruelties they suffered?

Of course, I refused to sign. From Sarafand, they took me back to the former church of Maskobeia, in Jerusalem, and placed me in a cell — scarcely large enough for three people — together with four other prisoners, who had been captured

three or four days before. When I told them who I was they told me there was an intense campaign of solidarity in the Arab nations and throughout the world by progressive student and youth organizations demanding my freedom. Then I understood why they had ceased to torture me, and why they were so anxious for me to sign the document absolving them from any responsibility for the tortures they had inflicted on me. From Maskobeia they transferred me to Ramallah. On April 20, 1968, four months after my capture, they tried me before a military court. They asked me to choose an Israeli lawyer to defend me. I refused. The Union of Democratic Lawyers and the International Union of Students had offered the names of various lawyers to assume my defense.

"If you don't allow those lawyers

to defend me, I will defend myself."

They did not yield. They charged me with infiltration and affiliation with an illegal organization. The international and Arab press campaign, and the mobilization of student and youth movements prevented them from carrying out their trial behind closed doors as they had wanted in the beginning. Foreign journalists and consular representatives from Jerusalem attended the trial as well as a good number of Palestinians, men and women from the West Bank who sympathize with our cause. Israel wanted to condemn the resistance through me, and I wanted to condemn the occupation through the judges. I rejected both charges when I had to defend myself.

"I did not infiltrate into any foreign territory. I returned to my country via Amman-Jerusalem, exactly as an Egyptian would go from Alexandria to Cairo, or a Chinese from Peking to Shanghai. There are various means of transportation: trains, airplanes, buses, but I like to walk. I'm poor and I can't afford such means of transportation so I decided to walk at night which allowed me to enjoy the scenery, the moon and the stars, aside from saving money. You, gentlemen of the jury, are the real infiltrators. You infiltrated my country and murdered my people. You are really the ones who should be sitting in the dock and I should be judging you."

They moved uneasily in their chairs and began shouting for me to shut up.

"I'm my own lawyer and I have every right to develop this thesis in my defense. I also reject the

second charge.

"I'm not a member of an illegal organization; I'm a member of a progressive group which is recognized by revolutionary forces all over the world as a national liberation movement and which struggles against imperialism and its servants. You, gentlemen of the jury, are the ones who belong to an illegal organization. Zionism is a fascist, racist organization at the service of US imperialism; for those reasons the charges made against me are actually against yourselves. Third, I don't accept the legal authority of this court. It has been named and appointed by a state that I don't recognize. I am here under duress in a military rather than a civil court."

"If you want your sentence to be less severe, it is advisable that you stop your political agitation."

"I don't care if you sentence me to life imprisonment. It would be a reward for my inflexible attitude toward the occupying forces. The day will come when you will be judged for your actions, and not only by the Palestinian people. I can assure you the judges won't be Christian or Moslem. They will be Jews like yourselves, but honest, progressive Jews, enemies of Zionism."

They threatened to order me from the courtroom and to continue the trial in absentia if I continued the same type of defense.

"This is Ramallah. This is my city, my country. You are the ones who must leave. Ask those present which one of us should leave."

The public broke into applause. Some of the women cried and others began to boo the prosecution. The court then threatened to empty the

room.

"Gentlemen, you must calm yourselves. First, you throw them out of their country and now you are going to throw them out of this room."

The authorities, having lost all control, called in the military police and ordered them to take me out. I refused to move. They had to carry me out. The trial continued in my absence. A group of officers and the major communicated my sentence to me in my cell: three years. When they gave me my sentence for me to sign, I refused.

"I don't accept this sentence or any other given by such a court. You can cut off my hand and sign with it if you like, but as long as I live I will never sign of my own will."

"Sign and within a few months you can appeal and we will release you."

"The only thing I will do is to ask my people to increase the struggle."

I was in solitary confinement in the Ramallah prison for more than six months. They then moved me to the Nablus Central Prison with more than 600 political prisoners. More than 90% of them were peasants and workers and the rest were students and professionals. There I started to work in the clandestine organization. I learned there that a revolutionary can be useful not only in freedom but in prison. Political, cultural and ideological educational groups were created among that vast mass of prisoners, who had magnificent human qualities: they organized movements to improve prison conditions, they began to participate in the celebration of patriotic Arab and international dates, such as the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth; political

study circles discussed subjects such as the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions. An underground network to detect and bring to justice the "stool pigeons" was effectively established.

In August 1970 I was returned to the Ramallah prison together with 400 other prisoners, and I was marked as one of the main political agitators in the Nablus Central Prison. In Ramallah, I was totally isolated from the rest of the prisoners. They placed me in a cell with Bruno Broget, 19 years old, the Swiss patriot of the Popular Liberation Front who was arrested during a frustrated assault in Tel Aviv and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Once in a while they would approach me offering my release if I "voluntarily" abandoned the West Bank, but they always obtained the same negative response.

On January 6 of this year they unexpectedly took me from my cell, blindfolded me and put me in a jeep, and drove for quite a while on an unpaved bumpy road, which had us bouncing on our seats; the wheels of the jeep raised such heavy clouds of dust that it penetrated our throats and lungs and caused a continuous, dry cough. When the jeep stopped and they removed the bandage from my eyes, I saw that we were in an arid region. There were other prisoners in other jeeps, and by the comments we gathered that we were in the Negev desert! They took our belongings from us and pushed us in the direction we were to walk. We obeyed. After two hours of walking in the desert a Jordanian patrol saw us and took us prisoner. They kept us ten days in prison and afterwards released us.

# Notes on the Cultural Life of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

Peter Weiss

Much has been written about Viet Nam. Seldom a day goes by without some news in the papers, on radio, television and film reporting the napalm burning of some Vietnamese village, a B-52 bombing attack against the South or the North, the repression of some group of students or monks in Saigon, of women raped, prisoners tortured, etc. . . deeds which, with the force of repetition, make daily and almost normal that which undoubtedly constitutes the most monstrous and merciless crime in the annals of contemporary history: the Yankee imperialist war against the people of Viet Nam. Then this book on Viet Nam by Peter Weiss reaches us (once more Viet Nam), notable precisely for its quality of going beyond the monotonous compilation of names, figures, dates, locations, quotations, etc., variations on the theme, to penetrate deeply into the history, poetry, the whole culture of the Vietnamese people. And when we finish reading it we feel greater admiration for these men and women and righteous indignation against their aggressors.

From the book by the German dramatist — well-known for his documentary theater works — among them *Marat-Sade* and *The Investigation* (this last on the trials of Nazi war criminals) — we have selected two chapters: "Tradition, Ceremonials, Poetics" and "Raw Material for a Poem by To Huu." One need add only this commentary by Peter Weiss on his return from the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam: "When, after the air attacks, I saw the peasants of Viet Nam reconstructing their highways and dams with rocks and mud, when I saw them up to their knees in the mud with their clothes muddy and great hunks of mud in their hands, I had no doubt as to whether the man deep in the mud was more developed, more dignified, and superior, or whether it was that other one up there in his million-dollar machine."

NGUYEN DINH THU, writer, commissar in the people's army, wearing a green uniform, tells us about his daily work, which takes him on extensive travels through the country. He offers some instances illustrative of the patience, understanding, and watchfulness needed in carrying out reforms.

Here and there he will run into the spokesman of a village committee or a cooperative who cannot break away from the role of village elder. Sometimes these people are little tyrants. It is hard for them to give up their patriarchal thinking. Once Ho Chi Minh visited a certain village. Right away he noticed the attitude of the local party secretary. He said to the assembled villagers: "When the party secretary has a birthday, do you slaughter a pig?" The answer was yes. Then he asked, "And you get some of it?" Again he got a yes. "And what is it exactly that you get?" Then most of them began to get the drift of his questioning. When he said, "You get the intestines while the party secretary eats the head and the hams," it was confirmed amid laughter and led to an important insight.

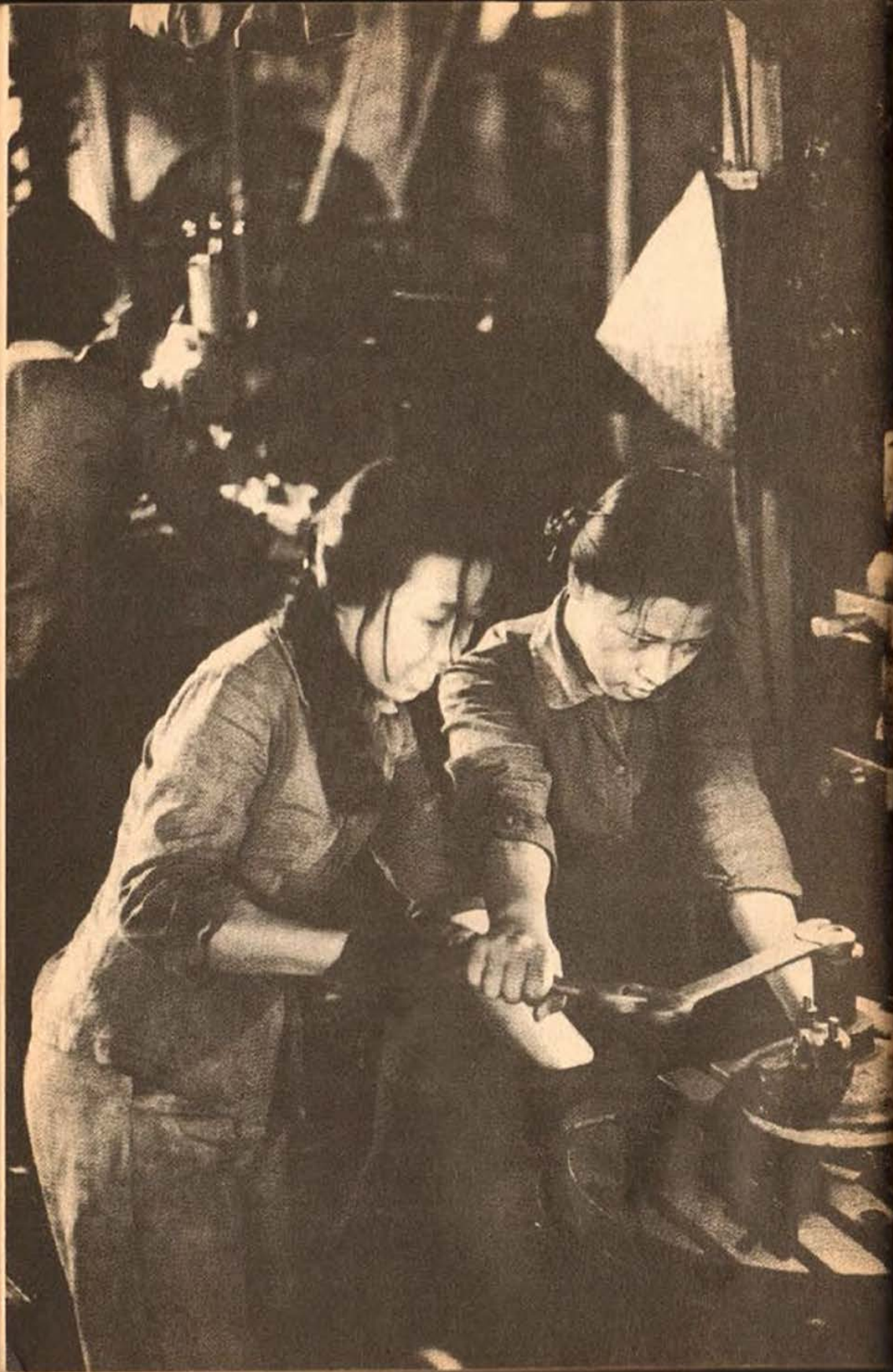
Often ambitious engineers come to the villages. They have studied at the technical high school. They set up their instruments and survey the land. Then they mark out canals and dikes straight as a string, with catastrophic results. The terrain is uneven, the fields form a mosaic apparently without rule or system. Yet the way they are irrigated and diked conforms closely to the varying elevations of the landscape. Thanks to ancient tradition the peasants have succeeded, by means of ingenious devices, in keeping each piece of land under the same depth of water whether it is high or low, here by using an inlet ditch, there one that drains away.

Then along comes the young engineer, full of enthusiasm, thinking on a big scale, in terms of the collective economy, of uniform means of transport, yet when he puts his well grounded ideas to work it turns out that the old system is still better, at least for the time being. Before rationalization suitable for a modern industrial state can be applied, basic transformations of patchwork surfaces must be carried out. Similarly it turns out that water buffalo, before new methods can be introduced in times of peace, is still the best source of power in working the rice fields. Like the peasants, he is used to flooded ground, while tractors and combines sink in the muck.

Cultist practices in the villages are slow to change and adapt to modern times. In earlier days ancestral graves were located all over family land. The Vietnamese peasant wants to be buried in the ground that he has lived on and built up all his life. Now cemeteries are being set up on the edge of the hamlets. This practice began with burying dead soldiers in these places, often with merely putting up symbolic markers for those whose bodies could not be brought to the cemetery for burial.

When a wedding was being planned the families of the couple were called into conference. The oldest members had to make the decision and all the pertinent agreements. Today most young people are far away from their families. If they are not in military service they are working in the factories and workshops. In that case the factory party secretary sometimes substitutes for the family head. Wearing his best clothes, with a white shirt and tie, in the name of the young man he





looks up the foreman of the section where the girl works, who has been forewarned about this ceremonial visit. To him he delivers the suitor's request. The marriage offer is then passed on to the girl by the foreman.

The patterns of social relationships, to be sure, are changing, starting with the younger generation; young men and women work and serve side by side in the economic and military units, they study together, in the construction battalions boys and girls work together on the roads, dams, and bridges; they have come a long way along the road from an agrarian society to an industrial state, yet the new situation is carefully weighed against the demands of tradition and ceremony. Even this ever-increasingly urbanized culture retains certain of the characteristics and patterns that have kept the foundations of the rural society intact.

In a country exposed to constant annihilatory attack, where production is carried on with great difficulty and is makeshift, it is important to hold on to every institution from the past bearing witness to the life force of the people. Social intercourse, for example, is marked by mutual politeness, by an appreciation of older people, by friendliness toward children. This behavior determines the social tone and makes for security, pride, and calm. It leaves its mark on facial expressions, on gestures. It makes for the smiles and laughter accompanying every conversation.

The city, the center exposed to comprehensive destruction, its outskirts growing out of ruins and rubble, smashed bridges and roads, also has its special tone, which reverberates in waves through the streets. This sound is composed of the many voices, of the whispering passage of many bicycles, the dingling of many bicycle bells, the shrilling of the cicadas and bits of song sung or whistled, fragments always leading on to bits of another melody. The young girls, riding two to a bike or walking arm in arm down the street, wear their long hair hanging down their backs or braided under wide, pointed straw hats. The young men in military uniforms, tropical helmets camouflaged with leaves, also often walk hand in hand or one with his hand on the other's shoulder. Their rubber-soled sandals make their steps soundless. Conversation among the men is intimate, almost delicate, and they embrace on meeting and give each other a brotherly kiss on parting, and among the women, too, there is a similar physical intimacy, yet men and women keep their distance when they meet or converse. Only in the parks, by the lake, do couples sit holding hands, he with his military gear at his side, she in her working-girl's blouse.

There is no visit, no conversation, that does not begin with the tea-drinking ceremony and questions about health and family, about the age of the children, about their interests and what they want to do when they grow up. The general image of the person one is talking with is first established before one comes to questions of politics, sociology, art, and literature. As these preliminaries proceed a sense of relaxation arises, a social relationship is projected, one feels oneself to be in the home of a host who is concerned about his guest's well-being, whether

the meeting occurs in an official institution or in a jungle hut. Involved in this willingness to come halfway, in this openness toward each other, is a practical awareness. Extreme punctuality is expected of the visitor, the visit is limited to a definite span of time, and there is no opportunity for improvisation.

These modes of behavior, at once polite and strict, intimate but disciplined, are reflected in speech, prose, and poetry.

The word "I" has 15 different variations, depending on whom you are talking to. With a superior, an older person, the way of expressing "I" is different from that with a friend, a younger person. With his students the teacher refers to himself not as "I" but as "the teacher." "I" = *Tô* also means "servant" and in earlier times was used as a sign of submission.

There is no "you" and "thou." When addressing someone else the third person is used — e.g.: "I say to the honorable sir" = *Cu* or "I say to the comrade" = *Dông Chi*. The husband addresses his wife as "younger sister" = *Em*, the wife her husband as "older brother" = *Anh*.

Even today in the villages children are not addressed by their own names. Out of respect for the spirits, which may do a child harm or kidnap him, a cover name is used. A girl whose name means "pearl" is addressed as "cow." The child is aware that he has another given name but responds to the nickname. Thus, the spirits are outwitted. Avoidance of the given name can lead to the following ceremonial exchange:

The wife calls out to the rice field: Who calls for whom

The husband answers: Who is who

The wife shouts back: Who calls and to whom does someone answer

The husband calls: Who answers

The woman responds: He who calls for his wife.

In the monosyllabic Vietnamese language most words have six meanings. Only by tonal variation can these differences within the word be brought out:

*Ma*, with a falling sound: But

*Ma*, with a rising sound: Cheek

*Ma*, drawn out: Horse

*Ma*, interrogatively: Coffin

*Ma*, short: Bush

*Ma*, tonelessly: To play

The words of the Vietnamese language, simple in their basic form, rich in intonations, arising out of pictorial symbols, still preserving their ideographic character, are used poetically in a way that makes translation difficult. Because of the lack of verbs the meanings of words are established through context. The rich possibilities of rhyme and word play come out both in songs and in conversation. In the so-called frog poem one sentence hops to the next: the first speaker sets the theme, the second has to cap it in rhyme, the third must continue it, and so on, until the last one in the round brings it to a conclusion.

In the villages during the harvesting, while the rice is being threshed or during other activities, choruses and single voices can often be heard, singing to one another and being answered in verse. Here it happens the rhymes are often constructed in a four-syllable measure.

The classic poetic form consists of successive six- and eight-syllable lines. Within each line there is a precisely measured rhythm of soft and hard intonations. The rhyme jumps from the last syllable of the six-syllable line to the sixth syllable of the eight-syllable line, and from the last syllable at the end of the line, where a new rhyme is established, to the end of the following six-syllable line.

— — — — — +  
 — — — — — + — +  
 — — — — — +  
 — — — — — + — +

Or, in a variation:

— — — — — +  
 — — — + — — — +  
 — — — — — +  
 — — — + — — — +

Nguyen Dinh Thi calls this rhythm, this melody, which is found all through the Vietnamese language, the lyric wind.

The greatest of the classical poems, *Kieu*, is known everywhere through oral transmission. This work, by Nguyen Du, was written at the beginning of the 19th century, when the feudal masters were reestablishing their power with France's help. It describes the way a woman leaves her lover and sells herself into a brothel to pay off her family's debts. Behind the succession of woes that carry her to the brink of death and finally to miraculous salvation stands Vietnamese society itself at the beginning of the capitalist stage, although here moved back into Middle Kingdom times. The people recognized themselves in the sufferings of *Kieu*. In difficult times people have turned to the poem as to some book of miracles and would have their future told by a soothsayer from words picked out at random.

French, English, and German translations offer renderings of varying value but bring across nothing, unfortunately, of the poem's peculiar melodic quality.

An example should clarify the word structure of a few lines of the *Kieu* poem:

<b>Buon</b> Sadness Sadly	trong. look I look see her	cuá/bien door harbor sea	chieu evening	hom late				
<b>Thuyen</b> Boat Boats	ai which to which belong	thap appears	thoáng vanishes	cánh wing	buom xa sail far	xa far wide		
<b>Huon</b> Sadness Sadly	trong look I look see her	ngon peak peaks	nước water waves	moi new again again and again	sa sink foam			
<b>Hoa</b> Flower Flowers	troi put forth	man without	mác end aimless	biet know unknown	la be	ve where whither	dau where	
<b>Buon</b> Sadness Sadly	trong look I look see her	ngon peak peaks	co grass grasses stalks	ráo withered	ráo wither dried up			
<b>Chen</b> Foot	may cloud sky horizon	mat face	nước water water surface	mot mau a color flowing together		xanh blue	xanh blue	
<b>Buon</b> Sadness Sadly	trong look I look see her	gió wind	cuon tear fall	mat face	nhanh quick heavily			
<b>Am</b> make noise	am make noise  roar	tieng voice	song river	len rise  rises up	quanh about  all about  circle about	ghe chair  place	ngoi sit  sitting place	



Nguyen Dinh Thi says, "Whenever I hear this verse, shivers run through me."

The politician or soldier who also writes has always been a familiar figure in Viet Nam. A deep relationship to poetry is a characteristic of the people. Everybody can repeat excerpts from the Kieu epic in recitative. Contemplating this country's powers of resistance, again and again we are struck by its cultural continuity.

#### Raw Material for a Poem by To Huu

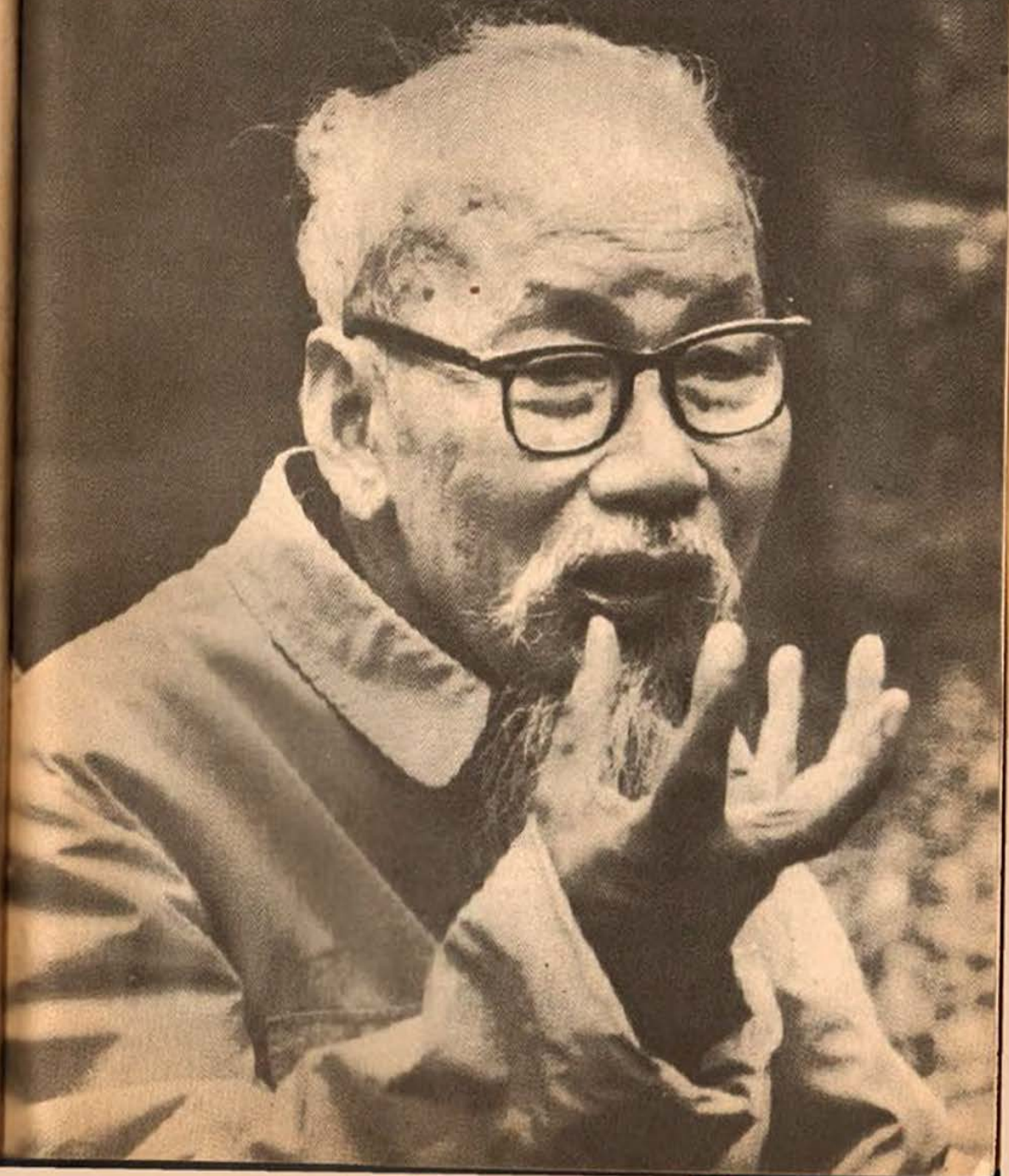
To Huu was born in 1920 in Hue. At the age of 16 he entered the underground struggle. At 25 he successfully led the uprising at Hue. Since 1960 he has been one of the party secretaries. Many see in him the country's leading poet. His voice has developed with the revolution. Schooled in political struggle from early years, he is always seeking a synthesis: to translate the intensity of his own experience and vision into concrete, everyday language.

After the victory over French colonialism he belonged, as a party member, to the faction of the dissatisfied and much criticized. At that time most of the writers and artists who had taken part in the resistance struggle had changed their calling and way of life. They had become government officials, functionaries, army cadre leaders. They were, moreover, subject to strict military discipline, which permitted scarcely any activity. When they demanded conditions necessary for their work they ran into bureaucratic lack of understanding.

In 1955 there was a fundamental discussion in the writers union of authors' working conditions and beyond this of the question of freedom to publish, evoked by negative reaction to the poems of To Huu. His collection of poems entitled Viet Bac, it was said, lacked class character, represented a petit-bourgeois kind of poetry, did not reflect reality, and rather lost itself in dark pessimistic images.

This discussion, in the course of which the party leadership admitted to having made mistakes in matters of literature and art, was additionally colored by an awareness of blunders in land reform. The attitude that led to the reversal of error with respect to art and literature is expressed in a proclamation of Ho Chi Minh's in August 1956 criticizing false measures in land reform: "Mistakes must be made good energetically and systematically. Mistakes that can be corrected at once must be corrected at once. Mistakes which cannot be made good at once must be made good after appropriate investigation. We must consolidate our success and eliminate defects."

To Huu's opposition to intellectual narrowness, to bureaucracy, and also his eternally watchful self-criticism all carry weight when the relationship between policy and art and the socialist thesis of party direction of artists come up for discussion. The argument about basis and superstructure, about the need for an unequivocal political system and the creation of realistic art forms to protect it, is still undecided. In this dispute the party leadership is receptive to argument, but the function-



aries are often unyielding. Conflicts like this are unavoidable in a country in which art is losing its private, subjective, speculative character and taking on a social, pedagogic, and ethical meaning.

To Huu:

Art cannot be regulated by one single decision.

During the last twenty years we have tried in our writings to bring to light the thought and poetry of the people, for in the people is found our democratic tradition, beneath the overlay of the culture of the privileged classes.

In our political effort we have succeeded in assimilating this democratic idiom. In literary work we have only partially succeeded. Art and literature progress more slowly than politics. Our political and military weapons are superior to our poems in swiftness and striking power.

The fighter planes in the sky drown out our words.

On this account our tradition of resistance still finds strongest expression in the salvos of our cannon and in our fighting men.

There is trust in the rifle, the cannon, the hand grenade. Our words carry elements of uncertainty. Our military operations are precisely synchronized, one after the other. Our writing is a slow circling about, a listening, an answering, as on the Hat Cheo stage.

We speak the language of the peasants. A language rich in invention but quite limited.

We live far from the advanced world. There are many things we understand only imperfectly. We do not know how life is in the developed countries. We do not know what the conditions are there for the struggle.

Being situated far from the advanced world there is only one possibility for us. The possibility of using force.

For us there is no path through legalism. We began the struggle in extreme degradation. From degradation we have progressed to poverty. From poverty we are working out for ourselves the basic values of existence. There is much we do not understand.

We do not understand those who measure everything in terms of money.

We ask ourselves, what else do they have besides money when they come parachuting down on our country.

Our struggle is different from the one in the Soviet Union, different from the one in China, in Cuba. Before us lies the Pacific Ocean, and its name is betrayal. From it comes everything that threatens us, all our pain.

Behind us, the mountains. Here we must live, between sea and mountains. Here we must hold fast, for us there is no long march; we must cling to our own soil.

We have not laid siege to the cities from the countryside. We have used the strength of the cities. The peasants' struggle has been united with the workers' armed resistance in the cities.

In Cuba the suffering of the people was the same as our suffering. Yet there the historical process preceding the revolution was much short-

er, smaller. We love Cuba very much in her hour of danger.

We talk a lot about patriotism. But what we are fighting for is the small man's patriotism, local patriotism. We don't ever forget that in this war for unity the workers' parties of the world are at stake.

While we are fighting we always keep in mind this great latent strength. We think of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals of Europe and America. We had to wait for five years before the people of South Viet Nam had grasped the situation and started to counterattack. In the other lands of East Asia the conditions for revolutionary struggle have now been created.

Laos, Thailand, Cambodia will go the same way as Viet Nam. The Indonesian people will also make a start toward freedom.

When the fighting is over we will get on with the work of construction that we started a decade and a half ago.

In our preparations we think of the South. In the South the poisoning of souls is worse than the physical dying.

Women in the South are forced to trample in the dirt the rights they have fought for.

Young people are again being forced to do slavish things.

Yet we know from experience that when the revolution comes, the old and the corrupt quickly disappear, often without a sign or sound.

We see it every day: many who had just been living in terror become fighters.

Their faces change.

The faces of the women in the North are likewise marked by deprivation. They work hard, sleep little. And marked, too, are the faces of the young soldiers, the pioneers. And yet they mirror strength and confidence. They are masters of their own lives.

Their sisters and brothers in the South: someday they, too, will be entitled to rule their own land.

Someday the present struggle shall grow into peaceful activity. Needs for material goods will arise. Yet these wishes must never get the upper hand over the thinking, the ideological life.

If we do not preserve the values of this genuine freedom, then the hard-won achievements of the revolution will have been in vain.

When there are cities again, electric light, a tablecloth on the table, our resistance must be continued; we have to keep on growing, we must not sink back into quiescence.

Every day of repose is dangerous.

The rebuilding of our unspeakably ravaged land will require the efforts of all living generations.

A pause.

A moment of relaxation.

A legitimate wish.

But the enemy is not yet beaten.

It will be a long time before he is beaten.

We say to them who rise up against the reactionary regimes in their countries: "You are the majority."

When you are in possession of the truth, then you are the majority.

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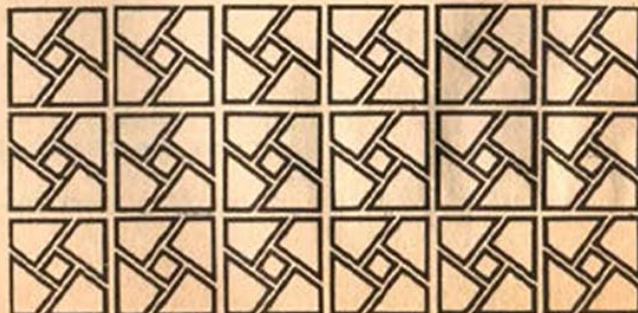
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### Concerning Hopes

Don't tell me:

I wish I were a baker in Algeria  
To sing with a fighter.

Don't tell me:

I wish I were a shepherd in Yemen  
To sing for resurrection.

Don't tell me:

I wish I were a waiter in Havana  
To sing the victories of the oppressed.

Don't tell me:

I wish I were a young porter in Aswan  
To sing for the rocks.

My friend

The Nile will never flow into the Volga,  
Nor will the Congo or the Jordan flow into the Euphrates.  
Each river has its own springs,  
Its own course and its own life.  
Our land, my friend, is no barren land,  
Each land gives birth in due time,  
And each fighter will see the dawn.



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The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has offered a 7 Point Proposal for peace in Vietnam. In it there are two points which the PRG says hold the key to the end of the war:

**1) THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MUST SET A DATE FOR THE TOTAL AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ITS TROOPS, ADVISORS AND WEAPONS AND THOSE OF ITS ALLIES.**

**2) THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MUST STOP ALL INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOUTH VIETNAM, AND CEASE SUPPORT OF THE CORRUPT RULING GROUP HEADED BY NGUYEN VAN THIEU.**