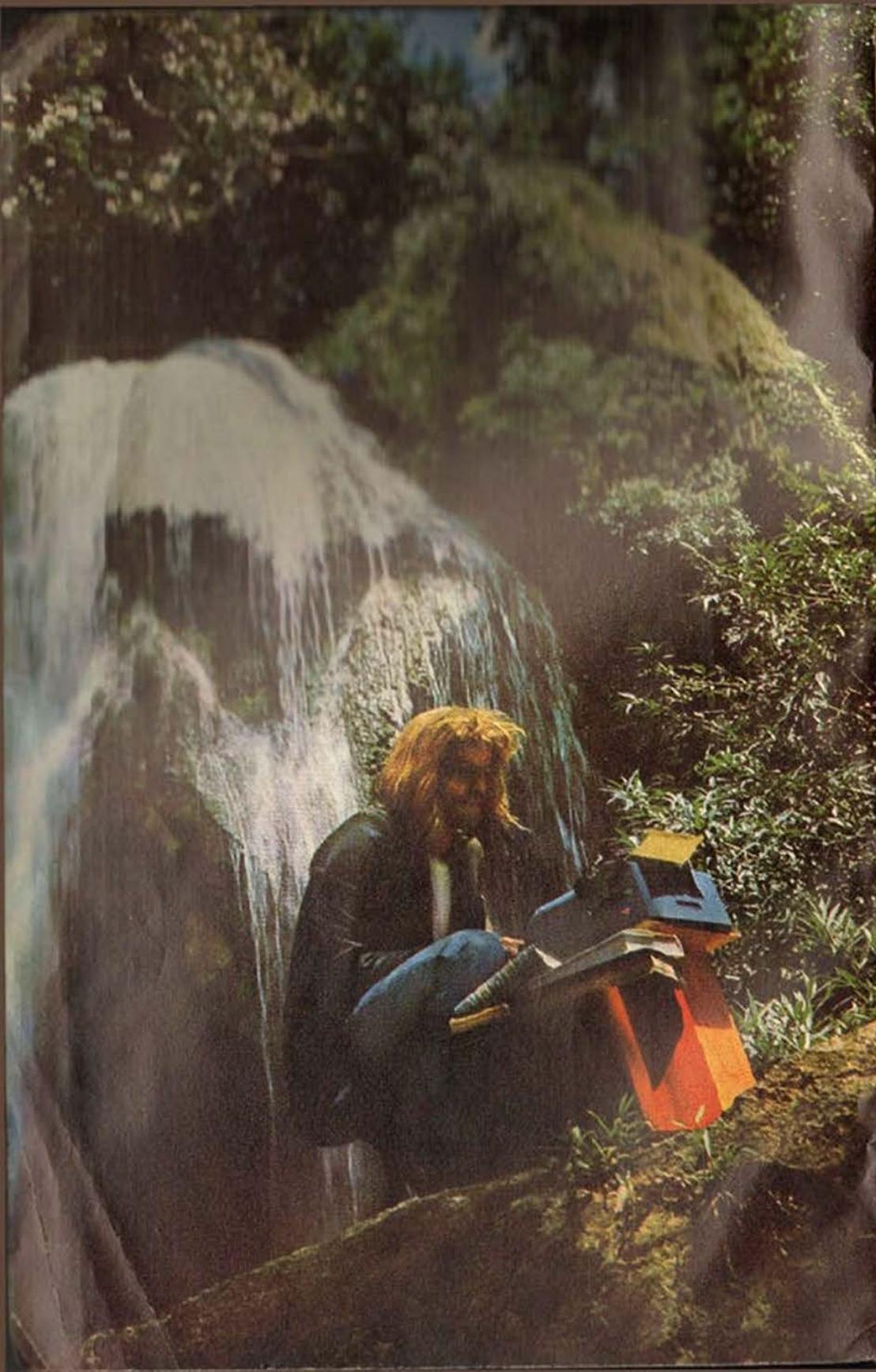


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TRICONTINENTAL





## contents

The picture of the Third World intellectual disengaged from his environment, alienated from his very manner of expression by a symbiosis of colonialization, and who, through the loss of contact with his reality, becomes an instrument — conscious or not — of the oppressor of his own people: this is the theme of our cover. "At the root," publication of the General Resolution of the First Congress of Education and Culture of Cuba, in our section *New Expressions*, is the Cuban Revolution's answer to those who try to become spokesmen and ideologists for our people, without identifying completely with them; and it establishes the notional bases of a society that has erased all forms of oppression and faces the historic responsibility of creating new men. The solidity of a people in revolution, the road ahead toward the construction of a new culture nourished by the most genuinely national traditions, is the plea offered by writer Peter Weiss, a guest in our pages on other occasions, in his book *Notes on the Cultural Life of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam*, from which we excerpt a selection for *Books of Today*. Among the African solutions to problems of culture — which is viewed as a product of man and a part of him in all its manifestations, solutions and problems, most of them general to all Third World peoples — is this article "People and Technique" in *Starting Points*, taken from the presentation given last August by the Guinean leader of the PDG, Luis Behanzin, during the Seminar for Political and Ideological Formation at the Party's School for Cadres. Half a decade of solidarity activity, on a principled basis, is summarized in "Five Years," an article in *Tricontinental* on the March reporting the speech made by Domingo

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### TRICONTINENTAL

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Secretary-General of OSPAAAL, on the tenth anniversary of the constitution of the Executive Secretariat. Further evidence of the profound internationalism and militant brotherhood of the Cuban Revolution is the speech "Unity without Boundaries" by Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Cuban victory at Playa Giron, in Land of Ideas. Following the smashing of the counterrevolutionary invasion and its fifth column, there is a respite in Guinea. The origins of the sedition, the thinly veiled international plot against this country and its struggle are well-documented in Experiences and Facts, in the article "Parenthesis," written by the Nigerian commentator Eskor Toyo.

The determination which has crystallized in the Irish people over eight centuries of struggle, its genesis, its successive manifestations, the social, historic and economic context in which it has developed, make the information in Michael Meyerson's article "Unique Ireland," in Meridian Liberation, a worthy addition to the understanding of the reality of that country which, despite its geographic and cultural location, suffers many of the oppressions common to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In its decadence, the bourgeoisie betrays itself, even in its own most elemental principles. Thus the US press, so vocal in its defense of freedom of opinion — one of the reasons given for the bourgeoisie's accession to political power — practices silence and gags information in the service of the interests of the system of which it is a part. In Man and His Word, "Imperial Self-Censureship" is the product of an exposition by the US journalist James Higgins reflecting this attitude on the part of the great Yankee press, which is so outstandingly corrupt and therefore, the antithesis of the cultural aspirations of the peoples in their broadest sense — our theme from the beginning.

Finally, we present as the main topic in News Behind the News, an article on the panorama of the present agrarian problem in Chile based on an interview with Jacques Chonchol, Minister of Agriculture in the People's Unity government.

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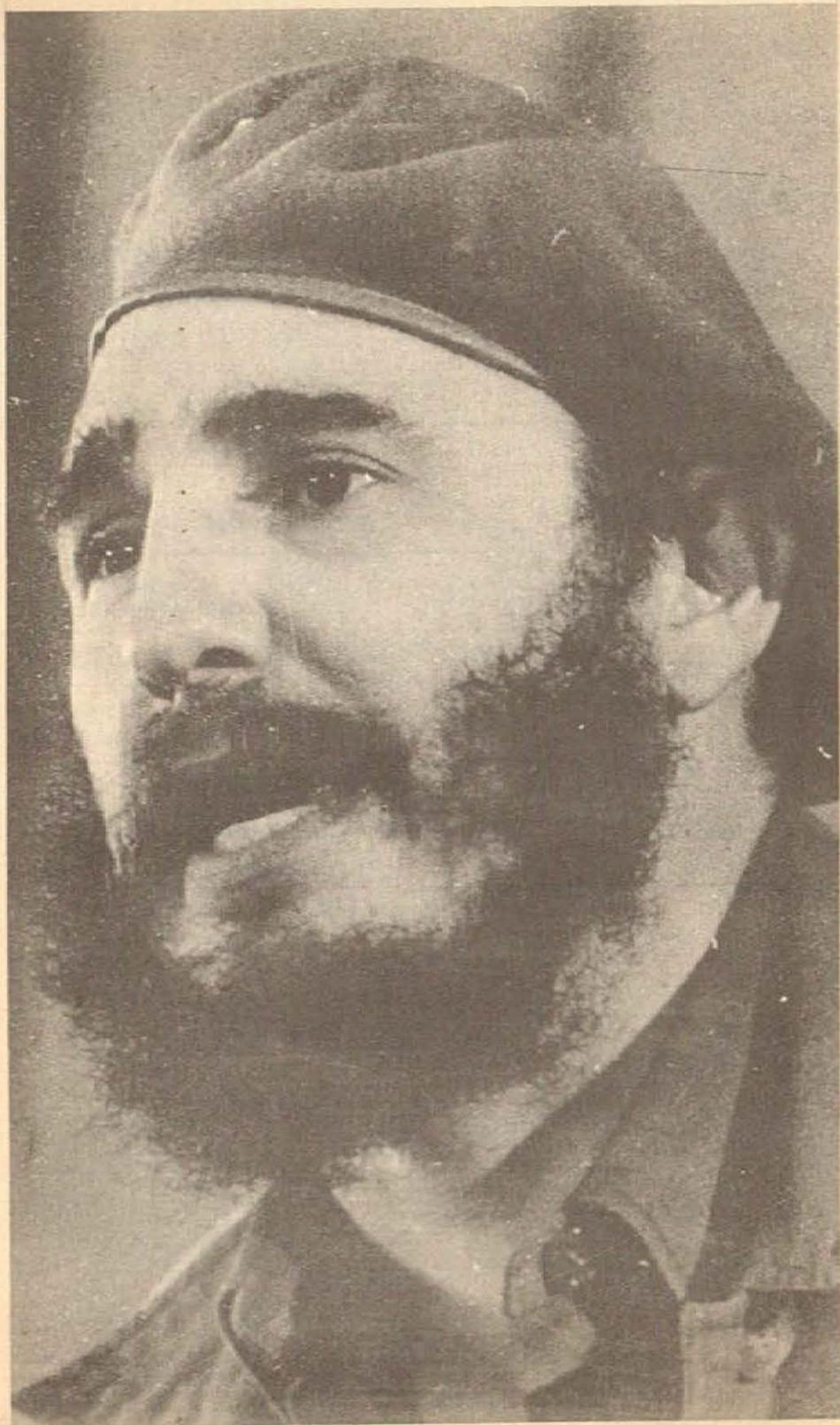
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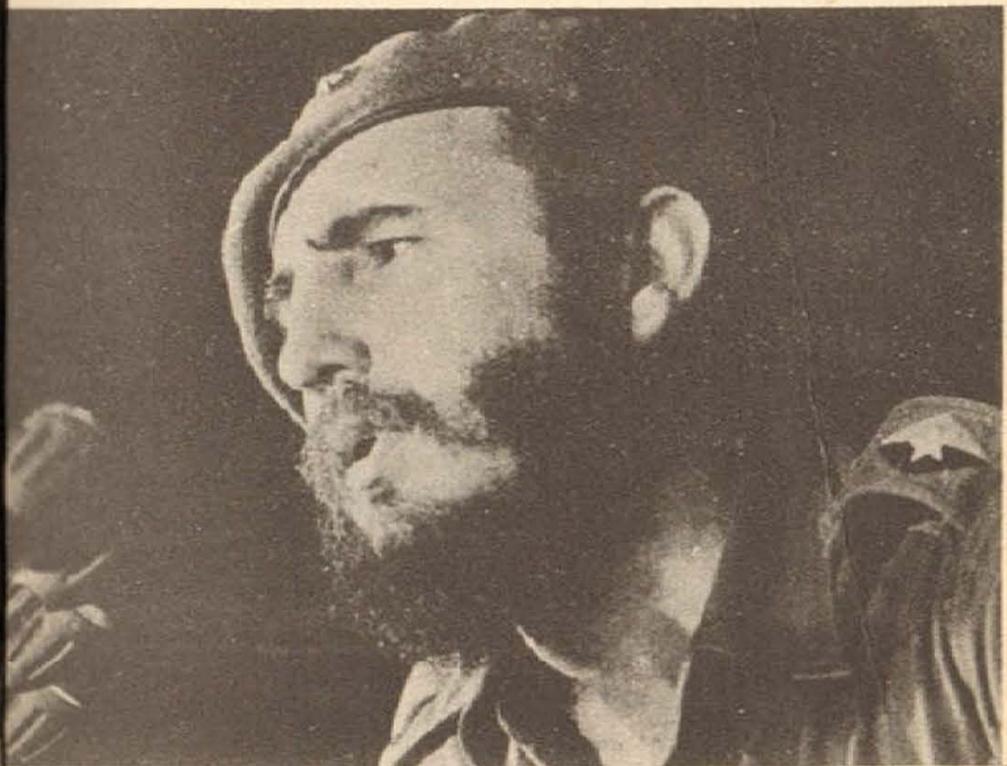
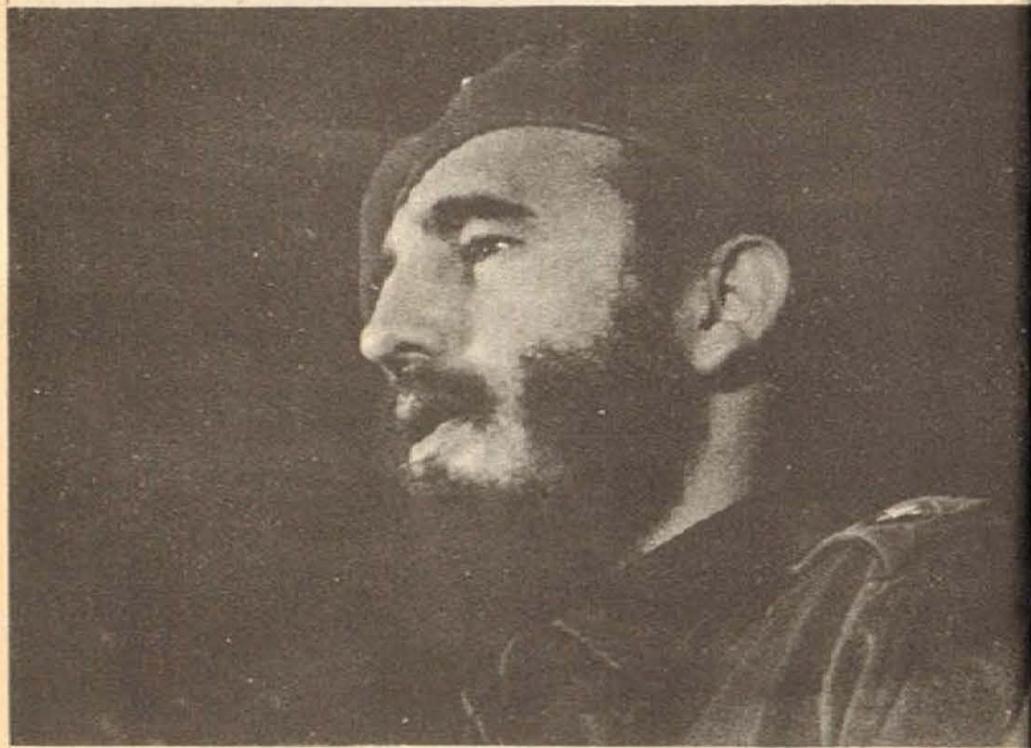
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## Unity Without Boundaries

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

Martí also said he wanted to cast his lot with the poor of the earth. And it was that same Martí 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 Martí began his fight for Puerto Rico's independence and that the proclamation written by Martí, 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 antiaircraft 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 marking, and, immediately, they began to attack the Ciudad Libertad base. And, in a matter of seconds, our antiaircraft 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. Theirs 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!

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. Bolívar, 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.

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 bad guys 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 accepting 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 out of the OAS, and we feel fine, really fine out 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 Martí 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!



starting  
points

## People and Technique

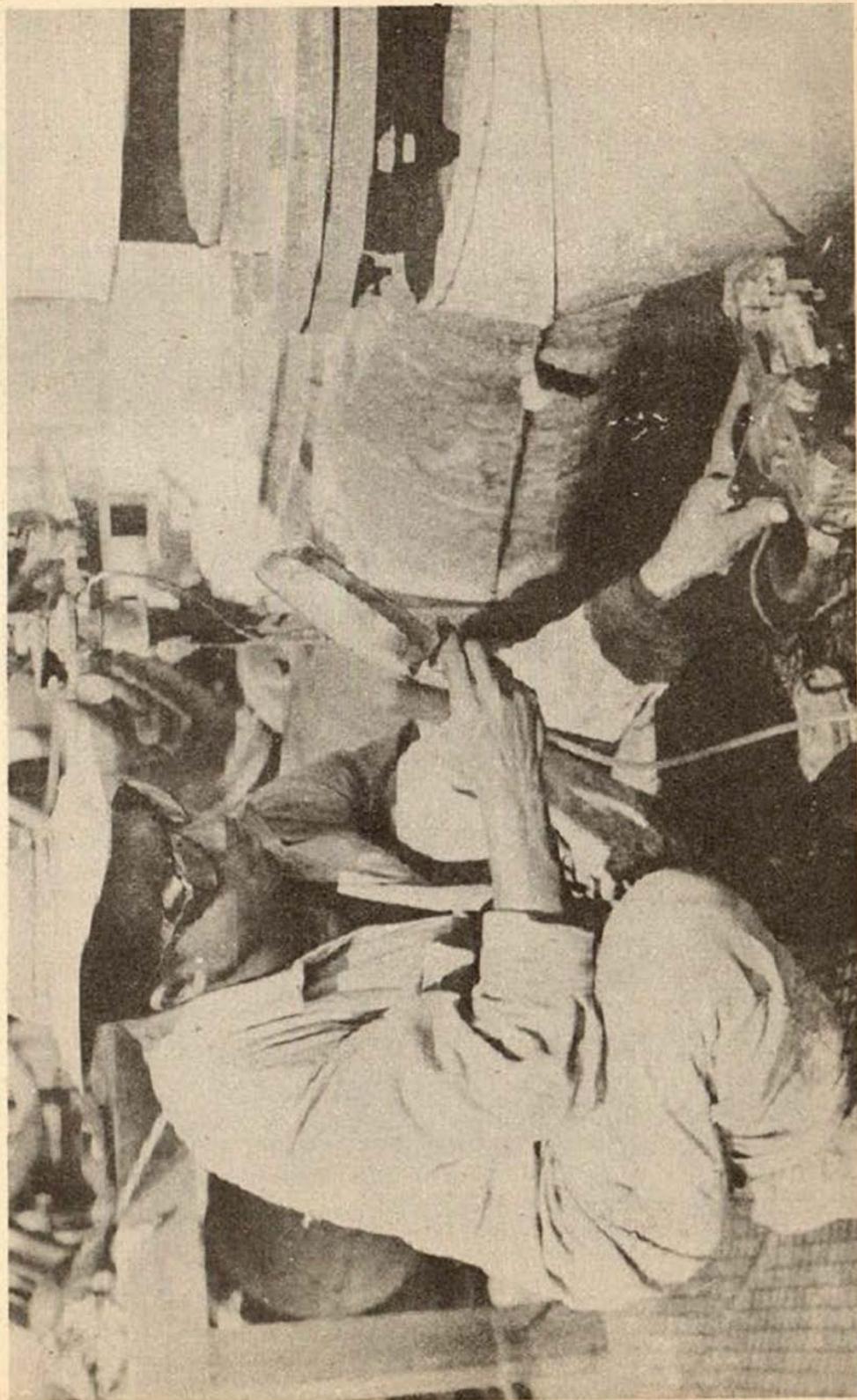
Louis Behanzin

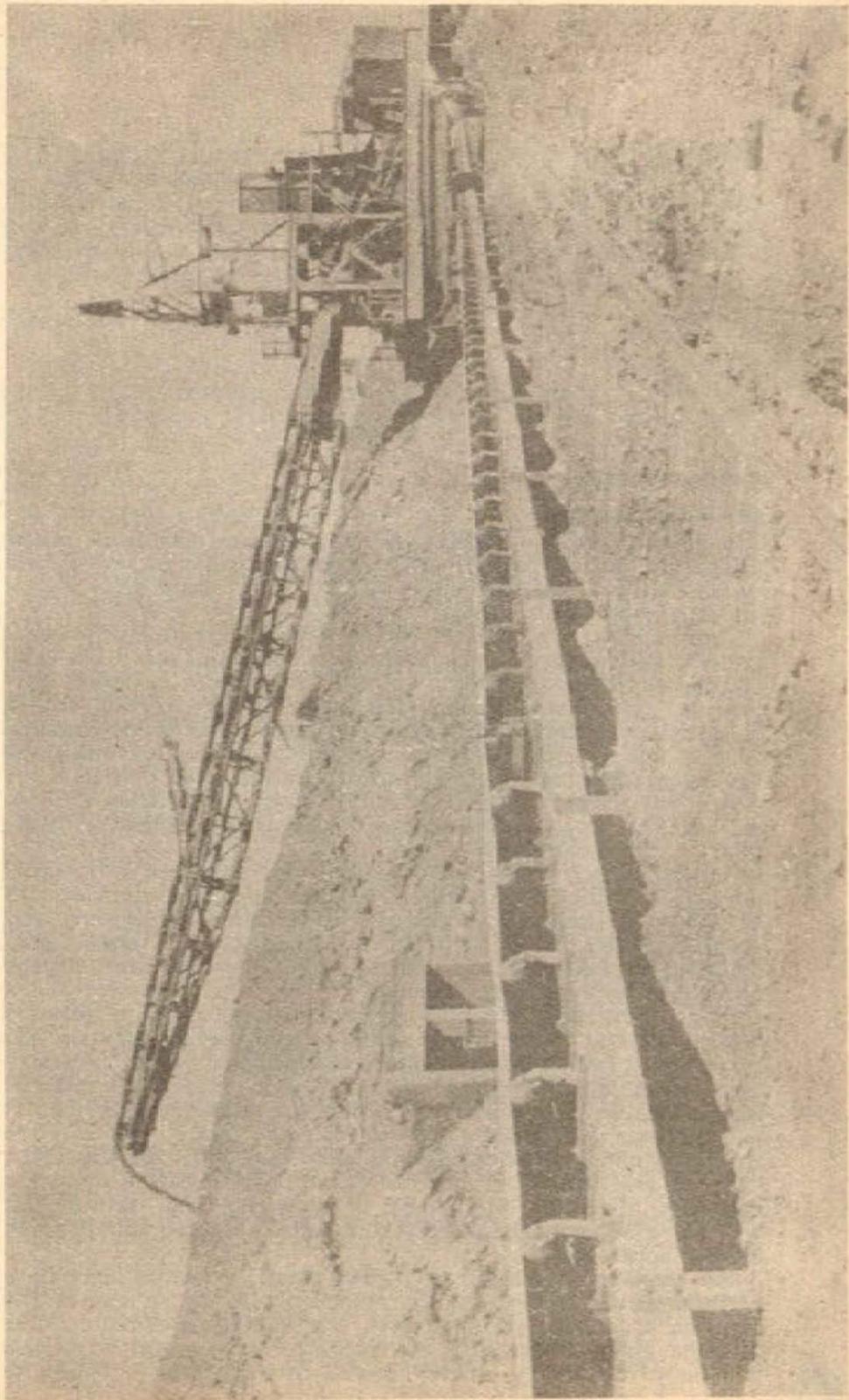
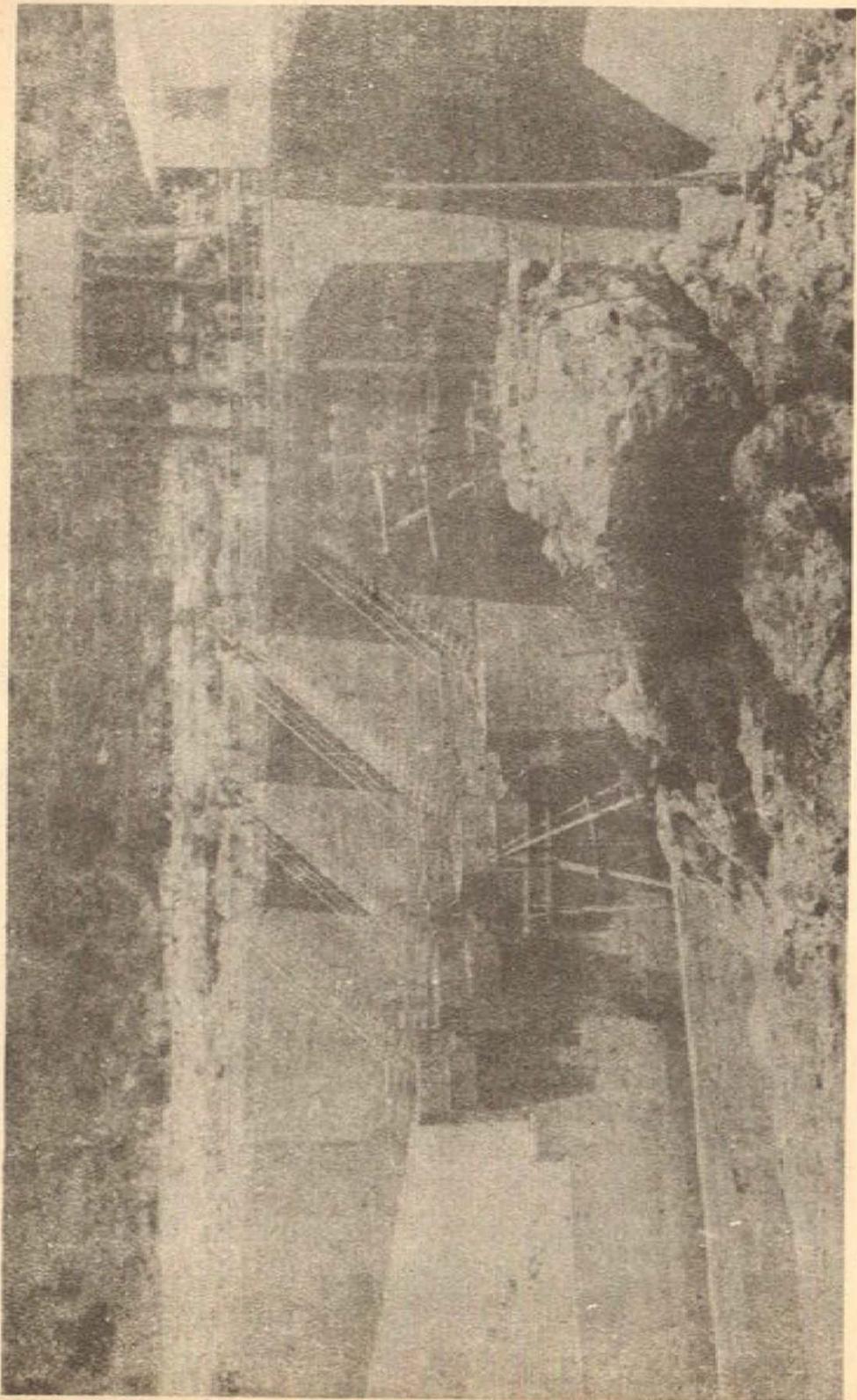
Guinea, the only African country that said NO to the referendum imposed by French colonialism on its possessions, mobilizes and maintains alert its people's militias to say NO to the imperialist aggressor, and arms its technical, political and administrative cadres ideologically and culturally to say NO to cultural colonialism and the intellectuals who make a show of their Africanism, but play the game of their foreign bosses.

In foreign universities, many Guinean students are receiving technical and scientific knowledge to collaborate in the structuring that will permit the economic development of their country.

Each summer the PDG organizes a seminar for returnees from foreign universities, in which the principal political and administrative leaders of Guinea participate.

On this occasion Tricontinental publishes the remarks made at the 1970 seminar by Louis Behanzin, Secretary of State for Ideology, who was in charge of planning and initiating the educational reform that became general middle-level education in the Centers of Revolutionary Education (CER), where the basic content of general culture is mixed with Marxist theory and practice in the curriculum.





## Culture and Action

### Focus of the Subject

ALL HUMAN ACTION — whether it transforms or dominates nature, or destroys certain social relations and transforms society — is a cultural act, a manifestation of culture at the same time that it acts as a generator of culture.

That culture is a product of the people through the work of creating their material life and the organization of social life is an established truth on which we will not dwell. Actually, only practical application, the struggles within society to transform it, the activities to improve life, effectively create and develop culture. Now, it is the people who carry out this work and not those who live from the work of others; it is therefore clear that it is the people who create culture, but under specific conditions and situations. The people create culture under conditions and in situations of responsible work.

Culture is not a biological matter but a historic-sociological matter. To affirm that culture is not a biological matter does not in any way signify that any species of animal, including any primate species, in its activities to satisfy its vital needs, automatically creates a culture, although some monkeys often display disturbing behavior and attitudes. No, a certain division and a certain distribution of man's genetic material (man in general) determines that the activities of the human species maintain and recreate life, lead to generation and accumulation "of the necessary facilities and material means" — that is, of the mental and material tools for better maintaining and ultimately recreating this life. Let us start here with genetic material common to the species as the first data and without starting any polemic with the geneticists.

As we said before, we have no intention of debating again the definition of culture, the genesis of knowledge and culture. Nor will there be any debate for the moment with the specialists in genetic epistemology.

Our intention is simpler and more direct: it is to reexamine a cultural sector, to evaluate its components, to try to analyze the function of culture, to see what can inhibit or stimulate this function, given the fact that the recognized active agent of all this is clearly the people, under normal circumstances, or an elite

under abnormal circumstances. In the course of this exposition we will touch on problems that affect the genesis of culture only to the extent required for lucid presentation. What we will stress are the components of the cultural sector, particularly those responsible for a certain type of activity, activity leading to scientific and technical progress: this is our focus.

## The Cultural Sector

There is no activity without culture and any nonmutilated culture has its activity. But the culture of a society is not something that belongs, in its totality, to each individual in that society. It is not, as the bourgeois theorist states, "what remains when we have forgotten everything." The culture of a society is a sector, "the cultural sector," which we understand to be the sum of the material and nonmaterial goods created by a specific society as it recreates itself. It is also the sum of social behavior and customs (and individual behavior and customs when typical and not abnormal are social) that characterize every "acculturated" being in it.

Why give this importance to the cultural field?

It is because, first of all, culture engenders certain forms of action, and this action reforms culture so that, in the last analysis it intervenes in the reformation of society. In the second place, a culture which nevertheless is not native to a specific society, culture as a force which exercises its influence far from its origins, can very well influence the activities of this society and even, in the final analysis, mold this society in its own manner.

The area of class struggle extends to the cultural field. We will see some examples of this.

The cultural camp is characterized by its ideological nature (this is its chief characteristic) and by its dynamism, which can vary first of all quantitatively and then qualitatively.

That is to say that a specific cultural sector can be classified by its nature as a reactionary ideology (of man's exploitation of man, or of submission to exploitation) or as a progressive ideology (a liberation ideology), and on the other hand it can be classified by its dynamism as contemplative or active. This gives us four types of cultural sectors:

- a) Reactionary and contemplative culture.
- b) Reactionary and dynamic culture, therefore hegemonic (the current example is what we are obliged to call imperialist culture).
- c) Progressive but contemplative culture which, to tell the truth, because of its degree of contemplation, is not a progressive culture.
- d) Progressive and dynamic culture. This is the culture toward which all the peoples actually committed to the construction of socialism tend.

Our interest lies in analyzing this latter cultural sector and deducing from it the means by which it works and the conditions of its movement. But we are obliged to turn briefly to the question of imperialist bourgeois culture, reactionary and dynamic, which

for many African countries constitutes a real danger. This imperialist cultural camp (reactionary and dynamic) is fundamentally the cultural camp that is ideologically the enemy of that cultural camp which is indispensable to the success of the democratic revolution. We have purposely retained only those characteristics of the cultural camp useful within the limits of this course.

We repeat:

The cultural camp can go beyond its genetic territory, its original social territory, just as another cultural sector can be superimposed on it. The debate on culture, far from being a simple intellectual exercise, is a basic debate, a radical expression of the class struggle. We must ask ourselves whether certain individuals, caught in a reactionary but dynamic cultural camp, in addition to their original culture, do not wind up being influenced in every way by this camp. We must ask ourselves whether certain African intellectuals, who boast of their Africanism but whose concrete behavior betrays this Africanism, are not already persons profoundly influenced by the neocolonialist, imperialist cultural camp, and taken in by it.

On this level, we must analyze closely the problem of relations between the cultural camps, the more so when tremendous development of the mass media and of techniques of psychological conditioning, permit neocolonialist imperialism to extend at its whim its cultural hegemony, and manipulate everything manipulable.

To study this problem we will have to turn first to a very simple example, although comparisons are not always valid.

We admitted that wild animals have their "instinctual area" engendered over the course of and through the work they perform from generation to generation in order to survive. We know that when we capture them, with the objective of making them our helpers, we must place them within our cultural context; not in order for them to become "cultivated" like us but so that they react in accordance with techniques of communication appropriate to our environment; we tame them, we domesticate them — that is, we condition them to the rules of the house, which are cultural rules, and we know that we cannot be the real rulers of these beasts until we have really succeeded in our training efforts.

In the class struggle, in the bosom of human societies, especially in the cultural field, the method is not very different in its intention or in its methodology. Here the only essential difference comes from the fact that the original cultural field of those one wants to capture and domesticate is often superior on the human scale, to those who decide to do the domesticating. That doesn't matter. The fact is that this attempt at domestication through cultural influence exists and that when it occurs with influential individuals in the bosom of the original society, it is the responsible and free future of this society that is compromised.

And neocolonialist imperialism knows how to use this weapon. Neocolonialist imperialism knows how to substitute physical violence and violation with cultural violence and violation, or

cultural drugs designed to tame the number of native agents necessary to achieve a passive attitude on the part of the entire people in the cultural camp, and thus assure the successful fulfillment of the objectives of domination.

When we speak of the culturally ex-colonized, ideologically alienated, we mean not only those trained and domesticated and specifically selected from among the graduates of the universities of the imperialist countries. The recruitment is broader and more varied although the graduates, when they are culturally alienated, are more dangerous because they have a greater mastery of certain cultural instruments of the imperialist power, and are therefore more effective as imperialist agents. But all of them, graduates and others, when they are culturally domesticated by imperialism, act, with a tragically contemptible conviction, as virulent agents of neocolonialism, and serve as a brake against any national cultural revival, as well as against the entire cultural revolution. It is a true drama in which various African nations today provide sorrowful examples. An analysis of the dialectical relationship between culture and action cannot ignore this.

The ground is prepared to touch on what concerns us.

#### Culture and the Need for Development

Culture is not simple. It is a multidimensional whole with various organic components dialectically related, and in certain moments in the history of a people, it happens that one of these components takes precedence over the others. Culture is ideological philosophy (which gives it the nature of its totality and which directs it), artistic culture, scientific and technical culture, practical culture, behavior, attitude, etc., and we could not reduce it to any of its components without mutilating. But the ideological-philosophical component — that is, the one which dominates all others — appears at all times and in every circumstance, is the basis for the other components. It is at the heart of each course presented in this seminar and is systematically dealt with by the comrade who is the highest leader of the revolution. This is not the place to deal with it, then, and if we do so it is because we cannot speak, write or act in any way without evoking ideology, which always has its place as the guiding principle of the leadership. Nor will we deal with the component of culture known as "art."

We are concerned with an extremely important chapter. We will limit ourselves to culture as science, technique, practical and transformative application. But we have stressed that all cultural components are organically and dialectically related in a way that should never permit us to seriously consider one and ignore the others.

We cannot examine closely the cultural components that interest us without concerning ourselves with another concept which governs them and endows them with the intensity of its dynamic, the human need for achievement — that is, the need for fulfillment, the need for the transformation and domination of nature beyond

present needs; every necessity felt as an obligation, as a vital necessity of life, beyond immediate life, manifests itself in practical and transformative application, not only as a necessity dictated by material, biological and other requirements, but also as a necessity for fulfillment of our nature as man! Everything occurs as if the genetic material responsible for the human species possessed a potential energy for a need to achieve that goes beyond the biological, an energy responsible for the supremacy of our species in our universe. Furthermore, it is with great circumspection that we approach this concept in order not to permit ourselves to move toward a metaphysical idealism. But this fear cannot permit us to turn our backs in cowardly fashion on the evidence that there is this need for achievement which manifests itself here and there in various degrees, so varied that we reach true differences not only quantitatively but also qualitatively.

Let us say that the result of the antagonism between two cultures is more the function of the difference between the intensities of their need for achievement than between the qualities of the cultural material instruments they presently possess. This problem preoccupies all present cultures, and before going any further we are going to see how the bourgeois theoreticians of present-day imperialism handle it. The quotations we will give are taken from a typically popularized text, since the object of the text is to reach the masses it hopes to conquer. We quote:

Why do some nations achieve a rapid development in the field of economic and social expansion, while others remain stagnant or decline?

This question has always fascinated historians.

Why did the Greek city states, and particularly Athens, begin to develop in the 6th century B.C. to the extent that 200 years later, its culture had left an indelible stamp on all the origins of Western civilization? Or, to move to more recent times, why did one part of North America, that colonized by the English, achieve a rapid economic peak while the part colonized originally by the Spanish even though they actually possessed much richer territories there, developed more slowly until recent times?

Why did Japan, as compared to China, achieve greater economic progress in the 19th century? What is the generating force of economic progress and modernization? What is its nature, its origin?

And our professor replies:

Psychologists have made an unexpected contribution to this enigma... They work in laboratories to isolate what we might call, for convenience, a certain type of "mental virus," that is a certain comparatively rare vision which, when it manifests itself in an individual, causes him to behave in a particularly energetic fashion... The mental virus in question was given the curious name of N. Ach. (abbreviation for "Need for Achievement").

And our professor studies various communities contaminated by the "mental virus of the Need for Achievement" and concludes: "The characteristic of all these communities is the intense feeling,

based on their religion, that they are superior to other human groups that surround them and that, in one way or another, they hold the key to salvation, not only for themselves but for the whole of humanity as well..." And further on, since we can never leave aside ideology, our professor completes his analysis:

In the present century, the communists have been able to inculcate their militants very strongly with these psychological convictions and it is therefore not surprising to see that the percentage of the contamination by the N. Ach. factor has increased in the literature of Russia and Continental China since the communist revolutions in those countries. It is truly paradoxical that the communists have been able to set in motion a rapid economic growth in a country such as Russia, not as is believed because of socialism, but rather because of its fanatic conviction of its own superiority. This means that here, as in other places, a people's conviction of its own superiority has caused the propagation of the virus N. Ach. which is more directly responsible for the accelerated rate of economic growth than is the socialist nature of the organizational system.

From this long quotation, we retain the idea that "the need for achievement" takes precedence over the material instrument of achievement since it is what creates the instrument; that this "need for achievement" is of an ideological nature and can be common to an ideology of slavery and mystification and an ideology of liberation. We also note the comical naiveté with which our doctor in social psychology distinguishes the fanaticism responsible for the socialists' need for achievement from the nobility of conviction responsible for the "normal person's" need for achievement. But we merely observe this in passing, each one must carry out his task with conviction. That the words of this author are not accompanied by any text of scientific analysis and are not based on any group of facts does not surprise us either. For the author it is a question of succeeding in attracting the alienated intellectuals fascinated by the imperialist culture of neocolonialism, and not in looking for understanding and explanation. What is important to us is to be aware that imperialism knows the decisive role that the need for achievement plays and is convinced that the day when this need becomes the need of the majority of the dominated peoples, it will be the end of imperialism.

But this need does not take possession of people by magic; the process that gives this potential its kinetic and its development is a historic process that unfolds under certain determined conditions and circumstances.

We already know how within a given social order, subject to the limits of the evolution of history, class consciousness is born among the exploited in the course of their struggles against the exploiters: first through resistance, then through offensive and revolutionary acts. We know how after the next to last great historic revolution, the bourgeois revolution, individuals arose, managers of great enterprises who later would give birth to the present gentlemen of imperialist technocracy; and we know to what point the famous "need for achievement" pushes them, and

at what price! We also know that with the help of propaganda, thanks to that super need for achievement, imperialism subjugates the leaders of certain African countries to a point where, without fear of the tragicomic, those folks gravely meet to study the measures to be taken to create, in the bosom of the socialism they proclaim, "heads of modern private enterprises." Historic progress requires us to live through a particular situation. The bourgeoisie took advantage of feudalism in a relatively easy way due to the limits of the development of productive forces, and to the feeble dynamism and "contemplative" character of feudal culture, although on the other hand it was cynically brutal in its enslaving nature; whereas today in their revolutionary struggle, the people face a bourgeoisie of owners or profiteers of a particularly enterprising imperialist culture, which dialectically imposes on the liberating revolution a still more enterprising dynamism.

The determination of socialism to overthrow capitalism in the area of the "need for achievement" is classified by our professor as fanaticism.

It is clear then that in social practice, in practical application in the transformation of nature, nothing is or will have been accomplished until we feel, within us, this need for development and self-improvement. The ideological content, conditions and the organizational circumstances in which this need must arise will be created by the party; it is the militant will of the leadership cadres that must propagate this need. The collective study of the means of this propagation is one of the points that interests us.

#### The Bases for the Propagation of Our Need for Achievement and Development

The precondition for the creation and propagation of our need for achievement, our need for development, is our socialist conscience. It is not that socialism is a fetish that can transform everything it touches; rather it is our deliberate choice of the people's liberating revolution, of the people's global cultural development, for progress, against all exploitation of man by man or of a people by another people, against all submission, against obscurantism and irrationality, it is this totality of options freely taken that we call Socialism; it is we who make socialism what it is and not the other way round; to say that the precondition of socialist conscience is the propagation of the need for development, is to say that the precondition is the lucid and meaningful recognition of the need for achievement to the point that we would have to be sick to allow ourselves to be impeded from realizing it. It is first of all, then, a question of arriving at the conviction that we really have opted — that is, that we are in perfect agreement with the principles of the party; and once this conviction is acquired, everything becomes clear and we are affected by the "virus" of the need for achievement, the ideology of invincibility that frightens the enemy, who, understanding nothing, calls it fanaticism. It is fanaticism then, the fanaticism of the revolution, and when it possesses us we are prepared to snatch the fire from Lucifer and

use it in exchange — however little we may utilize the method that such an act requires — for revolutionary technology.

Let us presume we have achieved this preliminary condition of our absolute sincerity as energetic members of the party, and the only difficulties we face are technical.

That the people of Guinea, organized in the PDG, feel the profound need for achievement, development and self-development, there is the testimony of their vote on September 28, 1958, and all that has taken place since. One concrete example we can offer of one of our federations, in Yomou, demonstrates sufficiently the impatient desire of the masses to be able to achieve. This year the valiant people of Yomou proceeded to construct a bridge across the river Ule, undertaking, in collaboration with an engineer, the functions of workers, foremen, and in critical cases, in which methods had to be rectified, that of student engineers. And in our surprise at the wisdom of the people, we realized that we ourselves still have not totally converted ourselves to socialism, which postulates the inexhaustible genius of the people. Their ingenuity has been proved, but, by what technique can we mobilize the transforming and creative genius of the masses that is presently paralyzed? The genius of an individual, however exceptional, is nothing compared to the immeasurable genius of the people and it is that genius that is revealed through inventive and practical application. It is therefore necessary to initiate this practice everywhere.

For decades and in some cases for centuries, the exploiting powers that dominated Africa paralyzed the genius of the African peoples, and although the PDG provides us with arms and shows us the way, we have still been unable to liberate and make completely operative the immense genius of the people of Guinea. We have gathered here to determine methods of itemizing our needs in certain areas and how to meet them. It is certain that in science, technology and practical application, our people are perfectly capable of rapidly catching up with the best, then surpassing them and finally helping them advance. In the cultural and artistic field they have proved this adequately. How have they done this? They have done it because today in Guinea there exist some 10 000 peoples' academies of the arts (dramatic arts, choreography, music, etc.) which are functioning well and which cover as many active base committees devoted to a true search, and to applying the results of their search; while in the field of natural and technical sciences there is no such investigation. We know well that we have our 2000 Centers of Revolutionary Study (CER), first, second, third and fourth cycles, but their mere existence calls for an academy of applied popular sciences for each Local Revolutionary Power (PRL) which assembles all accumulated traditional experience, cultural capital that has been freed of all that is irrational, all that is inhibiting, in order that science and technology can be immediately translated into highly efficient practical application. These people's academies will have as their responsibility, among other things, aid to the CERs while receiving from the latter all that they have been able to master in science and modern technology.

We have encountered skeptics whom we have not always been able to convince of the truth of the fact that the people are a wise man with many heads and always solve well-formulated problems, however difficult they may be; that the people even have a genius for wisdom since they bring together elements of all individual wisdom. These skeptics have not been convinced but have felt themselves strongly challenged when we called their attention to this proven and actual fact that people who were thought to be completely defeated have invented and successfully used arms that have neutralized the effects of the death machines invented by famous men (with or without reason) for the strongest forces in the world and have severely punished the enemy's arrogance. Problems of the utmost importance have been raised and the people, in their search for adequate solutions, have drawn on their ingenuity. Thus it is our duty to conceptualize the problems and state them well — that is, to select them in terms of their interest to the people and organize them methodically in terms of priorities and available energies.

We do not pretend to exhaust here the areas in which problems arise which up to now have an evident interest for the people, but we will nevertheless mention some.

Speaking of domination, of transformation and of the utilization of nature, how can we not mention first in Guinea, the West African water tower, the problem of water as a potential source of energy, as an indispensable necessity for the survival of man, of animals and of plant life, as a source of transportation but also as a devastating enemy, depending on whether the people dominate it or whether they are dominated by it. All the objective conditions exist in Guinea for it to be not a country with hydroelectric resources but a hydroelectric country; and if this is not the case, we must consider this situation to be abnormal, and we must normalize it, since the fundamental subjective conditions also exist for the presence of the PDG as it is and for what it is. If despite the fulfillment of all the fundamental subjective conditions, of the determination of the people organized in one strong party forged by the revolution, Guinea is not a hydroelectric country, it is because the problem has not been presented by us as it should be and at the rank-and-file level where its reality is evident.

The control of the water supply is imperative and its fulfillment demands of us a culture that is perfectly within our possibility at the same time that this fulfillment constitutes a fertile source of culture for us. There is no rural village in Guinea where certain hydraulic projects, ably organized by the people, have not improved the material and cultural life.

A second area in which culture and action of the people can immediately result in qualitative achievements and practical application which in itself will insure important and permanent development, is that of applied biology and all the transformations to which it gives rise. We know that biology at the plant level requires solar energy, water, earth; and animal biology is to a large extent an offshoot of plant biology. We then recognize that our intertropical zone, Guinea's entity, enjoys an exceptional privilege with respect

to biological resources, a privilege which, as such, is ambivalent in its impetus to action; that is, because of the facilities that it offers, this privilege can become a brake to action if the ideology of accomplishment does not intervene, but if the consciousness of development which must characterize each revolutionary intervenes, it offers automatically the means for great achievement. We must also observe that, contrary to the hydroelectric question that we considered earlier, in various areas of biological data, we have accumulated in Africa a rich experience but one that unfortunately has remained unexploited and sometimes even unexplored. The immense natural privilege we enjoy on the level of chlorophyllic assimilation, of photosynthesis, the mass of experience that our people have in plant knowledge, obliges us to hold in the biological field and on a world plane, a scientific penetration and a decisive productivity. Our ambition must be at this level and it must be achieved at whatever cost, and if this determination is fanaticism, we must as revolutionaries accept this fanaticism.

We know very well that the people are not transformed, that they transform themselves, but we say that because of the concrete role we play in the hearts of the people, because of the mass of information we have, when we do not lay out — not for the people but with the people — the true problems that concern them, then we represent an obstacle to their progress.

These two examples indicate how the areas of our possible activities are determined by the conjunction of our needs to be satisfied and the existence of raw materials to transform. We then understand how unnecessary it is to present a complete list of these areas, given the immensity and variety of Guinea's natural resources and the level that the PDG gives to the need for achievement, that the people must feel imperatively.

The immensity of the effort we must make in the area of culture applied to action is in direct relation to the abundance of natural resources we possess and we ignore this point at our peril. We must not ignore the fact that the countries that are poor in natural resources but rich with respect to their scientific and technological cultural component go all over the world in search of natural resources which they take, realizing the benefits that the transformation of these resources will provide for them. We are even witness to that practice on the part of certain technical and industrial powers which, although they possess the necessary natural resources as raw materials for their industry, decide to conserve them unexploited and use the enormous means that their economic power gives them to extract and exhaust those same raw materials in other places, thus keeping their own natural resources as a necessary future reserve. We can thus imagine the political error we would be committing if we were not to accumulate the necessary scientific and technical culture to transform our natural resources into developed goods that we ourselves produce, in addition to the agreements that permit us to acquire abroad certain technical equipment necessary for such processing. But before this technical equipment, before these capital goods, even more than this equipment and this capital, comes the will to achieve and once we have acquired socialist

science, we cannot fail to be motivated by the need for achievement, which is one of the characteristic features of socialism.

One day, a spokesman from a technically and industrially advanced country, intoxicated with the scientific and technical culture that is the pride of these countries, affirmed with arrogance: "I don't care about owning natural resources; I know that the locomotive engine that I manufacture with raw materials taken from other places is worth a million times more than the iron ore contained in the weight of the iron of that engine" and we answered him: "You are on the wrong track, because the value that you attach to this iron ore derives from a potential scientific cultural energy common to all peoples and which at any moment can be converted into a kinetic cultural energy among some when the society follows the elite line, among practically the entire people when the political regime is revolutionary and follows a mass line. Very well, this phenomenon of revolutionizing society is operating in the technically backward countries which at the same time hold the majority of natural resources. This is precisely Guinea's case, where the party follows its revolutionary ideology in all its structure, within which this very cultural, scientific and technological potential of the people must be born.

Resolutely and methodically, we must arm ourselves and the people with the mental weapons necessary for this change.

Now is the time to make ourselves familiar, everywhere and everyone, with certain material and mental tools. We know that certain peasant and artisan comrades are suffocating because they are unable to give free rein to their ingenuity. Moreover, since the nation's independence, certain peasants have invented machinery whose success and complexity indicates sufficiently the high technical cultural level the people of Guinea would have reached today if they had not suffered colonial hindrances for decades. Moreover, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the continent that initiated the world to working in iron should have given birth to those peasant inventors. But recalling this first historic departure is of interest now only as a measure of our responsibility in the present and future.

We are responsible for the fact that today in our countryside not even the simplest machine is used: the water from our wells we get by lowering a pail directly, although the use of a pulley or a crane would give us much more. We use neither winch, nor lever nor hydraulic wheel. We hardly use carts and wagons and we fail to replace, wherever possible, muscular human energy with that of draft animals, of the mule which can be perfectly adapted, at least in Upper Guinea, Middle Guinea, and in certain parts of Forestal and Coastal Guinea. An example with the daba: a good industrious worker can plow only a hectare and a half per year; with a plough yoked with a pair of oxen or even with one (this is possible as the Bentis CER demonstrated in 1967-68) the same peasant can plow 15 hectares — that is, ten times what he can do with the daba. Even if the combined utilization of simple machinery and draft animals does not multiply the peasant's yield tenfold in all cases, we will be within a totally reasonable estimate if we say

that in overall productive activities of people in the rural zone, the judicious utilization of these means would double or triple their yield and, consequently, total production.

If we add the improvement which we would, by other means, introduce in agriculture through the better use of applied biology and chemistry which could multiply by three or five times our actual average yield per hectare of distinct agriculture products, there is no doubt that a national application of a culture that we can easily have, a correct application of such a culture in our daily activities, in the daily activities of the people, would surely increase quintuple our overall production, without mentioning the decisive contribution our modern industries make to the happiness of the people.

It must be added that such a productive policy as it becomes more powerful, with the cultural support it receives, will introduce into the bosom of the people a still more profound and potent culture which, in a later phase, will have the effect of broadening the action. Today we have all the weapons to initiate such a process.

In the rural zone, let us take a specific rank-and-file committee in which Local Revolutionary Power, created by the party, is in fact organized. Then let us take a government situated at the territorial level of the rank-and-file committee, which, within the framework of the PDG, has absolute powers. Let us take a government whose level of rational structure leaves nothing to envy any other government and which, moreover, has the exceptional advantage of being organically tied up with the overall administrative population. Here there is no delegation of power or duties: people, party and state are organically mixed. In fact we find ourselves faced with the ideal biological-political-economic and cultural complex for communicating to the collective conscience, the movement that must allow it to achieve the particular victories over nature that the satisfaction of the people's needs requires.

Revolutionary consciousness, progressive consciousness, when it is not also oriented toward physical nature in order to analyze it, know it, change it and make it ours instead of hostile, make it help the people; revolutionary consciousness that does not act in this manner, then behaves like an energy that could not spark any motor, or else a motor that is functioning in a void. In any case, it is through its movement that consciousness is manifested, which leads us to affirm that the revolution is not only conscious movement but also and above all, consciousness in movement. It is in the long run and by means of this movement of consciousness that it is formed and developed.

Through the party's program, the comrade Secretary-General of the PDG had the opportunity to show that the class struggle contains, as a facet of struggle, the fighting front that we maintain to dominate nature. If we emphasize this it is because the Secretary-General's reports demand of each of us that we face the problem, that we try to understand it, that we meditate and that we apply the solutions indicated.

In the class struggle, which we understand better through the PDG program, the boss uses his domination so that he produces,

Through the slave who processes goods, the instrument which together with the slave, constitutes for the boss his productive forces, which produce more and more profits as the slave transforms the goods for the boss and toward this end is reified through this activity. But it is also through this activity, as a demonstration of the technical mastery of the slave over nature, which is after all the master of the boss's existence since apart from nature there is no existence, it is through this activity that the consciousness is born and develops which forms and radicalizes in the slave the antagonism which questions the existence of the boss as such. Thus it is essentially productive activity that is fundamental to the "boss and slave" couple; it is productive activity that cements the antagonism which rules this couple; it is productive activity which transforms and dominates nature that, in each of the antagonistic classes, throughout history, provides the best arms for the struggle, and particularly the will to struggle. Thus it science and technology are universal, it is class consciousness that moves them, leads them, guides them.

"The sciences can be useful in three ways. They are oriented according to the ideology of whoever has them, of whoever teaches them, of whoever applies them." This is the theme for development that the party proposes this year to the candidates for the bachelor's degree.

Science and technology, in their creations as well as in their utilization are the heart of the revolution.

We could not speak indefinitely of consciousness in motion if we left our agricultural technology where it is. If we left our soil to become barren and eroded by the three to five meters of rain that fall annually, instead of forcing it to work for us.

The effort to construct hydroelectric dams, fulfilled by the people through their state, is gigantic; but precisely this concentrated force must be complemented at the level of each collectivity with a multitude of small scale actions, possible in each place, actions whose cumulative effect surpasses in importance works of great magnitude. The challenge that our abundant vegetation offers and the violence of our rains are additional factors that motivate our intervention with techniques that provide the precise response: it is in our country where this abundant vegetation exists, it is in our country where this heavy rainfall occurs, it is in our environment and by us that the elements thus unleashed must be tamed and made to serve us, and, in the light of logic, and above all of revolutionary consciousness, to expect solutions from outside is not justifiable. The only correct position is to make foreign solutions serve as a support for the authentic and original solutions we provide, and to turn foreign solutions into our solutions, in both their application and their further development when we force them to respond to our needs.

Zeus was right to have Prometheus chained by Hephaestus, since he remains Zeus only as long as the people fail to dominate the fire of the sky. In the same way the colonial powers were correct throughout colonial domination to try to destroy in us every initiative for technical progress, whether by corruption, substituting

a few consumer products for us to finish, whether by cleverness, intimidation or savage repression. A conscious people, a country of "engineers" are not dominated, and every conscious people transform itself into a people of engineers. The PDG knows this and, since national independence, has made the Guinean school the home of science, of technology and of practical application. And this determination to immediately convert all knowledge into know-how and into action constitutes an important chapter in the course of ideological formation. There is nothing surprising in the fact that this year our young candidates for the first part of the bachelor's degree had to prove in their ideological dissertation, that it was not a question of knowing everything and being incapable of putting into practice what one knows. It is a question of being able to carry out what one knows, however little one knows.

The party therefore takes care to methodically form our youth, in our Centers of Revolutionary Education, in the work of constructing the new society, which will more and more insure the capacity to place the forces drawn from nature at the service of an increasingly integral democracy. But the CER is not isolated, it is organically immersed in and allied with the totality of the national working population, whose every technical advance instantly provides a super technical advance within the CER; super advance because it is taken and improved by the CER which, as the demographic seed-bed and the cultural and revolutionary sources of the nation in change, are in the best position to carry out their historic role.

It is therefore very important that the entire population engage with ardor in the battle for the improvement of technology, the invention of other techniques, scientific experimentation, rationalization of productive work.

To stress this need for generalized technical and scientific activities, the party, in addition to the many measures it has already taken, has created two other sections, one of scientific investigations and the other of ideology of tele-teaching and literacy education. The first section is to promote, organize and control research in pure and applied sciences at the level of each productive unit, each institute, each establishment and each service. Almost one thousand rural base committees of the PRL together with CERs in the second, third and fourth cycles amounting to more than 90% of the active population, constitute potentially, through all their activities, the most significant productive units and are therefore the objects of special attention by the research section which has broken with the academicism and elitism characteristic of such institutions in other regimes. As for the second section, it is in charge of all continuing, theoretical and practical popular education, and thus has to try to make of each base committee, of each production unit committee, a center of adult revolutionary education — that is, to transform the entire nation into "a university of the masses" within which each one of us is both teacher and student, within which there is a permanent flow of communication of knowledge and know-how in accord with the decisions concerning the socialist cultural revolution issued by

the party on August 2, 1968, in Kankan.

Right here we recall that the party has always taught that any divorce between our actions and the revolutionary positions we take is to be avoided, that one must live the revolution and not make dissertations about it. This called to mind Lenin's phrase that communism is the Soviets plus electrification. Thus, in a concrete way, it is up to us to make sure that in Guinea socialism is, in each base committee, a PRL which, having acquired full revolutionary consciousness, becomes increasingly a politechnical producer and at the same time a multifaceted apprentice, a multifaceted engineer, doctor, administrator, professor, researcher. And if such a conviction seems fanatical to anyone, it is only the fanaticism of the democratic revolution.

We must not forget the important report of the Secretary-General of the Party on September 14, 1958, at the National Conference of the PDG: "Colonialization has always been and certainly can not be anything but an arbitrary fact owing to the technical and military superiority of the imperialist regime." And the party has determined to make not only such domination but even the thought of it impossible for all time.

Ten years later, with the graduation of the first class from the Politechnic Institute of Conakry (Lenin class) the chief leader of the revolution added:

It is because it has a strong hold on science and technology that imperialism is what it is. Today, through science and technology neocolonialism is trying to dominate anew the peoples recently liberated from the colonial yoke.

Technology, that material resource, carries increasingly greater weight over people's destinies than does capital. The imperialists, the neocolonialists know this, are convinced of this. Yesterday, the unfortunate colonized peoples, alienated by colonial oppression, were victims, above all, of the colonizer's arrogant and peremptory word; today the defeatist elements that still exist within the proletarian nations are mortal victims of the technology utilized by imperialism. They are overwhelmed by this scientific theory, overcome by imperialism's technical achievements and they conclude that they must surrender their arms and kneel down before imperialism.

No! The conscious, revolutionary struggle of the peoples can vanquish imperialism!

If it is true science and technology constitute the resources that create all other means of production, there is, above science and technology, the technique of the revolution. It arms the people, organizes them, restores to them their science and technology which develops beyond all limits, no longer to enslave but rather to serve the people.

We do not know whether it is of revolutionary benefit to allude to the skepticism of certain people concerning our ability to achieve technical equality with the best of those who already find our orbit too small for their scientific activities. A basic axiom never contradicted by historic fact, proves that men are equally capable of technical advancement and that only the

political, economic and social conditions in which they find themselves determine the importance and speed of this advance.

We know of people who today explore interplanetary space and thus surpass provisionally the scientific and technical level, other people who were already enjoying a quite advanced civilization at a time when they were still living in trees or caves like our animal forebears, and if we recall the irrational skepticism of some people, it is because the authenticated existence of alienated thought obliges us never to overlook psychiatric theory. Here also the party was right to invite the young candidates for the first part of the bachelor's degree for the 1970 session to think about this truth that the comrade Secretary-General of the PDG taught us: "Ability is not given, it is won, since all knowledge is accessible to anyone, provided he has the best conditions for acquiring it."

The best conditions. A mechanistic and superficial analysis can suggest that wanting to speed up scientific and technical progress through motivations other than biological is idealism. We answer that such necessities, despite being necessary motivations for progress, do not occupy a predominant position on the scale of motivations except during a well-defined period in humanity's infancy, and moreover have never been sufficient. Creatures of culture since ancient times and no longer natural creatures, man's evolution continues by means of culture, and we wonder whether the biological modifications that the species has experienced have not become biocultural modifications. In every case, it is in cultural terms that man more frequently tends to state his vital problems. The elemental biological necessities are the same for all, the technical advance that can satisfy them has not been the same everywhere — that is to say, this progress in itself creates new necessities that require additional advances for their satisfaction. Thus culture becomes more and more dominant; in other words, the people who create and will continue to create their culture are at the same time a product of it. This is why we insist that the people, with their permanent but not constant development, create and recreate themselves endlessly. This is why the cultural camp is not culturally closed — that is, the problems the people raise are not always resolved at once. But if the problems are well presented, the people know how to extend and deepen their cultural experience so that such problems can then be resolved. One example is illustrative; the tremendous scientific and technical progress of the imperialist powers who use it to become more imperialist — that is, to dominate the peoples more astutely. This tremendous progress which hypnotizes and paralyzes many governments of neocolonial countries and increases in them the spirit of servility in the face of domination, presents a grave problem for all the peoples committed to revolution. Each day, contemporary history shows how, by developing its culture, the people find solutions to these problems that put imperialism on the defensive. Is it necessary to add that one of the most brilliant demonstrations is the action of the heroic people of Viet Nam?

The best conditions! But it is not enough to raise their technological level by providing each village with a new machine,

although this is useful and necessary in some cases. To strengthen the technical-cultural base of the village, there must be in each of the town's activities, a rationalized use of time, of space and of material, for the optimum yield of efforts. The machine, a cultural tool, must be adopted by the entire culture to give its maximum effect. We wonder if perhaps this is not the time and place to denounce the misuse which shortens the life of the machines and other implements which we do not yet produce, and which we import with foreign exchange for cash, to assure our development. And when we say "shorten the life" we have to have the courage to recognize that we are engaged in systematic destruction. The intelligent utilization of each foreign machine we acquire, beyond the use for which it has been made, can give us a knowledge of its mechanism and place us in an intellectual position, if not of improving it, of at least reproducing it when we have the material resources. We evidence good technical understanding when we make an automobile run 20 000 kilometers more than its manufacturer envisioned, without making a new motor. One of the tasks of PRL and the production unit committees is to see that the peasant and worker comrades acquire the know-how that permits them to be better operators than those who manufactured the implements they are using.

Speaking of culture and action, this course must have considered the entire cultural area in order to study the action indicated. Out of prejudice, we have chosen to be partial and to limit ourselves to certain components of culture, among the many responsible for technical progress.

Thus, this whole report appears to be polemic. In fact it is a polemic, a discussion among ourselves to destroy in us every tendency to reduce the factor of technical progress to the minimum, to evaluate it and to describe the quality of productive practice. But this polemic does not seek to place technology above everything else, but rather to view it as one of nature's components. Moreover, all technology is part of a theory to which it is dialectically linked, so that it is really a question of "theory-technology" and "technology-practice"; these cannot be isolated from the totality of mental tools and materials, attitudes and behavior, of opinions, etc., that constitute culture. All the courses given here now and in the future, will demonstrate increasingly that the entire cultural field must be taken into consideration in order to successfully guide a social action in all its implications. Once more we return to the problem of the base of cultural sustenance, which must be broad enough to insure movement without threatening equilibrium. Down to the hamlet level, we will have to be concerned with cultural components as varied as:

- a) Philosophy-ideology, base and guide for all the rest.
- b) Art, which stimulates and develops all our sensitivity at the same time that it holds face to face with other areas, the most effective role in the communication of knowledge.
- c) The written word, whose importance we will discuss further on.
- d) Mathematics as a universal auxiliary mental instrument,

which each one of us without exception must consciously learn.  
e) The experimental sciences and all the techniques that emanate from them.

Contemplated theoretically in this fashion, such a program appears utopian. In reality this is not so. Not to place things within the possibility of fulfillment would be unrealistic, "all knowledge is accessible to any one who has the best conditions to acquire it." We have stated this before and the best conditions created by the PDG come from Local Revolutionary Power.

The proper functioning of PRL is a prelude to the rapid explosion of the people into a technical civilization guided by a high level of revolutionary consciousness.

Despite everything, alongside the basic condition that constitutes the proper functioning of PRL, we must point out that an important secondary consideration is the people's domination of the written word. And this secondary condition is at the same time one of the conditions necessary, not only for the people's effective conduct in the socialist cultural revolution, but also in the true exercise of democracy by the people — that is, of power and of all powers. Concretely, our civilization is presently in a preponderantly oral stage, which does not mean that our African civilization has as a fundamental characteristic oral communication and discussion, as some African authors state. The fact that this historic situation of oral communication constitutes a serious obstacle to the progress of the revolution, is something we must recognize. Worse than obstacle, it is a danger for the revolution when it reaches a certain level in which all further development requires written thought, measurement, quantification of time, space, social relations, precision and fidelity in the transmission of information, messages, etc. A comrade here has lamented our tendency to be vague in our estimates; he noted that when we speak of an object it seldom occurs to us to say that it is such a size, weighs so much, but instead we say "it's as big as this, as that." It seems to us that the general lack of practice in writing is responsible for this. Actually it is not only the ordinary method for communication, it is also used for the mathematics necessary for any quantification and for all true appraisal of relationships. There are those who will tell us that in our country the illiterates are not the only ones who are imprecise, and that, therefore, our explanation is false. We will reply that the great majority of the people are not yet literate enough to write down their thoughts. The cultural environment (created by the people) in which we all live, is that of predominantly oral communication and therefore our reactions, our behavior, our spontaneous cultural manifestations in this area are preponderantly imprecise. Thus those of us who consider ourselves "educated" are generally illiterate. We will be truly literate the day we succeed in eradicating the people's illiteracy. Another danger for the revolution in illiteracy, is the distortion it causes in information. Everyone knows that in the class struggle which opposes revolution to counterrevolution, the revolution has a greater necessity for disseminating truth, circulating official communications in a form that is true to the

original. And we know how a twisted truth, a distorted report can become a countertruth, a counterreport and can unleash actions and behavior favorable to the counterrevolution. And rare are the oral transmissions (those not transcribed) that are free of distortion. And since the action follows information, there is the danger of initiating a distorted action. When it is necessary that the information be extensively disseminated, as in the case of messages from the party to the people, which must reach every sector of the people, distortion and its consequences can reach dangerous proportions. We insist on this, since in the class struggle, the soldiers of the revolution are the entire people and it is they who must be correctly informed and the content of this information must maintain its revolutionary exactitude — that is, it must place facts in the precise context that explains them as elements of a process in which revolutionary action must take place, to give at the same time, the data and lines of revolutionary action and not present the event as fortuitous, extraordinary, even catastrophic and without solution. For the revolution it is no light matter that each militant is unable, today, to read and meditate on the works of the PDG, it is no light matter that today they cannot read and analyze weekly the organ *Horoya*. This temporary situation must be changed rapidly. We must also stress the fact that there is a tendency toward mystification, toward deceiving the immense majority that is in exclusive possession of such an efficient and highly important instrument as writing. This fact is exploited by the counterrevolution. To be the only one who has the privilege of being able to translate documents is not without danger. And to eliminate this danger it is not enough to improve the translator; his privilege must be suppressed in revolutionary fashion, by extending it to all!

Comrades, starting from the necessity to intensify the struggle in the area of scientific and technical progress as a living expression of the necessary union of culture and action, we have gone on to the various conditions necessary and sufficient for the fortuitous conduct of this battle, and we have taken as a fundamental condition the proper functioning of Local Revolutionary Power, and as an indispensable secondary condition, the ability of virtually all people to write. We don't intend to push the problem aside since neither of the two conditions is beyond our ability to solve. We continue to proclaim, "Ready for the revolution," as a precise commitment, a commitment that we must carry out.

And now that we are discussing culture and action, conscience and action, and at the same time are strongly insisting on the need to try to quantify all magnitudes, before ending, we see a little more clearly the gap that sometimes separated our ideological positions from our social practice, and we will try to quantify it. Let us try to take inventory of our purported theoretical and ideological knowledge and our concrete action, and consider the differences in the two lists. This difference indicates to us what might be called our ideological distortion. And when, through our action, we have succeeded in closing the gap, we will know that we are truly Ready for the revolution.



EXPERIENCES  
and Facts

## 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 detain 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.

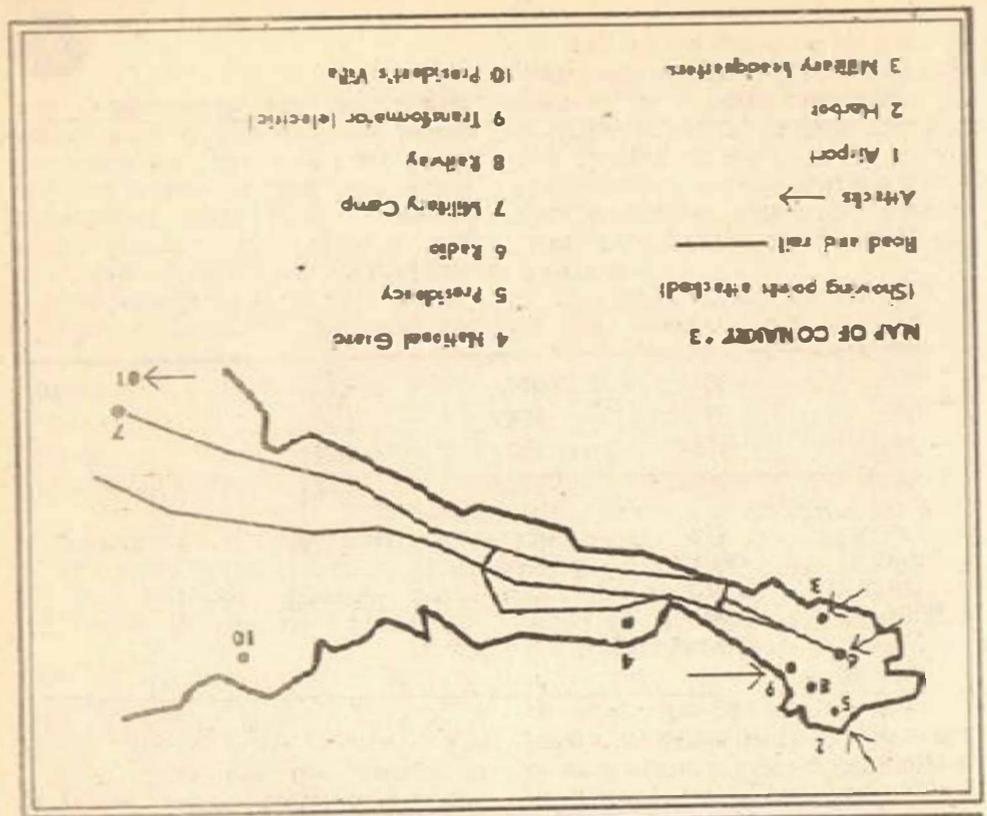
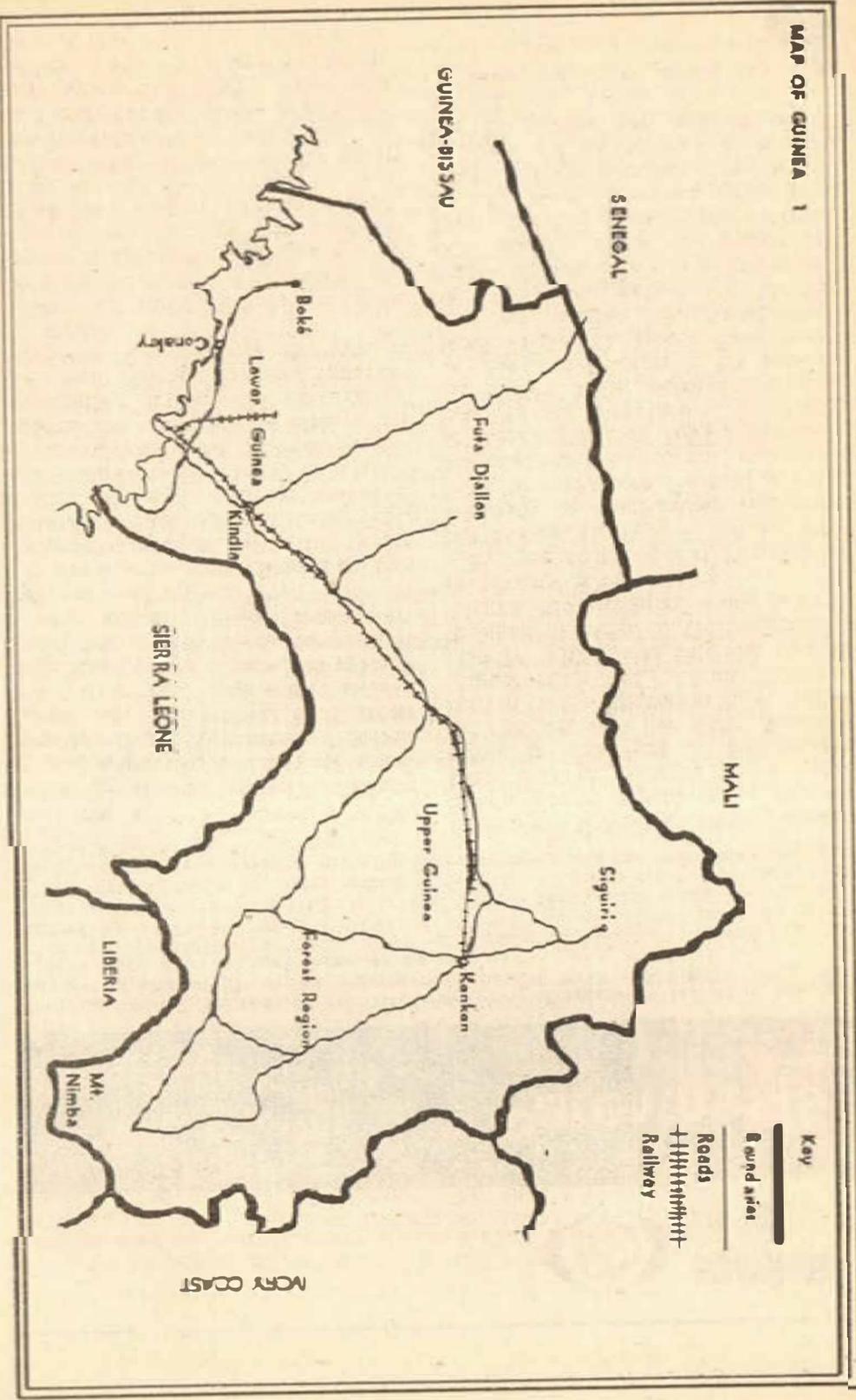
It has now been confirmed by the United Nations investigating team that the invasion was, in actual fact, an act of aggression by Portugal. Associated with Portugal, of course, are the Ojukwuys of Guinea. Nevertheless the invasion is clearly an imperialist act by the powers of the North Atlantic Treaty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



Government of that intrepid 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 policy-makers.

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 flies 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 1953-55 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 taken 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	79 226
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	20 686
Mali	42 023	33 069

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 Moumié 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 elite elements — the Ojukwus 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 1933. 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-cheuvistic 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.



modern  
liberation

## 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 106 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, disbandment 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 question; 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 12,500. 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 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 300 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 counterparts, 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 it 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."

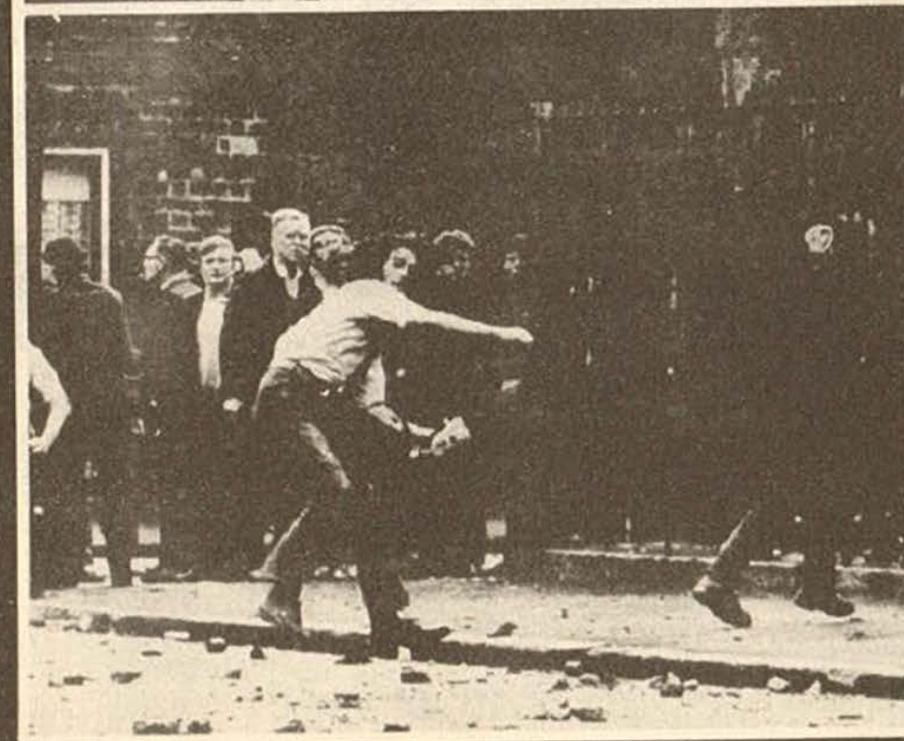
Chichester-Clark holds that the

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.

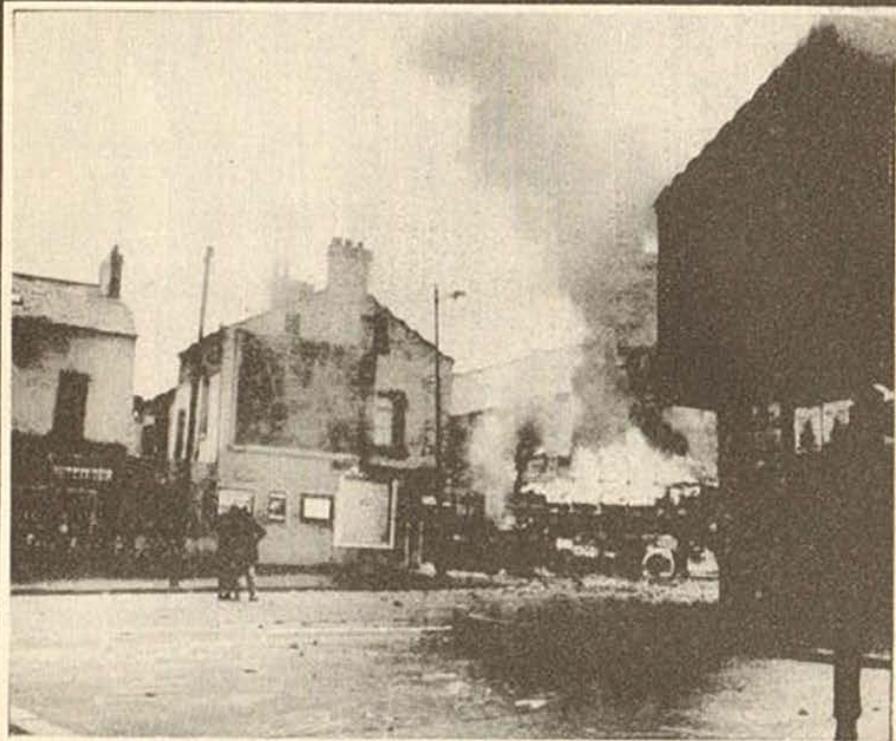
The civil rights movement may well be transformed into a national rising of the working class, certainly of its Catholic component. Time and again, its spokesmen rebuke suggestions that it is a religious struggle: "This is a class struggle; many Protestants are as badly off as we are. This is a fight 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 battlecraft and field maneuvers to auto-theft and political education. The supply of automatic rifles, automatic pistols, revolvers, hand-grenades, schmeisers, 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 bourgeoisie 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 Hillary 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 Fein, 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.

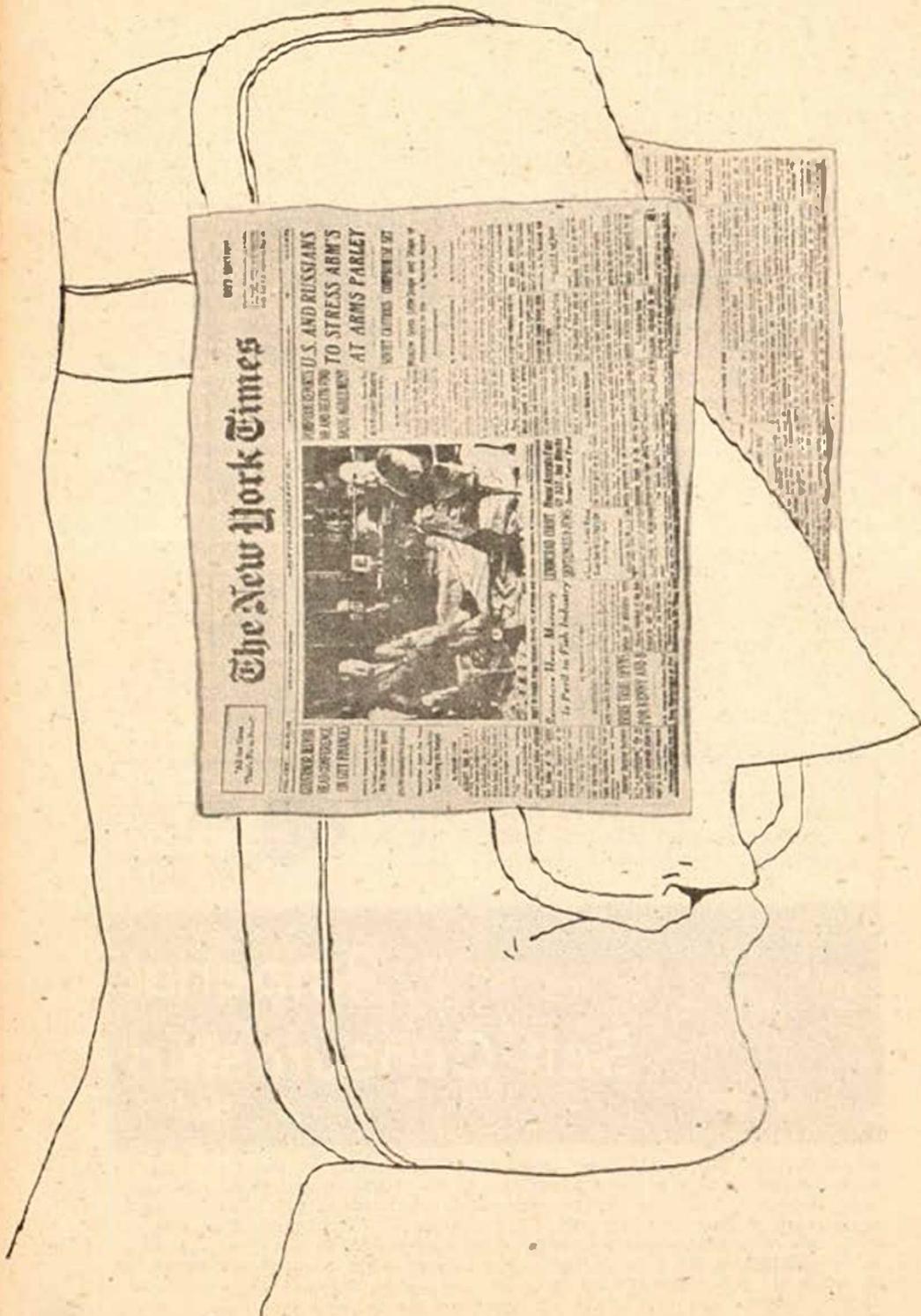


man and  
his word

## Imperial Self-Censureship

James Higgins

James Higgins, North American, professor of journalism at the University of Boston, editor for 20 years, now contributor to The Nation magazine and Liberation News Service (LNS), accepted *Tricontinental's* invitation to talk about the press of the United States and the role of the revolutionary journalist. Higgins gives an historic sketch that covers from the First Amendment to the US Constitution, to the upsurge of the press of the young radicals — the press of the future, as he labels it. His exposition of such an influential segment of contemporary society broadens our view of the US today and the concrete conditions in which the revolutionary movement there is unfolding its struggle.



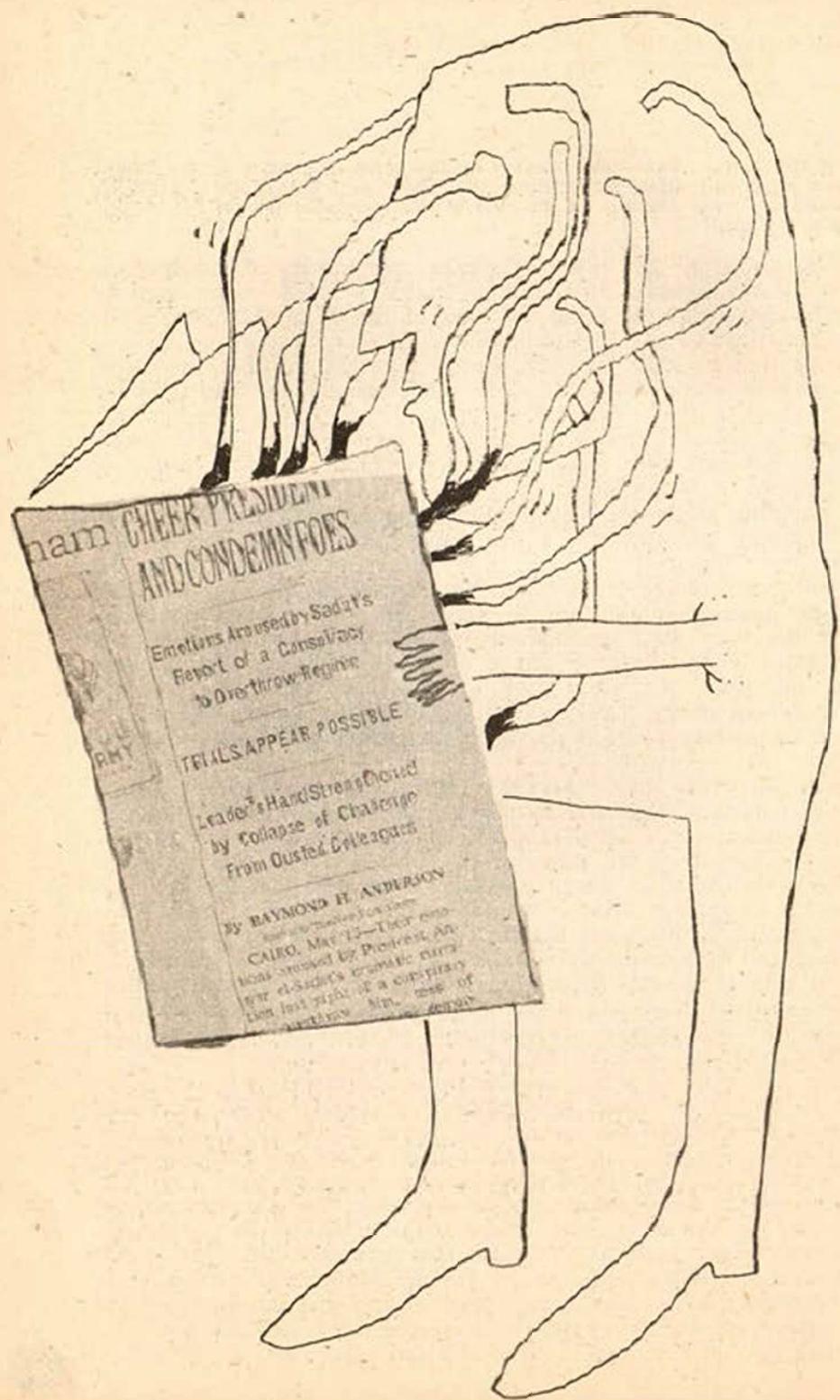
We would like to have your opinion on the press in general in the United States, especially those newspapers that serve as a forum for the radical groups; and your criteria on the role of the journalist within the revolutionary struggle.

Let me begin by giving a very compressed history of the development of the press in the United States. I think it can best be approached from the point of view of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, a Constitution which was framed, not by the ordinary people who fought the revolution, but rather by the lawyers, by the businessmen who had involved themselves in the revolution not simply for general freedom, not simply for general liberty, but for their own special interest, which was to separate their economic activity from the domination of the Crown of Great Britain.

Therefore, when they originally framed the Constitution, they omitted any guarantees of rights and liberties to the people. And when the Constitution, having been framed and presented to the people, was studied by them, they discovered that these rights had not been stipulated and so they insisted that they should be. Thus the very first amendment to the Constitution contains a guarantee of the rights of the people to a free press and it says it in this way: "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances..."

Now what this meant was that given the situation of printing and distribution of printed matter in those days, almost any group or individual could avail himself of the means of production. So from the start, the press of the United States was supposed to have the broadest range possible of reporting of fact and expression of opinion. And it was therefore designed to be a political press in this manner: that the distribution of this broad range of fact and opinion to the people had the purpose of permitting the people to govern themselves successfully. It was a political press in intent, it was a political press in character, because almost all of the newspapers represented political opinions, political parties, political associations, political organizations.

And this state of affairs in the press continued up to the time of the Civil War, which took place from 1861 to 1865. That war completely changed the nature, the tenor, of the development of the United States. It meant that, from then on, the dominant economic force in the United States was going to come from the Eastern banks and Eastern industrialists, and that the agricultural economy of the South was going to be confined to the South, in a secondary position. It meant, for example, that the whole development of the West of the United States was not going to be centered on the development of the land and the development of agriculture, but was going to be an industrial development, the exploitation of resources by the Eastern financial authorities.



You can see this very clearly in terms of the establishment of one of the great press empires of the United States, the chain of newspapers founded and controlled by William Randolph Hearst. Hearst's father accumulated a fortune in mining. When this fortune was bequeathed to his son, he chose — because of his interests — to go into the business of newspapering; and he established a series of newspapers and the news agency, International News Service, which over the years merged with United Press, and is today United Press International.

What this did was two things: 1) it established the press itself as a predominantly business institution; and 2) as a business institution which reflected and represented, in the kind of fact it reported and the kind of editorial policy that it adopted, the interests of the commercial and the industrial and the financial class of which the paper itself was a component.

So at this point there began a completely new development in the press. At the same time, it was becoming more and more expensive to establish newspapers and networks, syndicates, chains of newspapers. No ordinary person could do this. It took too great an investment. Therefore, in the very process itself, this variety which was the evident strain in newspapers prior to the Civil War, this very variety of access to fact and opinion, was constricted.

But the important thing to remember, I think, is that the press at this stage of the game had become frankly a business institution: that its main interest was profit, its main interest was making money. Its main interest was not in serving the interests of the people in terms of their own self-government. What you had, following the general patterns of economic development in the United States, was an increasing concentration of ownership and then a consequent reduction in the number of newspapers.

Comrade Joseph North of the Daily World, in his remarks at the VIIIth Congress of the International Organization of Journalists (OIJ), gave the figures that, in the last 40 years, the number of newspapers in the United States has decreased from approximately 4000 to 1750.

And there have been laments and investigations by liberals studying the press, studying this condition and the increasing monopolistic concentration, the reduction in the number of newspapers, as to how — by what means — some kind of competition could be reintroduced into the dissemination of news, into the structure of the mass media of the United States. Nobody was able to come up with an answer. There were a number of suggestions, that institutions such as the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the AFL-CIO, etc. might publish newspapers. There were suggestions made that the graduate schools of some of the great universities should publish competitive yardstick newspapers. There were suggestions made that even on a government level, that certain departments of the government — say the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or, say, a state government — would publish its own newspaper as a means of reintroducing competition. But all of these were very unrealistic and were dreadfully and drastically and fundamentally and strenuously opposed by the powers that be in the press itself.

About 1947 there was a famous study — I think it was called



"Toward a Free and Responsible Press" — made by a commission headed by Robert Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago and now head of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California. This commission made certain recommendations to reintroduce competition into the press, but the study itself never came to anything. It was subsidized by Rockefeller money, perhaps even by Time-Life, Henry Luce money. But nonetheless it was a remarkably honest and remarkably deep analysis of the problems of communication, the problems of mass media in the United States. But it never got anywhere. It was, as they say in the United States, filed and forgotten.

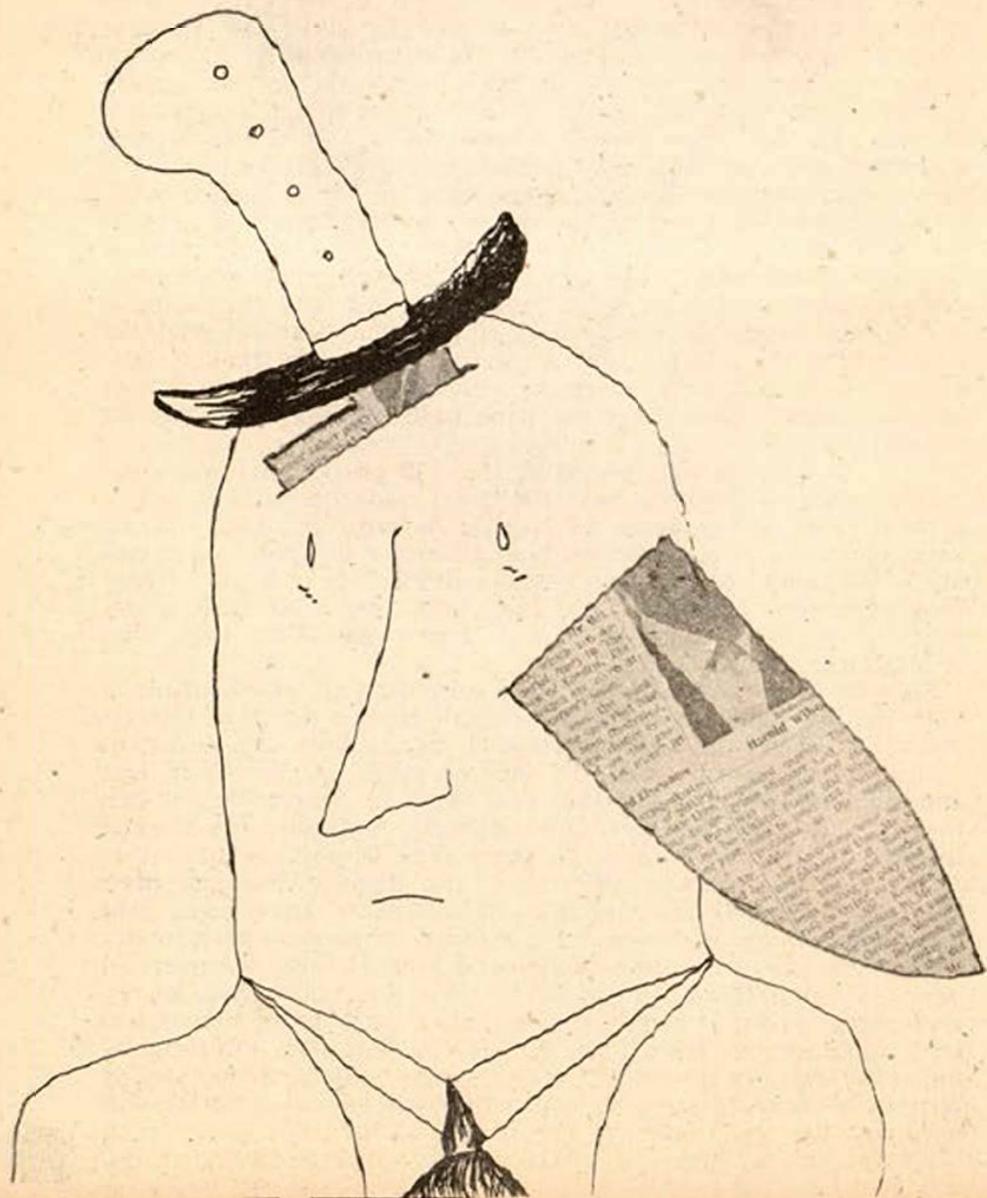
It wasn't until about ten years ago that the youth of the United States, particularly white students in the university, began to demonstrate opposition not only to the life style, the cultural style of the bourgeoisie, but also to the instruments of communication which were controlled by the bourgeoisie, by commercial interests: That began the period of the production and distribution of what we call underground newspapers in the United States, a phenomenon that dates back perhaps ten or twelve years. In the very beginning, these papers were what might be called wild, uninhibited cultural-protest newspapers without much of a political character to them unless you're talking of politics and political character in the very broad sense. They used language which was not permitted in the bourgeois press; but which was very natural and normal language to the young people. They carried graphics, illustrations, photographs, etc. A great deal of their content concerned music, concerned drugs, particularly marijuana, etc. It was largely a hippy press but at the same time it had a strong protest character to it.

Little by little, over a period of 10 or 12 years, more and more of this press — perhaps now the great majority of this underground press — has come to have a definite political, radical, revolutionary strain. Consciously so and reflecting the revolutionary development of the young people themselves in terms of how they now view their task and how they now view their newspapers. They view them as organs of propaganda for their own revolutionary cause.

So what you have had here is a very natural development, a very natural introduction of the kind of competition that liberals concerned about the reeducation and monopolistic concentration of the bourgeois press and the lack of variety of access to fact and opinion — you have this very kind of competition which they had been calling for, spontaneously, naturally developing from the youth. And I think it's interesting to observe that never once in all the recommendations of the liberals who had been studying the conditions and state of the press, never once had they called for or even seen the possibility of such a development.

Now when I call it the underground press, I think we must be very clear that, in the United States, this does not mean a secret, clandestine press. It simply means that it is a press that comes from underneath, comes from the young; that it is self-supporting, cooperatively produced, cooperatively edited, cooperatively written through groups of youths assembled in collectives in various cities and towns in the United States.

At the present time, this press probably consists of 400 to 500



papers, most of them appearing weekly. They probably reach an audience of between 1500000 and 2000000 — in any case a very significant portion of the youth of the United States. I think the circulation is going to continue to grow.

This does not mean that it is a consistent press. Some of the newspapers might appear very irregularly, like one I wrote for, for some time, called *The Realist*, edited by Paul Krassner. Nonetheless, this press is here to stay and, as a matter of fact, represents the press of the future. It is the vanguard press of the United States at the present time.

Since I have said that this press exists in particular cities and particular towns and does not have any formal organization, any interconnected organization of its own, it naturally has to depend on some other institution for news of a national and news of an international character. And the service on which it depends is itself a collective news service, called *Liberation News Service*, organized by a group of 15 or 20 young people, located in New York.

The function of this collective is — through its correspondents in various cities in the United States and abroad, and through reproduction from the underground papers that flow into it and the news matter of which flows back through *Liberation News Service* to its other subscribers in the underground press — to serve both as a source of news which its own correspondents cover, which its own correspondents report, and at the same time as a center of communication and distribution for material that appears in practically all the newspapers of the underground press.

It has correspondents abroad and it sends reporters abroad. It has a team — a husband and wife team that has been in the Middle East, in Jordan, for some time. It has a correspondent travelling through Latin America. I understand that *Liberation News Service* may now set up a bureau either in North Viet Nam or one of the liberated zones of South Viet Nam. I simply mention this to indicate the kind of wide area that *Liberation News Service* is able to cover in the dissemination of news. And *Liberation News Service* of course has a very strong revolutionary political character, and it's doing what it's doing not simply for fun and games, not simply for what you might call indiscriminate protest, but in order to further the cause of social understanding and social revolution in the United States.

The trials of the New York Panther 21 and that of Lonny McLucas in New Haven, and of course the trial of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven are examples of the type of news events that *Liberation News Service* is concerned with — and exclusively concerned with, in contrast to the commercial press which might cover the trials of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, but in a modest way, in an indirect way, in a way in which the news about it falls into such a larger pattern of news that those who read it can't grasp its political character.

I would like to say something about the hearings held in Washington, DC, recently by Viet Nam Veterans against the War. I attended these hearings as a representative of *Liberation News Service* and *The Nation* magazine, and it is my opinion that they constitute one of the most significant developments, one of the most important developments in the antiwar movement in the United States today.

They were mainly organized and conducted by former officers of the Army and the Marine Corps, some of them trained at the elite military academy of the United States — West Point graduates — captains and majors who have fought in Viet Nam and who have turned against the war, against the tortures, the murders, the massacres, the defoliations, the devastations, the destruction which they themselves had participated in and conducted in Viet Nam, and in Laos and Cambodia.

Already, before the Washington hearings, they had held other hearings in 12 cities of North America. So they had prepared the way for the more than 50 eyewitness testimonies to war crimes rendered in Washington.

Ten minutes away, on Capitol Hill, were 436 Representatives, and 100 Senators of the United States Congress, all invited to the hearings. Not one came. Newsmen and women, from press, radio and television did come. (Not, however, *The New York Times*, with more than 40 staff members in Washington.) However, the appearance of reporters and what happens to their reports are two different things.

The hearing received routine attention as news matter. *The Washington Post*, the prestigious newspaper of the capital of the United States, did not choose to place its reports on page one. The national television networks gave the more than 15 hours of detailed testimony a total of about four minutes air time. The relatively small liberal weekly press, such as the magazines *The Nation* and *New Republic*, did pay serious attention to the story the veterans had to tell. But they have perhaps a readership of 70 000 in a nation of about 200 000 000 people.

So it was the underground press of the United States which told the story of the war crimes hearings of the veterans of Viet Nam. Not by sending their own reporters to the hearings, by the way, but by receiving the news from Liberation News Service. What did Liberation News Service report on the veterans? In brief, this: That the veterans had come to the conclusion that the war itself was a crime. That everyone involved in it was therefore a war criminal. That the master criminals were the political and military authorities of the United States. The trial of Lt. Calley for the massacre of Vietnamese civilians at My Lai is a spectacle staged by the authorities to mislead, cheat and deceive the people of the country. That part of the criminal responsibility of the authorities lies in their orders to young Americans to go to Viet Nam to murder, burn, poison, torture, devastate and destroy everybody and everything that lies in their path.

"War crimes in Viet Nam," the veterans say, "are not incidents. They are policy. Handed down from above." I quote a West Point trained Major, now a psychiatrist at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland: "The lives of the Vietnamese are considered insignificant, their deaths inconsequential. This is the pervasive attitude from the highest command levels down to the lowest enlisted men. United States war policy is antihuman and is aimed at dehumanization and death."

It was this same major, Dr. Gordon Livingston, former regimental surgeon of the 11th Armored Cavalry Division, Black Horse Viet Nam, who quoted a prayer delivered by the regimental chaplain. Here it is: "Help us, O Lord, to fulfill the standing orders of this regiment. Give us the wisdom to find the bastards

and the strength to pile it on!" Thus do the imperialists practice their vaunted principles of Christianity in Viet Nam!

Well, it is possible that if the mass movement of civilians against the war has so far failed to force the authorities to bring it to an immediate close, the veterans who have recovered their humanity may help the mass movement to succeed. The problem of the moment is to convey the news the veterans are making to as much of the United States public as possible.

I would like to include some comments on other organs of the revolutionary and protest press which come from a political, or in the case of the Black Muslims, what might be called a religiously-oriented organization. The press of the Black Muslim movement is, of course, *Muhammed Speaks*, which circulates in the black community of the United States to the extent of, I believe, about 600 000 copies. Then there is the press of the Black Panther Party, the *Black Panther*. It appears weekly and this circulates within the black community of the United States to the extent of about 150 000. There are probably some others I should mention, such as the Chicano press, which has several publications including *Grito del Norte* edited by Elizabeth Martínez. And there is also the newspaper *Palante*, edited and published by the Young Lords, its editor being Pablo (Yoruba) Guzmán. I would say the circulation of this paper in the Puerto Rican community is probably in the vicinity of 20 000 to 25 000. So you have these developments as well, in addition to the underground press.

And one other thing I would add is that the white student underground press has developed what might be called a wing of women's liberation and that there are now many newspapers — *Rat* in New York is one of them, *Leviathan* is also one of them, there is one in Washington, DC, called *Off Our Backs*, perhaps ten or a dozen underground newspapers — which represent the women's liberation movement as a whole and are produced by collectives of sisters in the women's liberation movement.

There is one very important thing I think I should mention and it is this: there is a tradition in American journalism that the journalist is supposed to be objective. And what this means is that the journalist is supposed to stand off from the event or the activity or the person that he is describing or reporting, and remain separate from the event, from the activity, the person, as he gathers the news to report about it. He is supposed to stay apart from any action whatsoever. However, one of the most important characteristics of the underground press is that the youth are actively involved in the campaigns, the movements and activities they report. As we would say, they are part of the action. Therefore, they have not only broken the tradition of the commercial, monopolistic press by publishing self-sustaining newspapers, but they've broken the tradition — and what I would call the artificial tradition — of supposed objectivity, by becoming themselves active in the events, the movements, the very actions they report. For me this is a very important aspect and an example that I hope to follow.

I should say that apart from this new type of press, there exists — I would not call it a movement or action, but yes a sentiment among many reporters in the commercial press. In my opinion, many commercial press reporters are very much frustrated and dissatisfied at having to be outside the action and

very much dissatisfied and very much frustrated in their efforts to get real truthful news about very important things in the United States, into their own newspapers. I think of one reporter in particular whom I knew very well because he worked for my newspaper in York, Pennsylvania, and now... I don't think I'll mention either his name or that of his newspaper, because if this interview is published, he might suffer reprisal and I wouldn't want him to. The fact that I cannot mention either his name or that of his newspaper is indicative of how the press operates in the United States. I wouldn't say that he would be fired, because he is a member of the Newspaper Guild, which is the journalists' union, and it would be difficult to fire him. But I would say that he would suffer in his work. So I will only say that he works for one of the largest, one of the most prestigious and one of the most influential newspapers in the United States. He is a black man and what he told me is that he is becoming heartsick and weary. He is a reporter of great talent and very much respected, but he is tired, worn out by his daily efforts to try to persuade his editors to assign him to news that he considers important, and to publish the stories in the manner in which he writes them, and to the length that he writes them. Sometimes he succeeds, but it is an unbearable daily struggle. This is one of the pressures exercised against the reporters of the commercial press.

There is an organization of black reporters in the commercial press of which I haven't heard much recently but which promised a great deal at one time. It was called Black Perspective, and it was attempting to organize black reporters on all the commercial newspapers in the United States to guarantee that the point of view of blacks and information about black people be honestly, sincerely and genuinely presented.

The response of the commercial press has been to intensify efforts to recruit and employ black reporters, tempting them with attractive opportunities and offering them a great deal of money. Now why do they do this? Two reasons: first, they want to do it because they have discovered that they don't have access to black communities with white reporters. It's as simple as that, a practical matter. They can't send white reporters into the black communities any more because the black people won't talk to them. The black people may do worse than that, they may toss them out on their ear. So the press, in its own interest, is trying to recruit young black reporters to do this work for them. The second reason is that they wish to put a good face, you might say, on the newspaper. They wish to make it look as if the newspaper is truly democratic, truly integrated, and therefore they hire so that if they get any criticism they say, "No, we aren't a totally white paper, we aren't a white supremacy paper. Look: we have this black reporter."

So young black people, many of them, are having a very difficult choice to make. Because having been economically deprived for many years, and suddenly being presented with the opportunity to earn money and have a prestige job, is attractive to them. And they're also torn inside themselves and placed in a conflict, because most of them are militant young black people and they wish somehow to serve the interests of the black community and the betterment of their people. So it's a very difficult situation,

an awkward situation, one of contradiction at the present time. And I'm sorry to report that, from my own experience — I won't go into it now but I have very close association with the training of young black reporters — most of them are choosing to go with the commercial white press at the present time. This may change, I don't know.

Now when I go back to the United States, I have promised to teach a course, as professor of journalism, to a group of about 25 graduate students at the University of Boston. They're mostly white — I believe there is one woman from Venezuela and one black woman in the course. The rest are white Americans, and they are good kids.

The title of the course is Press and Government. I told them that when I came back from Cuba I would be very happy to report to them on the relationship between the government and the press of Cuba, and I asked them at the same time to examine the relationship between the press and government in the United States — the economic relationship particularly, because you know the United States Government has passed legislation which grants newspapers special mailing privileges so they don't have to pay as much to send out their newspapers as the ordinary citizen has to pay to send his mail. And this comes about because of the influence of newspapers upon Congressmen and upon Senators to do this.

But the main thing I am going to present to my students during this term is, as I said before, that the objective of journalism is to serve the interests of the people by telling the truth to the people. And I am going to teach them certain things about this as best I can, and I hope also to learn from the students. I hope to teach them certain techniques of interviews, certain techniques of reporting, certain techniques of writing, certain techniques of approach to events, certain techniques of knowing how to appreciate what is news and what isn't news, and the relative importance of this news from that. But after I teach them all this, they are going to have to find out for themselves, number one, whether they are going to continue to follow the objective of telling the people the truth and serving their interests. And, number two, if they choose to do that, where they are going to position themselves in order to do it. I would advise, of course, every single one of them to go into the underground press, but I wouldn't even attempt to compel them to do it, because I know they would do it at tremendous economic sacrifice, and some of course are married and some intend to get married and so I would leave this difficult decision up to them. But this is the manner in which I will proceed with the teaching of journalism at Boston University.

But I would say to any of my students or to any young journalist who asked me how to follow the prescription that I have just given of telling the truth to the people and of serving the interest of the people — all who want to be honest and ethical and moral in their conduct as journalists and in their working tasks as journalists — I would tell them that in my opinion there is only one way to do this in the present era, the present period of history; and that is by being revolutionary. What I am saying is this: the only way to be ethical, the only way to be moral, the only way to be honest, at this period, is to be revolutionary.



## At the Root

Almost ten years after proclaiming Cuba Territory Free of Illiteracy — December 1961 — the Cuban Revolutionary Government held its First National Congress of Education and Culture in Havana. If, on the earlier occasion, the army of literacy assembled in José Martí Revolutionary Square to review the successful campaign that opened the doors of learning to more than 700 000 Cubans, this Congress was the culmination of assemblies of almost 100 000 professors and teachers throughout the island who discussed, at the base, all the problems relating to the development of plans sketched by the Revolution in this area. When the educators affirmed in the declaration they approved that the socialist revolution itself is the greatest achievement of Cuban culture, they were not using a clichéd phrase. It is sufficient to enumerate certain achievements of the first twelve years to support their contention. The Revolutionary Government created 10 000 classrooms, nationalized education and extended its benefits to the entire school-age population whereas before 1959, only 35% had access to schools — 800 000 children were excluded. Military barracks were converted into schools, the plan for scholarship students was established and developed. Education for Adults was organized through the efforts of Workers' and Peasants' Facilities. Technological, industrial and animal husbandry education were created and stimulated. Students were linked to production. All educational programs sought the common objective of universal education. One aspect that merited the special attention of the delegates was that of culture and the artistic formation of the new generations, noting the decisive role of the teacher and the school in this proposal. Referring to the responsibility of cultural institutions, the declaration states: "We will encourage the legitimate and militant expressions of cultural activity by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America which imperialism tries to smash. Our cultural institutions will be tools for the real artists of those continents, the persecuted and those who are not domesticated by cultural colonialism and actively participate in the anti-imperialist struggles of their people."

THE DELEGATES to the 1st National Congress on Education and Culture, held in Havana during the period April 23-30, 1971, "Year of Productivity," formulated the following Declaration:

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

In its convocation, the Congress announced the following objectives:

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

To learn what factors affect the work of those in education.

To afford the opportunity to promote — with the creative contribution of the masses — the examination of problems the solution of which require continuous, systematic, and deep study.

To offer recommendations that can serve as the basis for the elaboration of our educational policy.

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

We are pleased to announce the participation in this Congress of 1800 delegates, representing teachers, educational, scientific and cultural agencies and institutions, and delegates from our Party, the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC), Committees for the

Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), Young Communist League (UJC), Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), Union of Pioneers of Cuba (UPC), and agencies dealing with production and services.

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

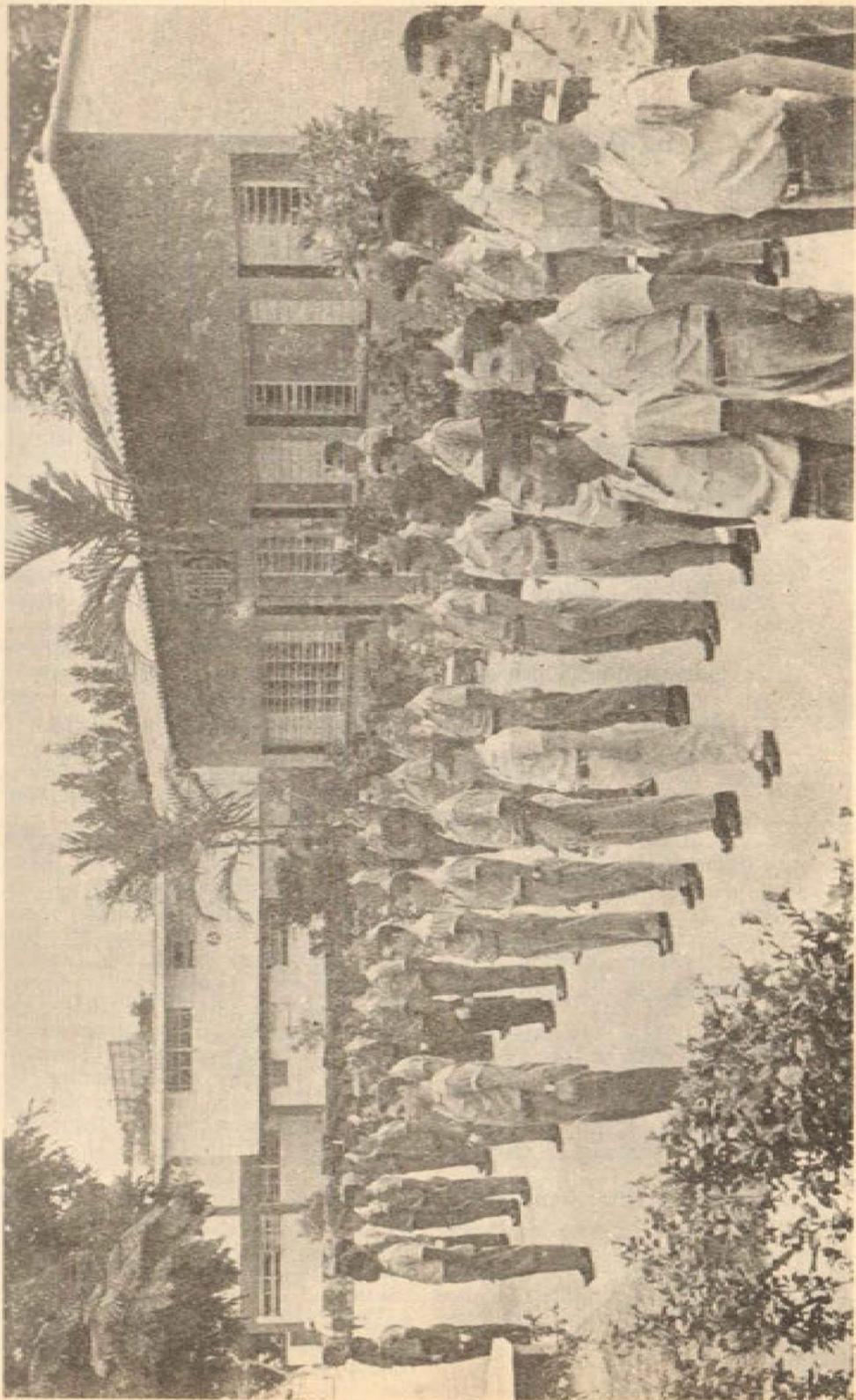
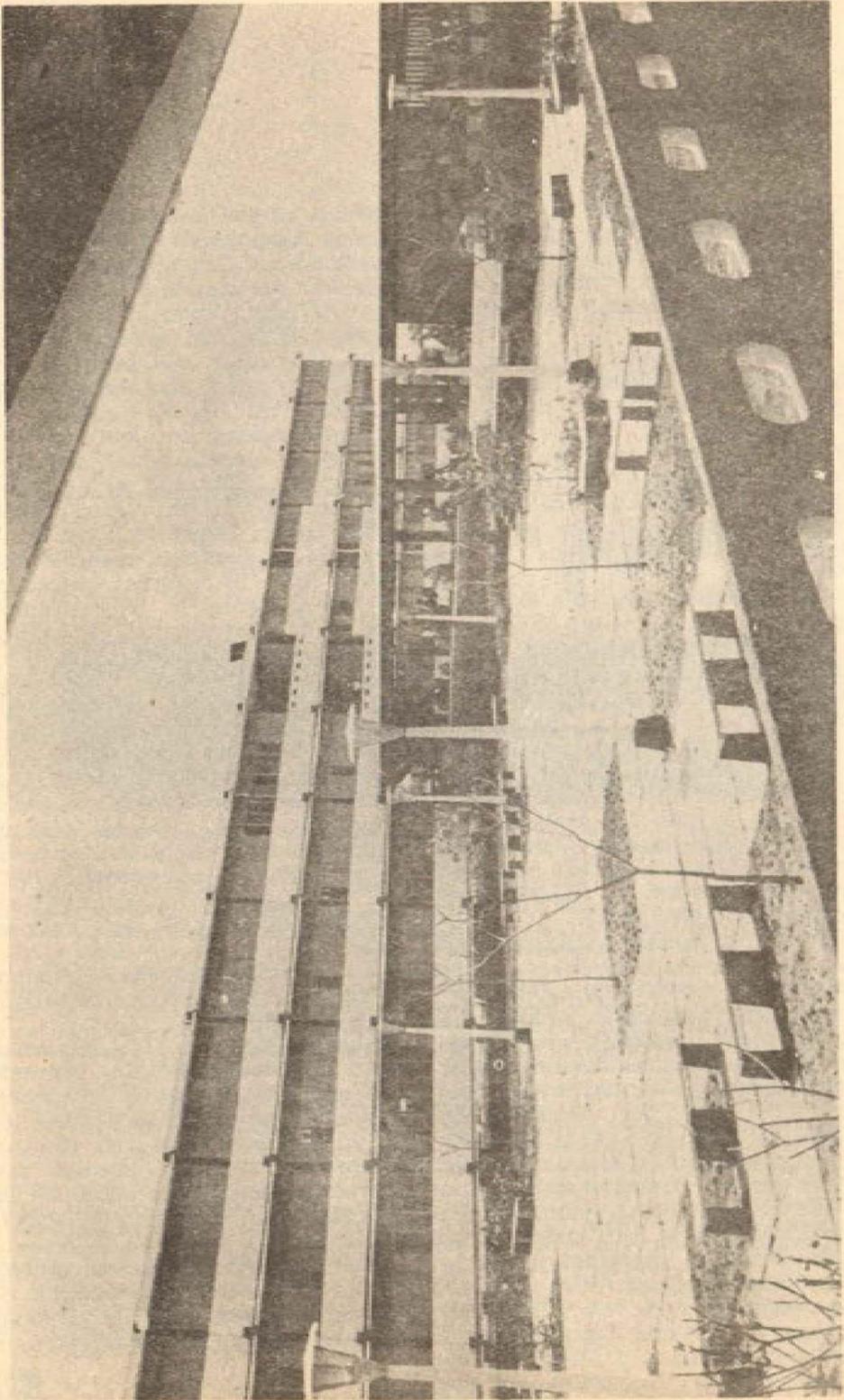
In keeping with the stated objectives, the agenda was discussed in 11 commissions and in plenary sessions.

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

The principal subjects of debates, resolutions and recommendations were the following:

Absenteeism, dropouts and scholastic retardation call for concrete and energetic measures in connection with the compulsory character of school attendance and the responsibility of both parents and pupils to the school, inasmuch as education is a right and an obligation of all.

The Congress considered, among other measures, the promotion of school activities, tending to motivate the pupil to stay in school and,



also, a better coordination between the curricula at various levels, which will make for an eradication of the problem of pupil dropout. Moreover, it is necessary to step up study at the Centers for Guidance and Diagnosis in each of the provinces so that, in close collaboration with the teachers, backward students can be detected and assigned to special schools.

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

The introduction of a discipline whereby the norms of socialist morality are taught, where the misuse of social property is considered a demerit in evaluating the student and where there is strict fulfillment of norms regarding the care of the social property of the school, are methods for developing a favorable attitude in the pupil's formation.

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

It is of the greatest importance that education combine love for the socialist homeland with love for other peoples of the world through the strengthening of activities and tasks aimed at solidarity among the

men and peoples struggling for their liberation.

We believe in deepening the concept of solidarity as an attitude toward all peoples, especially those struggling against Yankee imperialism; a school program that increases better knowledge of our own country and the countries that constitute the vanguard of the struggle; the reestablishment of student plenary assemblies; the careful preparation for student participation in acts of solidarity which make for increased awareness; the creation of historical-cultural committees in every junior high school; the inclusion of study materials on the peoples of Indochina and other peoples fighting Yankee aggression and imperialist oppression.

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

In order to improve the student's attitude toward study, we have considered the need to guide teachers concerning student attitudes, the strengthening of vocational guidance work, an understanding of the objectives of study, the creation of conditions for students to learn to study, the elimination of every measure promoting the practice of cramming by the students, the intensification of self-guided activities and the functional use of the basic tools of learning.

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

The fulfillment of Civil Defense orientation in the schools; giving a boost to interest clubs connected

with the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR); the inclusion of combat training in teacher-training schools and in the universities are some of the proposals aimed at stepping up the revolutionary military training of our young people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

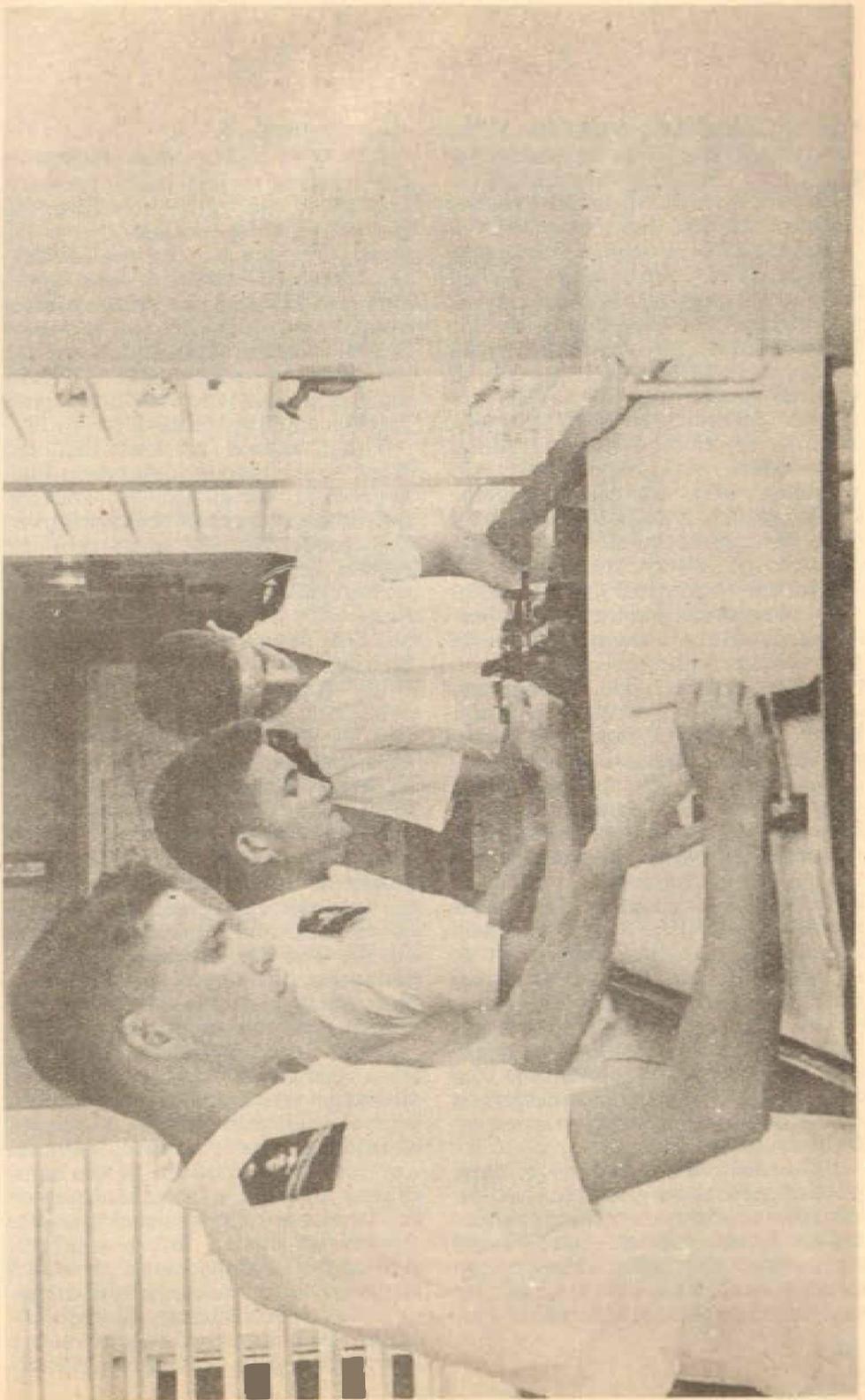
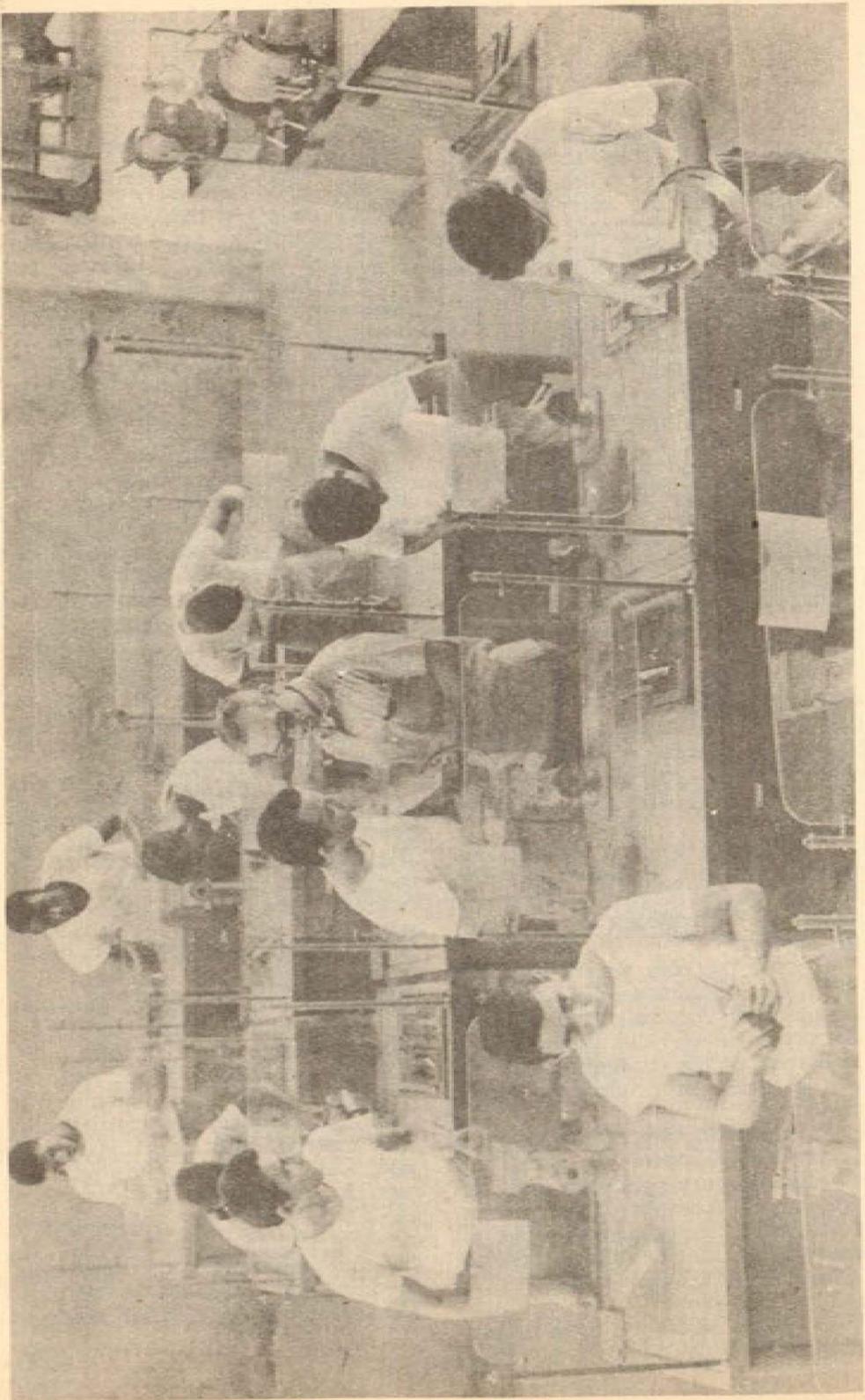
The most advanced form of participation on the junior high school

level, the schools in the countryside, is the result of solid experience within our socioeconomic reality. Young people at these schools combine productive work with study during the entire academic year and at the same time that they are educated, they contribute their efforts to the development of the country. The partial experiences which have already been obtained must be closely studied and analyzed.

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

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

Education should reflect and encourage the changes which result from revolutionary transformations, both material and moral. It should also, and especially, guide and direct the creation of the new man and a new people who are capable of creating superior conditions of social and individual existence while shedding the hangovers of the past. This great objective which requires



explicit definition, will have to be carried out to a large extent by increasingly linking the students with work, both as social practice and for concrete production.

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

To effect the progressive transformation of a man representative of the future, integration measures will be needed at all levels. This involves the study and application of plans and programs which, without excessively frequent modifications, further this goal. Some of these things were covered in discussions which included elementary school programs, foreign language study and several university specialties. If the formative educational process is to continue from childhood to the postgraduate level through a permanent interaction of study and work, personality development, integration and communication with society and other factors, it is clear, as was expressed in the Congress, that there must be coordination and great educational unity.

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

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

tural activity.

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

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

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

The Congress echoes the unanimous demand that training programs for teachers of different levels and kinds of education must be uniform and must be arrived at on the basis of the unity of aims, pedagogical and ideological orientation, study plans, methodology and educational research.

It also recommends the formation of a greater number of teachers' training centers in the provinces, to make possible the use of the resources of the scientific, cultural and artistic institutions of the community and bring the schools closer to the place of origin and possible destination of the future teachers. Although the Congress is aware of the temporary nature of the emergency teacher training plans and is of the opinion that regular plans must develop to provide the defini-

tive solution, it recognizes the important role played in our educational development by the non-graduate teachers who represent the majority of all educational personnel.

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

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

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

Inasmuch as many educational workers have limited experience and professional training, we must increase the technical aid which makes it possible for them to better handle their job.

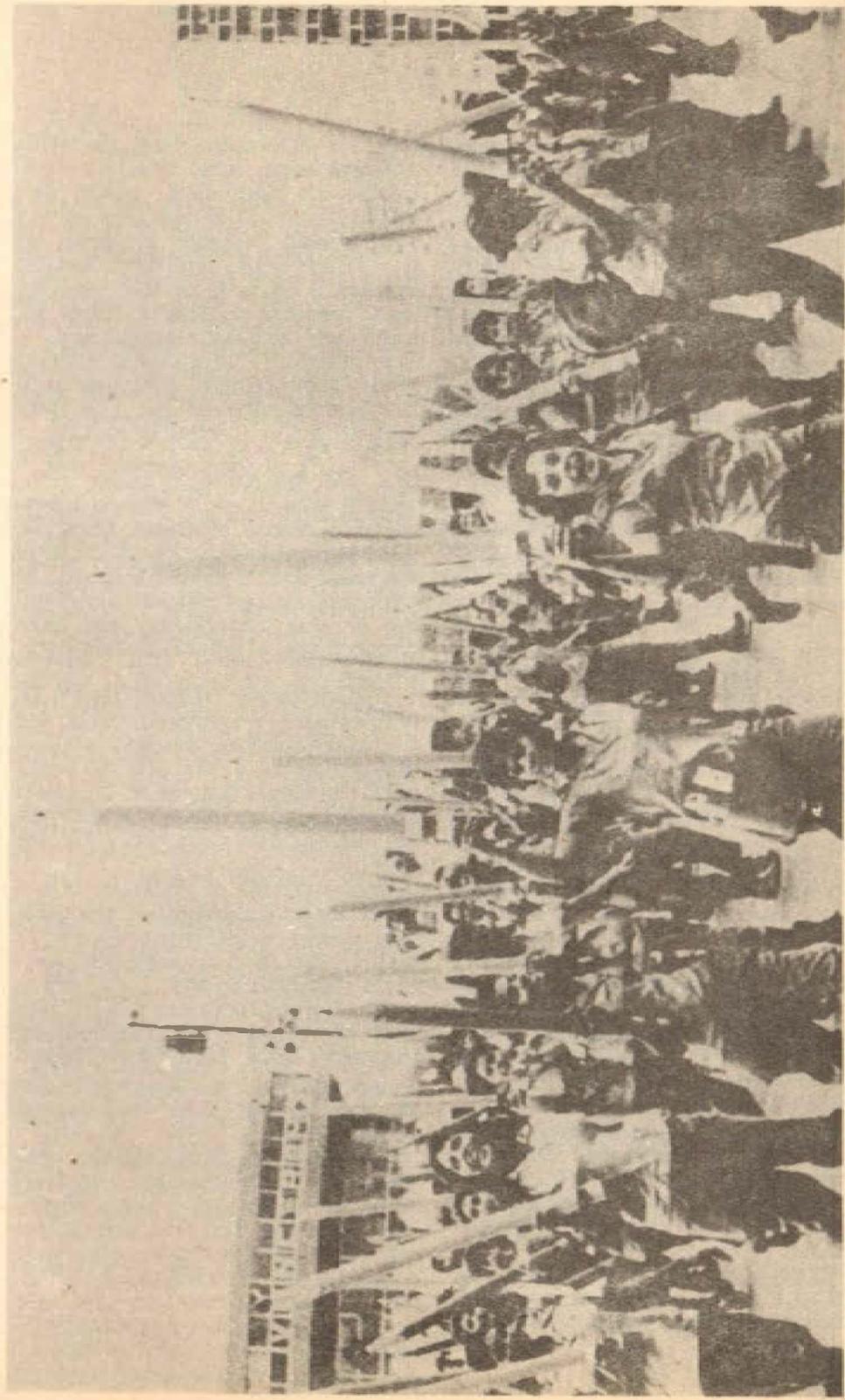
The Congress firmly believes that technical aid must reach the teacher continuously and systematically, using the most experienced teachers for this, without taking them from the classrooms. The methods used in promoting teachers were reviewed and the information which should appear in their records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

The delegates also considered the problem of the educational worker's time, which is often used in unnecessary meetings, and concluded that it is important to normalize the teacher's time and establish a priority scale for the tasks which most benefit education and the revolutionary process in general.

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

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

The methods of teaching modern math, learning reading and writing, science education on the basis of integrated processes or with the application of the modern techniques of the inductive method, audiolingual and visual methods for the teaching of foreign languages and other means and methods of pedagogical technology which are now being applied or tested in our



system, are considered achievements although they are not exempt from problems.

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

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

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

The single, accumulated personal file of the student covering pre-school to university education was approved; it will show the characteristics and changes which are observed in the process of the student's overall development. The participation of the teachers in the plans of the Ministry of Education and the establishment of bodies and methods to guarantee the unity of the educational system were also discussed.

It is important that information on the plans, resolutions and decisions on higher levels of the Min-

istry of Education, and on international educational trends be disseminated; promotion, control and information to the teachers on the studies and research required by our educational movement is also important as well as the need for mass media and other cultural institutions of the Revolution to strengthen the educational-cultural work of the teacher and the school in the formation of the new generations in our socialist country.

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

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

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

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

The Congress feels that the people are not only the object of massive continuous and integral education but also the protagonists, an important fact possible only in a revolutionary process; and that People's Educational Organizations are the ideal device to coordinate and organize popular action aimed at stimulating education and solving

its problems.

In view of this, the delegates welcome the document worked out by the Revolutionary Leadership, which establishes the structure and role of the People's Educational Organizations, and support their creation and their content.

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

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

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

The delegates to this Congress feel that the People's Educational Organizations are making a great contribution towards the solution of the social problems of the educational worker.

The Congress feels that the People's Educational Organizations, and particularly the School Councils, should actively participate in ideological work in the area of the school community both in the analysis of problems and in the measures to be taken for their so-

lution.

To better handle this task, the cultural and ideological improvement of those doing educational work in mass organizations and of the members of the People's Educational Organizations should be systematized with adequate methods. So as not to negate this improvement, it is recommended that the organizations stabilize the situation of these cadres by avoiding frequent personnel transfers.

#### Environmental Conditions

The Congress analyzed in depth the influence of the environment on education.

The following subjects were discussed:

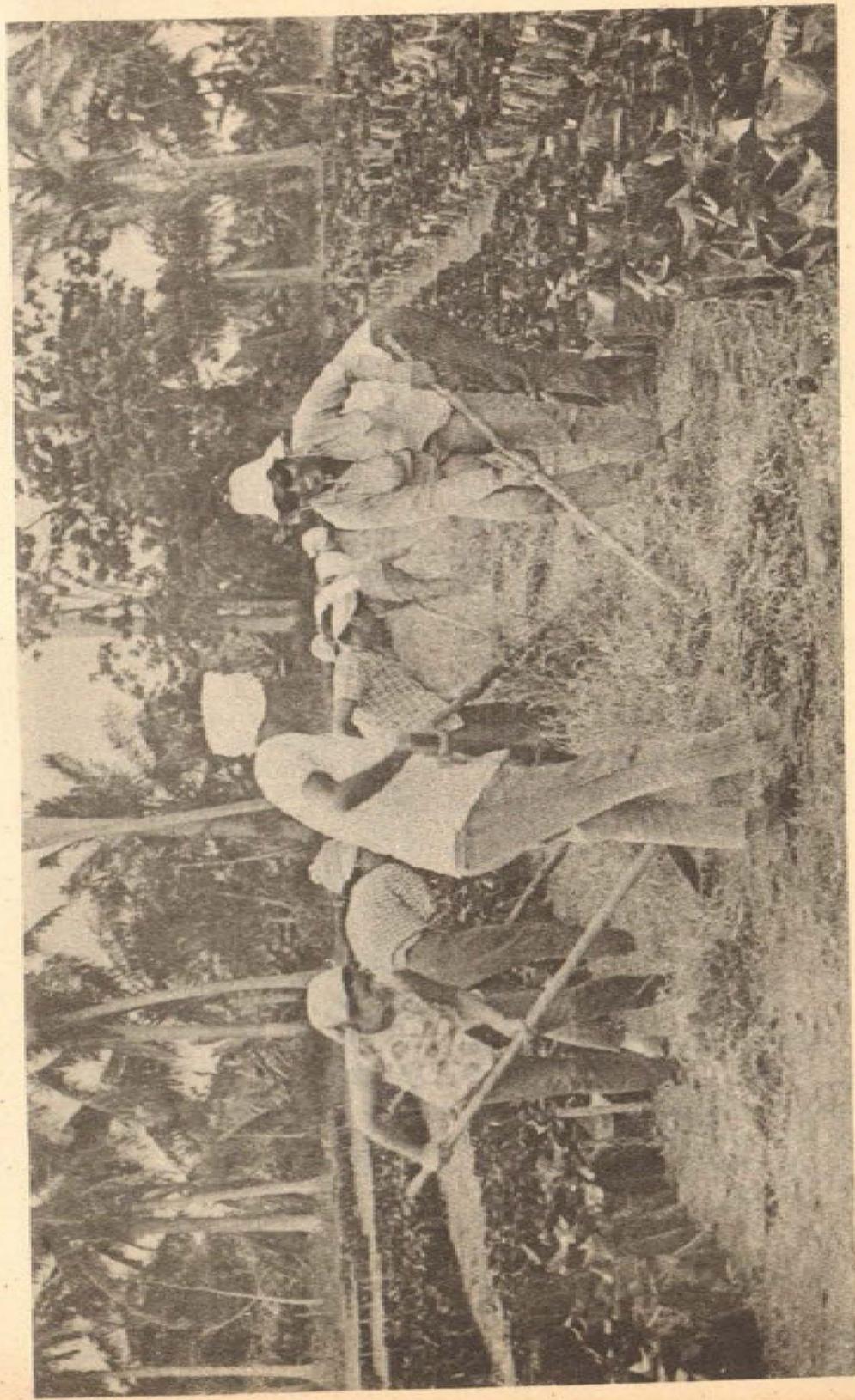
- Links between the home and the school.
- Relations between the centers of production and the schools in the community.
- Fashions, habits and extravagant conduct.
- Religion.
- Juvenile delinquency.
- Sex.
- Use of student's free time in extracurricular community activities.
- Mass media.
- Cultural activity.

The Congress approved the following in each of these fields:

#### Links Between the Home and the School

1) That the School Councils must be strengthened in order to get them to play a more direct role in parent education. We must set up, where needed and where possible, Parents' Schools in general education. These will be administered

<sup>1</sup> The sponsorship of schools is a system whereby workers in a work center take under their tutelage a school of their choice. (Ed. Note.)



by the School Councils; not as separate institutions, but rather as a program of activities in the broad educational sense, aimed at the overall formation of the student with full development of his mental, physical and social health.

2) That all existing community resources should be made available for parent education, in keeping with the possibilities available to the political and mass organizations.

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

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

5) That scholastic retardation as well as underachievement are the result of absenteeism and dropouts which in turn lead to behavioral problems and are present in most cases of juvenile delinquency.

6) That the Revolution, in attaching greater importance to the role of the teacher, has brought dignity to teaching and on many occasions has affirmed the importance of the teacher and his work

in the ideological formation of the new generations. The conduct of the teacher and his revolutionary attitude lead society to recognize his authority.

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

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

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

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

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

8) That both parents and teachers have an inherent social responsibility in the education of a student, to which they must respond with solidarity, since any deficiencies in one area cause corresponding and immediate repercussions in the other area. Hence, the bonds of cooperation, understanding and harmony between parents and teacher must necessarily be strengthened.

9) That it is evident that parents

should be taught health habits, considering that bad health habits learned at home can be transmitted to other students, to the detriment of their health.

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

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

Considering the importance that the Centers of Technological Studies have in the development of our country, relations between these centers and the production enterprises in each community are of vital importance, not only because of basic resources for study that exist in the centers connected with the various branches of our economy but also because of the practical experience that the workshops and their technicians can offer to our students. It is of vital importance that the theoretical study of various subjects be so arranged that it will not limit the student's research to one specific field.

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

the processes of production and developing modern, highly productive technical thinking.

Another necessary link is that between centers of technological training and research institutes so that both graduate teachers and working teachers are closely involved in daily research work.

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

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

Among other points, the following have been especially recommended: that a policy be implemented to strengthen school-production bonds; that institutions and enterprises should insist on the continuation of the technical development of the graduates; and that, at the same time, the schools should keep in

touch with the graduates and show an interest in their production activities. It is recommended that the student's practical work in productive centers be oriented toward training and learning. Another recommendation is the incorporation into production of the teachers of technical subjects, according to specialization, and that those graduates selected to be teachers should spend some time in research centers of their specialization before starting the actual practice of teaching.

Other aspects of the discussion gave rise to recommendations concerning the help that students could give workers with a low cultural level and the attention and encouragement that should be given to workers who are studying under the adult education program.

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

Finally, it is worth pointing out the agreement concerning the visits by schoolchildren to production centers for the purpose of facilitating their future professional orientation through the acquisition of firsthand knowledge of production processes.

#### Fashions, Customs and Extravagant Behavior

The consensus was that the fundamental aspect to be taken into consideration in evaluating a young person in relation to the Revolution must be his or her social at-

titude — that is to say, his or her participation in the collective effort made toward the revolutionary transformation of society. Fashions, customs, etc., were thoroughly examined from a sociological, ideological and political viewpoint.

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

Fashion was examined from its social aspect as a form of attire, its natural evolution and the need for the development of fashion guidelines by specialized state agencies. A distinction was established between the extravagances that in some cases spring from an indiscriminate assimilation of fashions displayed by foreign groups and in others from the counterrevolutionary attitude of minigroups that use them as means of identification among themselves and as protest against the Revolution. In both cases it was decided that direct confrontation and elimination was necessary.

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

fulfillment in building communism.

The following conclusions were drawn from the debate:

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

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

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

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

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

#### Religion

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

The religious picture in our coun-

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

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

b) Gideon's Evangelical Band (Batiblanco) — A declining group, carrying on openly counterrevolutionary activities.

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

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

a) The methods used by their members, approaching the farmers, offering them their help and assistance, sometimes working zealously in this connection.

b) The educational level of the people they approach.

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

It was also clearly established that there is ample evidence that

the integral revolutionary work carried out by our party, mass organizations, political organizations and the schools — drawing closer to the people, listening to their problems, showing a feeling for their concerns and difficulties and an interest in their educational improvement — has eliminated the influence of these sects in many areas.

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

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

2) The Revolution's policy with respect to religious activity is based

on the following principles:

- a) The religious phenomenon is not to be considered as the center or element of priority in our task. Our fundamental effort must be directed at constructing socialist society, with the obligation in this specific case, however, of guiding and defining the steps the Revolution must take in its ideological battle.
  - b) Complete separation of state-church, school-church in all fields.
  - c) No encouragement, support or help will be given to any religious group, nor any favors asked of them.
  - d) We neither share any religious belief nor support any religious group, nor participate in any religious service.
  - e) The Revolution respects religious beliefs as an individual right. The Revolution does not penalize nor persecute nor repress anyone for religious beliefs.
  - f) With socialist construction as its focus, the Revolution offers possibilities and opportunities in its work of transformation to all, independent of whether or not they profess religious beliefs.
  - g) The obscurantist and counter-revolutionary sects must be unmasked and fought.
- 3) The Revolution's fundamental weapon of combat is defined as:
- a) Scientific teaching in the school to combat lies, superstition, charlatany and counterrevolutionary fraud.
  - b) The Revolution's accomplishment; the profound changes in the social, economic and political fields.
- 4) Finally, it was noted that as Marxists-Leninists and materialists, we must not follow a clumsy anti-religious line but rather that of scientific teaching, raising the cultural level of the people and placing at the disposal of our teachers the

right kind of educational material for this purpose.

#### Juvenile Delinquency

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

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

j) The absence of a national system of social welfare to coordinate efforts and use the existing means of various bodies and organizations in preventive activities.

All this, together with the condition of the present reeducational centers which lack the educators, technical means, qualified personnel, and adequate facilities to accomplish the social readaptation of the minors sent to these institutions, in addition to other shortcomings which have a bearing on their education and social treatment, has brought us to the present situation with respect to this minority sector of our youth.

Based on the foregoing observations, the following agreements were reached:

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

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

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

—That until such time as MINED is in a position to handle the reeducational centers, this Ministry, in collaboration with the Ministry of the Interior (MININT), should carry out a study of the need for

teachers and auxiliary means of teaching aimed at solving the problem as far as possible. At the same time, the National Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation (INDER) and the Council of Culture must carry out a similar analysis with respect to their activities and for the same purpose.

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

- the Centers of Evaluation;
- the Commissions of Technical and Scientific Evaluation;
- the reeducational centers;
- the social welfare system.

#### Concerning Sex

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

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

At present, the structural transformation and development of our society have definitively eradicated these manifestations, typical of exploitative societies but — as happens in every revolutionary process — the change has brought with it new contradictions which demand a constant effort at creative renova-

tion in behavior, social habits and ideas.

The general opinion is that co-educational teaching should be extended, with the exception of those courses which by their very nature make it impossible, and that timely and adequate information on sexual relations and the process of procreation should be given, in which true and scientific answers to the children's and adolescents' questions would be given both in school and at home. To do away with ignorance and prejudice in this matter, the facts dealing with this subject should be taught not in special courses which are unnecessary but in the course of general teaching.

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

Finally, emphasis was placed on the respect for the feelings and opinions of the young, on how to find out their points of view, on how to make possible discussions and profound analysis, so as to nurture a concept of what love means in the formation of the human couple and the motives that should unite it, not merely from the biological viewpoint but from the idea of human fulfillment, which includes reciprocal admiration and deep esteem based not only on biological and aesthetic but also — and

fundamentally — social, political and moral values.

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

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

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

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

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

- a) Extension of the coeducational system: recognition of its importance in the formation of children and the young.
- b) Adequate sexual education for

parents teachers and pupils. This work must not be treated as a special subject but as one falling into the general courses such as biology, physiology, etc.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It was resolved that those whose morals do not correspond to the prestige of our Revolution should be barred from any group of per-

formers representing our country abroad.

Finally, it was agreed to seek severe penalties against those who corrupt the morals of minors, depraved repeat offenders and irredeemable antisocial elements.

#### **Extracurricular Activities in the Community**

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

—organizing guided tours of museums and art galleries. For this purpose, special art education halls should be established in the various districts;

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

—making such musical activities as concerts by the National Symphony Orchestra more accessible to young people;

—arranging hiking and camping trips;

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

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

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

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

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

In the field of more specific activi-

ties, the following is suggested;

—interscholastic meetings of amateur performers;

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

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

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

#### **Mass Media**

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

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

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

Therefore, all cultural institutions must offer a closer, systematic, and sustained collaboration that will make possible the utilization of radio and television as

vehicles for various manifestations and creations, in accordance with the technical possibilities and political character of the programming.

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

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

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

Cuba carries forward a revolution whose foundations for the sustenance and enrichment of its ideology and culture are found in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in the traditions of struggle which make up our own history. An in-depth study of those countries with the same culture as ours; of our personality as a nation, of the elements that determine our culture of its lines of development through

more than 100 years of struggle, constitutes an indispensable task since it entails the possibilities for the constant development of the ideological and cultural level of the masses.

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

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

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

The rising technological advance of the mass media and its infinite prospects oblige our revolutionary society to fight against the contamination of the air by imperialist ideology through the creation of ideological antibodies to neutralize its lethal effects. The only alternative reality permits is struggle,

not asepsis. Hence the imperative need to engage systematically in a series of public debates, analysis, studies and appraisals that will prepare the masses to face critically every form of expression of bourgeois ideology.

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Cultural Activity

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

Socialism creates the objective conditions which make possible real freedom of creation. Thus all trends are condemnable and inadmissible

which are based on apparent ideas of freedom as a disguise for the counterrevolutionary poison of works that conspire against the revolutionary ideology on which the construction of socialism and communism is based, an effort to which our people are firmly committed and in whose spirit the new generations are educated.

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

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

At the same time, it is also necessary to establish a strict system for inviting foreign writers and intellectuals, to avoid the presence of persons whose works and ideology are opposed to the interests of the Revolution, especially in the formation of the new generations, and who have participated in ideological diversionist activities encouraging their local flunkies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The socialist school, together with

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

Scientific-technical, political-ideological and physical, moral, aesthetic education constitute our concept of the integral formation of man.

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

In the first decades of the last century the key characteristics of our nationality emerged and this was reflected in art and literature.

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

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

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

The patriotic, anti-imperialist and popular revolution carried out in 1895 under the leadership of Martí

was cut off by the Yankee intervention of 1898. From that moment on, arrogant and brutal Yankee imperialism carried out its program of economic, cultural and political neocolonization.

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

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

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

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

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

Breaking through the imperialist encirclement, the best Cuban intellectuals were resolute heirs to the legitimate cultural past in new historical conditions.

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

The Literacy Campaign, the nationalization of education and the

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

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

They are the bearers of a new colonization. They try to dictate political and cultural standards from the capitals of the Western world.

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

Those who pick up the chains which our people have broken in their 100 years of struggle, deserve our deepest contempt, expressed by strengthening the mass organizations and particularly the labor movement, in the assemblies of educational workers and in all branches of social activity. It is the workers who have denounced these undermining ideas, aimed at denigrating our people and deforming our youth.

It is the people who have always rescued and defended our culture. Side by side with them have been the majority of our writers and artists, all our true values, whose activity has been blocked to a cer-

tain extent during these last few years by this obstructionist and colonialist trend.

We are a blockaded nation.

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

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

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

Art is a weapon of the Revolution.

A product of the fighting spirit of our people.

A weapon against the penetration of the enemy.

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

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

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

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

The masses are the protagonists in the real history of humanity, which starts with the revolutionary

struggle and the seizure of power. That is when the human, political and ideological conditions of every man become vitally important.

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

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

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

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

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

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

who actively participate in the anti-imperialist struggles of their people.

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

In Paris, London, Rome, West Berlin and New York, these hypocrites find the best terrain for their ambiguities, vacillation and pettiness generated by the cultural colonialism which they accept and support. All they will receive from the revolutionary peoples is the contempt which the traitor and deserter merits.

The words of a delegate to the Havana Cultural Congress are apropos:

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

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

The peoples of the colonized and exploited countries of the world will not hesitate when the time comes to choose their path. Not

only will they have to oppose the economic oppression of the monopolies, they will also have to oppose and reject neocolonialist ideas and models. Imperialism has engaged in cultural genocide against those peoples; it has tried to subvert their national values and language. This process of annihilation has been a constant factor on our three continents, and has been expressed with brutal magnitude in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

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

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

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

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

Being an intellectual does not give a person any kind of privilege. It is his responsibility to cooperate with the people and within the people in that critique. This entails sharing in the work, sacrifices and dangers along with the people. Those who, with the "lordly arrogance" of the past, to which Lenin alluded, arrogate to themselves the role of exclusive critics while abandoning the scene of the struggle and using our Latin-American peo-

ples as themes for their literary creations thereby becoming favorites in bourgeois circles and imperialist publishing houses, cannot appoint themselves judges of revolutions. On the contrary, their peoples, whom they desert, will judge them. Their peoples already distinguish between them and the truly revolutionary intellectuals who have remained with the people and within the people, taking part in the hard daily task of creating and fighting, sharing all the risks with the people and, like Martí and Che, exchanging the "trench of ideas" for the "trench of rocks" when duty demanded that they do so.

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

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

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

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

The fakers may be against Cuba, but the truly honest and revolutionary intellectuals understand the justness of our position. This is the people of Giron and the October Crisis, the people that has maintained, is maintaining and will con-

tinue to maintain its victorious Revolution only 90 miles from the shores of imperialism.

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

The game of playing with the destiny of the peoples must come to a definitive end without further delay. We who are in this besieged fortress proclaim that our peoples must give a resounding call for independence from cultural colonialism.

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

Let the troubadours of the monarchies weep over the statues of kings that lie battered at the feet of the horses of revolutions; let the republican troubadours weep over the appointed cradles of their infected and decaying republics; let the bards of ancient nations weep over the shattered scepters, fallen monuments, lost virtue and frightful discouragement — the offense of having accepted being a slave is punishable by continuing to be one for a very long time. We have heroes to immortalize, heroines to exalt, admirable exploits to praise; we have the aggrieved and glorious legion of our martyrs who plaintively demand that we sing their lamentations and hymns.



## Tricontinental on the march

### Five Years

This past May 31 marked the fifth anniversary of the constitution of the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat. We publish the speech made on this occasion by Domingo García, Assistant Secretary-General of the organization, to the members of the Secretariat and invited diplomats.

FIVE YEARS ago in Havana, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL was constituted in fulfillment of a resolution of the First Tricontinental Conference.

Months before, Ben Barka — a person of recognized revolutionary prestige, who had given his efforts and energies to arranging the conference — had been assassinated. His assassination was condemned by all revolutionaries throughout

the world and the reactionaries were unable to prevent all the work he had done from its successful culmination in that assembly of all anticolonialist and anti-imperialist fighters for an exchange of their revolutionary experiences.

Since that date, many events of a revolutionary nature have taken place. One example is the war in Viet Nam, where the Yankee imperialists, with their brutal escalation, have extended the conflict to Laos and Cambodia, but the heroic Vietnamese and other peoples of Indochina are valiantly fighting the puppets and Yankee mercenary troops. For the people of the three continents, the example of the Vietnamese people continues to serve as a stimulus for all the fighters on whatever battlefield, who fight to win freedom and independence.

We are firmly convinced of the victory of this heroic people and that the Yankee imperialists will have no alternative other than total

and unconditional withdrawal from Viet Nam.

Another example is that of the Korean people who, day in and day out, face the constant aggression and maneuvers of Yankee imperialism which today occupies a part of their country; but the entire Korean people, with their highest leader Marshal Kim Il Sung, are strengthening their country more and more each day and achieving unprecedented success in economic and political areas and in the struggle for the country's reunification.

In Africa, the armed struggle of the peoples of the so-called Portuguese colonies against Portuguese colonialism and its NATO allies, serves as a stimulus to all the peoples of Africa to win total and final liberation.

The colonialists and imperialists are unceasing in their aggressions and interventions everywhere, and the most recent example of that is the frustrated invasion of the Republic of Guinea, where they hoped to overthrow the progressive and revolutionary government of Sékou Touré; but the people, the militia and the army defeated the mercenaries and traitors and maintained the integrity and independence of their country.

Other African countries, too, continuously have to face the aggressions, maneuvers and provocations of the colonialists and imperialists, as is the case with Algeria, UAR, Congo (B) and Libya, among others.

Moreover, in South Africa, the racists who hold the people of that zone in subjection, have had to face not only world repudiation of their brutal exploitation, but also the revolutionary action of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Since the war of June 5, 1967, in the Middle East, Israel has acted

as a launching pad for North American imperialism against the Arab countries in this zone, and continues its arrogant and defiant attitude, refusing to withdraw from the occupied territories and strongly repressing the Palestinian people and the inhabitants in the occupied territories. The struggle of the people and the Palestine resistance organizations against the Israeli aggressors and usurpers has been a tenacious one, and not on this front alone; because they have had to sustain the brutal repression of the royal troops of Jordan and the indifference of the reactionary Arab forces. This in no way diminishes their fighting decision to win victory and build their country anew.

In Latin America, in these past five years, great events have taken place which have given rise to a development of revolutionary consciousness among the Latin-American masses. The action of the fighters of Nancahuazu indicates the course for the truly revolutionary forces of the continent; Che, with his determination and his courage, knew how to lay out the road to the achievement of the second and final independence by the Latin-American fighters who are the proud successors to Martí, Bolívar, San Martín, O'Higgins, Sucre.

Cuba today is not alone in facing continuous imperialist aggression; the people of Latin America are firmly fighting Yankee imperialism in its own back yard, and are hitting it hard. Recently, People's Unity has triumphed in Chile and its top leader, comrade Salvador Allende, heads a government that represents the aspirations of the working masses. Now begin the seditious campaigns by the oligarchy and North American imperialists,

trying to smear, damage and assail the Chilean people; but this is not all the reactionaries seek, for they also hope to overthrow the People's Unity government. This is an illusion difficult to convert into reality since there is now a people with its organizations that firmly support Allende's government and its revolutionary laws, a people that will know how to defend the victories gained over these months. In another Latin-American country, Peru, the government is evidencing a nationalist and revolutionary stance in issuing antioligarchic and anti-imperialist laws that, of course, are anathema to the imperialist forces. Bolivia has followed the road of revolutionary uprising begun by Che's guerrilla force. Today the masses, the workers, the students and other sectors have given a sincere impetus to the promulgation of just laws for the poor and to radicalizing the anti-imperialist struggle.

In Uruguay the Tupamaro National Liberation Movement is hitting hard at Pacheco Areco's reactionary government; not a day passes without the world press reporting the revolutionary activities of the Tupamaros, who evoke the sympathy and revolutionary solidarity of the whole world by their just struggle.

Other Latin-American peoples continue fighting with guns in the mountains or in the cities of their oligarchies, shaking the governmental structures of those countries.

As we see, during this period the peoples of the three continents have won numerous and important victories against the colonialist and imperialist forces. This stimulates us to continue the work begun, to accelerate it still more and carry it to successful culmination.

During this time our organization has worked to carry out the resolutions passed at the First Tricontinental Conference, both with respect to our multiple publications and contacts with our member organizations. We have thus had the opportunity to meet with the leaders and fighters of certain revolutionary movements in their own liberated areas, and to offer them our militant solidarity in their just struggle. We have also had contact with an infinite number of organizations of the three continents, with which we have exchanged our revolutionary experiences and which have helped us to better understand the struggle in which their fighters are engaged against the colonialists and imperialists.

Finally, we have presented our Executive Secretariat's message at various international events where we have been received with respect and affection by the participants. In summary, we have worked with the revolutionary spirit that is our legacy from the historic First Tricontinental Conference.

We wish to use this occasion to transmit, in the name of the General Secretariat, our militant revolutionary greetings to all of you and through you to your leaders and organizations.

On this fifth anniversary, we should like to recall all the martyrs of the revolutionary cause, most especially Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara, worthy example of the international combatant, before whom those of Africa, Asia and Latin America dip their banners of struggle in a sign of respect and admiration.

Eternal glory to the revolutionary martyrs of the three continents!

Congratulations on the fifth anniversary of the constitution of the Executive Secretariat!



books  
of today

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

Peter Weiss

Much has been written about Viet Nam. Scarcely a day goes by without some news in the papers, on radio, television and film reporting the repainting 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* (his 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 dars with rocks and mud, when I saw them up to their knees in the mud with their clothes muddy and great hanks 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 THI, 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" = *Toe* 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" = *Dong 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 wurd.

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:

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

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.



news behind  
the news

□ 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-

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.

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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

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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 23 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.

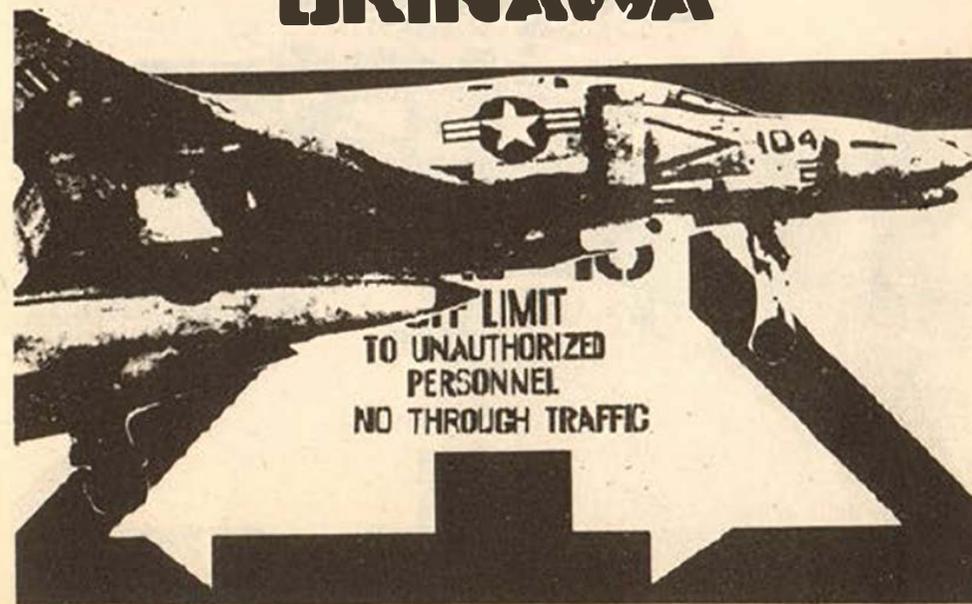
Here is an anecdote that illustrates how these lands passed into North American hands.

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

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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, 1968, the day on which a million inhabitants of Okinawa were on the brink of extinction.

□ Because of its topography, Chile has always had a physical imbalance between useful land and total area. Of more than 75 000 000 hectares in the country, apart from the Antarctic, only 12 000 000 hectares are useful for farming and livestock, and of these only 5 250 000 are devoted to agriculture. Another 12 000 000 hectares are classified as forest exploitations and/or reserves, but the figure is not reliable because of the indiscriminate felling of

many forests without the least reforestation and because of fires, etc.

In Chile there are four agricultural-livestock sectors: the small proprietors and minifundists who own up to five hectares, with 190 000 farms and 9.6% of the land; the 2000 peasant holdings — including the thousand farms that the government expropriated this year — created by the present Agrarian Reform Law and which comprise 22.6%; the middle-sized farmers, owners of five to eight basic hectares of irrigated land, with 38 500 farms and 35.3%, and finally the 2800 latifundists who will not be expropriated this year, with 32.5% of the land. These figures evidence an imbalance in land tenure.

It is proposed that the maximum potential be produced from the land, which is generally badly used because of the low technical level of its exploitation.

The heritage is an extensive agricultural system with little capital investment, low productivity and low return. In recent times, the big fortunes have not been made in the countryside but in commerce and industry. The growth of agriculture has been less, up to now, than population growth. This is evident when we see that in the five-year period 1935-39 Chile annually exported agricultural produce valued at \$30 million and imported a total valued at \$15 000 000. In recent years, Chile has exported this same amount but imported \$200 000 000 worth of goods. At present the problem is more acute because the increased purchasing power of the masses, resulting from measures taken to slow down the rate of inflation — which until a few months before People's Unity took office was very serious — creates a greater demand for food.

Moreover, in the national bud-

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get, the amount for agriculture has gone up to 8% of the total, while in the previous regime it was less than 4%. This budget is fulfilled with internal credit. There is a credit from the IDB (Inter-American Development Bank) for \$40 000 000 and another \$50 000 000 for cattle raising is being negotiated with the World Bank, but this is not yet certain. Naturally, further resources are needed. With greater resources come greater acceleration of agrarian reform and technical advances.

Some 520 farms have been expropriated and there is news on this every day. The total area expropriated up to now is more than 1 500 000 hectares. This rhythm is a rate six times greater than that of the Frei government in its six years in office. Any farm remaining in private hands that does not plant can be intervened by the government in ac-

cord with the provisions of the law in force.

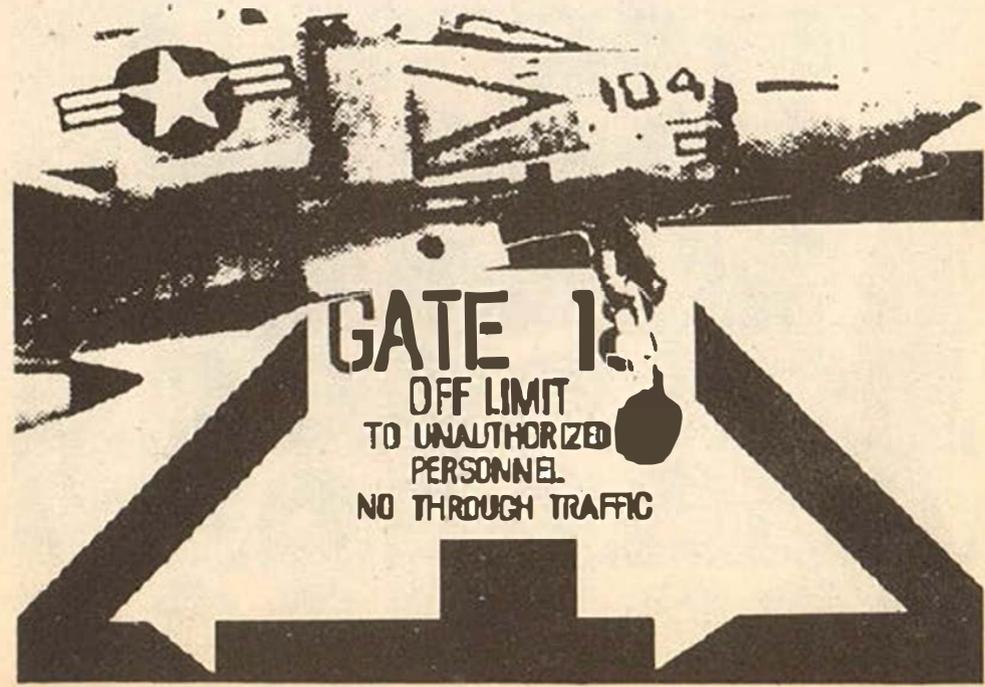
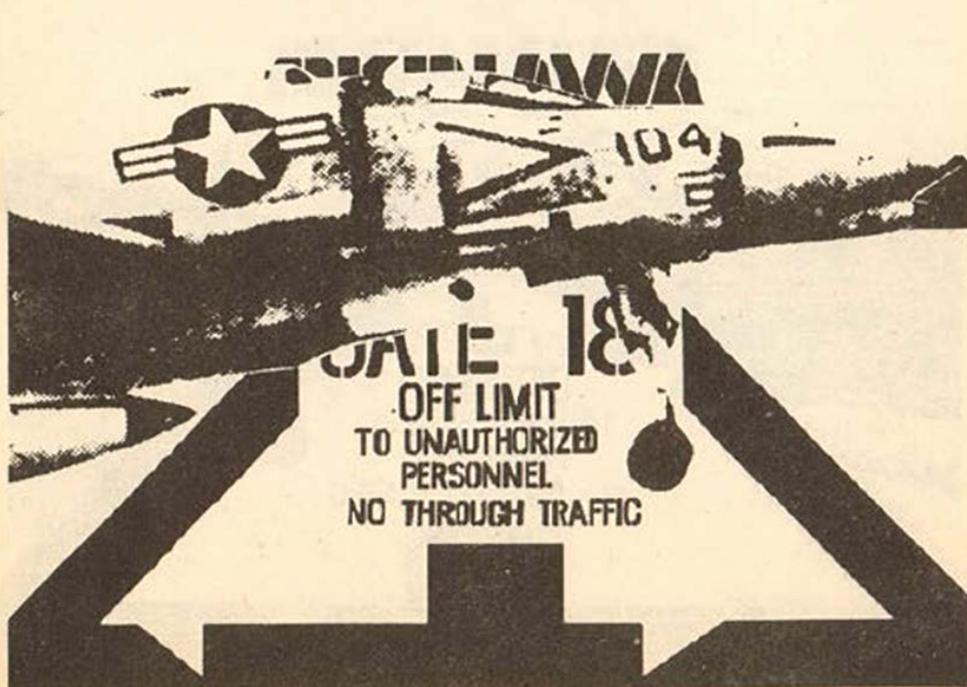
It is clear that the present Law of Agrarian Reform has limitations. The reform must operate by zones and not by farms, without indemnity for private owners of natural forests because the forest is a natural creation and its sole owner is the nation, the people; the lapse between the decision to expropriate a farm and its execution must be shortened since, because of existing legalities, it is now delayed three months and sometimes more. Agrarian reforms are like surgical operations, they cannot be carried out slowly or the patient may die in the process. This is the position of the People's Unity Government. It hopes to complete the reform in two or three years at most, and intends to propose, at the appropriate time, a new law that may be delayed in Congress.

As far as the state farms are concerned, there is a government decision to create one this year with the 500 000 hectares expropriated from the Tierra del Fuego cattle company and another with the 260 000 hectares of the forestal complex of Panguipulli, and two or three farms with breeding cattle. They will surely be model farms in all senses.

The problem of the Mapuche Indians requires a solution parallel to that of agrarian reform, with a special law that cannot be the present one. Such a law will be sent to Congress soon, modifying legislation and serving to erase the whole history that this government has ended, accelerating the process of restitution of the lands usurped over a long period from the Mapuche community by its neighbors. In general, the "fence movings" (changing of boundaries) and occupation of land which the Mapuches have carried out and which have been denounced by the

rightist opposition have been on farms that formerly belonged to them and from which they were illegally removed after the pacification of Araucania at the turn of the century when the Chilean and foreign settlers were much favored over the aborigines of Arauco in land distribution.

The government supports the organization of peasants in national, provincial and community councils democratically set up by the peasant organizations and the peasants. The objective is that these council participate, through a dialogue with the government, in the development of agrarian plans and policy, that not only the technicians or bureaucrats decide but that they develop together the formulation and fulfillment of the plans that are approved. Agrarian reform is one of the fundamental elements of this task undertaken by People's Unity, and of what President Allende called "the second independence of Chile."



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