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the model friend, between Johnson and Fidel, each one must choose.

A civilian lawyer stated his fear that the defense asking for mercy denies to the victors the right to judge the defeated. But who wishes to ask for mercy here? Who dared talk about victors? Che defeated because he died? There are men who are even more dangerous dead than alive. For us, Che now begins to live.

No, I will never plead for pardon for the defeated. I will never address you as victors. On the contrary, I will tell you that although I am certain I am innocent of the charges made against me, to you I am guilty for believing in the final victory of Che in the near future, guilty for wanting to fulfill the pledge irreversibly contracted by anyone who has had the privilege of witnessing Che live, think and fight, the pledge of remaining faithful to him and following his example, as far as he is able, to the last.

I will do my best to deserve one day the extreme honor that I will be surely granted when you condemn me for what I have not done, but wish to do now more than ever. And in all serenity, with all my heart, I thank you beforehand for the severe penalty I expect from you.

Southeast Asia:



THE TWO KOREAS

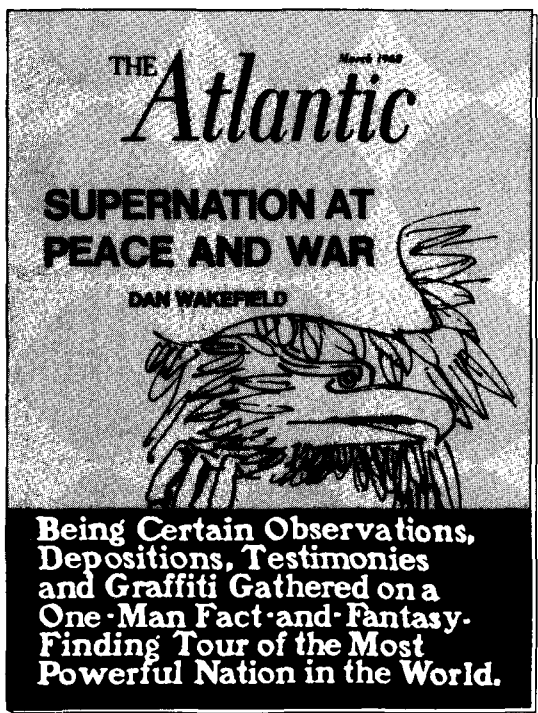
by David Horowitz

“I WOULD SAY THAT the entire, almost the entire Korean peninsula is just a terrible mess. Everything is destroyed. There is nothing standing worthy of the name. Just before the Chinese came in we were grounded. There were no more targets in Korea.”

This grim report of American efficiency, with its air of cold finality, was given more than a decade and a half ago by General Emmett (Rosie) O'Donnell, then head of the U.S. Bomber Command in the Far East. It is out of the ashes of this pre-Vietnam proving ground that the “Democratic People's Republic of Korea” has risen, phoenix-like, to challenge once again the armed power of the American colossus.

A Japanese satellite (like Vietnam) until the end of the Second World War, a Soviet satellite in the early Cold War period, North Korea has unexpectedly emerged from its devastation by the American Air Force as one of the most successful and independent countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc. Leaning to one side and now another in the Sino-Soviet dispute, the North Koreans are recognized even in U.S. State Department publications as occupying a “nonaligned,” nationalist-oriented position within the communist camp. This is no mean feat for a small country (population: 12 million) so recently at war with the United States, and it is no accident that the Koreans usually line up at communist gatherings with the other two small, underdeveloped communist states which have directly challenged American power: Cuba and Vietnam.

North Korea's recent industrialization drive and her quest for political auton-



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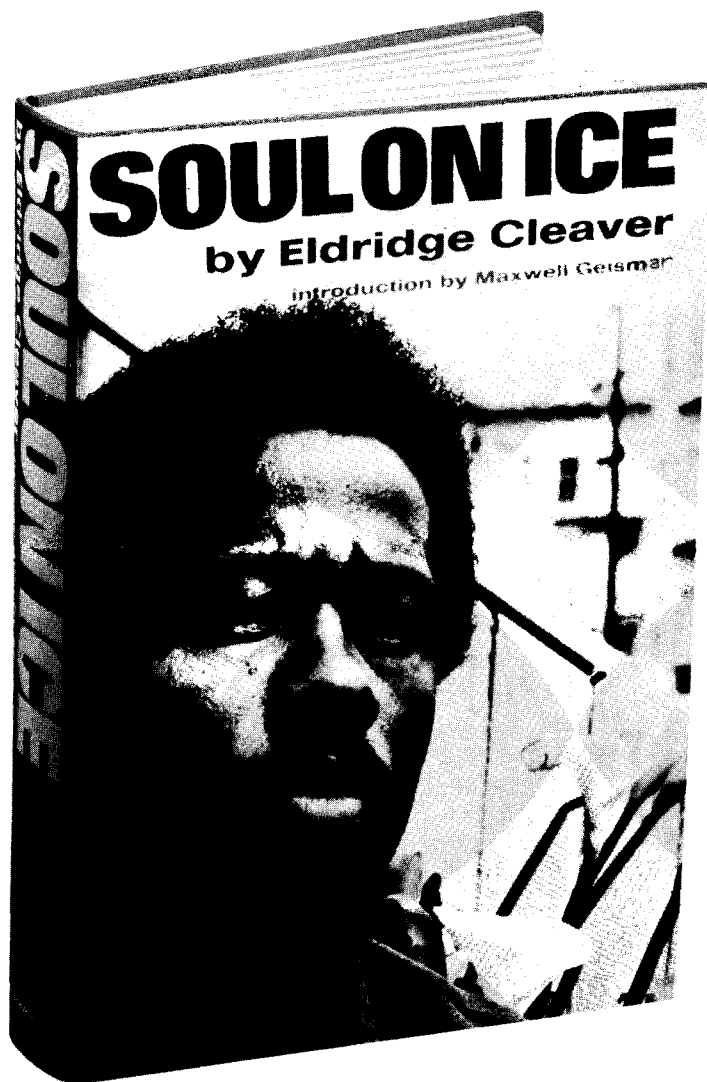
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omy have been closely related. "Economic independence is the basis of political independence," as the official party organ puts it. To implement this program, North Korea's Seven-Year Plan provided, for example, for the development of Korean processing plants for Korean ores, so that the country would not have to assume the dependent economic position of a supplier of raw materials.

The Russians, who had previously announced their willingness to aid Korea's developing mining industries, had their ardor cooled when they became aware of these plans and when, shortly afterwards, North Korea shifted its line towards the Peking side of the Sino-Soviet dispute. Following Khrushchev's climb-down in the Cuban missile crisis, the North Koreans began to air their grievances against Russia's attitude, charging that the Soviet Union, "assuming the arrogance of a suzerain nation, wants to have everything its own way." Moscow's response to these complaints was to cut off all aid, thereby sabotaging the Korean production program and causing it to fall short of its projected goals.

But the Koreans did not remain long in the Chinese camp. Disillusioned like

the Cubans with China's extreme factionalism (which weakened the bloc's defense of Vietnam) and with China's paper tiger effectiveness in providing the Vietnamese with actual aid, and apprehensive over Washington's steady escalation of the war, the North Koreans made a partial rapprochement with the Russians, and asserted themselves as an independent party in the dispute, identified most clearly with the political line of unity and firmness put forward by Havana and Hanoi. Indeed, in pursuit of their defensive campaign against the American Goliath, these three Davids have come to form an independent third force within the larger communist orbit.

IF THE POSTWAR political evolution of this one-time Soviet satellite is both intriguing and instructive, it is overshadowed by the truly remarkable story of the country's economic recovery and advance. A predominantly agricultural area before the war, with 74 per cent of the population engaged in farm production, North Korea is today regarded primarily as an industrial nation. Since World War II, her industrial output has grown more than eight times while her agricultural output has doubled. In some key areas, such as the production of electrical power, North Korea has approached the levels of Italy and Japan. So striking has been her advance that in the judgment of the eminent Keynesian Joan Robinson: "All the economic miracles of the postwar world are put in the shade by these achievements."

Impressive as it is in its own terms, North Korea's economic success is incalculably magnified by the dismal failure of South Korea's own recovery program. For despite more than \$4 billion in U.S. economic aid (Washington still pays about 25 per cent of the South Korean budget), there seems to be no way out of the morass of official corruption, economic stagnation and widespread misery that has characterized this state from its beginning. Full employment in the North contrasts with mass unemployment in the South (between 13 and 25 per cent of the labor force). With less than half the population, the North produces five and a half times the electricity, 16 times the steel, ten times the fertilizer, four times the cement and twice as much coal as does the South. Moreover, in contrast with the usual bad



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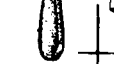
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straits in which communist countries find themselves with respect to agriculture, North Korea now manages to produce as much rice and wheat as the primarily agricultural South.

C IF SOUTH KOREA HAD some form of even semi-democratic regime to contrast with North Korea's one-party state, Washington might be able to salvage some political capital from its massive intervention in this benighted land, and the general political situation with regard to the peninsula might be less permanently explosive. As things are, having begun its crusade for freedom in Korea on behalf of the Diem-like dictator Syngman Rhee, and having been forced to watch Rhee's overthrow by a student revolt in 1960, Washington is now backing South Korea's "Marshal Ky," the former general and now "President," Chung Hee Park.

So intensely does the Park regime fear coexistence with the successful North that in the summer of 1966 Kim Hyung Koo, director of South Korea's Central Intelligence Agency, publicly warned that "Any person who demands intercourse between South and North Korea shall be severely punished under the Anti-Communist Law as a subversive element who benefits the enemy." (Thus, even here the Vietnam parallel holds; for the South fears any talk of unification, while the North expresses the nationalist sentiment by insisting on it.)

Moreover, the South Korean regime's fear of the "miracle" in the North is no mere figment of its imagination (though trigger-happy censors have even gone so far as to black out a recent cover of Newsweek which featured the Russian Revolution). Some years ago, 70,000 Korean refugees residing in Japan, many of whom originated in the South, chose repatriation to the North rather than return to poverty and repression in their homeland. The 55,000 U.S. troops still in Korea are very much needed to man the border between the two countries (the Chinese forces left the North long ago), forming a kind of Korean Berlin Wall (with not even a postal connection as there is in Germany) whose chief purpose would seem to be to keep the "free" Koreans from learning how well their "slave" brothers live.

Like Vietnam, Korea represents one section of the globe where the "free world" patently can't meet the test of



Ana Maria is always a little hungry

ANA MARIA ANDRADE, SOUTH AMERICAN, AGE 6. Mother dead. Father deserted. Child lives with sick grandmother who also cares for four other grandchildren and baby who boards with her. Total income for 7 people \$9.25 per month. Two meager meals a day...coffee for breakfast, sometimes bread. Lunch—rice, beans and corn meal. Dinner—none. Never milk or meat. Children always hungry. Live in mud hut on top of hill. One small room. No facilities. No beds. Two mattresses, 2 blankets, 2 sheets—all in poor condition. Used clothing from other poor families. Grandmother grieves for grandchildren she cannot decently care for. Help to Ana Maria means help to entire family, medical care included.

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free choice, and as in other areas where this is true (e.g., the Caribbean) the political-military situation remains volatile, and liable at any moment, in the thick of any crisis, to explode.

Society:



THE DIAMOND BALL

by Paul Krassner

MY LAWYER JUST PHONED and said that the district attorney will dismiss the case if I say I was present at the demonstration as a journalist.

I can't resort to that cop-out.

Actually, I was present neither as a reporter nor a protester. You see, I moonlight as a part-time rapist and, quite coincidentally, was on my way to Central Park to report for work to my

supervisor (who, incidentally, started mugging purely as a hobby, ended up organizing a union, became foreman and the rest is geography) when I got stuck in the middle of this crowd which was successfully picketing some wooden barriers and all of a sudden the police proceeded to push us in a northerly direction.

Afraid for our skulls, we cooperated. But there was a red light. *Cross at the green and not in between*, I remembered. I turned around and shouted to the officers: "There are cars coming! We have to wait!"

The police then conspired with the demonstrators to disrupt traffic on 59th Street. When we got across, they began gently swinging their clubs.

A policeman kept plucking at my elbow. "Where do you want me to go?" I asked. He pretended he was acting in "Persona" and said nothing. "You're not arresting me, are you?" He repeated nothing. "What am I charged with?" He remained mute as he led me to the paddy wagon.

We were frisked for weapons and taken to 100 Center Street, our home away from home. Night court. We didn't even bother going to a local precinct

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