

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 22

May 29, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

In this issue:

Page

In Defense of Revolutionary Cuba -- by Ernest Mandel	1
What the Soccer Game in Lima Revealed	7
Rejuvenation of the French CP? -- by Pierre Frank	9
Boycott of Bolivian Elections	12
Mohamed Harbi Defines Tasks in Algeria	13
Ban on Luthuli Extended Another Five Years	15
South Vietnamese Guerrillas Score Victories	16
Guerrilla Activity Continues in Guatemala	16
Beware the Atrocity Stories -- by Evelyn Sell	17
PSIUP Position on the Sino-Soviet Conflict	19
Peking Calls Attention to Lessons of Brazilian Defeat	22
U.S. "Loses" Plutonium in Atmosphere	27

IN DEFENSE OF REVOLUTIONARY CUBA

By Ernest Mandel

[Ernest Mandel is editor of the Belgian socialist weekly La Gauche and author of Traité d'Economie Marxiste. He recently returned from an extensive trip in Cuba.]

* * *

Cuban industry is undergoing rapid growth. In relation to the situation before the revolution, the annual increase in industrial production is much above 10%, without doubt coming closer to 15% than 10% -- if the sugar industry is left out of account. In 1963, the rate of growth in relation to 1961 was 27%, and it was even higher in light industry (30%) than in heavy industry (21%). In 1961, the increase in industrial production (the sugar industry still left aside) was 30% in relation to 1959.

Certain completely new industrial branches were created or were developed from embryonic beginnings. Some branches like naval

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 22

May 29, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

In this issue:

Page

In Defense of Revolutionary Cuba -- by Ernest Mandel.....	1
What the Soccer Game in Lima Revealed.....	7
Rejuvenation of the French CP? -- by Pierre Frank.....	9
Boycott of Bolivian Elections.....	12
Mohamed Harbi Defines Tasks in Algeria.....	13
Ban on Luthuli Extended Another Five Years.....	15
South Vietnamese Guerrillas Score Victories.....	16
Guerrilla Activity Continues in Guatemala.....	16
Beware the Atrocity Stories -- by Evelyn Sell.....	17
PSIUP Position on the Sino-Soviet Conflict.....	19
Peking Calls Attention to Lessons of Brazilian Defeat.....	22
U.S. "Loses" Plutonium in Atmosphere.....	27

IN DEFENSE OF REVOLUTIONARY CUBA

By Ernest Mandel

[Ernest Mandel is editor of the Belgian socialist weekly La Gauche and author of Traité d'Economie Marxiste. He recently returned from an extensive trip in Cuba.]

* * *

Cuban industry is undergoing rapid growth. In relation to the situation before the revolution, the annual increase in industrial production is much above 10%, without doubt coming closer to 15% than 10% -- if the sugar industry is left out of account. In 1963, the rate of growth in relation to 1961 was 27%, and it was even higher in light industry (30%) than in heavy industry (21%). In 1961, the increase in industrial production (the sugar industry still left aside) was 30% in relation to 1959.

Certain completely new industrial branches were created or were developed from embryonic beginnings. Some branches like naval

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE - Hebdomadaire

Abonnement, 26 numéros : 37,50 F, à Pierre FRANK, 21, rue d'Aboukir, Paris (2°).

WORLD OUTLOOK specializes in weekly political analysis and interpretation of events for labor, socialist, colonial independence and Negro freedom publications. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of WORLD OUTLOOK. Unsigned material expresses, insofar as editorial opinion may appear, the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. To subscribe for 26 issues send dollars 7.50 or 2/15 s. or 37,50 francs to : Pierre Frank, 21, rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2°, France.

construction, the manufacture of agricultural equipment, electrical equipment and leather goods have experienced the most spectacular development. The textile industry itself doubled production in relation to the situation before the Revolution, but this development is due to the existence of a big nonutilized capacity before the Revolution.

Cuban industry had to undertake an immense technical effort to substitute national production for the importation from the United States of certain key elements for the country's economy: thus spare parts for machines of the sugar industry are beginning to be made in Cuba. An effort of the same kind was required on the technical level. The Americans had built the most modern nickel plant in the world at Moa. It was just about to go into production when the Revolution broke out. The American technicians left, taking with them all the paper work for putting the plant into operation. Today it is running nevertheless.

Clearly, a rather large number of foreign technicians -- above all from countries of what is termed the "socialist camp" -- had to replace the technicians who left the country. But the government sought to replace them as quickly as possible with Cuban technicians. That is why it proclaimed the technical revolution that transformed the Cuban plants into a vast school. The formation of Cuban technicians was particularly accelerated by the method of apprenticeship at half-time in schools attached to the enterprises, or in special institutes created in order to train tens of thousands of young and adult workers. When the harvest from this impressive educational effort is ripe, the productivity of industrial labor will take a leap forward.

Difficulties in the Agricultural Domain

The situation in agriculture is less brilliant -- and it has had an effect on industrial production insofar as sugar production clearly remains the key industrial branch of the country. That is why sugar is excepted in all the preceding data referring to industry.

But in speaking of the difficulties of Cuban agriculture, it is necessary to carefully specify the conditions. The economic difficulties there are in large part related to the solution of social problems. Two examples will illustrate this statement. At present, there is a great shortage of labor for the zafra, the harvest of sugar cane. This is accomplished in great part with the aid of voluntary labor, by workers, office employees and functionaries mobilized in other industries or in the public administration. The origin of this difficulty is precisely the liquidation of underemployment in the countryside. Formerly the zafra was undertaken largely by seasonal workers who had no other employment. To the degree that unemployment and underemployment have disappeared, the agricultural workers are not inclined to turn to the heaviest work,

and cutting sugar cane in the full sun is certainly exhausting labor. . . .

Another example: agriculture is not profitable; but the losses are evidently due to the fact that the mass of laborers in the countryside are now paid twelve months out of the year on the people's farms instead of three or four months as was the case before the Revolution. Since production has not increased in the same proportion as wage costs, large losses occur. . . .

In addition to these structural difficulties, inevitable consequences of the social progress registered by the Revolution, there are difficulties due to errors committed in the agricultural domain. These errors are of two kinds: errors in orientation and errors in organization.

Following the revolutionary victory, all the leaders were convinced of the necessity of freeing Cuba from the burden of monoculture, with its dual consequence of strict dependence on the United States and permanent economic instability. But there are two ways of winning freedom from monoculture -- either developing other crops along with sugar cane, or substituting such crops for cane. In part, they took the second road and this was clearly an error. It was all the more an error inasmuch as the rise in the price of sugar on the world market opened the possibility of gaining considerable accumulation funds for the country thanks to large exports of sugar. The correct idea of developing an entire chemical industry, on the basis of sugar likewise implied an increase and not a reduction in sugar production.

In addition, the new organization of Cuban agriculture proved to be too rigid, too bureaucratic, too badly directed, and this led to unfortunate results. Crops perished for lack of labor while in a neighboring farm labor was not productively occupied full time. Workers were often called on for exhausting labor which proved fruitless or inconsequential. Their enthusiasm dropped and they became indifferent about production.

Associating Workers in Direction of Enterprises

These errors are now being corrected. The agricultural leadership is being reorganized on the basis of some eighty districts (agrupaciones) within which more rational employment of labor will be possible and provided with a more effective leadership. The workers are likewise interested in a good market for production, because a part of the profits, in excess of those envisaged in the plan, realized in each district (or each farm) can be divided among them.

At the same time, Fidel himself has given vigorous backing to extending the growing of sugar cane instead of reducing it. The aim is to produce 10,000,000 tons of sugar a year by 1970, particu-

larly through rather general mechanization of the fields. At the same time an increase in the cultivation of new crops (like cotton), already begun, is sought; and caution is being exercised against any drop in the production of coffee, vegetables and fruits, which are important in current consumption by the people. As for tobacco growing, this is in good condition.

The fundamental problem posed by the mishaps in agriculture is at bottom the association of the producers, the workers, in the leadership and in the conscious impulsion of the economy. It is above all the leaders in industry who understood that socialist consciousness constitutes the essential motor for progress in production following the Revolution. That is why they accord such importance to the problem of education and likewise expect that it will be necessary to associate the workers directly in the management of the plants. This question will without doubt be resolved in the near future, but the solution requires a radical reform of the unions, the prestige of which has been considerably lowered in the eyes of the workers, many of the union leaders being neither competent nor representative.

The battle for profitability in agriculture is the battle for a more rapid increase in the Cuban national income. Today, paradoxically, it is industry that is financing the deficit in agriculture; tomorrow it will be necessary for agriculture to finance a more rapid growth of industry and of the standard of living of the working population. At the same time, the deficit in the balance of payments must be rapidly erased. At present, it is covered by Soviet aid; but this is an unhealthy situation which will without doubt be surmounted in a few years.

New Threats of Aggression Weigh on Cuba

Since the defeat of the mass movement in Brazil -- a temporary defeat, no doubt, but not less heavy in immediate consequences -- Cuba's international situation has rapidly become aggravated. At the time of his speech commemorating the third anniversary of the battle of Playa Girón on April 19, Fidel Castro solemnly drew the attention of the Cuban people and international public opinion to the new threats of aggression weighing on Cuba. We do not believe that the international workers movement has really become aware of this danger. Thus it is necessary to recall the essential facts in the problem.

Since the consolidation of the socialist Revolution in Cuba; that is, since the counterrevolutionary defeat at Playa Girón, American imperialism has stubbornly pursued the immediate aim of isolating Cuba in Latin America. In accordance with this objective, it has systematically contributed to overthrowing all the "liberal" bourgeois governments "guilty" of maintaining friendly relations with the Cuban Revolution. This was the fate of Frondizi. This was the fate of the president of Ecuador. This was the fate of President

Bosch in the Dominican Republic. This anti-Cuban policy rapidly transformed into a farce the aims of the "Alliance for Progress" which were to support "reformist" governments, the only kind capable, according to Kennedy, of avoiding revolutions. The most striking case was that of Venezuela, where the struggle against "Castroism" transformed the Betancourt regime from a "reformist" government into an ultrareactionary dictatorship.

Last March at a meeting in Washington of all the U.S. ambassadors in Latin America, the new Under Secretary of State, Thomas Mann, officially buried the corpse of the "Alliance for Progress." He proclaimed that from now on Washington will not distinguish between "constitutional" governments and dictatorial governments (provided they are anti-Cuban). This gave the green light for the military coup d'état in Brazil, which broke out a few days later, toppling the constitutional president, Goulart, who wanted to introduce reforms called for in the late "Alliance for Progress" in order "to arrest the mounting waves of Communism."

Blockade and Isolation of Cuba. . .

Brazil will break diplomatic relations with Cuba, no doubt to be followed by Uruguay and Bolivia. Washington has made sure to have in Mexico a new ultrareactionary candidate for the presidency of the Republic who will no doubt rapidly become anti-Cuban. Chile is left; there everything hinges on the result of the next elections. But the effects of the reactionary victory in Brazil strongly limits the chances in Chile for a legal victory of the Socialist candidate Allende, above all if the Socialist-Communist Front continues to place "confidence" in the "loyalty of the army with regard to the Constitution. . . "

The blockade of Cuba has failed, it is true. But the diplomatic isolation of the Cuban Revolution on the Latin-American continent will have many harmful consequences for the Revolution. Above all it can prove to be the prelude to open counterrevolutionary intervention.

Venezuela has already placed a motion before the Organization of American States condemning Cuba as an "aggressor" and demanding the application of all kinds of sanctions, including "military sanctions," in case of a new "aggression." At present the Venezuelan government is trying to get enough votes to adopt this motion at the next meeting of the OAS. In case this motion is actually adopted, the reactionary governments of Latin America could well assemble a task force in the Caribbean to try to isolate the island commercially, beginning with raids of harassment and diversion against Cuban territory in order to support eventual attempts at landing counterrevolutionaries, even organizing provocations (bombing counterrevolutionary bases in Nicaragua or the Dominican Republic and claiming it was done by "Cuban" planes), with the aim of unleashing against Cuba military operations of greater scope.

Such raids would place the Cuban government in a very touchy situation. If they reply, an opening is provided for reaction to "punish the aggressor." If they do not reply, they must stand by passively while plants are systematically destroyed, crops set on fire, and militiamen murdered. Passivity would finally (this is the least Fidel's adversaries hope for) provoke apathy and even demoralization in the ranks of the Revolution.

. . . to the Threat of Intervention by the U.S.

These counterrevolutionary projects based on the reactionary regimes of Latin America overlap with projects based on the Cuban counterrevolutionaries and on the United States itself.

Thus although Fidel denounced them in his speech of April 19, the Cuban government denounced them in a letter to the United Nations and will doubtlessly denounce them soon in a complaint before the International Court at the Hague; the government of the United States has relentlessly continued since the crisis of October 1962 its daily flights over Cuban territory with U-2 or more modern planes.

These overflights are completely illegal. The assertion that they are "indispensable to the security of the United States" does not hold at all. The rockets remaining in Cuba are all of a completely defensive nature. It is also known that it is not Cuba that "threatens" to bomb the United States, but the United States that actually and openly threatens to attack Cuba. In addition, important international documents, to which the American government adheres, precisely denounce the illegality of violating the sovereignty of small nations under pretext that such violations are "indispensable to the security" of a big neighbor. Doesn't Cuba have much more right, in this respect, to engage in overflights of the United States to assure her security?

The U.S. policy toward Cuba is founded exclusively on the "right" of the strongest. This cynical attitude which defies international law, constitutes a permanent provocation toward Cuba. The Cuban Revolution has decided not to tolerate indefinitely such provocations. It is obliged to act in this way, above all insofar as flights over Cuban territory provide information for military enterprises openly prepared by the counterrevolutionaries from territory of the United States (Puerto Rico!) or from the territory of governments allied to the United States.

But any Cuban reply in this area risks touching off a rabid reaction in the Pentagon which, without taking the open form of an invasion -- in order to avoid Soviet intervention -- could be not less bloody and charged with consequences. Certain U.S. circles are toying with the idea of sending 500 American bombers against bases and cities in Cuba. . . .

The Cuban people are ready to meet all alone the shock of

these aggressions. They are ready to lay down their lives in order to defend their Revolution. But it is the duty of the international workers movement to break all the attempts to isolate the Cuban Revolution!

The struggle between Washington and Havana is not a struggle for or against "representative democracy"; anyone who might still be uncertain about this should at least draw the obvious conclusion from what happened in Brazil! It is a struggle between the economic and social status quo, which involves semislavery for millions of inhabitants in the countryside, which involves intense poverty in slums at the side of shameful waste of wealth by billionaires in Hollywood palaces, and a social revolution which in itself bears the hope for well-being and progress for the most oppressed of the oppressed, for millions of the hungry, Negroes without rights, Indians held down for four centuries. In this struggle, the duty of every socialist, of every person in favor of progress, is to take up the cause of the Cuban Revolution without any hesitation, to defend the Cuban socialist Revolution against any foreign intervention, to display toward this Revolution the same solidarity which everyone showed with regard to the Spanish people during the Civil War.

WHAT THE SOCCER GAME IN LIMA REVEALED

The rioting that flared in Lima May 24 appeared to have the most accidental of causes. A spectator ran out into the field to protest the decision of the umpire in a soccer game between Argentina and Peru. The result of this action -- an unofficial toll to date of 268 dead and 320 injured -- seems to have no real connection whatever with an individual fan's excited protest.

That such ghastly consequences could be touched off by a trivial incident at an athletic contest testifies in reality to the extreme social tensions now existing in Peru. The populace as a whole is living in a state of high tension -- and the authorities are trigger happy.

This is shown by the role of the Lima police at the stadium. According to the referee, Angel Pazos, an Uruguayan, the police expelled the fan who ran out onto the field. But then another man sought to attack the referee with a bottle. After the police hauled him away, the crowd grew angry.

The police began throwing tear-gas grenades into the bleachers. The reaction was predictable. The crowd sought to escape the tear gas. But the police kept the gates locked so that no one could escape and kept throwing grenades. People began going down in the stampede.

Hundreds of people tore down the steel netting separating them from the playing field to escape the tear gas. "Police tried to beat them back with clubs," said an eyewitness. "The police dogs barked and bit. I saw one dog torn to pieces by the throng."

When the crowd of 45,000 finally managed to break out of the trap, heavy police reinforcements began arriving. The police fired into the crowd.

The mass of soccer fans then went on a rampage through the streets of Lima protesting the police brutality. "Revenge!" they were reported to scream. "Down with the police!"

Among the first places they went to was the offices of the U.S. Goodyear Rubber Co., one of the outfits standing behind the Belaúnde government. They broke dozens of plate glass windows, wrecked telephones, smashed furniture and hauled away typewriters.

The demonstration thus rapidly assumed political overtones. This was strictly in accordance with the deep social crisis now gripping Peru that ties in directly with the unsolved agrarian problem.

In a standard reaction to such situations, the government at once declared a "state of emergency."

This means suspension of democratic rights guaranteed under the constitution. The government, in short, issued a decree authorizing the police to make arbitrary arrests, break into homes without search warrants, prohibit public gatherings and prevent departures from the country.

In this way the Belaúnde government disclosed its own deep sense of insecurity, its fear that it can be overthrown at any moment. This fear is undoubtedly justified.

The tragic loss of lives at the soccer stadium, due to the way Lima's police have been trained to respond to crowds that appear unmanageable, followed another brutal action. Only five days before the soccer game, on May 19, a "task force" of 2,000 police officers drove some 15,000 striking metal workers out of 18 factories which they had occupied to dramatize their demands for higher wages. This gives another indication of the social setting.

When these workers and the insurgent peasants in the countryside succeed in combining forces with the masses in the cities in common action behind the slogan "Down with the police!" the curtain will rise on the socialist revolution in Peru.

REJUVENATION OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY?

By Pierre Frank

The seventeenth congress of the French Communist party [PCF], which was held in Paris May 15-18, has been widely interpreted as marking a significant turn in the history of the party, the main workers' party in France and one of the most important Communist parties in the world. Even Le Populaire, organ of the Socialist party, formerly one of the most rabid in denouncing everything connected with the PCF, took the lead in emphasizing and greeting a kind of rejuvenation in this party.

Did rejuvenation, or changes, occur? If so, what are they? What perspectives have been opened?

First of all, let us indicate what has not changed. There was no change in political line. A few phrases can be found, indicating a certain "Italian" influence (in other words, nuances towards the right), but this was incidental and the line of the PCF remained essentially one of seeking a "genuine democracy" to replace the Gaullist regime, of peaceful co-existence and of "peaceful roads" to socialism. Hence nothing fundamentally different from the reformist program which the party has advocated for many years.

Nor was there any change in the procedures of the congress, which was an image of the preceding congresses -- no genuine discussion, no confrontation of ideas. This congress, like those held in the past, was a kind of meeting stretched out for several days. The speeches of the big leaders and the delegate of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, Suslov himself, were interlarded with speeches by small and medium functionaries who talked about the activities of their regions and sections. Nor was there any change in the unanimity that was displayed from beginning to end of the congress.

No change in policy, but a certain change in personnel -- that was the main characteristic of this congress.

The change in personnel was more or less dictated by a certain number of considerations. First of all, independently of all other circumstances, it would not have been possible to keep men of 65 and even older in the leading spheres much longer. While the French population -- and consequently the French working class -- is undergoing a drop in average age, the oldest political leaders still stand at the head of the state (de Gaulle), and at the head of the workers' parties.

But another weighty consideration is felt by the PCF. Everyone knows that this party was one of the most resistant among the Communist organizations to "de-Stalinization." Its old leaders were capable of switching politically in 24 hours and even quicker if necessary, but they acquired extremely rigid organizational

habits during the many political turns which they carried out during the years. If the ranks of the PCF at present feel no real hostility toward the party's policies, they do feel uneasy about the impression of sclerosis given by the party, and the tendency is to think that the age of the leadership has something to do with it.

Thus it was necessary to undertake some changes and the most spectacular among them was the replacement of Secretary General Thorez, for whom a new post was created of undetermined nature, that of "president" of the PCF.

Thorez belonged to the generation of youth, who, with the veterans of the war of 1914-18, created the Communist party following that conflict. In 1924 his sympathies were with the Opposition and he circulated Trotsky's New Course in his federation, Pas-de-Calais. But his oppositional inclinations lost momentum when he was offered a post in the Political Bureau in Paris in 1925. It is probable that he belonged to the first truly Stalinist nucleus organized in France in 1926.

He did not become the main leader of the PCF until toward 1930, with the liquidation of the policy of the "third period." Completely faithful Stalinist though he was, he had a tendency in general to remain in the background during left turns, and he intervened vigorously each time it was necessary to make a big shift to the right. His article, "Let's Speak Up," did not aim at re-establishing democracy in the party, but at making the transition from the "third period" to a rightist course. At the height of the movement to occupy the factories, in June 1936, he made his speech "It Is Necessary to Know How to End a Strike."

After the war, as vice-president of the Council under the presidency of de Gaulle, he called for the disarmament of the people's militia in the name of "a single state, a single army, a single police," and he was one of the most rabid protagonists of "produce first," especially with regard to the miners of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais.

After the death of Stalin, he did not immediately fall in line with Khrushchev. After the Twentieth Congress, in the Central Committee he denounced "dwarfs" who attack a giant. But, after the liquidation of the "antiparty group," he did not delay in coming to an understanding with Khrushchev, the latter giving him carte blanche against Casanova and Servin. At the Moscow conference of 1960, he was one of Khrushchev's main allies against the Chinese.

The PCF press has not failed for years to attribute the qualities of a great thinker to him, of a theoretician of Marxism. Among the blind, the one-eyed are kings. His main political quality -- if it can be called that -- was, after the general line had been set in Moscow, to know better than anyone else how to draw all the consequences and make all the applications in the various fields of the

party's activities. In addition, he kept a firm hand on the vast party apparatus and its ramifications in many organizations. More than once he knew when to undertake sometimes extensive purges to block crises and potential oppositions. He dominated the PCF the way de Gaulle today dominates the state. For a long time, the PCF while being the main workers' party was also in a certain sense "the party of Maurice Thorez."

What are the limits of the changes undertaken at the seventeenth congress of the PCF?

First of all, these changes were not undertaken against Thorez but in agreement with him or in bargaining with him at the highest summits of the PCF. He remains in the Political Bureau, and with him quite a few others and not the weakest ones. In truth, the Political Bureau is the body least affected by the changes in comparison to the Central Committee and the Secretariat of the party.

In addition, the new general secretary, Waldeck Rochet, is 59, replacing a man of 64. These two figures in their way testify to the extent of "rejuvenation" of the thought of the leading team. Waldeck Rochet is a product of the apparatus. He was chosen while young for this. He climbed through all the posts. He was even made Assistant General Secretary at the preceding congress. Nothing in his biography stands out in the least. He is pictured as a "peasant," but with about just as much right to the title as Thorez has to the one of "miner."

An incident at the congress likewise shows the limit of the changes. Pierre Kahn, the head of the Union of Communist Students [UEC], was not invited to the congress, and the sergeants at arms carefully watched to see that no one brought in copies of the UEC organ Clarté, which was printed without the approval of the party.

As in the past, the party ended up with a leadership named from above, not one elected democratically by the ranks. What the congress did was to give a democratic appearance to a certain transfer of powers. The top boss in selecting the apparatus is no longer Thorez but Waldeck Rochet. At the same time approval has been given to a slow adaptation -- which the leadership intends to keep under firm control -- of the gears and functioning of the party for new conditions.

The leadership of the PCF, which was able from the beginning of "de-Stalinization" up to now to control developments in the party, showed at the seventeenth congress that it hopes to be able to continue to control a slow evolution that will maintain the most distinctive traits of the party. But any change involves an unknown element and the new equilibrium at the summit of the PCF can have consequences which cannot be discerned today.

A factor which has operated to the benefit of the leadership

in the past is the objective situation that has existed in France since de Gaulle came to power. That defeat of the working class and the considerable political apathy from which the country has suffered operated in a favorable way for the leadership. But new currents are now appearing, new tendencies, particularly toward a rapprochement of the two workers parties, and these will not be without consequences in the PCF.

The leadership of the Socialist party hopes that the situation will prove to be in its benefit and that is why it greeted the seventeenth congress. Without any doubt, the rightist currents existing in the PCF, nourished and encouraged by so many years of opportunist policies and by the economic conjuncture of western Europe, will not fail to demand more than a mere change in personnel. The example of the Italian Communist party attracts many revisionists. To what extent the Socialist party can profit from this is not easy to say; this party has little about it that is attractive.

On the other hand, nothing would be more erroneous than to see nothing but the liberation of frankly opportunist and revisionist currents. The crisis in the UEC shows that despite a conjuncture favorable to the right, currents exist among the youth that reject opportunist policies and that seek, in great confusion it is true, a return to revolutionary policies.

In the background of this congress, there was the international crisis of Stalinism. In this area, a veritable anti-Chinese festival was staged. Nevertheless, some delegates, like those from the Italian CP, refrained from joining in the demand for an international conference of Communist parties formulated by the Communist party of the Soviet Union and supported without reserve by Thorez and Waldeck Rochet.

A long period in the life of the PCF came to a close with the seventeenth congress. It is much too early to determine even the major lines of the period now opening. It will without doubt be a period marked by the shake-up of everything Stalinism has imprinted in it. The revolutionary currents will seek to disengage themselves, but it is certain that this party, as such, will never return to its pre-Stalinist beginnings.

BOYCOTT OF BOLIVIAN ELECTIONS

The Bolivian Communist party announced May 23 that it would join in the boycott of the May 31 elections decided on by the Partido Revolucionario Izquierda Nacionalista headed by Juan Lechin. This leaves Bolivia with only one party on the ballot, the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria which is backing dictatorial-minded Paz Estenssoro for president.

MOHAMED HARBI DEFINES TASKS IN ALGERIA

Mohamed Harbi, editor of Révolution Africain and one of the members of the delegation that accompanied Ben Bella in the Algerian president's recent trip to the Soviet Union and various East European countries, granted an interview to the Czechoslovak weekly literary magazine Litterarni Noviny while he was in Prague. The text of this interesting interview was released May 22 and summarized in the May 23 issue of Alger Républicain from which we have translated the following:

* * *

"The importance of the recent congress of the Front de Libération Nationale lies above all in the fact that it at last gave to the party a program and a leadership.

"The program of the FLN is based throughout on the principle of self-management, determining the points of view on which are established the relations between the party and the unions on the one hand and the popular masses on the other.

"By basing itself on the aspects uniting all the forces in the country, Algeria was able to create a new situation and demonstrate without ambiguity the road which its government wishes to take. A decisive role was played in this by the decrees on self-management and nationalization."

The tasks faced by the new Central Committee, Harbi said, include the following:

- (1) To improve the party structure and expel exploiting elements from it.
- (2) To assure the organization of elections at all levels, since up to now members of the party bodies have either been appointed or co-opted.
- (3) To register property acquired since 1954 (something that is very important because many people constantly speak about the Revolution without having had anything to do with it). It should be added concerning this that the financial reform has already made possible the creation of a certain social geography by obtaining, for example, data on the Algerian commercial bourgeoisie, who in a rather brief period, accumulated large sums of money.
- (4) The Central Committee of the National Liberation Front must introduce a socialist maximum according to which members of the party working in the apparatus of the party and the state do not receive salaries that would lift them above the mass of workers.
- (5) During the coming year the Central Committee of the FLN

must seek to attract to the party workers and poor peasants to improve the social structure of the party.

"The whole organization of the Algerian economy is based on the system of self-management which likewise represents the best road for resolving the problem of accumulation and consumption," Harbi continued. "That is why self-management and planning were linked together."

"The main task in the economic domain at present is considered to be the consolidation of the socialist sector. There are big possibilities, especially for the development of heavy industry."

In regard to unemployment, Harbi declared that the problem still remains grave. Some 1,200,000 persons lack jobs in Algeria. This was caused partially by the shift in population away from the countryside.

"Algeria still maintains commercial relations with France," Harbi said, "but is trying to diversify commercial exchanges abroad as much as possible, especially through trade with the socialist countries."

"A new, without doubt rather advantageous agreement was reached with France on the delivery of wine.

"As can be seen, the French understand at present the necessity of adjusting to a certain degree to the new situation. It is notorious that today we are already far from the Evian agreement. But it is beyond doubt that the fundamental denominator in relations with France must be the consolidation of Algerian economic independence. Without that Algeria will have neither socialism nor anything else.

"With regard to oil production, Algeria is seeking right now first of all to increase its share in the profits obtained in this field."

In addition to this, Algeria already has direct shares in certain companies and has decided to construct a pipe line that was originally scheduled by these companies.

"The Algerian state has likewise built an oil refinery itself and, in accordance with an agreement with the USSR, will open a petroleum institute to train 2,000 engineers and 10,000 skilled workers.

"In general, it can be said that the active participation of Algeria in the development of oil is already evident at all stages of the process, and of the transport and sale of oil."

Mohamed Harbi said that in foreign policy, "Algeria consis-

tently supports all the national liberation movements.

"The Algerians are aware that imperialism is not indifferent to the construction of socialism in Algeria and that is why, even from the point of view of Algerian interests, it is necessary to continually shake up the outlying positions held by imperialism.

"It is symbolical that immediately after the congress of the FLN, President Ahmed Ben Bella visited precisely the socialist countries. These relations are all the more important for Algeria since the socialist countries did not put any strings on the friendliest relations and, above all, did not demand that Algeria maintain relations only with them. In addition to that, you can learn the most in the socialist countries.

"The participation of Algeria in all the struggles now taking place in the world is a matter of principle.

"That is why Algeria, together with the socialist countries, has always supported revolutionary Cuba.

"Algeria is participating in three unification movements: the Maghrebian, Arab, and Pan-African.

"In our opinion, these are not at all contradictory movements because we are convinced that unity can never be achieved except through joint agreement, which must be both political, economic and ideological and which must be based on a consistent anti-imperialist attitude.

"The struggle against feudalism and all its after-effects in this way represents the first step toward this unity."

BAN ON LUTHULI EXTENDED ANOTHER FIVE YEARS

On May 24 South Africa's fascist-like government recognized again in its own way the great honor held by Albert J. Luthuli, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961. It served the distinguished 66-year-old African nationalist leader with another banishment order only the day before the previous five-year banishment order expired.

The new order is even more stringent than the previous one. Luthuli cannot go into the nearby town of Stanger. He must ask permission from the government to attend church.

A former Zulu chief, Luthuli gained fame as the head of the African Nationalist Congress party, South Africa's oldest black political movement, now banned for its opposition to the segregationist policy of apartheid.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE GUERRILLAS SCORE VICTORIES

The official view in Washington about the dirty war started by President Kennedy in South Vietnam is at present gloomy. U.S. commentators report that the reason for this is the "deteriorating" situation. How much it has "deteriorated" is not easily determined from the guarded reports in the American press.

More specific information is available from Hanoi. On May 11, for instance, a Hsinhua dispatch from there reported that in April the National Liberation Front shot down or disabled 45 American planes and hit 47 others, sank seven gunboats and two motorboats, attacked 16 military trains and destroyed 63 armored cars.

Troops of the puppet South Vietnam government suffered more than 300 casualties, including 12 American "advisers."

In My Tho province, 60 American planes raided two villages of the Chau Thanh district. Six aircraft were shot down. In retaliation the American planes strafed the village. Three more were shot down and two others damaged. This was a record number since the beginning of the year for planes shot down in a single battle.

Among battles in various areas, a notable one occurred when guerrilla forces attacked a contingent of 1,000 government-led, American-advised troops. Four American jet helicopters crashed and two military vehicles were damaged.

On April 26, the liberation forces hit a landing ship on the Ham Luong river in Ben Tre province, killing nearly 200 troops on board the ship.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITY CONTINUES IN GUATEMALA

The May 13 Chinese Hshinhua News Agency reported continued guerrilla activity in Guatemala. A communiqué issued by the rebel forces said that Col. Profirio del Cid was killed in a skirmish with government army patrols on a highway April 11.

The colonel was notorious for directing the mobile police force in terrorist activities in Izabel province. He was responsible for many crimes, including the murder of 13 guerrilla fighters in Concua in Baja Verapaz province and the massacre of guerrillas under the command of Captain Rodolfo Chacon.

The guerrilla communiqué said, "The people are not without protection today as they have their own armed forces to deal with all atrocities of the henchmen of the dictatorial government."

BEWARE THE ATROCITY STORIES

By Evelyn Sell

There's an old saying, "Don't believe everything you hear and only half of what you read." That's very good advice for people concerned with learning the truth about race relations in the United States.

The mass news media are very eager to write inflammatory articles about racial conflicts. So eager that they hardly bother to try to sift fact from fiction. Two recent examples of newspaper sensationalism reveal how little a serious person can expect from the daily newspapers as an accurate source of information.

Jacksonville, Florida, was the scene of tumultuous civil-rights demonstrations during March. Daily newspapers in Detroit carried headlines about "race riots," "7 Hurt As Vandals Roam Riot-Torn Jacksonville," "racial clashes. . ." The articles told of Negro youths engaging in "a bloody uprising" during which police were assaulted, newsmen beaten and white persons smashed with bricks and slashed with razors.

Undoubtedly, there was some truth in the reports but it is very difficult to know exactly what to believe as truth and what to put down to sensationalism and outright lying. For example, early reports told of a white man who was tied to a tree and slashed with razor blades by riotous Negro youths. A few days later the newspaper reader discovers that the story was a hoax and the wounds self-inflicted.

"J.C. Patrick, Duval County chief of detectives, said that after an extensive investigation into the story told by William L. James, 25, 'We came to the conclusion he inflicted them himself.'" [Detroit Free Press, March 26.]

The second hoax story appeared in May. Eighteen-year-old college student John Jadrosich told police that he had been attacked by two young Negroes. His arms, legs and neck were slashed terribly with a double-edged razor blade. His wounds were so plentiful and deep that he needed medical care.

Police speculated that the Negroes attacked the white student because he had caught them in the act of stealing his car. Jadrosich, however, explained the attack was prompted by antiwhite emotions. He said the Negroes approached him with the words, "White man, you're going to bleed for us."

The white youth's mother immediately declared that she would not allow her son to continue his studies at Hofstra University in Long Island, New York. She told reporters, "The country isn't safe anymore. We are in for a lot of racial trouble in Nassau [section

where family lives], and I don't want my children in the middle of it."

Within a couple of days the youth revealed that the entire story had been made up by him because he wanted to drop out of school but didn't want to disappoint his parents by simply quitting.

It is indeed saddening to hear of a young man who would slash himself so severely because he was afraid to tell his parents the truth. It is even sadder to think of how his story helped add fuel to anti-Negro fires of hate and fear. How many innocent Negro youths were harrassed, picked up by police and questioned as a result of this cruel hoax?

The young white liar confessed that he had used newspaper accounts of racial strife as the basis for his phony claim of a racial attack. He had plenty of inflammatory articles to draw from. In the days just before Jadrosich's self-inflicted slashing, New York newspapers carried horrifying stories about gangs of Harlem Negro youths who were dedicated to killing and wounding whites. It was claimed that 400 young Negroes were receiving training in the art of murder by extremists of a Muslim group in Harlem, the New York City area containing the country's heaviest concentration of Negroes.

These reports of an antiwhite murder brigade were vigorously denied by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of psychology at New York's City College and the director of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited [HARYOU]. This organization is part of the government's program to combat juvenile delinquency. Dr. Clark pointed out that HARYOU researchers interviewed hundreds of Harlem's ghetto residents, HARYOU staff workers were in intimate contact with Negro youths over a long period of time and serious studies were made of Harlem conditions but no such murder gang was ever uncovered.

As the civil-rights movement reaches new heights of intensity, as the white capitalist power structure and the racists strike back at militant Negroes and as impatience on both sides wells up, there is bound to be violent clashes. However, let the reader beware! Negro assaults on whites are bound to be distorted and even untrue on many occasions. Newspapers will be quick to print any sensational stories in order to increase sales. Enough lies have been exposed already to make one doubt the accuracy and veracity of most of these reports.

PSIUP POSITION ON THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT

ROME, May 21 -- At its recent plenum, the Central Committee of the PSIUP [Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity], adopted a programmatic document expressing the party's line on the most important current international and national problems. The PSIUP was born last January following a split to the left when the PSI [Italian Socialist party] joined the Moro government. [See World Outlook January 24.] It claims to have from 120,000 to 130,000 members, equivalent to one-third of the cadres and one-fifth of the militants of the PSI before the break.

Those parts of the document concerning Italian problems are, in comparison to other PSIUP declarations (for example, a resolution of the Economic Commission), in some ways a step backward; certain questions, at least, were handled much better in analogous texts of the Communist party. In fact, the programmatic document voices centrist positions that are quite confused and wrong on essential points and uses an abstract and academic language. Essentially it is a poor repetition of PCI [Italian Communist party] positions, offering a gradualist concept of the passage to socialism, acceptance of the peaceful road and an absolutely erroneous formulation of the transition program, which it conceives as a program setting up intermediate stages.

The section devoted to international problems is more interesting. However, it too echoes fundamentally the current line of the PCI. Here are the paragraphs that refer in particular to the Sino-Soviet conflict:

* * *

"In the past, the Communist parties, tied to a monolithic conception of the socialist camp, centered their battle on the defense of the conquests of the October Revolution and of the USSR as the sole socialist country, and they considered that the growth of Soviet influence was the decisive factor for the success of the socialist revolution in other countries.

"The extension of the socialist zone, which reached a decisive turning point with the victory of the revolution in China, and the change in the world relation of forces between socialism and capitalism created new conditions and problems. The conflict between the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and China, which has reached a gravely alarming level, is situated in this framework. The socialists of the PSIUP cannot accept the theses of the Chinese Communists with regard to the struggle of working-class parties in the advanced capitalist countries, the question of Stalin, the perspective of nuclear war. It is a grave error to ignore the development of modern capitalism -- which creates new conditions for the socialist struggle -- and to replace serious analysis with ideological schemas that refer to a bygone historic stage of

capitalism. This, moreover, reveals a profound underestimation of the reality of advanced capitalism on the part of the Chinese Communists, who have come to attribute to anticolonial revolutions the decisive and preponderant role in the battle against imperialism. While the question of Stalin cannot be reduced to the so-called cult of the personality, but requires a more profound analysis of the structural causes that led to such a grave bureaucratic and tyrannical degeneration, the Chinese Communists have gone into exalting Stalin and praising dogmatism, repeating the tragic error of mixing up the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which Marx spoke, with the personal power of a group of men and the jailing of socialist democracy. And if the Chinese Communists justifiably reject the atomic blackmail of imperialism, the argument frequently used to justify their refusal is unacceptable, namely that nuclear war would end with the victory of socialism and thus open a better future for humanity. Nuclear war would not only cost the tragic price of hundreds of millions of deaths, but would deal a decisive blow to the existence of humanity, to civilization. The polemical argument of the Chinese Communists, associating to a certain degree the perspectives of socialism and nuclear war, objectively struck a hard blow against the struggle which the workers are conducting for peace throughout the entire world.

"Nevertheless judgment of the Sino-Soviet conflict cannot be limited to rejecting these Chinese theses, but must take into account the fact that the conflict reveals a crisis in the united strategy of the international workers movement which has a tendency to deepen on the basis of a division between the industrialized countries and the economically underdeveloped countries. The Chinese CP and other parties of the economically underdeveloped countries affirm that they do not find in the policy proposed by the CPSU [Communist party of the Soviet Union] a line of action corresponding to their requirements and they say that they are afraid coexistence can be translated into an exclusive agreement between the biggest world powers. This creates a dramatic and complex situation, aggravated by the fact that the conflict is occurring at the level of a conflict between two states.

"The crisis produced in the socialist camp thus cannot be resolved by the method of excommunications and condemnations and by the demand for mechanical alignment of the workers parties in the world along the opposed theses. Since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the search for a new conception of the united relations of internationalism cannot lead to the mechanical alignment of class-conscious parties around a 'guiding' state or several 'guiding' states.

"The rejection of the monolithic system of socialist states and working-class parties is widespread today, but it is only a negative indication which cannot be surmounted by mere reference to the national roads to socialism.

"The changed relationship of forces in the world imposes, in contrast, search for an up-to-date ideology and an over-all strategy for the class movement. It is the necessary condition for resolving in a higher unity the present conflicts, for creating anew favorable conditions for the full utilization of the immense potential arising not only from the competition between socialist and capitalist states, but also from anti-imperialist, prosocialist struggles that objectively unite the working classes of the advanced capitalist countries with the anti-imperialist movements of the peoples in the backward countries.

"The struggle for socialism arises from the concrete conditions of capitalist society and must thus follow different roads according to the different historic conditions of the different parts of the world and the advanced capitalist countries. The coordination of socialist struggles with each other and with those of the peoples in process of development arises from the fundamental need to overcome the common enemy: imperialism. It is always in the struggle against imperialism that the convergence of the class movement of the capitalist countries with the socialist countries is realized. But this does not imply that the means and the objectives must be identical. On the contrary, they are not only different, they are also utilized by the socialist states with criteria necessarily different from those of the class movement in other countries.

"The vicissitudes of the Communist world in Stalin's time, the denunciations made at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU on its post-war errors, the current conflict between the Soviet Union and China, prove that any attempt to arbitrarily extend to other peoples the experiences which ended in victory over capitalism and imperialism and in the building of a new socialist society, in the long run creates contradictions and conflicts of even dramatic nature within the socialist system.

"Solidarity with the socialist states arises not only from the qualitative difference between the bourgeois state and the socialist state, but also from the decisive role which the socialist states play in the anti-imperialist struggles. However this solidarity cannot be confounded with the search for or acceptance of models to copy or to adopt: the experiences of the USSR and the other socialist countries are themselves a fundamental contribution to the search for the roads to socialism which the working-class movement must nevertheless follow according to its own estimate.

"This holds not only in relation to the aim of assuring the democratic development of socialism, but also because the new relationship of forces on a world scale due to the strengthening of the USSR and the socialist states and the foundering of the colonial system are not in themselves sufficient to bring about the end of capitalism."

PEKING CALLS ATTENTION TO LESSONS OF BRAZILIAN DEFEAT

In a long editorial April 30 the People's Daily of Peking called attention to the lessons of the counterrevolutionary coup d'état in Brazil. The first part of the editorial advances evidence to prove the complicity of U.S. imperialism in toppling the government of João Goulart and points to the heavy American investments and high profits as the basic explanation for Washington's reactionary intervention in the internal affairs of Brazil. The editors then point out the conclusions which they hold should be drawn from the events. Since little publicity has been given Peking's views on the downfall of Goulart, we offer below the concluding part of the editorial as reproduced from the May 1 issue of Hsinhua:

* * *

The first lesson is that U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Latin-American peoples and that they must not entertain any illusions about this most ferocious enemy.

The Goulart government wanted no more than to safeguard the interests of the nation and effect certain social reforms. Washington would not tolerate this and set its heart on getting rid of that government. This proves to the hilt that the interests of the Latin-American countries which consist in winning national independence are incompatible with the interests of U.S. imperialism which consist in committing aggression.

In Latin America, U.S. investments total more than \$10,000,000,000. U.S. monopolies run big estates and industrial enterprises in every part of the continent. The profit they squeeze out of Latin America exceeds \$2,000,000,000 every year. There is hardly a Latin-American country where the United States has no vested interest. The U.S. ruling circles talk glibly about assisting the Latin-American countries in working out "reforms" and "for progress." But in reality, they refuse to tolerate any reform or progress made by the Latin-American countries, however inconsequential they may be. The U.S. imperialist policy in relation to countries in Latin America is to maintain and tighten in every possible way its control over them, so that the U.S. may go on plundering and exploiting this rich continent to its heart's content. Therefore, any Latin-American country would earn the inveterate hatred of U.S. imperialism if it shows any desire to preserve its independence, protect its national interests, or carry out social reforms. It is indeed difficult to keep count of the legitimately constituted governments in Latin America that have been overthrown by U.S. imperialism because they wanted to defend their national interests. The João Goulart government of Brazil is the latest case in point.

What happened in many Latin-American countries has made it clear long ago that there are two alternatives before the Latin-American countries: either allow themselves to be ruled by lackeys

of U.S. imperialism and be dominated and enslaved by the United States as in the case of Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, or rid themselves of the influence of the U.S. aggressors and resist U.S. intervention as in the case of Cuba. There is no third possibility. The events in Brazil are fresh proof that there is no room for Latin-American countries to come to a compromise with U.S. imperialism and its henchmen. The people of any Latin-American country, who refuse to live in subjugation and slavery and who want to achieve real progress and emancipation, must combat U.S. imperialism and its agents resolutely and defeat them.

The second lesson is that the national-democratic forces in the Latin-American countries, like those in all other countries controlled and enslaved by U.S. imperialism, must be fully prepared to face armed suppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and to strike back relentlessly, by armed force if necessary.

The U.S. imperialists have always used counterrevolutionary two-faced tactics in their aggression of and interference in the Latin-American countries, while armed intervention, armed suppression and armed subversion are their customary methods of smothering the national-democratic movements there. Apart from supporting the reactionaries of these countries and helping them to suppress the people's revolutionary movements, by every conceivable means, they have continuously engineered and unleashed armed intervention and subversion. Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has engineered more than thirty armed rebellions or military coups in the fourteen [?] Latin-American countries. Any government, even one fostered by it, is overthrown by force whenever it incurs its displeasure. "Life to the obedient and death to the disobedient" is the policy of U.S. imperialism towards the Latin-American countries. In other parts of the world, too, U.S. imperialism uses violence against the revolutionary peoples fighting for liberation. Its armed intervention in the Congo (Leopoldville) and South Vietnam are cases in point.

The Chinese people have their own experience in this aspect. After their victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression in 1945, they longed for peace and democracy. The Chinese Communist party firmly stood its ground to realise these aspirations of the people. However, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in China, the Kuomintang reactionaries, were bent on suppressing the Chinese people's revolutionary forces with arms. In these circumstances, the Chinese Communist party led the people throughout the country in the struggle for peace and democracy and at the same time, was engaged in building up the strength of the revolutionary armed forces, to be ready to deal with armed suppression by U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out then that the revolutionary people must be prepared to take up swords to deal with the oppression and massacre by the imperialists and reactionaries. He said: "When we see the other fellow holding something in his hands, we should do some investigating. What does he hold in his hands? Swords. What are swords for? For killing.

Whom does he want to kill with his swords? The people. Having made these findings, investigate further-- the Chinese people, too, have hands and can take up swords; they can forge a sword if there is none handy. The Chinese people have discovered this truth after long investigation and study. Warlords, landlords, local bullies and bad gentry and the imperialists all have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act after the same fashion." Thanks to their preparations, the Chinese people were able to take up their swords and put up a resistance when the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in China, the Kuomintang reactionaries, brandished their swords to suppress the Chinese people's revolution. After a protracted armed struggle, the Chinese people defeated their enemies and won the great victory of the revolution.

The Cuban people understand this truth. After a bitter armed struggle, they overthrew the rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackey, Batista, and achieved genuine national independence and liberation. After the victory of the revolution, the Cuban people persisted in armed struggle against aggression by arming the whole nation and defended the revolutionary fruits by smashing, time and again, armed intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism. Influenced and inspired by the victory of the Cuban Revolution, more and more Latin-American peoples have come to understand that armed suppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys must be opposed with revolutionary armed struggle. This is where the hope lies for the victory of the national-democratic revolution in Latin America.

The tragedy of Brazil lies in the fact that Goulart and the political forces supporting him, while trying to uphold certain national interests as demanded by the people, had insufficient understanding of the savage nature of U.S. imperialism and its stooges and lacked vigilance. The most tragic thing is that they neither had reliable armed forces under their control nor firmly relied on the people. So they failed to crush the armed subversion by U.S. imperialism and the Brazilian reactionaries.

The Brazilian tragedy is a fresh lesson in blood. When U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are intensifying their ruthless violent suppression, the modern revisionists are preaching "peaceful transition" to the oppressed nations and peoples of the world, the Brazilian and other Latin-American peoples not excepted. By so doing, they are not only spreading an illusion but committing a monstrous crime. Counterrevolutionary violence can only be answered with revolutionary violence. This is universally applicable truth. The Second Havana Declaration says: "Revolution, in history, is as the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life: it does not use forceps unless it is necessary, but it will unhesitatingly use them every time labor requires them. A labor that brings the hope of a better life to the enslaved and exploited masses." The Brazilian tragedy has once again borne out the correctness of this conclusion.

from the converse side. It has provided fresh proof to the insolvency of the theory of "peaceful transition."

The third lesson from the Brazilian events is that in order to carry out a national-democratic revolution and win national and social liberation, the oppressed nations and peoples of Latin America must form a broad national-democratic united front by rallying all patriotic domestic forces and resolutely fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The Second Havana Declaration correctly says: "It is possible to organise the immense majority of the people in the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle for the goals of liberation which unite the efforts of the working class, the peasants, the intellectual workers, the petty bourgeoisie and the most progressive sectors of the national bourgeoisie. Together these sectors include the immense majority of the people and command great social forces which are capable of sweeping away imperialist domination and feudal reaction.

"From the old militant Marxist to the sincere Catholic who has no love for the Yankee monopolies and feudal landowners, all can and must fight side by side in this broad movement for the welfare of their nations, for the welfare of their peoples, for the welfare of America."

In the Latin-American countries, as in all other countries subjected to U.S. imperialist oppression, control and enslavement, broad sections of the people oppose the U.S. imperialist oppression and enslavement and want to win and uphold national independence. Only a handful of feudal landowners and comprador bourgeois elements who make up the most reactionary forces are willing to sell out their national interests, to serve as the accomplices of U.S. imperialism and oppose broad sections of their own people. It is therefore entirely possible and necessary to unite the more than ninety per cent of the patriotic people to isolate the reactionary forces and defeat U.S. imperialism and its accomplices.

Fully arousing the masses of the people is a decisive factor in the consolidation and development of this united front. It must have a strong leadership and base itself on an alliance between the workers and peasants, who form the overwhelming majority of the population. The peasant question is a key question in the national-democratic revolution of the Latin-American countries. It is necessary, therefore, to make extensive efforts to develop the peasants' movement, to help them organize themselves into a main force of the revolution. That is why in the Latin-American countries a national-democratic united front cannot be firmly established, nor can it lead the national-democratic revolution to victory, if its revolutionary programme cannot provide a solution to the land problem.

The national-democratic revolutionary movement of Brazil has suffered a setback for no other reason than that it did not have a

broad united front with a strong leadership. It had not truly aroused and organised the broad sections of peasants and other people. Hence it could not organise a powerful counterattack in face of the armed rebellion engineered by imperialism and its lackeys.

The last lesson from the Brazilian events is that the peoples of all the Latin-American countries must form the broadest possible international united front to fight their common enemy -- U.S. imperialism -- and support and co-ordinate with each other in the common struggle.

U.S. imperialism is pursuing the following policy in order to maintain its colonial rule over the Latin-American peoples. It is doing everything to strangle the Cuban Revolution while strengthening its control over other Latin-American countries, consolidating its bases of aggression and turning all other Latin-American countries into vassal states of the Dominican Republic type. One of the principal purposes of U.S. imperialism in baring its aggressive fangs to suppress the Brazilian national-democratic revolutionary movement is to intimidate other countries and force them to give up their policy of noninterference towards Cuba, so that it may intensify its aggression against Cuba and put down the national-democratic revolutionary movements in other Latin-American countries. Having made enemies in various parts of Latin America and been reduced to a state of passivity, U.S. imperialism is trying to maintain firm control over the Latin-American countries by subjugating them one by one.

In this situation, the common interests of the Latin-American peoples demand that they should enter into a close alliance, support each other and, in particular, regard the defence of the Cuban Revolution as one of their foremost tasks. They should vehemently condemn the U.S. imperialist aggression on Cuba and suppression of the people's revolutionary struggles in other countries, and frustrate the U.S. scheme of subjugating them one by one. In this way they can certainly defeat U.S. imperialist aggression and intervention and drive away the U.S. aggressive forces from the Latin-American continent.

The incitement of the reactionary military coup in Brazil is no demonstration of the strength of U.S. imperialism. On the contrary it indicates that U.S. imperialism is in great straits in Latin America and other parts of the world. At present the national-democratic movement is developing vigorously in Latin America where the people's movement against U.S. imperialism is surging forward and the governments of many countries are less and less willing to submit themselves to U.S. oppression and bullying and are trying to free themselves from U.S. control. The establishment of a military dictatorship in Brazil through open U.S. incitement of an armed rebellion shows that the United States is finding it increasingly difficult to maintain "order" in its "backyard."

The Brazilian people's revolutionary movement cannot be smashed by any reactionary adverse current though their national-democratic revolutionary movement suffered a temporary setback as a result of the counterrevolutionary military coup. Quite the contrary, the Brazilian people will heighten their consciousness and see their road of advance more clearly after this terrific shock. They will accumulate political and military strength, unfold new struggles and push their revolutionary movement to new heights. The revolutionary peoples of Latin-American countries will learn from the Brazilian coup, raise their consciousness, form a united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and ignite the flames of armed revolution with greater resolve and bravery. A second, a third or even more Cubas will undoubtedly emerge in Latin America.

OOPS!

U.S. "LOSES" PLUTONIUM IN ATMOSPHERE

No accidents, endangering the rest of humanity, can happen so long as control of nuclear devices remains in the "safe" hands of Washington and Moscow?

The New York Times revealed May 25 that the Atomic Energy Commission "lost" 2.2 pounds of deadly plutonium "somewhere in space near Africa."

Washington officials at first sought to conceal the accident, which occurred about April 21. The Atomic Forum, a newsletter of the Atomic Industrial Forum, began inquiries, however, and eventually compelled acknowledgment by the Pentagon.

The loss of the \$1,000,000 package was due to "a human error," said the Defense Department in finally admitting the accident. "Because of the failure of a technician in the control center to throw a switch, the guidance system did not have a chance to function properly."

Thus rocket failure occurred and the satellite did not go into orbit. The "payload," including the atomic battery which was powered by plutonium 238, came down into the atmosphere off the east coast of Africa.

Washington officials hope that the satellite burned up on re-entering the atmosphere and that this dispersed the highly poisonous radioactive material in "minute particles" at an altitude of around 120,000 feet where it would float for some months before gradually descending to the surface of the earth as radioactive fall-out.

They aren't sure, however. It may have come down in a more concentrated bundle, drenching a relatively small area with the lethal material.

The New York Times said that the State Department had registered its "reservations" about launching satellites containing radioactive substances because of possible "international protest" in case of an accident. The concern of the State Department is sufficient evidence of how dangerous the project appeared to be even in top Washington circles.

In June 1961, however, President Kennedy himself gave the OK. That, of course, made everything quite safe, since it is well known that the late President's first concern was always the welfare of humanity. Three other atomic-powered transit satellites were sent into orbit before the one that failed due to "a human error."

NEXT WEEK

"On the Methodology of 'Sectarianism'" by P.L. Carp -- a Marxist analysis of the position taken by Georg Lukács in the Sino-Soviet conflict.