

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 1, No. 5

October 25, 1963

21, rue d'Aboukir - Paris-2°

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL APPEALS FOR DEFENSE OF ALGERIAN REVOLUTION

An appeal for "full aid and solidarity to the Algerian people and their government in mobilizing in defense of their Revolution against the attack launched by the Moroccan monarchy" has been issued by the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky.

The appeal brands the attack as a desperate effort to cut short the growing influence of the Algerian Revolution among the Moroccan masses. It acclaims the efforts, which have now been intensified, to overthrow the "reactionary regime of Hassan II."

The major sectors of the world Trotskyist movement, unified at a Reunification Congress last summer after a long split, are now represented by the United Secretariat and it was this body that issued the appeal.

The full text of the appeal is as follows:

DEFEND ALGERIA!

The attack on Algeria is a desperate attempt by the decayed, feudal-capitalist regime of the Moroccan monarchy, backed by French, American and Spanish imperialism, to cut short the growing influence of the Algerian Revolution among the poverty-stricken masses of Morocco.

The Moroccan people have turned toward Algeria with hopeful eyes. They approve the deep-going agrarian reform, the sweeping nationalizations, the establishment of a socialist sector of the economy, and the steps toward making Algeria the Cuba of Africa.

They have been impressed by the organization on a nation-wide scale of democratically elected Workers Councils and Self-Management Committees.

They want Morocco to start down the road toward socialism the way Algeria has.

That is why King Hassan's court clique decided to strike at Algeria's revolutionary government and if possible bring it down. That is why King Hassan timed his attack to coincide with a counterrevolutionary armed rebellion inside Algeria in the Kabylie mountains.

But the military assault launched by the Moroccan monarch can have unexpected political consequences for his own unstable regime.

Already the most important opposition forces inside Morocco have responded to the revolutionary appeal of the Algerian government to overthrow Hassan II. They have publicly called for the defeat of the reactionary government they are cursed with. They are cheering for the victory of Algeria's revolutionary National People's Army.

If the Algerian Revolution spreads across the border into Morocco it would constitute a colossal blow to the whole neocolonialist structure supported in West Africa by de Gaulle, U.S. imperialism and Franco's fascist regime.

For imperialism, this is a real and frightening possibility. The sectors of U.S. imperialism who see this most clearly are already calling for intervention by the United Nations.

These acts of aggression against the Algerian Revolution must not succeed!

The international labor movement must bring speedy help to the Algerian Revolution and block the aggression undertaken by imperialism through its stooges.

Hands off Algeria!

Defend the Algerian Revolution!

Down with Moroccan reaction!

Full aid and solidarity to the Algerian people and their government in mobilizing in defense of their Revolution against the attack launched by the Moroccan monarchy!

Long live the socialist revolution as it spreads from Algeria to Morocco and throughout the whole Maghreb!

United Secretariat of the
Fourth International

MOROCCAN MONARCHY SPEARHEADS NEOCOLONIALIST ASSAULT ON ALGERIA

PARIS, Oct. 21 -- The outbreak of hostilities in the Sahara between the Moroccan Royal Army, equipped with U.S. and French aircraft and tanks, and the Algerian National People's Army with its assortment of arms remaining from the seven-and-a-half year fight for freedom, marks a new stage in the imperialist and neocolonialist effort to block Algeria from proceeding down the road to socialism.

The timing of the assault is significant. Hassan chose to send his troops pouring across the border in co-ordination with a dagger blow in the back of the Algerian government -- the armed rebellion of the so-called "Front of Socialist Forces" centered in Kabylie.

That the King started the conflict is proved by a single eloquent fact. He rejected an Algerian proposal for a cease-fire and withdrawal of both sides to the positions held as of October 1. His counter proposal was a cease-fire with both sides remaining in the positions held on October 8. The King wants his troops to stay in the positions they seized between those two dates.

The area where the fighting is now going on in the southwest Sahara has been pictured by the capitalist press as nothing but desert sands. The aim of such propaganda is to help the Moroccan king hold the positions he seized by making them seem unimportant.

There is a good deal of wasteland in this wide region but there is also a string of oases along a water course coming down from the snowy summits of the Atlas mountains. They contain a million palm trees. The region contains fertile populated areas. It is the crossroads for considerable trade between primitive peoples and the outside world.

It also happens to be an extremely rich mineral area. The iron ore deposits at Tindouf are estimated to be the second in importance in the world. At Fort-Gouraud is another immense deposit owned by MIFERMA, an international trust controlled by the Rothschild group.

The Rothschilds, seeking control over the railway from Fort-Gouraud to Port-Etienne where they could load ore ships, carved out the "independent" state of Mauritania. A rival French-Spanish group is collaborating with the Moroccan government to establish a tight grip on the Tindouf deposits which they propose to load at Spanish-controlled Rio de Oro.

An Algeria rapidly developing towards socialism puts a big question mark on the safety of this tempting area -- safety, that is, for capitalist profits.

Other capitalist promotion schemes in this area could be cited to explain the avid interest of the Moroccan monarchy in these "desert sands."

Aside from this, the Moroccan grab can be considered a "pilot" operation. If the King succeeds, there will be other African puppet governments that will try their hand at moving into the ill-defined border area at the expense of the Algerian government and its socialist orientation.

The fundamental reason for the present outbreak of hostilities, however, is not economic in the immediate sense, but political.

The war represents a gamble by the reactionary Moroccan government, backed by American, French and Spanish imperialist interests, to stem the growing influence of the Algerian Revolution among the Moroccan masses.

The fact is that the disintegrating Rabat regime feels that its days are numbered.

With the victory of the Algerian Revolution over French imperialism and the achievement of political independence, class contradictions and political tensions in neighboring Morocco have grown sharper.

The March 1963 decrees socializing the "vacated properties" and

introducing self-management in the socialist sector of the Algerian economy greatly heartened the Moroccan workers and peasants and encouraged them to seek a similar deep-going agrarian reform. The effect of the March decree can be better grasped if it is recalled that seven years after winning independence, Morocco has not yet seen even the beginning of an agrarian reform.

It is this growing influence of the Algerian Revolution that led to the astonishing defeat suffered by the reactionary court clique in the 1963 general elections. Notwithstanding propaganda mobilized on tremendous scale by the King himself, thirty-four per cent of the votes was all that this unattractive ruling group could garner.

In revenge for this defeat, the King organized a nation-wide witch-hunt, starting it like a military operation last July 16. Alleging discovery of a "plot," he arrested hundreds of leading figures in the UNFP [Union Nationale des Forces Populaires], the left-wing opposition party.

Following these arrests, the King turned the witch-hunt against the trade unions, arresting all the main figures.

Then came sweeping arrests of student leaders on the eve of the congress of the Union des Etudiants Marocains.

The total number of arrests in this witch-hunt has not been revealed, but some sources estimate that as many as 4,000 were thrown into prison. Out of twenty-eight left-wing members of parliament, twenty-one are behind bars. Nearly all local trade-union leaders are in jail. On the only left-wing daily in the country At Tahrir, the entire staff was arrested.

Torture is used against working-class opponents of King Hassan II. Mohamed Salmi, a trade-union leader, died under torture. Mahdi Alaoui, a member of parliament from Salé, was tortured from eight o'clock one morning until ten in the evening.

The Moroccan and Tunisian Students Union appealed August 29 for an international inquiry into the mass torture and terror used by Morocco's rulers against the left-wing working-class and peasants political opposition.

These are the real features of the crowned regime in Rabat that dares claim it is defending "democracy" in the Sahara against the "brutal dictatorship" of Ben Bella!

The disorganization of the Moroccan opposition under the impact of the witch-hunt made it quite natural for the masses of Morocco to turn towards revolutionary Algeria all the more for inspiration and leadership. Hassan II is aware of this. Through war, he hopes to mobilize the counter forces of "patriotism" and of hatred for the "foreign enemy" so that Algeria will look less like a potential liberating power.

But this calculation can prove to be a disastrous mistake. The war started by the King also brought fresh vigor to appeals to throw him out.

Ben Barka, leader of the UNFP living in exile in Cairo, publicly appealed for the defeat of the royal Moroccan army and the victory of the

Algerian Revolution. Other opposition leaders have joined him in this courageous stand.

The Algerian News Agency today reported that a detachment of the Royal Moroccan Army at Ish had mutinied and that the outpost was attacked by troops who -- for the moment -- still remain loyal to the King.

In Algeria it is well understood that the social and political character of the conflict makes it a potential showdown between the neocolonialist and revolutionary forces in the whole Maghreb.

It became the signal for a new wave of mass mobilizations of extraordinary scope, intensity and fervor.

And the Revolution took another step forward with a sudden decision to stop the free transfer of capital between Algeria and France and to establish controls over the outward flow of money.

To the credit of the Algerian government and the general staff of the Algerian National People's Army, any expression of hatred for the Moroccan people has been barred. Yet strong appeals have been made to the national sentiments of the Algerian people which became very deep during almost eight years of bitter war for freedom from French imperialism.

Instead of whipping up hatred for Morocco, the Algerian leaders have sought instead to transform the neocolonialist aggression into a civil war within Morocco itself, concentrating their fire on King Hassan II, the court clique and the propertied classes of Morocco. In revolutionary fashion they have appealed to the Moroccan soldiers to stop the war between two brother nations and to overthrow the King instead.

As the Algerian Revolution enters its socialist stage, its international extension has thus been put on the agenda. This tendency had already been revealed in the exceptional support which the Algerians have given the Angolan and South African freedom struggles.

Imperialism has enormous interests at stake in this struggle. It can be expected to rally big forces behind the Moroccan monarchy. The international working-class movement must throw its weight on the other side of the conflict, on the side of the Algerian Revolution.

Let socialism sweep the whole Maghreb! Full help and solidarity to the Algerian Revolution! Stop the criminal aggression of Moroccan reaction and its imperialist masters!

AN ACTION THAT CAME NATURAL

When the rumor flashed through Algeria that American transport planes had been used to ferry Moroccan troops into Algerian territory, the crowds in Constantine -- such is America's reputation -- did not wait for the energetic denial of the State Department. Hundreds of people showed up at once in front of the American cultural center and broke all the windows.

THE "FRONT OF SOCIALIST FORCES"

By Joseph Hansen

The name chosen by the heads of the armed rebellion in Kabylie, "Front of Socialist Forces," as well as their radical-sounding demagogy, seems unfortunately to have impressed a few socialists.

A glaring instance is The Newsletter, weekly organ of the Socialist Labour League, which is published in London. The October 5 and October 12 issues gave most sympathetic treatment to the armed rebellion and joined this "opposition" in attacking the Ben Bella government.

The October 5 issue, for instance, declared: "The opposition seems to comprise not only the poor peasantry but other politically conscious elements from the FLN calling themselves 'socialist.' They reflect the will to change of sections of the Algerian masses, who feel that they have been betrayed by Ben Bella's compromises with French big business.

"Only those who eat out of Ben Bella's hand could write off such people as ultra-lefts and provocateurs.

"It is likely that Ben Bella can isolate the revolt to the hills of Kabylie, but only temporarily. The president faces a new upsurge in the long battle for a socialist Algeria.

"His declaration that all remaining French-owned land is to be nationalized is an attempt to both divert attention from events in Kabylie and prove that he is still moving in a 'revolutionary' way.

"In case this is ineffective he is also asking, in true de Gaulle fashion, for 'extraordinary powers' to deal with the Kabylie situation."

Hocine Ait Ahmed and Colonel Mohand Ou El Hadj, the two heads of the "Front of Socialist Forces" got equally favorable handling in the October 12 issue of The Newsletter. The editors even engaged in friendly "socialist" competition with the pair in throwing epithets at Ben Bella.

They charged Ben Bella with "maintaining regular telephone contact with the Elysee Palace in Paris" while "his own press and broadcasting services have to keep the Algerian people completely in the dark about the past week's events."

According to The Newsletter, "Ben Bella is clearly taking into account the opposition brewing up throughout the country as a result of his inability to solve even the basic problems in Algeria. In his hesitant position he has attempted to divert attention from the rebellion with his 'anti-imperialist' campaign to nationalize the land of the French settlers.

"But this line fell rather flat when the French government, according to 'Le Monde,' expressed complete acceptance of it."

The Newsletter's explanation for Ben Bella's allegedly carrying out nationalizations to "divert attention" and please de Gaulle is that "all

the middle-class nationalist politicians tend to gravitate towards the policies of the imperialists."

From this, the particular conclusion is easily reached in Ben Bella's case that "he ends up grovelling at their feet."

The Newsletter also tells us that "Sections of the capitalist press have played the rebellion down. . . ."

Apparently The Newsletter does not follow other sections of the capitalist press that have played it up. Otherwise the editors could scarcely have missed the extremely sympathetic treatment which this rebellion received in some of the most powerful as well as reactionary sectors. In truth there was considerable excitement in these circles over the "Front of Socialist Forces."

David Willie wrote in The Sunday Times of London (October 6) that "Ait Ahmed and the Colonel have been getting a lion's share of attention this week as car loads of journalists have been crawling up the narrow mountain roads to reach rebel headquarters. . . . The modest Hotel des Voyageurs (12 beds) has become an international Press HQ."

Colonel Mohand Ou El Hadj got a full half hour on nation-wide American TV networks, a not inexpensive or well played-down piece of publicity.

The Associated Press gave its clients a glowing account of the same personage (October 6): "El Hadj -- 'The Old One' -- at 52 Is Called Military Genius" was the headline used for the dispatch by the New York Herald Tribune, a staunch Republican sheet.

"Hard life and years of guerrilla fighting for Algeria's independence have made him look older, more worn-out than he really is," the dispatch informs us.

"In fact, he looks more like a patient, good-natured grandfather than a tough guerrilla who has survived hair-raising raids and pursuits."

A romantic "socialist" this colonel. And quite natural that he should look older and more worn-out than he really is, since the Associated Press got his age wrong. He is really 62.

The Associated Press indicated the basic views of the Colonel in a delicate way. Before becoming a military genius he was a "shopkeeper" who "sold imitation jewelry to Berber women in colorful striped robes and cheap watches to men who frequently saved for years to afford one."

The Associated Press would obviously like to see a budding capitalist like that back in business.

The same American big business news service gave a similarly favorable write-up for Hocine Ait Ahmed on October 4. The Herald Tribune headlined it: "Ait Ahmed Is Political Brain of Berber Revolt in Algeria."

This "political brain" speaks in "staccato sentences" that have brought the "bearded Berber patriarchs" rallying to the "son of these

mountains" to "show loyalty to ethnic ties stronger than anywhere else in Algeria."

Besides hypnotizing them with ethnology, the brain "electrified them with his voice and assurance" that victory is certain.

As for program, the Associated Press gave its clients a broad editorial wink: "Mr. Ait Ahmed's clandestine Front of Socialist Forces has little in the way of a solid political program. He speaks vaguely of 'scientific socialism,' of nationalization accomplished 'progressively without brutality.'"

This amiable attitude toward the machinegun wielders in the Kabylie extends to the highest levels in American big business and politics. Leo Sauvage reported in the October 16 issue of Le Figaro, the rightist Paris daily:

"Finally and above all, leading American circles who were inclined to go along with the 'Castroist' Ben Bella out of political realism, that is, as long as he appeared to them to be the unchallenged master of Algeria, have been impressed by the Kabyle affair."

On October 1, a Washington dispatch appeared in the New York Times, undoubtedly written in the light of a State Department "background" briefing. It professed that puzzlement exists in Washington over Ben Bella's course -- suspicion that he might "be tempted to veer toward the path of Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba" but uncertainty over whether he can be expected to actually take the plunge. When Ben Bella visits the U.S., maybe to see Kennedy, they hope to have "a new chance to take his measure."

"In the meantime," concludes this informative article, "the United States, which has been tapering off its emergency food shipments to Algeria, is unlikely to make any large, new commitments of foreign aid to that country."

The New York Times, the most powerful editorial voice of American big business, gave Hocine Ait Ahmed a paternal pat on the back (October 8). It noted that he was the son of a well-to-do land owner, that he got his doctorate in law at the University of Paris and that "Even his bitterest foes concede he is bright."

The Times, unlike most American capitalist newspapers, assumes that at least some of its readers are politically sophisticated and so it often indicates the program of people in whom it takes a kindly interest. "Mr. Ait-Ahmed," said the Times, "is a nationalist with a strong touch of a vague Marxism. He condemns Communists and has the taste for rhetoric of a French intellectual."

Someone who has that kind of taste for rhetoric, it is well known, is not easily pinned down to definite programmatic statements. France's leading capitalist paper, Le Monde, which observes rather high-journalistic standards, noted this October 8:

"But the movement remains essentially circumscribed. . . it is necessary to take account of the evidence: the rest of the country is not following it. . . . Certain people have been tempted to join the dissi-

dents, but they have been genuinely repelled by the inconsistency of the program of the Front of Socialist Forces. You can't build an opposition on the basis of simple accusations.

"This weakness constitutes one of the strengths of Mr. Ben Bella. The movement proves itself in action and as long as the head of the state follows his socialist policy and his struggle against the bourgeoisie, the Algerian masses will maintain their confidence in him."

Socialists would do well to study the attempt at objectivity in these sentences. The editors of Le Monde do not permit themselves to be blinded by demagogy. They look for program.

The political analysts in the service of the Vatican likewise sometimes reveal caution about being deluded by demagogy. The October 10 Témoignage Chrétien (Christian Testimony), a French Catholic paper, offered the following instructive view of the basic situation:

"The measures of socialization and nationalization are not specially advantageous in the Kabylie, a mountainous region where property consists of very small holdings and where the big European estates are not very numerous. On the contrary it hurts the numerous small Kabyle capitalists, owners in Algiers and elsewhere of restaurants, hotels, cafes, businesses threatened by the policy of complete socialization announced by Ben Bella.

"This is at the bottom of the psychological and social discontent which Ait Ahmed and the other leaders of the FFS are trying to exploit and to convert into a political movement."

Témoignage Chrétien does not believe that the masses will respond to appeals consisting of nothing but the exhortations of former freedom fighters and once popular figures like Mohand Ou El Hadj. "In the eyes of the people, and of the peasant masses, Ben Bella remains not only the historic chief who unleashed the insurrection but the man of the state who, in one year, gave the land to the fellahs [poor peasants]. This is a title that makes those of the other 'ex-historics' quite pallid."

It is not necessary, however, for our socialists of The Newsletter and similar publications to take lessons from the political analysts of the Vatican on how to determine the class character of mountebanks. They need but read more attentively the material turned out by the "Front of Socialist Forces."

World Outlook of October 11 provided extensive quotations from an interview which Ait Ahmed granted the reactionary French Candidate, a right-wing de Gaullist weekly. The sympathetic treatment given the armed rebellion by this rag should have tipped off everyone on the real views of French reaction toward the Political Brain and the Military Genius. The declarations by Ait Ahmed, the accuracy of which he has not yet denied, should have removed the last lingering doubt.

This week we point to another item, a communiqué issued in Paris on stationery of the "Front of Socialist Forces," parts of which went out on the press wires October 9, long enough ago for rectifications to have been made by the "Front" if its leaders felt that any were necessary:

"We speak to the ordinary French people who live among us," the communiqué is reported as saying, "because their OAS [Secret Army Organization] was betrayed by its chiefs exactly as the FLN [National Liberation Front] is being betrayed by Ben Bella. . . . They need us as we need them for the new Algeria."

This appeal to the French people living in Algeria to support the armed rebellion against Ben Bella may strike a sympathetic chord among the thousands of smaller holders of land whose property was recently "demagogically" nationalized. Perhaps the appeal will win some fresh recruits to the "Front of Socialist Forces."

On the other hand, it constitutes an additional bit of evidence pointing to the class character of the real program on which the armed uprising stands. If it is "socialism," it is a reactionary petty-bourgeois variety that is not incompatible with the interests of imperialism. Both Washington and Paris know it, as well as the leaders in Kabylie who launched this counterrevolutionary attempt.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM FEARS ANOTHER CUBA

"Algeria must not be for France what Cuba is for the United States!" With this dramatic declaration before the Commission on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly, de Broglie, Secretary of State in Charge of Algerian Affairs, stated the essence of de Gaulle's policy in relation to the Ben Bella government.

This is the reason for the extreme caution which the de Gaulle government has displayed over the extensive nationalizations in Algeria. French imperialism believes that the policy of temporizing will prove more effective than the brutal blows which Eisenhower and Kennedy rained on the Castro government in response to the agrarian reform.

The de Gaulle government has even proceeded so adroitly as to avoid any open sympathy for the Kabylie uprising or the border assault launched by King Hassan II.

The chief concern of French big business is to keep its hands on the vast oil resources of the Sahara which come under Algerian jurisdiction. The Algerian government, which is primarily interested at this point in possible revenues from the oil, has responded by assuring the French that the oil will not be nationalized.

At the hearing October 17 before the Commission on Foreign Affairs, de Broglie was reported to have declared further:

"Co-operation, to survive, will have to be adapted with realism to a situation profoundly modified by the injuries done to the patrimony of the French in Algeria. First of all it is up to the Algerian government to undertake its responsibilities in regard to a situation which it has itself created. In the present conjuncture, French policy, pragmatic above all, is attempting to defend with vigor the fundamental interests of France without breaking the privileged relations, which for multiple reasons, unite the two states."

CHOU EN-LAI SEEKS TO EASE TENSION

In a lengthy interview which he granted Gerald Long, general manager of Reuters, and which was made public October 13, Chou En-lai sought to allay the tension deriving from the conflict between Moscow and Peking. Two points made by the Chinese premier were of special interest. One was his reaffirmation of the mutual interests that bind the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China together; the other was the indication that his government has noted the question raised by certain influential Americans on the advisability of taking a fresh look at U.S. policy in relation to China.

Asked whether differences between leaders of the Chinese and Soviet Communist parties would affect state relations, Chou En-lai replied:

"We don't see it that way.

"Of course, there are serious disputes of principle between our two parties, and on some questions, the Soviet side has carried these disagreements over into state relations. On our side, we strictly abide by the principle of dispute between parties.

"Contacts between the two states and the two parties will continue as before. I see no reason for thinking that our two states should be severed from one another. The Soviet leaders themselves say this is a matter within the socialist community of nations.

"Some people may have thoughts of using Sino-Soviet differences to deal with China and the Soviet Union separately. Those with such ideas will certainly be disappointed.

"On the contrary, if any act of aggression occurs against any socialist country this would be an act of aggression against the whole socialist camp. It would be impossible not to give support. If a country refused to give support, it would not be a socialist country."

In the last sentence, of course, is an implied threat to revise the estimate of the Soviet Union as a "socialist" country should Khrushchev fail to rally to the support of China in case of imperialist aggression.

On the question of the voices now heard in the United States advocating a change in policy toward China, Chou En-lai said that there were even people in the ruling group who favored a modification. However, he maintained cautious reserve about the actual possibilities, confining himself to restating the position of the Chinese government.

"They may talk about making some changes in United States policy towards China, but so long as they don't change their basic policy it would be difficult to bring China and the United States closer together. This policy is one of aggression and war threats against China.

"We have been unable to reach agreement with the United States Government representative in the Chinese-United States ambassadorial talks on one basic question: Would the United States agree in principle to withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait and remove its

armed threats? Up to now the United States ruling group has not agreed."

He said that "regardless of what sect or group it may be, we don't see that any of them have any idea of changing the policy of splitting Taiwan from China and therefore we don't see any change in this basic policy."

Chou En-lai felt that the U.S. would probably again manipulate its majority in the United Nations to bar China's entrance and to maintain the Chiang Kai-shek delegate. He considered this unreasonable and ridiculous. China had been very patient, but it was inconceivable that a nation and people with self-respect would not feel indignant about this.

In replying to a general question about China's role in international affairs, Chou wound up by again referring to relations with the United States.

"We are willing to be friendly with all peoples throughout the world," he said. "In regard to all countries which have the same desire as we have, and base their policies on the five principles of peaceful coexistence as we do, we are willing to be friendly with them.

"In my speech at the state banquet on September 30 in honor of our National Day I said we were willing to have friendly contacts with all states, governments, parties, organizations, and individuals which share our desire to be friendly.

"But I must make clear our stand: we cannot be friendly with any country which, violating the five principles of peaceful coexistence, invades us, commits aggression against us, or interferes in our internal affairs. A very obvious example is the United States, which is still occupying our territory, Taiwan, and still carrying out armed threats in the Taiwan Strait."

He said that "even where the United States is concerned we always tell foreign friends we are willing to be friendly to the American people. Nor do we refuse negotiations with the Government of the United States."

In suggesting that the Chinese government is willing to negotiate with the Kennedy administration, Chou En-lai is not initiating a new policy. This was the position of the Mao regime at the time of the great victory over Chiang Kai-shek. All the advances made by the new government of China toward the U.S. were arrogantly and even violently repulsed by the Truman administration. As a result a process was started that ended in the downfall of capitalism in China and the construction of a workers state. The Eisenhower administration, not having learned anything from the results of Truman's foreign policy, repeated essentially the same pattern with Cuba.

It is to be hoped that the Kennedy administration will finally see the wisdom of making a change and recognizing the established government of China. In any case those in the United States who are advocating such a turn should feel encouraged to continue their efforts. Chou En-lai has indicated to them through his interview with Gerald Long that the Chinese government would respond to a positive turn by Washington.

DOCTOR TOGLIATTI TO THE RESCUE

ROME -- Nuova Generazione, organ of the Italian Communist Youth, became widely known for its audacious criticisms, especially immediately following the Twenty-first Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. However, the issue which appeared during the first week of October published the following in relation to the commemoration of the victory of the Chinese Revolution.

"On the occasion of the anniversary of the great event which marked the end of the feudal subjugation and imperialist exploitation of 600 million people, despite the profound differences which separate us from the Chinese comrades, we, the Young Italian Communists, wish them the greatest success, certain that the current difficulties in the international workers movement can be overcome, not by a dogmatic appeal to principles and to unity, but through a concrete revolutionary confrontation and a free discussion among all the CP's."

In face of such a timorous and orthodox passage, readers are likely to conclude that the spirit of the Italian "Young Turks" has been broken. Unfortunately the readers of Nuova Generazione have no way of knowing that a different text was prepared and even printed and that it was not until after intervention from above that the copies already printed were withdrawn, and a new text prepared and printed.

The censured text was as follows:

"The People's Republic of China has celebrated the fourteenth anniversary of its glorious Revolution. During the festivities at Peking, Comrade Chou En-lai declared that he was convinced that the present ideological differences among the socialist countries will finally be resolved on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and in addition he expressed support for a policy concerned with faithfulness to principles, to the elimination of differences, the strengthening of unity and the struggle of all combined against the common enemy. The Italian Communist Youth wish the Chinese comrades more and more success on the road to constructing socialism."

It must be admitted that it was a slick job of doctoring and that Togliatti, who considers himself a consistent "liberalizer," is not above using shady methods to demonstrate to the public that his party is unanimously behind a line one hundred per cent hostile to the Chinese.

GOOD WORD FOR STALIN'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Alexander A. Gudzenko, a 79-year-old fruit grower who was freed in 1953 after 17 years in Stalin's labor camps, mostly in the Karaganda coal mines, thinks that Soviet writers are now inclined to paint too gloomy a picture of these institutions. He advocates a more "balanced" picture.

In a letter to the editor titled "We Remained People," which was printed in the Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, the octogenarian reported some of the more heartening aspects of life in the labor camps.

A Ukrainian composer, imprisoned for an unspecified crime, organized

a fine choral group in 1951, "the likes of which I had never heard."

Unfortunately the seamier side of labor-camp life soon affected the choral group. The composer was sentenced to solitary confinement because he refused to write a cantata in honor of Stalin.

A violin virtuoso, Ludwig Bertavsky, likewise in the camp for a crime the nature of which is not disclosed, played for the prisoners, "transporting them into another, wonderful world."

A kind camp commander N.M.Rusanov permitted the fruit grower to write anonymous technical books, to plant an orchard and even develop new varieties of plums, apples and pears which now doubtlessly add to the enjoyment of the Soviet people.

Unfortunately, as punishment for the infraction of being too humane to the prisoners, the camp commander was fired.

The high point in Gudzenko's admonitions about taking a "balanced" view comes in the story of how he himself managed to survive a two-month stretch of solitary confinement in bitter weather. A young guard named Kosarev "would pass me an occasional cup of hot, sweet barley coffee or bread or hot cereal with lard, not from our prison kitchen but from that of the supervisory personnel." Apparently this flouting of rules and regulations remained undetected and Kosarev kept his job.

"This aspect of the period of the cult and of repressions," says Gudzenko, "has not been touched on in our literature."

For what crime did Gudzenko have to spend 17 years at hard labor? He was arrested after attending an international conference on horticulture at which King Victor Emmanuel presided and Mussolini made a welcoming speech. The charge: Traveling to Rome "as a guest" of Mussolini and the King.

FRANCO COURT GIVES CRUEL SENTENCES TO YOUNG FRENCH REVOLUTIONISTS

A special military court in Madrid sentenced three young French anarchists to cruel sentences October 18.

Alain Pecunia, 17, former student at Janson-de-Sailly, was given two prison terms of twelve years and a day each for having set off a small bomb on the ship Ciudad de Ibiza in Barcelona harbor.

Bernard Ferry, 20, a student at Beaux-Arts, d'Aubervilliers, was condemned to thirty years in prison for having exploded a bomb in front of the Iberia Aviation Co. in Valencia that injured two children slightly.

Guy Batoux, 23, philosophy student at Villefranche-sur-Saône, arrested in possession of a bomb in Madrid, was condemned to fifteen years in prison.

The three, who were arrested last April, said that they had not known each other before meeting in court.

"The French students maintained an attitude of great dignity throughout their trial, assuming responsibility for their acts and recognizing possible errors in regard to the motives of their actions," reports J.A. Novais, special correspondent of the Paris daily Le Monde.

Guy Batoux asked the court "if torturing an arrested person, as was done in my case, is a general rule among the Madrid police."

Bernard Ferry said that when he was questioned the police submitted him to electric shock treatment.

Alain Pecunia did not indicate whether or not he had been tortured.

"At the end of the trial," Mr. Novais declares, "the Consul General of France, M. Guy de Coulhac, and a group of Spanish and foreign journalists surrounding him were expelled from the room accompanied by shouts from an upper officer of the army who thought they were not carrying out the order fast enough. We must state that in this small room on the third floor of the building on the Calle del Reloj occupied by general headquarters, we have seen more than a hundred persons condemned these past months, most of them youth."

FLN PROTESTS BETANCOURT'S REPRESSIVE MEASURES

The London Committee of the National Liberation Front [FLN] of Venezuela has issued a denunciation of the unconstitutional arrest of eight members of parliament and the house arrest of fifteen others in violation of the constitution of Venezuela. The committee holds that Betancourt committed these illegal acts as part of the preparations for the "biggest electoral fraud in Venezuelan history."

The committee likewise protested the violation of the freedom of the press involved in the suspension of El Venezolano and Clarín and the destruction of their presses by Betancourt's political police.

El Venezolano, an independent publication, is edited by Dr. Maza Zabala, a prominent Venezuelan economist. Clarín is edited by Luis Miquelena, a leader of the liberal opposition in parliament.

The arrests followed an incident which the FLN brands as a frame-up. According to the government, a holiday train was held up by members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation [FALN] who robbed the passengers of pocketbooks and jewels. When the National Guard suddenly arrived, five guardsmen were killed and two boys and three women were wounded.

The FLN denies that this action was carried out by members of the FALN. "On the contrary we assert that this has been another act of provocation of the Venezuelan government."

Two similar cases are cited. On September 30, 1962, the government charged that extremists fired from the roof of the Concepción Palacios Maternity Hospital at a barracks in Caracas, killing two civilians who happened to be passing by. The troops, suspiciously enough, suffered no casualties and took no prisoners. The frame-up became clear when Dr. Dominguez Sisco, director of the hospital made a public statement dis-

claiming that anybody had fired from the hospital at the barracks.

"Nevertheless the government used this incident to suspend constitutional guarantees and to imprison members of the political opposition."

At the beginning of 1963 the government claimed that while President Betancourt was on the way to visit Monseñor Bernal in Ciudad Bolívar, two terrorists plotting to kill the president and his companions with bombs were discovered in the bishopric. In a public speech following this, Betancourt ordered the arrest of all extremists. Some 300 were eventually arrested.

Monseñor Bernal made a public statement declaring that he did not see any terrorists or bombs in the building and did not believe that any were present.

"The exposure of this frame-up provoked national indignation," states the FLN, "even in the right wing press (El Universal) which noted that the government had tried to exploit the religious sentiments of the people for repressive purposes."

The FLN points out that the alleged train robbery is out of character for the FALN which engages in only four types of actions:

- (1) Attempts to gain publicity as, for instance when some French paintings were boldly taken from an art exhibit.
- (2) Assaults on barracks, police stations or other armed centers to acquire arms.
- (3) Attacks on installations of companies that support the regime.
- (4) Organization of relief efforts for the city's poor such as the forcible requisitioning of trucks carrying meat, vegetables and other food stuffs for free distribution in the slums.

Whenever and wherever the FALN carries out such actions it always proclaims its responsibility.

As for the reasons for the government resorting to such frame-ups, the FLN adduces the following:

"First we must point to the pressure which right-wing elements in the Venezuelan army have exerted on President Betancourt which European newspapers, including the [London] Times, have noted. This is in keeping with the trend in Latin America to replace the representative democracies by military dictatorships such as have occurred in the last two weeks in the Dominican Republic and Honduras.

"This trend of Latin-American politics started with the overthrow of President Frondizi of Argentina just at the moment when he had lost the provincial elections to the opposition. Similarly, there has been the overthrow of Ydigoras Fuentes on the eve of the Guatemalan elections and now at this very moment the overthrow of President Villeda Morales in Honduras just before the elections, in addition to the overthrow of President Prado in Peru, when the elections had just taken place, with a result which the military were not quite in favor of.

"It is fairly obvious that President Betancourt has given way to further military pressure so as to avoid being overthrown, even though we hold he has been a willing tool in their hands, because in any free and fair elections the opposition parties are likely to win.

"The opposition parties and candidates have taken a very clear position with regard to the sequel of events following the train incident.

"Ex-President Larrazabal, who is a candidate in the forthcoming elections has been associated with the statement of the People's Democratic Front to the effect that if the two opposition parties which have now been illegalized are not rehabilitated, then it is likely that they will not participate in the elections.

"URD (liberal), the biggest opposition party, has always opposed this political persecution and through Dr. Ignacio Luis Arcaya, ex-foreign minister of the present government and president of the chamber of deputies, strongly protested against the arrests and pointed to the electoral fraud in preparation.

"AD-ARS, a splinter group of President Betancourt's own party, has officially demanded the legalization of the opposition parties now proscribed and have indicated that if this is not done they will issue an appeal to the other opposition parties not to take part in the forthcoming elections because of the fraudulent preparations now going on.

"Finally, the London Committee of the National Liberation Front on the 26th of February of this year in the House of Commons had warned the British public of the preparation of an electoral fraud in Venezuela. We simply repeat this warning.

"Once more the government has shown that it is both unwilling and incapable of bringing peace to the country and after plunging it into economic chaos its legacy now seems to be to pave the way for a new military dictatorship."

"PAJARITO" MORALES LOSES HIS SHIRT

In his speech last July 26, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, Fidel Castro pointed to the growing strength of the Cuban Revolution in face of all the predictions that it would soon collapse. To illustrate his point, he told the following story:

"And there is no lack of things to make you laugh, such as the case of a gentleman also known as 'President' but who goes more commonly by the name of 'Pajarito' Morales -- and don't think that I invented that adjective ['Pajarito,' a small bird, has an uncomplimentary connotation.] because that's the name of this gentleman, said to be the president of Honduras. This gentleman had the brilliant idea of making a bet with Marshal Montgomery last year that the Cuban Revolutionary Government would not last until 1963. And Marshal Montgomery, who is very nice and in favor of peace, won the bet naturally.

"But it seems that this gentleman did not learn his lesson. He bet again that the Revolution would not last until 1964. What a pity that he

doesn't want to bet with us! What a pity there aren't more of these bettors because we could convert these bets into a magnificent source of foreign exchange!"

This story got a big laugh out of the immense crowd. The final kicker did not come, however, until later. On October 3 Honduran army chiefs pulled a coup d'état on the liberal Morales. It was just ten days before the next election and three months before the end of the president's term -- and two months and eight days after Castro revealed his propensity to bet on how long the Cuban Revolution would last.

Latin-American revolutionists, who are laughing about this, are also noting how accurate Fidel Castro was in his July 26 speech about the alternative facing the Latin-American people. Basically, he said, they have no choice but to follow the example of the Cuban Revolution or suffer new military coups d'état and the continued unbearable rule of the oligarchy in alliance with imperialism.

CASTRO EXPLAINS SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW AGRARIAN REFORM

In a speech October 5, Fidel Castro explained the "historic significance" in the Cuban Revolution of the recent nationalization of all estates over five caballerias. [About 166 acres, not 193 acres as reported in World Outlook October 11.]

"It deals a powerful blow to the economic means in the hands of the enemy class hostile to the proletariat," said Castro. "It is also a powerful blow to imperialism. The blow is twofold: on the one hand, we deprive them of their battle positions, while on the other, we shall be able to resist more effectively their criminal blockade."

Castro said that in the countryside there will now be only two forms of production -- state-owned enterprises and small peasant households.

"From now on," he continued, "there will be only middle and small peasants and people's farms. The rural bourgeoisie will be eliminated because it will never move forward with the Revolution, and, as a class, it will always remain an irreconcilable enemy of the Revolution."

Among the charges that Castro levelled against the rural bourgeoisie was dividing their land into small plots for sharecropping.

Castro forecast resistance to the reform. "The promulgation of the new law on agrarian reform entails a new class struggle which is much more arduous than at the time when the first land reform law was promulgated."

In explaining government policy toward the peasantry, Castro said that the small peasants can march forward with the Revolution. A certain number of them are willing to organize co-operatives while others prefer to continue individual production. What Cuba should do in the long process ahead, he said, is to encourage the small and middle peasants to organize and to use advanced techniques in order to get the highest possible yields from their land.

"With the promulgation of the new agrarian reform law, most of the land will be under control of the state," he said. "By means of advanced techniques and mechanization, we shall be able to increase production greatly."

CANADIAN FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE LAUNCHES TOUR

TORONTO, Oct. 6 -- Cuba's refusal to sign the nuclear test-ban agreement was commented on by Cuba's ambassador to Canada, Dr. Americo Cruz, at a Fair Play for Cuba Committee banquet here last night.

Speaking to 230 persons he quoted from an official statement by Fidel Castro. "As an attacked country against which a nondeclared war is being waged and pirate attacks launched, you cannot expect us to smile angelically at our imperialist enemies.

"This situation determines our attitude towards the nuclear pact agreement and towards the propositions for denuclearization. . . . Our line is one of struggle -- struggle against the enemy that blockades us, pushes us and threatens to destroy us. . . . We shall win because this is the hour of rebellion of the people of every continent who are breaking the bonds of empire and digging the graves of the exploiters."

The banquet, an annual event with the Toronto FPCC, celebrated the beginning of a tour through Canada and northern United States by Cedric Cox, a former member of the legislature of the province of British Columbia. Mr. Cox represented the New Democratic party there.

Cox, chairman of the Vancouver FPCC chapter, will report on his trip to Cuba as a guest of the Cuban government earlier this year.

GUERRILLA WARFARE -- A METHOD

By Ernesto Che Guevara

[Some of the far-reaching implications of the issues at stake in the ideological conflict between Moscow and Peking can be more clearly and easily grasped by taking into account the viewpoints of other currents whose fate may be involved in the final outcome of the dispute. The Cuban revolutionists have sought to avoid throwing their weight on either side, evidently hoping that the differences could be composed. They have, however, stoutly advocated a definite course of action which they believe can win socialist victories in other Latin-American countries as it did in Cuba. Consequently their views are highly relevant to some of the key issues in the Moscow-Peking dispute. At its recent gathering, the Central Committee of the French Communist party seems to have had the Cubans very much in mind in attacking currents at variance with the class-collaborationist course practiced by the CP in France, a course that can be said to epitomize the Khrushchevism which the Central Committee defends. (See World Outlook October 18.) For the information of our subscribers, we begin publication in this issue of the full text of "Guerrilla Warfare -- A Method," an article that authoritatively presents the policies advocated by the Cubans. It is translated from the September issue of Cuba Socialista -- Editor.]

Guerrilla warfare has been utilized innumerable times in history under different conditions and in pursuit of distinct aims. Recently it has been used in various popular liberation wars in which the vanguard of the people chose the road of armed irregular war against enemies of superior military power. Asia, Africa and the Americas have witnessed such action in attempts to take power in the struggle against feudal, neocolonial or colonial exploitation. In Europe it has been employed as an auxiliary of regular armies themselves or in alliance with them.

In the Americas recourse to guerrilla warfare has taken place at various times. As a not distant antecedent the experience can be cited of César Augusto Sandino, who fought Yankee expeditionaries in the Nicaraguan Segovia. And, recently, Cuba's revolutionary war. Since then in the Americas the problem of guerrilla warfare has been posed in the theoretical discussions of the progressive parties of the continent and the possibility and advisability of utilizing it is a topic in sharp dispute.

In these notes we will attempt to express our ideas on guerrilla warfare and how it should be correctly utilized.

First of all it must be specified that this form of struggle is a method -- a method for gaining an end. This end, necessary and inescapable for every revolutionist, is the conquest of political power. Consequently, in analyzing the specific situations in the various countries of the Americas, the concept of guerrilla warfare must be limited to the simple category of a method of struggle to gain this end.

Almost immediately the question arises: Is the method of guerrilla warfare the only form for taking power throughout the Americas? Or is it, in any case, the predominant form? Or is it simply one more formula among all those to be used in the struggle? And, finally, it is asked, is the example of Cuba applicable to the different realities of the continent? In the polemics it has become customary to criticize those who conduct guerrilla warfare. It is argued that they forget the mass struggle, almost as if these methods were counterposed. We reject the concept implied in this position. Guerrilla warfare is warfare of the people; it is a mass struggle. To try to carry on this type of warfare without the support of the population is the prelude to inevitable disaster. Guerrilla fighters constitute the militant vanguard of the people, located in a definite place of some given territory, armed, ready to develop a series of military actions aimed at the only possible strategic end -- to take power. They are supported by the masses of peasants and workers of the zone and of all the territory involved. Without these premises guerrilla warfare is inadmissible.

"In our American situation, we believe that the Cuban Revolution brought three fundamental contributions to the mechanics of revolutionary movements in the Americas. These are: First, popular forces can win a war against the army. Second, it is not always necessary to wait until all the conditions are given for the revolution, the insurrectional center can create them. Third, in the underdeveloped countries of the Americas, the terrain of armed struggle must be fundamentally the countryside."
(Guerrilla Warfare.)

Such are the contributions to the development of the revolutionary

struggle in the Americas, and they can be applied to any of the countries of our continent in which guerrilla warfare develops.

The Second Declaration of Havana states: "In our countries are met the circumstances of an underdeveloped industry with an agrarian regime of feudal character. That is why, that with all the hardships of the conditions of life of the urban workers, the rural population lives in even more horrible conditions of oppression and exploitation; but it is also, with exceptions, the absolute majority sector, at times exceeding seventy per cent of the Latin-American populations.

"Discounting the landlords, who often reside in the cities, the rest of the great mass gains its livelihood working as peons on the haciendas for the most miserable wages, or work the land under conditions of exploitation which in no manner put the Middle Ages to shame. These circumstances are those which determine that in Latin America the poor rural population constitutes a tremendous potential revolutionary force.

"The armies, built and equipped for conventional war, which are the force on which the power of the exploiting classes rest, become absolutely impotent when they have to confront the irregular struggle of the peasants on their own terrain. They lose ten men for each revolutionary fighter who falls and demoralization spreads rapidly among them from having to face an invisible and invincible enemy who does not offer them the opportunity of showing off their academy tactics and their braggadocio which they use so much in military displays to curb the city workers and the students.

"The initial struggle by small combat units, is incessantly fed by new forces, the mass movement begins to loosen its bonds, the old order, little by little begins to break into a thousand pieces, and that is the moment when the working class and the urban masses decide the battle.

"What is it that from the beginning of the struggle of those first nuclei, makes them invincible, regardless of the numbers, power and resources of their enemies? The aid of the people, and they will be able to count on that help of the people on an ever growing scale.

"But the peasantry is a class which, because of the uncultured state in which it is kept and the isolation in which it lives, needs the revolutionary and political leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals, for without them it would not by itself be able to plunge into the struggle and achieve victory.

"In the actual historic conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the antifeudal and anti-imperialist struggle. Experience shows that in our nations that class, even when its interests are in contradiction to those of Yankee imperialism, has been incapable of confronting it, for it is paralyzed by fear of social revolution and frightened by the cry of the exploited masses." (Second Declaration of Havana.)

Completing these statements which constitute the heart of the revolutionary declaration of the Americas, the Second Declaration of Havana says elsewhere: "The subjective conditions of each country, that is to say, the conscious factor, organization, leadership, can accelerate or

retard the revolution, according to its greater or lesser degree of development, but sooner or later, in each historic epoch, when the objective conditions mature, consciousness is acquired, the organization is formed, the leadership emerges and the revolution takes place.

"Whether this takes place peacefully or in painful birth does not depend on the revolutionists, it depends on the reactionary forces of the old society, who resist the birth of the new society engendered by the contradictions carried in the womb of the old society. The revolution is in history like the doctor who assists at the birth of a new life. The tools of force are not used needlessly, but they are used without hesitation whenever necessary to help the birth. A birth which brings to the enslaved and exploited masses the hope of a new and better life.

"In many countries of Latin America the revolution is today inevitable. That fact is not determined by anyone's will. It is determined by the horrifying conditions of exploitation in which American man lives, the development of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, the world crisis of imperialism and the universal movement of struggle of the subjugated peoples." (Second Declaration of Havana.)

We start from this foundation in analyzing the whole guerrilla question in the Americas.

We have established that it is a method of struggle to achieve an end. What interests us first is to analyze the end to see if the conquest of power can be gained in a different way than through armed struggle, here in the Americas.

Peaceful struggle can be carried through by means of mass movements, compelling the governments -- in special situations of crisis -- to concede, the popular forces eventually occupying power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Correct theoretically. On analyzing this in the panorama of the Americas, we are forced to reach the following conclusions: In this continent objective conditions exist in general that impel the masses to violent action against the bourgeois, landlord governments; a crisis of power exists in many other countries and some subjective conditions too. Clearly, in countries in which all the conditions are given, it would be virtually criminal not to move toward taking power. In others in which this is not the case it is natural for various alternatives to appear which can be settled for each country through theoretical discussion. The only thing that history does not admit is that the analysts and executors of the policy of the proletariat have a misconception. No one can insist on being taken as the party of the vanguard because he has been given an official diploma by a university. To be the party of the vanguard means to stand at the head of the working class in the struggle for power, to have the ability to guide it in the seizure, including taking the short cuts. This is the mission of our revolutionary parties and the analysis must be profound and exhaustive so that there will be no misconceptions.

Right now in the Americas we see an unstable state of equilibrium between the oligarchical dictatorship and the popular pressure. We denominate it with the word "oligarchical" in an attempt to define the reactionary alliance between the bourgeoisie of each country and the classes of landlords, with more or less preponderance of feudal structures

These dictatorships conformed with certain legal frameworks which they themselves set up, the better to operate throughout the whole period of unrestricted class domination, but we are now passing through a stage in which the popular pressures are very great; they are knocking at the doors of bourgeois legality and this can be violated by its own authors in order to keep back the impulsion of the masses. However, the shameless violations, contrary to all pre-established legislation -- or in accordance with legislation established a posteriori to sanctify the deed -- increase the tension of the forces of the people. Because of this the oligarchical dictatorship tries to utilize the old legal frame in order to change constitutionality and to further stifle the proletariat without engaging in a head-on clash. However here is where the contradiction arises. The people no longer support the old and, still less, the new coercive measures passed by the dictatorship, and seek to break them. We must never forget the authoritarian, restrictive, class character of the bourgeois state. Lenin refers to it this way: "The state is the product and manifestation of the irreconcilable character of class contradictions. The state arises in the place, at the moment and to the degree that class contradictions cannot be objectively reconciled. And vice versa: The existence of the state shows that class contradictions are irreconcilable." (State and Revolution.)

This means that we must not let the word "democracy," used in an apologetic way to represent the dictatorship of the exploiting classes, lose its profound meaning so that it comes to signify merely certain more or less optimum liberties granted the citizen. To struggle only to win the restoration of a certain bourgeois legalism without posing, instead, the problem of revolutionary power, is to struggle for the restoration of a certain dictatorial order pre-established by the ruling social classes -- is to struggle, at all events, for prisoner's chains carrying a lighter ball.

In these conditions of conflict, the oligarchy breaks its own contracts, its own appearance of "democracy" and attacks the people, although it always tries to use the methods of the superstructure which it has formed for oppression. At this moment the dilemma is again posed: What to do? We answer: Violence is not the patrimony of the exploiters; the exploited can use it and, still more, must use it at a given moment. Marti said: "Whoever promotes a war that can be avoided is a criminal; likewise anyone who fails to promote an inevitable war."

Lenin, for his part, said: "The social-democracy has never viewed war from a sentimental point of view. It absolutely condemns war as a savage recourse to settle differences among men, but it understands that wars are inevitable so long as society is divided into classes, so long as the exploitation of man by man exists. And to finish with this exploitation we cannot foreswear war, which is always and everywhere begun by the exploiting, ruling, oppressor classes." He said this in the year 1905. Later, in "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution," analyzing profoundly the character of the class struggle, he affirmed: "Whoever admits the class struggle can no less admit civil wars, which in every class society represents the continuation, the development and the recrudescence -- natural and in determined circumstances inevitable -- of the class struggle. All the great revolutions confirm it. To deny civil wars or to forget them would be to fall into extreme opportunism and turn renegade to the socialist revolution."

This means that we must not fear violence, the birth of the new societies; only, this violence must be unleashed exactly at the precise moment when the leaders of the people have found the most favorable circumstances.

What are these circumstances? They depend, on the subjective side, on two factors that are complementary and which in turn become deepened in the course of struggle: consciousness of the necessity of a change and certainty of the possibility of this revolutionary change. These, combined with the objective conditions -- which are immensely favorable for the development of the struggle throughout almost all the Americas -- to the firmness of will to succeed and to the new correlation of forces in the world, determine a mode of acting.

No matter how far away the socialist countries are, they will always make their beneficent influence felt among the peoples in struggle, and their educational example will give them great force. Fidel Castro said last July 26: "And the duty of the revolutionaries, above all at this moment, is to know how to perceive and catch the changes in the correlation of forces which have taken place in the world, and to understand that this change facilitates the struggle of the peoples. The duty of revolutionaries, of the Latin-American revolutionaries, is not to wait for a change in the correlation of forces to produce the miracle of social revolutions in Latin America, but to make full use of everything that favors the revolutionary movement in this changed correlation of forces and to make revolutions!"

There are those who say, "We admit revolutionary war as an adequate means, in certain specific cases, of arriving at the seizure of power. Where do we get the great leaders, the Fidel Castros who will assure the triumph?" Fidel Castro, like every human being, is a product of history. The military and political chiefs who lead the insurrectional struggles in the Americas, all put together, if it were possible, in a single person, would still learn the art of war by engaging in war itself. There is no skill or profession that can be learned solely from textbooks. The struggle, in this instance, is the great teacher.

It is clear that the task will not be simple nor exempt from grave dangers throughout its course.

[To be continued.]

COMING SOON

Our nomination for "Book of the Year" -- the final volume of Isaac Deutscher's biography of Leon Trotsky The Prophet Outcast. Watch for our review.

Meanwhile -- if you haven't sent in your subscription for World Outlook -- make out that check now. The name is Pierre Frank. The address 21 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2. And the amount is \$7.50 or £2/15s or 37.50 French francs for 26 issues.

Imprimerie: 21 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2.

Directeur-gérant: Pierre FRANK.