

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

50¢

Un service de presse ouvrier

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Vol. 5, No. 22

June 2, 1967

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Crisis in Middle East Adds to Risk of New World War

By Joseph Hansen

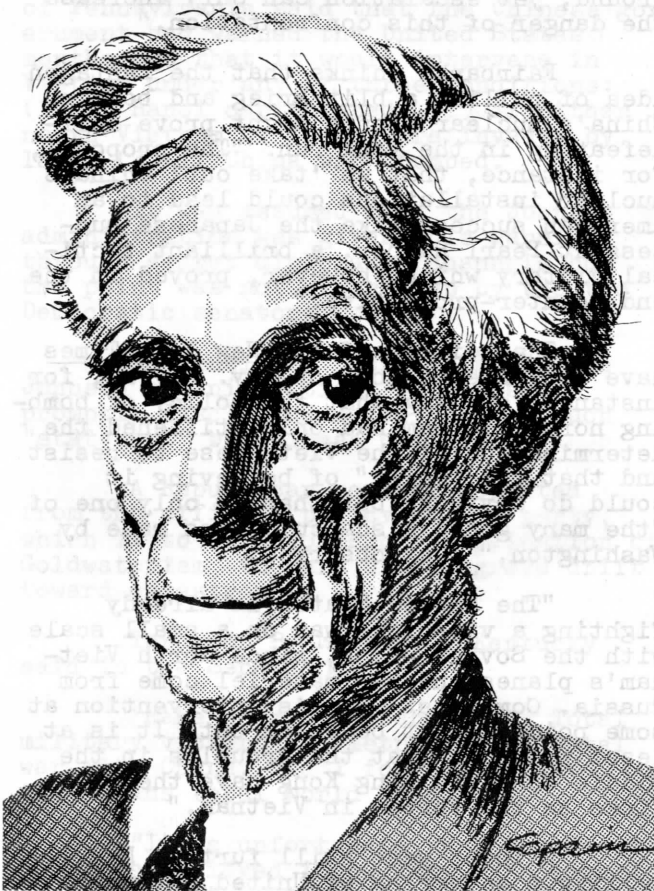
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[From Bertrand Russell's closing statement at Stockholm hearings which found U.S. government guilty of war crimes. See full text, p. 581.]

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a labor press service

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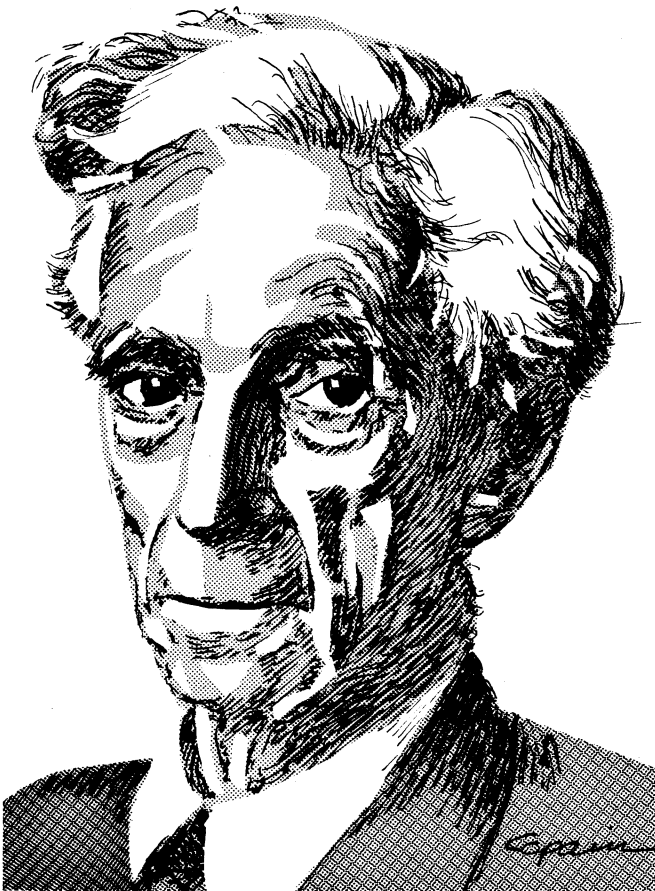
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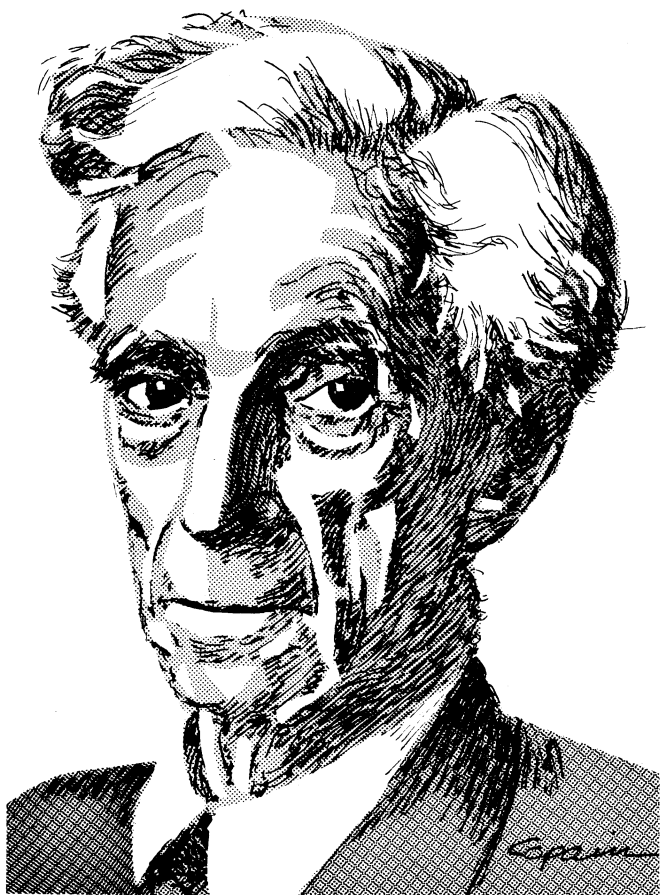
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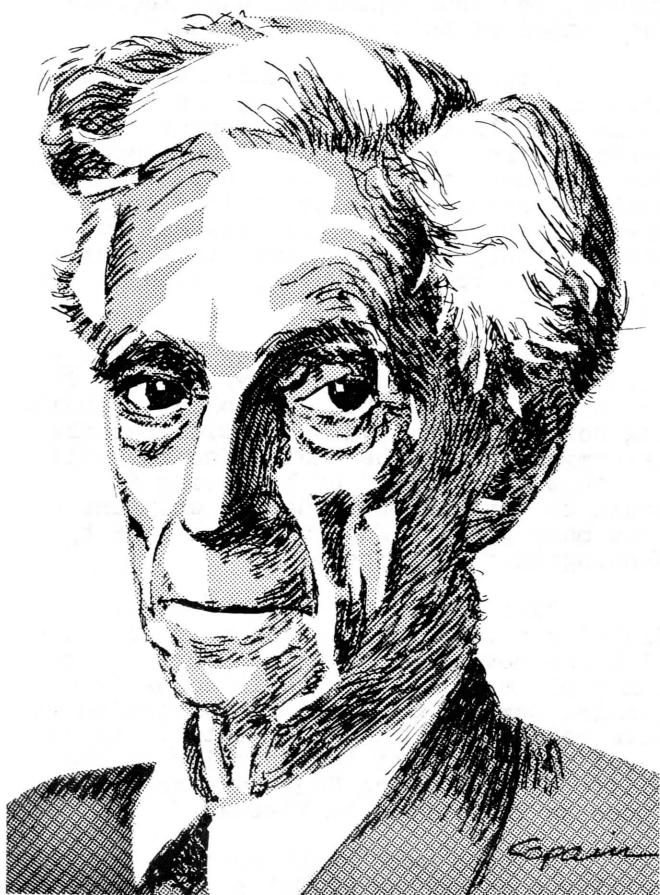
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[Continued from page 533.]

ary China for 17 years, has blockaded revolutionary Cuba for seven years, and has escalated its intervention in the Vietnamese civil war into a major conflict in Southeast Asia -- not to mention such incidents in its "peace-keeping" activities as invading the Dominican Republic, organizing a counterrevolutionary invasion of Cuba, supporting mercenaries in the Congo and engaging in the "cloak-and-dagger" work of toppling governments, ranging from Iran and Guatemala to Indonesia.

The alarm that swept the world when the latest crisis around Israel flared up came primarily from the context in which it occurred: Johnson's escalation of the war in Vietnam into a bloody conflict that has already placed the world at the brink of the nuclear abyss.

At the moment efforts are being made behind the scenes and through UN Secretary General Thant to reduce the crisis in the middle East from its present acute pitch to the chronic level that appears "normal" today for the land bridge between Africa and Asia.

Even if this occurs, however, the ominousness of the situation in Vietnam will remain unchanged -- if it has not grown worse meantime.

In the United States, alarm over the course of the Johnson administration has risen rather sharply in recent weeks. The most significant feature of this turn is its occurrence in bourgeois circles in position to be informed about Johnson's intentions. It coincides with the revelation made by Johnson himself about May 11 that he had told his daughter, Luci, last June, "Your daddy may go down in history as having started World War III." He said he also told his daughter, "You may not wake up tomorrow."

What in the situation has given rise to these fresh fears? Of the various possibilities, one of the most likely is either a clear indication that China or the USSR, or both of them, have given a believable warning that the Pentagon has gone so far in Vietnam that strong countermeasures can no longer be avoided. Or perhaps the circles around the White House have deduced that countermeasures must now be expected and that Johnson does not intend to alter his belligerent course even if that occurs.

For example, John K. Fairbank, director of the East Asian Research Center at Harvard University, wrote in the New York Times of May 20: "Our military effort is running into its inevitable limitations. Escalated bombing of a Communist buffer-state on the border of Communist

China is a good deal more than mere 'containment' of China. Rather than force Hanoi to negotiate on terms we like, continued escalation is more likely to trigger a Chinese feeling that 'vital interests' are involved and so bring China into the war, increasing our military problem forty times over."

Fairbanks does not think that U.S. nuclear "deterrent capacity"; i.e., nuclear blackmail and H-bomb rattling, would prevent China from moving in a massive way to the assistance of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. "Mao Tse-tung if nothing else has been one of history's top achievers in militant will power. In old age he seems more than ever to believe in it. We should avoid matching wills with him, especially on his home ground, yet escalation can only increase the danger of this confrontation."

Fairbanks thinks that the Pentagon idea of pulling a blitzkrieg and bombing China's nuclear plants might prove self-defeating in the long run. "The proposal, for instance, that we 'take out' China's nuclear installations could lead to an American success like the Japanese success at Pearl Harbor, a brilliant tactical victory which, however, proved in the end counter-productive."

The editors of the New York Times have spoken even more openly. May 20, for instance, arguing that the policy of bombing north Vietnam had only stiffened the determination of the Vietnamese to resist and that the "folly" of believing it could do anything but that is only one of "the many grave miscalculations made by Washington," they observed:

"The United States is already fighting a vicarious war on a small scale with the Soviet Union, since North Vietnam's planes and war matériel come from Russia. Communist China's intervention at some point cannot be ruled out. It is at least possible that the troubles in the Middle East and Hong Kong have their links to the vortex in Vietnam."

U Thant went still further May 11, telling a gathering of United Nations correspondents that he felt World War III had already begun:

"If you recall the series of events leading to World War I and World War II, you will realize that the prologues were quite long; what I mean is, the psychological climate, the creation of political attitudes, took some time and when conditions were ripe for some plausible excuse, then the global wars were triggered.

"In my view we are witnessing today similar conditions.

"I am really concerned about the potentialities of this war, knowing as I do the mood not only of the principal parties primarily involved but also some of the parties not directly involved at present.

"That is why I say that if the present trend continues, a direct confrontation between Washington and Peking is inevitable and I am afraid that we are witnessing today the initial phase of World War III.

"I must say in this context that the mutual defense pact between Moscow and Peking is still in force."

Further along this line, senators Albert Gore of Tennessee and Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania said that the Chinese government had warned the United States months ago that it would intervene in Vietnam under any of three conditions: (1) if Hanoi capitulated; (2) if either north Vietnam or China were invaded by land; (3) if China were bombed.

It was assumed that the Johnson administration was given this warning through secret diplomatic channels but the point was not cleared up by the two Democratic senators.

Unidentified "officials" in the Johnson administration, of course, promptly disclaimed recalling any such "statement" by Chinese officials.

A Republican senator departed from the official policy of his party, which is to back Johnson's application of Goldwaterism, to warn of the grave drift toward catastrophe.

Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky said in the Senate May 23:

"Make no mistake about it. Total military victory in Vietnam means total war with China, and I for one believe that means total world holocaust.

"It is unfortunate that the President has believed it necessary to emphasize the cost of dissent, but has been silent as to the cost of total victory."

Noting recent polls that appear to reflect a feeling among many Americans that "victory" can be won by further escalation of the war, Morton said that it is of "utmost importance" for Johnson "to explain the pitfalls" of a policy of seeking "total military victory in Vietnam."

"If the polls are right," he added, "if nearly half of the American people believe that a total military victory in Vietnam is possible and vital to our national interest, then there is going to

be hell to pay if we settle for anything less."

In his column of May 22, Walter Lippmann, the well-known commentator on U.S. government policies, accused Johnson of putting the United States on a "collision course" with China and the Soviet Union.

"In this he is relying upon his ability to guess correctly how far he can go in North Vietnam without bringing on Chinese intervention. He feels he is able to judge just what targets he can hit before the big Communist powers decide to hit back."

This judgment of Johnson's policy was made by the Trotskyist movement more than two years ago when Johnson first began his escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Innumerable facts have confirmed the accuracy of the conclusion so that no special insights are required today to reach it. Lippmann is reporting what is a commonplace in Washington today.

"This is a kind of Russian roulette," continues Lippmann. "The President believes that he can discriminate between those targets which he can hit with safety and those which he cannot hit with safety.

"This is a deadly guessing game. Yet it has become the center of the Johnson strategy. It would be less giddy and nerve-racking if it were not for the fact that it was played once before, and, played, moreover, by some of the same men who are playing it now. This was in the Korean War."

Lippmann agrees -- apparently with those he is arguing with in the Pentagon and State Department -- that the Korean experience may not be repeated. On the other hand it may well be repeated. "This is because President Johnson has allowed the issue of the Vietnam war to become a test of whether the United States is to continue to be a military power on the Asian mainland. The President is acting through a puppet regime in Saigon supported by troops and enormous sea and air power."

Lippmann continues: "The most important recent development from the other side of the struggle has been the warning that the two Communist powers are resolved not to let us win the kind of military victory which President Johnson's new war aims call for.

"No one can pretend to know at just what point in the escalation the Chinese and the Soviet Union will in fact intervene. But what we do know is that President Johnson has war aims in Asia that cannot be achieved against the of-

fensive power of China and Russia. That is why he is on a collision course."

A further possible tip-off is the prolonged absence of Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin from his post in Washington.

Dobrynin went to Moscow in the latter part of April. Instead of returning on schedule, he remained, it has been reported, for a "series of high-level meetings" concerned with the Soviet attitude toward the Vietnamese conflict.

In an article datelined from Stockholm which appeared in the London Express and the New York Post [May 24], David English reported that Dobrynin will return with a message for Johnson stating that the Soviet Union is stiffening its posture in relation to escalation of the war in Vietnam.

"From talks I had with senior officials in Russia over the past 10 days," says English, "it is clear that any major increase by America in Vietnam will set the U.S. on a collision course with Russia, symbolized by the 'brushing' of Soviet and American warships in last week's Sea of Japan incident.

"That was clearly a warning shot across the bows.

"One Soviet official spelled it out for me: 'The days of Khrushchev are gone,' he said. 'We don't bang shoes any more. We don't rattle rockets.

"We used to bark louder than we bit. Now we don't bark, at least in public, but we are prepared to bite, and the United States is to be told, and firmly, exactly how we will bite stage by stage up the ladder of escalation.'

"The phrase being used in Russia -- and, when translated, it has an almost Pentagonese flavor -- is 'commensurate retaliation along the escalatory scale.'

"In theory, this could mean anything. But it has been explained as 'a blow of equal -- not superior -- force, delivered not necessarily by the same weapons or tactics as the opponents.'

"In other words, Soviet troops, volunteers or not, are hardly likely to appear in Vietnam to match the American buildup.

"But several Soviet contacts with whom I discussed the situation indicated that the bombing of the North could not be even fractionally extended by the Americans without resulting in an effective counterpunch to the south."

As the author describes it, the

"counterpunch" would consist largely of utilizing more firepower, such as ground-to-ground missiles. In his opinion, this "could produce a very violent reaction from the Americans."

The State Department, in fact, indicated May 23 that consideration has already been given to the response that will be made if "the other side" should engage in counterescalation.

An unidentified official of the department, who may well have been Rusk himself to judge from the prominence given the declaration in the daily press, said that if China were to intervene with massive forces in Vietnam, the U.S. would "have to take action against mainland China with everything it has."

Asked if this meant using nuclear weapons, the official replied rather ambiguously, saying that he intended to refer only to the use of "conventional" American weapons.

The New York Times noted that this was a second and "slightly more positive" warning of the kind issued by Rusk in a television appearance July 11, 1965.

The same unidentified official admitted for the first time that U.S. planes had violated Chinese airspace at least once during the recently intensified air attacks on north Vietnam. He discounted its importance, however, saying that the intrusion had been "very shallow."

One wonders what he would have said if Chinese planes had made a very shallow intrusion of U.S. airspace while intensifying bombing of a neighboring country like Mexico or Canada.

The question that emerges from these developments is whether or not Johnson has introduced a modification in the policy he has followed up to now in Vietnam. From the actual course of the escalation it could be deduced that each step in the aggression was decided on only after a probing operation to determine if the point of a "counterthrust" by "the other side" had been reached.

When the probe indicated that "the other side" was still not prepared to reply in kind, another step forward was taken. The failure of China and the USSR to act thus served to encourage Johnson.

In the process of moving forward, however, he became more and more committed both abroad and at home to the goal of a "military victory"; and this made it more and more difficult for him to retreat or withdraw. The street became "one way"; or, as some of his bourgeois critics put it, he permitted the "initiative" to

pass to "the other side." Has Johnson decided that the point of no return has been passed and that no matter what happens he will not retreat? This is what appears to be weighing on the minds of those in the American ruling class who fear that Johnson has engaged in a tactical course that can lead to disaster.

The truth is that Johnson's war in Vietnam has set forces in motion that are probably already beyond his capacity to control.

The Vietnamese people have steel-ed themselves to endure anything and everything from the professional butchers in the Pentagon and the monster in the White House.

The Soviet and Chinese governments appear to be coming, however reluctantly, to the conclusion that the fate of their own regimes is at stake and that they have no choice but to begin acting in self-defense.

The American people have begun to stir in an unmistakable way as the implications of Johnson's war in Vietnam become clearer and clearer. The giant dem-

onstrations in New York and San Francisco on April 15 were harbingers of what is to come.

In the colonial sector the vanguard appear to have come to the conclusion that they must step up their revolutionary efforts. This is particularly marked in the attitude of the Cubans and related currents in Latin America.

All these forces are beginning to have a marked reciprocal effect on each other so that a rise in the massiveness or effectiveness of the opposition to the war in one sector influences the others with increasing impact.

It is thus far from foreordained that Johnson will succeed in dragging humanity over the brink. Despite what he told his daughter Luci, he may not go down in history as the man who started World War III, thereby eliminating history as well as much else.

Thanks to forces in this world far more powerful than Johnson, his hand will most likely be stayed and his daughter can go to bed with fair confidence that she will wake up tomorrow.

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM AND THE ISRAELI-ARAB DISPUTE

[The following statement of position, issued by the Central Committee of the Israeli Socialist Organization, was read by Nathan Weinstock at a meeting in Paris May 18 sponsored by the General Union of Palestinian Students and the Association des Etudiants Musulmans Nord-Africains. The meeting attracted some attention. (See Le Monde May 20.)

[Nathan Weinstock is a member of the Confederal Committee of the Socialist Workers Confederation in Belgium and addressed the meeting in a personal capacity. Other speakers included Abdel Rahman El Youssefi, representing the secretariat of the Moroccan UNFP (Union Nationale des Forces Populaires) to which the martyred Mehdi Ben Barka belonged, and Louftallah Soliman, an Egyptian left-wing journalist.

[As an organization that includes in its ranks both Arabs and Jews, the views of the Israeli Socialist Organization are of special interest in the current acute crisis racking the Middle East.]

* * *

The nineteenth anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel will occur this month. During these 19 years the Israeli-Arab dispute has not come

nearer a solution. The Palestine problem is still an open wound in the body of the Middle East; an incessant source of bloodshed, suffering and wrongs; a heavy burden on the economic resources of the region; a pretext for imperialist aggression and military intervention; a grave threat to world peace.

Especially grave is the state of the Palestinian Arabs -- the direct victims of the 1948 war and of the collusion between "the friendly enemies," Ben Gurion and Abdullah. The majority of Palestine's Arabs were dispossessed of their homes and fields during and after the 1948 war, and have since been living as refugees, in suffering and distress, outside Israel. The leaders of Israel emphatically refuse to recognize their elementary right to be repatriated. The Arabs who were left in Israel are victims of severe economic, civil and national oppression.

During these 19 years, Israel has been an isolated island in the Middle East, a State which is independent only in the formal sense, being economically and politically dependent on the imperialist powers, especially on the USA. It has continually served as a tool of these powers against the Arab nation, against the progressive forces in the Arab world. The clearest manifestation (but not the only one) of this role of official Israeli

policy was in 1956, when Israel's government joined Anglo-French imperialism in an aggressive collusion against Egypt, and even furnished these powers with a pretext for military intervention.

The state of war and hostility between Israel and her Arab neighbours has continued for 19 years, and Israel's Zionist leadership has no real prospect of changing this situation. Israeli policy is in a cul de sac.

The present economic crisis in Israel, which has caused grave unemployment of the workers and great hardship to the popular masses, also serves to underline the fact that Israel cannot long continue to exist in its present form, as a Zionist State, cut off from the region in which it is located.

Thus, the present state of affairs is against the interests of the Arab masses: Israel, in its present form, constitutes a grave obstacle for the struggle of these masses against imperialism and for a socialist Arab unity. The continuation of the present state of affairs is also against the interests of the Israeli masses.

* * *

The Israeli Socialist Organization, in whose ranks there are both Arabs and Jews, holds that the Palestine problem and the Israeli-Arab dispute can and should be solved in a socialist and internationalist way, taking into consideration the unique features of this complex problem.

This is not an ordinary conflict between two nations. Therefore it is not enough to call for "Coexistence based on mutual recognition of the just national rights of the two peoples."

The State of Israel is the outcome of the colonization of Palestine by the Zionist movement, at the expense of the Arab people and under the auspices of imperialism. In its present Zionist form, Israel is also a tool for the continuation of "the Zionist Endeavour."

The Arab world cannot acquiesce in the existence in its midst of a Zionist State, whose declared purpose is not to serve as a political expression of its own population, but as a bridgehead, a political instrument and a destination for immigration of the Jews all over the world. Israel's Zionist character is also opposed to the true interests of the Israeli masses, because it means constant dependence of the country upon external forces.

We therefore hold that a solution of the problem necessitates the de-

zionization of Israel. The State of Israel must undergo a deep revolutionary change which will transform it from a Zionist State (i.e., a state of the Jews all over the world) into a socialist state which represents the interests of the masses who live in it. In particular, the "law of return" (which grants every Jew in the world an absolute and automatic right to immigrate into Israel and become a citizen of it) must be abolished. Each request to immigrate into Israel will then be decided separately on its own merits, without any discrimination of a racial or religious nature.

The Palestine Arab refugee problem is the most painful part of the Israeli-Arab dispute.

We therefore hold that every refugee who wants to return to Israel must be enabled to do so; he should then obtain full economic and social rehabilitation. Those refugees who will freely choose not to be repatriated should be fully compensated for loss of property and for the personal suffering which has been caused to them.

In addition, all the laws and regulations aimed at discriminating and oppressing the Arab population of Israel and at expropriation of its lands must be abolished. All expropriations and damages (to land, property and person) caused under these laws and regulations must be fully compensated.

The de-zionization of Israel implies also putting an end to the Zionist foreign policy, which serves imperialism. Israel must take an active part in the struggle of the Arabs against imperialism and for the establishment of a socialist Arab unity.

The Zionist colonization of Palestine differs in one basic respect from the colonization of other countries: whereas in other countries the settlers established their economy upon the exploitation of the labour of the indigenous inhabitants, the colonization of Palestine was carried out through the replacement and expulsion of the indigenous population.

This fact has caused a unique complication of the Palestine problem. As a result of Zionist colonization, a Hebrew nation with its own national characteristics (common language, separate economy, etc.) has been formed in Palestine. Moreover, this nation has a capitalist class structure -- it is divided into exploiters and exploited, a bourgeoisie and a proletariat.

The argument that this nation has been formed artificially and at the expense of the indigenous Arab population does not change the fact that the Hebrew nation now exists. It would be a disas-

trous error to ignore this fact.

The solution of the Palestine problem must not only redress the wrong done to the Palestinian Arabs, but also ensure the national future of the Hebrew masses. These masses were brought to Palestine by Zionism -- but they are not responsible for the deeds of Zionism. The attempt to penalize the Israeli workers and popular masses for the sins of Zionism cannot solve the Palestinian problem but only bring about new misfortunes.

Those nationalist Arab leaders who call for a jihad for the liberation of Palestine ignore the fact that even if Israel would be defeated militarily and cease to exist as a state, the Hebrew nation will still exist. If the problem of the existence of this nation is not solved correctly, a situation of dangerous and prolonged national conflict will be re-created, which will cause endless bloodshed and suffering and will serve as a new pretext for imperialist intervention. It is no coincidence that the leaders who advocate such a "solution" are also not capable of solving the Kurdish problem.

In addition it should be understood that the Israeli masses will not be liberated from the influence of Zionism and will not struggle against it unless the progressive forces in the Arab world present them with a prospect of coexistence without national oppression.

The Israeli Socialist Organization therefore holds that a true solution of the Palestine problem necessitates the recognition of the right of the Hebrew nation to self-determination.

Self-determination does not necessarily mean separation. On the contrary, we hold that a small country which is poor in natural resources, such as Israel cannot exist as a separate entity. It is faced with two alternatives only -- to continue to depend on foreign powers or to integrate itself in a regional union.

It follows that the only solution consistent with the interests of both Arab and Israeli masses is the integration of Israel as a unit in an economic and political union of the Middle East, on the basis of socialism.

In such a framework the Hebrew nation will be able to carry on its own national and cultural life without endangering the Arab world and without a threat to its own existence by the Arabs. The forces of the Israeli masses will join those of the Arab masses in a common struggle for progress and prosperity.

We therefore hold that the Palestine problem -- like other central problems of the Middle East -- can only be solved in the framework of a Middle Eastern union.

Theoretical analysis and practical experience alike show that Arab unity can be formed and exist in a stable way only if it has a socialist character.

One can therefore sum up the solution which we propose by the formula: de-zionization of Israel and its integration in a socialist Middle Eastern union.

We hold that the problem of the political future of the Palestinian Arabs should also be solved within the framework described above.

There are people who think that justice necessitates the establishment of a special Palestinian Arab political entity. Our view is that this question must be decided by the Palestinian Arabs, without outside interference.

However, we think that it would be a grave error to pose the problem of the political future of the Palestinian Arabs separately from and independently of the question of socialist Arab union. At present the Palestinian Arabs are in the first ranks of the struggle for unity. If they would be presented with a separate and dependent aim, the cause of Arab unity may suffer grave damage. Also, the establishment of a small separate Arab state is not consistent with the interests of the Arab nation, including the Palestinian Arab people.

We therefore hold that if the Palestinian Arabs decide in favour of establishing a political entity of their own, the necessary political and territorial arrangements should be made within the framework of establishing a socialist union of the Middle East. The countries that now hold parts of the territory of Palestine -- Israel, Jordan and Egypt -- should particularly contribute to such a settlement.

* * *

We call upon the revolutionary socialist forces in the Arab countries and in other countries to consider our present program and to start a wide discussion aimed at working out a common position on the problems of the Middle East.

HUGO BLANCO THANKS BERTRAND RUSSELL FOR INTERVENING

[The following letter, addressed May 1 to Bertrand Russell, is the first indication from Lima that Hugo Blanco is recovering from the beating which he received at the hands of his prison guards in the first week of April. (See World Outlook May 5.)

[In a cable to President Belaúnde April 16, Bertrand Russell protested the inhuman treatment of the Peruvian peasant leader.]

* * *

Penal Island
"El Frontón"
1-V-67

Mr. Bertrand Russell
London

It was with great emotion that I read a copy of the cable which you sent to Belaúnde interceding in behalf of

freeing me and against the death penalty.

I am very grateful not only because of its content but because of the praise with which you referred to my revolutionary attitude.

The solidarity which you and others have demonstrated gives us revolutionaries greater and greater faith in Man and the brilliant future Man merits and which he will achieve.

With a warm embrace,

Hugo Blanco G.

* * *

P.S. The Peruvian people view with great interest and sympathy the investigation of Johnson's crimes in Vietnam.

Hugo Blanco G.

A LETTER TO CANADIAN SUPPORTERS

[The Canadian Committee to Free Hugo Blanco received the following letter from the famous Peruvian peasant leader now held in the notorious El Frontón prison for the "crime" of leading a revolutionary struggle for land in the Cuzco region.

[Blanco has been threatened with the death penalty because he dared to appeal the savage 25-year sentence handed down against him by an illegal military tribunal.]

* * *

"El Frontón"
March 10, 1967

To the Committee to Free
Hugo Blanco -- Canada:

Brothers, it has been some time since I was informed of the existence of your committee and I should have answered sooner; it was my duty. But it is not easy to write to a committee that bears one's name.

A revolutionary is an optimist by nature; nevertheless the magnitude of the

international solidarity with our struggle has astounded me. How near is our triumph!

I understand the significance of your solidarity. You feel the hunger of my people; you suffer with us in our chains; you strive to help us break them.

You know and we know that with the death penalty or without it, with jailings or without them, the day of victory approaches with giant strides. And that is not the work of individuals but of all the people.

In the final analysis it is of little importance whether they kill me or not, whether I remain imprisoned or not. What is important is that you have raised your arm to stop the bullets, to tear away the bars. That is what has meaning, comrades, meaning as a symbol, as proof that human solidarity reaches throughout the world and will smother the enemies of Man.

A poet of my country, overwhelmed when the full impact of solidarity came to him, tried to explain its power like this:

Altogether

At the end of the battle,
and slain the combatant, a man came to him
and said, "Don't die; I love you so!"

But the body, oh! continued dying.

Two came and they repeated:
"Don't leave us! Courage! Return to life!"
But the body, oh! continued dying.

Twenty, a hundred, a thousand, five hundred thousand came,
clamoring: "So much love, and nothing can be done against death!"
But the body, oh! continued dying.

Millions surrounded him,
with a common plea: "Stay, brother!"
But the body, oh! continued dying.

Then all the men of the earth
surrounded him; they looked at the body, said, filled with emotion;
slowly it rose,
embraced the first man; started to walk..."

César Vallejo

That is how we understand your solidarity, brothers.

With a warm embrace,

Hugo Blanco G.

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE IN MOSCOW AND PEKING

Bandiera Rossa, the official organ of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Italian section of the Fourth International), calls attention in its May 15 issue to the silence of both the Moscow and Peking press on the case of Hugo Blanco.

The campaign to save the revolutionary peasant leader from execution at the hands of the Belaúnde government, has spread to all parts of the world and hundreds of distinguished figures have added their voices to the demand that he be released. The great majority of them do not share the views of Hugo Blanco, who is an avowed Trotskyist and an adherent of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. But they understand the need for elementary solidarity in behalf of a victim of the most reactionary forces in Latin America and their imperialist backers.

If the silence of the Moscow press can be explained as due to the revisionism of Khrushchev's heirs what about Peking? Why should Mao follow the example of Kosygin-Brezhnev in this?

"The readers of the daily and weekly foreign-language editions published by the Chinese news services are well aware that they continually print long-winded statements by even the most insignificant persons, whose only virtue lies in the fact that they have made a trip to China -- free -- and then sung the praises of Mao's thought and the cultural revolution," observes Bandiera

Rossa. "But not a word about Hugo Blanco, the hero of one of the most outstanding political trials in the history of Latin America."

This silence is all the more extraordinary, continues the Italian Trotskyist paper, in view of the recent repressions which have been directed equally at "Trotskyists, members of the pro-Chinese Communist party, of the PRIN [Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista] and the left wing of the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario]."

The Maoists reported only the repressive measures taken against their own partisans in Bolivia, thus "outrageously purging the victims."

"Perhaps a still more scandalous fact," continues Bandiera Rossa, "is that the Chinese news agencies -- at least in the bulletins received during April -- have completely ignored the recent declarations of the Cuban leaders, from Fidel's March 13 speech to Che Guevara's message.

"Contrariwise, they did not fail in the past to publish documents of Latin-American splinter groups that accused Fidel -- now everyone can see with how little foundation -- of having gone over to the camp of revisionism; and they continue to publish statements of vaguely identified 'Cubans' who offer contributions from time to time to the current deification of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

"Some of the grotesque aspects of this whole business might afford amusement. However there is an all too serious political meaning at the core of this grotesqueness -- an utterly sectarian and profoundly bureaucratic method under

which everything that does not correspond to one's own views and tastes is implacably condemned. And it means little to these people that the elementary and pressing duty of displaying solidarity is not carried out, as exemplified in the Hugo Blanco case."

HAVE U.S. "SPECIAL FORCES" TAKEN OVER IN DEBRAY CASE?

In an editorial note May 23, the Paris daily *Le Monde* called attention to an ominous report in La Paz that Régis Debray, George Andrew Roth and Carlos Alberto Fructuoso, the three journalists seized by the Bolivian secret police in the southeast part of the country, have been turned over to special U.S. services and flown elsewhere for "interrogation."

The report was at once denied by both the American embassy in La Paz and the Bolivian authorities.

Nevertheless the Barrientos dictatorship has refused up to now to let either French embassy officials, Bolivian attorneys, or Debray's mother see any of the prisoners.

Meanwhile an international solidarity campaign has been started in behalf of Debray. Among the first to lend support to the effort was Bertrand Russell.

The military "gorillas" who run Bolivia, and who have been conducting a savage witch-hunt against every oppositional tendency in the country, have sought to counteract this by vicious public attacks against Debray. Barrientos himself has taken the lead in this infamous work.

"Régis Debray is only a common criminal, and he will be tried for the crimes he has committed," Barrientos told the press May 18. "He has broken Bolivian laws and is a Castroite agent."

It was announced the same day that the prisoner's mother, Mme Janine Alexandre-Debray had retained a defense attorney, Walter Flores, vice-dean of the faculty of law at La Paz University. His first step was to apply for a writ of habeas corpus.

On May 19 Barrientos announced that he would grant an audience to Mme Alexandre-Debray in order to help assuage her grief "as I would for any other mother in need of consolation."

The request for a hearing was filed May 5 but the general pushed it aside, alleging a commitment to go to Uruguay on government business.

Walter Flores filed a writ of habeas corpus May 19. He demanded that his client be either released at once or that he be charged in accordance with the laws of Bolivia. This posed the central issue very sharply -- with what is Régis Debray charged? No one in the government has yet stated this or made any other move to conform with the provisions of Bolivian law for a trial.

Curiously enough, General Ovando, a member of the ruling military junta and for a time co-equal in powers with General Barrientos, denounced Walter Flores for taking Debray's case. "A Bolivian shouldn't do that," he said.

At the same time he echoed the declarations of General Barrientos about assuring Debray a fair trial.

On May 20 General Barrientos injected a new note in his press conference. Up to then he had stressed, in reference to the Debray case, that Bolivia has abolished the death penalty. (Prisoners are simply shot by the army without trial as occurred in the case of César Lora, a well-known Trotskyist leader, on July 29, 1965.) [See *World Outlook*, Vol. 3, No. 28, p. 16.] Barrientos now told the press, "I am going to ask Congress to reestablish the death penalty."

Questioned about Debray, the Bolivian dictator said, "Régis Debray has not been executed."

Barrientos refused, however, to state where Debray was being held. He also said that neither journalists, photographers, nor his mother could see the prisoner. He admitted having received a message from General de Gaulle inquiring about the fate of Debray.

Barrientos then went into a tirade against the guerrilla fighters who have made their presence known to his regime.

A Bolivian journalist asked: "Régis Debray was arrested a month ago; but we still don't know anything about him."

Barrientos replied to this as follows: "We are only at the first stage in this. We are in process of handling our dead and wounded. Bolivians have priority, one thing at a time. But you can be cer-

tain that those detained will be judged in strictest accordance with the law. We are a civilized country, we do not torture people. We will apply our laws."

The editorial note on the case which appeared in the May 23 issue of Le Monde, read as follows:

"Once again it is not possible to refrain from noting General Barrientos' vehemence and the contradictions in what he says. Last week he formally promised to see Mme Alexandre-Debray, and now he has postponed this interview indefinitely. It is difficult to understand the reasons causing the Bolivian president to fail to respect the rules of a Constitution adopted last February and which expressly provide for due process of law within twenty-four hours for anyone who is arrested. In stating that his 'forces only captured some guerrillas,' General Barrientos thereby contradicts all the reports given the past month and a half by the Bolivian press itself, according to which the three foreign journalists, the French Régis Debray, the Argentine Fructuoso and the English Roth, were arrested at Muyu-pampa, April 20, by the D.I.C. (Department of Criminal Investigation). The photos published in the La Paz press confirm the capital fact that the three men were in civilian clothes and unarmed and with their identity papers in order.

"Under these conditions it is permissible to wonder about the real fate of Régis Debray and his two companions, held in strict secrecy despite the remarks made by Bolivian jurists and the demands for clarification coming from abroad. The obstinate refusal of the Bolivian president to furnish the least proof of the accusations levelled against the three foreigners captured in the province of Santa Cruz naturally increases the uneasiness aroused by this affair. Thus, certain observers, particularly in La Paz, are now asking if Régis Debray and his companions have not been turned over by the Bolivian authorities to the American special services for 'interrogation,' either in Bolivia itself, or at the headquarters of the 'special forces' of the United States, in the Panama Canal Zone. Such a transfer would be easy. A regular military airline does in fact operate between the base at Howard field, in the Panama Canal Zone, and the Bolivian airports at Cochabamba and Santa Cruz, where Hercules planes of the U.S. Air Force have already landed matériel and heavy helicopters for the Bolivian armed forces engaged in difficult operations against

the guerrillas."

As if in direct answer to the observations made by Le Monde (the Paris daily appears on the streets the evening before the dateline it carries), Robert Chatten of the U.S. embassy press service in La Paz said May 23: "We are not holding Debray either in the Canal Zone or elsewhere. The report is absolutely without foundation."

Jaime Céspedes, speaking for the Bolivian army, also issued a denial. "It is a tendentious report and completely false." He said that he did not know where Debray was being held. "However, I can assure you that he is in Bolivia; and, utilizing the occasion, I also want to deny the tendentious report according to which he has been interrogated by the FBI."

Hundreds of intellectuals and dozens of organizations internationally have mobilized in behalf of Régis Debray.

In Mexico, the magazine Sucesos Para Todos published a long editorial May 18 on the case.

"Régis Debray," declared the editors, "went to Bolivia as the correspondent of Sucesos Para Todos, with all the precautions and discretion required to succeed in a genuinely difficult and risky journalistic mission. His press card for this journal, made out in 1966, leaves no doubt as to his professional occupation... Any attempt to present Debray as conducting activities other than those of a press correspondent constitutes a fraud aimed at justifying the repression of the legitimate efforts of the press to reach sources of news."

The magazine published an open letter to General Barrientos signed by around a hundred Mexican intellectuals and university students demanding the release of Régis Debray.

"A political man sets an example," the letter said among other things. "Thus he cannot assume an attitude of violence or vengeance without immediately provoking the same violence and the same vengeance... The real problems of this continent will not be resolved by imprisoning or executing this French youth who can be accused only of idealism... We are sure that shedding the blood or punishing Régis Debray will only multiply the Régis Debrays throughout the Hispano-American continent."

CORRECTION

World Outlook reported last week [p. 542] that the Spring Mobilization conference, which set a national antiwar

demonstration for next October in Washington, was held "April 20-21." This, of course, should have been May 20-21.

6,000 MARCH IN DENMARK IN SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAMESE

Copenhagen

More than 6,000 persons took part in a two-day Whitsun [May 14-15] march of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

The march from Helsingör to Copenhagen was organized by the Nord Vietnam Solidarity Committee in Copenhagen.

It was a truly international affair with hundreds of participants from Sweden and Norway as well as Germany, France, Belgium, Greece and England. There were even representatives from Bahrein, Colombia and Angola.

The Danish Communist party at first seemed hesitant about joining the march, but then shifted its stand when it became clear that it was headed for a big success.

The main slogans were "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam" and "Solidarity with the Fighting Vietnamese."

In some of the villages on the line of march residents decorated the trees in their gardens with flags of the Front for National Liberation.

Few police were stationed to keep an eye on the marchers except at the U.S. embassy.

The home of the U.S. ambassador was picketed and the place was chosen as a convenient spot for a rally with speeches directed against the U.S.

A heavy downpour occurred as the marchers entered Copenhagen. Although this discouraged onlookers, the marchers continued in the driving rain until the final ceremony was held at the town hall square.

The NLF ambassador to the USSR, Nguen Vandong, gave a speech in which he thanked the marchers in the warmest way, welcoming their action as a great sign of the widespread public opinion favoring the Vietnamese cause.

The marchers responded with a resounding shout: "Long live the NLF! Long live the NLF!"

Later a collection of 25,000 kroner [about US\$3,660] was presented to Nguen Vandong. As a token of appreciation, the ambassador gave the Nord Vietnam Solidarity Committee a beautiful flag.

SWEDISH CP VOTES TO CHANGE NAME

The Swedish Communist party decided May 15 at its twenty-first congress, held in Stockholm, to change its name to Vaensterpartiet Komunisterna [Left Party (Communist)].

According to an official announcement the change was made to indicate that the party is only one component of the socialist movement.

Observers believe that it also reflects the desire of C.H.Hermansson, head of the party, to build a bridge to the Social Democrats who constitute the government.

Up to now the Social Democrats have rejected all overtures from the CP for collaboration. This no doubt is due mainly to the fact that in the last election the Social Democrats won 46% of the votes, the Communists only 6%.

A considerable minority at the CP congress opposed the change in name. They argued that neither a revolutionary line nor the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been outmoded.

It remains to be seen whether this minority will now carry out a split.

SPANISH STUDENTS SPEAK UP FOR VIETNAM

Some 3,000 students at the University of Madrid locked themselves in the faculty of economic sciences May 16 to protest the arrest the night before of three representatives of the "Democratic Union."

They also protested against the reprisals instituted against five students who participated May 10 in a meet-

ing commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death in Alicante prison of the poet, Miguel Hernandez.

On the following day they decided to conduct an unlimited strike until the three representatives of the Democratic Union are freed.

After holding a "free assembly,"

the students massed in the office of the dean. Furniture and windows were broken under the pressure of the crowd. A portrait of Generalissimo Franco did not escape damage.

The police thereupon charged the students with clubs. They were met with a hail of stones.

About ten students were arrested and a number were injured.

Another "free assembly" was then called for the next day to protest the role of "American imperialism in Vietnam."

In various parts of Spain, students have recently been picking up the Vietnamese issue. On May 17, for instance, a crowd of about 200 students marched through the streets of Barcelona, shouting: "Vietnam si! Yankee no!"

Seven of them were arrested by the police following the demonstration, including a French and two German students.

Students at the University of Barcelona protested these arrests by calling a strike. The police moved against them twice on May 19.

CUBANS DISTRIBUTE GUEVARA'S REVOLUTIONARY MESSAGE IN MOSCOW

The top leaders in both Moscow and Peking appear to have reached agreement on at least one point -- to officially ignore the message from Ernesto "Che" Guevara which was published in Havana. [See World Outlook April 28 for full text.]

In China there is no indication whatsoever that this important declaration calling for armed struggle against oppression, for socialist revolutions, and for a united front in defense of the Vietnamese people against the aggression of U.S. imperialism has been made avail-

able to the public.

In Moscow the Cubans are distributing it as a pamphlet and it is reported that when the text reached that city a group of Latin-American students gathered outside the Cuban embassy to read excerpts from it.

The coolness of both Mao Tse-tung and Kosygin-Brezhnev to Guevara's message is undoubtedly due to the sharp criticism it contains of their joint failure to close ranks in face of the assault on Vietnam.

TROOPS REPRESS DEMONSTRATIONS IN MEXICO

Unrest in Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora, finally reached an explosive point after two months of building up when Faustino Félix Serna was designated candidate of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional for the post of governor of the Mexican state.

Elections are scheduled for next July, but a candidate of the PRI is assured election under the virtual one-party system in effect in Mexico.

Violence broke out May 14 when students, demonstrating against the deci-

sion were attacked by the police.

The disorders continued for three days. President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz declared martial law and ordered out the troops.

On May 18 some 500 infantrymen and 2,500 parachutists arrived from Mexico.

In face of the repressive measures and police raids in search of "agitators" many political figures, students and even newsmen in Sonora went into hiding.

\$2,500,000 PAYOFF FOR STALIN'S DAUGHTER

It is reported that more than \$2,500,000 has been paid for the first serial rights and advance book royalties for the memoirs of Stalin's daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva.

This is thought to be a record, exceeding even what was paid to Eisenhower for his memoirs as he was being

groomed for the White House.

The generosity of American publishing circles is no doubt intended as an object lesson to other potential defectors in the USSR made ripe by Stalin's thought for the individual initiative, free enterprise and competitive spirit of the American Way of Life.

CUBA'S EXAMPLE AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

May Day Speech by Major Juan Almeida Bosque

[The following is the full text of the speech made by Major Juan Almeida Bosque on May 1 at the Plaza de la Revolución in Havana. Juan Almeida is a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba and one of the original members of the Castro team.

[The speech, in our opinion, is of unusual interest as a summary of the achievements of the Cuban Revolution and the political attitudes of its leaders.

[Besides its vivid indication of the type of problems which the Cuban people face and are successfully solving despite the obstacles and handicaps imposed by the U.S. imperialist blockade, the speech offers a succinct picture of the thinking in Havana on how the Cuban Revolution links up with the world socialist revolution.

[The latter aspects of the speech will undoubtedly prove most attractive to revolutionary socialists in other countries but they will also find the section dealing with domestic tasks a refreshing and inspiring contrast, we think, to the demagogy that goes with such meager palliatives as the "War on Poverty" in the United States and its sad-looking replicas in the satellites of the world's biggest and most rapacious capitalist power.

[The translation is the official one published in the May 7 issue of the English-language edition of Granma, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Cuba. The subheadings appear in the original.]

* * *

Comrade delegates from foreign countries who are visiting us; comrade members of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee; comrade vanguard workers present on this tribune; ladies and gentlemen:

Eight years have passed since the triumph of our Revolution, and we are well into the ninth. Our people, and all of us, have learned much during this time. Old ideas have been dying out, and new ones have arisen and are becoming stronger in the minds of the people.

We would like to mention some of the teachings of our Revolution and of our people which we feel are very important to remember as we celebrate May Day.

This is the ninth May Day celebrated by Cuban workers since the triumph of the Revolution. The enemies of the people, the exploiting classes and Yankee imperialism, never thought that the Cuban Revolution would be able to commemorate International Workers' Day for nine consecutive years. (APPLAUSE) But, nevertheless, here we stand: firmer than ever, more revolutionary than ever, more proletarian, more communist than ever!

In spite of all the threats and aggressions the Yankee imperialists have committed and continue to commit against us, 90 miles from our shores, here we stand, Cuban workers alongside Fidel (APPLAUSE), successfully fulfilling the tasks of the Revolution, and victoriously advancing along the road to communism!

During these eight years and four months, our people have made one of history's profoundest and most radical revolutions. This Revolution has exerted and continues to exert extraordinary influence on the development of the anti-imperialist struggle on the Latin American continent. It has had and continues to have, repercussions on the continent upon which Yankee imperialism subsists and thrives.

The Cuban Revolution has influenced and continues to influence the peoples of Latin America, whom the most retrograde and aggressive circles consider the exclusive domain of their reactionary interests. The Cuban Revolution influences the part of the world that the Yankee imperialists consider the exclusive patrimony of their voracious interests. But, nevertheless, they have not been able to destroy the Revolution, nor have they been able to keep it from forging ahead.

The Cuban workers have accomplished this singular feat only 90 miles from history's greatest imperial power, only 90 miles from the shores of the Yankee seat of empire. What does this teach us? How has this been possible? It shows us that when a people choose the revolutionary road, decide to persevere under competent leadership, such as that of Fidel (APPLAUSE), there is no force in the world capable of detaining it.

Six years ago, a gigantic multitude like this one proclaimed in the Second Declaration of Havana that the Cuban example had shown that Revolution is possible nowadays. Six years have passed since the Second Declaration of Havana, and the Revolution has kept on advancing, become stronger, more radical. This confirms the

correctness of the principles and of the revolutionary strategy proclaimed by our people in the Second Declaration of Havana. At that time, when our people and Fidel spoke about the invincibility and the future of the Revolution, some thought that this enthusiasm was unfounded; some thought that these ideas were illusory and meaningless. The skeptics and the counterrevolutionaries never thought that history -- and now we can start speaking about the history of our Revolution -- would prove Fidel and the people to be right, fully and totally so. (APPLAUSE)

The skeptics and counterrevolutionaries may well remember these things today, because when Fidel and the Cuban people assert the invincibility of the world revolutionary movement, and the final defeat of Yankee imperialism, it is neither an unfounded illusion nor an unfounded aspiration. History will show who is right. Our people and the leaders of this Revolution are convinced, are sure that once again we are right.

Some skeptics thought that the enthusiasm and vigor of the early years would be lost as time went on. Some pessimists thought that our people would, in time, lose the joy and revolutionary fervor of the early days.

Today Our Revolutionary Fervor Is Greater than Ever

I want to ask the people some questions; I want to ask the people these questions so that they themselves can answer the skeptics and enemies of the Revolution. Have we lost the joy and happiness of January 1, 1959? (SHOUTS OF NO!) Have we lost the fervor and revolutionary enthusiasm of the historic days of the Agrarian Reform? (SHOUTS OF NO!) Have we lost the passion and revolutionary fervor of the historic days of Girón? (SHOUTS OF NO!) Have we lost the determination, the strength and serene courage of that sad and emotion-filled week during the October Crisis? (SHOUTS OF NO!) No, a thousand times no! Today, our revolutionary fervor is greater than ever; today our revolutionary enthusiasm is greater than ever; today our confidence and faith in the future are more profound than ever. How mistaken the skeptics were! How mistaken the pessimists were!

How has this been possible? It has been possible because our people have not stood still for a single moment; because our people have not paused for a single moment. It has been possible because the Revolution has undertaken new and multiple endeavors and has continued advancing, continued making progress. And as the Revolution has advanced, as revolutionary ideas have become more profound,

our character has matured and our feelings and actions have become more militant, more fervent, more enthusiastic defenders of these revolutionary ideas.

No one doubts that in the future enthusiasm will grow, that revolutionary conviction will grow. Why? Because no one doubts that the Cuban Revolution will continue advancing and will be neither dented nor immobilized nor turned aside.

The enthusiasm, fervor and revolutionary conviction spring from the Revolution itself. And since the Revolution has not slackened, nor can it be slackened, then neither can the enthusiasm, fervor and revolutionary conviction be slackened.

Our workers are aware of the dangers that threaten them, our people are aware of the dangers engendered by maintaining a revolutionary position in this part of the world, and despite that, in the midst of those dangers and threats, they work arduously to build their future.

We will keep aloft the banner of production and work, and we will also keep aloft the banner of the universal redemption of the workers. These two slogans express the line of our Party, the line of the Revolution, the line of our people, the line of Fidel (APPLAUSE); these two slogans represent for the Revolutionary Armed Forces the watchword stressed by Raúl: "In times of peace, all for production, and in times of danger, all for defense." (APPLAUSE)

Many were the slanders and lies that the capitalists hurled against the workers. However, a workers' revolution has quashed all these falsehoods, slanders and lies. The capitalists said that the workers weren't capable of running the factories or the State. They, the privileged class, considered themselves superior and, as some capitalists or people with a capitalist mentality had acquired a certain cultural level and a certain amount of knowledge, they considered that this cultural level and this knowledge were the exclusive property of a few, and that our workers were not capable of acquiring them.

We know that in the former society, in which there were not enough schools, where fifty percent of the children from a working-class background had no possibility of even receiving a first grade education; in that society, while a very insignificant number of people from the middle classes and the bourgeois could attend the university, all access to self-improvement was closed to the great majority of the people. Furthermore, they (the ruling class) used culture and technology to exploit the people even more, closed the doors to centers of learning to broad

sectors of the people and failed to provide them with the means to study. Later, as the workers had no chance to attend a university or secondary school, they were forced to remain ignorant. And then the bourgeoisie accused the workers of being ignorant, of being uneducated. The bourgeoisie made such shameless, cynical accusations while they, with their system of exploitation, were the ones who were responsible for mass ignorance.

Nonetheless, we Cuban workers have taught the capitalists a tremendous lesson. We, Cuban workers, seized the power from the bourgeoisie and capitalists, and today we are running the factories, we are commanding the military units, we are being trained technically (APPLAUSE), we are organizing the economy.

There is one example which serves as an excellent object lesson of this. Comrades of the Rebel Army, which was made up primarily of workers and farmers, arrived in Havana eight years ago. At that time our Rebel Army, which had defeated the tyranny in the Sierra, had an 80 percent illiteracy rate in its ranks.

An immense cultural and technical educational program was undertaken within the armed forces, and today, comrades who were illiterate, comrades who had very low scholastic levels when they came down from the Sierra, are leaders of military units. They have acquired military and technical knowledge, they have mastered those complex skills required in military tactics and strategy. (APPLAUSE) Members of our armed forces have had to study and raise their educational level precisely because they must be ready to combat the enemy, the main enemy of all peoples: Yankee imperialism.

There Are Societies without a Bourgeoisie, But There Are No Societies without Workers!

Today in our country great advances have been made in technology, in culture, and we will continue advancing to levels never dreamed of by any member of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie claims that it is not possible for workers to operate a factory, to run an enterprise. The bourgeoisie said that it was impossible to organize a society without the presence of owners of private property. Nonetheless, it is a fact that there are societies in existence where the bourgeoisie has disappeared or is about to disappear but there never will be, never has been, and never can be a society without workers. (APPLAUSE) For there are societies without the bourgeois class, but none without the working class! We can live without the bourgeoisie but not without workers! (APPLAUSE) For it

is the workers who produce, it is they who create the riches!

Cuban capitalists, with their characteristic cynicism and lack of scruples, used to say that Cuban workers were laggards and loafers. They, of all people, they who had never lifted a finger in their lives, who had never done a day's work, hurled such insults at our workers, at those who created the riches the capitalists lived off!

In order to produce and create these riches under capitalism, workers were constantly pressured by fear of hunger, and by hunger itself. Before, those who cut the sugar cane did so under the pressure of urgent needs, of debts accumulated at company stores during the previous sugar harvest -- stores which were usually owned by foreign interests. Moreover, canecutters were seldom completely out of debt because of the pitifully low wages they received. Fear of hunger, or hunger itself, kept them subjected to the owner's exploitation.

The canecutters who occupy honored places on this grandstand today, here in the Plaza de la Revolución (APPLAUSE), and who worked as canecutters in that period as well, recall those times of humiliation and abuse very vividly. Today canecutters, like all other workers -- for labor has dignity in our nation -- are loved and respected by everyone. Today we go out to the canefields as volunteer workers, proudly. Hundreds of thousands of men participate for the full harvest season, or on week ends, and no one is goaded on by need, except for that spiritual need of feeling that he is doing his share in the great tasks of the Revolution (APPLAUSE).

In capitalism, the workers -- especially those in the countryside -- lived under harsh and miserable conditions. The bourgeoisie paid pitifully low wages to the great majority of the workers, wages insufficient to cover their basic needs, and those of their families.

That explains why the workers fought and struggled for higher wages, why they waged battles to force the bosses to grant wage increases, which were doled out only when it was to the owners' convenience to do so, or when they were forced to it.

This struggle of the workers, within capitalism and against capitalists, is a necessary, fair and correct struggle. It is fair for the worker in a capitalist system to refuse to work unless his demands are met and even for the worker to think only in terms of salary. In a society where the money represented by the salary is the means of livelihood, it is fair to struggle for better salaries.



JUAN ALMEIDA BOSQUE (seated left) and Antonio Núñez Jiménez (seated right) enjoying a cup of coffee in a Harlem cafe in September 1960. They were part of a delegation that accompanied Fidel Castro to New York when the Cuban leader addressed the United Nations on the problem of American imperialism and its belligerent policies. The people in Harlem turned out in huge crowds, surrounding the Hotel Teresa where the revolutionists stayed and giving them a welcome that is still remembered in the New York ghetto.

Many have been led to believe that the workers can produce more and better only by means of the direct increase of their salaries or their individual economic incentive. This is true in a capitalist society, since the workers are not the owners of the means of production. They do not own the factories, the land or the country's wealth. They work only to subsist, to survive, without faith or hope in the future. And this is a logical thing under a system of exploitation where work is not dignified and can never be dignified.

The Revolution Should Have
Absolute Faith in the Workers

The concept that, in production, man can only be moved by an increased salary or by increased individual economic incentive, is the concept of the capitalist society, of the bourgeois society.

Under socialism, this concept contains a grave falsehood. The Revolution must have absolute confidence in the workers. If the workers are aware that the wealth they produce will go to the people, that is, to themselves; if the workers acquire an awareness that it is necessary and fair to work more and better, the workers themselves will become more interested in increasing production. If workers and farmers know that production increases the welfare of the entire society, that is, of the workers themselves, their children and their relatives, then the working masses will consciously double and triple their efforts to carry out a more efficient task by increasing production.

For this reason, under socialism, production and work become one of the most dignified and honorable tasks. This is a question of awareness among the workers. When such conditions are created, there arises a new awareness, a new idea and a



JUAN ALMEIDA BOSQUE (seated left) and Antonio Núñez Jiménez (seated right) enjoying a cup of coffee in a Harlem cafe in September 1960. They were part of a delegation that accompanied Fidel Castro to New York when the Cuban leader addressed the United Nations on the problem of American imperialism and its belligerent policies. The people in Harlem turned out in huge crowds, surrounding the Hotel Teresa where the revolutionists stayed and giving them a welcome that is still remembered in the New York ghetto.



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new concept of work. Only by working will we have more schools, hospitals, children's nurseries, houses, food and modern means of production. Today our people enjoy such important services as public health care gratis. Educational and sports benefits have not come to the workers by means of salary increases. Beginning in 1970, that is, in three years, no citizen who complies with his social duties will have to pay rent (APPLAUSE), and gradually, in our march toward communism, other services and goods will be offered gratis to our people.

There are in this reviewing stand more than 4,000 workers; a national selection from the millions of men and women of the people (APPLAUSE) now working in the various production, industry and agriculture programs throughout our country. They are the representatives of an advance force on the path toward communism. They are the representatives of our people.

Here are:

The three-million-arroba canecutters' brigade of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (APPLAUSE).

All the canecutters of the 36 two-million-arroba brigades (APPLAUSE).

The outstanding canecutters of the 42 one-million-arroba brigades (APPLAUSE).

The 100,000-arroba canecutters (APPLAUSE).

The most outstanding metalworkers (APPLAUSE) who have participated in the construction of agricultural machines.

The most outstanding small farmers and workers of other sectors (APPLAUSE).

All these workers are the representatives of an immense advance force that is building communism in our country and that, with its work and efforts, is creating the bases for a different society, and the conditions for a happier life. These thousands of men here represent the millions and millions of men and women who, throughout our nation (APPLAUSE), are carrying out the heroic task of producing more and better. Men and women like those who today fill this Plaza de la Revolución are devoted to the tasks undertaken by our people, aware of their significance and value, and aware that only thus can they build the future of coming generations on a solid, firm and resistant base. They are an advance force, and this advance force will each day become larger, more enthusiastic and more revolutionary.

Those who wish to know what man is in a communist system, the man of the new

society we are now building, let them speak with the workers who built the harrows (APPLAUSE); let them hold discussions with the canecutters throughout our country; let them ask the women of Banao (APPLAUSE), the young women of Guane and the Isle of Pines (APPLAUSE), the tens of thousands of students of technology who during this harvest have been cutting cane for three months, or the workers who are building the Industrial City in Nuevitas (APPLAUSE), the small farmers working in the coffee programs (APPLAUSE) and the soldiers cutting cane anywhere in the country (APPLAUSE). Those who want to know what man is in a communist system, who want to know his ideas, his aspirations and his concerns, let them go into our fields and interview our comrades working in the projects of Banao, La Caoba, Pinares de Mayari, Isle of Pines, San Andrés de Caiguanabo or anywhere else in the country.

What moves 74,000 workers from our cities to go for a period of several months as permanent canecutters in the sugar harvest? What motivates 100,000 young workers who feel under-utilized to respond to the Young Communist League's call for agricultural workers? (APPLAUSE) What inspires tens of thousands of city workers to go out for two years' agricultural work, giving up their regular salaries for the wages paid in the countryside? What has moved thousands of men and women from all provinces to participate in agricultural production programs?

Inspired by an Ideal of Work and Effort

What has motivated thousands and thousands of service and administrative workers from the capital in their decision to devote one week of each month to agricultural work? What stimulus, what spirit have spurred tens of thousands of members of the Revolutionary Armed Forces on to cut 450 million arrobas of cane in this people's sugar harvest? (APPLAUSE)

This overwhelming movement has been made possible only by the existence of an ideological factor, the superior revolutionary consciousness of our people. These 4,000 men from different parts of our country who are here today with us, representing millions of workers from all over the country, find their inspiration in an ideal of work and perseverance.

They are moved by this ideal, spurred on by revolutionary consciousness. These thousands of workers, farmers, young people and women, are not cut from a different cloth than the rest of the people. Millions like them have made heroic efforts so that the production and agricultural plans in diverse parts of the country might advance. What inspires these people is revolutionary consciousness, a sense of duty in work, communist convictions, the conviction that one works in

behalf of a future, in behalf of the entire people.

If we believe in these ideas, we believe in communism. If we believe in the strength of these convictions and in the correctness of these ideas, we believe in the people. We believe in this immense multitude of workers, farmers, students, men and women: the entire people.

If this people has been able to confront the greatest dangers, if it does not fear imperialism, if it has shown its disposition to fight until death, if necessary, then we have good reason to feel assured that our people and the coming generations will create, through their work, a society and a future that improves with each passing day, and that they will do it joyfully, enthusiastically, inspired not only by the benefit that each individual obtains, but also by the benefit that the entire people obtains, collectively. Today our people are convinced that what each one of us wants is what the entire people want.

What does all this mean? How is all of this possible? Only one thing makes it possible, and that is that the Cuban workers are working for their Revolution, because the factories belong to the workers, and not to any particular person but to all the people in general.

There is something even more important: The new generations in our centers of learning, children and youth, are being steeped in these principles, in these ideas. Thousands of junior and senior high school students, along with their teachers, have joined the "School to the Countryside" Plan (APPLAUSE), tens of thousands of university students have joined in agricultural work for a while each year. Agricultural work has been scheduled in our educational centers and our political schools for 45 days a year. Participation in this program has been voluntary, and nevertheless, the mass of university and secondary students have joined in this mighty movement, with the enthusiasm and backing of their parents. This means that the ideas of work, the concept of work and the value of work govern the moral and ideological upbringing of the younger generation.

Our Party and our people are absolutely certain that, oriented by those ideas, inspired by those sentiments and moving in that direction, we will be able to produce all that we desire, all that the advance of science and technology permits us. Accompanying, and parallel to, these ideas, we are carrying out an ambitious program for the technical and scientific training, the educational

preparation of the younger generation.

Fidel has stated that these ideas, accompanied by technology and science, will guide us in solving the fundamental problems facing us on the road to communism, on the road to the new society.

Substance of the Cuban
Revolution's March Onward
to Communism

We believe in the people's conviction as a determining force because we believe in the people, because we form part of the people and because with our own eyes we have seen their capacity for work and sacrifice. And we also believe that if along with this we carry out programs for technical training and scientific development, we will come to have a decisive force that will set us well on the road to communism, to material abundance. But -- as Fidel has said -- this is also a question of the formation of communist man, communist consciousness at the same time (APPLAUSE), laying stress on the education of our workers, the training of our technicians and the preparation of the younger generation. These ideas, set forth by Fidel so many times, stressed on so many occasions, constitute the essence, the heart of the Cuban Revolution's road to communism. Communism is built so that men may live better and satisfy their basic spiritual and material needs. But it will not be possible to build communism without forming communist men at the same time (APPLAUSE), without educating ourselves in those ideas, without tempering ourselves with those ideas, and without carrying out the great programs for technical and educational preparation on which we lay so much stress.

The heightening of this revolutionary consciousness and love for work has been accompanied by a greater precision in our plans for agricultural development and economic development in general. Years ago we did not clearly see the steps we should have to take to build communism. There were many ideas on this subject, and we did not see the fundamental lines, the essential cornerstones on which we should have to build our future. In recent years, we have been strengthening the direction of agriculture at the base, and we have been drawing up detailed plans. We can best sum up the fundamental tasks in this regard by quoting what Comrade Fidel (APPLAUSE) said in his speech at the first graduation of agricultural technicians:

"On this stretch of the road to socialism, the Revolution lays fundamental emphasis on agriculture and stock raising, and on that branch of industry which best serves their development and the branch that is concerned with processing the products of agriculture and stock raising."

Later, Fidel himself stressed the importance of construction and transportation to the success of these endeavors.

The tasks undertaken by our Revolution in the field of production include: development of large-scale plans in the sugar sector, both industrially and agriculturally; development of dairy cattle through artificial insemination; pasturage; fertilization and the use of leguminous plants; development of plans for coffee, tobacco, citrus fruits, forestation, horticulture and poultry; plans for construction in line with long-range projects for the sugar industry, agriculture and stock raising; housing both in sugar mill regions and in other rural areas; completion of hydraulic plans, improvement of transportation and roads to assure the success of agricultural and livestock plans; special attention to development of those industries that help agriculture and the general construction of the economy. Likewise we are attending to the development of the food industry and extensive plans in the fishing industry are under way. Both the latter are already showing important successes.

There are industrial sectors that have great influence on agricultural and livestock production, such as the fertilizer industry (APPLAUSE), construction of agricultural machinery, building materials and fuels, and they must receive special attention. Cement factories, electricity, petroleum and the nickel mining industry are also included in the priority ranking indicated for agriculture and the economy in general.

Two problems arise in the development of agricultural and livestock plans: lack of a sufficient labor supply in the countryside, and the lack of technology and technicians in agriculture. These problems are of an extremely complex nature. The lack of a sufficient labor supply was greatly felt in agriculture at the beginning of the Revolution. As a result of starvation wages paid by the capitalists in rural areas and, even more, of unemployment, as well as the difficult living conditions that existed in the countryside, our country had experienced a mass migration of agricultural workers from the countryside to the city, principally to provincial capitals and especially to Havana, where they generally couldn't find employment, and ended up either living a parasitic existence or falling into the clutches of those who made their living through vice. This resulted in great population concentrations in the larger cities, especially the capital of the Republic, while extensive zones -- such as exist in Camagüey, occupied by vast stretches of rich land covered with briar, or western Pinar del Rio Province, or the Isle of Pines, or cer-

tain parts of Oriente Province -- were practically unpopulated.

In the largest cities the Revolution found large numbers of unemployed or under-employed, as well as broad bureaucratic sectors dedicated to unproductive and sterile work; a bureaucracy increased considerably by the corrupt maneuvers of unscrupulous individuals.

The Masses and Agricultural Awareness

The solution had to come from agricultural development, increased technology and the development of technicians, the use of machinery and modern techniques, the creation of a better standard of living in the countryside, and above all from the emergence of agricultural awareness among the masses that would channel and guarantee the success of measures to be taken and plans made to carry out such an important endeavor. The Revolution has built schools, hospitals and other services in the mountains and other isolated regions of the countryside that the residents had never dreamed they would enjoy, but this alone would not have been sufficient to win the battle of agriculture. We had to bring technology and technicians to the countryside.

Some years ago, the Revolution set itself the task of increasing the labor supply, incorporating thousands of men and women into agricultural work and, through better organization and technology, of raising the productivity of regular agricultural workers as well as those more recently incorporated.

We are also striving to raise the agricultural yield per unit, and it cannot be denied that the use of fertilizers and knowledge of its use by our farmers will be decisive factors in the success of this endeavor.

That is the path we have taken, one whose pertinence has become increasingly clear to all in the last few years. Without these concepts and these plans, we would not be able to implement the ambitious agricultural and livestock projects the Revolution has undertaken. These plans include those being carried out under the direct orientation of Comrade Fidel (APPLAUSE) in various regions of the country such as Guane, Banao, San Andrés, Pinares de Mayari, La Caoba, the Isle of Pines, the Escambray, and many others. Following the twelfth CTC [Confederación de Trabajadores Cubanos] Congress, the Cuban trade-union movement announced that the principal task was "All efforts concentrated on agriculture." Moreover, a broad movement, designed to incorporate industrial workers, young people, city dwellers and women in agricultural tasks, was begun.

In order to solve the problem of an

insufficient labor supply, thousands of women who could do various agricultural tasks have been incorporated during the last few months into the previously mentioned plans.

More than 20,000 young people of the 100,000 who have signed up are already doing agricultural work in Camagüey, the Isle of Pines and other regions throughout the country. Several thousand workers, at the vanguard of which are communists from the cities, have joined in agricultural production (APPLAUSE), pledging to remain in the countryside for no less than two years. In the next few months this movement will grow and today we already find it deeply etched in the revolutionary conscience of our working class.

There are many workers in our industrial centers who have not been able to go to the countryside owing to the importance of their jobs in the factories and who, however, have expressed disappointment at not having been able to join in the plan. Many have wanted to go; others have asked why they are not taken. Today, 80,000 youths are waiting to be called. The problem is no longer a shortage of workers but rather the minimum material conditions that must be created in some of the zones in order to incorporate these young people into agricultural work.

The incorporation of women into tasks befitting their physical condition has become a major, powerful force. And so that women may participate in these huge projects on a large scale, it is indispensable that they be completely freed from such work as housekeeping and child care during working hours. For this reason, to gain experience and meet the need for manpower to as great a degree as possible, pilot plans such as those in San Andrés de Caiguanabo and Guane in Pinar del Río, Banao, in Las Villas Esmeralda and Cunagua in Camagüey, Pinares de Mayarí and Maisí in Oriente, the Isle of Pines and others have been put into operation. In each of these pilot plans building projects include more than 24 rural nurseries and more than 12 boarding schools encompassing first grade to junior high.

Most Valuable Experience Gained from the Organization of the Sugar Harvest

In the case of older students -- those in high school -- the combination of education and productive work will be instrumental in developing a true revolutionary consciousness. These pilot projects will also be concerned with housing and improvement of social services, with an emphasis on the best attention to the people's health and recreation, including both sports and cultural activities.

The workers gathered here and our people in general are aware that the Revolution's creative work has penetrated and will continue penetrating deep into the heart of the mountains and fields of Cuba. Suffice it to recall the roads built by the Revolution in the most remote regions of the country. Today there are 10 Construction Brigades in full operation. By August we will have 40 road-building brigades. The farmers in those regions are well aware of what this means for our economic and social development.

The work of the People's Seventh Sugar Harvest can be considered as one of the revolution's great victories this year. (APPLAUSE) We have made great advances in organization and mobilization and work efficiency in this harvest. The present harvest, which began in November with what we call the "little harvest," has been developing at an increasing pace during the last few months; we are on our way to six million tons of sugar, and nobody has any doubts that we will go over the six-million mark. (APPLAUSE) This year's mobilization has been not only the largest but also the best organized. It included approximately 74,000 for-the-duration volunteer canecutters and 35,000 students from technological institutes. Our Revolutionary Armed Forces, which mobilized tens of thousands of soldiers, set out to cut 350 million arrobas of cane; today it seems sure that goal will be surpassed.

This year's experiences in organization of the harvest were of great value. We must emphasize the work done by Party organizations in the province of Las Villas, where there was the greatest degree of organization, efficiency and speed in solving problems.

We must also stress the effort made by the Revolutionary Armed Forces and, in general, by all Party branches which have made the sugar harvest their principal task.

Similarly the workers' movement has turned out a superior performance in this harvest. This is due to a higher degree of organization and discipline. This year's organization and mobilization for the harvest have been superior to those of any other year. The people's revolutionary awareness has been superior. No one has any doubts as to this.

At present there are 69 cane-conditioning centers in operation and our mills' grinding capacity has been expanded to more than 1,200,000 arrobas (300,000 cwt.) [one arroba = 25 lbs.] per day. We have 1,000 cane combines and 4,500 loaders! That is, this year we have taken significant steps in mechanizing sugar-cane operations. The cane-conditioning center has established itself as one of the Revo-

lution's great accomplishments. It is passing through its experimental stage to become a decisive instrument in the development of our sugar industry. We expect to have about 400 conditioning centers by 1970; one hundred this year, another hundred the next year, and 150 on the eve of the 10-million-ton sugar harvest (APPLAUSE). We must guarantee the solution of a whole series of technical, operational and organizational problems in connection with cane-conditioning centers. These centers involve mechanical, organizational and management problems.

The effort being made in the province of Camagüey will be a profitable experience for us in future harvests. This year the Party organisms and the farm workers in Camagüey have gained valuable experience in the organization and management of conditioning centers. Workers and communists have been mobilized to be trained as operators and organizers of cane-conditioning centers. The conditioning center represents one of the most revolutionary steps ever taken in the history of Cuba's economy. Suffice it to say that under a capitalist system no bourgeois would have ever thought of or would have been interested in inventing or organizing cane-conditioning centers. Analyze this, and you'll realize the difference between the past, the present and the future.

Our Great Victories
Will Never Cause Us to Forget
Our Obligations

Today our entire nation is aware of the hard work done by the canecutters. For some years we will still have to cut, load and clean sugar cane by hand. But with the introduction of the cane-conditioning center and machines, some part of the work has become a little more humanized on the one hand, while, on the other, production can be raised considerably.

Our plans for future harvests would be impossible without the cane-conditioning centers and mechanization. The conditioning center and the mechanical loader allow for a considerable increase in work yield. Thus, an additional 100 conditioning centers in Camagüey to handle the expected increased volume of cane in that province will mean a saving of 25,000 canecutters.

Of course, the Seventh Harvest is not over yet. We still have to make a great, final effort to be victorious in this battle. Nobody doubts that we will win the battle. The final effort will be concentrated principally upon Oriente Province. Last year a little over 1,104 million arrobas (276 million cwt.) of cane were ground in that province. This year's most recent estimate showed the

amount of over 1,472 million arrobas (368 million cwt.) of cane. By April 26, more than 345 million arrobas (86 million cwt.) remained to be ground in that province. This calls for a great effort.

The labor movement and the Party organisms will carry out an extensive mobilization of workers, and the Revolutionary Armed Forces will make a special effort to see that not a single stalk of cane remains uncut, in Oriente or in any other province (APPLAUSE).

In the coming weeks, this effort must be concentrated on cutting all the remaining cane in Oriente.

This year, along with the success being achieved in the People's Seventh Sugar Harvest, we have already been hard at work on plans for 1968, whose watchword will be "Canefields harvested, canefields cultivated." Party and agricultural organizations have been very hard at work, not only cutting cane and assuring the success of the present harvest, but also assuring proper cultivation and attention for next year's sugar crop.

Let's see some figures that show the progress already attained. We have taken important steps forward in fertilizing. This year, approximately 500,000 metric tons of fertilizer will be applied to cane; that is, more than all the fertilizer used on all the crops in our country during 1965, and more than three times the average amount applied to cane from 1956 to 1958, let alone the quality of fertilizers available today -- much higher because of the concentration of nutrients used. Let's see the figures on planting: by April 30, 1965, 11,323 hectares of cane were planted on State farms, and in 1966, by April 15, 15,102 hectares were planted. This year, by the same date (April 15), 27,577 hectares of cane were planted, which means 144 percent more than in 1965 and 83 percent more than in 1966. Also, this year, 65 airplanes, piloted by DAAFAR personnel, will fertilize almost 938,000 hectares with foliar urea, in addition to the compound formula fertilizer applied to the soil during these months.

Fulfillment of goals in cane planting, development of new plantations and restoration of canefields, stipulated in plans for 1967, 1968 and spring of 1969, both on State and privately-owned farms, must be taken as a prime obligation and should be guaranteed success. Moreover, it is necessary to continue waging this intense struggle to raise yields, since this is fundamental in reaching the 10-million-mark. As Fidel said: "Our country's size is limited, and we have to combine two criteria: maximum output per man, simultaneously with maximum yield per land area." This means greater effort in cultivation, fertilization and irrigation, as well as

improving the composition of sugar cane varieties.

Never before in our whole history have we worked so much, so opportunely, so profoundly, with such dedication, in this field. Cane is being fertilized as never before, and we will receive yields far superior to any previously. We are making big investments in the sugar industry, in sugar transport, in docks; in short, there are great quantities of resources involved in order to keep up with the development of cane plantations. This is how we may reach the 10-million-ton mark by 1970. And indeed we will reach it!

This is not all our people have accomplished and will continue to accomplish. It would be impossible to explain all the details of this creative work of our people. We have just touched upon the essentials.

Our people will build their future by making gigantic efforts. In the midst of economic blockade and under the threat of aggression, or beset by aggression itself, we will work very hard during these years of struggle and combat. Our people work: cutting and fertilizing cane, planting citrus and other fruit trees, coffee, rice and root vegetables, artificially inseminating cattle, clearing for pasturelands, building homes and factories, giving impetus to industrial development and improving administrative and political organization in our State. But, at the same time, our people do not forget their obligation to other peoples.

The victories of our people are not only Cuba's but are those of all the peoples of the continent (APPLAUSE). Our progress is not only the progress of one nation, but, in a very essential way, is a decisive step in the progress of the entire continent (APPLAUSE).

We are aware of our international obligations. We cannot conceive of revolutionary obligations for us that do not include the binding obligation of helping, through our example and our attitude, the progress of the Revolution in Latin America (APPLAUSE). The Cuban workers have embraced the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. This ideology teaches us to fulfill our sacred international obligations. We build the future of our country with passion and with decision, but, at the same time, we know that we are part of a continent in the throes of a revolution, and that that continent is part of a world in sworn combat against Yankee imperialism, principal enemy of the peoples.

Our successes, our great victories, will never cause us to forget our obligations. When the people of South Viet Nam (APPLAUSE) win a victory, that victory is

also our own; when a patriot falls in combat for the liberation of his people, he has also given his life for the liberation of our people and of all the peoples of the world (APPLAUSE); when the workers of North Viet Nam heroically resist the criminal Yankee air raids or shoot down an imperialist plane, they are resisting and fighting on behalf of the revolutionary cause of all the peoples of the world. And those who fight in Latin America to liberate our peoples will be fighting to redeem all the exploited peoples of the world.

This is why the Cuban workers have taken the unalterable decision to struggle and combat: to struggle and combat for the triumph of revolution in Latin America, and to help the progress of revolution in the world all we can (APPLAUSE).

We combat and struggle on behalf of the exploited classes and oppressed peoples of the world. We Cuban workers feel the revolutionary cause in Asia, Africa and Latin America to be our own. The liberation movement of the peoples of these three continents, subjected to imperialist and colonialist exploitation, constitutes a sole great revolutionary current. This revolutionary torrent will destroy imperialist exploitation throughout the world. The peoples of the three continents, exploited and oppressed for centuries, will develop a revolutionary strength and action of decisive significance for humanity.

This tricontinental force plays a determining role in the world struggle against imperialism, the struggle against all systems and governments which exploit the peoples (APPLAUSE).

Cuba: The Home of the World's Workers

Our country, our Revolution, are an inseparable part of this great revolutionary current. The Cuban Revolution is not an isolated event in the world. The Cuban Revolution is just a beginning, the starting point of the Latin-American Revolution (APPLAUSE). Cuba is part of a continent in revolution. In order to understand our Party's policy, in order to understand the ideas of our people, it is vital to understand the significance of this historic event. In any other way, with any other criteria, from any other point of view, it is impossible to understand Cuba and the Revolution.

Cuban workers and farmers, all of us, have been able to clearly grasp the international ideas of Marxism-Leninism and we have embraced these ideas. Moreover, our nation's history has much in common with the history of the peoples of Latin America. We shall never renounce this common heritage! We shall never renounce the international responsibilities that Marxism-Leninism has taught us!

Each of us loves his country, each of us loves the heritage of struggle, and each of us understands as well that Cuba is part of a greater homeland! The homeland of the peoples of Latin America (APPLAUSE). The homeland of the workers of the world! We shall never betray these principles. We shall never betray these ideas! If we should forget these principles, if we should overlook these ideas, we would not be able to call ourselves communists! (APPLAUSE.) If we overlook these truths, we will not be worthy of our nation's history, nor will we be worthy of the glorious heritage of struggle on our continent.

That is why the Cuban people have upheld their faith in Latin-American and communist ideals. And that is why the people of Cuba have vowed "to triumph or die!" (APPLAUSE) in defense of the ideals of all the workers of the world. These are the ideals of the proletariat, the ideals of the working class, and these are our ideals as revolutionaries and communists! (APPLAUSE.)

During the past decade great changes have occurred on our continent. Before our Revolution the imperialists had never spoken of any type of reform or any changes in the social structure on this continent. When the Cuban Revolution triumphed and consolidated its strength, some imperialist leaders and spokesmen began to shamelessly and hypocritically speak of the need to make changes in the social structure of the continent. For many years, leftist and progressive sectors fought for social change. The imperialists, however, never conceded the need for such changes, but rather, each time that a government arose which they feared would make some changes, no matter how superficial, how modest, the imperialists, in close collaboration with the prevailing military, overthrew that government. The history of Latin America shows this clearly.

The imperialists spoke of the need for certain social changes for the first time in their history after the walloping we gave them at Playa Girón (APPLAUSE). Thus, these shameless, cynical exploiters came to think up the so-called "Alliance for Progress."

The "Alliance for Progress" was a pact made by the continent's bourgeois governments with the Yankee imperialists.

According to the early statements of some of its perpetrators, the "Alliance for Progress" contemplated the development of changes in landed property relationships; that is, pertaining to large landowners. In addition, this marriage of convenience between the Latin-American bourgeoisie and the Yankee imperialists was also designed to facilitate

the investment of new Yankee capital and loans to Latin-American governments.

Quarrels between Master and Underlings

The collusion of the "Alliance for Progress" was, in the first place, an attempt to fool the people. The people didn't let themselves be fooled. However, this "alliance" was also a way to fool some who wanted to have the wool pulled over their eyes.

Such an "alliance" could not possibly yield any concrete results. In the 1961 Punta del Este Conference, Comrade Che Guevara attended as Cuba's representative (OVATION), denouncing the reactionary nature of the "alliance" and predicting that it would yield no practical results. History has proved Che and Cuba to be correct.

What did the imperialists hope to accomplish with the "Alliance for Progress"? They hoped to use a mild sedative to cure the fatal ailment afflicting the capitalist and imperialist system of exploitation throughout the continent. The "Alliance for Progress" was, therefore, a shoddy and criminal fraud in which the only ones to be deceived were the selfsame authors of the plan. The peoples and revolutionaries knew from the beginning what the outcome would be. And the passage of time has proved the "Alliance for Progress" to be a colossal flop.

Later, Yankee imperialism ordered the governments of Latin America to break diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba, and to join forces in a criminal, economic blockade undertaken against our country. With the honorable exception of the government of Mexico (APPLAUSE) the governments of Latin America broke relations with our country, responding to the dictates of Yankee imperialism, and joined together in the criminal blockade that Yankee imperialism intended to establish against Cuba. The puppet governments broke relations with Cuba, supported the blockade, and thereby earned the contempt of their own peoples.

Cuba is honored that these reactionary and unprincipled gentlemen, enemies of the international working class, decided to break relations with our country (APPLAUSE). It is for that reason that we maintained and will always maintain that any assistance or cooperation by these governments will be rejected by Cuba. They, as we say in the vernacular, sold their souls to the devil. They are bedfellows of imperialism and the oligarchies of the continent and will have to suffer the consequences. And the consequences are already being felt through revolutions on the continent.

A few weeks ago, the Yankee impe-

rialists and their lackeys met at Punta del Este. There it became evident that even between the boss and his flunkys there exists a feeling of disillusion and anxiety. In fact, it was seen that some of the lackeys decided to create a few problems for the imperialists. Señor Arosemena, President of Ecuador, "dared" to disagree with Mr. Johnson. Immediately afterward he said that it was not Johnson's fault, that the Yankee senate was to blame. This is the type of "discrepancy" that these toadies are permitted to have with their lords and masters (APPLAUSE). However these petty quarrels between master and lackey are quite significant. It would be well to analyze what these quarrels mean as well as what facts gave rise to them.

The quarrels are due to the revolution's advance. The same thing has happened now in Bolivia (APPLAUSE) where Barrientos and other "gorillas" have had their conflicts and discrepancies.

These conflicts will continue and will become more and more acute as the revolution advances. Such "conflicts" between master and underlings are of no great importance since all belong to the same species of shameless parasites. The only importance of such conflicts and contradictions lies in the fact that they arise and develop thanks to the revolution and, consequently, they reveal the force of the revolution. No such discrepancies existed prior to the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. Our people are well aware of the character of these quarrels between the imperialist master and one or another puppet who dares disagree. However, this is well worth pointing out because later on some pseudo revolutionaries in some country on this continent may get the wrong idea that such contradictions are important. The only importance these contradictions have is that they show that the reactionaries of the United States, as well as those of Latin America, are terrified, scared out of their wits, and "shook up" by the revolution's advance.

If you really want to see how these discrepancies become deeper, let us advance further on the revolutionary road and we may yet witness these people at each others' throats. Of course, by then, many of them will have no throats left (APPLAUSE).

The Punta del Este Conference was a resounding failure. This has been acknowledged by the press in many countries, including capitalist countries. The great mobilization carried out by the people of Uruguay during the Conference and the active participation of popular and leftist organizations made the people's repudiation of the Conference evident.

There are some pseudo revolutionaries in Latin America who believe that it is necessary to make a bourgeois revolution first in order to follow it up with a workers' revolution. This moves us to laughter. But those who are not aware of Latin America's true situation may be confused by such opinions. In Latin America, the time for bourgeois revolutions has ended forever. The stage of great popular, workers' revolutions, through the struggle for national liberation and with the incorporation of the workers, peasants, students, and the most progressive strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, has now begun in this continent. To say that these revolutions are to be led by the bourgeoisie would be simplistic.

Since the bourgeoisie has been powerless to face imperialism, it would be even more powerless to lead the revolution. A dogmatic, schematic criterion would consider that since, in the evolution of the historic process in Europe, the bourgeois revolution came first and only later was a proletarian revolution undertaken, the same process must necessarily follow in Latin America. This is an absurdly abstract theory that clashes openly with the continent's economic, social and political reality.

Affectionate Greetings from the Cuban People to Major Guevara

In our America there is an enormous diversity of social sectors. In Latin America there is the labor of slaves, of serfs, feudal and semifeudal type work, and the work of the salaried workers. In addition, there are millions of underemployed or unemployed persons and millions of students and intellectuals suffering in various ways under a system of exploitation.

A rigid, formalist sketch of the class division in the continent cannot be made. What is important is that all the aforementioned sectors, that constitute the overpowering majority of the Latin-American peoples, have one common denominator: they are exploited, subjected masses and, in addition to the terrible conditions under which they live, they have a continent-wide tradition of struggle; they feel the need to fight for national independence, to complete the work of the liberators of the last century whose ideal for the continent was one undivided nation!

In Latin America, conditions of poverty and exploitation and the terror and tyranny exercised by the great majority of the governments on the continent inevitably bring the people to revolution. This situation existed for many decades. However, neither the form nor the means to develop a revolution had previously been found on our continent. The experience of the Cuban revolution made it evident that

imperialism and oligarchic governments could be defeated as long as the correct tactics and strategy were adopted.

Our Revolution, with its experience and its victories, showed what these means and tactics were!

During the years following the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, although conditions of poverty, exploitation and terror had become more evident there, and even though there already existed a body of experience relevant to the choice of a road for revolutionary struggle in Latin America, there was no decision to fight on the part of many of those who were leaders of the revolutionary movement. It is, in fact, loathsome that certain groups -- such as those who make up the rightist leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela -- should abandon the revolutionary struggle undertaken by the people and hastily select the appeaser's road of playing politics and engaging in disreputable electioneering, betraying hundreds of combatants who have fallen in the struggle and those who, heroic and unconquerable, fight on in the mountains.

Those who condemn the guerrilla combatants are, in effect, showing solidarity with imperialism and the reactionary government whose mercenary troops launch one offensive after another in their futile attempts to liquidate the guerrillas. The setbacks -- which have served as the justification for this infamous conduct -- were not a result of incorrect tactics but rather the result of the inability of these same fraudulent leaders and pseudo revolutionaries to direct the struggle of the Venezuelan people. And certain leaders of revolutionary movements in Latin America have not fully understood the Cuban experience. What has occurred is that a painful and bitter apprenticeship has been needed in order for men truly capable of leading the Latin-American revolution to emerge.

In recent months we have seen that such men have emerged and the leadership of the struggle has been taken over by the foremost and most capable combatants. The victory of the revolution in the past few months is fundamentally due to the amount of experience that has been gained in the past few years and the fact that leadership in the struggle has gradually passed into the hands of capable new men, men prepared to triumph or die (APPLAUSE). And who are these men?

The men in Guatemala who follow the heroic path of Turcios Lima (APPLAUSE). Those men in Colombia led by Fabio Vázquez in the north and Marulanda in the south (APPLAUSE). Those men in Venezuela with Douglas Bravo in the mountains of Falcón and those fighting with Américo Martín in El Bachiller. The

heroic combatants in Bolivia (APPLAUSE) who have inflicted serious defeats on the Barrientos gorilla government, and those in Brazil who have already begun to disturb the gorillas in power there. These men, united with the farmers in a formidable movement, joined with workers and students in guerrilla action and the struggle in the cities, are the true leaders of the revolution on the continent.

Moreover, the peoples of Latin America can count on the experience, ability and talent of a man who has become one of the biggest nightmares for the imperialists; a man of profound experience, of extraordinary authority; a leader put to the actual test, who is serving the Revolution and making a decisive contribution to the revolutionary cause: Major Ernesto Guevara (OVATION). Our people send him greetings. To him and his heroic comrades we send a warm embrace (APPLAUSE), a fraternal embrace from the members of our Armed Forces, the workers in our factories, our nation's farmers, the students of our educational centers. Our workers and our people send greetings to him and to those who are with him. We assure Major Guevara, our dear comrade, that our people unconditionally and unanimously support his historic message to the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America! (OVATION.) Expressing the feelings of the immense crowd gathered before this grandstand, we assure Major Guevara that we are with him, that the Cuban Revolution continues advancing and that the people for whom he fought and struggled will never slacken their pace (APPLAUSE).

Today the Latin-American continent is experiencing a profound revolutionary upheaval. A revolutionary force is advancing from one end of our America to the other. Among the peoples of America are great masses of workers and farmers with an indomitable spirit of struggle. These are also students who will be a fundamental force in the struggle. City workers, students and farmers will mobilize in support of the guerrilla forces in many Latin-American countries, or will themselves join the guerrilla bands to compose an organized force, an army that will create a crisis for the oligarchic and pro-imperialist governments of the continent. The driving force, the catalyst of this struggle will be the revolutionary guerrilla struggle, which we have seen erupt in Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia. We will also see this happen in other countries of America.

The hour of revolution in Latin America has arrived. For many years leftist organizations and parties have maintained theoretical positions in favor of Marxist, socialist and communist ideas; so-called Latin-American leftist leaders fought for these ideas in various ways for many years. Now it does not only involve

defending an idea or a program on a basis of principle. Now it involves actively struggling and fighting for revolutionary ideas! Now it is revolutionary action, revolutionary deeds that define revolutionaries!

The Hour for the People's Action Has Struck

The time of "theorizing" has passed in Latin America. The time has come for the people to act, and the people have begun to act. And as Maceo said: "When a people undertakes revolution, it does not give up until its efforts are crowned with victory." (APPLAUSE.)

The peoples of America have begun their revolution. Each man, each organization, each party of America will make its own decision. But this decision will define them in the eyes of the international revolutionary movement and in the eyes of history. Today, it does not mean saying: "I'm a revolutionary, a Communist, a Marxist-Leninist." The time of "sayings" has passed. It is the time of DEEDS. The decision that each party or organization takes will define it in the eyes of history, will define it in the eyes of its people. And the peoples will follow the fighters, they will rally around the combatants, the revolutionaries, the men of action. The masses will be moved by the guerrilla forces and revolutionary action. In Guatemala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia the problem is being decided on the field of deeds.

In countries like Chile and Uruguay the problem is posed in the field of aid and support of deeds. For all revolutionary organizations must assist the combatants, must cooperate with the combatants, must provide them with all kinds of aid. These are the internationalist principles of Marxism, these are the internationalist principles of the proletariat. The time of words has passed. For many years we have said a great deal about "proletarian internationalism." The time has come to put what we say into action, to prove what we mean with deeds. For us the phrase "proletarian internationalism" is clear. It means to support and help the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (APPLAUSE). The Cuban people have made their decision; they made it a long time ago.

The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Latin America will continue developing the revolutionary awareness of the fighting men and workers. Struggle and only struggle will be the great teacher of revolutionaries. Struggle will raise their awareness; struggle will strengthen revolutionaries; struggle will teach the masses. And no one doubts that the guerrilla fighters in Bolivia have

developed more revolutionary awareness than could be learned in a thousand manuals; no one can doubt that the revolutionary actions of the Venezuelan patriots have forged a greater revolutionary awareness than another thousand philosophy manuals. No one can doubt that the revolutionary actions of the farmers and workers of Colombia have taught them more than a thousand manuals on economy.

Our peoples are tired of waiting. The people will gather round the men who don't wait but have decided to act. The peoples will be led by those who carry out the Revolution, and for that reason the Second Declaration of Havana proclaims: "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the Revolution." (APPLAUSE.) And the true representatives of the revolutionary movement will come from the masses, the organizations, the fighters.

We Wish a Revolution Greater Than Our Own for America

The pseudo revolutionaries accuse our country of trying to direct the revolution from Cuba. We know full well that revolutions are made by the people; it is well-known that revolutions are made by revolutionaries, and everyone knows that neither the peoples nor the revolutionaries permit anyone to direct them from outside.

Revolution is made by millions and millions of people who are guided by those who are the most enthusiastic, the most decided, the most active. Those who direct the revolution in each region of the continent will be the enthusiastic, decided, active and profoundly revolutionary persons of each country. To say anything else would be absurd. The revolution is directed according to the ability and competence of the revolutionary leaders of each country. This is evident to us. We do not want to impose the example of our Revolution upon Latin America; what we want for America is a revolution greater than the Cuban Revolution itself!

The only honor allotted to our people is that of having been the first to provide the example and the experience. But the glory of the revolution falls to the peoples of Latin America. Today's world needs that revolution, it demands it. A set of nations with a common history and common system of exploitation can only make one and the same revolution!

It would not be an extremely difficult task for the guerrillas and combatants to get rid of the majority of the continent's puppet governments. Some of these governments are suffering serious internal crises, and their instability is quite evident. In Bolivia, for example, recent weeks have been marked by instability and sharp internal division in the "gorilla"

government of Barrientos; as soon as guerrilla forces appeared in that country, Barrientos made bombastic and scandalous statements that revealed his terror, the fear tormenting him. Some of the Bolivian "gorillas" disagreed with Barrientos and declared that it wasn't true that there were any strong guerrilla uprisings in Bolivia. The reactionary press in some Latin-American countries, such as Chile, for example, even said that Barrientos had been lying, that he had been talking about guerrillas because the Conference of Presidents was being held at that time and the Bolivian government had made statements as to the existence of guerrillas in Bolivia in order to exert pressure so that it would be guaranteed military aid and so that an international anti-guerrilla force would be created.

To overthrow a government like that of Bolivia would not be a very difficult task; if we compared the Bolivian government's armed forces with that of the Batista tyranny, we could easily conclude that the Batista tyranny was militarily stronger than the Bolivian "gorillas." Nevertheless, we know that the fight is not only directed against a government or a discredited military caste: the revolutionary struggle on the continent has a much wider scope; the imperialists and the oligarchies will surely attempt to rally all their reactionary forces in a united way. The imperialists are already intervening and initiating a colonial war against our peoples.

The government and the people of North Viet Nam (APPLAUSE), who are constantly bombed by Yankee planes, are developing a victorious and heroic resistance. The people of South Viet Nam and the National Front of Liberation (APPLAUSE) are waging a revolutionary and patriotic war which gives stimulus today to all the peoples of the world in their struggle against imperialism and the Yankee monopolies. This war requires the mobilization of the workers of the world in defense of the just cause of the Vietnamese people. This will not only aid the Vietnamese people, but will also give impetus to the necessary struggle of all the peoples on behalf of their interests. When each people aids Viet Nam, it aids itself. This is how we Cuban workers understand international solidarity. The Vietnamese people, in their heroic, selfless and decisive struggle have provided an experience that must be studied. The Vietnamese people have given the object lesson that the Yankees are politically and militarily incapable of holding back the liberation of the peoples from the colonial, neocolonial and imperialist yoke.

The constant increase in the number of U.S. troops sent to Viet Nam di-

rectly affects the population of the United States, especially young people and students, who are recruited, trained and branded for war, and also their mothers and wives, who later learn that many of them have died in combat. For these reasons, the U.S. citizens' repudiation of the war increases day by day. Young men subject to military service have burned their draft cards in public. Thousands of people have carried out protest demonstrations in New York, San Francisco and other cities.

To sum up, the imperialists and their Asian puppets now have over 1,100,000 men in Viet Nam, making up 25 divisions, with the most modern armaments and methods of combat ever used in the history of wars against liberation movements. This means that the U.S. national budget will allocate 25,000 million dollars this year to the war being waged against the people of Viet Nam. This represents 18 percent of the U.S. national budget. And yet, even with this enormous force of 1,100,000 men, they have been unable to overcome the people of South Viet Nam (APPLAUSE). On the contrary, the South Vietnamese are winning and will come out victorious in this war. (APPLAUSE)

Here in Cuba Stands a
"Patria O Muerte" People!

How many men will the United States have to mobilize when the revolutionary situations in Guatemala, Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Brazil and other countries confront it with the dilemma of carrying out a colonial war on various fronts simultaneously or resigning itself to the social and national liberation of our peoples? The figures involved in men, weapons and money for a colonial war against Latin America are astronomical.

Facts are proving that the imperialists will lose the colonial war they are waging against Viet Nam, a small nation of 14,000,000 people (APPLAUSE). And they will surely lose the colonial war they are planning to wage against the 200 million people on the Latin American continent.

In addition to all these ironclad arguments and figures so impressive that they defy imagination, there is the fact that the U.S. soldiers will have to fight on strange territory, giving up the relative comforts afforded them by the standard of living of their country in order to go fight abroad, confronting national resentment engendered by Yankee intervention in all countries, facing peoples who speak strange languages, with different customs and habits and a different outlook on life. Considering all these things in their full meaning, it is easy to understand why our people are right when they say that the peoples of

Latin America will win the final, historic battle against Yankee imperialism.

On this May 1, we swear before the workers of all countries and in the name of our people -- voicing its sentiments and aspirations -- that the Cuban people has vowed to win or to die in defense of the interests and ideals of the proletariat (APPLAUSE), in defense of socialism and communism. (APPLAUSE)

Comrade foreign delegates who are present among us: the speaker, who has had the great honor of addressing the Cuban people and yourselves, was a worker when conditions of poverty, discrimination and dishonor existed in our country, as a result of the most humiliating exploitation. This worker who is addressing you, as well as millions of others, has definitively burst asunder the chains of exploitation (APPLAUSE), and because we have broken out of these chains, I have the great honor of speaking on this occasion, of expressing the sentiments of millions of workers who are here in the Plaza and in all parts of the country. (APPLAUSE) We are sure that in the future many workers of the oppressed peoples will also have this honor of speaking in the name of a people triumphant in revolution. (APPLAUSE)

Comrade delegates of the brother

countries who have honored us with your presence here: the Cuban people would like you to carry a fraternal and revolutionary message to the workers of your respective countries. (APPLAUSE) Tell the workers of your countries that here there is a firm people, resolved to write with its work and its blood, if necessary, one of the most brilliant, beautiful and heroic chapters of history. (APPLAUSE) Comrade delegates: before you, in this Plaza de la Revolución, and listening in on radio and television all over the country, stands a people convinced that the ideals and aspirations of the workers of Latin America and of the world will emerge triumphant, victorious, from the baptism of fire of these years of struggle and combat. (APPLAUSE) Tell the brother peoples that you represent, comrade delegates, that 90 miles from the Yankee seat of empire, stands a people who will never give in to threats and aggressions (APPLAUSE), however great the sacrifices and obstacles, and that we will carry high the banner of the workers, the banner of the revolution and the banner of communism. (APPLAUSE) Comrade delegates, here, in Cuba, stands a people whose watchword is

PATRIA O MUERTE

VENCEREMOS!

(OVATION)

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S CLOSING STATEMENT TO WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

[The following is the text of Bertrand Russell's statement summarizing the accomplishments of the International War Crimes Tribunal at its Stockholm hearings May 2-10. Due to frail health, Bertrand Russell was unable to attend the sessions, and the statement was read by his secretary, Ralph Schoenman.

[The text of Bertrand Russell's statement at the opening session was published by World Outlook in the May 12 issue (p. 482).]

* * *

The International War Crimes Tribunal has been subject to abuse from people who have much to hide. It has been said that the conclusions of this Tribunal were known in advance.

The conclusions of our Tribunal are built out of the evidence. The evidence is abundant. It is precisely because crimes exist that our investigation has been necessary. It is because the knowledge of crime is a cause for enquiry that we are holding this session. When the evidence on aggression and the systematic bombardment of the entire

population of Vietnam becomes known to the public, we are in no doubt that all men of integrity who examine this evidence will be compelled to reach the same conclusions.

During recent days the United States has been bombing residential quarters of Hanoi and Haiphong with steel pellet bombs. These facts are reported in newspapers throughout the world. These actions are criminal. They must be investigated because of the evidence that they are occurring and because of their criminality.

Those who are prepared to investigate these new crimes against the people of Vietnam will be men of sufficient public spirit, moral concern and personal integrity to be prepared to consider the crimes in Vietnam cause to abandon private work, endure public abuse and risk personal harm.

We have heard evidence for many days on the sustained aggression by a great power against a small, heroic people. A large power has occupied an impoverished nation to subdue a popular movement seeking land, independence and

social advance. It is not the evil which is new; nor is it the crisis which has changed. We have celebrated in history the struggles waged by oppressed people against large, cruel and powerful invaders.

The sense of identity with the small victim of a cruel and large tormentor touches our deepest impulses and is part of our mythology, religion and literature.

The concern for the weak struggling after long suffering against the strong for their simplest rights is the source of our ethics and the great moments in our common history. David and Goliath, the Greeks at Salamis, the Vietnamese and Genghis Khan -- the partisans of Vietnam and the United States airforce and mechanised army -- are part of a continuous tradition.

The International War Crimes Tribunal defies the powerful rulers who bully and butcher with abandon. Who would compare the 100,000 tons of napalm with a peasant holding a rifle? Who can fail to distinguish the power which destroys hospitals and schools of an entire people from the defenders who attack the airplanes carrying napalm and steel fragments?

The difference between the victims and the criminals who oppress them is part of the evidence before us compelling honest men to speak loudly and to risk much. The United States is using fascist states to facilitate its plans for new levels of crime. Each day bombers leave Thailand to saturate Vietnam in steel pellets and liquid fire.

Has one American city been attacked? Are Canada and Mexico bases for the destruction of America by a power on the other side of the world? If one American city suffered two hours of bombing such as has been inflicted for two years on Vietnam the world press would inform us rather fully.

This imbalance is a clear indication of the great injustice we are investigating. The difference in power is matched by the indifference of the powerful and those who serve them or depend on their favour.

During the 1930's when millions of people could see the nature of Adolf Hitler and Nazism, there was too little understanding and insufficient will to act in time. In Germany there were no great strikes or mass demonstrations. The large political parties opposed only in words but did not mobilise their large support. Even now the great political parties fail to act and the nominal opponents of the aggressive violence of the

United States satisfy themselves with pious complaint in institutions dominated by the aggressor.

Nazism emerged from a nation unable to stabilise itself and degenerated to unforseen limits of depravity. The policy of aggression in Washington has brought a comparable degree of scientific extermination and moral degeneracy.

The International War Crimes Tribunal must do for the peoples of Vietnam, Asia, Africa and Latin America what no tribunal did while Nazi crimes were committed and plotted. The napalm and pellet bombs, the systematic destruction of a heroic people are barbarous rehearsal. The starving and the suffering will no longer die in silence. We must discredit the arrogant demand that they protect our comfort with their quiet agony. Our social institutions, impregnated with racism, must be reconstructed.

The Tribunal must begin a new morality in the West, in which cold mechanical slaughter will be automatically condemned. The Tribunal must inspire a new understanding that the heroic are the oppressed that the hateful are the arrogant rulers who would bleed them for generations or bomb them into the stone age.

The Tribunal must warn of the impending horror in many lands, the new atrocities prepared now in Vietnam and of the global struggle between the poor and the powerful rich. These are themes as old as humanity. The long arduous struggle for decency and for liberation is unending. A Tribunal such as ours will be necessary until the last starving man is fed and a way of life is created which ends exploitation of the many by the few.

Vietnam struggles so others may survive. The truths we must declare are simple truths. Great violence menaces our cultural achievements. Starvation and disease cannot be tolerated. Resistance at risk of life is noble. But we know this. Western Europe and North America are drenched in the blood of struggle for social change. Feudalism, the reduction of men to starving hulks, the purchase of their minds, the eradication of their spirit -- these are blights of human culture. These are vicious forms of aggression at once more fundamental and more pervasive than the crossing of frontiers by foot soldiers.

Wherever men struggle against suffering we must be their voice. Whenever they are cruelly attacked for their self-sacrifice we must find our voices. It is easy to pay lip service to these ideals.

We will be judged not by our reputations or our pretences but by our will to act. Against this standard we too will be judged by better men.

THE MAY 17 GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE

By Pierre Frank

Paris

As was easy to predict, the general strike May 17 was a success. All the essential services (electricity, gas, postal deliveries, transport of all kinds, government services, etc.) were shut down. The majority of workers in private industry likewise went out on strike. In the cities and even in the small towns, demonstrations were staged. In Paris the main demonstration included close to 150,000 persons.

In World Outlook last week, in explaining the causes of the general one-day strike, we pointed out that the action was essentially political, since it challenged the move to grant the regime special powers so as to muzzle parliament. Everyone understood this. It could even be said that it was precisely because of this that the movement was of such amplitude, broader than the preceding actions that did not go beyond limited demands (wages, negotiations with management...).

The facts themselves thus offer a refutation of the gradualist, reformist concept according to which broad actions cannot be undertaken as long as the workers do not respond to limited slogans involving minor actions. At certain times this concept does not hold at all; at present in France only the perspective of battles for great objectives can inspire the workers to go into action.

The strike was political. But in the days preceding it, the trade-union leaders who initiated it sought to camouflage this. It's a trade-union movement, practically all of them said.

In addition, the leaders of Force Ouvrière, after having taken a step forward in meeting with the leaders of the Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail in order to reach agreement on all the federations designating May 17 as the strike date, took a step backward by refusing to participate in a joint street demonstration with the Confédération Générale du Travail.

Consequently, while a giant demonstration was taking place in the streets, the leaders of Force Ouvrière were at a miserable meeting involving only a few hundred persons.

The demonstration was imposing in its size. The same cannot be said for the spirit displayed. The groups that showed some enthusiasm were the teachers and the students (under the banner of the Union Nationale des Etudiants de France). They

were the only ones to sing the Internationale.

The other sectors had no positive objective to advance, outside of the slogan "No special powers!" Pompidou, even more than de Gaulle, was the target of hostile shouts.

Once again, this was not due to any lack of militancy on the part of the workers; it was due to a default in policy on the part of the traditional leaderships.

Here and there a few shouts of "Special powers to the workers!" -- which did not correspond at all to the official objectives of the organizations -- pointed in the direction of a genuine class-struggle policy.

In short, the day was important as marking a certain stage in the growth of discontent among the workers not only with regard to their conditions of life and work but also in their opposition to the Gaullist regime.

But this objective development, which cannot fail to deepen in view of the very policy of de Gaullism which will soon receive sharp expression in the ordinances enacted under the special powers, was neither stimulated nor reinforced by the traditional leaderships of the union federations and the workers parties.

Their basic idea is that they can pull out of this situation when de Gaulle is gone. Due to their parliamentary cretinism they lack any understanding of de Gaulle's bonapartism.

IN BRITAIN

You are invited to get in touch with Pioneer Book Service, 8 Toynbee St., London, E.1, to arrange for a subscription to World Outlook.

Pioneer Book Service carries a complete line of socialist books and pamphlets.

Of special current interest is the Trotskyist analysis by Ernest Germain of the ultraleft policies and positions of the Socialist Labour League. Write for a copy of Marxism vs. Ultraleftism -- Key Issues in Healy's Challenge to the Fourth International. Only 7 shillings.

The discussion will begin in parliament and last just the few hours necessary at a minimum for this body to bow out.

We will return to this debate over the Gaullist regime and its perspectives at a later date.

May 19, 1967

AN AMERICAN GIFT FOR EUROPE

An unnamed "top American military planner" announced in London May 19 that a major effort is underway to perfect "small, precise tactical nuclear warheads, including some that are practically free of fallout."

This disciple of Dr. Strangelove said, "We're increasing our efforts to perform those technological tricks that could make nuclear weapons more usable in Europe."

The announcement gives special

point to President Johnson's Memorial Day proclamation bidding all Americans who want world peace to pray real hard.

Perhaps the Europeans ought to get down on their knees, too. At least a prayer of thanks is in order for a bomb that's petite, safe and usable in Europe.

After all, Johnson had them in mind to be the first beneficiaries of this example of American know-how in designing goods to meet the peculiar needs of other nations.

THE GOSPEL TRUTH

The antiwar mood of the American people is deepening at a fast rate. This was reflected at a church conference in Chicago May 21 when the Rt. Rev. William Crittenden, an Episcopal bishop, doubted

that the Christian doctrine of a "just war" holds any more. Speaking on Vietnam, he said, "This war is barbaric and uncivilized. I think we ought to face that." He was interrupted by applause.

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