

# WORLD OUTLOOK

## PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

*Un service de presse ouvrier*

Vol. 2, No. 9

February 28, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2<sup>e</sup>

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"De Gaulle's intervention in the internal affairs of Gabon through the use of French troops in Libreville yesterday is a brazen revival of gunboat diplomacy.

"The swiftness with which French imperialism reacted to the attempt in Gabon at a military coup d'état, casts a most revealing light on the servile character of the government of Léon Mba. This is obviously a puppet government entrusted with preserving French exploitation of Gabon's rich mineral and forest wealth at the expense of the Gabonese people.

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"As justification for this brazen intervention in the internal affairs of a country granted its independence in 1960, reference is made to the recent British intervention in the internal affairs of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya where imperialist troops were employed to bolster the neocolonialist governments there.

"The question that is really raised, however, is whether the use of French troops in Gabon, following the use of British troops in East Africa, does not signify a new phase in imperialist domination of Africa -- the resumption of naked use of force on an increased scale.

"Another grave question is implied -- if France and Britain can get away with it in Africa, won't this encourage the U.S. to try it in Cuba and elsewhere in Latin America?

"Freedom fighters in Africa and throughout the world must consider the ominous implications of these recent imperialist power plays, and step up their own struggles accordingly.

"Get the imperialist troops out of Gabon, Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya!

"Hands off the newly independent countries!"

#### CYPRIOTES TELL BRITISH TO GET OUT

With the arrival of fresh contingents of British troops February 20, anti-British and anti-American sentiment rose to a new pitch in Cyprus.

Cypriote papers said February 22, that Archbishop Makarios had filed a protest with the British government and that the Cypriote government was considering demanding a session of the UN General Assembly to consider the situation in case the Security Council failed to take a decision that would respect the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

The semiofficial newspaper Phileleftheros, in an editorial entitled "The Imperialists," made a biting comparison between the speeches of Soviet representative Fedorenko and U.S. representative Stevenson at the Security Council on the Cyprus situation. "Each word of the former," said the editors, "is the voice of justice itself, while each word of the latter is the voice of the voracious imperialist appetites."

Another newspaper, the widely circulated Mach, in a similar editorial, accused the U.S. of standing behind "the Turks," i.e., of participating with Britain in stirring up nationalist strife in the island.

The attitude of the majority of Cypriotes appears to have been

summed up succinctly by Dr. Aristote Dervis, leader of the Opposition. "It will be necessary, sooner or later, for Great Britain to evacuate its bases," he said.

This demand is receiving increasing expression in the Greek Cypriote press. They want the British to take their troops and get out of Cyprus.

U.S. interest in Cyprus centers around Britain's military foothold in the island and in possession of three of the most powerful radio recording stations in the world. A swarm of U.S. technicians are on the island including agents of the FBI and CIA.

#### KWILU MADE FORBIDDEN TERRITORY

The reactionary neocolonialist Kasavubu-Adoula regime on February 21 took the extraordinary step of forbidding all travel to the province of Kwilu where guerrilla forces under the leadership of Pierre Mulele recently scored a number of victories. [See World Outlook February 14.]

For the past month a special pass was required by anyone wishing to enter the province. Even these special passes have now been suspended. Apparently Kasavubu-Adoula are afraid to let even the most thoroughly screened persons enter the guerrilla-held territory lest they help the freedom fighters.

Nevertheless army headquarters issued soothing statements, saying that the rumors about its losing control of military operations were without foundation.

They affirmed that to the contrary, "hundreds of rebels are surrendering each day at the command post in Kwilu to seek refuge there."

#### PREREVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN BRAZIL, JULIAO DECLARES

Francisco Julião, the well-known leader of the Brazilian Peasant League, declared in Havana February 21, that a "prerevolutionary situation" has opened in Brazil.

"Conditions in Brazil have now become ripe for an insurrection from the left," said Julião, "due to the growing radicalism of the masses and the worsening situation in the country."

The Brazilian socialist made the statement at a press conference. A frequent visitor to Cuba, he has been in Havana since February 10.

Julião also said that if the present government does not succeed in solving the acute financial crisis from which Brazil is suffering, there might well be no elections next year.

BARZANI ORDERS KURD FORCES TO RETAIN ARMS

President Abdul Salam Aref of Iraq and Mullah Mustafa Barzani, leader of the Kurds, announced February 10 that a ceasefire had been agreed upon and that peace negotiations would be opened up. Aref said that all Kurdish prisoners would be released and that the Kurds in return would lay down their arms.

The resumption of negotiations was widely held to be a victory for the Kurds. They had agreed to negotiations last spring, but these were broken off in June when the government suddenly opened military operations in the Kurd area with the announced intention of crushing the nationalist rebellion.

Government operations, however, failed to lead to the desired results and the Aref government faced the perspective of an endless conflict which could utterly undermine its stability as the same struggle with the Kurds had undermined the Kassem regime.

During last year's negotiations, one of the key demands of the Aref government was that the Kurds lay down their arms. Barzani refused to do this unless Kurdish rights were fully guaranteed. In face of this stand, the negotiations collapsed and Aref sought to destroy the Kurd rebellion with bombs and machine guns.

It now appears that the Kurds are still cautious about laying down their arms.

The Committee for the Defense of the Kurd People issued a press release in Geneva February 22 stating that the freeing of prisoners was going ahead but that Barzani had not given any order to the Kurds to lay down their arms. On the contrary on February 11, the high command of the Kurd revolution issued the following order:

"(a) The revolution will not come to an end before the realization of all the national rights of the Kurd people, above all autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan.

"(b) The Kurd revolutionary forces as a whole are to remain in a state of alert, in order to prevent the government forces from taking advantage of the new situation and proceeding to possible military operations.

"(c) No government force must be authorized to advance, even a meter, in the free territory of Kurdistan.

"(d) All leaves are cancelled.

"(e) This order is to be circulated in all military zones as well as among the revolutionary committees."

As to the reconstruction of areas destroyed by government forces,

the release said that "the solution of the Kurd question cannot be achieved by simple measures of reconstruction. As important as they may be, these plans are secondary compared to the fundamental objective of the autonomy of Kurdistan."

#### CHINA GRANTS AID TO ZANZIBAR

Because of Washington's and London's delay in recognizing the new government of Zanzibar, the revolutionary regime on February 19 ordered the expulsion of the official U.S. and British representatives who are still on the island.

The response of London was that preparations were being made to grant recognition. The State Department likewise implied that recognition was being considered.

Meanwhile Mohammed Babu, Zanzibar's minister of foreign affairs, announced that China had promised a substantial loan. He specified the amount as \$500,000 which would be granted in the form of agricultural equipment, particularly tractors.

#### POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE EASES IN GREECE

The victory of Georges Papandreou in the Greek election February 16 appears to have brought the curtain down on the rabid McCarthyism which has dominated the country's political scene since the defeat of the partisans through the intervention of British and American imperialist forces at the end of World War II.

Papandreou campaigned on a platform that included the promise to free political prisoners held for decades in the jails and concentration camps. He promised to repeal the witch-hunt laws.

The official figures on the election results were listed as follows: 4,445,000 votes out of a possible 5,662,000. Papandreou's Center Union party got 2,277,730 votes (53.47%), 173 seats in parliament. Coalition of the National Radical Union and the Progressive party 1,576,086 votes (35.45%), 105 seats. EDA [United Democratic Left], representing the extreme left, 540,705 votes (11.16%), 22 seats.

It is expected that the new government will shortly take the following measures:

(1) End deportations by executive order. These in the future will be decided by the courts.

(2) End the use of "loyalty" oaths except for government employes and certain persons working in defense industries.

(3) Free, through the courts, all political prisoners held for more than ten years, with the exception of those who have committed "odious crimes."

### SPAIN SELLS TRUCKS TO CUBA

Washington continues to froth at the mouth as its policy of blockading the valiant people on the tiny island of Cuba brings greater and greater shame and discredit on the mightiest imperialist power in the world. On February 14, the State Department said that it was cutting off economic and military aid to powers whose ships and planes continued to carry on peaceful trade with Cuba.

The first action in accordance with this new step was the cutting off of small military-aid programs to Britain, France and Yugoslavia, and the freezing of aid to Spain and Morocco at present levels.

The reaction in these countries to this brandishing of the whip was a storm of ridicule and protest. Much was made of the fact that the U.S. continues to carry on trade with the Soviet Union.

In addition to these steps, Secretary of State Dean Rusk on February 16 gave the greenlight to all the most reactionary forces in the United States to start local boycotts against any country continuing to trade with Cuba.

Rusk did this through the "clever" device of stating that no "official" retaliation would be taken against these countries. However, the same effect might occur through individual action. "I think it is possible," he said, "there may be some consumer reaction here in this country with respect to firms that specifically engage in that trade. But that is something that is in the hands of private citizens; we have no part in that ourselves."

Later declarations, softening the harsh impact of this move changed nothing in essence.

The gnashing of teeth along the Potomac river and on the island of Manhattan, however, did not appear to have grated on European business ears.

In Madrid, February 17, it was announced that eighteen Pegaso trucks had been loaded at Santander on the English ship New Gate, bound for Havana. Fourteen of them were dump trucks.

A reporter said that he had learned from "good sources" that this was but the first consignment on an order for 100 vehicles. And Spain may still sell Cuba the fishing boats she needs.

## SUCCESSSES SCORED IN ONE-DAY SCHOOL BOYCOTTS

By Evelyn Sell

The battle for first-class integrated education in the United States has been in the forefront of recent civil-rights demonstrations in the North and the South. One-day school boycotts have already been held in four cities: New York; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cambridge, Maryland; and Chester, Pennsylvania. Similar boycotts have been announced for Boston and Chicago. The latter city sparked the boycott technique by its outstanding success last October when 250,000 students stayed home.

A threatened boycott in Cleveland was called off when the school board promised to speed up integration by transporting Negro children out of their ghettos and into white schools. The United Freedom Movement and other civil-rights organizations agreed to temporarily halt picketing and other demonstrations. Just before this agreement was reached, police broke up a sit-in demonstration inside the school administration building.

On February 3, the same day as the New York school boycott, about 350 persons in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, staged a protest march and rally at the school administration building over segregation in that city's schools.

In the New York action, organized by the city-wide Committee for Integrated Schools, 464,000 pupils -- more than one-third of the total -- stayed away from classrooms. This involved primarily the Negro and Puerto Rican communities which represent more than half the school population. Although New York's schools are legally integrated, segregated housing patterns keep about 165 schools mostly Negro and Puerto Rican.

During the one-day boycott, "freedom schools" were set up in some 500 churches and community centers to teach the children civil-rights subjects. Thousands of students and parents were in the streets, marching to picket public schools, city hall, Governor Rockefeller's office and the Board of Education office in the borough of Brooklyn. Chanting "Jim Crow Must Go!" and singing the battle hymn of the civil-rights movement, "We Shall Overcome," the children carried picket signs such as: "Jim Crow Can't Teach Democracy."

Many teachers participated also. About eight per cent of the instructors were absent from school; normal absenteeism runs three per cent.

The New York City Board of Education tried to shrug off the boycott. Board President James Donovan called it "a fizzle." The figures, however, clearly bear out the boycott leader's statement that the demonstration was a "tremendous success."

The Rev. Milton Galamison, head of the Committee for Integrated

Schools, warned of another boycott between March 9 and April 17 which would hit the Board of Education in the pocketbook because attendance figures during this period are used in computing state aid to schools.

One week after New York's smashing success, boycotts were held in Cincinnati and Cambridge. The Cincinnati school system has been integrated by law since 1879 and staff integration took place in 1943 but schools are still segregated because of neighborhood racial patterns. Although eighteen per cent of the city's teachers are Negro, eighty-five per cent of these teach in predominantly Negro schools. The Cincinnati school board reported thirty-five per cent absenteeism among students during the boycott.

Almost 1,000 Negro students stayed home during Cambridge's school boycott. The protest was held despite the fact that all public demonstrations have been banned in the city since last summer's severe racial clashes.

On February 13 about forty per cent of the students in Chester, Pennsylvania, boycotted their schools. The protest was organized by the Committee for Freedom Now after the mayor turned down twelve demands made by the group.

### In the South

A school crisis flared again in Alabama on February 3. After the Tuskegee High School had been ordered by the courts to enroll twelve Negro students, all the white students withdrew and transferred to Macon Academy, a private school set up by the segregationists. Since the high school was being attended by only these twelve Negro students, the state school board ordered it closed and tried to transfer the Negroes to a segregated school. The Negroes' protest was backed up by a federal judge who ordered school officials to enroll six of the Negro students at Macon County High in Notasulga and the other six at a school in nearby Shorter.

Governor Wallace, who had already forced the White House to federalize national guardsmen in order to enforce court-ordered integration of Alabama schools, vowed to keep the Negroes out of the white schools. On February 5, Negro students did enter the Shorter school, but Mayor Rea of Notasulga refused entrance to the six attempting to register at Macon County High. Bomb threats and a one-hundred per cent white boycott of both schools were used as excuses to close both institutions.

Governor Wallace busied himself trying to gather state-wide financial aid to underwrite the private segregated Macon Academy. "I've already contributed personally," he said. He promised to divert state funds to the private school.

On February 14, the six Negroes assigned to Macon County High entered the school armed with a new U.S. court order and escorted by a strong force of state troopers. No white students, however, are now in the school.

## Regional Differences

The contrast between school fights in the North and in the South was again evident in these February actions. In the South, school integration has involved court cases, troops and a limited number of heroic young Negroes. In the North, mass demonstrations have been organized to force integration of all minority children.

Another important difference must be noted: the Southern struggle has concerned itself primarily with getting Negroes into the school system which already exists for whites; the Northern struggle is concerned with changing the school system that exists for both Negroes and whites.

Getting Negro children into white schools is only a part of the Northern struggle. Inextricably bound up with this aim is the fight to revamp textbooks, curriculums and the composition of school boards.

Following the New York boycott, a number of neighborhood meetings were held by participants. Parents were less concerned with schemes for transporting Negro and Puerto Rican children to all-white schools than they were with improving the quality of education in their own neighborhood schools.

The truth of the matter is that America's school system is not meeting the needs of modern urban children -- of any race. The Negroes' fight for more realistic and honest textbooks, for a curriculum based on the facts of life of our automated economy and for school boards responsive to the members of the community will inevitably benefit whites as well as Negroes.

## FORCES UNITE IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

A National Liberation Front, also known as SWANLIF, has been formed in South West Africa. The objective is formation of an effective fighting alliance between SWAPO [South West Africa Peoples Organization] and SWANU [South West Africa National Union]. Organization of the united front has been sought since 1961.

The National Executive Committee of SWAPO hailed the achievement and urged that it be extended to include as many organizations as possible, constituting an Anti-South Africa United Front.

"Every single organization irrespective of its composition or background, which was not collaborationist and did not support South African rule and which supported the policy of full independence for South West Africa and equal rights for all (irrespective of race, colour or creed), should be a member of the great Anti-South Africa United Front," the Committee said. It pledged that it would "work towards this goal with all the energy at its disposal."

The National Executive Committee has introduced some changes in

the program of SWAPO. These involve the organization's attitude toward the United Nations, the nationalisation of foreign industries and the land of South West Africa.

"The previous aims of involving U.N. Trusteeship in SWA [South West Africa], and the U.N. presence in SWA were deleted from the programme," said the Committee. "We demand nothing less than full national sovereignty and independence NOW!"

On ownership of industry, the leadership of SWAPO said: "There shall be publicly owned industries, as well as privately owned industries in SWA.

"Basic industries at present under public ownership shall remain under public ownership.

"While privately owned industries shall be permitted, the development of STATE-controlled industries shall receive priority. Foreign capital may be allowed in SWA if it will be invested in such industries as are controlled by the STATE."

SWAPO's new aims with regard to the land are as follows:

"There shall be land reform in SWA. The land of absentee owners, farmers who used convict or forced contract labour and parasites who allow the land to lay idle while the masses starve, shall be confiscated and shall be distributed by the State to those who work and live on the land.

"Those indigenous farmers who own the land and work the land shall be allowed to retain ownership of this land and no foreigner shall be allowed to own land (i.e., farms) in SWA.

"All settlers and indigenous land-owners who oppose the liberatory struggle of the people of SWA, shall have their land confiscated."

Aside from these issues, "the basic aims of SWAPO remain virtually unchanged; i.e., to establish a free, democratic government in SWA founded upon the will and participation of all the peoples of our country, and to co-operate to the fullest extent with all national liberatory movements in Africa and progressive forces throughout the world to rid our continent of all forms of foreign domination and to rebuild it according to the desires of our people.

"That every man and woman over the age of 18 years, irrespective of race, property, colour, education or creed, will have the right to vote; i.e., the right to elect and be elected to parliament. This is what SWAPO means by 'one man, one vote.' People guilty of betraying and opposing the liberatory struggle will not be given the vote.

"All forced and contract labour shall be abolished. The full programme has been published as a separate document."

The following statements were made on a new programme of action:

"The National Executive Committee reaffirmed its attitude that the struggle for our freedom and independence must be fought on the soil of SWA.

"The major functions of all members abroad, including Executive members outside SWA, is to assist this struggle from abroad in each and every way possible.

"All the oppressed and exploited must be approached in order to bring them into the liberatory struggle and to form a mass force opposed to white domination and South African Rule.

"The formation of the Anti-South Africa United Front, together with all progressive organisations of our people is a goal which must receive major attention from every member. Every member should do his or her utmost to build this Anti-South Africa United Front.

"The National Executive Committee is confident that the organised mass of our people, united by SWAPO, SWANU and all other progressive organisations in SWA shall be engaged in such action that will achieve our freedom and independence within the shortest possible time.

"The National Executive Committee shall determine, as the situation requires, such action as it deems necessary to carry through our struggle to victory. The National Executive Committee is determined to use each and every form of struggle available in order to free our country and does not bind itself in advance to one particular form of struggle only."

### COLONIALISTS JOIN ANTI-SALAZAR FRONT

By Julio Cabral

Three thousand copies of a new book criticizing Salazar's colonial policy were seized by the Portuguese police at the beginning of February, according to reports coming from Portugal. Entitled Ilusões Macabras (Macabre Illusions), the seized work is the latest of a series written on the Portuguese colonial question by Francisco Pinto da Cunha Leal.

The author, a pre-Salazar prime minister, is one of the most venerable spokesmen of the Portuguese opposition. Economist, financier and expert on colonial questions, his opposition to the dictatorship derives from divergence of views on how Portuguese capitalism can best operate. In particular, since the Angolan war and the liberation of Goa, he has vehemently propounded the view that of all Salazar's crimes, his worst is that of risking losing the empire, without which -- according to Cunha Leal -- Portugal will become an appendage of Spain.

In three preceding works: A Gadanha da Morte (The Scythe of

Death), A Patria em Perigo (The Fatherland Imperilled), and O Cântaro vai à Fonte (The Pitcher Goes to the Well), published respectively in 1961, 1962 and 1963 -- Cunha Leal appeals to the Portuguese bourgeoisie to open its eyes and recognize that the tyrannical and repressive methods of Salazar fascism not only isolate Portugal from the "free world," but have also provoked the birth of nationalism in the Portuguese colonies. Liberalization, both politically and economically, is in his view the only answer. Only the restoration of parliamentary democracy can prevent the continuation of excesses and mistakes of the dictatorship; only free enterprise and untrammelled liberty for foreign investors can provide Portugal with the capital necessary to develop the colonies and provide the means for educating Africans. Incidental to this basic thesis (but very indicative of Cunha Leal's ideology) is the author's criticism of the Portuguese tradition of "miscegenation" and his advocacy of racial segregation in the "auto-determined" Portuguese colonies, English style.

In Ilusões Macabras Cunha Leal goes further. Till now he had argued that Portugal should cease her stubbornness and satisfy world opinion by agreeing to the right of colonies to self-determination. In his latest work he reveals more clearly his concept of "self-determination": a government of whites and blacks, in which whites would dominate. Eventually, after the education of an African élite and preparation of the masses, the Africans could form the majority, but Portugal would retain control over the colonies' defence and foreign policy.

That opinions such as these -- which are as radical as an English conservative's -- can meet with censorship in Portugal is an index of the obscurantism of Salazar. However, the opinions expressed in the book, together with the current political alliances of the author, are of more than superficial interest. Not only do these views correspond to a growing current among Salazarists themselves, but they also represent the only solidly constructed body of thought to be found anywhere in the opposition. That this opposition, including the Communist party -- organized in the Frente Patriótica da Libertação Nacional [FPLN] -- is responsive to Cunha Leal's views is evident from recent events and from the FPLN's radio broadcasts praising this colonialist politician.

### December Conference

In December 1963, in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the FPLN held its second conference since the Front was founded a year previously. In addition to transforming the FPLN's governing body -- the so-called Delegate Commission, which is composed of self-appointed individuals no one of whom has been elected by an organization -- into the Portuguese Revolutionary Junta, and choosing General Delgado to lead it, the Conference also decided to admit two new groups. Till now, the FPLN had included individual liberals, socialists, Catholics and monarchists and the Communist party, the only anti-Salazarist organization with any mass basis and apparatus inside the country. In addition the FPLN embraced various exile groupings in South America,

Britain and France. In December, 1963, however, a new group from inside Portugal, the Resistencia Republicana, was officially admitted to the Front. Hitherto only individuals from this group had belonged to the Front.

Resistencia Republicana is a bourgeois and colonialist grouping whose leading public figures are: Professor Azevedo Gomes (agronomist and big land-owner); Colonel Helder Ribeiro (manufacturer and former Republican minister); Dr. A. C. Veiga-Pires (who has close links with the Banco Portugal do Atlantico, a bank with important interests in Angola); Mario Soares (proprietor of an exclusive private school); Manuel Tito de Morais (FPLN representative in Algiers); Ramos da Costa (an economist). . . and Cunha Leal. The movement is semi-legal and its leaders have published open letters to Salazar.

Resistencia Republicana's adherence to the Front has now been made public. But behind closed doors the FPLN Conference also admitted to its ranks the group of dissident Salazarists headed by Marshall Craveiro Lopes (President of the Republic before 1958), and including two writers whose views are very similar to those of Cunha Leal: the industrialist with big Angolan interests, Manuel Vinhas, and the deputy Homem de Melo. The adherence of this group is kept secret, not because its members have anything to fear from Salazarist repression, but in order not to embarrass the FPLN in its quest for African support.

In the course of the Conference the Communist party's anxiety to find favour with its new allies was piquantly expressed when the FPLN's Statement of Aims was under discussion. General Delgado, doubtless influenced by his residence in Brazil where everybody talks of "agrarian reform," proposed that "reform of agrarian structures" should figure in the FPLN's platform. This was sharply opposed by Communist party General Secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, who held that such a demand was "too radical." Delgado became indignant, pointed out that he was apparently more to the left than the Communists, and won his point. However, what kind of reform of agrarian structures is meant the FPLN does not explain.

The Portuguese Communist party's total abdication of revolutionary leadership was admitted by Alvaro Cunhal on June 23, 1963, on Prague Radio (Radio Free Portugal) when he declared that the party "had no ambition to lead the Patriotic Front."

This was further emphasized in a recent public statement in Algiers by a Front leader, Fernando Piteira Santos. At a public forum of Spanish and Portuguese youth held in January, when Algerians in the audience questioned the policy of the Communist party regarding desertion from the colonialist army, Piteira Santos declared that although the party had at one time forbidden desertion from the Angolan war, it now entirely subordinated its policy to that of the Front, "which, in certain cases, favours desertion." The Portuguese Communist party, the speaker stated, had no other aims than those of the Front.

The Portuguese Communist party, whose general secretary last August violently attacked the Chinese Communist party in the party's official paper, Avante, is now evidently hastening to put Khrushchevism quite concretely into practice. In this connection the open alliance with the colonialist Cunha Leal is of some interest. For Cunha Leal, a vicious anti-Communist all his life, devotes many pages in A Patria em Perigo to the world danger of Chinese Communism, whose aim he identifies with that of the African nationalists. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, says Cunha Leal, as a modern European power is susceptible to persuasion to make common cause with America and the West against the "coloured hordes."

In any event, there can be no doubt at all of Khrushchevian backing for the Communist-colonialist alliance within the FPLN. Not only did the organization's conference meet in Czechoslovakia, but chief of the Portuguese Revolutionary Junta, General Delgado, is at present undergoing treatment in a Prague sanatorium. The Communist party would seem to have come a long way from the days in early 1958 when it distributed leaflets all over Portugal attacking Delgado's candidature for presidency of the Republic as "a candidature fabricated in the American and British embassies in Lisbon."

#### Praised by Schow

That statement five years ago was backed by fairly solid evidence, for only three months earlier, when Delgado was about to leave Washington where he was Portugal's NATO representative (and had already received the U.S. Legion of Merit), the General was the subject of an extraordinarily warm leave-taking from the Americans. At a farewell reception in Washington, no less a personage than the U.S. Army's Secret Service Chief, General R. A. Schow, praised General Delgado in the presence of more than a hundred U.S. generals and admirals as well as all the NATO representatives, in glowing terms: "Portugal," said Schow, "could not have sent a better ambassador of Portuguese military virtues. . . I believe that he must know more people in military circles than any other NATO officer, both here and at Sac-land headquarters in Norfolk, Virginia. . . General Delgado returns to Portugal accompanied by our best wishes and our most agreeable recollections."

Nevertheless, a month before the presidential elections in June 1958, the Communist party abandoned its opposition to Delgado and called on its supporters to vote for him. An about-face? Only superficially. For when one recalls that the original Communist nominee for these self-same elections was none other than the colonialist financier, Cunha Leal,\* it becomes clear that from a class point of view the Communist party did not have to turn very far. Today the wheel has come full circle, for now the party, the general and the colonialists all find themselves in the same Front -- a Front in

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\*Not at all pleased to be a nominee of the Communist party, Cunha Leal pleaded ill-health and refused nomination.

which the Communist party has abandoned all pretence at leadership, and in which inevitably those with their hands on the State apparatus, the dissident Salazarists, are at an advantage in the coming manoeuvres for power. The only thing that has changed is that instead of open U.S. backing, the General is now receiving open Khrushchevite backing.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Portuguese Communist rank and file both at home and in exile, among whom expulsions and suspensions are multiplying daily, are beginning to read Chinese literature avidly. Recent reports from Portugal indicate that young militants have lost all respect for the party's official martyrology of Alvaro Cunhal, and now talk of the need to reconstitute the Communist party on revolutionary class lines.

Their task is not an easy one. A factional struggle in an illegal party in fascist conditions is fraught with danger of police intervention. But even more difficult is the ideological struggle to break down the "unity" blackmail used by the leadership to hold the party together and force support, even from party dissidents, for the Patriotic Front. From the Central Committee downwards the argument is propounded that anything is better than Salazar -- even repentant Salazarists.

After thirty-five years of fascism and in a politically uneducated party this argument is a powerful one. When it is reinforced by widespread foreign backing from Khrushchevians it has a strong impact on the isolated and politically inexperienced Portuguese militant. But unless the Portuguese Communists succeed in making a break with opportunism and rebuilding a revolutionary party with a class programme it is clear that whether Salazar stays or goes the Portuguese colonialist bourgeoisie will remain, and solidarity with the Angolan people will continue to be sacrificed.

#### IRAQ RECOGNIZES ANGOLAN EXILE GOVERNMENT

Angolan freedom fighters won a significant diplomatic victory February 9 when Choukri Saleh Zaki, the Iraqi ambassador in Cairo, announced that his government had decided to recognize the Angolan Revolutionary Government in Exile [GRAE].

The recognition was transmitted to Florentino Duarte, chargé d'affaires of the GRAE in Cairo.

Iraq is the first non-African government to recognize the GRAE. It is expected that this step will help improve possibilities for the GRAE to obtain badly needed material aid for the guerrilla forces in Angola.

### THREE YEARS OF THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

The February 15 issue of El Moudjahid, central organ of the Algerian FLN [Front de Libération Nationale] published the text of a most interesting discussion on Algiers radio-television February 4 in commemoration of the uprising in Luanda on that day in 1961.

Josie Fanon, widow of Frantz Fanon, author of Les Damnés de la Terre, the well-known book that passionately voices the feelings and outlook of the Algerian rebels, acted as moderator.

The translation of El Moudjahid's account is as follows:

\* \* \*

The R.T.A. presented a special broadcast on Angola.

This broadcast presented two Angolan nationalist militants and a Portuguese woman anticolonialist. The two Angolan nationalists were Nicolas Vieira, member of the F.N.L.A. [Angolan National Liberation Front] and Viriato Da Cruz, a founder of the M.P.L.A. [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] in Luanda.

This is the first time that Angolan militants belonging to movements which violently opposed each other in the past have joined in a panel discussion on the Angolan problem. This is also the first time, to our knowledge, that a Portuguese revolutionist has participated publicly in such a debate and affirmed her active solidarity with the Angolan nationalists in their struggle.

It is important, in our opinion, to bring to the attention of Algerian militants the content of this debate which will contribute, we hope, to dissipate the confusion which reigned for a time on the Angolan problem. Facts or clarifications were brought forward during the discussion with regard, for example, to the true date of the beginning of the armed struggle in Angola; namely, March 15, 1961.

Viriato Da Cruz, for his part, gave an explanation of the crisis which brought about the collapse of the M.P.L.A. and the reasons which led sincere nationalists belonging to this movement to recognize the F.N.L.A. of Holden Roberto as the only representative nationalist party, the only one to lead the armed struggle in Angola.

As for Patricia McGowan Pinheiro, she clearly exposed the present maneuvers of the Portuguese colonialists who may engender confusion about their real intentions in Portugal as well as abroad. This exposé will help the Portuguese left to make a more correct analysis of the situation and to understand that no compromise is possible with Portuguese colonialism.

Finally, and above all through the voice of Nicolas Vieira, spokesman in our country of fighting Angola, the determination of the struggling Angolan people was expressed, and this was the princi-

pal aim of the broadcast.

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Josie Fanon: The national liberation struggle in Angola will soon begin its fourth year. This struggle is an armed struggle. It is a long struggle since it has already lasted three years. In its harshness, in the engagement of the peasant masses in the combat as the main constituent of the National Liberation Army of Angola [ALNA], also in view of the economic and strategic importance of this country for Portuguese colonialism and international imperialism, the war of national liberation in Angola is inscribed in the same context as the war of liberation in Algeria.

The Algerian people, who have always been at the side of the valiant Angolan people, who have given them complete support in their battle -- it is known that the military cadres of the ALNA have been trained since 1961 in the ALN [National Liberation Army of Algeria] -- the Algerian people, today at the dawn of this fourth year of struggle, salute the heroism of the Angolan fighters who, under the shield of the Angolan National Liberation Front, are constantly gaining more and more decisive victories, hastening the day of independence.

We have brought together this evening two Angolan nationalists: Nicolas Vieira who, in the absence of Johnny Eduardo, is the representative in Algiers of the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile; Viriato Da Cruz, founder in Luanda of the MPLA; and a Portuguese anticolonialist, Patricia McGowan Pinheiro, author of the book Oldest Ally, A Portrait of Salazar's Portugal.

What we would like during the discussion which we are going to have with these three comrades is to get our bearings on the liberation movement in Angola and also get some clarification on certain problems concerning this movement.

To do this, we have to go back first of all to the beginning of the year 1961. On February 4, 1961, an uprising broke out in Luanda. Groups of Angolans attacked the barracks, the police stations, the prisons and even units of the Portuguese army. According to official sources, ten Portuguese and fourteen Angolans were killed.

Next day came the burial of the victims. The savage whites attacked the Angolan population. Several thousand people were massacred.

What is the exact significance of February 4, 1961? Where can it be placed in the chronology of the national liberation movement? We are going to ask you, Nicolas Vieira, as official representative of the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile.

Nicolas Vieira: February 4, 1961, is one of the historic dates for the Angolan people, since on that day patriots died for the cause of our country and we render homage to their heroism. But the Angolan

people, like all colonial peoples, have had many revolts, because of the social injustices of colonialism, that are not less important than February 4, 1961. Thus, the date February 4, 1961, marks only the beginning of the armed insurrection which has been going on right up to now.

The fact is some Angolan patriots, having learned that some political suspects imprisoned in Luanda were going to be deported to an island, took advantage of the presence of some foreign journalists who were in Luanda at the time in order to attack the prisons with the intention of freeing the political suspects and, at the same time, demonstrating to the world the climate of insecurity that reigned in Angola. But this uprising was spontaneous since it had not been organized. On this I can cite the testimony of a Methodist missionary in Angola:

"It is interesting to observe that the impulsion for the first direct action of the nationalist movement arose from the desire of the whites for a more liberal government. I am referring, of course, to the affair of the 'Santa Maria' which was a spark for the Portuguese opposition against the Salazar regime.

"Shortly thereafter, the African nationalists attacked the Luanda prisons with the aim of freeing the political prisoners. . . . This action was followed by a brutal repression in the African quarters of Luanda in the course of which dozens of innocent Africans were killed by the Portuguese soldiers and functionaries. This act was widely reported in the international press due to the fact that many foreign correspondents were in Angola awaiting the arrival of the 'Santa Maria.'

"When the foreign correspondents began to send reports unfavorable to Portugal, they were expelled and their films were confiscated. . . . It is interesting to observe that the first attacks in Luanda were not directed against the whites as such. It was a tragedy of enormous proportions to see these first attacks met with such violence, such irresponsible reprisals, in place of sincere recognition of errors and the necessity for reforms. I say that it was unfortunate because these reprisals strengthened the opinion among the Africans that peaceful reform was impossible in Angola."

Josie Fanon: That's what the Methodist missionary said then about February 4, 1961?

Nicolas Vieira: Yes, and the confusion that reigned around the date February 4, 1961, and the true date of the beginning of the armed insurrection, that is, March 15, 1961, has been disseminated by certain unscrupulous, power-hungry adventurers with the aim of building up the myth which they created abroad about their so-called political personality.

As for the armed struggle, which has continued up to now without interruption, it began March 15, 1961, after preparations for an up-

rising made at a congress which took place in a forest in Angola under the UPA [Union of the People of Angola] which included forced laborers, hereditary chiefs from all regions of the country, some intellectuals and a few women. This date was set to coincide with the debates in the U.N., since on that date, that is, March 15, 1961, the Security Council was to take up the question of the situation in Angola.

Josie Fanon: Yes, I remember that date extremely well because at the time, that is, a few weeks before, President Holden Roberto came to Tunis and he told my husband Frantz Fanon and me: "Pay close attention to March 15, the day of the debate in the U.N.; some very important things are going to happen in Angola." Some very important things did actually happen: the beginning of the insurrection.

And now that you have spoken about the beginning of the insurrection, would you like to tell us, Nicolas Vieira, about the development of the movement for the liberation of Angola during the past three years?

Nicolas Vieira: After the unleashing of the armed struggle, we occupied ourselves organizing the struggle inside Angola. Clearly, at the beginning, the work was not easy for us due to the fact that at the time we had only very meager resources. But after long organizational work and the awakening of mass consciousness, we are able to say that the situation has evolved a lot inside Angola, since we have been able to establish administrative structures under the leadership of political commissioners in the regions which we control. And we have the complete support of the people.

Today, the people are only asking for arms so that they can fight. The armed struggle itself has evolved a lot also. Thus, for example, during the month of last December, more than 100 Portuguese soldiers were killed in ambushes and skirmishes undertaken by elements of the National Liberation Army of Angola in many parts of the country. On December 25, 1963, on the Noqui-Saô-Salvador road, a column of the Portuguese army was caught in an ambush by the nationalists. After a hard battle of more than four hours, the enemy forces retreated, leaving on the field of battle, twelve dead and six gravely wounded and a considerable amount of matériel. On the side of the ALNA we mourned three dead and several wounded. Again on the Noqui-Saô-Salvador road, from December 27 to December 30, 1963, a number of skirmishes took place between the forces of the ALNA and those of the enemy, causing the death of sixteen Portuguese troops. The ALNA lost seven men during these skirmishes.

In the course of combats which took place in the Dondo region on December 27, 1963, a good many Portuguese soldiers were killed, including two ranking officers, Antonio Martins de Lemos, number 988-62 and Faustino Clemente de Almeida Leal, number 1382-62. On January 2, 1964, at Carmona, a relief convoy composed of two truckloads of workers and twelve escorting soldiers was attacked by a commando of the ALNA at the exit of a plantation. All the occupants of the two trucks were killed.

During the week of January 5 to the 11, 1964, in the Beu zone, a barracks of enemy forces was attacked by means of rockets and completely destroyed. The balance sheet on that attack was forty-four Portuguese troops killed, the one on guard being captured.

At Bembe a reconnaissance plane was brought down. The pilot along with two Portuguese soldiers who were on board the plane were killed. In the same region of Bembe on the Bembe-Toto-Beissa-Monteiro road, a number of skirmishes took place, causing the enemy very heavy losses.

During the period going from January 4 to the 12th on the Saõ-Salvador-Cuimba route, very violent combats took place and the enemy forces after having suffered a number of dead and wounded had to abandon a number of positions and fall back to camp Mavoyo. Finally, in the Cabinda district, operations conducted during the period from January 1 to January 14 ended with twenty-eight dead on the enemy side, the seizure of considerable quantities of arms and the occupation of an administrative post by ALNA forces where the colors of the Angolan revolution were hoisted. During the course of these skirmishes, the nationalists lost nine men and several wounded.

Josie Fanon: One can thus appreciate the ground covered since March 15, 1961; but this was due to the organization of the movement inside Angola.

Without doubt you can tell us now about what happened outside Angola.

Nicolas Vieira: I believe that before telling you about the organization abroad, I ought to first speak about the formation of the Angolan National Liberation Front which was constituted March 27, 1962. A government has issued from this -- the present Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile.

Only, when we tried to extend our activities abroad, we ran into difficulties. These difficulties, as I told you at the beginning, were caused by other Angolans. But, quite fortunately, as you know, in 1963 in the month of July, a commission met in Léopoldville -- the Commission of the "9" -- to conduct an inquiry on the Angolan problem.

Josie Fanon: Yes, and this commission did recognize that the Angolan National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile were sole representatives.

Nicolas Vieira: That's it. But you see that was not always the case. If the commission came to Léopoldville it was due to the difficulties that we encountered abroad. Thus it was decided at Addis Ababa that a commission would go to Léopoldville to make an inquiry as to the realities of the Angolan problem. Since the decisions taken by this commission, we are able to say that the situation has been very good abroad, inasmuch as today ten African countries have officially recognized the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile and

others are about to do so.

Josie Fanon: You have told us about the difficulties that you encountered abroad. I would like you to give our listeners, who are obviously less up to date on the problems of the Angolan Revolution than all of us around this mike, some facts about these difficulties.

Nicolas Vieira: With regard to the difficulties I just mentioned, since Brother Viriato Da Cruz is here at my side, I think I am going to give him the floor so that he can explain things to you.

Josie Fanon: Viriato Da Cruz, you founded the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola in Luanda in 1958. You were its general secretary. You are thus in the best position to tell us about this party, since it is the MPLA which Comrade Nicolas Vieira just alluded to in referring to the difficulties which the FNLA and the Angolan Revolutionary Government encountered abroad. Before giving you the floor, I would like to tell our listeners that these difficulties arose due to the irresponsible behavior of members of the MPLA entrusted with relations abroad. They considered any means worth using to reinforce their prestige to the detriment of that of the nationalists who were conducting the armed struggle -- slander of the FNLA, lying declarations about the work of the MPLA within Angola, growth of their party, and the inclusion in it of small Angolan political groups openly compromised with the Portuguese. All this with the aim of sowing illusions about their real representativeness. A grave crisis followed within the MPLA, then the collapse of this party. Viriato Da Cruz, this is what we are going to ask you to clear up for our listeners.

Viriato Da Cruz: To really understand the situation, it's necessary first of all to determine the causes, the aims and the character of the Angolan Revolution.

In my opinion, the Angolan Revolution is the result of the irreversible blow dealt to the traditional African structures by the market economy introduced under the Portuguese colonial domination. This Revolution is above all the uprising of the Angolan masses who were brought to the worst degradation, who were submitted to the most scandalous servitude, who bore on their shoulders all the burdens of the society.

These masses comprised around 800,000 workers in the rural zones, subjected to forced labor, around 350,000 Africans living in conditions of underemployment and joblessness in the urban zones, and around 1,000,000 Angolan émigrés, who were submitted in their turn to super-exploitation by the Belgians, the English and the South Africans.

In brief, more than 2,000,000 Africans torn from their social and geographical surroundings by the disintegration of the traditional societies, by violence and by the theft of their land, vegetating outside the traditional framework of their lives, in zones of insecurity and despair, deprived of their old ties.

This mass of 2,000,000 Africans thus constituted the central nucleus of the tensions and conflicts affecting Angola. The geo-social area of the revolutionary unfolding of these conflicts inevitably came to embrace, in addition to the Angolan territory itself, those of the Congo, the Rhodesias and South West Africa.

The common aim of the Angolan people as a whole is the liquidation of foreign domination and the creation of an independent, united national state. But the mass of more than 2,000,000 Angolans, which I have mentioned -- supported by the peasant masses -- add to this common goal the liquidation of exploitation.

Within Angolan nationalism in general there thus exists in reality two currents, each one aspiring to one of these aims, each one seeking to lead the revolution toward its own aim. The truth is that up to this moment, no Angolan party has monopolized either of these currents. On the contrary, these two currents enter into all the Angolan parties. This is what, in my opinion, characterizes the Angolan revolution.

Josie Fanon: In the month of July last year the MPLA broke up. You yourself made a report to the commission at Léopoldville which recognized the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile.

How do you explain this crisis of the MPLA?

Viriato Da Cruz: In my opinion, the crisis of the MPLA was not due to anything peculiar to the MPLA. It was, on the one hand, the result of the passionate, violent clash, within the narrow dimensions of a party, of the differences, the contradictions existing within the Angolan society itself; and, on the other hand, the result of the singling out and the separation of the currents which I just spoke about.

The collapse of the MPLA was due to the fact that the leading group, which was at the head of the party at the time of the crisis, sought to resolve it with petty-bourgeois methods.

Josie Fanon: In your view what are the perspectives of the Angolan revolution?

Viriato Da Cruz: The Angolan Revolution will win. The independent national state will be created through the heroic struggle of the Angolan people. But, in my opinion, the Angolan Revolution, the revolution of the broad masses of Angola, will be long and difficult.

At present, it is the Angolan National Liberation Front, the FNLA, which corresponds in the circumstances to the national liberation movement.

Within the masses, however, questions like the following are raised:

"Will the FNLA succeed in uniting all the Angolan revolutionary

forces?

"Will it transform itself into a big organization that is solid from the political, ideological and organizational point of view, functioning well and serving as an efficacious base for the development of the armed struggle?"

"Will it succeed in raising the revolutionary level of the peasant masses?"

"Will it resolve in the course of the armed struggle itself, the vital problems of the peasantry, this inexhaustible source of soldiers for the Liberation Army?"

"Will it extend the armed struggle throughout the national territory?"

"Will it place at the service of the Angolan people international revolutionary support?"

As an Angolan nationalist, I can only hope for a successful solution to all these problems.

In any case, the genuine solution of these problems can come only from the Angolans themselves. It cannot come from outside the revolutionary Angolan movement.

I take the opportunity to salute the Algerian people who have not ceased to manifest their active solidarity with the fighting Angolan people.

Josie Fanon: Mr. Viriato Da Cruz, I thank you very much.

Patricia McGowan Pinheiro, you have written a book entitled, Oldest Ally, A Portrait of Salazar's Portugal. You speak, among other things in this book, about the terrible repression of the Angolan people by the Portuguese army.

Patricia McGowan Pinheiro: Yes, but I prefer today to quote a Portuguese witness who was present during the repression, the doctor, Mario Moutinho de Padua, a deserter from the Portuguese colonialist army.

In his book The War in Angola, he says: "Two different persons told me on different occasions that at Dondo, of the three thousand natives who lived there before the revolt, two thousand according to one and one thousand according to the other were thrown into the river, hacked to bits, tied together; some of them, still half alive, being bound to sections of corpses. . . ."

"The soldiers were transformed: Their former simplicity and a certain purity, an unstained joy, a proletarian capacity for tolerance, disappeared almost completely. They wanted to kill. Without

remorse, without hesitation, as if it were a game. They joked among themselves on the subject. Some of them wanted to bring an ear of a black person back to Portugal. Full of interest they asked the oldest ones how many blacks they had already liquidated and this figure for them was a matter of pride or shame -- if the figure was a small one.

"The soldiers at times forced the blacks to eat the ears of their brothers.

"Here, these things are common, normal, and leave the great majority of whites indifferent; they even find them cause for satisfaction. They feel it's their right.

"My greatest hope is that they (the colonialists) won't succeed in their project to totally eliminate the black race. . . they pass the time telling about the dozens of deaths to their credit. They admire each other. And only by accident do they mention in a factual way, in a descriptive way, the extraordinary resistance of the black men and their heroism under torture. It is very rare for a black to give up his comrades."

Then Padua talks about the brutalization of the Portuguese soldiers: "It is horrible to see the way in which the people of my country are being transformed. . .

"I sincerely hope anyway that the rebels will annihilate us, crush us in order to bring about the downfall of these fascists who are bringing our people into dishonor, into moral death.

"Almost all the young officers, except the former students of the military school, are more or less anti-Salazarists; but the quota salary, especially the bonus pay, social security, etc., have calmed their political ardor. They say nothing; unconsciously they are selling out.

"For decades the fascist regime has borne down on the Portuguese people and brought about a depoliticalization of the masses, inertia, absence of a class organization to struggle sincerely for the interests of the workers, the peasants, the small craftsmen. Our people have become imprisoned by the spirit of competition. They are accustomed to the absence of a collective life, of sacrifices, of struggle for a better life. They will leave there still worse, trained to kill, trained to turn against or to drown in blood the revolts of their fellow countrymen."

Josie Fanon: These things are familiar to us. What you have just said reminds us, line for line, of what happened during the war in Algeria within the French contingents and the French people. Now I would like you to tell us, after speaking about the effect of the colonial war in Angola on the army of repression, what have been the effects on the Salazar regime itself?

Patricia McGowan Rinheiro: After three years of colonialist war, Salazar is still obstinately repeating the myth that Angola is a Portuguese province and that you can't speak of independence. But among the Portuguese colonialists, there are some who are seeking the road to a so-called reconversion of colonial policy. To understand the thinking of this current, it is necessary to underline that in their colonies, the Portuguese have always been the watch dogs of international imperialism.

Portugal, with its repression, with its fascism, has served the big international trusts as an instrument in profiting from the forced labor in the plantations and mines of Angola.

Today, hated by Africa and by all people devoted to freedom, Salazar is no longer an efficient instrument and no longer serves the interests of the Portuguese colonialist bourgeoisie. Salazar's policy threatens ruin for them. So we see growing differences within Salazarism. Men like Craveiro Lopes, president of the republic before 1958, Homem de Melo, deputy, Manuel Vinhas, a big industrialist, have publicly condemned Salazar's colonial policy. In books and speeches, these men propose a policy of liberalization in the colonies. They admit the right to self-determination -- but in the distant future. They talk about reforms, the creation of an African elite. But most of them have no answer to the question: "How can Portugal, a poor country, underdeveloped itself, pay for such reforms?" Only two have offered an answer: Manuel Vinhas, a Salazarist, and Cunha Leal, an anti-Salazarist. Both of them say that Portugal can keep its colonies through liberalization and a certain amount of self-determination. The only way is to open the doors of both Portugal and its colonies to foreign investments, particularly American investments.

Thus it can be seen that this liberalization would be nothing more nor less than a neocolonialist road for Angola within the framework of a Portuguese community. We must denounce these attempts with firmness and put the consistent anticolonialists on guard against the danger of such a maneuver.

Josie Fanon: I think that thanks to these three comrades, we have made a rather full survey of the Angolan problem. We must now come to a conclusion. I am going to ask you, Nicolas Vieira, to make this conclusion.

Nicolas Vieira: To conclude, I will say that despite the material and financial aid of the NATO to Portugal, we will win. Here is what one of our commandants of the ALNA inside Angola said recently: "The war here is like the one in Algeria. We don't expect to defeat the Portuguese on the field of battle, but we can exhaust them until they are compelled to leave. It's a decisive war. The Algerians fought for seven years until the French gave up. We have the same determination.

At present our forces are growing larger and larger. They have gained great experience. We have increased armaments available thanks

to the support of friendly socialist countries, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and People's China. This enables us to face the Portuguese colonialist army with greater efficiency and to visibly come closer to the liberation of our country and of the whole African continent.

"HAVEN'T THESE PEOPLE READ EVEN MACHIAVELLI?"

Castro's Speech to the Bank Workers

The following is a translation of the text of a speech made by Fidel Castro at a meeting of bank employees in Havana February 4:

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Compañero Bank Workers,

Although time does not happen to be what we have most of, I accepted with pleasure the invitation to attend the closing meeting of this assembly in view of the brilliant work that has been accomplished on this front of the Revolution.

For my part I can add very little to what has been explained here by the director of the National Bank, Compañero Marcelo Fernández; I believe he has made a very instructive and eloquent presentation of the big process of change that has taken place in this sector of our economy, and above all has shown many of the advantages which a socialist bank has over a capitalist bank; he demonstrated many of the advantages of a planned economy with regard to a whole series of questions, above all those referring to the rational use of resources and labor power in contrast to the private banking system. And because of this his report is worth being studied and analyzed, since it presents many details of the progress that has been made -- step by step -- in this field.

I, for my part, made some calculations on the significance, for example, of the savings made in the matter of personnel through the rationalization of the enterprises, and came up with a figure of 5,000,000 pesos a year. Many of these compañeros have been working in other areas where a need was felt; others are studying; others, a small number, have been laid off; and twenty-five per cent -- it was said -- can be placed elsewhere, and because of this we have to find a way to transfer them where their labor will be more productive.

But this means a lot and says a lot about how the Revolutionary Administration has been progressing -- the fact that in a single sector 5,000,000 pesos a year are being saved. And with this 5,000,000 pesos many things can be done. With 5,000,000 pesos it is possible to underwrite the costs, for example, of sending something like 10,000 children to primary school; with 5,000,000 pesos we can establish a thousand new classes; with 5,000,000 pesos we can plant 2,000 caballerías [66,666 acres] of sugar cane, which, cultivated well, at a

price of six centavos, signifies more than 30,000,000 pesos. (Applause.) And 30,000,000 pesos can buy many things! Translated, for example, into cloth, it would correspond to practically four and a half square meters per person. (Applause.) Translated into toys, candy, wine, it would signify a Christmas like we have known and even incomparably better. Converted into agricultural equipment, it would signify thousands of agricultural machines. This is what is meant by rationalization of labor; this is what is meant by the adequate utilization of resources! And this has been gained in a single sector.

And because of this it must serve as an example and a model in the Year of the Economy. And it is very good, of course, that this example should be set by the bank workers.

Compañero Marcelo said, very eloquently, that you can have a bank without a banker, but not without bank workers. This is true. And you are not bankers; you are bank workers. But for those who are still wasteful about things, you have to be bankers (applause), in order to carry out the functions that the banking system has in our economy, which are those enumerated by Compañero Marcelo in his report.

### Cuban Economic Perspectives

The perspectives for our country are extremely brilliant; the real possibility of being able within ten years to produce 10,000,000 tons annually, the prices that have been gained, the guaranteed markets which our country has and, above all, the possibility of doing this by solving the problem of the mechanization of cane cutting.

These two facts in themselves -- the Sugar Agreement with the Soviet Union and the mechanization of the sugar cane harvest, are two factors of extraordinary importance for our economy and for our future which must inspire everyone. To be able to reach a production of 10,000,000 tons of sugar, at good prices, means a basis for our country to develop all that it needs; it means a basis for utilizing our national resources and our human resources.

The mechanization of cutting, added to the mechanization of planting and cultivating cane, which we must complete, will make it possible to produce up to 7,000,000 tons without employing more than 15,000 workers in the fields, including the "zafra" [sugar-cane harvest] and all. Of course on hilly land these machines can't be used and we have to work out a system of semimechanization. But this will give an idea of what it will mean in riches and well-being -- the correct utilization of labor power which we now lack; everything that we can devote to the country's economy in creating wealth, employing men well, labor power, machines, which when they are not needed in agriculture are needed in construction, in the factories, on all fronts. Our economy will improve.

In relation to our visit to the Soviet Union, the enemies of the Revolution were saying that one of the reasons for our trip was to

take up a failure to carry out the sugar agreements so as to be able to dispose of this sugar on the world market. They were way off the right track. One of our reasons for going to the Soviet Union was precisely to show our satisfaction over the certainty that we would be able this year to send more sugar than last year. Last year a certain amount of sugar destined for the Soviet Union was diverted in order to live up to other agreements. However, this year we were able to assure the Soviet Union, with whom we carry on the major volume of our trade, that we would send not 1,000,000 tons of sugar like last year, but 1,600,000 tons.

For us it is a great satisfaction to be able to carry out our economic promises. And, in addition, we will be able to carry out our agreements to supply various countries with sugar as a result of an improvement in attention to agriculture and to work in general.

When we were in a situation where we decided we had to divert sugar, we were just establishing the basis for long-range trade, of optimum profits for our country, which, in addition, would set a model that would be of interest to all the underdeveloped countries, to all those that have to sell their products, who have never had sure markets and stable prices.

The perspectives for our economy are magnificent, not only in this respect, but because we have natural resources to develop which can mean an even better income for our country than a "zafra" of 10,000,000 tons would signify. This would be the case if we develop our livestock to the maximum. This would signify resources for all the other plans of the Revolution.

We have gained in experience. Many cadres have been formed, because there is something that is not visible -- as in a building, or in a factory -- which is the accumulation of experience, the cadres that are formed.

### Pirate Raiders of Fishing Boats

In this way the Revolution has been overcoming obstacles, has been overcoming the blockade. And in recent months, a series of things have occurred which show that the whole policy of blockading our country is coming to pieces. How are the Yankee imperialists reacting? The way defeated people react, the way impotent people react, the way frustrated people react.

Right now, at the present time, we have been given good proof of this. While the blood spilled in Panama was still fresh, they committed another crime, the seizure of four fishing boats that were not in North American jurisdictional waters, which were fishing in a zone in which our boats have fished before, at least two miles away from where the jurisdictional waters begin -- five miles from the nearest tiny key. Nevertheless, they boarded them; they seized them. Thirty-eight of our fellow countrymen were taken prisoners there in an act of arbitrary, illegal force.

But these are things which the imperialists do with their policy that is becoming more and more stupid. And when they do such things, you wonder. "Haven't these people read even Machiavelli, even Machiavelli?" (Laughter.) Because Machiavelli said, "When you must do injury to someone, do it in such a way that he can't retaliate, or don't do it." And this is an injury which does no injury whatever to our economic order; it is not going to hinder the thrust of our economy; it is not going to hinder the thrust of our fishing fleet. It is simply a provocative act, an irritating act, but a stupid act, from which they are already reaping -- but an abundant, a very abundant harvest -- from all the stupidities which they have been committing in all parts of the world. He who sows stupidities also gathers storms. (Applause.)

How have the imperialists ended up? As pirates, as raiders of fishing boats! A symptom of a system in complete decadence. Because the imperialists are getting kicked out of all parts of the world. And we can witness this process serenely, tranquilly, because we know that this is their inexorable destiny. This can only cover them with more opprobrium, reduce their prestige still more, if it is possible to reduce the prestige of imperialism any lower than it is.

Our country has protested this arbitrary, vandalistic, piratical act. It has presented a complaint before the Security Council, placing before the Secretary General of the United Nations a demand for the return of the boats and the release of our fellow countrymen.

But with these compañeros, humble fishermen, kidnapped by the imperialists -- who, naturally, are not big landlords, big millionaires like those they have granted asylum there -- with these thirty-eight fishermen, workers of the sea, who were peacefully carrying out their task of bringing more fish, more food for our population -- which is what distressed the imperialists -- our entire nation is expressing solidarity.

And we are sure that the imperialists will have no other recourse but to release them. We are sure that before world public opinion they will not be able to justify an act proper to bandits. And because of this, once again, we feel we have the full right to tell them that they are utter bandits. (Applause.) This won't make the least impression, not the slightest impression, on them. What they are doing is to make themselves more and more ridiculous, and to show themselves up more and more. Their acts have not been able to hinder, and will be increasingly less able to hinder, the victorious process of the Revolution, the rise of our economy, the triumph of our efforts, the triumph of our system, which just as it is today showing its superiority in the banks, will increasingly show it on all the fronts of labor.

And it is the legitimate reward for the efforts of a people that struggles; it is the legitimate reward of a people that does not take away anything from anybody, that works honestly and that has had the valor and the will to defend its right to a better future, its right

to a better destiny.

Because of this, this accomplishment -- the results of efforts on this front of labor -- merits congratulations from the whole nation; it merits being taken as an example by the other sectors of our administration and our economy. And with this, in the name of the Revolutionary Government and in the name of our party, we congratulate the bank workers sector and we congratulate the leaders of this sector -- trade unionists as well as administrators -- and we congratulate Compañero Marcelo, who has taken the place of another compañero, well loved and well remembered, who died carrying out his duty, Compañero Cepero Bonilla.

Patria o Muerte! [Country or death.]

Venceremos! [We will win.]

(Ovation.)

#### NEW IDEA SENT TO WHITE HOUSE

One of Johnson's great steps forward in carrying on Kennedy's New Frontier was opening a White House window to "new ideas." [See World Outlook February 21.] This idea has been catching on in a most impressive way. And top thinking circles in the U.S. are beginning to pitch in enthusiastically in the project. Here is the exciting contribution made by James Reston, Washington correspondent of the New York Times [February 22-23 international edition]:

"One idea that might be considered is that this whole project is too serious and important to be handled on a part-time basis. Dr. Goldman will go on teaching and writing and running a television program, and serve the President on the side. This is as good an illustration as any of what's wrong with the whole program of recruiting talent for the public service."

Reston's imaginative solution is that it should be made a full-time job, because you can't expect "Dr. Goldman to mobilize the brains of the country in his spare time."