

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 33

October 2, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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the right to appear as legal representative for Oswald in its hearings. The accused Oswald, who proclaimed his innocence even after torture by the Dallas police, was denied a fair trial, a fair hearing and even his most elementary right of legal aid before being shot down in front of the television screens of the American public. The "blue ribbon" Commission continued in the same way to deny him any legal voice during the whole period of its highly publicized investigation of the case.

Europe Remains Skeptical

In Western Europe, diplomatic circles offered lavish praise of the report of the Warren Commission; and some newspapers, particularly in West Germany and England, followed their lead. In other areas, the reaction was much more reserved.

The conservative Gazette de Lausanne said that "far from clearing up all the obscure points in this lamentable affair, the report adds some confusion."

The Vienna Die Presse ran a headline: "The Warren report fails to answer many questions." And the paper added: "It is an enthralling description of the events, but it does not offer convincing reasoning."

The Belgian liberal La Meuse wrote: "It is improbable that the report will put an end to the debate" since "it is not well to tell the whole truth and many question marks remain."

Léo Sauvage of the conservative Paris Le Figaro had the following to say:

"Without doubt the American authorities, highly concerned over the criticism and sarcasm aroused abroad by their previous affirmations, hope that the abundant documentation assembled by the Warren Commission in support of his [Oswald's] guilt will succeed in overcoming the skeptics and reducing them to silence. I am very much afraid that this hope will prove to be unfounded. It is not simply that certain adversaries of the United States are never in any way inclined to give up their sarcasm. Unfortunately it is primarily because the abundant documentation of the Commission offers no decisive refutation of the serious criticisms made up to now of the official theory.

"In some respects, it can even be said that the Warren report is of such nature as to increase the incredulity aroused by the Dallas inquiry, whether by presenting still less credible interpretations, or by offering in turn affirmations lacking any proofs, or finally by supporting key elements in the accusation on too fragile a base.

"It was essential, for example, to prove that Lee Oswald had

brought the gun used in the murder that fatal Friday morning on coming to work. The only two witnesses who saw Oswald's package described it as too short to contain a rifle. Returning themselves to a hypothesis which was advanced -- and as quickly dropped -- last winter, the Warren report now affirms that the rifle was disassembled. Many readers of the report will have difficulty visualizing Oswald in process of assembling the parts of his rifle before he could use it in the few minutes he remained alone and while he still had to set up the pile of boxes of books found in front of the window.

"Few readers of the report, in addition, will be inclined to believe on her own word, as the Commission does, all the affirmations of Marina Oswald. Because the report is not content with considering as valid the identification of the rifle by the enigmatic widow. They will also decline to accept her affirmation, in face of its lack of plausibility, that Lee Oswald was the man who fired a shot at General Walker on April 9, 1963."

Sauvage calls attention to even more glaring faults in relation to proof of Oswald's alleged connection with the murder of the policeman Tippit.

New Doubts Raised

Two examples will indicate the reaction of the Communist press:

"The report of the Warren Commission," declared Paese Sera of Rome, "raises more doubts than it dissipates. In fact, study of the document reveals a whole series of omissions, contradictions, suppression of testimony and arbitrary interpretation of facts."

Tass, the official Moscow press agency, wrote: "Everything that was mysterious has simply not been cleared up. Moreover, when the Commission began its work, Chairman Warren declared that certain facts relating to the assassination of President Kennedy would probably not be discovered during the present generation.

"The long report of the Commission has not dissipated all the doubts and suspicions surrounding what the American press has called the 'crime of the century.'

". . . The American press sought to present Oswald, this former 'marine,' as a Marxist. But the Commission did not find any link between Oswald and the American Communist party or any other organization of the left in the United States, any more than with any official American organism whatsoever."

The circumstances under which the Warren report was released were not without interest. C.L.Sulzberger, the foreign policy expert of the New York Times, while not calling into question the findings of the Commission, stresses how they meet certain needs of the John-

son administration abroad:

"By exonerating all foreigners as well as American extremists from responsibility for murdering either President Kennedy or his assassin, the Warren Commission helps reduce potential world tensions and erases a serious tarnish on the United States international image."

Sulzberger admits that "deep-seated sociological blemishes emerge in this fateful document." "Nevertheless," he continues, "it should destroy in the foreign mind any pictures of a United States threatened by extremists and conspirators, a picture enhanced after Senator Goldwater's famous San Francisco speech."

"This is a matter of singular diplomatic importance. . . ."

Sulzberger stresses insistently that "it was necessary to reassure our allies that ours is a stable, reliable, democracy." [New York Times, International edition, September 28.]

Political Effect Favors Johnson

The report was not without its domestic political advantages, too, as is rather eloquently shown by the timing of its release in relation to the presidential electoral campaign.

In the same issue of the New York Times, correspondent Anthony Lewis writes from Washington, D.C.:

"The opinion of political observers here is that the greater political effect -- if any -- of the Warren report will be in favor of the Democrats, particularly Mr. Johnson and former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who is now running for the United States Senate in New York.

"That opinion is based on the supposition that the report, with its thorough reconstruction of the events of Nov. 22, and the vast newspaper, book, television, radio and motion picture coverage of it, would tend to evoke even greater interest in President Kennedy, sympathy for him, his family and associates, and reverence for his memory.

"Already, the 'Kennedy legacy' is considered one of the Democrats' major assets in this election year."

Johnson's appointment of the Warren Commission could thus be viewed as a very well calculated political move. Or was it just by coincidence in its dispassionate search for truth that the Commission provided Johnson at this strategic moment with his major campaign document?

CUBA'S RECORD IN MEDICAL CARE

Text of a Speech by Fidel Castro

[The following is a translation of the Spanish text published in the September 11 issue of the Havana daily Revolución.]

* * *

Comrade Graduates:

Comrade Students:

With this simple and moving ceremony we are celebrating the graduation of 250 new doctors. This new contingent of doctors is of great significance for the Revolution, inasmuch as it marks a victorious step ahead on our road, despite the difficulties. Two hundred and fifty new doctors means much to the people because it signifies 250 doctors for the people.

It used to be that graduation meant a lot to the student, to the graduate, to his family. It could mean much or it could mean nothing for the people. In the old days, the conditions under which the youth grew up -- not through any fault of theirs but due to the circumstances in which they lived -- were such that their feelings, their aspirations, their thoughts on a day like this were quite different. Everything was linked to a strictly personal future. Today everything is linked with the future of the nation, of the people.

And I believe, without the shadow of a doubt, that the enthusiasm, the humane feeling that animates these comrades is inevitably quite different.

It is good news for the whole country, but above all for that part of the country where the doctor often used to be something beyond reach, in some instances a personage never seen. For them this graduation is the most important news. And because of this it appears quite natural and just that the certificates awarded the graduates today should be given in the name of the peasants, because it is precisely the peasants who will be the first to enjoy the benefit of the knowledge that you have gained.

It is good news for the Ministry of Public Health, because the ever increasing needs, the needs that have not yet been satisfied, can be met through you. And the fact that the school of Rural Medicine has been extended to two years, will greatly alleviate these needs, since the number of graduates -- which was relatively small in the first years along with the number of university students and the number of registrations in the University -- made it necessary to distribute them in a not very rational way while at the same time taking care of certain things in connection with a degree of specialization.

Often a new doctor who replaces another one in a hospital or in the countryside makes it possible for this doctor to undertake special study. And as the number of doctors increases, we will be able to provide a more complete service in all the fields of medicine.

As the comrades representing the graduate students and the Association of Students of Medicine aptly put it, this graduation is marked by a series of special features. It was the students who began in 1956, whose studies were interrupted by revolutionary activities -- in which the students participated to such an extraordinary degree -- and the new layer, already responding to a new consciousness, responding to new changes, responding to new realities and in consonance with these realities, who are now coming forward as doctors to practice socialized medicine, public medicine. And this has a high moral meaning, since it is known that under the country's new economic conditions, with the better incomes which families have today, any doctor practicing private medicine could gain more than by placing his services at the disposal of public medicine since remuneration there corresponds to the present economic possibilities of our country.

This is occurring in practically all the spheres of knowledge in these revolutionary times. It's the reverse of former times when the most serious problem facing any graduate of a university, an institute or trade school began -- in general -- precisely when his studies were completed. The Revolution has created conditions under which all knowledge is in immediate demand, every skill is utilized immediately. These are the conditions which the Revolution is creating through its proposal to work for the masses. These are the conditions which the Revolution has been creating since the moment it sought the welfare, not of a minority, but of the whole country and all its citizens. Thus it is that under the conditions established by the Revolution it is impossible to have the problem of men whose skills are underutilized or not utilized at all.

This used to be true in all the professions and the case of the teachers is well known. When the Revolution triumphed there were 10,000 unemployed graduates; that is, 10,000 unemployed teachers. In addition, conditions in the past were such that doctors were concentrated in certain zones, urban zones above all, where the number of graduates in professional occupations and medicine was extraordinarily high.

Statistics giving the number of doctors per inhabitants provide a relative measure -- that is, the relationship between the total number of inhabitants and the total number of doctors. The truth is that in many regions of the country the number can be extremely low. This is true of many countries in Latin America.

At present medical personnel is being distributed in accordance with needs, and the distribution is being made more and more

equitable. We are holding to the policy of offering all the services, even the most specialized, in all regions of the country.

There are some figures that speak more eloquently than any arguments about the great advances that our country has achieved in the field of medical assistance. The comrades of the Ministry have assembled some of these figures which are worth citing on an occasion like this.

In the first place, all of you are aware of the efforts made by the enemies of our Revolution to deprive us of doctors, to promote the departure of doctors from our country. In many instances it wasn't necessary to do much propagandizing. Certain wealthy sectors emigrated from the country absolutely voluntarily. Along with them also went -- on some occasions, because there were always honorable exceptions -- the doctors who looked after these classes. But in other instances there was a deliberate policy to deprive us of even doctors. Because our enemies not only sought to deprive the people of the most elementary means of progress and of life, but even up to something so humane -- something that should be so sacred -- as the work of a doctor.

But while they were trying to deprive the country of its doctors, the Revolution was trying to train new doctors. Thus, in 1958, the number holding medical degrees -- this doesn't mean the number of doctors working for the people -- was 6,257. In 1963, this figure had dropped to 6,239 doctors. But in 1964 the figure is already up to 6,500 doctors. This means that we already have 200 more doctors than the total number of doctors in the country when the Revolution triumphed. But above all -- most important of all -- is the fact that of these 6,500 doctors, 4,363 are working in the Ministry of Public Health and 1,459 in the co-operative societies.

And above all, more important than the total number of doctors, is their distribution. Today a considerable number of these doctors are practicing in regions where formerly there were neither doctors nor hospitals. This is the case with the Rural Medical Service, which is one of the most valuable creations of our revolutionary medicine, with 45 new hospitals and more than 100 dispensaries.

We have had opportunities on occasion to visit some of these centers, and only seeing them, only visiting them, you can get a good idea of what this means for the regions where they are located, for the population of these regions, and the extraordinary services they provide and how grateful the peasants are for this service.

The training of our doctors has changed radically. From a training that was almost exclusively theoretical to a training that includes intense practice united to theoretical knowledge.

For example, before the Revolution, only 28 doctors in the yearly course had the right to practice as interns. Of these, ten

or twelve were able to be resident doctors in seeking special training. The others, a considerable part of them, emigrated from the country. . . in those days for other reasons -- simply because there was no employment for them in our country.

In the past there were only two teaching hospitals. Today in the whole country there are twenty teaching hospitals. A year as an intern is obligatory for all graduates; likewise considerable opportunities have been opened up for specialized studies.

Returning to the figures, right now we have more than 350 resident doctors taking specialized training. Seventy doctors graduated in 1963 and this year some eighty will graduate. Since the triumph of the Revolution, 2,111 doctors have graduated; 1,594 doctors have gone into rural medicine.

As an example of the work of these doctors, in the past year of 1963 they helped a total of 1,946,049 patients, including 960,548 adults and 985,461 children. Among the adults were 95,663 cases of women in pregnancy and 23,643 births.

In the past scarcely a single one of these persons would have received medical care, not one of these mothers, not one of these children already born or on their way.

The Rural Medical Service has served in addition to create a tie between the doctor and the people; the recently graduated doctor in providing his services in such circumstances can acquire a clearer understanding of the value and importance of his work.

The data on rural hospitals has already been mentioned -- 45 rural hospitals, with a total of 1,200 beds, and some 100 dispensaries.

The number of hospital beds in 1958 was 21,780; in 1963, 39,701; and, as you are aware, increases have just been made, including some big hospitals like the "Lenin Hospital" which will begin functioning the first quarter of next year.

It would be well to draw some comparisons between the present status of medical care in Cuba and the status in the rest of Latin America because it can be stated that Cuba now stands at the head in Latin America with regard to medical care; not only in education, where we already have achieved first place by a wide margin, but in medicine where we lead by a margin that is getting wider all the time.

And it is logical that we note these things with satisfaction since the Revolution is no longer talking about what we are going to do; the Revolution is talking about what it has done despite the ferocious hostility of Yankee imperialism, despite the conspiracy of all the reactionary forces of this continent, which, in a vain

attempt to block the inevitable march of history, are trying to get around or at least postpone the hour of freedom for the suffering and exploited peoples, which are trying all means to place obstacles in our road, formulating plans and promises they will never carry out, because we know -- and we have the right to know -- which road is the only one on which things can be done, which road is the only one that leads forward; a difficult and hard road in face of the cumulation of retrograde forces that are trying to stop us. . . but the only road.

We spoke about the increase in beds in our hospitals. They have virtually doubled in number and are possibly ten times superior in quality -- because these figures give quantities but never speak of quality. And the difference in quality between the medical care of yesterday and today is practically impossible to put in figures, because the difference is immense between miserable, humiliating services, that were often granted as a favor, as charity, and services that are the right of any citizen in any hospital in the country.

But we have already raised the number of beds to 5.5 per thousand inhabitants. Let's look at some comparative figures for some other countries. Venezuela has 2.6 per thousand inhabitants; Peru, 1.8; Colombia, 2.4; Panama, 2.3. In other words, we already have more than double any of these countries.

The figures with regard to the number of doctors for every 10,000 inhabitants in many countries of Latin America are impressive. Bolivia has 1.9 doctors for 10,000 inhabitants; Brazil, 4. In Canada we have 11, which is logical. Colombia, 4.3; Costa Rica, 3.9; Chile, 6.2; Ecuador, 3.4; El Salvador, 1.8; the United States, 13.4; Guatemala, 2.1; Honduras, 2.1; Nicaragua, 3.5; Panama, 3.8; Paraguay, 5.3; Peru, 4.7; the Dominican Republic, 1.5; Venezuela, 7. In our country the number of doctors is now already close to 10 per 10,000 inhabitants, 9 and a fraction.

Naturally when it is said that Bolivia has 1.9 nobody is going to think that the indigenous masses who constitute the majority, the peasant mass, has an average of 1.9. It is possible that in some regions it is 1 per 50,000. This is because the figures are reached by dividing the total population by the total number of doctors. And this gives an idea of the situation with regard to medical care in the continent.

On the number of doctors graduated each year. In Bolivia 24 graduate each year; in Chile 218 graduate; in El Salvador 26 graduate; in Guatemala, 59; in Haiti, 34; in Nicaragua, 23; in Panama, 13; in Paraguay, 51; in Peru, 67; in the Dominican Republic, 152; in Venezuela, 255. There are some, like Argentina, that graduate 281; and Brazil, with a population of 80,000,000 inhabitants, graduates 1,578.

But these data, taken from an information bulletin of the Pan-

American Organization of Health, explain the fact that the total number graduated -- because some countries are larger, some like Brazil, which is the only country that graduates more than 1,000 doctors -- is some 7,000 doctors; and approximately an equal number of 7,000 doctors graduate in the United States.

And according to this information bulletin, 88 medical schools in Latin America graduated 6,722 doctors in 1957. For the number of doctors in this part of the hemisphere to reach the proportion of 10 per 10,000, this annual figure would have to be increased two and a half times. But what is happening? Of the 7,000 graduates, some 2,000 emigrate to the United States; so that the United States, in addition to its own 7,000 graduates, gets 2,000 additional, ending up with 9,000. And the United States, which has 13.4 for every 10,000, can naturally maintain this level; whereas Latin America, graduating 7,000 while needing 18,000, actually ends up with the services of 5,000.

Some additional data on the training of doctors in Latin America. The Bulletin says: "Approximately one-seventh of the schools accept more than 300 students a year, and one-third admit less than 50; in many schools enrollment is low and for this very reason the cost per student is relatively high. In other schools too many students are enrolled in proportion to laboratories, class rooms, libraries and other equipment needed for clinical experience.

"There are schools that have no full-time professor, and many others have less than five such professors. An inquiry on the teaching of pediatrics revealed that only 2 out of 69 schools had full-time professors of pediatrics; in 68 Latin-American schools only 20 per cent of 2,100 professors of the fundamental Medical Sciences taught on a full-time basis. Sixty-five per cent of the schools were below the optimum level of 300 hours established for a study course of the WHO." That's the World Health Organization. At present in our country the figure is 330 hours, and we have one year's internship.

This Bulletin also explains that the gravest lack in public health personnel is nurses and nursing assistants. And it says that "the quality of teaching is frequently a reflection of the amount of time dedicated to it by the teaching staff."

Our present situation is that in our University of Havana we have 420 fifth-year students, 450 fourth-year, 500 third-year, 550 second-year, and 1,000 first-year. There are 700 students in the two-year premedical course.

As you know, even these figures, which show a considerable increase in the number of medical students, are far from constituting our optimum aspiration. We hope to be able to enroll some 2,000 students annually in the School of Medicine. Reality has shown us, however, that it will not be possible as yet to reach these figures

although we have already gone above 1,000 and hope to increase the number next year. This is due to the existence of gaps in our secondary and pre-university training.

The mass of students entering the Secondary Schools or the Pre-University Schools is growing, and growing at a much faster rate than those entering secondary teaching. It is understandable that we must have a little patience because you can't speed up the years. And naturally it takes years for the gigantic wave of students, resulting from the efforts of the Revolution, to reach the university level.

If you take into account the number of those who have graduated from sixth grade and, above all, if you take into account the number of those enrolled in the primary grades, which in the current year it is thought will reach 1,300,000, if you take into account the constantly improving conditions, the constantly improving resources in installations and teachers, a time will come in which we can have for all the University Faculties whatever number of admittances we wish, no matter how high and ambitious this number may be. The day will come when we will be able to register our students in upper schools by the tens of thousands. And then, when this time comes, and this time is not far off, because five and a half years of Revolution have not passed in vain, although in these five and a half years you can discount the time we needed to learn things from the Revolution and in acquiring experience -- but since they have not passed in vain and since with each year that passes, experience and resources are accumulating -- the day is not far off when the comparison of our educational realities, of our realities in the matter of skills, will stand above any comparable figure in any other country on this continent. The day can come when our level in the matter of doctors per inhabitants will be superior to the number of doctors per inhabitants in the United States itself and the day will come in which we will have a doctor for every 500 inhabitants, much higher than the figure for the United States, although the United States steals almost 30 per cent of the doctors graduated in Latin America. This is the Alliance for Progress.

In all these aspects hinging on human energy, human will power, the Revolution has registered extraordinary progress. There are material realities that human will power cannot alter, and our impoverished and colonized countries, which are trailing farther and farther behind the industrialized countries, constitute a terribly hard reality, a reality that imposes difficult conditions. This was the situation we were in, and to change this situation the Revolution came into existence; the Revolution is laboring to change this situation. It is impossible to realize the same progress where the results do not depend exclusively on human will power but on the real, concrete resources available to the country, and what this country faced was infinite needs and ridiculous resources.

The faith of the revolutionists, the will power and the tena-

city of the revolutionists, is meeting these difficult realities and prevailing over them; it is meeting the difficulties which the enemies of freedom for the peoples are placing in their road, and prevailing over them.

Thus the history of our Revolution is being written all the more beautifully, all the more gloriously, and all the more honorably, the greater the resentment, and the hate, and the fear it has aroused in the exploiting circles of this continent. It is this history of the realities in our country which our enemies are trying to hide by all possible means. This is the reason why they prohibit trips to Cuba. This is the reason -- among other things -- for the "chewing gum curtain" that imperialism has placed around our country, going to the ridiculous length of prohibiting people from visiting Cuba. Gentlemen, how little faith you have in these visitors, or rather what lack of confidence you display!

There are realities that are not reported in the cables of the UPI and the AP. There are realities that are not reported in the continental gossipmongering. There are realities that are not reported in the yellow press or by the mercenary pens in the service of the big exploiting interests. And the bosses of the immense majority of the newspapers, of the radio stations and television stations, don't publish these realities. In a brazen effort to keep the peoples fooled, to prevent the peoples from opening their eyes, all these forces do everything possible to keep the blindfold on just as they used to keep the blindfold on us, this blindfold which the Revolution lifted from the eyes of the people, this blindfold which in many situations and circumstances only revolutions can remove from the eyes of people. Because as long as the enemies are in charge of the schools -- the enemies of the workers and peasants -- as long as the exploiters are in charge of the schools, of the universities, of the newspapers, the movies, the radio stations and television, and all the means of communication, it is not easy to tear this blindfold away from the eyes of the people.

And because of this the inevitable road is through revolutions, and because of this, in many circumstances, the inevitable road is through armed revolutionary struggle, because it is not only necessary to tear the arms away from those who maintain exploitation of the peoples through force, it is necessary to tear away from them the wealth that constitutes the base of this exploitation, and it is necessary to tear away from them the means by which they keep people in ignorance. And because of this, the necessity for revolutions such as we have carried out in our country, in which in the first place we deprived the state of the arms which it was utilizing as it saw fit to maintain its grip, of the wealth on which it based its iniquitous means of rule, and of all the other instruments, in order to put them at the service of the people.

No longer are these means in the service of the economic interests, no longer are they in the service of lying business propaganda;

they are in the service of the people in education and training. And we don't deny it: the exploiters have no access to these means, because these means are no longer the private property of any corporation, of any magnate, of any gang of magnates. This is the famous freedom of the bourgeois press; the private property of newspapers where they write what they like and what is profitable for the rich owners of these means of communication that belong to the exploiting class.

Let's take a look, for example, at some of the data which they don't publish, which appears only in some scientific bulletin, the comparative data on the eradication, for example, of one type of disease, gastroenteritis, as it has been slowly declining. With regard to the years before the Revolution, we can't say anything; there were no figures, they did not yet record cases of illness, nor deaths, nor births either. It was not known in many cases who was born or who died, still less what they died from, but since the Rural Medical Service was set up, we have obtained some statistics. From January to August in 1962, in Cuba 2,943 children died from gastroenteritis; from January to August in 1963, 2,296; from January to August in 1964, 1,489. This means that already within only two years, the yearly rate of decline is practically 50 per cent. This means that between 1962 and 1964, 1,454 lives were saved, lives that would have been irremediably lost without the progress in medical care in our country. And this is only in comparing years since the Revolution, not the preceding years.

In the same way, the rate of death from this disease for every 100,000 inhabitants in 1962 was 59.2; in 1963, 42.4 for 100,000 inhabitants; and, in 1964, 30 for every 100,000 inhabitants. Comparing it only during the years of the Revolution, the decline in the rate is practically 50 per cent in two years. If data existed for the epochs prior to the Revolution, the difference, the contrast, would be much more striking.

Thus, while we have reached 30 in 100,000, let's see how many die in Brazil, using the data provided in the Scientific Bulletin No. 64, a summary of four-year reports on health conditions in the Americas from 1957 to 1960, data taken -- not in the mountains where the peasant population lives, not in the countryside, because there no statistics of any kind are taken -- but statistics from zones having better conditions.

This means that we have 30 for every 100,000, taking the country as a whole; and now taking the other countries, not as a whole, but only as represented by zones where statistics exist, which are not exactly the worst areas, we have the following data, and these data refer, fundamentally, to the capitals of these countries -- to the capitals: In Brazil, in 1959, there were 192.2 for 100,000; in Chile, 88.5; in Guatemala, 233.2; in Venezuela, 66.2; in Nicaragua, 102.4; in Colombia, 132.9; in Costa Rica, 120.2; El Salvador, 65.6; Panama, 65.2; the Dominican Republic, 206.6; Peru, 103.5; that's for

the capitals.

Let's see: Canada, 5.5; the United States, 4.4. Here is the empire; there are the colonies, the "Allies for Progress," the allied colonies!

Other diseases. Diphtheria: number of cases for each 100,000 inhabitants, in 1962, 20; in 1963, 10.5. South America; several countries: Chile, 1960, 38.9; Brazil, 19.3; Venezuela, 16.5; the Dominican Republic, 15.5; the United States, 0.5; Canada, 0.3.

Tetanus, number of cases. In Cuba, 1962, 8.5 for each 100,000 inhabitants; 1963, 4.7. El Salvador, 14.1; Haiti, 12.8; Paraguay, 20.3; Venezuela, 12.9; the United States, 0.2; Canada, 0.1.

In some cases medical care and average figures in Canada are superior to those in the United States.

Typhoid fever, Cuba, 1962, for each 100,000 inhabitants, 14.9 cases; 1963, 6.4; Brazil, 51.6; Colombia, 80.3; Chile, 59; El Salvador, 61.7; Peru, 97.3; the United States, 0.4; Canada, 1.5.

Malaria. Cuba, 1962, 50.1; 1963, 11.6; Colombia, 167.9; Costa Rica 136.6; Ecuador, 188.6; El Salvador, 502.3; Haiti, 1,033.8; Paraguay, 139.2; the United States, 1961, 0.0; Canada, 0.0.

Rabies in humans, 1959, total number of cases in Cuba, 5; 1960, 3; 1961, one case; 1962, zero cases; 1963, one case; up to this month of the current year, no reported case. Dogs vaccinated during the first quarter of 1964, 125,099.

And now we come to something, a disease in which we have better standing than the United States: polio. Only two cases in the past three years, and these two cases were children that had not been vaccinated, two cases of children not vaccinated, due to their parents. In the United States there were hundreds of cases. Finally, in one thing, we are above the United States; as to the future, we shall see.

I have one more sheet before me. This is the sector of medicine in which we have also made notable progress, in the sector of Nurses and Nursing Assistants, which it appears is represented here. Graduated before the Revolution, 2,991; graduated at the beginning of 1960, 1,367. A total of 4,358. Students of Nursing now taking the course, 1,408; in October 323 will graduate. Nursing Assistants, general Assistants, 3,888; pediatricians graduated, 214. Total, 4,102. Taking general courses, 942; taking pediatric courses, 305. Thus the number of Assistants, between Nurses and Nursing Assistants in relation to the 2,991 and the present number, the number has practically tripled. There will be a continual increase and with it improved quality in our medical care.

This does not mean that the road is without difficulties. All this has required much effort and will still require much effort. We have had to overcome many difficulties and will have to overcome still more. The merit in these efforts resides in the circumstances under which they were carried out and in the previous conditions that existed in our country, above all with regard to the development of our secondary level schools and with regard to the big defects that existed in our educational programs. The adjustment of our efforts with such conditions and our necessities was, naturally, not easy.

In this whole transitional stage, these difficulties could be appreciated. To develop much more efficient and complete programs on the level of preparation that existed in the secondary schools, with the small number of teaching cadres, required study of programs, adjustments and efforts of all kinds. Every student of medicine knows what we are referring to, because we know the difficulties that must still be overcome to reach a balance between the necessarily rigorous program of study and our limited resources in teaching cadres, the limitations of our levels, the levels of our former pre-university and secondary schools.

And we are working on these adjustments and on overcoming these current difficulties. And the organisms, the Ministry of Education, the University, the Faculty of Medicine, as well as the student organizations, I am sure that they will find the just and correct solutions to the difficulties that necessarily still exist at this stage. And I think that these difficulties can be resolved without sacrificing quality -- because this must be a primary consideration -- without sacrificing quality, and without sacrificing the health of the students. And I think that the correct analysis of all our experience up to now will gain these objectives, although we will have to sacrifice time. (Shouts of "Fidel, Fidel!" and applause.)

We are impatient to have a greater number of practicing doctors, as we are impatient for many things. But it doesn't matter having to contain this impatience; what is important is to achieve the aim without sacrificing anything more essential than time. And in many things it will be necessary, many times, to hold to the same consideration, the same analysis. To be impatient is proper to revolutionists, **however** -- those who are not revolutionists are never impatient, because they believe that time will take care of everything and that coming centuries will take care of the present evils -- and to me it seems that impatience is one of the characteristics of a revolutionist. But a revolutionist must learn how to master his impatience and not let his impatience master him. In many aspects of the creative work of the Revolution, we never sacrifice impatience, but also we never sacrifice the aim, and if we have to sacrifice anything it is better to sacrifice impatience than the aim. (Applause and shouts of "Bravo!")

[To be continued.]

BRAZILIAN SOCIOLOGIST JAILED

[Under the title "Imprisonment of Florestan Fernandes, Sociologist" (Detido o sociologo Florestan Fernandes), the following article appeared in the conservative Folha de São Paulo (September 12).

[Florestan Fernandes is one of Brazil's best-known sociologists, a prolific author. He has represented Brazil in numerous international symposiums, scholarly meetings, etc.

[In the final paragraph it is reported that authorities had promised to release the distinguished professor. We do not know whether this promise was actually kept. Protests over this shocking case would seem to be in order.]

* * *

About 1:30 p.m. yesterday Professor Florestan Fernandes was taken prisoner in the offices of the Faculty of Sciences and Letters of the University of São Paulo by Lieutenant Colonel Bernardo Schumann, in charge of the Military Police Inquiry [MPI] in that faculty. The professor was imprisoned because he refused to recant statements made in a letter which he had given to the military police officer the day before yesterday when he was called to testify.

The imprisonment of the sociologist Florestan Fernandes caused great consternation among both teachers and students. Students did not show up for classes last night. According to declarations made by students to our staff, it was not a student strike. It was simply that they were in no condition to concentrate on class work in view of the prevailing atmosphere of terror.

"Terror"

Professors and instructors interviewed by our staff were unanimous in saying that those in charge of the MPI had behaved with tact, still this did not dissipate the atmosphere of terror within the faculty. The way in which the investigators went about checking the patriotism or ideology of the professors under interrogation seemed strange: they were asked childish questions about nationalist symbols or ordered to sing the national anthem. During the investigation of Prof. Florestan Fernandes they asked him to sing the last part of the national anthem. He excused himself because of his voice, but he at once recited the required part of the anthem.

We learned that when Prof. Florestan Fernandes submitted his letter, he asked if he had the right to do so. Lt. Col. Bernardo Schumann is supposed to have responded, after reading the letter, that it was arrogant. Early yesterday afternoon, Prof. Florestan Fernandes was called into the main office of the faculty. The director, Prof. Mario Guimarães Ferri, asked him to take back what he had written in the letter, but he refused. In face of this refusal, Lt.

Col. Bernardo Schumann placed him under arrest.

In his letter, Prof. Florestan Fernandes expresses displeasure and indignation over the schools and institutes of the University of São Paulo being included in the network of high-handed military police investigations that aim at "uncovering the centers of corruption and subversive agitation in the midst of public services maintained by the state government." After pointing out that university ethics do not permit professors to back partisan political causes, and that higher education, since it only brings heavy work and responsibilities, does not attract dishonest and corrupt people, he went on to say that he was submitting to the orders of the MPI only because he was unable to modify these orders. "Nevertheless, this does not signify any compromise or any negligence on my part," the professor made clear. He affirmed: "As in the past, I remain and will continue to remain faithful to the same standards that have always governed my intellectual work as professor, researcher and scientist."

Accusations

Various persons in the teaching staff of the Faculty of Philosophy attribute the accusations, made to the MPI, to a History Professor. He apparently denounced several of his colleagues as Communists, thus creating an atmosphere of insecurity among the members of the faculty, particularly since the accusations are lies.

The Technical-Administrative Council of the Faculty of Philosophy, Science, and Letters of the University of São Paulo met last night and requested the appearance of Lt. Col. Bernardo Schumann so that he could clarify the reasons for the imprisonment of Professor Florestan.

The officer said that the imprisonment was motivated by the disrespectful content of the letter sent by the professor, and promised that the sociologist would be freed next Monday morning [September 14]. Prof. Florestan Fernandes is being held prisoner at the 7th Company of Guards of Pedro II Park.

POLITICAL PRISONERS TORTURED IN BRAZIL

The September 15 Correio da Manhã, a daily newspaper of Rio de Janeiro, scored the brutal treatment of political prisoners by the military government.

According to Hermano Alves, the newspaper's correspondent, Waldir Ximenes, the former president of a colonization company in Pernambuco, was in a military hospital under treatment for burns, broken ribs and spinal injuries following torture.

Gildo Rios, former deputy for economic affairs, suffered ruptured ear drums as the result of a beating.

Dr. Fernando Castro, former secretary of health in the municipal government of Recife, was struck in public by army officers.

Correio da Manha also reported that Manuel Nazareno da Silva, who was appointed director of railways in the Northeast by the military government, was disciplined for having called on Pernambuco's ex-governor Miguel Arraes too often.

The Coup d'Etat in Brazil

HOW TO OVERTHROW A LEGAL GOVERNMENT

Fortune Magazine Reports to Its Millionaire Readers

An article in the September issue of Fortune magazine can be recommended to everyone interested in the current dispute about possible roads to socialism. Fortune is the lush (\$1.50 a copy) sister publication of Time magazine that specializes in inspirational messages for successful millionaires and stories about challenging problems in management. It sometimes offers special reports on labor, politics, foreign policy or what have you. The report in the current issue, by one Philip Siekman, is entitled "When Executives Turned Revolutionaries." An enticing subtitle indicates the contents: "A story hitherto untold: how São Paulo businessmen conspired to overthrow Brazil's Communist-infected government."

The purpose of the revelations is stated with commendable bluntness. In the months since Brazil's legally constituted government was toppled by a coup d'état, some "foreign companies" in Brazil "have been so heartened that they are already making sizeable additions to their Brazilian investments." However, most U.S. investors "are cautiously waiting and watching. Their skepticism is partly explained by the fact that the story of Brazil's revolution [read counterrevolution], with all its encouraging aspects, has not, up to now, been fully told in the American press." The report is aimed to reassure prospective investors about the security of the dollar in Brazil.

The stakes, as seen by Fortune, were very high in this key Latin-American country. "Early this year only two roads seemed to stretch before the country. One led to a Communist-dominated totalitarian state like Castro's Cuba, the other to a full-scale civil war as bloody as the one that ravaged Spain in the Thirties. Either of these fearful possibilities would have sent disastrous shock waves through the rest of Latin America and confronted the U.S. with its gravest foreign-policy defeat since the fall of China."

Fortunately for the U.S. State Department, the Johnson administration and the security of the \$1,000,000,000 in investments held by American coupon clippers, a coup d'état had long been in preparation, carefully nursed by a gang of businessmen in São Paulo.

The origins of the "conspiracy" (this is the frank word used by Siekman, the author of the article) go back to the fifties. Paulo Ayres Filho, a drug manufacturer, began by sponsoring books and pamphlets translated from materials provided by the Foundation for Economic Education in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. These advocated "limited government" and "free enterprise." They were aimed against "Communism."

"Ayres," says the author, "tends to use the word Communism to describe a broad spectrum of political thought, encompassing not only outright party supporters, but also democratic socialists, students and intellectuals who employ the language of Marxism as a means of protest, and, perhaps most important, unprincipled opportunists. During the late Fifties these influences were unquestionably gaining ground. Attacks on the U.S. and capitalism in general mounted in fury; demands for sweeping nationalization of industry became more strident; and more and more politicians began talking about class struggle and preaching violence as the path to power."

In 1961 a young Rio businessman, Gilbert Huber, Jr., joined forces with Ayres. They met regularly and soon drew in João Baptista Figueiredo, the head of the Bank of Brazil where Ayres served as a director. Other businessmen joined the circle whose topic of discussion was "how to counter the statist and leftist propaganda echoing through Brazil." The outcome was establishment of "the Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Sociais (Institute of Social Research and Studies) -- IPES, for short."

After President Jânio Quadros resigned and was succeeded by Vice-President João Goulart, the IPES stepped up its efforts. According to Fortune it was not supported by the latifundiários, the big landowners, nor by some industrialists. "In all, only about 400 firms, mostly in Rio and São Paulo, contributed to the organization; the annual flow of cash never exceeded \$500,000."

That, of course, was not much compared to the dollars poured into reactionary causes in the United States and Fortune lists the \$500,000 a year as "limited funds."

"The organization turned out a stream of pamphlets and booklets that it gave away to anybody who would make use of them. . . . It helped finance a democratic leadership-training program for businessmen, students, and laborers, which has educated 2,600 people. And it encouraged women's groups and student and other organizations by contributions of funds, literature, cheap office space, free office equipment, and subsidized clerical help."

Up to the end of 1962, the IPES had held to a defensive posture. In the words of Ayres, "not to attack." But by the end of the year, the grouping felt strong enough to begin "to look for more direct ways of asserting their opposition."

"An alphabet soup of anti-Communist organizations sprang up on the Brazilian scene. Some held rallies; others painted signs on walls; one attempted to buy politicians."

A "São Paulo industrialist" decided to go still further. "He organized vigilante cells to counter left-wing hecklers at anti-Communist meetings with 'intellectual methods -- like a kick in the head.' Later, the vigilantes armed themselves with light weapons, set up a clandestine hand-grenade factory, and picked out a site from which to carry out guerrilla operations in the civil war they considered unavoidable and imminent."

Up to this point, the counterrevolutionary preparations followed the standard pattern observable in Europe in the twenties and thirties when Mussolini, then Hitler, and Franco moved toward power. Fortune does not make this point, carefully avoiding any historical comparisons in presenting this story aimed at inspiring American businessmen with admiration for their Brazilian brothers.

An "important activist movement against Goulart" was begun by three IPES members, all of them lawyers: Flavio Galvão, Luiz Werneck, and João-Adelino Prado. Galvão is also an editor of O Estado de São Paulo, Brazil's equivalent of the New York Times. The Mesquita family owns this newspaper and one of its prominent members, Júlio de Mesquita Filho, became the nominal head of the IPES. The action group set its aim as the conquest of power. "They decided, in Werneck's words, 'that we must do something. If this meant revolution [read counterrevolution], we were prepared. We had to transform the whole situation.'"

Adhemar de Barros, governor of the state of São Paulo, joined up. "His adherence to the group of businessmen revolutionaries [counterrevolutionaries] was especially important because he had a well-trained and well-armed state militia of some 40,000 men. Barros opened up lines of communication to other sympathetic governors, notably Carlos Lacerda of Guanabara, the state that contains Rio de Janeiro. With a seemingly unquenchable supply of venomous invectives, Lacerda was Goulart's most abusive public enemy."

By the end of 1963 the social situation in Brazil appeared dangerous to the conspirators. Continued inflation, by depressing the living standards of the masses, was creating widespread unrest. In this situation the plotters claimed to see the influence of gold -- not Moscow gold, but Peking gold -- and even Cuban arms. "In the destitute northeast, illiterate peasants were being organized with money from Red China and arms smuggled from Cuba." They also professed to see the placement of "men who were openly sympathetic to

Communism and Castro" in "key posts in the government and its agencies."

What was really happening was the advancement of slogans about agrarian reform and lip service in government circles to the widely popular demand for nationalizations. But in the field of action, Goulart watched the preparation of the counterrevolutionary conspiracy in a state of virtual paralysis. Fortune indicates this: "Goulart shuffled Cabinet ministers. . . set up an economic stabilization plan, and then abandoned it, talked of reforms and did nothing. On the face of it, he appeared simply unable to govern. . . "

In São Paulo, Adhemar de Barros openly threatened revolt. "But open revolt would require help from the Brazilian Army." Thus a key problem for the conspirators was to win over the officer caste.

"Informally, IPES members had long cultivated friendships in the military services, had invited officers to São Paulo ostensibly to visit factories, and over coffee and dinner had told them of their fears." The "most consequential meeting took place" when the central conspirators met "a young lieutenant colonel, Rubens Resstel, then stationed in the São Paulo headquarters of Brazil's Second Army."

Resstel was a key man in the Brazilian Expeditionary Force [BEF] which fought as part of the U.S. Fifth Army in Italy in World War II. "As IPES became the mother cell of the civilian resistance to Goulart, so the veterans of the B.E.F. became the moving force within the military. . . . Encouraged by the Mesquita group, Resstel and some of his fellow officers began to circulate through Brazil sounding out other military men." They won over a number of young officers but some of the older generals tended to remain loyal to the legally constituted government.

How were these twinges of conscience to be overcome? The fascist technique is to discover a "plot" for a "take over" by "Communists" that must be blocked by swift seizure of power. Batista, for instance, used this effectively in Cuba. Fortune avoids the historical parallels, simply noting that early in 1964 "the young military men in the Mesquita group began to piece together bits of evidence which indicated that the Communists around Goulart were planning a coup of their own. . . ."

The "bits of evidence" are not without interest: "There had been a split in the Brazilian Communist movement between the so-called Russian wing, which counseled moderation and gradualism, and the Chinese-Cuban wing, identified with Brizola, which preached violence." That is part of the "evidence." Next item: "The latter group appeared to have gained the most influence on the government." This is putting things upside down. Goulart appeared to have succeeded in paralyzing the entire radical movement in face of the growing counterrevolutionary threat. Final bit of evidence: "The Paulistas [the conspirators] feared an overnight attempt to create a totalitar-

ian state, with a wave of violence and murder, guerrilla actions, strikes in key industries, and an uprising of enlisted military men."

There was a grain of truth in this fear. The rank and file in the labor movement and in the armed forces had become increasingly alarmed over the obvious preparations for a reactionary coup d'état. They had also become increasingly ready for a course of action that could win a radical agrarian reform and nationalization of Brazil's key industries. The growth of this mood was, of course, one of the factors that had led the São Paulo capitalists much earlier to begin plotting their counterrevolutionary coup d'état.

The conspirators now "began to arm themselves." In time, says Fortune, "the Mesquita group alone spent about \$10,000 on weapons, including a handful of machine guns. Groups in residential sections of São Paulo obtained weapons, ammunition, and supplies, and carefully plotted out defense plans for their blocks."

One last force in Brazil remained to be brought into the conspiracy -- if it was not already well aware of all that was going on; and, indeed, inspiring it. This was the U.S. State Department. Resstel and the other military officers calculated that they could launch an armed uprising and hang on for ninety days. "Before that time ran out the Mesquita group hoped for outside help." Thus the conspirators acted as a minority that did not expect popular backing and which would be quickly dependent on help from counterrevolutionary forces abroad the way Franco required help from Hitler and Mussolini.

"They sent an emissary to ask U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon what the U.S. position would be if civil war broke out, who reported back that Gordon was cautious and diplomatic, but he left the impression that if the Paulistas could hold out for forty-eight hours they would get U.S. recognition and help."

They asked for U.S. help within ninety days; they got a promise of help within forty-eight hours! The Johnson administration was demonstrating its exquisite sensitiveness to Wall Street's needs in Latin America.

With the stage thus set, a huge street demonstration was organized in São Paulo. This impressed the top generals, showing them that the conspirators were serious. Army Chief of Staff, General Humberto Castello Branco, was won over. "He had been aware of the Paulista conspiracy for some time, but had been unwilling to join a revolt against a legal government." The day after the demonstration, he sent out a "secret memorandum to the Army commands" giving them the tip off.

"The conspirators sensed a marked change in the attitude of many other Army officers; more and more of them agreed to join the revolt. Deciding that the time was almost ripe, they persuaded

Castello Branco to begin to draw up a rough plan of military operations. Extra stores of gasoline were obtained and hidden away on industrial lots throughout São Paulo. A supply of U.S. 'Food for Peace' was discovered on the Santos docks, trucked to the capital, and stored." It's truly remarkable how easily counterrevolutionary conspirators stumble across supplies of U.S. "Food for Peace"!

A dramatic effort by the rank and file of the Brazilian Navy to do something about the ominously growing conspiracy, was taken as the excuse for launching the planned armed uprising. At the same time, the governor of Minas Gerais, José Magalhães Pinto, "rounded up all suspected agitators and Communists in the capital, Belo Horizonte, and elsewhere in the state."

Other sectors of the vast conspiracy went into action, throwing unit after unit into the counterrevolutionary uprising.

The liberal bourgeois Goulart government, utterly paralyzed by its own class connections with the conspirators, went down, scarcely uttering a cry, and the witch-hunt was on. "In the first days of the revolt, thousands of suspected subversives were hastily dumped into jails or temporary prison ships. . . . In the sixty days allowed by the institutional act, the government [i.e., the conspirators now in power] canceled the political rights of 378 people, on the grounds of either corruption and dishonesty or Communist action. Included on the list are three ex-Presidents of the republic, a federal senator, five governors, fifty-one federal deputies; they will not be permitted to run for office or vote for ten years. Perhaps the best-known name on the blacklist was that of ex-President Juscelino Kubitschek."

The success of the counterrevolutionary conspiracy does not mean that Brazil's burning economic and social problems have been solved. Fortune admits that. But Castello Branco's "talented Cabinet" can be expected to do much. It hopes to check inflation, for instance, reducing it from an annual rate just prior to the coup d'état of 120 per cent to only 24 to 36 per cent.

More than that is needed however. "If Brazil is not to die on the operating table as the new men attempt to cure its ailments, it will need large infusions of help from abroad. U.S. aid to Brazil had dwindled to \$2 million in the eight weeks preceding the revolt. Immediately afterward, the U.S. came up with \$93 million in surplus agricultural commodities under Public Law 480 and \$50 million more in dollar loans and grants for over thirty-five development projects. At the same time, the U.S., Japan, and a number of European countries began negotiating agreements to reschedule Brazil's huge, \$3-billion foreign debt. Beyond this, additional European and American aid probably will be granted Brazil this year to help underwrite the budget deficit and finance imports."

The businessmen who run the United States will undoubtedly

study Fortune's report on the counterrevolutionary success in Brazil with close attention. Perhaps they will even find lessons in it for application some day to the United States itself. Socialists, too, should study the account, for there is something to be learned about the fatal effect of the illusion that socialism can be won peacefully in face of a ruling class so contemptuous of constitutional processes as the one in Brazil.

CRISIS IN AUSTRIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

VIENNA, Sept. 20 -- Internal conflicts among the bureaucratic leaders of the Austrian Socialist party have flared into the open, involving the working class in a dramatic way, much to the distaste of the bureaucracy.

Olah, the Minister of the Interior and former president of the Austrian Confederation of Trade Unions, was forced to bow to a majority vote in the SP leadership and resign his government post. The ouster was initiated by Bruno Pitterman, president of the Austrian Socialist party after a party arbitration commission had censured Olah for granting an interview in the bourgeois daily Die Presse in which he violated party discipline.

In the interview Olah talked about the internal party dispute and charged, among other things, that "certain members of his own party slandered him in a worse way than his political enemies." He talked about "personal defamation of comrades in the same party"; accused his opponents of using Stalinist methods and said it was "nonsense" to accuse him of wanting to set up a leadership cult around his own personality.

Olah's resignation touched off a militant reaction among sectors of the working class. On September 18, after a series of on-the-job meetings, the workers in all the power plants in Vienna came out on strike, cutting off the current to the tramways for a few hours, and marched towards Socialist party headquarters. There were some 1,300 in the parade. They carried banners protesting Olah's forced resignation.

The former Minister of the Interior is popular among the workers because he appears more militant than Pitterman, always on the lookout for a "compromise." Olah came into prominence in 1961 when he resigned some political offices in demonstrative protest against the failure to take trade-union demands into consideration during negotiations over the budget. The party bureaucrats accused him at the time of violating the rules of collective leadership and engaging in a public demonstration against party policy.

This was the first rift since the Scharf case in 1945.

(Scharf was a party secretary who went over to Stalinism in the early fifties.)

The differences were patched up, however, and the SP came out in support of the trade-union demands.

Despite his popularity among the workers, Olah is a very ambiguous political figure. He is against Marxist ideology, stating that he favors "practice" (as against "theory"). In the Socialist party he is accused of displaying dictatorial tendencies. Up until recently in the SP leadership he advocated seeking a coalition with the FPOE (Austrian Liberal party), which represents the interests of West German big business and whose program is tainted with Pan-Germanism and Nazism. Olah has been characterized as an Austrian replica of the unscrupulous American trade-union boss willing to resort to any means to increase his power.

The militant movement in favor of Olah swiftly collapsed, since Olah wasn't willing to head it with the requisite militant program of opposition to coalition with bourgeois parties.

Discontent among Austrian workers is rising and this was one of the factors that found expression in the demonstration in favor of Olah. The working class has been hit by price increases. The cost of living has increased more than five per cent the past year. The trade unions, however, are bound by a long-term contract with their "social partners," the bosses. It should be noted that Olah himself was one of the signers.

The workers feel that the unions and the Socialist party do not follow policies corresponding to the weight and power of the working class. That is why they are sensitive to rifts in the leadership and tend to take sides.

The main bourgeois party, the Austrian People's party, who are in a coalition with the Socialist party in the government, are now trying to take advantage of the differences that have come into the open. During the strike, their Minister of Defense put the army in a state of alert. They have indicated that unless new concessions are forthcoming they will refuse to accept Czettel as the new Minister of the Interior. Czettel was nominated by the Socialist party leadership to replace Olah. He is chairman of the shop stewards committee in one of the biggest Austrian steel plants. A new government crisis thus seems to be shaping up.

The domestic political scene is stirring again. In the Socialist party new and intense critical discussions will occur. The party leadership denies that the crisis is political in character, since there are no political differences among the leaders. But the same leadership has lost much of its authority as a result of recent events.

BOUDIAF'S DAMAGING ADMISSIONS

The elections in Algeria September 20 could prove of but limited interest due to the fact that there was only a single slate of candidates, the one approved by the Central Committee of the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale]. All to be noted in the outcome was the percentage of abstentions. There was nothing exceptional about this in general except in the Kabylie region, where similar abstentions occurred in last year's elections, and Algiers and Constantine. In other words, a rise in discontent was registered in areas where it was convenient to do so.

In the meantime, the government is continuing its efforts -- taking realities into account -- to increase the independence of the country with regard to the oil companies.

However important the efforts of the government in this direction may be, they still will not resolve the current difficulties it faces. [See World Outlook September 18.] The most serious problem at present is a certain deterioration in relations between the government and the masses. In the preceding period, the regime met the difficulties by addressing the masses and by responding to their aspirations and needs. For several months it has been observable that the regime no longer turns toward the masses with the same confidence but displays greater preference for arrangements at the top. The FLN Congress issued the generally very promising Charter of Algiers [see World Outlook May 1], but the leadership was elected not on the basis of policies but in accordance with agreements behind the scenes.

The consequences were visible in a characteristic example: in April, in accordance with this kind of deal, an opponent like Chaabani was named to the Political Bureau. Less than six months later he was shot after a trial behind closed doors.

The masses can be educated only through openly conducted political struggles, including, if necessary, the court room. But measures agreed on in bureaus without public explanation can only foster indifference among the masses.

In the September 17 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde, the "opposition" published its views via an interview with Mohamed Boudiaf. Some interesting revelations were made on which a curious silence had been maintained up to now.

Boudiaf has sought to represent himself as an oppositionist of the left, linked with former elements of the Fédération de France, and without any connections with reactionary movements. What does the interview reveal?

There are, of course, a number of affirmations about socialism, in favor of a vanguard party, a denunciation of the state

apparatus, etc. But on these points, in the final analysis, he says virtually the same things as Ben Bella. The new points of real interest are certain admissions he makes:

"This inexorable and rapid evolution involves sifting out the country's healthy forces. If, up to recently, the opposition has remained divided, heterogeneous and indecisive, the development of things has provoked a labor of clarification and unification. Thus the PRS [Parti de la Révolution Socialiste organized by Boudiaf in 1962], the FFS [Front des Forces Socialistes organized by Hocine Ait Ahmed in 1963], and former elements of the ALN [Armée de Libération Nationale] have regrouped around three lines of force: agreement on the economico-political analysis of the situation, agreement on the means of action and the necessity of uniting, agreement on the perspectives for the future.

"The CNDR [Comité National de Défense de la Révolution], which we have founded, goes beyond the limits of a regional opposition. Our firm positions, which have led us to resume the armed struggle, renders ridiculous the reactionary character which they have sought to foist on us. We are reintroducing discussion among the most disinherited Algerian masses who were the decisive element in the reconquest of national sovereignty.

"The members of the CNDR are Mohamed Ben Ahmed (Commandant Si Moussa), Mohamed Boudiaf, Hocine Ait Ahmed and Moussa Hassani. Colonel Mohamed Chaabani, recently executed in Oran, was a member of the CNDR. . . ."

"How important is the armed opposition in Algeria at present?"

"The FFS began action last February in the Kabylie. After constituting the CNDR on July 6, 1964, action included, besides the Kabylie, the Nord Constantinois (Djidjelli, the Peninsula of Collo, El Milia, the mountains of l'Edough), the Aurès and the Southern Front (from the Souf waddy to the Amour mountain).

"Our 'maquis' [guerrillas] are most numerous in the most disinherited regions where the population is the poorest."

Let us leave aside the boasting. Boudiaf has done nothing less than admit his ties with Chaabani, and with Ait Ahmed, whose neocolonialist program was publicized in an interview in the Gaullist newspaper Candide [see World Outlook October 11, 1963]. Boudiaf proclaims himself a partisan of armed struggle against the Ben Bella government -- not because the masses are rising against it (he himself admits this) -- but as a means, as he sees it, to arouse the masses.

Such a policy only plays the game of the reactionary elements in the present situation.

CAMPAIGNING FOR REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM IN IMPERIALIST AMERICA

By Evelyn Sell

What is it like to campaign for revolutionary socialism in the strongest capitalist country in the world? Right now it's very exciting, very encouraging, very rewarding. The Freedom Now revolt, the antiwar activities among youth, the growing rank-and-file resentment in the unions against deteriorating job conditions and continuing unemployment -- all this helps create conditions favorable to revolutionary-socialist ideas. We are still isolated from the mass of American workers but we are attracting individual youths and participants in the Freedom Now movement thirsting for revolutionary activities and a Marxist education.

Let me tell you what the election work of the Socialist Workers party is like in Michigan. We launched our campaign at a May Day rally. Frank Lovell, running for governor, spoke on "Why White Workers Should Support the Negro Struggle for Equality." I, running for U.S. senator, spoke against the American intervention in South Vietnam.

These talks were reprinted as leaflets and distributed, along with other election material, among students in high schools and colleges, to the crowds at public gatherings, and to union members at their meetings. [For copies, write: Socialist Workers Party, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Michigan, 48204, USA.]

During the summer when school activities are at a minimum and union meetings are customarily suspended until fall, we engaged in neighborhood activities, going door to door. Much of our work is done in the Black Ghetto. As one of our projects, we set ourselves a goal of selling 500 subscriptions to the weekly socialist newspaper, the Militant. Our score was 634. The Militant is important in our work since it carries news about our campaign and about the national campaign of the SWP presidential candidates.

This was preparatory work for the intensive phase that comes in the weeks before the election in November. But our candidates have already spoken on a variety of subjects at a number of meetings. These include college groups in and out of Detroit, union meetings in the area, the weekly Friday Night Socialist Forum, street meetings, and broadcasts on a local radio station. This station offered each party on the ballot fifteen minutes a week, which we, of course, accepted.

Wherever possible, our platform is shared by campaign supporters. At our May Day rally, for instance, a high-school student, newly recruited to the socialist movement, gave a short talk on the history and meaning of May Day. Negro teen-agers speak at our street meetings. Most of our radio broadcasts have featured young speakers. Just before school ended for the summer, some of our youth supporters

participated in a mock election sponsored by a high-school club. A prize was offered for the best nomination speech at the mock convention. The speech for the SWP candidate was judged the winner over the Republican and Democratic contenders. On this experimental level the democratic process proved successful enough. . .

We have two main aims in our electoral work. Our first aim is to carry on effective publicity for revolutionary socialism among workers, Negroes and students. We go into the heart of the Black Ghetto with our leaflets and other literature. We hold street meetings. We go to the high schools and colleges. At union meetings we explain the basic ideas of socialism and urge the workers to break with capitalist political parties and take the position in society that is rightfully and historically theirs. In the final phase of the campaign we will distribute leaflets at plant gates. Possibilities here are limited only by financial resources; Detroit has immense armies of workers, many of whom will think over what is said in a socialist leaflet.

The second aim of our campaign is to provide training for new recruits to the socialist movement. During an election campaign there are innumerable opportunities for young people to develop their talents as organizers and speakers. Besides practical work of this kind, we carry on educational work on the theoretical level -- an essential part of the training of revolutionists. Thus this summer we held classes twice a week on Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution. We are now studying The Theory of the Negro Struggle. Our motto is "Marxists in word and deed."

Of course, all is not smooth sailing. The long years of witch-hunting in America have left their mark. Sometimes we are faced with nasty reactions from people affected by government brainwashing. The police harass us at times, arresting distributors of leaflets for instance. We are able to continue our work and to expand it in face of such difficulties because our ranks include determined fighters with the skills that come of long experience and intense dedication to the socialist revolution. This year our work has been aided by a favorable turn in the social climate.

To illustrate some of the difficulties to be found in campaigning for revolutionary socialism in capitalist America and how we go about meeting them, let me give a single example. While our campaign opened last May Day, the election work really began a year ago when we collected the signatures necessary to win a place on the ballot. In all states the big parties automatically appear on the ballot; but in many states the same election laws providing these facilities for the political machines of big business make it impossible for a minority party to get on the ballot. Michigan is one of the better states -- the laws merely make it very difficult. One of the requirements is almost 15,000 signatures; in practice, however, it is necessary to get about double the number because they must be valid signatures and it is Democratic and Republican officials who

determine what is "valid." One year we were ruled off the ballot because of an unfavorable interpretation on this rule.

It is not possible even to rely on areas where sentiment may be favorable or relatively favorable. The law requires petitioners to bring in a geographical spectrum of signatures. Thus we are compelled to work in areas that may be positively hostile.

We go to busy shopping districts and ask passersby to sign our petitions. Occasionally we are met with slurring remarks, others hurry by, but a gratifying number will sign. Sometimes the local police interfere. Often they go no further than to check the state-approved petition forms. It is not unusual, however, for a petitioner to find himself taken to the police station for further questioning.

After many years of this kind of work, we have learned much about it. Experience helps us to expedite the mountainous work involved in the red tape. Our teamwork and careful preparations help reduce the effect of police intimidation.

As a result we are able to help friendly organizations who lack experience in all this. The Freedom Now party publicly acknowledged our assistance in completing their petition campaign.

Our enemy is formidable; our present forces still small and isolated. I often think, however, of the words written by Tom Paine, an American revolutionist of 200 years ago: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldiers and the sunshine patriots will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

Ours will be the glorious triumph.